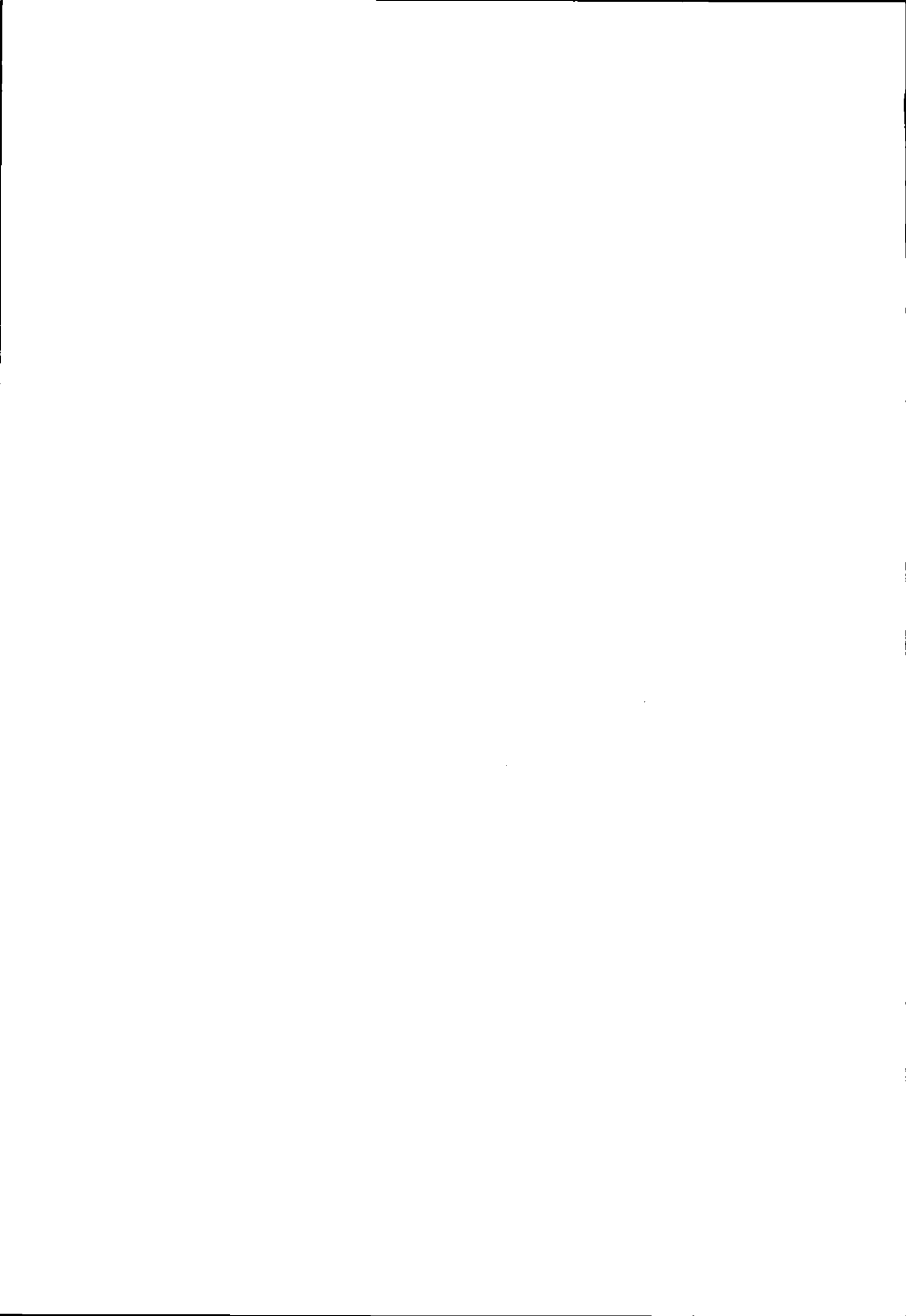# REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH

1987

REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Papers From a Seminar

16-19 February 1987

Edited by: Paul Wilson
            Vicki Dalton

Australian Institute of Criminology

Canberra 1987

i

CONTENTS

Page No.

iii

INTRODUCTION: REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN
CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH, 1987

Dr Paul R Wilson
Assistant Director
(Research and Statistics)
Australian Institute of Criminology

This is the report of the fifth biennial seminar conducted by
the Institute. The format and organisation of this seminar was
similar to those conducted in past years - participants
presented twenty minute summaries of their research topics
paying particular attention to methodological issues. An
addition to past years was a commentary on each days proceedings
given by Dr Ken Polk from the Department of Criminology at
Melbourne University.

Participants at the seminar comprised recipients of grants from
the Criminology Research Council (CRC), Institute staff and staff
from other research organisations including some police and
correctional agencies. Unfortunately, the available time and
financial resources available for travel to the seminar did not
permit all researchers who wished to present a paper at the
seminar to do so.

Despite financial stringencies that are now applied to
universities and statutory bodies, such as the Institute, the
discipline of criminology is in a healthy state in Australia.
New staff at criminology centres in Sydney and Melbourne have
breathed fresh air into established courses. An active and
innovative masters degree in Criminology at La Trobe University,
and one established at Melbourne, have increased the range of
options for students in Australia wishing to pursue criminology
qualifications. Many police and prison departments have
developed their own research units and increasingly people who
work in them are trained in these very same universities.

Severe budgetary restrictions in Canberra threatened the
Institute's research program but, thankfully, we have been able
to maintain our program and our staff numbers. The past Director
of the Institute, Professor Richard Harding, was extremely active
and successful in restoring the real value of the Criminology
Research Fund so that, in 1986-87 $250,000 was made available for
researchers. This money has allowed the Council to expand the
scope of its funding. The Acting Director, Mr David Biles, has
prepared a report on how CRC funds have been disbursed and has
related this disbursement to the outcomes of the research.

As with the CRC, there have been changes in the research
activities of the Institute. Our charter, under the Criminology
Research Act, requires us to collect information and statistics
relating to crime and criminal justice. Under Dr Mukherjee's
guardianship I believe that the Institute does this very well in
the area of criminal statistics - indeed the Size of the Crime

Problem report is a breath of fresh air in a cyclone of media
rhetoric and exaggeration regarding crime in this country and, of
course, Mr Biles and Mr Walker have collected substantial
national information on prisoner populations and persons subject
to community-based corrections. However, we are also required to
conduct research relevant to the evaluation or improvement of the
efficiency of the criminal justice system (Board of Management
Report, 1982, p. 33). This fairly broadly-based objective has
allowed us to explore a quite diverse range of issues from an
independent and non-partisan position, a position which, in a
different climate, may well be considered almost radical. Here,
I would mention research programs by Peter Grabosky and a former
Institute employee, John Braithwaite, on white-collar crime
generally including the action, or more correctly, lack of
action, of regulatory agencies. Dr Grabosky is also researching
Government Crime and, with myself, how the mass media interprets
crime and criminal justice matters. In line with our charter we
attempt to conduct these projects on a comparative, multi-
jurisdictional basis, preferring to leave projects of a regional
or local character to university researchers and persons funded
by the CRC.

Of course, a national institute such as ours must have obvious
policy relevance and a non-partisan base. Many of our research
projects increasingly reflect this orientation. Organised Crime,
Terrorism, Drugs, Graffiti and Vandalism, Missing Persons,
Migrants and Crime, Aboriginal Justice Programs are just some of
the research being conducted by the Institute. Conventional as
some of these issues may be we work very hard at maintaining
intellectual integrity and independence despite occasional
pressures from outside to conduct the research process or present
results in a particular manner.

While it is true that, as in Australian criminology generally,
the Institute engages in criminological research within the
positivistic paradigm, both at the theoretical and empirical
level other perspectives have been developed. This development
has quickly accelerated in a number of universities where
increasingly, deviancy theorists and those using a marxist or
neo-marxist framework are engaged in both theoretical development
and empirical research in criminological and criminal justice
matters. These developments are a sign of vitality and, I
believe, maturity, in the development of Australian criminology -
development that is reflected in the wider range of articles that
have appeared in the Australia and New Zealand Journal of
Criminology in the past two years.

There are many issues which still need to be resolved concerning
criminological research in this country. David Biles, in 1985,
raised the question of whether or not there is a need for a code
of ethics for criminological researchers. As yet, we have not
moved, as a research community, to provide such a code. It is
clear that, especially with 'captive' audiences, such as
prisoners, Australian criminologists have not yet grappled with
many ethical issues relating to research involving interviewing
incarcerated persons. Nor have we really grappled with the

question of how criminological research has changed in Australia in recent years and where the gaps in knowledge, both empirically and theoretically, are. A current assessment is badly needed.

The relationship between policy work and 'pure' research requires further exploration. To many academics 'policy' is a tarnished term with connotations of pragmatism and empiricism operating within an outdated neo-classicist framework. Clearly, all of us have views on this issue and I am no exception. I believe that policy research need not be tarnished with these negative connotations. John Braithwaite put it well when he wrote '... public policy will ultimately be that bit better when researchers, with all the disagreements they harbour, enter into the maze rather than treat it as a black box which will soak research findings through its walls by some sort of osmosis'[1]. I firmly believe that Australia needs more criminological research of a policy nature and that this research need not necessarily be of a narrow, atheoretical and reactionary kind. Academic and government-sponsored criminologists have a lot to contribute to public policy and each can learn from the other. I hope this research seminar contributes towards this process.

In future conferences I believe there is a place for sessions on specific issues – contract research, ethics for social scientists conducting research with particular populations, developments in qualitative methodologies and so on. Certainly the evaluation from the seminar indicates that some of these topics would be well received. Clearly, though the seminar was considered successful by participants and will be, funds permitting, an on-going Institute activity.

Having been involved in criminological research in this country for twenty years or more there is one observation regarding changes in the direction of criminological research that I would like to offer. The notion of Australians feeling 'themselves criminally backward', as expressed by Clifford and Harding, seems in the past to have often extended to the criminological community and to its approach to the identification of research needs and the formulation of theoretical and policy issues.

As the diversity of subjects in the current research seminar illustrates, this is no longer true. Australian criminology may not yet have 'come of age' but it is working towards this objective both in methodology and in substantive topics. This development, I believe, is an extremely healthy one assisted, I have no doubt, by the coming together of researchers at the fifth biennial seminar.

---

1. Braithwaite, J. (1984), 'Research Note: Prisons, Education and Work: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back', ANZ Journal of Criminology, March, 17(1), 56.
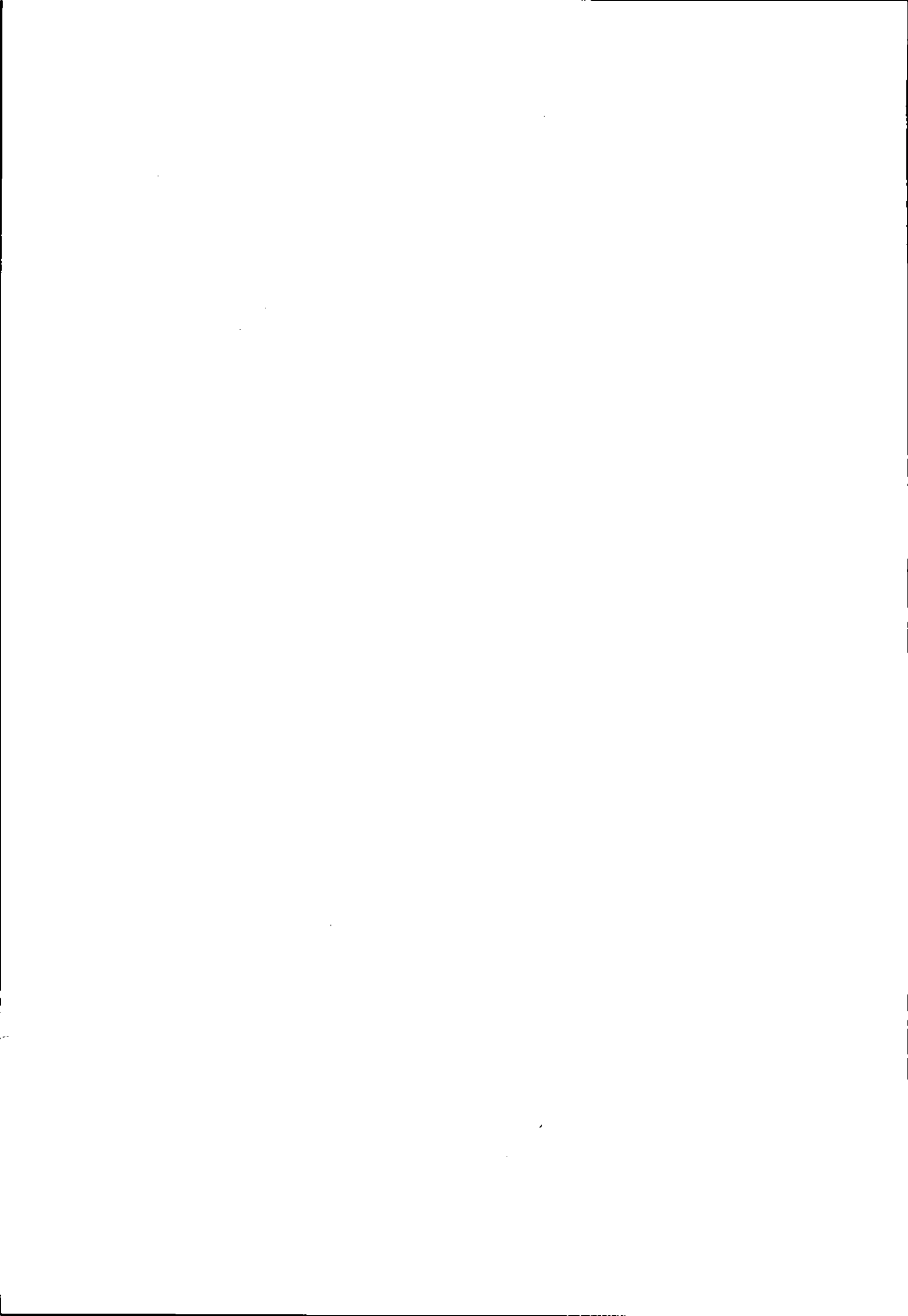
WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr David Biles
Acting Director
Australian Institute of Criminology

It is my pleasant duty to welcome you all here to this the fifth
Biennial Research Seminar conducted by the Institute. I must say
that this is a particularly pleasurable experience for me as, for
the first time, I will not be playing the role of seminar
organiser and ringmaster, as Paul Wilson has gallantly accepted
that responsibility. I certainly wish Paul every success with
that task and I congratulate him on compiling a most impressive
draft program, which has been circulated.

Institute Research Seminars have become a central part of our
activities. They are a tradition that I would certainly want to
see continue in the years to come. These seminars in the past
have brought together three different types of people who are
actively involved in criminological research. These have been
persons lucky enough to receive grants from the Criminology
Research Council, researchers in criminal justice agencies,
including police forces around Australia, and the Institute's own
research staff. On this occasion it is a pity that the program
has already become so crowded that the Institute researchers have
been denied a place, but I am sure that all of them will
nevertheless play some role in this seminar.

As I have always seen it, the main aim of this Research Seminar
has been to enhance Australian criminological research by a free
and frank exchange of ideas in a relatively informal and friendly
atmosphere. These seminars have certainly assisted in overcoming
the severe problems of isolation that many researchers
experience, especially as they are working in an agency which is
not totally committed to research. As I see it, this seminar was
never intended to be used by participants to present the results
of recent research in a polished and complete form. Much more
appropriate in this seminar is a presentation of methodological
or logistical issues about research that is currently being
conducted or research that is at the planning stage. I hope that
all of you here who are participating will feel sufficiently
comfortable and confident to reveal the difficulties and
problems that all of us face from time to time when we undertake
any projects which involve a step into the unknown. I certainly
hope that this seminar, like its predecessors, is characterised
by a spirit of learning from each other rather than simply
demonstrating our particular skills or expertise.

After the last of these seminars, in 1985, I conducted an
evaluation that produced some interesting results. It revealed,
as had been found on earlier occasions, that virtually all of the
participants found the seminar to be extremely valuable and they
all indicated that they would like to be invited to to similar
seminars in the future. The evaluation did reveal some problems,
however, in that the majority of the respondents to the

questionnaire that I circulated expressed the view that the
seminar program was too crowded, and the majority also expressed
the view that it would be preferable for Institute research
seminars to be held every year rather than biennially. In my
summing-up on that occasion I said:

> It is clear that the Institute's Research Seminar
> is rapidly reaching the point where it is becoming
> almost unmanageable. The Institute will need to
> give urgent consideration to making this an annual
> event and thus retain the benefits of wide
> interaction across a number of disciplines, that
> has been widely praised as one of its most useful
> features. An annual seminar of this type may reduce
> the enormous pressure, and would perhaps provide
> for not more than 30-35 papers over a three or four
> year period. The less welcome suggestion would be
> to only select those papers for presentation which
> were considered to be of sufficiently high quality
> or potential interest.

Whether our consideration of this problem was urgent or not, we
resolved to continue on a biennial basis at least for 1987 and
will be giving further consideration to changing to an annual
event when we have assessed the reactions to this seminar. My
personal view would be one of considerable reluctance about
selecting speakers for this seminar as I think it should always
remain an opportunity for young and maybe inexperienced
researchers to air their difficulties and anxieties without
feeling any pressure to have completed a full research report.

Since the last research seminar there have been a number of
significant changes within this Institute. I am sure most of
these are known to you, but the basic facts are that we now have
two new Assistant Directors in the form of Paul Wilson in charge
of Research and Statistics, and Dennis Challinger in charge of
Information and Training. I must say it has been a great
pleasure for me to have such enthusiastic and hard working
Assistant Directors on the payroll. The other major change that
has taken place is that Richard Harding, the former Director, has
now left us and has returned to the University of Western
Australia. At this time, as far as I am aware, no decision has
yet been taken by the Attorney-General as far as his replacement
is concerned.

One other matter that I would like to spend a few minutes on is
the review of the work of the Criminology Research Council that I
completed late last year. Some of you will have seen the report
that I prepared for the Council on this review, long and tedious
as it was, and hopefully many of you will notice an abridged
version of that Report which has been accepted for publication in
the Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology. That
review was an interesting and I think valuable exercise. It
showed that over the first fourteen years of the Criminology
Research Council 134 separate projects had been funded (many of
them receiving more than one grant) and of those 101 projects had
been completed by the middle of last year. In the first fourteen
yeas of its operation, the Council had made grants to a total of
just over one and a half million dollars.

With a figure like that, if governments are to continue to provide funds, it was necessary for some sort of review to take place to justify future expenditure.

Without boring you with all of the details, I used three different strategies in conducting the review. The first was an analysis of trends over the fourteen year period derived from material contained in the Annual Reports of the Council and the minutes of Council meetings. The second approach was a study of each project file with a view to identifying the characteristics that seemed to be associated with success or failure in research. The third approach was to write to as many of the successful grantees that I could contact seeking precise information about what impact their particular projects had had on the relevant areas of criminal justice practice.

Probably the most interesting aspect of the findings of the review was the fact that it was relatively easy to produce a great deal of evidence supporting the notion that the money awarded in grants was not wasted. Numerous researchers were able to provide concrete evidence of direct or indirect impact of their work on legislation or criminal justice policy or practice. In many other cases, the reseachers were able to provide evidence that their work had been cited in the criminological literature or in court cases, even though no direct changes could be attributed to the particular projects.

Also, it was interesting to note the trends of the time that had taken place in Council decision-making. For example, in recent years the rejection rate of applications had increased to the point where only about 30-35 per cent of applications were successful in the last couple of years. Over fifty per cent were successful in earlier periods of the Council's history. Furthermore, as one might expect, the value of grants in recent years has increased significantly to reflect the increasing costs of research funds available to the Council, now $250,000 a year. The increase in the value of grants, however, has meant that roughly the same number of grants have been made each year, that is, between ten and fourteen. One other perhaps startling and rather disappointing aspect of the results was that nearly 80 per cent of all of the grantees took considerably more time to complete their projects than they had anticipated in their applications. As I said in my Report, this does not necessarily indicate that Council grantees are lazy or incompetent as researchers, even though some of them may be. I believe that this result more accurately reflects the extraordinary difficulties of conducting effective reserch on a small budget, and it also reflects the enormous pressure under which most researchers conduct their work. I hope that this seminar will provide a few days of relief from that pressure and also provide a stimulus to improved and even more effective research in the future.

On occasions such as this it has become customary for the Director, or in this case the Acting Director, to say a few words about the future of the Institute and the Council. Until the

Directorship is settled, it is of course difficult to anticipate
any changes in direction or priority that might take place. It
must be said, however, that the Institute is now in a much
stronger position than it has been for many years. In the
immediate future I do not think that we can expect any
significant increase in our staff of about forty or in our budget
of a little over $2 million. We may well be facing a period of
consolidation, with perhaps even greater emphasis being placed on
research projects and seminars that are seen as being of
practical value to both Federal and State governments. The most
comforting thought is that there has been no suggestion of
closing the Institute for many years. Hopefully, that type of
suggestion is a thing of the past. As far as the Council is
concerned, its annual budget has now reached a level of $250,000
a year at the completion of a three year program of staged
increases. I anticipate that the funds available for the Council
will probably only increase in line with the cost of living in
the next few years. I would also anticipate that grants will be
no easier to obtain from the Council than they have been in the
past.

One final matter that I should mention is the fact that the
Criminology Research Act of 1971, which established both the
Institute and Council, was significantly amended by the
Commonwealth Parliament late last year. The amendments clarified
the Institute's role in relation to the collection and
dissemination of statistical material and also made specific
provision for the Institute to contract-in and contract-out
specific research projects. The amendments also make provision
for the inclusion of the Northern Territory as a full member of
the Criminology Research Council on the same basis as the six
States. The Northern Territory will therefore be represented on
the Institute's Board of Management from time to time as are the
States in rotation. In summary, the amendments to the
Criminology Research Act have both consolidated and strengthened
the position of the Institute and the Council, and I think this
augurs well for the future.

It only remains for me to wish you all a successful and
productive seminar and an enjoyable stay in Canberra. I hereby
formally declare this seminar open and hand over the proceedings
to my colleague Paul Wilson.

EXPLORING VIOLENCE AT SPORTING EVENTS:
RESEARCH IN BATHURST

Dr Arthur Veno
Senior Lecturer in Psychology

AND

Ms Elizabeth Veno
Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education
Churchill, Victoria

Each Easter since 1931, a motorcycle race has been held at the Mount Panorama Racing Circuit located in the New South Wales country town of Bathurst. Periodic outbreaks of violence between spectators and police have occurred since 1960. The Bathurst Bike Project commenced in 1983 when a formal approach to the Bathurst City Council was made following riots that witnessed nearly 200 arrests and ninety-one injured police after a reported eight hours of violent confrontation.

The goal of the proposed study was to engage in some policy level research to resolve the chronic violence occurring on the Mount at the event. The Bathurst City Council approved the study in June 1983.

PERSPECTIVES

The initial intervention was a conflict resolution model derived from Veno and Gardner's (1979) and Meichenbaum and Novaco's (1978) models of desensitising police interaction with minority groups. This model called for highlighting the psychological sense of community between the primary interest groups (Sarason, 1974). Two summary perspectives of the 1983 riot were prepared. These documents were circulated to a few police and bikers who were known to have no preconceived ideas about the causes of the violence on the Mount.

From their comments, it was clear the document caused a polarisation of readers. The idea of circulating the documents was abandoned since the researchers did not wish to exacerbate the conflict between the two interest groups.

SEARCH CONFERENCE

Subsequently, a decision was made to attempt institutional level change. The method utilised was to bring all relevant interest groups together in a search type conference (Emery, 1978). The co-operation of two interest groups (the police and media) were not forthcoming.

However, a private organisation implemented the idea of a search conference. Violations of minimal standards and lack of good-will on the part of some key interest groups resulted in the conflict and its resolution not being seriously addressed.

OBSERVATIONAL RESEARCH PHASE

After the limited success of the search conference, the researchers decided to become monitors of the event and establish unbiased chronologies of each event. An action research model (Garfinkel, 1967) was employed as the mechanism to achieve conflict resolution between the primary interest groups. To legitimise this role, CRC funding was sought and awarded.

Eleven propositions relating to the actions of the interest groups on the Mount and certain environmental factors were formulated. These were tested by participant observational, observational, interview, archival and questionnaire techniques.

Bathurst Motorcycle Races of 1984, 1985 and 1986 were observed utilising an observational technique developed for this study. This technique allowed for the systematic analysis of micro-policing tactics at each event. The observational technique results in a combined consensual description of the event by trained neutral observers. The process is called cartographic process analysis. Five other biker events were similarly observed to give contextual meaning to the information collected at the Bathurst Motorcycle Races.

Questionnaire data (N=862) was gathered from persons attending biker events to test basic assumptions about the biker sub-culture. Historical and archival analysis of existing records was incorporated into the research design.

It was hoped, convergence of the data would occur, thus increasing confidence in the findings (Sheehan, 1979).

RESULTS

Various analytical techniques were used on the different forms of data. For example, statistical analysis was employed for questionnaire data; phenomenological analysis and consensual interpretation of cartographic information.

A final report has been prepared outlining the findings of this study and is currently being circulated to the relevant interest groups. Policy options for the control of the violence on the Mount have been delineated. These include changes to:

(a) the environment;
(b) the management structure of the event;
(c) existing policing policy and practice;
(d) alcohol policy;
(e) entertainment policy.

Further steps in the action research process are pending. Tactics to achieve the adoption of the policy proposals are discussed.

IMPLICATIONS

The implications of the study go far beyond police/biker conflict resolution. Issues highlighted include:

(a) the function of the police;

(b) appropriate policing philosophy;

(c) the need to develop integrated policing policy for crowd control at sporting/recreational events.
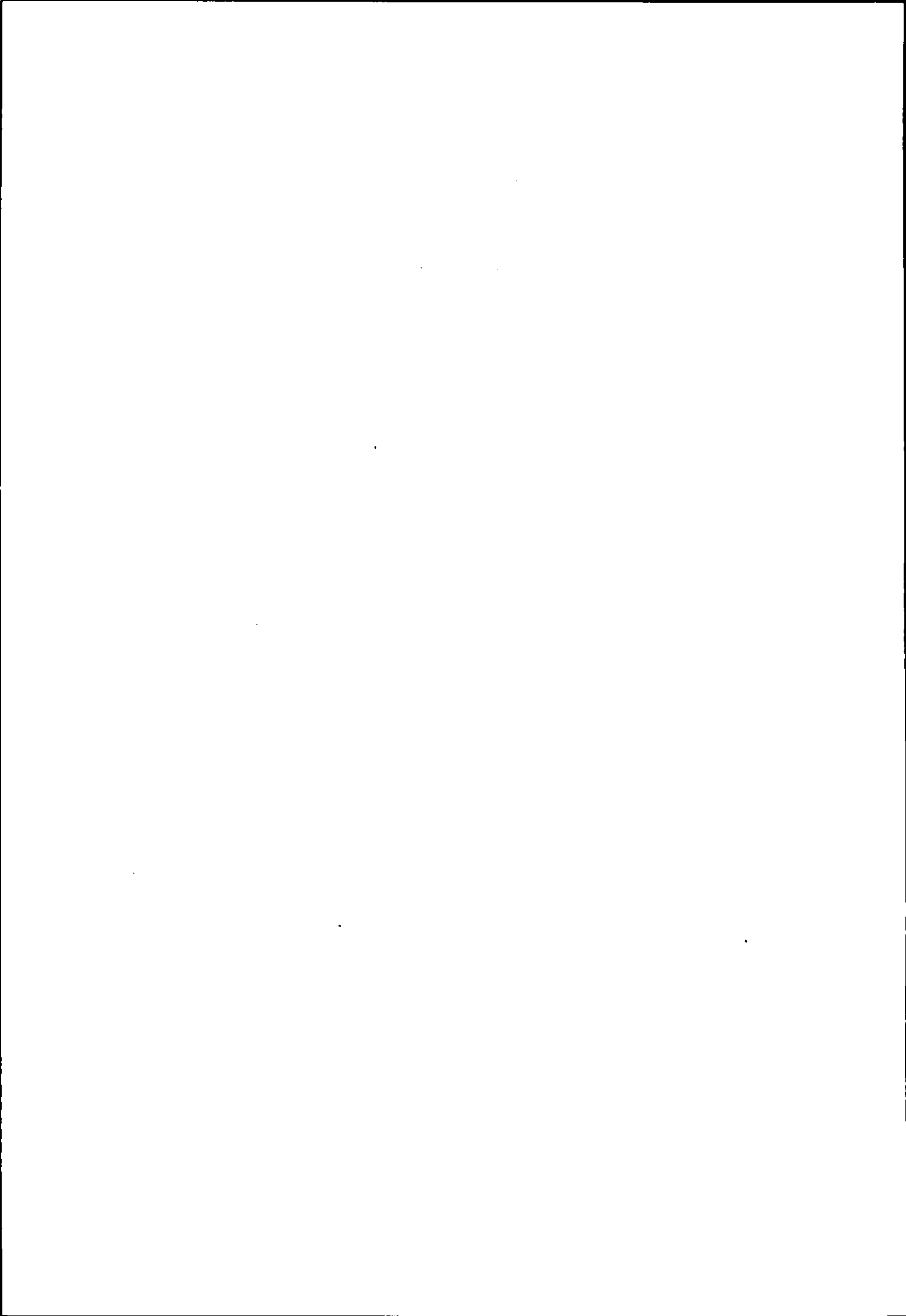
VICTORIAN OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY LEGISLATION: AN EXAMINATION OF LAW IN TRANSITION

Professor Kit Carson
Dean of School of Social Sciences
La Trobe University
Melbourne, Victoria

This project seeks to build on the earlier work of the two principal investigators, Kit Carson and Breen Creighton, in the field of occupational health and safety legislation. In empirical terms, the project is designed to map out the operation of the old Victorian occupational health and safety regime prior to enactment of the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1985, and to examine the early operation of the new system introduced by that Act. More ambitiously, we hope to locate our findings and analysis within a broad framework of the political economy of regulation. Funding for the project has been provided by the Victoria Law Foundation, the Government of Victoria and the Criminology Research Council.

With reference to the operation of the old system, one very much in the traditional mould of prolific regulations with prosecution as the principal though not necessarily very frequent sanction, a stratified and random sample of some 3,000 factory premises has been selected. This sample has yielded some 300 premises for which the Victorian Workplace Inspection Division hold registered files recording 'contract' beyond those recorded in the day-work diaries of inspectors. These files are being scrutinised with a view to extracting data relating to detected contraventions, enforcement decisions and communications between controlling agency and its clientele. We hope to see these data build up a picture of enforcement activity over a five-year period from 1980 to 1985. In part, the findings here will be drawn from computer analysis of data, and in part from a more interpretive 'softer' methodology which attempts to unpack the 'logic-in-use' of Inspectors as expressed in internal communications.

A similar but rather more complex exercise will be carried out in relation to the new Act of 1985 which, among other things, established an Occupational Health and Safety Commission, provides for safety representatives and committees, and gives the former powers to issue provisional improvement notices. Focussing on the period from inception of the legislation to the end of 1987, this stage of the research will involve a second sample of similar size, and including all members of the first sample who have contact with the enforcement authority during the relevant period. Data obtained from the files on these contacts will be augmented by extensive interviewing of management, trades union officials, inspectors and other departmental officials. Research staff are also engaging in some participant observation with inspectors. It is also hoped that a third small sample of 10-20 employers will agree to co-operate in a more detailed case-study analysis of the operation of the new regime, involving both management and worker representatives.

Collection of data on the pre-reform sample is now nearing
completion (February 1987) and it is hoped that preliminary
results of statistical analyses will soon be available. On a
purely impressionistic basis, however, the picture that seems to
be emerging, predictably enough, is one of pretty extensive
regulatory inertia. If this impression is borne out, the problem
is how it is to be explained, and it is here that the analysis
will start to draw on or pull together a political economy of
regulation. The 'bad faith, ruling class conspiracy' theories
advanced by some versions of Marxism seem unlikely to be helpful
here, not least because one of us (Carson) has previously shown
the historical genesis of such inertia to lie in a much more
complex and contradictory process involving the internal logic of
early industrial capitalism, on the one hand, the cost of
criminalising an entire manufacturing class on the other.
Drawing on the work of such writers as Habermas and Hirsch,
however, the capacity of capital or parts of capital to colonise,
capture or 'privatise' parts of the complex entity comprising the
state will be analysed, as will a number of promising theoretical
leads derived from the extensive body of work on combined and
uneven development. Thus, the position of Australia and of
Australian states within an overarching world economic system, as
well as specific features of the Australian situation itself,
will be taken into account in considering the emergence and
perpetuation of the pattern of enforcement which is predicted to
emerge. Not lease, the implications of the observed enforcement
pattern for E.P. Thompson's view of the rule of law as a
'positive good' which ultimately came to bind even the powerful
will be considered. Perhaps law can very substantially be a
'sham' unless authority is constantly reminded of the fact that
legitimacy is contengent. Equally, the material practices of
enforcement agencies as contributors to the construction of a
hegemonic ideology of occupational health and safety will be
examined.

Turning to the new regime, the first question to be asked
pertains, of course, to its genesis. Here, the theoretical issue
of human agency will have to be confronted, but the emphasis will
be upon the historically received circumstances and conditions
under which that agency is exercised. In this context, the broad
sweep of development in the contemporary arena of social control
and the political economy of regulation will be canvassed. The
growth of informalism, of corporatism and of the 'hybridisation'
of criminal and civil offences will be taken into account, along
with their social concomitants. Once again, the role of global
changes and their intersection with the specific exigencies of
local conditions such as the fiscal crisis confronting advanced
capitalist societies, in terms of both capital and the state,
will be examined as part of the backdrop to the emergence of this
progressive legislation.

Finally, and apart from offering a description of any changes in
enforcement pattern which may have become evident by late 1987,
the project will attempt to chart and predict the fate of this
legislation in terms of some key theoretical issues and of
developments in the political economy arena. Against the

background of economic recession, the future of this enactment
can be seen as something of an acid test for the doctrine of the
relative autonomy of law; demands for the reassertion of
managerial prerogatives and for the minimisation of the costs of
social legislation can be expected to put the new system under
pressure; capital may prefer a retreat from the information
which puts it eyeball to eyeball with unions over occupational
health and safety at the actual point of production, to a formal
system with a more easily controlled state agency and its
infrequent recourse to the courts; opposed to the conceptual and
practical conflation of industrial relations and occupational
health and safety - employers may push for a renewed separation
of these categories, putting occupational health and safety back
'where it belongs'.

CRIME PERCEPTION AND VICTIMISATION OF INNER CITY RESIDENTS

Dr John Minnery
Senior Lecturer
Queensland Institute of Technology
Brisbane, Queensland

The study described here was of residents of two inner city
suburbs as both potential and actual victims of crime.

It sought perceptions of crime amongst residents, in order to
compare two inner city suburbs (Spring Hill and Paddington, in
Brisbane) with each other and Spring Hill results with those of
an earlier survey. Actual victimisation of household members
over the last twelve months was also identified, as were the
reasons for incidents not being reported to the police.
Respondents were asked about their knowledge of, and possible use
of, the Queensland Police Department's security advice service.

Both are inner city suburbs undergoing 'gentrification', but only
Spring Hill has been subject to major local authority town
planning initiatives. The process in Paddington is much slower,
much less concentrated and much less subject to local authority
direction. Paddington has a more settled population with fewer
people living in rented accommodation. But whilst too much can
be made of the claim that Queensland is different from the rest
of Australia, the findings of the survey did not appear to gel
with those of surveys reported in the literature, although the
population structures of the two suburbs are as would be expected
of such transitional areas.

Although the survey results reported here will stand on their
own, the intention is to expand the survey to include two other
Brisbane suburbs, Highgate Hill (another inner city suburb which
is subject to much less 'gentrification') and a control non-inner
suburb.

The study used structured interviews with households in the two
suburbs in mid-1986: 475 interviews in Paddington and 118 in
Spring Hill, a sample of approximately 17 per cent of total
dwellings. Private hotels and boarding houses were excluded.
Results were analysed using the Statistical Package for the
Social Sciences (SPSS).

Around one-third of households thought that the level of crime
had increased in the last five years, but as would be expected,
only a small proportion felt their own suburbs had high crime
rates. People in Spring Hill felt the crime rate there had
dropped in the last five years. Few people had thought of moving
because of the crime rates. Two hypotheses emerge. Firstly,
that settled populations tend to be defensive in their
descriptions of local crime rates. And secondly, that there is
support for theories of a relationship between environmental
'cues' and crime perception. In other words the tidier, up-

market, physically attractive environment of a 'gentrified'
suburb is seen by residents as being less affected by crime. But
respondents did feel the changing social status of the suburbs
had had a direct effect on crime rates - this influence was
reported both by those who felt the rate had increased and those
who felt it had decreased. Direct action by police and the local
authority were, however, not felt to have greatly influenced the
level of crime, although individual household security was
thought to have done so.

More residents in the more 'gentrified' suburb (Spring Hill) felt
there had been a change in the type of crime in the last five
years, particularly an increase in crime against property.
Longer term residents were more likely to feel there had been a
change in the type of crime. It was not possible to compare
actual with perceived rates there; but in Paddington the actual
crime rates were somewhat ambivalent - rates had fluctuated more
from year to year than from the start to the end of the five year
period. Sources of opinions of crime were varied. Actual
experience of crime did not appear to have a strong influence on
attitude towards crime in the suburb as a whole.

Around one-half of households felt there was a need for special
police action. Police actions with high visibility (car and foot
patrols particularly) and neighbourhood watch schemes were the
most widely supported.

About thirty-five per cent were aware of the Queensland Police
Department's security inspection service, and about thirty per
cent were interested in having an inspection of their dwelling
carried out. Those who did not want one felt the current level
of security of their dwelling was adequate (around fifty per cent
of those not wanting an inspection, compared with four per cent
who had already had one); but there was also a fatalistic
acceptance that break-ins would occur no matter what was done.
The dilemma for crime prevention agencies is how far to emphasise
the possibility of break-ins and so reduce people's feeling of
security about their homes.

In suggesting actions which could be taken to reduce crime, there
was general concern about the involvement of children in crime
and the need for greater community and parent action. Commonly a
relationship between (particularly youth) unemployment and crime
was identified as something needing action by the authorities.

Just over one-third of the households had been victims of crime
in the twelve months preceding the survey. The most common
crimes were nuisance calls, theft, and breaking and entering.
The average reporting rate was twenty-five per cent, but the rate
fluctuated considerably according to the type of incident: motor
vehicle theft, and breaking and entering were most often
reported, nuisance calls the least. The main reasons given for
non-reporting were that the matter was too trivial, that the
value of the goods or the hope of recovery were too small, that
punishment of the offenders was not appropriate given the nature
of the offence or the youth of the (suspected) offenders, or that

the police were already busy enough. Some respondents had had
discouraging previous experience with the police. Some matters
of concern appeared in response to these questions on actual
victimisation: the appearance of a psychological barrier between
victims and the police; the incidence of unhelpful responses
from the police; the feeling that current police methods of
dealing with young offenders were inappropriate; the proportion
of households who dealt with crimes themselves; and the (luckily
small) number of households who had bad memories of police
methods. Of concern, but unable to be verified in the survey,
were the number who claimed the crimes (particularly assault)
were the actions of police officers. Of course, in a survey such
as this, there is no way of knowing the nature of the individual
respondents.

A question which arises and needs answering through other
channels, is the desired relationship between the police and
crime victims. Many incidents are not reported because they are
felt to be too trivial, or because victims feel that the police
are already working hard enough (that in some way their problems
are not worthy of official attention). Encouragement of victims
to report more smaller crimes would lead to better police-public
relations, but could conceivably lead to a serious work overload.
And perhaps a more realistic expectation of the recovery of small
items, or of the apprehension of offenders involved in 'small'
crimes, is better in the long run.

Some correlations between crime and other factors were
suggestive: more rented households were crime victims, and more
recent arrivals were victims, for example. Differences amongst
the characteristics of the victims of the various types of crime
were reported, but no clear overall pattern emerged.

Overall, the study revealed two inner city suburbs without
overwhelming crime problems but nonetheless still affected and
still concerned. There were a number of useful pointers to
actions by police, other public authorities and the community in
general in reducing crime. The relationship between perception
of crime and environmental 'clues' was supported, but
indirectly.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Minnery, John R. (1986), <u>Crime Perception and Victimisation of Inner City Residents</u>, Queensland Institute of Technology, Brisbane.

Minnery, J.R. and Veal, G. (1981), <u>Crime Perception and Residential Mobility in an Inner City Suburb</u>, Department of Planning and Landscape Architecture, Queensland Institute of Technology, Brisbane.

PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF SENTENCING
IN PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Mr David Indermaur
Acting Senior Clinical Psychologist
W.A. Prisons Department
Perth, Western Australia

The general view of public attitude toward the punishment of offenders is that it is punitive and opposed to alternatives to imprisonment. As Riley and Rose (1980) argue, public policy makers have largely accepted the view of a punitive public and are hesitant to introduce reform for fear of political consequences. However, a number of studies (e.g. Riley and Rose, 1980; Doob and Roberts, 1982; 1983) have questioned the conclusion that the public is generally punitive and opposed to alternatives to imprisonment.

The present study critically reviews the issue of public attitude toward the punishment of offenders. Specifically, the utility of general survey questions is examined. It is suggested that 'general' questions about 'general' crime may simply tap respondents' anxiety about violence. The results of the present study supports earlier work which indicates that the public is concerned about violent crime and this concern dominates their responses. If more specific questions are asked, and if more detail is given, respondents give more specific, often less punitive, responses.

The present study replicates some of the key findings of Doob and Roberts (1983) study. 554 Perth residents were interviewed from a sample frame of 800. Firstly, perception of crime was probed. Most respondents overestimated the amount of crime which involves violence and tended to see the murder rate as increasing when it is not. Most (seventy-six per cent) said that sentences 'are not severe enough'. However, eighty per cent of these were thinking of a violent criminal when answering that question.

The second part of the interview involved a split sample design to test differences in responses to two types of item presentation. Approximately half the sample (288) were simply asked to nominate a penalty considered appropriate for three offences. The other half were given brief descriptions of the offence and offender and then asked to nominate an appropriate penalty. To overcome the confounding effect of possible mitigating factors, respondents were asked to specify average, maximum and minimum penalties, and then only the nominated minimum penalties were compared. The minimum sentences were considerably lower for the half given the case descriptions (x^2 = 480, p<.001). To further test the malleability of the nominated sentences, a subsample of 118 respondents in the 'offence only' condition were read a case of a drunk driver containing aggravating conditions. Maximum nominated penalties were compared and a significant difference was found ($x2$ = 38, p<.001). A significant difference was found even comparing

maximum sentences within individuals. These results suggest that public responses to questions of punishment are largely influenced by stereotypes. For general questions about crime, the stereotype is that crime is violent.

A good deal of acceptance was found for proposed alternatives to imprisonment and sentencing reforms. The most popular (seventy-five per cent said yes, in all or most cases) was the use of attendance centres for those sentenced to less than three months in prison (this group makes up sixty per cent of all prisoners received in Western Australia). Most respondents also favoured programs for fine defaulters, on the spot fines for petty offences and a day-fine system 'in all or most cases'.

Respondents who expressed greater fear of crimes were more likely to overestimate the amount of crime which is violent and to favour harsher sentences. Respondents estimation of their risk of victimisation largely exceeded the risks suggested by victimisation survey data. Women tended to be more afraid and to be more likely to overestimate the amount of violent crime.

The implications of the results are discussed in terms of survey methodology and sentencing reform. It is argued that surveys need to be more specific and precise in posing questions. More importantly, caution needs to be exercised in interpreting poll results, especially when they are used to guide policy formulation and judicial practice. Extrapolations of public reactions on general questions about crime to specific proposals in the criminal justice system are likely to be invalid.

Public concern is largely in the area of violent crime. However, violent criminals account for only about four per cent of all reported crime and thirteen per cent of all prisoners (Western Australian figures). It is argued that distinctions need to be made in translating survey results for practical purposes. Heavier sentences, for the purpose of incapacitation, may be justified for violent offenders, on the basis of public opinion, as may alternatives to imprisonment for petty non-violent offenders.

It is suggested that a proper authority is needed to guide judicial policy and practice, particularly on the subject of public attitude. The concept of a Sentencing Council suggested by the Australian Law Reform Commission is therefore supported as this would allow the provision of advice to the judiciary and public policy makers. Such reforms may assist the courts to accurately understand public attitude on specific issues, and for the criminal justice system to generate innovative ways to deal more effectively with the majority of offenders, who are non-violent.

19

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Doob, Anthony and Roberts, Julian (1982), Crime: Some Views of the Canadian Public, (unpublished paper), Centre for Criminology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Doob, Anthony and Roberts, Julian (1983), Sentencing: An Analysis of the Public's View of Sentencing, A report to the Department of Justice, Canada.

Riley, Pamela and Rose, Vicki (1980), 'Public Vs. Elite Opinions on Correctional Reform: Implications for Social Policy', Journal of Criminal Justice, 8, 345-56.
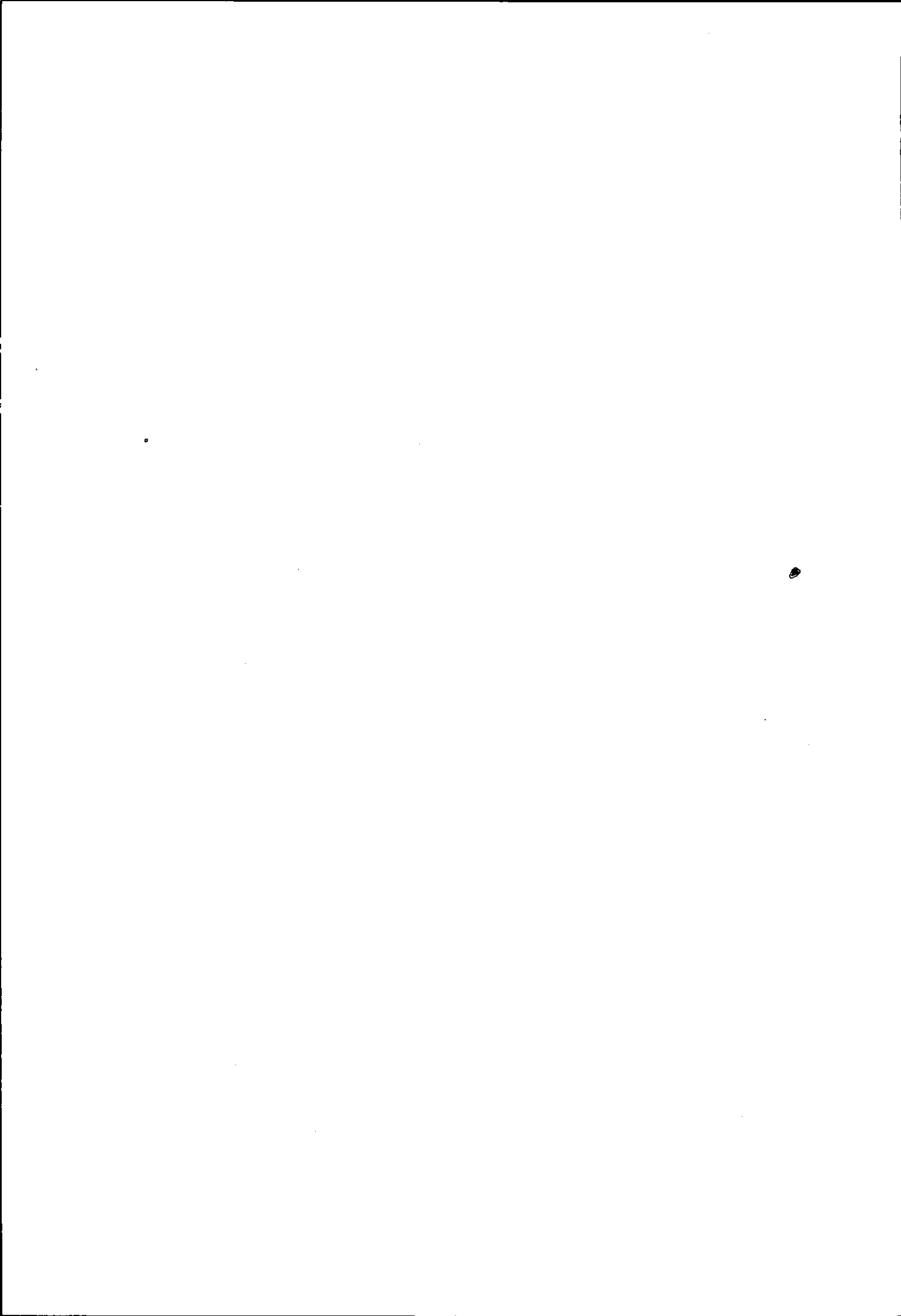
RAPE: A FOUR YEAR POLICE STUDY OF VICTIMS

Kelly Weekley
S.A. Police Department

(Presented by Mark Pathe)
Senior Research Officer
S.A. Police Department
Adelaide, South Australia

INTRODUCTION

This presentation will describe a police research project on rape
victims, which was initiated in 1980 by the South Australia
Police Department.

The project had the following aims:

- to test common perceptions about rape and rape victims;

- to examine the Police Department's operational handling of
  rape cases with a view to improving and streamlining
  procedures;

- to describe the characteristics of rape in order to determine
  the feasibility of establishing a suitable rape prevention
  program.

METHODOLOGY

This presentation will concentrate on methodological issues,
particularly the practical problems encountered in the research
process. The following is a brief outline of the project
methodology.

Data on rape was collected using a survey form designed for this
project. The data was based solely on the victim's knowledge or
perception of the rape attack. For every rape, attempted rape
and assault with intent to rape reported to police, the survey
form was completed and submitted with the relevant crime
reporting document. In order to make the data collection process
the least obtrusive to the victim, it was the police officer's
responsibility, when taking the victim's statement, to complete
the survey form. A monitoring system was implemented to ensure
all rapes reported to police were included in the sample. For
the purpose of this study, the counting of rape offences was
victim-based. Therefore, in a case where there was one victim
but more than one offender, only one count of rape was recorded.

THE SAMPLE

The study examined rape statistics for a four year period between
1 July 1980 and 30 June 1984. During the survey period, 1096
people reported to police that they had been victims of rape or
attempted rape.

Most of the offences reported during the four year survey were
rapes (87.4 per cent), and there were 6.4 per cent attempted
rapes and 6.2 per cent assaults with intent to rape. The vast
majority (90.1 per cent) of these reported rapes were committed
on females.

It cannot be determined if the rapes which were reported to
police were representative of rape in the community, as other
studies have shown an apparent high rate of under-reporting of
this crime.

RESULTS

The following is a brief selection of the results of this
research project. The study targetted a number of commonly held
perceptions about rape attacks in order to both furnish the
community with relevant and accurate information about rape and
alert people to potentially dangerous situations.

One of the most widespread assumptions of rape attacks is that
the offender is usually a total stranger. Previous studies
utilising police statistics have shown that a large number of
rape victims actually know their attackers. In keeping with the
results of previous studies, this study found that rape victims
were often acquainted with their attackers. In over half (57.8
per cent) of the cases the victims were acquainted with or
related to their attackers. This occurrence of rape by
acquaintances was even more pronounced for male victims than it
was for female victims, with male victims knowing their attackers
in 73.1 per cent of cases.

When child victims of rape (under sixteen years) were considered,
there was an increased probability that the child knew the
attacker. For victims ten years and under, 84.4 per cent of the
victims knew their attackers and in fact 39.2 per cent were
actually related to them.

Contrary to the belief that children are usually sexually
molested in parks, playgrounds or other public places, this study
found that the younger children, aged ten years and under, were
most likely to be raped either in their own home or in the home
of the offender.

When statistics on the location of rape attacks in general were
examined, the commonly held perception that rapes occur in a
'dark alley' (or similar lonely place) was found to be a
distortion of the truth. In fact, in over half (52.4 per cent)
of the rapes recorded in this survey, the attack occurred
indoors, in either the victim's home or the offender's home.

Another perception which the study examined was the assumption
that rape is a hasty, non-verbal event. This is a logical
adjunct to the idea of a surprise attack by a stranger. It was
found that only 27.6 per cent of the attacks occurred immediately
after initial contact between victim and offender.

The study also aimed to find out whether physical brutality by
the offender was required in order to subdue the victim. In the
majority (74.1 per cent) of the reported rape attacks, the victim
was forced to submit by verbal intimidation or roughness.
It was found that when the offender subjected the victim to
verbal intimidation only and the victim submitted, it was most
often through fear of being injured. If the victim resisted,
however, it was to prevent any physical injury or in an effort to
avert the rape. If the offender resorted to roughness, and the
victim submitted, it was because the victim could not physically
resist or submitted through fear of being killed. The study
found that when the offender resorted to increased violence, the
victim was more inclined to resist in a desperate attempt to
avert the rape or to prevent being killed.
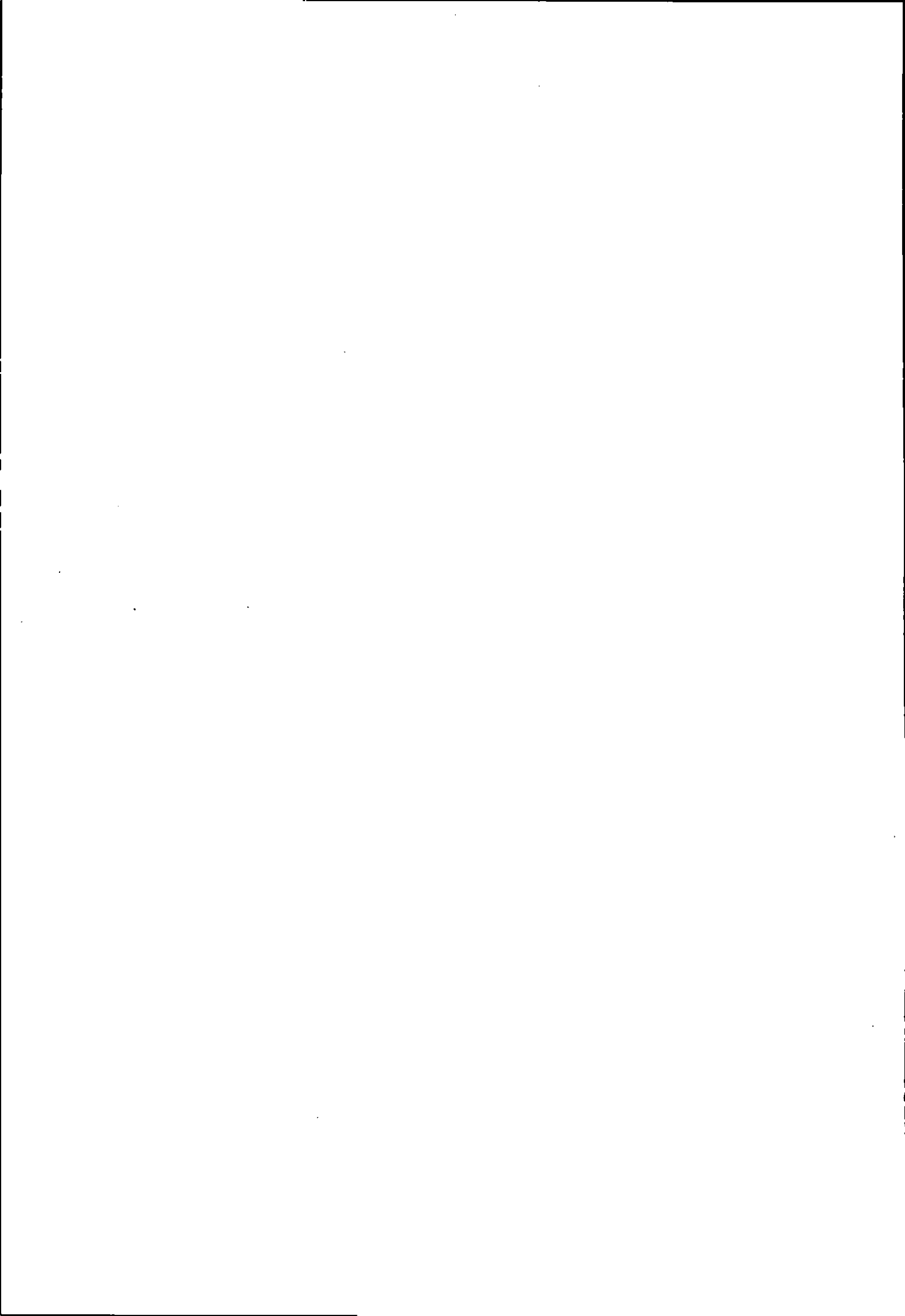
EVALUATING SEXUAL ASSAULT LAW REFORM IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Ms Roseanne Bonney
Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Sydney, New South Wales

INTRODUCTION

The Crimes (Sexual Assault) Amendment Act was introduced into law
in New South Wales in 1981. Since that time the Bureau has
monitored its operations at both the police and court level.

Under the major provisions of the Act the common law offences of
rape and attempt rape were abolished and replaced with three
categories of sexual assault of differing levels of seriousness
and correspondingly varying sentence structures.

The act broadened the definitions of sexual intercourse to
include the penetration of the vagina and anus of any person -
not just females - by any part of the body of an other person -
both males and females. Foreign objects inserted into the anus
and vagina and penises into the mouth were also to be regarded as
sexual intercourse within the meaning of the term.

The Act also removed the immunity from prosecution of husbands
and youths aged less than fourteen years.

The Bureau study - a 'before' and 'after' comparison has been
examining at committal: type of charges laid; number of charges
and defendants; committal outcome and characteristics of cases
lapsing before trial. At trial were examined type of charges
laid on indictment; pleas entered to principal and other
offences; outcome - acquittals and convictions; orifice/organ
nexus; aggregate sentences and sentences for principal offence
and non-parole periods.

In two companion studies, evidence submitted at committal and
trial and characteristics of the complainant, defendant and the
offence were examined.

THE SAMPLES

Two eighteen-month periods were selected. The 'before' period
included all the common law offences of rape and attempt rape
known to the police between January 1979 and July 1980. The
'after' period contained all sexual assaults as defined by
ss.61B, C & D of the Amended Crimes Act, known to the police
between July 1981 and January 1983.

Within these two time frames three things had to happen before a
case was included: the alleged offence was committed; an arrest
was made of at least one of the alleged offenders involved; and,
in relation to that arrest, a committal hearing commenced. But
having been admitted to the samples, no further time constraints
were imposed on the completion of criminal proceedings connected
to the case.

The complainant/defendant pair was the basic unit in the study.

THIS PAPER

This paper examines the feasibility of the political expectations
which appear to be shared by governments in all countries which
have introduced reform legislation in the area of sexual assault.
Among other things in New South Wales the government predicted
that the new laws would encourage victims to report offences;
juries to convict defendants; and appropriate defendants to
plead guilty as charged.

The paper also examines the problems posed for researchers whose
basic samples are drawn from police records.

Finally, the paper discusses the new sentence structure of the
new legislation in New South Wales and, referring to the results
from the research, notes that although the sentence for rape was
reduced from life to seven years if unaccompanied by violence
under the new legislation the net result of the legislation is
that sentences overall are now longer than they were before for
rape and attempt rape. Within this section of the paper
attrition rates for sexual offences and 're-labelling' rape as
'other' offences for the purposes of sentence are also examined.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN SUICIDE RESEARCH IN AUSTRALIA

Dr Riaz Hassan
Reader in Sociology
School of Social Sciences
Flinders University
Adelaide, South Australia

The problem of defining suicide raises some important legal and sociological issues. Although the literature on the subject indicates that there is a lack of consensus on the definition of suicide among experts, we still continue to use suicide statistics for a whole range of social analysis.

In Australia the verdict of suicide is determined through a coronial court inquest into unexpected deaths. An examination of the classification of unexpected deaths between 1972-81 reveals interesting and important variations between the states/ territories. The South Australian Coroner was more likely than most other coroners in Australia to categorise an unexpected death as suicide. The New South Wales Coroner, especially during 1972-76, was more likely than other coroners to categorise an unexpected death as 'undetermined' or suicide rather than as an accident. The Northern Territory Coroner was more likely than other coroners to categorise an unexpected death as an accident and most likely to regard it as suicide.

There also appears to be a relationship between gender and the classification of unexpected deaths. In Australia, between 1976-81, the proportion of suicides (suicides as a percentage of all deaths registered as accidental, suicide and undetermined) was consistently higher amongst males than females. This trend was reasonably consistent in all states and territories except Queensland and Tasmania. But between 1972-75 the situation was just the reverse. In this period, for Australia as a whole, the proportion of suicides was consistently higher amongst females than males.

Between 1972-75 unexpected male deaths were more likely to be classified as accidents than unexpected female deaths. Unexpected female deaths were more likely to be classified as suicides than males. But in 1976-81 the position was reversed with unexpected male deaths having a greater chance than female deaths of being classified as suicide.

From the variations which occur across states/territories in Australia it can be argued that persons officially concerned with classifying unexpected deaths are influenced in their interpretations by the Classification Scheme available to them by their 'common sense' assumptions regarding the relationship between cause (motive) and method of death. In general it appears that (1) certain methods of dying are associated with injuries officially classified as accidental or self-inflicted, and (2) gender sometimes plays a part in this association.

The examination of Australian Coronial records also reveals that
Coronial staff and investigating police officers record highly
selective personal data for scrutiny by the Court. This includes
information concerning possible motives such as personal and/or
family problems, health or alcohol problems and financial
worries. When such motives cannot be justified the information
supplied by the investigating officer is usually very
inconclusive and vague. The professional experience and training
of the investigating police officers can have a significant
effect on the nature and quality of information available to the
Coroner's Court. In a minority of cases the Coronial records
examined by the researchers suggest that there may be a
possibility of non-suicides (such as homicides, medical
negligence) being classified as self-inflicted injury.

The methodological problems in suicide research indicate
intriguing complexities associated with 'official' suicide data
which makes the sociological analysis of suicide aetiology
problematic. Since one cannot escape from investigating suicide
without the aid of official data, it is imperative that one must
proceed with caution when using such a resource.

CINCH: A KEY ELEMENT IN AUSTRALIAN
CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Mr John Myrtle
Librarian
Australian Institute of Criminology

Over the past decade students, researchers and teachers in
Australia have witnessed the introduction of a large number of
computer-based information retrieval systems. In the field of
law, names such as SCALE, CLIRS and LEXIS are readily identified
with information on statute and case law. A range of Australian
bibliographic databases have also been accessible to social
science researchers for more than a decade. Today I will be
discussing the emergence of the CINCH database, and arguing that
maintenance, support and development of this project is vital for
the well-being of Australian criminological research.

CINCH (Computerised Information from National Criminological
Holdings) is a bibliographic database publicly available on the
AUSINET system operated by ACI Computer Services.

The original CINCH database operated in-house at the Australian
Institute of Criminology. It was devised and implemented as part
of the Institute's commitment to the compilation and
dissemination of Australian criminological information and
research. Although the early model CINCH grew to contain more
than 7,000 bibliographic references, the project faltered at the
end of the 1970s as Government funding cutbacks impacted on the
Institute's programs. However by the early 1980s support was
available from commercial database vendors and in 1984 the
Institute contracted with ACI Computer Services to make available
a re-vamped CINCH.

CINCH contains criminological information in the form of
references to journal articles, reports, monographs, monograph
chapters, conference proceedings, editorials and book reviews.
In addition, information on current and completed criminological
research projects is available. Researchers, and students
(graduate and postgraduate) are encouraged to contact the
Institute's Library staff to register criminology research
projects and thus utilise the clearinghouse of information
offered by the database. At present there are thirty-eight
current research projects and twenty-eight recently completed
research projects registered on CINCH.

The current CINCH database was launched in April 1985 and has
grown rapidly, to a size of 14,500 bibliographic citations at
February 1987. Thus in the two years since the last Research
Seminar at the Institute, CINCH has not only become publicly
available, but has grown to a size that makes it a valuable aid
to criminological research.

In adopting criteria for inclusion in CINCH, library staff have
opted for the widest possible definition and coverage of
criminological subject matter. Beyond this, the material

included must relate to Australia, New Zealand or Papua New Guinea. At this stage New Zealand and Papua New Guinea content is limited but coverage will be improved by the contribution of a number of different libraries that are already indexing for the database.

So why is CINCH a key element in Australian criminological research and why should the database be maintained, supported and developed?

Firstly, the sheer diversity of criminological information requires that the information be drawn together under one database or system. It is too costly, time consuming and unreliable to expect searchers after Australian criminological information to hive off into different databases, indexes, etc., covering different strands of criminological information. In addition, one should resist the temptation to suggest that information pertaining to this region of the world is too limited to warrant coverage in its own regional database. Large all-embracing databases such as NCJRS (produced by the National Institute of Justice and available on DIALOG) perform a useful function, but inevitably only cover a minute fraction of criminal justice information emerging from individual countries. The large backlog of material awaiting indexing for CINCH stands as a testament to the quantity of Australian information available to be accessed by researchers.

It is logical that the production and management of the CINCH database should be located at the Australian Institute of Criminology because the Institute has long had a commitment to a role as a clearinghouse of criminological information. However, the continued growth of the public sector, public benefit databases cannot be taken for granted. If CINCH is to survive and grow, the management of the Institute must perceive that there is a need for the database. That need will be measured by your use and support of CINCH.

I have already indicated that CINCH has shown rapid growth in a short time but size is not a measure of quality with such a venture. During the coming year we will be looking to sustain growth at a rate of between 1,500 and 2,000 citations/year and at the same time be committing ourselves to improve the quality of information in certain key areas; particularly research-in-progress entries and statistical information.

There appear to be ready markets for Australian databases in the UK, USA, Japan and New Zealand and at this stage these markets are not being tapped. Foreign criminological researchers are interested in Australian information, and there is work to be done in making CINCH accessible to these researchers.

In this paper I have discussed the rationale behind CINCH as an Australian criminological database. Staff at the Institute welcome comment from users of CINCH with regard to content, format and scope. I am confident of your continued support for the database.

CLASS, CULTURE AND CRIME AND THE NEW SOCIAL STATE
OF AUSTRALIAN YOUTH

Mr Mike Presdee
Lecturer
S.A. Centre for Youth Studies
Adelaide, South Australia

> Imprisonment ... is an evil which falls only on the
> sons of the working classes. The sons of other
> classes may commit many of the same kind of
> offences and in boisterous and exuberant moments,
> whether at Oxford of anywhere else, many do things
> for which the working classes are committed to
> prison ... (Winston Churchill, July 20, 1910).

It is now accepted that structural changes to the Australian
economy in the late 1970s and 1980s has produced a profound
restructuring of the material conditions of young people's lives
with the transition from school to work, accepted so long by so
many, being now radically changed for a large number of young
people, and non-existent for many.

This particular transition, entry into the workforce, brings to
us all firstly the means of subsistence, that is the wage itself,
which has become the corner-stone for our social plans for the
future, for whilst it is not a pre-condition for leaving home,
getting married or becoming a parent, it is nevertheless, a
cultural given. For young people the wage is the key to both
dreams of the future and a life as a consumer with the
possibility of heightened pleasure and the fulfilment of desires.
So that even in times of high youth unemployment there is still
expectation that work will follow school. For young people it is
difficult to contemplate a future without work, for without work
there is no future. Entry into waged labour brings young people
fully into the structure of the labour process with its limited
rights and freedoms and with its accompanying struggles. It is
at this time that the economic world takes on a new sharpness as
new tensions present themselves to the young as they become
producers of commodities, pay taxes, join unions and as a result,
class positions take on more specified meanings.

Youth cultures in the 1960s showed us how young people were
handling these material conditions of their lives. From the
material conditions of low wages, unskilled work and dead-end
jobs came cultural responses that showed that young people in
powerless situations could find ways of expressing and realising,
in their cultural activities and artefacts, their subordinate
positions and their negotiated solutions.

Young people, now faced with unemployment, training or part-time
work, after eleven or twelve years of education, are creating new
cultural responses that reflect the considerable change and
crisis undergone by the Australian economy. Central to this

response is the question of space, its regulation and use, and the way that the new economic tensions felt by young people have brought into sharper focus the question of their visibility and the way this is policed. With some twenty-five per cent of young people under the age of twenty-four unable to find full-time paid work, the quest to find a space of your own, a place to gather, to do nothing, to spend one's unlimited free time, has taken on an even greater significance. Yet young people need a space in which to explore, to create an identity which is separate from the roles and expectations imposed by family, school and work.

Young people have become more visible in the wrong places, more of a problem, and as such greater attention is now being directed at developing ways to further regulate the 'free' space that young people currently occupy. If the issue of space and young people becomes more critical the answer will not lie in further policing, regulation and control but in a greater understanding of how and why young people use space and to allow an element of autonomy and power that will enable young people to develop and be creative and indeed to enable them to 'work it out'.

The response of political parties in South Australia to what is perceived as a crisis in law and order has been an undignified scramble to out-Rambo each other with promises of even tougher sentences; more regulations concerning the behaviour of young people in public spaces, shopping centres and on public transport; and promises of more and more policing. There is little doubt that the culture of working class young people has become, in effect, a crime.

THE PRESENT STUDY

In this study we surveyed with a multi-faceted questionnaire 165 young people from the Elizabeth area who were interviewed in the following locations:

1. Disco clubs in Elizabeth
2. Further education and high schools in Elizabeth
3. Government offices complex and the city centre.

The questionnaires were compiled in an interview situation with an overall total of 165 interviews being completed over a period of six weeks. Field trips were then made to the Town Centre shopping complex where extensive notes were taken.

The second part of the study involved an on-going ethnographic study of a group of young unemployed men from the area of Elizabeth Downs that existed socially as a group, meeting together for at least five days of the week. The final part of the study was to make some observations concerning the methods of policing that were used in Elizabeth. This was achieved by being part of the police patrols in Elizabeth over a weekend and ascertaining where patrols were sent and how they operated as well as examining the charge-book for that area for a full week.

The results show how young people are using the new spaces of
enclosed shopping centres, now available to them, and how groups
of young unemployed men are more susceptible to increased
policing.   There are real indications of a serious deterioration,
in general, in the relationships between the police and the young
unemployed as governments attempt to police the economic crisis
that now confronts Australia.
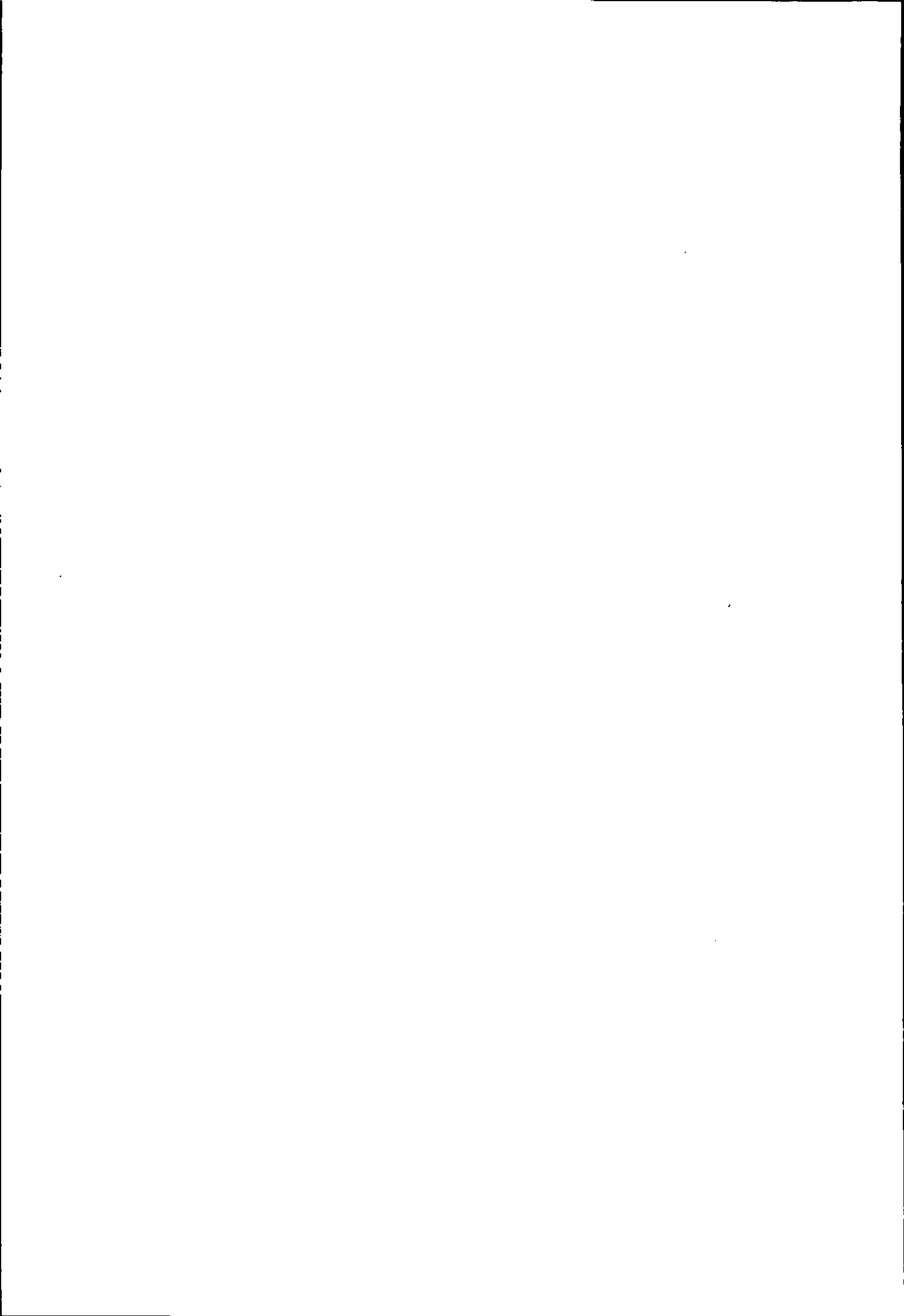
RESPONSIBILITY AND PUNISHMENT AS ISSUES IN
ADOLESCENTS' CONCEPTIONS OF DELINQUENCY

Dr Michael Siegal
Senior Lecturer
Department of Psychology
University of Queensland
Brisbane, Queensland

Attribution theory concerns the general process by which persons
make causal attributions or inferences for a behaviour when a
number of alternative explanations exist. Attributions of
responsibility for behaviour have relevance for the study of
criminal justice processes. For example, two plausible
explanations for unlawful behaviour in adolescents are that the
behaviour was internally motivated or that it was determined by
external factors beyond the person's control. A major external
factor in attributions is a problematic family environment which,
when examined in terms of composite measures, is most predictive
of male delinquency and is frequently mentioned by juvenile
offenders themselves as the cause of delinquency.

Attributions of responsibility as provided by peers have three
implications for research on adolescents' perceptions of the law.
First, attributions serve to indicate when adolescents ordinarily
are expected by their peers to demonstrate 'internalised'
behaviour through following laws in the absence of external
surveillance. Second, depending on the nature of adult
supervision, the peer group may influence the likelihood of a boy
engaging in criminal activities. Thus the attributions of peers
may be used to convey to potential offenders an expectation of
responsibility. Third, the legality of acts is often determined
by age. For example, in many jurisdictions it is a 'status
offence' to enter places where alcohol is served. Adolescents
may perceive the ages at which different acts become legal to be
set arbitrarily, contributing to a disrespect for the law.
Should young adolescents view status offences to be justifiably
committed by responsible persons, they should be reluctant to
punish the culprits.

The purpose of this study was to examine the attributions of
adolescents for delinquent acts committed by perpetrators of
different ages. The objective was to ascertain the ages at
which, despite a problematic family environment, offenders are
ordinarily held to be internally responsible by their peers.
Adolescents (n = 120) in three age groups (14, 16 and 18 years)
were asked to assign responsibility and punishment for the
smoking, drinking and shoplifting of 14, 16 and 18-year-old
culprits. In contrast to shoplifting, smoking (e.g., through the
under age purchase of cigarettes) and drinking are 'status'
offences determined by a legal age of responsibility. There were
significant age of subject and age of culprit differences in
attributions of responsibility for status and non-status
offences. Compared to 16 and 18-year-old subjects, 14-year-olds

assigned more responsibility to 16-year-old culprits than did
their 18-year-old counterparts. Subjects aged 16 years were most
lenient in their punishment of young smokers and drinkers.
Compared to 18-year-olds, 14 and 16-year-olds assigned less
punishment for shoplifting regardless of the culprit's age.
Subjects were generally more likely to accept a problematic
family environment as grounds to reduce responsibility and.
punishment for smoking and shoplifting than for drinking.

Issues of responsibility and punishment are discussed in terms of
the relation between adolescents' compliance and perceptions of
the law. According to Hirschi, the adolescent's weak bond to
society is a critical determinant of delinquent acts. Attachment
to particular persons, commitment to an organised society, a
belief in a common value system, and an involvement in
conventional activities contribute to the bond. The discrepancy
between young adolescents' judgements of responsibility and those
of 18-year-olds point to the existence of differences in values.
Since the young are denied access to the conventional activities
of smoking and drinking, the tie between the individual and
society may be weak. At 15-16 years, the discrepancy between the
values of adolescents and adults appears to peak particularly in
the case of under-age drinking in view of the lenient punishment
accorded to this offence by 16-year-olds. However, adolescents
were often not willing to accept family circumstances as grounds
to reduce responsibility or punishment for drinking. Weak bonds
and lack of parental restraint cannot alone account for
delinquent acts. By the age of sixteen, certain delinquent acts
may be seen as a personal decision or social convention despite
adult prohibitions to the contrary.

Further research is required to clarify adolescents' perceptions
of the legitimacy of laws defining status and non-status
offences. Since adherence to rules and laws is influenced by
shared meanings and expectations between age groups, a knowledge
of adolescents' viewpoints may assist authorities to frame and
enforce laws in a manner of consultation.

THE USE OF IMPRISONMENT BY VICTORIAN MAGISTRATES

Dr Ken Polk
Criminology Department
University of Melbourne
Victoria

AND

Dr David Tait
Study Director
Magistrates Court Sentencing Project
New South Wales

The Victorian Government established a Sentencing Committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Starke to examine and report on sentencing laws in force in Victoria. The Committee in turn commissioned research in specific areas of concern. One of these was the use of imprisonment by magistrates. This project has been funded by the Victorian Law Foundation. Among the issues involved in the project are the following:

1. How frequently do magistrates use custodial sentences, rather than alternative sentencing such as community-based orders, fines or bonds?

2. What considerations are taken into account in deciding whether a custodial sentence is imposed? Which offender characteristics are relevant (prior convictions, employment status, age, etc.), offence characteristics (type of offence, use of violence, role of offender in the offence, etc.), and courtroom details (number of witnesses, whether guilty plea, points used by barrister in plea in mitigation, etc.).

3. How do magistrates view the relative severity of different offence-types, and mitigating/intensifying factors? What metric do they use in determining the severity of different sentences? Can a 'rational decision-maker' model explain much of the apparent variability in magistrates' sentencing, i.e. magistrates do follow consistent and rational principles in sentencing, but the metrics they use vary.

4. What contribution do magistrates courts make to the overall Victorian prison population? What relationship is there between sentences imposed and actual time served?

The research which began in September 1986 is due to be completed by May 1987. The research strategy has several elements.

1. A complete enumeration was done of sentences passed by ten magistrates in nine courts over a six month period 1 March – 30 August 1986, of offences for which imprisonment was a real option. This included, for example, assaults, burglary, theft, and unlicensed driving; but not exceeding .05 or

offensive language. Only criminal courts were selected (not
civil or childrens') and only charges brought by police (not
Social Security cases or local government matters). Cases
were identified in court registers; and further relevant
details were obtained from court files, Office of Corrections
records (e.g. length of time served) and police records
(details about recent relevant priors only). This resulted
in a sample of just over 1000 cases. The magistrates were
selected to represent a range of experience and sentencing
styles, and courts were chosen to represent every Melbourne
region and two country areas.

2. To complement this records-based data set, direct
   observations of the sentencing practices of each of the ten
   magistrates was made. All sentences passed on criminal
   matters were recorded, not just those cases where
   imprisonment was a real option. Each magistrate was observed
   for an average of four days each. Both 1. and 2. have been
   completed and are currently being processed.

3. These will be complemented by interviews with each
   magistrate. One purpose of the interview will be to
   establish what metric they use for determining offence
   severity and sentence severity.

4. Secondary analysis will be done on data from the National
   Prison Census. This will give some insight into the
   contribution of magistrates' courts to both the stocks and
   flows of the prison population; and trends across time in
   this contribution.

THE 'PROSTITUTE' AND THE 'WAYWARD' CHILD:
CHILDREN'S CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE CHILDREN'S COURT PROCESS

Dr Ian O'Connor
Lecturer
Department of Social Work
University of Queensland
Brisbane, Queensland

> Researcher: I'm going to show a picture of the
> court and I want you to tell me who the people in
> the court were. Do you know who that person is?
> Child: The Judge.
> Researcher: The Judge. Who this?
> Child: The prostitute?
> Researcher: The prostitute?
> Child: Yeah - that's what they call him the
> prostitute.
> Researcher: Right - that's the Magistrate up
> there. Who are you saying that is?
> Child: Prostitute.
> Researcher: He's actually called the Clerk of the
> Court.
>
> [Child, Brisbane Children's Court]

This is, perhaps, a somewhat amusing case of mistaken identity made by a child who had previously appeared before the court. Yet it has more than an anecdotal relevance to reflection on the operation of the criminal justice system. An adequate system of criminal justice requires not only that the decisions reached are correct, but that affected parties have adequate opportunities to participate. Participation of affected parties depends on their understanding of legal processes, and specifically of the procedures provided to enable individuals to have real opportunities to express their viewpoint, and question others on matters before the court. Correctness of decisions is also dependent on the affected parties' ability to communicate their situation to the various participants in the court system. This requires an accurate understanding of the roles played by the various participants. The current restructuring of the juvenile system to accord with the 'justice model' implicitly makes certain assumptions about children's understanding of court processes.

The purpose of the research was to explore children's construction (i.e. their understanding and perceptions) of the Children's Court processes, consequent to their appearance before the court on a criminal charge. Put bluntly, my concern was to explore the experience of Children's Court appearance from the perspective of the child. The research therefore was informed by the theoretical framework of Personal Construct Theory (PCT). PCT posits a model of the individual as actively making sense of

the world through constructing and testing of personal systems of meaning. Personal systems of meaning are, in a social world, 'shared in some parts with others but the points of commonality cannot be assumed as self evidently, non-problematically, "given"'.[1] Individuals act and respond to the world in terms of the meaning they attribute to it. This highlights the importance of exploring the meaning of an event as significant as a court appearance for a child.

RESEARCH

The research is being undertaken in two courts. The Brisbane Children's Court is a specialist court located in new purpose built accommodation. The second court, the Beenleigh Court, is a magistrate's court in an outer Brisbane suburb which is constituted as a Children's Court one day a fortnight. At each court fifteen children appearing before the court for the first time (and who pleaded guilty) were interviewed. Similarly, fifteen children appearing for the second or subsequent time were also interviewed.[2]

Whilst much personal construct research has utilised repertory grid technique, there is an increasing recognition that the essence of personal construct theory is the exploration of personal realities. Conversational explorations through since structured interviews have been increasingly used to explore children's realities. An interview protocol was developed that sought to explore children's perceptions of the court process. A number of the questions were invitational in character to allow the child to construct, articulate and project meaning. All interviews were taped and transcribed to disc to facilitate analysis.

Whilst analysis of the research is still in process, a number of issues and themes are emerging. The obvious one is the children's lack of knowledge about court. A little less obvious, but perhaps more interesting, is that the children generally did not experience their court appearance as a process, rather they experience it as an outcome. It was perceived as a process only to the extent that they experienced themselves as objects in the court's production or processing of them.

> I just went in there, sat down, then they said to
> stand up and then to sit down again, and then one
> of the ladies stood up and she just told them what
> she thinks that ... that she thinks that I should
> be let off. And the other lady said she's got a
> job and everything, and the judge just said - I
> don't want to spoil you're losing your job so we'll
> let you off this time, and he said - go and give me
> a tip on the horses. [Child A]

> I got subpoenaed to another day, and I got fined,
> and I had to pay back restitution. [Child B]

They are routinely constructed by participants in court processes. They are part of their discourse. They are 'talked at' and 'about', but not with.

Apparently related to this focus on outcome is, at one level, the lack of focus on the 'offence'. By this I mean through the processing of the child by the court, the offence becomes reified and separated from its context and victim. Only on rare occasions have children spontaneously discussed the victim or the victim's reaction to the offence. Punishment becomes focal. Court is constructed in terms of its potential to 'put me in a home'. Children routinely reported this fear. The origins of this fear partly lie in the public domain, but were more frequently sourced by children to the police.

Given that few children, especially on their first appearance, receive a custodial sentence, we must begin to question the utility of such warnings. Would it not be more appropriate to seek some reconciliation between offender and victim, where both meet as subjects?

NOTES

1. S. Jones (1985), 'Depth Interviewing' in R. Walker (ed.)
    <u>Applied Qualitative Research</u>, Gower.

2. At the time of writing, interviewing had been completed at
    the Brisbane Children's Court, but not at the Beenleigh
    Court.

ARE ABORIGINES DISCRIMINATED AGAINST OR MERELY
DISADVANTAGED BY THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM?

Professor Fay Gale

AND

Ms Joy Wundersitz
Research Associate
Department of Geography
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, South Australia

Our current attempts to describe and explain the over-
representation of Aboriginal youth at the point of entry into the
juvenile justice system and why, at each discretionary stage
within that system, they seem to be treated more harshly than
their non-Aboriginal counterparts. To do this, we have used
South Australia as a case study because of the availability of a
unique information base compiled by the state Department for
Community Welfare, which detail all appearances before the
Children's Court and Children's Aid Panels since 1972. This has
provided a useful 'laboratory' in which to examine the issues of
minority group status and the operation of juvenile justice.

The inadequacies of official crime statistics have been well-
documented. For example, they tell us very little about the
extent and distribution of actual crime. What crime is reported
and solved, and who is apprehended is as much a reflection of the
operation of the judicial system as of actual levels and patterns
of offending behaviour. Thus, by relying on official data, we
were not able to determine whether Aboriginal over-representation
at the point of entry was due to the fact that Aboriginal youths
actually commit more crime or whether other factors, such as
their visibility, result in their higher rates of apprehension.
Also problematic is the fact that the type of data officially
collected is that which the administrators of the juvenile
justice system deem to be relevant. As a result, official data
focus almost entirely on the individual offender and the
offending behaviour while virtually no information is collected
on how the system itself operates. Hence, only information
relating to outcomes are recorded, rather than the processes
leading to those outcomes. This makes it extremely difficult to
identify why the system operates in a particular way. The only
alternative is to extrapolate indirectly from that information
which is available. This is what we have tried to do and in our
paper we will give examples of some of the methodological issues
involved in such an analysis.

That Aborigines were treated differently at each stage in the
system was readily determined. Yet we also found that Aborigines
tended to be charged with different offences, had more charges
laid against them, were more likely to have prior appearances
records, to be unemployed, and to come from different family

backgrounds than were non-Aboriginal young offenders. This introduced the possibility that the observed differential treatment of Aboriginal youths could be due to any one or any combination of these variables rather than to racial factors. A statistical technique was therefore required which would allow us to assess the relevance of identity to, for example, the arrest decision while simultaneously taking into account the effects exerted by these other associated factors. Discriminant analysis and logistic regression analysis were employed but both procedures proved unsuitable, the latter because of the computer's inability to handle the large number of independent variables used. Finally a combined procedure, using a preliminary matching process and an abbreviated logistic regression run, proved successful.

The results obtained from our analysis indicate that Aborigines are not only over-represented at every decision-making level in the South Australian juvenile justice system but more importantly, the extent of this over-representation actually increases at each level as they move through the system.

In trying to explain the observed differential treatment of Aboriginal youths, we focussed on two decision-making stages: (1) the police decision to arrest or summons a youth, and (2) the Screening Panel's decision to direct the youth to the Children's Court or to a Children's Aid Panel. We have been able to demonstrate that the disproportionate rate of arrest experienced by Aboriginal youths can be explained by both their different charge patterns and their different socio-economic background rather than by overt discriminaton on the part of police. Yet this apparent explanation raises two additional questions which we were unable to answer from the data available to us. Firstly, why should social factors, such as employment status, be given independent weighting by police when deciding whether to arrest or not and secondly, why are the charge patterns imposed on Aboriginal youths so different from those laid against non-Aboriginal youths, even when the two groups are matched according to residential and socio-economic criteria?

The Screening Panel's decision to direct proportionately more Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal youths to the Children's Court rather than diverting them to Aid Panels was also satisfactorily explained in terms of inter-group differences in charge patterns and socio-economic status, rather than in terms of racial identity or discrimination. The key finding was that virtually all youths who appeared by way of arrest were directed to the Children's Court while those were summonsed were more likely to be diverted to a Children's Aid Panel. Hence, the disproportionately high arrest rate observed amongst Aboriginal youths was an important contributor to their subsequently high rate of court appearances. Thus, the decisions made by police at the point of apprehension exerted a strong and independent effect on the processing of Aboriginal youths at further stages in the system.

This interdependence between these two levels of decision-making was unexpected. In fact, Screening Panels were specifically introduced in 1979 to ensure that a range of factors (of which arrest was not one) could be taken into account when deciding on the appropriateness of a court referral. The fact that the mode of apprehension (i.e. arrest or summons) continues to dominate Screening Panel decisions not only undermines the Panel's reason for existence but highlights the crucial role played by police in influencing the progressively disadvantaged situation of Aboriginal youth at each stage of the South Australian juvenile justice system.

JUVENILE JUSTICE AND THE FEMALE STATUS OFFENDER:
A SOUTH AUSTRALIAN STUDY

Dr Ngaire Naffine
National Research Fellow

AND

Ms Becky Bailey-Harris
Law School
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, South Australia

Paternalism, in the form of a desire to curb sexual precocity, is
the hallmark of the treatment of young females by the justice
system. This is the central proposition advanced in the bulk of
the literature on the response of the agents of the law to
offending girls. The leading exponent of the view is the
American criminologist, Meda Chesney Lind, who published her
findings on the prosecution of young American women in the early
1970s. The thrust of Chesney Lind's argument is that girls who
are perceived to be sexually promiscuous are punished for their
activities while boys, on the whole, are not. The means by which
girls are admonished is the status offence; thus the
'uncontrolled' or 'incorrigible' youth can be charged with
breaching the standards of conduct required of juveniles. As
status offenders, girls tend to be dealt the law's harshest
penalty: detention in a secure institution. The sexually-active
boy, by constrast, receives tacit social approval, while the boy
whose behaviour goes beyond the wayward, who is deemed to be
positively criminal, is likely to evoke a relatively mild
response from the forces of the law. The promiscuous girl goes
to prison while the criminal boy is fined.

Chesney Lind's research into the use of the status offence to
control the sexuality of girls has been replicated in a number of
jurisdictions and generally confirmed. When a girl is judged to
be sexually delinquent, the law is likely to respond with a firm
hand. Though the more recent inquiries into the treatment of the
sexes by the juvenile justice system have begun to suggest
greater equity, there still appears to persist at least the
vestiges of a double standard.

The intention of the current study is to compare the use of the
status offence with boys and girls in South Australia over a
twenty-five year period. From 1962 to 1986, this state has
witnessed three major phases of legislative development in the
juvenile sphere. Each has reflected a shift of attitude towards
the status offender. In the recent history of juvenile law in
South Australia one finds examples of both a full-blown welfare
approach, which sanctions the secure detention of wayward
children, and a 'due process' model of justice, which stresses
the civil rights of the child before the courts.

The present investigation traces the lines of connection between changing legislation and policy in South Australia and the use of the status offence to control the non-criminal activities of boys and girls. It poses two fundamental questions about the treatment of the sexes in this jurisdiction. It asks whether the sexual double standard observed in other places has operated in South Australia at any time during the study period. It inquires also into the effects on young females of the various efforts at law reform: whether they have improved or impaired the position of the 'uncontrolled' girl before the courts.

EVALUATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACCESS PROGRAM
(AN AFFIRMATIVE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM FOR YOUNG
OFFENDERS AND INSTITUTIONALISED YOUTH)

Ms Jenny Pitts
Research Officer
Victorian TAFE Off-Campus Network
Melbourne, Victoria

In 1985, the Victorian Department of Employment and Industrial
Affairs - now the Department of Labour (DOL) funded the twelve-
month Pilot Employment Access Program (EAP) through the
Department of Community Services - now Community Services
Victoria (CSV). The major substantive goal of the Employment
Access Program was to effect long-term improvement in the
employment and training options available to young offenders and
institutionalised youth. Initially, the target group was defined
as CSV clients who were young people on a statutory or court
order, such as wardship, youth training centre sentence,
probation, parole, attendance order or supervision order. This
definition was later expanded, as the program progressed, to
include ex-CSV clients and young people considered to be at risk
of entering the juvenile justice system. The age range of the
target group was from fifteen to twenty-one years.

The Employment Access Program was managed by a Co-ordination Unit
and an Inter-Departmental Committee. There were three
demonstration projects. These were: the Employment Placement
Officer (EPO) project; the Apprenticeship Support Officer (ASO)
project; and 'The Workshop' project. There were five Employment
Placement Officers, each operating in a different CSV region.
Employment Placement Officers had a dual role - to assist the
target group with placement and retention in employment and
training and to have a community education function for
employers, welfare workers and the community. The objective of
the Apprenticeship Support Officer Project was to increase the
participation and retention rate of the target group in
apprenticeship positions in the State Additional Apprenticeship
Scheme (SAAS). The role of the Apprenticeship Support Officer
encompassed direct support work with clients, as well as an
educative role with employers, welfare workers and government
organisations. 'The Workshop' project provided employment and
training for four young women from the target group in the
construction of stage sets, props and other theatrical
equipment.

Melbourne University was funded to undertake the evaluation,
which was intended to be an integral part of the overall program.
The data collected is owned by the Department of Labour, and
permission has not yet been given for its release. Therefore the
results of the evaluation cannot be presented. However, it is
possible to discuss the research design and methods, the
strengths and weaknesses of the evaluation and the difficulties
encountered.

The diversity of program goals dictated an evaluation with
multiple goals including: (1) obtaining an adequate description
on the projects; (2) providing for a utilisation-backed feedback
process as the program unfolded; (3) describing the
effectiveness of the management structure; (4) assessing the
impact of the program in terms of its ability to increase the
long-term employability of disadvantaged young persons and its
effectiveness in changing the attitudes and behaviours of
employer groups; and finally, (5) to evaluate the evaluation
process itself. The evaluation plan in the original research
proposal covered a two-year period. The initial funding was
provided for only one year. Therefore, a limited evaluation was
decided upon consisting of descriptive evaluation, impact of the
EPO program on employers, and impact of the ASO program on
employers.

Fourteen different data collection instruments were developed.
Data collection techniques included: (1) staff reports;
(2) questionnaires; (3) interviews with employers, clients and
staff; (4) site visits; and (5) evaluator participation. Data
collection instruments and procedures were designed in
consultation with program personnel.

Apart from the interviews with clients and employers, most of the
data collection processes relied on the direct knowledge and the
quality of written documentation prepared by EAP staff. In some
instances EPOs did not have all the information needed or had
forgotten exactly what work had been done with a particular
client. The evaluators did not always receive the data
requested, in particular data related to staff members'
objectives.

At the beginning of the program individual objectives, strategies
and definitions had not been fully worked out. As the program
developed there were changes in activities, emphases and
understanding of roles. While the evaluators attempted to
respond to these changes (e.g. by collecting more client data
than originally intended), the changes created some difficulties.
The contract was designed with a particular emphasis on employer
awareness, as it was thought that this would be one of the major
program activities. Most of the staff focussed mainly on direct
work with clients and this was addressed by the evaluation. It
also became clear over time that some EPOs spent much more time
working with CES and CSV than with employers. It was too late by
then to change the evaluation further, and there were neither the
time nor resources available to do more than had already been
planned.

Lack of a control group meant that the impact of the program on
clients could not be measured. The only indication of impact was
the client's own assessment of impact (e.g. in the client
interviews, clients were asked whether they thought that they
would have got a job without the EPO). However, as the time span
was too short to measure long-term impact, impact on clients had
not been planned as part of the first year of the evaluation.
There was also no control group of employers, and therefore
measurement of impact on employers was limited to employer's own
assessment.

The main strengths of this evaluation were that it was an inbuilt part of the program and was conducted over the first year of the program's operation. This made it possible to develop, in consultation with program staff, standardised data collection instruments that would suit the purposes of both evaluators and staff. The evaluators were able to maintain ongoing contact with program staff and information gathered could be fed back and used. It also meant that the evaluators were aware of changes over time, as the program developed.

STRATEGIES AND TYPOLOGIES OF RESEARCH

Dr Ronald Francis
Senior Lecturer
Psychology Department
Chisholm Institute of Technology
Melbourne, Victoria

The conventional approach of research places emphasis upon the formal logic of the research propositions. While it is very proper that such a concern should receive proper attention it should not do so at the expense of an understanding of the strategies that make such research possible.

It is the purpose of this brief paper to present the case for such a concern and to suggest some strategies by which the formal research aims might be achieved.

Quite frequently the information that is required to resolve a research question is held by those in formal criminological or bureaucratic positions. In order to secure their co-operation in providing this information to the researcher a clear understanding of negotiation skills is required, as well as a deep concern for the politics of informational release.

Empirical research must not only be in touch with real life behaviour, as does psychology and sociology, but also with formal legal processes. It is this feature which sometimes makes criminological research more difficult than it is in the behavioural sciences. To offset that disadvantage there are some strategies that might offer compensatory advantages.

Information about criminological matters may be gleaned from empirical interventions, surveys or be archival. Among the less conventional strategies of research use are: the use of quasi confidential data; the manipulation of media reporting; getting the Australian Bureau of Statistics to do one's surveys; getting a well-placed official to collect public domain information; the adoption of controlled legislation and the gaining of information from placed parliamentary questions. From these instances a typology of strategies has been prepared. These instances will be illustrated from the writer's work on crime and the foreign born.

THE OFFICIAL ADAPTATION TECHNIQUE

1. The narrow neck: (find the place where official criminological data goes from diverse source to dispersed destination, and tap it there).

2. The censor: (persuade the media to adopt selective reporting in such a manner that make it possible to draw valid conclusions about the effects of reporting).

THE PARASITE TECHNIQUE

1. <u>The hang-on rider</u>: (include criminological questions on surveys that are already planned).

2. <u>The friendly clerk</u>: (have a well placed person collect data that is in the public domain but is otherwise uneconomical of access).

THE PARLIAMENTARY TECHNIQUE

1. <u>The legislation technique</u>: (have parliaments introduce experimental legislation in such a way that valid conclusions may be drawn about its effects).

2. <u>The Hansard technique</u>: (get a Member of Parliament to put special questions on notice).

It will be apparent that the use of strategies such as those outlined above will involve ethical judgement.

The use of less usual strategies is that such methods may make possible research that can not be achieved by other means; at the very least it will afford improvements in both economy and efficiency. Further, the approved use of institutional means to gain information may make the research findings more likely to be heeded - or even used.

HYPNOTICALLY REFRESHED TESTIMONY

Dr Kevin McConkey
Senior Lecturer in Psychology
School of Behavioural Sciences
Macquarie University
Sydney, New South Wales

The use of hypnosis to 'refresh' the memories of witnesses and victims of crime in Australia raises professional (e.g. who should conduct the hypnosis sessions?), scientific (e.g. what is the impact of hypnosis on memory?), and legal (e.g. should hypnotically influenced testimony be admissible in court?) issues. If the misuses and abuses of forensic hypnosis that have occurred overseas are to be avoided here, then data are needed to provide a perspective on these issues in the Australian context. Accordingly, research using both archival and survey approaches is currently investigating the forensic use of hypnosis in Australia.

The archival work involves analyses of (a) legislation concerning hypnosis, (b) media reports on the forensic use of hypnosis, and (c) legal decisions about hypnotically influenced testimony. Those analyses have highlighted (a) a variability in the regulation of hypnosis throughout Australia, (b) an increase in media reports of the forensic use of hypnosis over the last decade and a relatively encouraging attitude in those reports, and (c) a variability in the few legal decisions about hypnotically based testimony.

The survey work involves the completion of a questionnaire on the forensic use of hypnosis by relevant members of Police Departments throughout Australia. This questionnaire is focussing on a range of practical issues and policy matters concerning hypnotically refreshed testimony, and the data are expected to highlight the extent and nature of the forensic use of hypnosis and the perceived value of hypnosis in criminal investigations.

Overall, it is expected that the research will provide information that will allow meaningful decisions to be made about a technique that appears to be increasingly popular in criminal investigations and that could become a point of controversy in Australian courts of law.

THE VICTORIAN SEX OFFENDING POPULATION:
A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Ms Janelle Morgan
Mr Steven Knightbridge
Mr Peter Okalyi
Mr Kim Ng
Psychology Department
La Trobe University
Melbourne, Victoria

A number of theoretical models have been put forward in an attempt to explain the dynamics of sexual assault. Research has however, failed to provide empirical support for these models. In Victoria, criminal justice policy decisions are greatly influenced by the clinical approach typically taken when investigating sexual offenders. The findings of socio-demographic research suggest that the clinical perspective may have conceptualised sexual offenders inappropriately.

In view of the relative lack of information on the convicted sexual offender in Victoria and to expand on clinical studies, the aim in this study was to compare subgroups of currently serving sexual offenders and non-sexual offenders on a wide range of socio-demographic parameters in order to identify differentiating factors. An archival study was carried out on the male sex-offending population (N = 153) currently serving (19.6.86) custodial sentences in Victorian prisons. Offenders were selected on the basis of their most serious sexual offence. The control group consisted of 136 non-sex-offending male prisoners. Fifty-one socio-demographic variables were investigated including family, educational, occupational, offending and psychiatric/medical histories and current offence details. Sexual offenders were classified according to the type of offence or the use of violence and placed into comparisons of rapist versus non-rapist and violent versus non-violent.

Chi square analyses were used to test the significance of associations and non-associations derived from frequency distribution tables. Results suggest that sexual and non-sexual offenders differ in a number of important respects; most importantly, in the use of violence, drug and alcohol use, psychiatric history and recidivism. The subcategories operationalised were sufficient to identify two distinct groups within the sex offender population. The rapist and violent groups were found to be significantly associated and distinct from the non-rapist and non-violent groups; they in turn being significantly associated. The type of offence parameter was found to be the most effective discriminator between sexual offenders. Present findings were consistent with past studies in many respects. The rapist group demonstrates a tendency toward general criminality and the non-rapist group appear to be the more deviant in terms of society's standards.

One of the first problems to be encountered in this study was that of selecting the experimental group. A computerised search of Victorian prison inmates on the basis of their most serious offence allows for fast and reasonably efficient generation of an experimental group for any given time. There is however, no readily available method for determining the exact size of the sample. The files maintained on each offender presented further difficulties. In many cases they contained a wealth of information dating back many years and covering a wide range of issues. In others, there was the minimum amount of information, relating primarily to the current offence. Files for recently convicted, short sentence and 'first time' offenders often contained only minimal information.

A further issue relating to the files themselves is that of accuracy. There is no failsafe method for determining the accuracy of offenders' responses at interview nor the role played by an interviewer's judgement when recording information. Comparison of sexual and non-sexual offenders was complicated by the fact that non-sexual offenders are not subjected to psychiatric investigation nearly as frequently as are sexual offenders. A further problem is that in a large number of non-sexual offences there is no direct victim involvement as is almost exclusively the case with sexual crime. Subgrouping of the experimental group on the basis of type of offence was difficult due to the indistinct nature of the offences themselves, the vague term 'indecent assault' and the fact that all too frequently offenders had been convicted of multiple sex offences.

In reference to statistical analysis, the predominantly categorical nature of the data disallows multivariate analytical methods which allow for conditional relationships between variables. It must also be remembered that results obtained refer only to the population under investigation and cannot be generalised to other sexual offenders; for example, those serving non-custodial sentences. This inability to generalise and the correlational nature of the results does not enable a causal link to be made nor any definitive type of predication.

A final issue that must be considered is that of confidentiality. In the present study Criminological Reference Numbers (CRNs) were used to identify the offenders but once access to the files is obtained there is no guarantee for the maintenance of confidentiality apart from professional ethics. More stringent methods to ensure confidentiality may be necessary to meet institutional requirements and in the event of interviews with offenders at later follow-up, should this be necessary.

PRISON OFFICERS AS WORKERS

Mr Ray Myers
School of Social Sciences
Mitchell College of Advanced Education
Bathurst, New South Wales

Until Lombardo's (1981) study of 'correctional guards' at Auburn Prison in New York State, prison officers had figured only marginally in extended prison studies. Despite the attention given to prisoners and their 'pains' and frustrations, the group that tends to be blamed for much of this suffering has been generally taken for granted.

Where prison officers have been studied they have been seen as playing a 'role' which is either a prescribed part of the authority process (following Clemmer, 1940), or as a functional demand of the 'total institution's' structure of interactions (following Goffman, 1968). These perspectives tend to have been combined with a consequent focus on either the 'role conflict' (Grusky, 1959) or the 'corruption of authority' (Sykes, 1956) of prison officers. In the resulting judgements, prison officers are seen either as an undifferentiated part of that (often corrupt) authority that makes life so hard for the prisoners; or as 'victims' themselves of the structure of the organisations of which they are a part (Hawkins, 1976).

Lombardo (1981) attempted to move beyond this deterministic framework by focussing on prison officers as workers, and on their 'reactions to the environment in which they work' (1981, p. 170). But his narrow focus on interactions tends to isolate them from the forces which structure their working lives. Lombardo, like Goffman, still tended to conceptualise the prison officer's job in terms of 'roles', even though his own rich interview data shows that a role analysis does not do justice to the lived experience of prison officers.

The objective of the present study is to move beyond the interactionist framework and locate prison officers' work in the context of wage labour in capitalist society. Instead of just looking at the way prison officers 'react', the objective is to discover the 'strategies' they bring - both individually and collectively - to their workplace, and the way their workplaces are constructed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clemmer, D. (1940), The Prison Community, Christopher, Boston.

Goffman, E. (1968), Asylums, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Grusky, O. (1959), 'Role Conflict in Organisations',
Administrative Science Quarterly, 3.

Hawkins, G. (1976), The Prison, University of Chicago Press,
Chicago.

Lombardo, L. X. (1981), Guards Imprisoned, Elsevier, N.Y.

Sykes, G. (1956), 'The Corruption of Authority and
Rehabilitation', Social Forces, XXXIV, 257-62.

BAIL REFORM IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Ms Julie Gardner
Project Officer
Office of Crime Statistics
Attorney-General's Department
Adelaide, South Australia

Either directly or indirectly criminological research will have
an impact on the system which it studies. The increase of
knowledge arising from traditional research leads to well-
informed discussion and, hopefully, enlightened decision-making.
A more direct approach in bringing about change however, is to
actively participate in not only the making of recommendations,
but also their implementation. In the present economic climate
there has been an increasing call for criminological research,
and social research in general, to become more pragmatic and
applied.

Bail reform is an excellent area to examine the benefits of
participating in 'action oriented' research. The bail process
encompasses the three main areas of the criminal justice system:
police, courts and prisons. For those concerned with 'cost-
effectiveness' the reduction in expenses brought about by
reducing the number of prisoners on remand is an added incentive
to study bail reform. Studies from the United States (Goldfarb,
1963; Thomas, 1976) have shown that it is possible to achieve
bail reform and without detrimental effects on rates of
absconding and reoffending.

In South Australia the Office of Crime Statistics (O.C.S.) has
been researching bail since 1983. The majority of this research
was of an applied nature, with staff becoming increasingly
involved in the practicalities of executing recommendations.
There are three stages in the involvement of the Office of Crime
Statistics in bail reform in South Australia.

1. Review and Recommendations

    In 1983 the O.C.S. together with the Attorney-General's
    Office participated in a review of bail in South Australia.
    As well as overseas and interstate bail systems being
    examined, empirical evidence was collected from police,
    prisons, summary and higher criminal courts to determine how
    bail was being administered in South Australia. One of the
    many recommendations made in this report was for the
    establishment of a Bail Act and also for further research to
    be undertaken evaluating the effect of the new legislation.
    It was emphasised however, that legislative change alone was
    unlikely to bring about the desired reforms unless
    administrative procedures were also altered.

2. Evaluation

South Australia's first Bail Act was enacted in July 1985, and a research project was established to evaluate its effectiveness six months later. Similar data to the 1983 study was collected to enable Before and After comparisons to be made. Initial results were not encouraging, especially those relating to rates of remand in custody. After a slight downturn in August 1985 to levels the same as the national rate (10.3 per 100,000 adult population) remands rates steadily increased and returned to levels the same as before the Bail Act was introduced (13.4 per 100,000 in April 1986). This led to the Office of Crime Statistics becoming involved in the practicalities of implementing recommendations.

3. Practicalities

A working party was established to examine improvements in the management of bail. It was during this stage that researchers discovered the difficulties involved in carrying out apparently simple solutions, e.g. establishing a procedure to enable same day review of bail conditions for cases where sureties cannot be met.

For criminological research to succeed in an applied setting as much effort and consideration needs to be expended in the practicalities of recommendations as in the process of defining the problem and making the recommendations themselves.

THE NEW SOUTH WALES RELEASE ON LICENCE PROGRAM 1982-83
METHODOLOGY OF A CASE STUDY

Ms Janet Chan
Faculty of Law
Sydney University
Sydney, New South Wales

In 1982 the New South Wales Corrective Services Department
introduced an unprecedented program to release prisoners before
the expiration of their sentences. The scheme received little
public attention in the first year of its operation, but soon
became the centre of judicial and political criticisms as well as
the object of intense media attention. In August 1983 the
program was abandoned by the government amidst allegations of
administrative abuse and corruption. This study is an attempt to
analyse the events and factors leading to the introduction and
subsequent termination of this program using a case study
approach.

Until recently, the case study approach has been used as often as
it is misunderstood. As Yin (R.K. Yin, Case Study Research:
Design and Methods, Sage, 1984) points out, the traditional
criticism and stereotype of case study research have been that it
lacks precision, objectivity and rigor. Yet the validity of case
study research is not intrinsic to the method; rather it has to
do with how the method is applied. As a tool for understanding
complex study phenomena of which the researcher has no control,
the case study allows 'an investigation to retain the holistic
and meaningful characteristics of real-life events' (ibid, p.
14). The unique strength of the case study is its capacity to
deal with a full range and variety of documentary, artifactual,
interview and observational evidence to provide answers to 'how'
and 'why' research questions (Ibid, p. 20). The goal of case
studies, however, is to 'expand and generalise theories (analytic
generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical
generalisation)' (ibid, p. 21).

This study uses a single-case design to examine the origin,
implementation and impact of an instance of correctional policy
in N.S.W. The Release on Licence Program represents an 'extreme'
or 'unique' case which is also 'revelatory' in the sense that the
opportunity for accessing the required information has been
limited in the past. Finally, the release scheme is a 'critical'
case for examining some of the existing theories about the origin
and consequences of decarceration policy. The research questions
are focussed on why the program was introduced, how it was
implemented, why it succeeded initially and why it failed in the
end. The relative significance of ideological, political,
organisational, fiscal and other reasons will be assessed.

To improve the validity of the conclusions, the study uses
multiple sources of evidence. Access to departmental documents
and permission to interview staff at the N.S.W Corrective
Services Department have been granted by the Chairman. Apart

from departmental records, memoranda, correspondence and
interview data, the study also draws on a variety of other data
including media reports, court transcripts, historical studies
and statistical data.

In this paper, an overview of the purpose and rationale for the
case study is presented. This is followed by a brief description
of the theoretical basis of the research questions or hypotheses
to be explored. The next section describes the sources and
nature of the research data and how they are used to
operationalise the hypotheses. The paper ends with a discussion
of the problems and methods of strengthening the validity of the
case study.

RESEARCH WITHIN FAIRLEA WOMEN'S PRISON

Ms Paula Kelly
Paula Kelly & Associates
Surrey Hills, Victoria

The aim of this paper is to address the methodological issues to
be considered when conducting research projects or education
programs within a small women's security prison. It is hoped
that it will assist other researchers to plan research projects
confident that the research will be both reliable and valid.
This paper does not outline results of research projects.

In December 1985 it was decided by the teaching staff that an
evaluation of the entire centre was required, that women at the
centre could benefit from a course in research skills and that
decisions made at the centre could be more informed if based on
well researched findings.

As a first step, I was requested to conduct an evaluation over
one year (1986) and that in doing so I was to teach evaluative
skills and theory to interested women and the staff. This was
commenced in February 1986 with a time allocation of one day per
week.

A team of interested women applied for funding to teach research
skills to the staff and students and to conduct two research
projects during the year. The funding, from the Victorian
Education Department under its Integration Program allocation,
was obtained.

A course in research skills was conducted for the teachers and
interested women by Paula Kelly and Christine Alder. The
practical aspect of the course for the participants was the
experience of undertaking a research project as a member of a
research team. The research topics were chosen by the
participants and two teams were self-selected. Each team
developed the research questions, the research plan and the data
collection tools, carried out the data collection and followed it
to data analysis and the writing of the report. The topics
chosen were:

> TEAM 1: Self-Esteem and Self-Motivation in Prison
> TEAM 2: Women, Crime and Heroin

Both Kaylene and I were members of Team 1.

The printing of these results is dependent on further funding
which will be sought in 1987.

THE SETTING

Fairlea has an attractive 'village' appearance but nevertheless
is a place of punishment first and, if at all, rehabilitation
second.

Within the prison there are two groups - those who chose to be there - the staff, and those who are forced to be there - the prisoners. It is similar to a class system described by Marx.

Within the education the 'class' dynamics are somewhat watered down because teachers are seen, to a certain extent at least, as not being completely part of the 'ruling class'. The teachers work very hard at establishing trusting and caring relationships within the centre. They do this by conducting the school along democratic lines with an individual program for each woman designed by her with assistance from the teachers. They see 'education' taking priority over custodial factors and the work from a feminist perspective. They believe that education is a right rather than a privilege and the wishes of the women are the paramount concern.

ENTRY

Access must be negotiated through both the Office of Corrections and the Victorian Education Department and this takes many months. However 'access' is useless unless the teachers agree that you have something to offer. The teachers put the proposal to the students and, if the students agree that the research has two-way benefits, your access becomes a reality.

It is clear that not all researchers have true 'access' to the women's ideas, opinions or histories. They accept a give and take situation, but will not permit a researcher to 'bleed' them. Naturally, they are not inclined to give very much of themselves to a stranger, who is part of the jail's 'ruling class' when so much of them against their will has had to be shared with others.

> I simply play with question askers.
> It helps pass the time but it keeps me
> a private individual. When you are in
> jail your whole life is shared. You
> don't really ever own your own feelings.

The Education Centre has a feeling of self-contained and in it the women trust that what is said within the walls will not be repeated outside without their permission - and it is not.

Thus, being attached to the Education Centre and an associate of its teachers gives a researcher a status not given to researchers or colleagues outside the Education Centre.

For the researcher there is an enormous responsibility not to let the 'team' down in any way.

THE POPULATION

Over the time of the research project there were 50-55 women in Fairlea, all but two had some involvement in the Education Centre. Seven women opted to undertake the short course with two

of the three teachers (at least more than half-time). Half the
total women attended either one or two sessions (one session =
half day).

Statistical information on the population was obtained by coding
the answers on the Education Centre's application forms and
computerising them. This information was given voluntarily to
the teachers by the women on entry to the prison and did not come
from any 'official prison files'. A combination of both files
and educational forms would give a more accurate description of
the population. For a researcher to do this, her standing as an
equal member of the education centre would be lost and thus so
would her to access to reliable information. The women often
express concern about visitors 'viewing' them like 'animals in
the zoo' and this certainly would be most inappropriate and
intolerable anyway within the Education Centre.

DATA COLLECTION

Team 2 chose data collection via the open ended interview
schedule. They taped the interviews. Our team (1) solicited
data via:

(1) Self-administered questionnaire to the whole population
(2) Interviews with selected women
(3) Voluntary daily time sheets.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The women developed the wording of the questionnaire and this was
its strongest point. Many words I would use were rejected by the
women and the actual order of the questions was different to the
general rules of self-administered questionnaire format.

All those directly involved in the decision to hold the research
classes filled in the questionnaire. Comments were made such as:
'things won't change anyway so why bother' and 'I am sick of
doing these'.

However, it was the women on the team who actively encouraged the
others to fill them in and assisted with the process when asked
by some women.

Because of the financial constraints we could not have the
questionnaire translated into the languages required and so a
number of those who did not fill them in, were speakers of
languages other than English.

THE INTERVIEWS

Having women interview other women was an asset. Problems were
encountered in the timing of these interviews. Women did not
want to be interviewed outside work hours especially if they were
not directly involved with the research themselves. The most
successful place and time was within education hours at the
Education Centre. However this was not without problems. Women

can be called out of the Centre for any reason at all during
school hours and interviews had to be halted, sometimes to be
completely stopped because of an interruption. Also women who
had agreed to be interviewed at a certain time can find that
their lives have been upset in some way by inside or outside
events, and that they did not feel like being interviewed when
the time came.

VOLUNTARY DAILY SHEETS

This third method was to give us some idea of what people
actually did over a whole weekend. It was unsuccessful as a data
collection tool because the women felt it was 'stretching' their
goodwill too far. However those directly involved did fill them
in and some information was collected (four cases).

EDUCATION PROGRAM

Education programs like this one are difficult to conduct within
a prison, unless they are conducted in such a way that they can
be short and concentrated, e.g. three days in a row. Too many
events within the prison encourage, or even make the women leave
the program. Some examples which actually happened during these
few sessions which stopped women from attending one or more
sessions were: court case/meeting with legal representatives;
welfare problems, ranging from minor to major, presenting
themselves; only permitted some half-days at education and
required at the factory the rest of the time; buy-up time;
visitors; called up for interview with staff; required at
medical centre; depressed/ill/upset.

RESEARCH WITHIN FAIRLEA WOMEN'S PRISON

Kaylene
Paula Kelly & Associates
Surrey Hills, Victoria

During 1986, whilst incarcerated at Fairlea Women's Prison,
Victoria, I was part of a research group working within the
prison. Our group consisted of four women prisoners, each
undergoing sentences of between three and twelve years duration,
a Fairlea Education Centre teacher, and a visiting research
advisor.

Our objective was to obtain practical research experience, and to
acquire the associated skills. The primary research question to
which we addressed ourselves was 'can motivation within a women's
prison be assured?'.

Undertaking this study within a prison in which all the
researchers had been incarcerated for a considerable time,
enabled us to achieve the most accurate results possible. We
each understood and respected the women's often denied fight to
protect their privacy and to make their own decisions whether or
not to take part in our project. Twenty-seven of fifty-one women
submitted a completed questionnaire. This is an unusually high
number of women voluntarily participating in a research project
at Fairlea. Some research is imposed on us, although not too
often, but when it is done the women just answer the questions to
get them over with - not really accurately at all.

As prisoners we shared a common terminology, analogies,
inferences and a somewhat similar immediate background, thus we
were not impeded by a vocabulary which is the case quite often
when non-custodial researchers solicit data. Indeed, we were
able to phrase our questions in the most appropriate way and this
achieved maximum results.

Although sharing this common status gave accurate results, it
also caused us and our project to be repeatedly impeded by
constant and often petty bureaucratic officialdom.

Unfortunately education and other organised prison activities
tend to be viewed by prison officers, who have an almost supreme
reign over the lines of those in prison, as somewhat destructive
to the daily equilibrium of prison bureaucracy, and as an
unnecessary privilege, not pertaining to the punishment of
prisoners. This attitude being placed in the way of education
gives rise to obstacles for those undertaking an educational
program of engaging in other activities. It also produces a
negative effect on the motivation of women to participate in
voluntary programs.

It was fortunate that three of our four researchers were
undertaking full-time tertiary study whilst in prison. Although
this caused us much personal and financial hardships, it allowed
us more access to educational facilities than the general prison
populous. There were many overt and covert pressures placed on
the women to continue working in prison industries. The work
situation in Fairlea does not teach employment skills for the
future, rather these pressures further restrict and inhibit the
women's initiative and motivation.

Furthermore, many women have their enthusiasm to pursue an
educational program, and thus often their rehabilitative
opportunities stifled by the effects of pressures from the
'outside' over which they have little or no control. Many
incarcerated women are mothers with young children. Some have a
spouse also in prison. There is very little worthwhile or
reliable help available whilst in prison, with the exception of
that which is offered by the teachers and the invited tutors at
the Education Centre, and this help is only available to the
women who are permitted adequate access to the Centre.

At the commencement of the project we hypothesised that there was
a strong positive relationship between self-esteem and
motivation. Interestingly, our results showed that for these
incarcerated women, the reverse was true. This was only a pilot
study, and the results are thus tentative. However we learnt
much about ourselves, and the skills and problems of research.
It is clear that further research in the area is needed if policy
is to change so that women's detainment is to be a positive
exercise - if that is possible.

I hope that you will continue to be interested in the subject of
women in prison and that our comments will inspire you to plan
research in prison with those you are researching - the women.
It is time to ask them what information is required and how to
collect accurate data on particular topics.

Thank you from the Fairlea Research Group.

FACE-TO-FACE RESEARCH IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS:
METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Dr Joachim Kersten
Lecturer
Criminology Department
University of Melbourne
Melbourne, Victoria

The question raised in this presentation aims at the attitude researchers are expected to maintain during field work in institutions. A quick glance at the methodologies of traditional and more recent studies of prison reality, inmate culture and related topics of criminology and penology reveals that neutrality and partisanship appear as the most prevalent methodological philosophies.

When - at a certain stage - the fundamental principle of objectivity/neutrality in qualitative prison research became questioned or - in the views of some radical students of institutions - was declared downright nonsense, the idea of prison research in a partisan perspective bore some attraction to sociology and other disciplines.

To an amazing extent the new fear of being conned by prison authorities, staff and other frontfighting agencies, the partisans were confronted with, proved to be as legitimate as the old anxiety of being conned by 'glib prisoners seeking personal advantage' which preoccupied the minds of the traditional scholar who approached prison and inmates in a Swiss diplomat fashion.

The paper argues that both philosophies, the traditional 'neutrality/objectivity' and the trendy 'partisanship' are counter-productive to qualitative research.

In Devereux, understanding of how field researchers in ethnology and anthropology develop anxieties which have impact on their perception of alien features in the culture they intend to study, these fears and anxieties are not peculiarities of certain individuals. They are, however, commonly perceived as such. Hygienic precautions in research methodology (neutrality, and as I will argue, partisanship too) are meant to eradicate exactly those personal emotions of researchers.

Devereux gave convincing examples of how the researcher's fears and anxieties prevail in the material he or she collects in the field. He also traced their influence in the processing of field data, i.e. in the eventual evaluation of qualitative research experience. In his theoretical analysis Devereux is able to connect features of anxiety in field research with more general social, psychological, and gender-specific structures of our societies, which are related to concepts of personal identity, also in terms of social class and gender. I tend to believe that the experience of prison as an institution, of its rules and

hierarchies, and of inmate interaction ('culture' appears to me
as a somewhat hypocritical palliation) are a threat to the
identity concept of most researchers, though to a lesser extent
than imprisonment endangers and eventually deteriorates the roots
of the inmates' social and cultural identity. Neutrality and
partisanship could be seen as self-persuasion devices, meant to
stabilise the prison reseacher's individual and cultural identity
and his/her position of domination. Both the neutral diplomate
and the determined partisan are powerful propositions; both have
an underlying paradigm of autonomy and independence. As a
neutral person and as a partisan you could always claim to have
the moral right on your side, it is understood.

Fundamental criticism of other scholars' work tends to produce
the opposite result (embarrassment and stony silence) than it
should (a productive discussion). Instead of this I should like
to point out the abovementioned myth of neutrality and
partisanship in the research experience of some qualitative
studies I have been engaged in.

As I have only very recently arrived in Australia and have not
yet started the research I should like to carry out while I am at
Melbourne University (Internment During World War II; German
Internees in Australian Internment Camps), I have to draw upon
the research experience I could gather in Germany and Europe.
During my presentation I should like to demonstrate the
metamorphosis of partisanship and neutrality in practical
qualitative research. To put it in other words: If anxieties,
fears and feelings of incompetence or alienation are not
methodologically eliminated, but rather taken seriously, they can
turn into a very productive and exciting source of insight and
understanding. In this frame of reference I should like to
discuss the following stages of qualitative research:

1. Getting into the institution (Access);

2. Associating with inmates and adapting to prison routine
    (Integration);

3. Processing and evaluation of qualitative data (How to make
    use of doubt and irritation during qualitative research
    experience).

EVALUATION OF THE SPECIAL CARE UNIT

Mr Don Porritt
Chief Research Officer
Department of Corrective Services
Sydney, New South Wales

Evaluation of the outcomes of special interventions is often
difficult. Evaluation of the Special Care Unit is described, and
the 'ideal' approach of a randomised, longitudinal experiment is
compared to the quasi-experimental design actually achieved. It
is important to consider the reasonably feasible threats to the
validity of the conclusions reached and if possible to rule these
out. Comparisons within the treated group; the collection of
some repeated measure and some non-repeated data; and
qualitative interview data were all useful in dealing with
threats to validity.

Results suggest that improved management of anger and aggression
and reducing hostility to Prison Officers are the major effects
of the Special Care Unit, and that it is more successful with
prisoners who are anxious or depressed as well as aggressive.
Some practical problems in project management are discussed, and
suggestions made for procedures that could further enhance
conclusion validity.
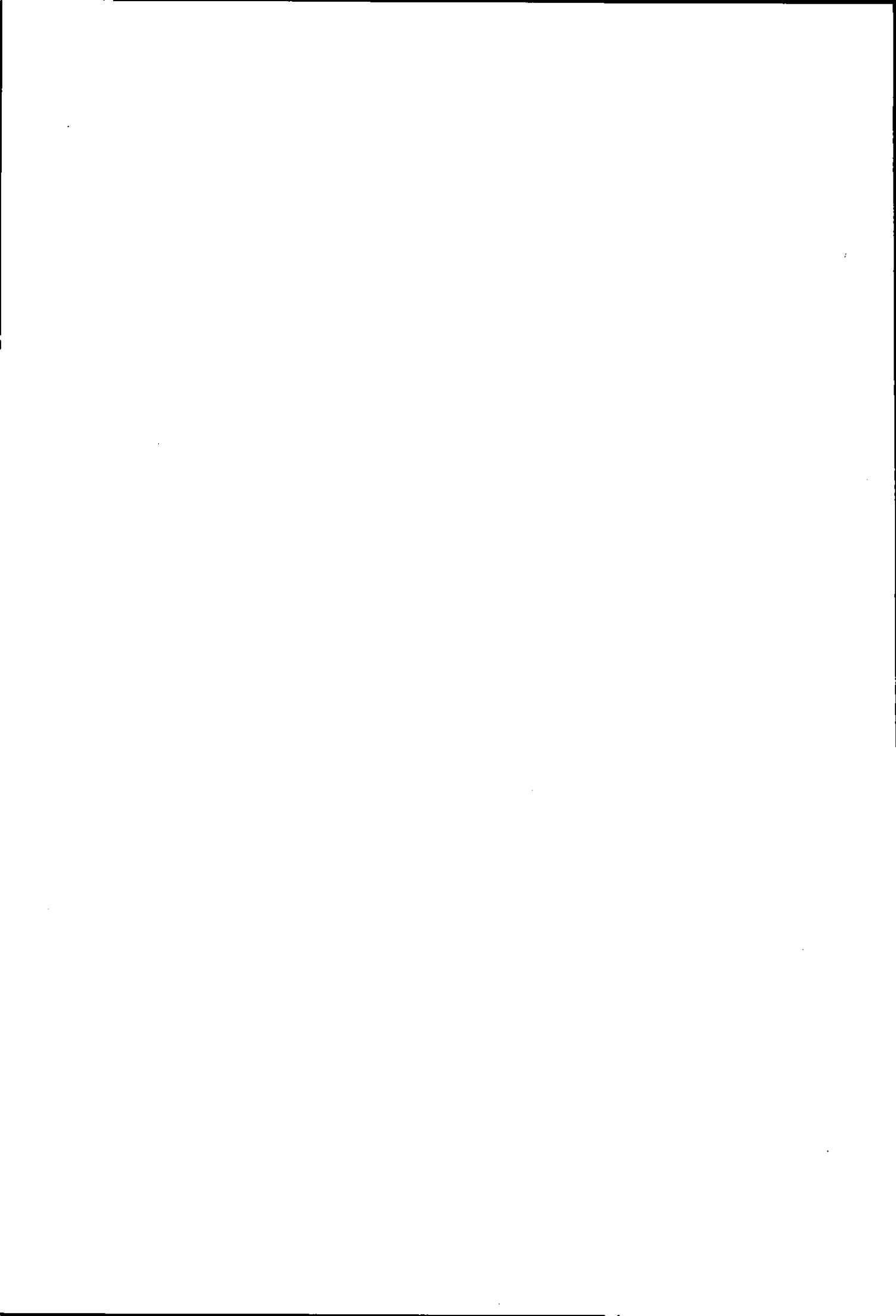
DIVERSIONARY IMPACT OF COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONS PROGRAMS

Mr Stuart Ross
Acting Manager, Research
Office of Corrections
Melbourne, Victoria

BACKGROUND

In February 1985 Victoria introduced a comprehensive, state-wide system of community-based corrections. This system included three forms of C.B.C sentences: Probation, Community Service Orders and Attendance Centre Orders. In addition, a Court Advice Service was initiated to advise judges and magistrates as to offenders' suitability for C.B.C programs. Subsequently, in June 1986, these three programs were all subsumed under a more general form of Community-Based Order. A C.B.O can be specified to include a number of Conditions: Personal Development, Community Work, Supervision, Drug, Alcohol or Psychiatric Assessment or Treatment and some other defined conditions. In addition, the role of the Court Advice Service was expanded so that offender assessments were required for all C.B.C sentences as well as some imprisonment sentences.

STUDY AIM

The principal aim of this study was to examine the diversionary impact of these C.B.C sentencing options on the overall pattern of judicial sentencing and on correctional programs. Specific hypotheses to be examined relate to changes in diversionary impact over time, the relative diversionary impact of different types of C.B.C sentences and the degree of netwidening that occurs.

METHOD

The introduction of a comprehensive system of community-based correctional programs is likely to have effects at all levels of the judicial and correctional systems. Any study of the overall impact of C.B.C programs therefore needs to examine changes at a number of points within these judicial and correctional systems. This study was designed around a 'multi-method' approach; the answer to the central question of the study will not emerge directly from any one method but rather from the pattern of results from the different methods employed. The methods used in this study are:

1. <u>Analysis of court sentencing trends</u>. Offence and sentencing information has been collected from Magistrates Court registers. As A.C.Os and C.S.Os were available on a trial basis in some Regions before February 1985, a 'cross-over' design was used to evaluate the effect of establishing these programs independently. The design included four metropolitan and two country regions and court register information was collected from the principal

court in each region over three six-month periods. The collecton of Magistrates Court data is now almost complete and this will be supplemented by data from the County and Supreme Courts when this is available.

2. **Alternative dispositions after Court Advice.** Courts are required to obtain an offender assessment from the Court Advice Service before imposing a C.S.O or A.C.O, or (since June 1986) a C.B.O. Cases where a Magistrate requests such an assessment for a C.B.C Order and then imposes some other sentence give an indication of where (i.e. which sentencing options) offenders on these Orders are 'drawn from'.

3. **Dispositions following breach of conditions of a C.B.C Order.** If an offender fails to comply with the conditions of an Order and is breached, the new sentence imposed may also give an indication of where the Order was drawn from.

4. **Changes in receptions into prison and C.B.C programs.** The number of receptions into prison in the absence of alternative C.B.C programs can be forecast with some accuracy using computer-based models. The difference between the actual and forecast number of receptions gives an index of the amount of diversion from imprisonment. Similarly, the difference between the forecast number of receptions into prison and the total number of receptions onto correctional programs (i.e. prison and C.B.C) gives an index of the degree of netwidening present. Any such analysis needs to be backed up with an analysis of changes in the characteristics of persons received into prison (see 5).

5. **Changes in prisoner and offender characteristics.** If diversion to non-custodial programs occurs, then these programs should include greater numbers of offenders with similar offence characteristics and conviction histories as those prisoners who appear to have been diverted. At the same time, the number and proportion of persons imprisoned for less serious offences should also decrease.

6. **Interviews with Magistrates, C.A.S workers.** Interviews with those directly involved in sentencing and Court Advice can be used to elaborate on or validate the results of the analysis of quantitative data.

EVALUATION OF PRE-RELEASE METHADONE PROGRAM:
WORK IN PROGRESS

Dr Angela Gorta
Senior Research Officer
Department of Corrective Services
Sydney, New South Wales

A pilot pre-release methadone maintenance program is being run
from four N.S.W gaols, three of which hold female prisoners with
the fourth being primarily a men's prison. The pilot program
commenced in April 1986. Entry on to the program is voluntary.

Prisoners satisfying certain eligibility criteria (e.g. drug and
offending history, age, release details) may apply or be referred
for assessment for the pilot methadone program several weeks
before they are due for release. If assessed as suitable, they
will be stabilised on methadone prior to release. Following
release they will continue to pick up methadone from one of three
community dispensing units. A total of 150 places have been
allocated on community methadone maintenance programs for people
being released from gaol. It is a requirement that all persons
on the pilot pre-release methadone program will be under the
supervision of the Probation and Parole Service for a period of
at least six months. This is a joint project funded by the
N.S.W. Department of Corrective Services as part of the National
Campaign Against Drug Abuse.

The primary objective is to reduce re-offending. Secondary
objectives include increasing life skills and social adjustment.

The evaluation commenced at the end of October 1986 and is
currently in its early stages. Process and product (outcome)
components of the evaluation are planned. The process components
of the evaluation include descriptive information such as:

(a)   What is the demand for the program? (How many prisoners,
      from each gaol, have sought assessment? What proportion of
      these were considered suitable for inclusion in the program?
      What were the reasons for exclusion for those considered
      unsuitable?);

(b)   Characteristics of those going on to the program (e.g.
      previous drug history, prior drug treatment(s), criminal
      history, age, other eligibility criteria);

(c)   Mechanics of the program? (How long before release were they
      assessed? Does number of assessments conducted over time
      even out after an initial burst? How long before release
      were they started on methadone? What were the initial
      dosage levels?);

(d) Administrative difficulties encountered within the gaol in implementing the pilot program (e.g. administrative problems faced and how they were countered);

(e) Administrative difficulties encountered within the community (e.g. administrative problems faced in the implementation of the program, obtaining methadone on release, possible duplication of role of health and probation and parole staff).

The outcome measures include measures of:

(a) recidivism;

(b) lifeskills and social adjustment;

(c) urinalyses;

(d) perceived benefits in gaol;

(e) other benefits in the community;

(f) mode of termination from methadone maintenance programs.

Eight months after the pilot program commenced 129 prisoners had been assessed for admission. Seventy-two per cent of those assessed were considered suitable for admission on the pilot program.

Methodological problems encountered to this point include difficulties in data collection and data interpretation as well as the general problem of evaluating a developing (and hence changing) program. The main data collection instrument used at assessment was designed for use with those seeking assessment for admission to a methadone program in the community. It consists of a large number of precoded items. Some of these items (e.g. who 'patient' lives with; type of dwelling) are not relevant to prisoners confined to gaol. Other items are coded in such a way that, while they might discriminate among members of the community, they do not discriminate between prisoners applying for admission to the pilot program. For example, eighty-four per cent of the inmates assessed for this program reported having 'five plus' drug offences; seventy-three per cent reported 'three plus' other offences and sixty-four per cent reported 'fourteen or under' as the age at which they first became involved with (any) drugs. A second difficulty in data collection is the reliance on self-report. Taking strength of habit prior to coming to prison as an example, inmates could distort their replies either underestimating them so as to make themselves appear more 'innocent' or exaggerating them in order to try to obtain a higher dose of methadone. The third difficulty at the data collection stage is determining what are suitable measures of outcome variables such as 'life skills' and 'social adjustment'.

The interpretation of urinalysis results is made difficult because of possible confusion with prescribed medication. For example, careful checking of medical records is required to determine whether an inmate was prescribed erythromycin or ephedrine at a time when traces could show in a subsequent urinalysis. The most serious methodological problem which affects the interpretation of results is the selection of a suitable comparison group. While the process components of the evaluation do not require a comparison group, conclusions concerning outcomes require such a baseline.
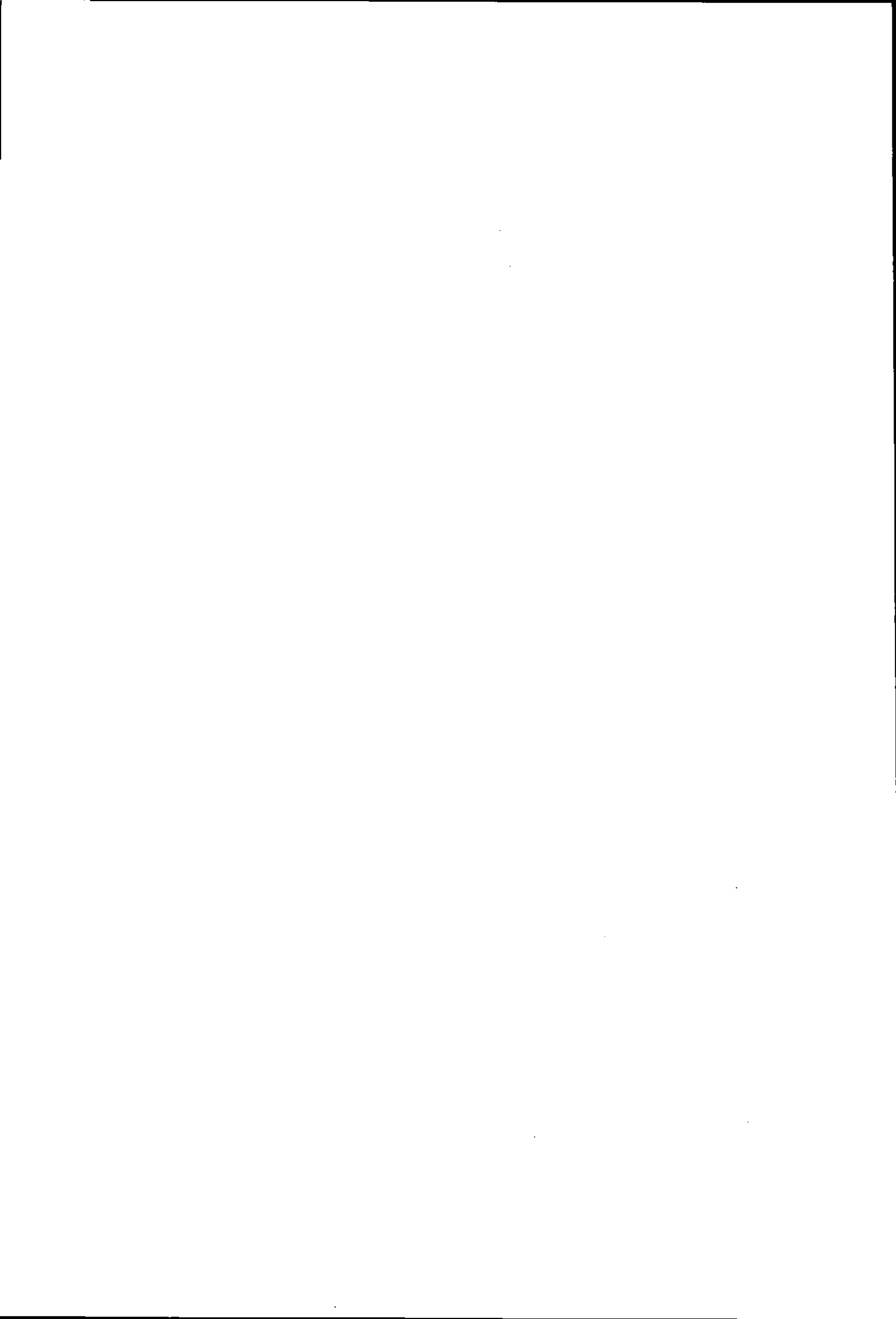
DRUGS AND CRIME - PHASES II AND III

Mr Ian Dobinson
Project Officer
Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Sydney, New South Wales

To date the Bureau has completed two phases of its research
commitment in the area of addictive drug use and crime. Most
people will be familiar with the first report based on the study
of 225 prison property offenders.

Although this study clearly demonstrated that many property
offenders took heroin and committed crime in order to support
their drug use, it was concluded that results from this study
could not be attributed to a wider drug-using population. It
certainly did not vouchsafe the conclusion that people who use
heroin necessarily commit property crimes.

In response to this Phase II was commenced and has now been
completed (not yet released). The resultant report is based on
an interview/questionnaire study of 134 individuals in, or
seeking drug treatment at, a number of agencies.

* Below is listed a summary of the main results.

Between June and August 1985 134 individuals were interviewed at
eight drug treatment agencies, mainly in the Sydney Metropolitan
area.

Each agency provided at least one of the following services:

(a) Inpatient detoxification
(b) Methadone treatment
(c) Therapeutic (residential) community
(d) Outpatient counselling.

Heroin was the drug most used by respondents (94.8 per cent)
and/or the drug for which they were seeking treatment. As heroin
users accounted for such a large percentage of the sample the
bulk of the report relates to them. The main results were as
follows.

* A typical respondent was likely to be male, single and aged in
his twenties. He had left school at either fifteen or sixteen.
He was very likely to be unemployed or on a pension (usually
sickness) but when employed it was often as an unskilled labourer
or tradesman.

* The mean ages of first and regular heroin use were 18.7 and
20.1 years respectively. Curiosity, boredom and 'kicks' were the
most common reasons given for first heroin use. A common reason
given for progressing to regular (three or more days per week)
use was a simple 'like' for the drug induced euphoria (32.5 per
cent) followed by a need to escape pressure or emotional problems
(25.4 per cent) and the influence of others (18.2 per cent).

* When describing the first time they used heroin, it was most commonly reported to have occurred in a house or flat with friends, many of whom had used before. The majority of respondents injected the heroin.

* The last time heroin was obtained it had usually been purchased (79.6 per cent). Where respondents were able to estimate the amount obtained it was often between one-half and one 'street' weight gram (31.5 per cent) or less than one-half (22.0 per cent). The median amount spent was approximately $150. Respondents also reported that this purchase was very similar to their usual daily consumption rate at this time.

* They had obtained this last amount of heroin in the streets (47.8 per cent) or a house or flat (39.1 per cent) most often in the area described as Central Sydney (58.3 per cent). They described the supplier as usually an acquaintance who was a full-time dealer.

* Respondents reported that the cash used to purchase their last 'fix' mainly came from social security (22.4 per cent), property crime (21.5 per cent) or employment (18.7 per cent). When asked to specify all their usual sources of income for drugs, however, there was a noticeable change with drug selling being the most mentioned source (33.1 per cent) followed by social security (28.3 per cent), job (27.6 per cent) and property crime (25.2 per cent).

* The most common property crimes reported during the period prior to treatment were larceny and break, enter and steal.

* Nearly half (48.0 per cent) of respondents were involved in the sale of drugs (mainly heroin) in the pre-treatment period. Most (59.0 per cent) described themselves as part-time dealers although 64.0 per cent stated that they sold drugs either daily or regularly. Quantity rather than frequency was the rationale for differentiating between full-time and part-time dealing.

* As with the location of the last heroin purchase these dealers reported that they most commonly conducted drug sales in a house or flat (34.4 per cent) or the street (27.9 per cent). This street location was often prearranged with the buyer.

* In order to minimise detection nearly all sellers (91.5 per cent) said that they dealt only with people they knew or who were referred by those people. Another common precaution (42.5 per cent) was never carrying drugs on their person and 'stashing' them in a safe place.

* When asked about their historical involvement in crime respondents reported being mostly involved in drug selling (69.3 per cent), break, enter and steal (30.7 per cent) and fraud (22.8 per cent).

* In looking at the relationship between heroin use and crime the vast majority of respondents (81.2 per cent) reported that they had committed at least one crime before or simultaneously

with their first use of heroin. This was most often drug selling
or shoplifting. Also, whereas their regular involvement in
property crime tended to occur after their initial use of heroin
this was not so for drug selling. Nearly half (47.7 per cent) of
those who reported that they had regularly sold drugs said that
they had done so before or simultaneously with first heroin use.
The drug most often sold at this time was cannabis.

* Surprisingly, however, 46.4 per cent of all respondents stated
that they considered all their crime to be heroin related.

* Nearly half (48.4 per cent) of respondents had been regular
heroin users for more than four years. During this time they had
both abstained (not treatment related) from use as well as sought
treatment on numerous occasions. They most often abstained
because they were 'fed up' or 'sick of the lifestyle' (35.7 per
cent); with the longest period of abstinence usually being
between one and six months (33.1 per cent). Approximately one-
quarter (22.8 per cent) had never abstained.

* The most common reasons for re-use after their longest period
of abstinence were 'getting back into the scene' (20.4 per cent),
emotional pressures (20.4 per cent), or that they never really
intended to stop (20.4 per cent).

* For thirty-two individuals this was their first treatment
experience. The remainder (ninety-five) reported 418 previous
treatment episodes, the most common being inpatient
detoxification (181) and therapeutic communities (169).

* As to the effect of treatment on heroin use 37.9 per cent
reported that it had had a 'nil' effect, while 34.7 per cent said
that it had affected their attitude to use but not their
consumption.

* The most commonly mentioned reason for re-use after their last
treatment episode was a simple desire to just use again (25.3 per
cent).

* Most respondents (61.1 per cent) were seeking treatment at
this time voluntarily, i.e. their decision was not influenced by
any current legal considerations. As with the reasons for
abstinence being 'fed up' or 'sick of the lifestyle' were the
most common reasons (36.2 per cent) for the current treatment
episode.

* For 22.8 per cent treatment was a condition of bail, bond or
parole.

Although these results are important in themselves, i.e. in
providing further profile information on drug users, they have
special significance in comparison with the results of Phase I.

Quite clearly the caution suggested in the first report of
attributing sample survey results of one study to a whole
population has been justified. There cannot be and should not be

a stereotypical approach to this kind of drug use. It is
misleading and dangerous in its policy implications.

These comparative results did, however, raise some yet unanswered
questions. It is unclear for example why individuals respond
differently to their drug dependencies and their means of
supporting it. As concluded in the latest report it is unclear
whether the rate of consumption predetermines the amount and type
of crime committed or vice versa, the increased rate of crime the
greater the spending power.

An explanation to these questions may lie in the area of
'deviance amplification' but it is evident that much more needs
to be done to explore the relationship between crime and regular
heroin use.

Phase III does not seek to deal with these issues in any way but
will attempt to explore the distribution of heroin. At this time
all that I can inform you about is the particular methodology to
be utilised.

The study will once again be based on an interview/questionnaire
method. Using an almost in identical approach to that of Preble
and Casey (1969) and Johnson and his colleagues (1985) in their
studies of New York heroin users, a 'storefront' location will be
established in the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area. Using local
'street' people as fieldworkers and the snowballing technique it
is hoped to interview approximately 150 heroin user/sellers.
Similar profile information, as in Phases I and II, on current
and historical drug usage and criminal activity will be
collected. The interviews will concentrate, however, on the
selling and buying activities of these individuals. Respondents
will be asked to provide diarised information of drug
distribution events over a seven day period prior to interview.
It is hoped that by using local people as fieldworkers/recruiters
that the veracity of this self reported information can be
maintained at a high level.

It is conceded that this will provide information on heroin
distribution only at the lowest levels (albeit very important
levels). The difficulties of obtaining similar information at
higher levels are enormous let alone physically dangerous. In
order to obtain some data about the middle and upper levels in
the supply networks, use will be made of police files on
completed and current cases. These will show, where
investigative detail is available, the movement of certain
amounts of heroin from importation to point of arrest. Those
cases where this has occurred will provide some idea of how the
upper levels operate. Another source of information that will be
accessed will be those individuals with 'special' or 'personal'
knowledge of how these networks operate.

Phase III has been funded as part of the NCADA research program
and a report should be available by the end of 1988. For any
further information interested parties should contact Ian
Dobinson.

THE DECLINE OF THE BARBER SURGEONS:
THE EMERGENCE OF THE POLICE PROFESSION?

Dr Gerry McGrath
National Police Research Unit
Adelaide, South Australia

AND

Alice McGrath

The 16th century saw the Barber Surgeons rise in stature and then
proceed to decline as a complexity of forces, religious,
political and epistemological removed the old craft model of
surgery and paved the way for the emergence some two centuries
later, of the modern practice of surgery. This paper argues that
something similar is occurring in the occupation of policing.

This process is informed by an examination of the classical
literature on professionalisation.

As the knowledge base of surgery dramatically expanded, the
theoretical foundations of the enterprise acquainted central
importance – an importance which was recognised in the decline of
the loose craft 'watch and learn' apprenticeship model and in the
emergence of a genuine discipline-based model of induction. The
theory first, practice skills second model, is a necessary though
not sufficient characteristic of those occupations we call
professions.

The classic theories of professionalisation as represented in
Greenwood's discussion of the process of professionalisation give
central importance to this one criterion of the 'ideal'
profession – the skills that characterise the professional task
flow from a body of coherent theory. As evidence of a similar
but fragmentary process in law enforcement the paper cites
developments in New South Wales.

Using as a reference point a 1978 study of the curriculum of the
N.S.W Academy, conducted by the author, the paper examines the
new curriculum shortly to be introduced. The Second Report of
the New South Wales Police Interim Education Advisory Council, a
body whose establishment itself is seen as being symptomatic of
fundamental change, presents a theoretically articulated model of
police training. Central to that model are the notions of
authority and power.

Acknowledging the development as only one of a number of
necessary conditions for the professionalisation of the police
occupation the paper argues that the recognition of the
occupational task as one that is complex and is one that can be
informed by theory, emulates the historical development of
surgery.
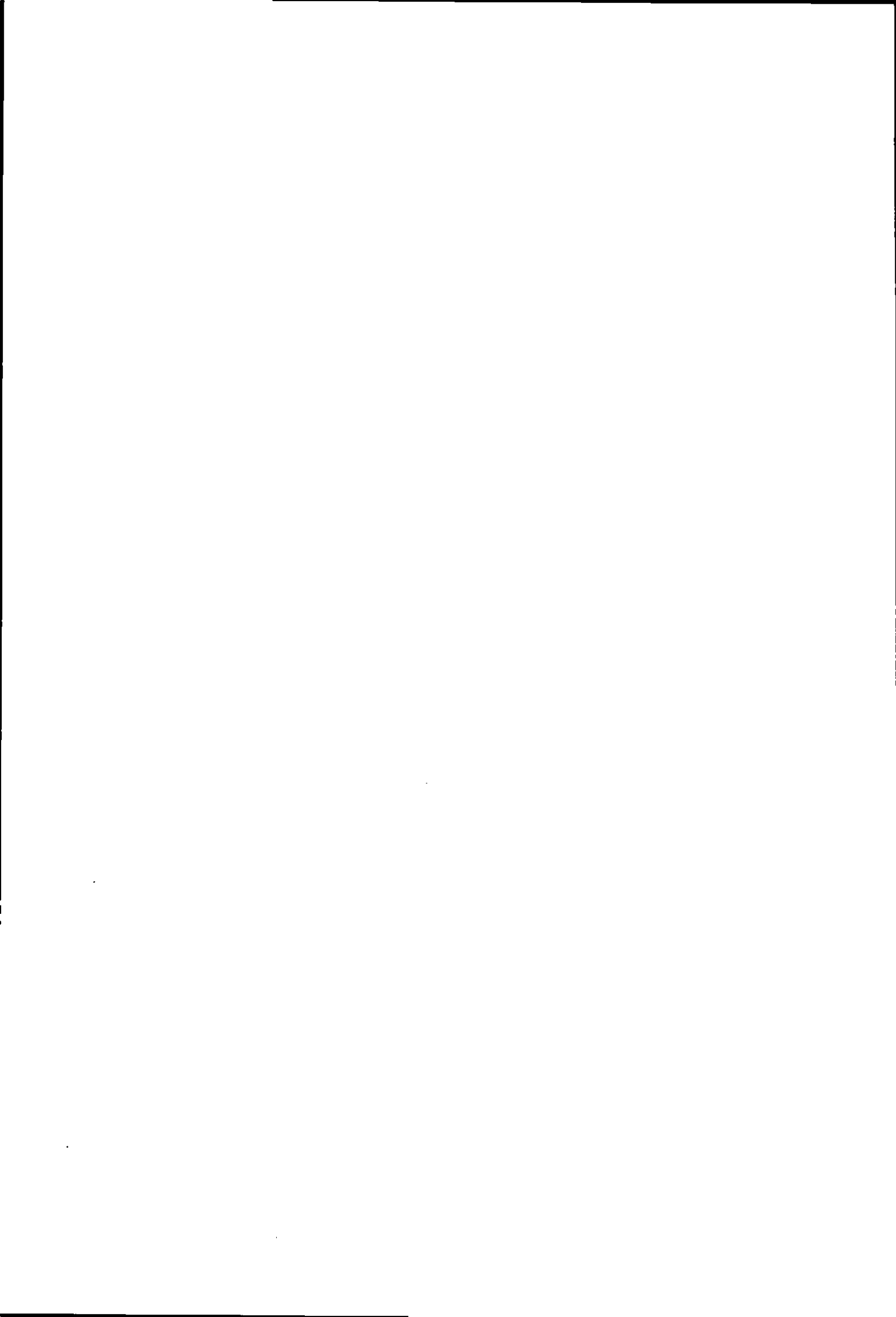
THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHWAY AND TRAFFIC ENGINEERING
SUBJECTS AS PART OF THE ASSOCIATE DIPLOMA IN POLICE
STUDIES AT CHISHOLM INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Mr Robert Smith
Senior Lecturer, Police Studies
Chisholm Institute of Technology
Melbourne, Victoria

In 1981, the Chief Commissioner of the Victoria Police, Mr S. I.
Miller, giving the occasional address at the then Caulfield
Institute of Technology (now Chisholm Institute of Technology)
Conferring Ceremony which included the first graduates of the
Associate Diploma in Police Studies is reported as follows:

> The presentations today mark the success of a
> concept after what-was, in the event, an unusually
> long period of gestation. Nevertheless, the
> results have been well worth waiting for, and can
> only enhance the pursuit of police professionalism
> in this State. Because of the increasing desire in
> the police force and in the community for higher
> educational attainment, the police force has found
> itself confronted the the dichotomy of recruiting
> the educated or educating the recruited. Our
> solution has been to do both and the conferring of
> Associate Diplomas in Police Studies today
> evidences one approach to educating the recruited.

He went on to say that:

> the particular benefit of courses in higher
> education for police is that they provide
> opportunities for cross-fertilization between the
> police and fellow students with whom they come in
> contact. This must operate to the advantage of the
> police and the community.[1]

The composition of the course presently includes Police Studies
(mostly of a management and administration orientation), Legal
Studies, Sociology and Psychology; four electives are also
taken. In general terms the course has a much more relaxed feel
about it than was its original conception and a general ethos has
grown around it as being a means for formalising and refining the
experimental nature of police work. This is not mere
credentialism as most students have well-prepared career paths.
The major criticism of the course has nothing to do with the
course but with the utilisation of graduates by the Victoria
Police itself. It appears that the majority move into the areas
of Management Services and Training rather than the streets.
This is only a short term problem and effluxion of time will
rectify it.[2]

I hadn't realised how short this time would be. On my
appointment in January 1986, as Senior Lecturer in charge of
Police Studies at Chisholm Institute, I was confronted almost
immediately with the task of 'nicely telling' our Civil
Engineering Department that their offer to conduct a Short Course
in Highway and Traffic Engineering for a substantial fee had been
rejected by the Victoria Police. My immediate response was to
set about incorporating the proposed Short Course as part of the
elective program for the Associate Diploma in Police Studies.

One year later I am still surprised as to how easy the process
turned out to be. Many of you have been involved in course
planning and accreditation procedures at the tertiary level, and
know the difficulties involved often in course implementation,
but despite the hard work of my colleague Mr Keith Solomon,
Senior Lecturer in Civil Engineering at Chisholm, and my friend
Chief Inspector David Axup of Victoria Police (both of whom will
be teaching the four units of Highway and Traffic Engineering),
the process seems to have attracted the goodwill of all
concerned.

At Chisholm, as I understand the situation, we will be offering
in 1987 for the first time outside of the Traffic Institute of
North Western University a professionally recognised course for
Traffic Police. Apart from Victoria Police personnel we hope
that other Australasian police personnel will join the course and
at the same time we have begun negotiations to take the course
off-shore. It is unfortunate that Chief Inspector David Axup
cannot be here – for it is his drive that initiated the whole
process. Keith Solomon will explain to you the course outline
and teaching procedures.

NOTES

1. Chief Commissioner S. I. Miller, Victoria Police, quoted in
    Chisholm Institute of Technology, School of Social and
    Behavioural Studies, Submission for the Re-Accreditation of
    the Course for the Associate Diploma in Police Studies,
    October 1983.

2. R. H. Smith, unpublished Master of Education thesis, Police
    Education: Panacea or Placebo? - A Study of Police Education
    and Training, University of New England, February 1985, page
    51.
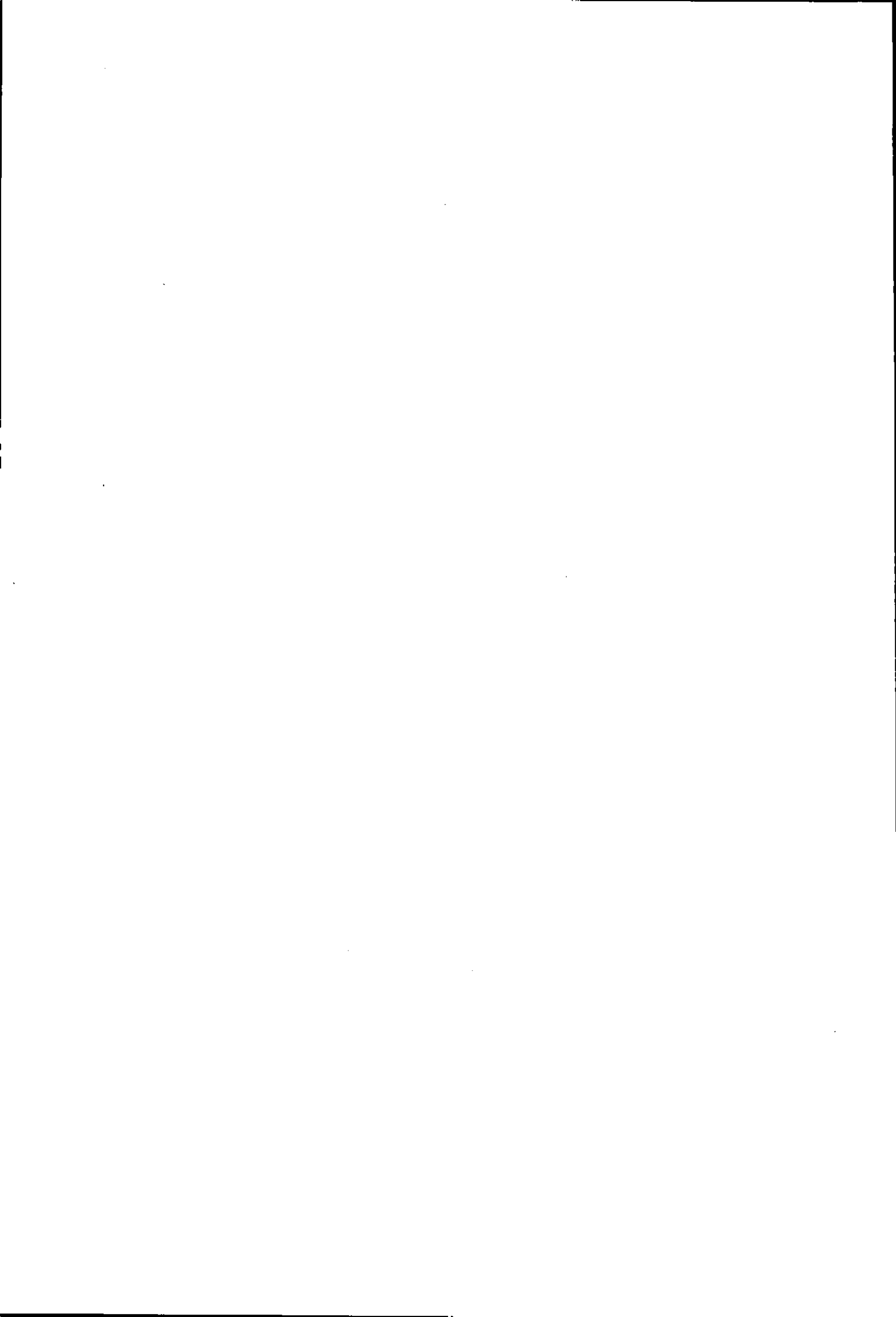
TRAFFIC ENGINEERING QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE VICTORIA POLICE

Mr Keith Solomon
Senior Lecturer, Civil Engineering
Chisholm Institute of Technology
Melbourne, Victoria

This year we believe that with the inclusion of Traffic
Engineering subjects in Chisholm Institute's Police Studies
course a very significant advance has been made in the training
of members of the Victoria Traffic Police.

Broadly the areas of study to be offered are:

. Traffic Engineering
. Road Accident Studies and their Prevention
. Highway Design and Road Safety
. Town Planning and Residential Street Design

This development grew as a logical extension to the Graduate
Diploma in Highway and Traffic Engineering, first offered by the
Department of Civil Engineering over ten years ago. One of the
most distinguished graduates from that course was (now) Chief
Inspector David Axup, who uniquely in the Victoria Police Traffic
Branch, gained formal Traffic Engineering qualifications.

Each of the four subjects to be offered, over the two years will
involve the student in four contact hours for each fourteen week
semester. Each session will include formal lectures, discussion,
seminars, TV sequences of road/traffic/accident situations and
visits to Road Research Laboratories and Traffic Management
authorities, etc.

Lecturing staff will include:

. Engineers - Civil, Traffic and Municipal
. Traffic Police
. Sociologists
. Psychologists
. Computer experts.

In summary, the syllabi for the four electives will be:

1. ROAD TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS

. Accident patterns - Interstate and international comparisons;
. Site data collection, witness questioning, measuring and
  sketching of evidence;
. Data sources - Police, Road Traffic Authorities;
. Road user group and their special problems, e.g. pedestrians,
  drinking drivers;
. Collision diagrams and their uses;
. In-depth studies, e.g. Adelaide and Brisbane;
. Importance of road friction and its measurement;
. Road accident costs;
. Driver behaviour - normal/abnormal;
. Punishment as a deterrent.

2. HIGHWAY DESIGN

- The transport task - roads and other modes, people and goods;
- The effect of overloaded goods vehicles, enforcement strategies;
- Australian 'Road' Organisations and how they impinge on the role of the traffic police, e.g. NAASRA, ARBB, Road Traffic Authorities, Department of Transport, Local Government, College of Surgeons, etc.; Sociological and Psychological perspectives of Traffic Police and their relationship to the public;
- Treatment of offenders and their rehabilitation;
- Highway design and in particular its effect on road accidents and traffic flow;
- Rest areas and landscaping;
- Design standards;
- Stopping and passing sight distance;
- Horizontal and vertical alignment;
- Super elevation, climing lanes;
- Cross section elements - lane widths, medians;
- Intersections, capacity and accident problems;
- Channelisation, roundabouts, signals, grade separation;
- Human factors engineering;
- Economic evaluation of projects using discounted cash flow techniques.

3. TRAFFIC ENGINEERING AND CONTROL

- Traffic flow patterns and the alleviation of congestion;
- Special problems of pedestrians, cyclists, etc.;
- Traffic surveys and equipment - volume, speed, travel time, origin - destination, delay studies; Uninterrupted flow (rural highways);
- Interrupted flow (urban roads);
- Traffic flow theory, optimising of flow;
- Road capacity and methods of improvement;
- Police role in traffic control;
- Road signs and markings, lighting;
- Understanding and use of the computer;
- Speeds - free, 85th percentile, speed limits and their enforcement;

4. LAND USE AND TRANSPORT INTERACTION

- Urban road patterns and associated problems;
- Traffic patterns - hourly, daily, monthly, yearly and their significance;
- Directional distribution and its control;
- Residential streets and traffic intrusion;
- Road Hierarchy;
- Traffic control and management;
- Exclusion of traffic in residential streets - closures - mid-block, end-block, diagonal, one way streets, speed humps and walking paths;
- Parking controls and standards;
- Pedestrian malls;
- Bikeways.

In conclusion, it is believed that the four traffic engineering subjects discussed in this paper will allow members of the Police Traffic Branch to contribute in a much more effective way in combatting the community problems that result from road traffic congestion and road accidents.

Additionally, graduating students will be in a far stronger position when dealing with highway and road traffic engineers, municipal engineers and all those professional people whose work impinges on the duties of the traffic police.
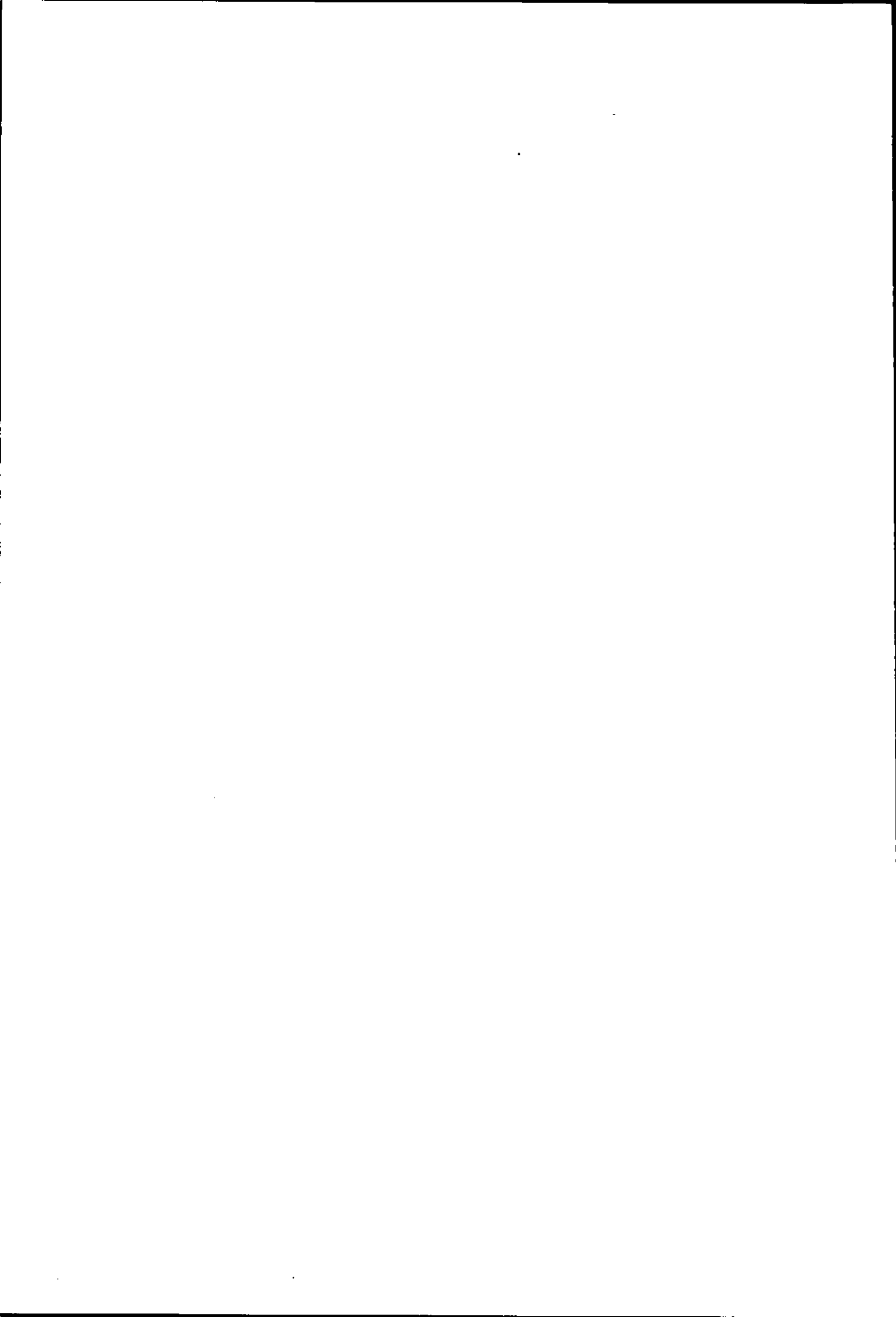
THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF (QLD) POLICE
HEALTH AND QUALITY OF WORK LIFE:
WHY LONGITUDINAL?

Senior Constable Christine Lidgard
Social Research Fellow
Queensland Police Department

AND

Mr Noel Bates
Inspector of Police
Queensland Police Academy
Oxley, Queensland

This paper outlines a longitudinal prospective study of police
health and quality of work life which is presently being
conducted by the Queensland Police Department. A small section
of data from the ongoing baseline or Stage 1 of this longitudinal
study is reported. It is necessary to use a longitudinal
methodology as means of addressing some of the conflicting
hypotheses raised by previous research. Using a multifaceted
model, this study focusses on such issues as coping and social
support. Included in this paper is an early conceptual model as
well as a brief discussion on the importance and relevance of
examining coping and social support. In addition, within the
framework of this paper, a number of methodological issues are
addressed. These issues include: informed consent, response
rates, the assumption of homogeneity common to much police
research and the problems of interpretation of previous research
data on police divorce patterns and police personality hypotheses
due to use of cross-sectional methodologies.

Following a brief description outlining the staging of this
study, some logistical difficulties and advantages are discussed.
For example, use of a group administration procedure has been
advantageous in at least two ways: (1) handling the ethical
concern of informed consent, and (2) maintaining the present 100
per cent response rate for Stage 1. One of the common concerns
of longitudinal researchers, sample loss is discussed as it may
apply to Stage 2 and 3 data collections.

The research issues of (1) police personality, (2) coping, and
(3) police divorce patterns are used to illustrate the need for a
longitudinal methodology. The police personality hypotheses will
be discussed in some detail. Much of the supportive literature
has resulted from cross-sectional methodologies which 'do not
allow the researcher to investigate change over time without
assuming that the cross-sectional samples are equal in all
respects except the variable under question' (p. 47).[1] In this
study, the issues of police personality is addressed using the
Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) in conjunction with a
longitudinal design. Early data from Stage 1 is compared with
two samples of senior Australian serving police.

The multifaceted conceptual model is presented leading into a discussion on the issues of coping and social support and how these may relate to the survivability of police recruits. Brief remarks are made on the stress process. For a lengthier discussion on this topic, reference can be made to an earlier paper.[2] However in this paper, the focus is largely on two of the neglected elements in this stress process, namely coping and actual experienced police stressors. Following are some remarks and data on the issue of social support and its possible relevance and importance to the career outcome (or survivability) of police recruits. Particular reference is made to police divorce patterns and how a longitudinal methodology may best address this issue. Reference can also be made to another paper for a more detailed discussion of the police divorce literature[3].

Concluding remarks focus on the necessity for a longitudinal study to address the increasingly problematic issue of police health. Longitudinal research can allow causal inferences to be made and increase our understanding of police health and qualities of their work life. Additionally, this study has the potential to also extend our knowledge of a number of other related police research issues.

NOTES

1. Bennett, R. R. (1984), 'Becoming Blue: A Longitudinal Study
    of Police Recruit Occupational Socialisation', Journal of
    Police Science and Administration, 12(1), 47-58.

2. Lidgard, C. F. (1986), Police Stress or Health: Which is the
    Question. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the
    Australian and New Zealand Sociological Association,
    University of New England, Armidale, July.

(3) Lidgard, C. F. (1986), Queensland Police Families: Some
    Research Findings. Paper presented at the Second Australian
    Family Research Conference, Melbourne, November.
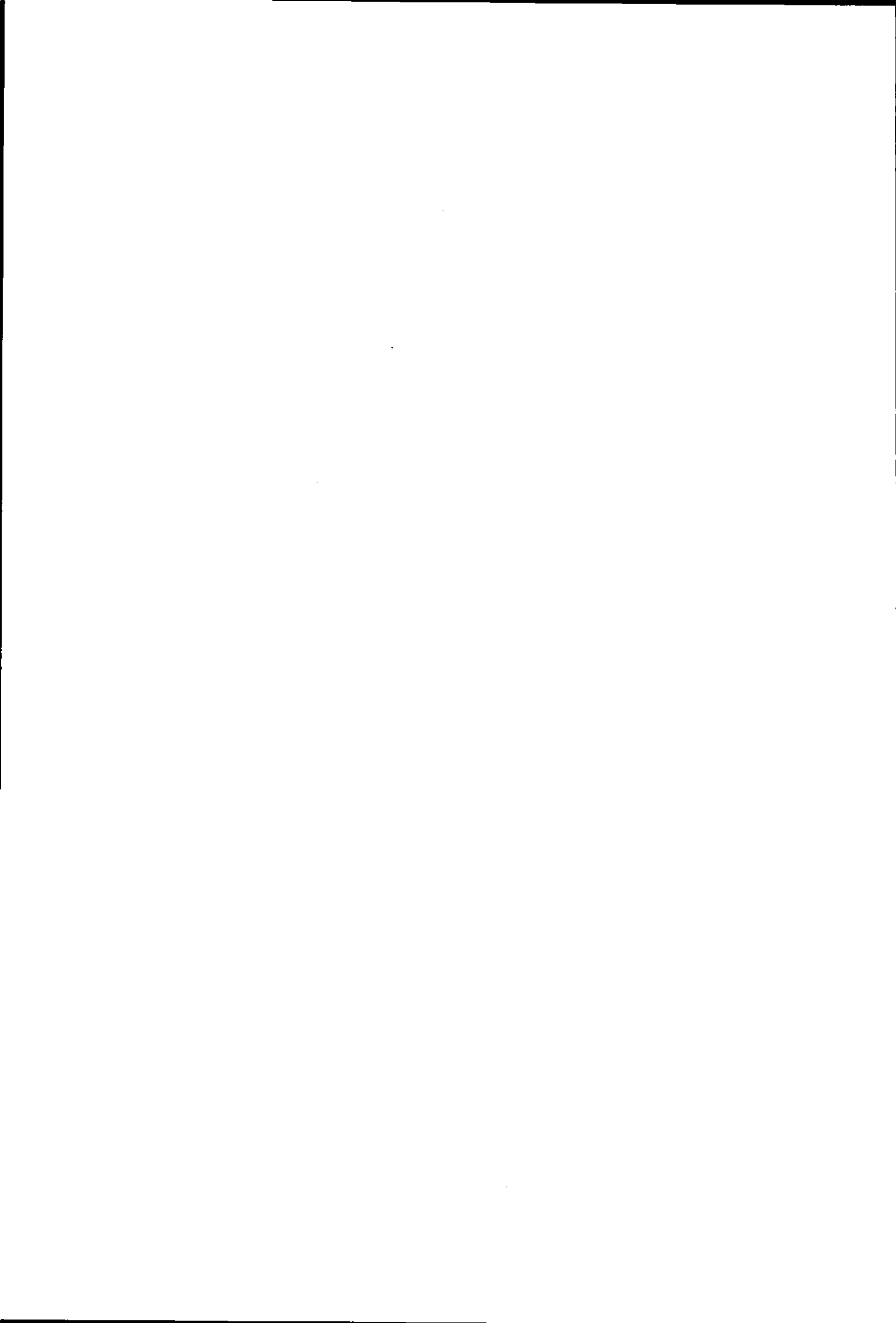
QUALITATIVE ACTION RESEARCH -
AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH IN ABORIGINAL/POLICE RELATIONS

Ms Lynn Roberts
Secretary/Research Officer
Special Government Committee on Aboriginal/
 Police and Community Relations
Perth, Western Australia

In my paper <u>Qualitative Action Research - An Alternative Approach
in Aboriginal/Police Relations</u>, I have placed the research
recently carried out by the Special Government Committee on
Aboriginal/Police and Community Relations into the context of the
Committee's assigned tasks. I have pointed out the difficulties
faced by the Committee in initiating and overseeing ambitious
reforms within the Western Australian police/Aboriginal context.

On the other hand, small-scale local research projects, such as
its recently completed research on Aboriginal/police relations in
the Pilbara, enable the Committee to control the process of
reform jointly with the local community, including police, and to
help effect changes at the grass roots level.

The Committee's decision to carry out its research in the Pilbara
was based on two factors:

First, the region was one where Aboriginal/police relations had
been recently in crisis; where law and order issues were of
concern to Aborigines and police and where tension between the
two groups was never far below the surface. Second, a qualified,
Aboriginal research worker with standing in the local community
was available to do the field work. The participation of such a
person is integral to the success of the sort of research I
describe.

A major objective of the project was to improve Aboriginal/police
relations in particular Pilbara locations. This objective was
approached in three ways:

- by identifying conflicts in Aboriginal and police definitions
  of the situation that required resolution;

- by formulating suggestions to defuse violence based on
  Aboriginal and police definitions of the situation;

- by the research process itself predisposing the conflicting
  groups towards on-going co-operation.

To these ends, a four person research team was established:

- a co-ordinator/senior research officer

- an Aboriginal research officer

- a police consultant

- an academic consultant.

The police consultant, a senior inspector, provided the link between a formal statement of support for the project from the Commissioner of Police, and the actual involvement and support by police officers at the local level. I have pointed out that this 'link' to transform talk into action was a vital feature of this research. This differentiates the Pilbara project from certain other initiatives in Western Australia, wherein the Police Department's commitment to improved relations with Aborigines remains a matter of policy rather than action.

The principles of symbolic interactionism were used in preparing the questions for the interview schedules for Aborigines and police. The questions did not relate to a single theory of Aboriginal/police relations but were formulated on the basis of:

- concepts and concerns frequently mentioned in the literature;

- issues which arose frequently in the day-to-day business of members of the research team whose work is in Aboriginal/police relations;

- being able to provide collectively a comprehensive framework within which police and Aboriginal people could outline their definitions of the situation.

Police from a number of Pilbara stations were interviewed. Roebourne Aborigines provided most of the Aboriginal responses.

The views of Aborigines and police were canvassed on a range of topics. I have selected three areas where there are contrasts or conflicts between police and Aboriginal definitions of the situation and their perceptions of how the other party thinks about these issues: first, police and Aboriginal views on the treatment of Aboriginal women; second, conflicting group perceptions of the roles and duties of Aboriginal Legal Service personnel and third, hidden conflicts in Aboriginal and police perceptions of what constitutes a good or respected police officer.

In conclusion, I refer to the implications of the research findings and attempts being made currently to implement some of the suggested reforms. I refer to the importance of this type of research for bodies such as the Special Government Committee on Aboriginal/Police and Community Relations and the need for Commonwealth rather than State funding for such research. I suggest that in the field of Aboriginal/police relations a certain type of action research has much to recommend it.

POLICE RULE-MAKING AND THE REGULATION
OF FIREARMS IN AUSTRALIA

Mr David Fine
Lecturer
Faculty of Law
University of Western Australia
Perth, Western Australia

This presentation will address one aspect of the subject-matter
of a project, 'The Reform of Australia's Firearms Laws', on which
the presenter has been working since approximately mid-1985, with
the assistance of a grant from the Criminology Research Council.
This broader project is directed towards ascertaining the level
and type of firearms control laws likely to attain the greatest
possible reduction in the misue of firearms, while incurring the
lowest cost to the community (including the lowest 'social cost'
to legitimate firearms users). In the course of this project
numerous interviews have been conducted, over scores of hours,
with persons in each state and territory. Persons interviewed
have included the senior police officials responsible for the
enforcement of the existing firearms laws in each jurisdiction,
middle-ranking police personnel involved in firearms regulation,
and the officers of the many and varied organisations of firearms
users in each jurisdiction.

In the course of this research it has been observed that the
eight police forces which administer the firearms laws throughout
Australia have adopted markedly different patterns of rule-making
in this field. The present presentation will address this
phenomenon.

Firearms regulatory duties require police organisations and
experienced police personnel to operate in an environment quite
dissimilar to their traditional role of enforcing the criminal
and quasi-criminal laws. The broad language in which many of the
present firearms laws are cast requires police firearms branches
to formulate de facto subordinate legislation.

This rule-making takes extremely varied physical forms throughout
Australia. Extreme examples to be cited include one
jurisdiction's 'Firearms Policy and Procedures Manual',
maintained exclusively in a computerisation retrieval system[1];
and another Australian police firearms branch, wherein the
officer in charge claims the community interest to require that
he record certain fair and firm policies and principles
exclusively in his own head.

In what may perhaps be a natural extension into the regulatory
sphere of the constable's usual discretion with respect to
enforcement of the criminal and quasi-criminal laws, it has been
observed that many - perhaps every - Australian police firearms
branch has adopted more-or-less regular procedures that are
directly at variance with the clear language of the firearms
statute enacted by the respective Parliament. These procedures

appear to exist, in the main for either of two purposes: to
reduce an essentially unwanted administrative burden upon the
police force concerned to manageable proportions, or to eliminate
what are seen as pointless burdens imposed on firearms users
through the ignorance or oversight of parliamentarians. Examples
of each will be discussed.

In addition to discussing the physical and substantive forms of
police rule-making in this realm, the presenter will discuss the
effect of the relatively new Firearms Consultative Committees in
South Australia and Victoria upon police rule-making practices in
those States.

In order to observe undertakings of confidentiality which have
been given to all interviewees, the presenter will cite examples
in many instances, without mention of the specific Australian
state or territory wherein they occur. Additionally, to allow
for the fullest exchange of ideas within this professional
gathering, the presenter will ask all members of the seminar for
an assurance that no journalists are in attendance during this
presentation.

NOTES

1. A print-out supplied to the author is 102 pages in length.

PROVIDING AN ECONOMIC CONTEXT FOR LONGITUDINAL
RESEARCH OF DEVIANT CAREERS

Dr Garry Coventry
Lecturer
Department of Legal Studies
La Trobe University
Melbourne, Victoria

Australian criminological research literature lacks significant studies concerned with (1) the development of criminal careers, and (2) the relationships between employment status and crime. An increased use of panel designs would provide some redress for the former, while the latter area of research would seem to benefit by strategies which do not treat conditions of unemployment and underemployment as temporary aberrations to the Australian economy. A current research study being undertaken at La Trobe University has been designed to examine as well as to connect these important criminological topics.

Their connection is seen to be essential, especially in light of youth policy research that demonstrates the severe economic disruptions to the transition of youth to adulthood since the 1970s. Such disruptions have a structural basis in the changes which have occurred in the Australian youth labour market (particularly rising unemployment and part-time work of questionable quality).

While panel investigations of the development of criminal careers have support it would be mistaken to blindly welcome them to Australian criminology. Most often quantitative surveys alone constitute the data base. Such data can constitute measures of a set of theoretical stepping stones laid in some kind of temporal sequence. However, these data are subject to both methodological and theoretical criticisms. From a technical and methodological point of view significant problems of data analysis and interpretation can result from sample attrition or changes in measurement categories included in repeated survey instruments (sometimes as a result of changes in public policy and/or research concerns of the Australian community). It is not just a matter of the quality of the data, however. The epistemological and the theoretical criminology basis of the research may also be called into question by other researchers.

With respect to studies of the relationships between employment status and crime, similar concerns have been raised. Most available research has been based on quantitative labour market indicators (e.g. unemployment rates) and official criminal justice statistics. Conventional measures of state or national unemployment rates, for example, aggregates what are in fact very different experiences among people. Omitted from the analyses are differences in the propensities of people to commit law violations, differences in long-term marginality from work for some versus short-term dislocation from labour market

participation for others, differences in the quality of work
provided for those who are employed and differences among local
communities whether they be of an urban, provincial city or rural
kind. These types of studies are rarely integrated with findings
from qualitative investigations of the unemployed, a second body
of research orientation that is viewed by some as anecdotal and
lacking in scientific basis or overriding theoretical structure.

In 1985 it seemed useful to propose a research strategy which
linked the aggregate approach of economic research with the
potential of an individual level of analysis afforded by an
existing Victorian panel study. The central data base for this
research is a panel study conducted by the Victorian Curriculum
and Assessment Board (formerly the Victorian Institute of
Secondary Education) since 1980. Four waves of questionnaire
data have been collected from an original panel of 2,378 young
males and females who, in 1980, attended Year 9 in a
representative sample of twenty-six Victorian schools, stratified
by school affiliation and geographical location. Panel data
include information pertaining to such issues as:

- Individual characteristics of youth (e.g. age, gender,
  ethnicity, social class)

- Social psychological attributes (e.g. academic success,
  occupational aspirations and expectations, attitudes to
  schooling)

- Peer group involvement

- Education and employment histories of the panel from roughly
  age fifteen to age twenty (including tertiary education
  participation, financial assistance, welfare, etc.)

- Participation in community activities.

Additional data have been collected in 1983 and 1985. Two
official institutional measures of deviance about the panel are
available for analysis. In 1983, the school non-attendance
records of the panel were obtained from the twenty-five schools
in which the original panel was sampled. Although incomplete,
because of unavailability of five complete years of attendance
data corresponding to the panel's enrolment in Years 7-11 (i.e.
1978-1982) and student transfers to other schools, these official
records provide a substantial picture of official truancy across
the secondary school years. In addition to official school
attendance records, the wave three survey included self-report
items in an attempt to capture information not provided by school
records (i.e. undetected or hidden truancy).

Another relevant feature of these longitudinal data is that they
include whether or not panel members have been in contact with
the police for law violations, the number of police contacts that
had occurred by August 1983, and again by August 1985, the number
and types of offences charged, the dates of police contact and
court proceedings and the type of disposition received for each

charged offence. These data, obtained from police records provide an official measure of juvenile delinquency and early criminality.

While these panel data offer an advantage over much of the existing research based on cross-sectional designs, the study of the development of criminal careers within a socio-economic theoretical framework required additional data. To sharpen the focus of the investigation, Census data over the past decade has been accesed from the A.B.S, G.P.H.S and local governments for five selected communities in which members of the panel resided. Particular attention was paid to collecting key economic indicators of these communities (e.g. labour force participation rates, unemployment age rates, income levels, housing, industry structure).

Given that social phenomena at play in these communities are more particular and complex than revealed by measures of social structure gained through economic indicators or survey methods, it is important that qualitative methods were also employed. Through the use of 1985-86 interviews the study has been able to describe a set of social and cultural processes involving a sample of these young people and the social institutions with which they come into contact in their local communities. Consequently, available data enable a contextual analysis of deviant behaviour less tied to conventional notions of factors such as ethnicity or social class and more to the complex interplay between structural features of specific communties and a range of personal and social attributes of particular young people (i.e. criminality, drug and alcohol use, educational/ occupational status). In the final analysis, this research concerning the development of criminal careers has an economic foundation but is shaped by applying overlays of individual biographies (taking age, gender, social class, ethnicity and area of residence, for example, into account).
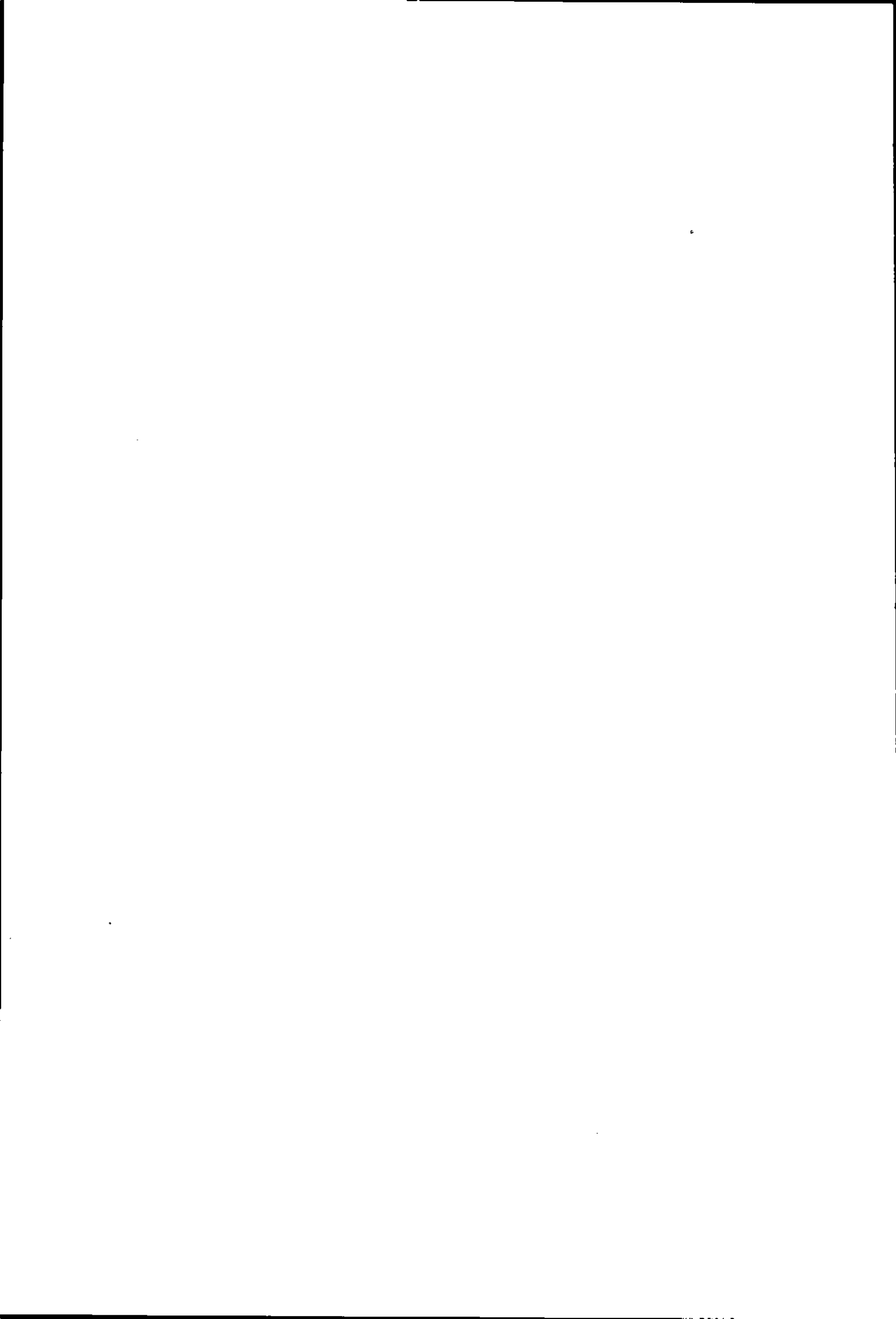
RANGE AND PRINCIPLE EFFECTS IN SENTENCE APPEALS

Dr Don Weatherburn
Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Sydney, New South Wales

The conventional account of sentence appeals has it that the
Court of Criminal appeal will only alter a sentence if either (a)
there is evidence in the sentencing judgement of a violation of
sentencing principles, or (b) the sentence is outside the range
for the offence or offences in question. In this account heavy
reliance is placed on the role played by precedent in shaping
both the principles of sentencing and the scale of tariffs or
ranges appropriate to an offence.

Very little, if any, empirical effort has been put to empirically
evaluating this theory. The paper discusses the results of some
preliminary research on the role of case-law in sentencing
appeals, the composition of appeals based on arguments of
sentencing principle the relationship between the likelihood of a
successful appeal and the length of the original sentence and the
relationship between the magnitude of a sentence reduction (in
successful defence appeals) and the length of the original
sentence.

The results obtained, though preliminary, suggest that the
characterisation of the sentencing appeal process conventionally
given is highly idealised if not somewhat romantic. Case-law, if
it plays any significant role in sentence appeals by the defence,
does so only in the minds of judges (not in their judgements).
There is little evidence to support the adoption of a 'range
rule' in cases not involving issues of sentencing principle.
Moreover, sentencing principles, when they appear in discussion,
are frequently only one of three kinds: arguments over disparity
between co-offenders, arguments over the implications of a piece
of legislation (for sentencing) and arguments over the facts
surrounding the original offence.

These results are discussed in relation to the question of
whether greater statutory constraint should be imposed on the
exercise of discretion by Courts of Criminal Appeal on sentencing
matters.

RIOTS AT THE BATHURST MOTORCYCLE RACES

Mr Chris Cunneen
Research Officer
Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Sydney, New South Wales

A Criminology Research Council funded report entitled 'The Dynamics of Collective Conflict' has been recently completed by Chris Cunneen, Mark Findlay, Rob Lynch, Jeff Sutton and Vern Tupper.

The report investigated the regular instances of Violent Conflict at the Bathurst Motorcycle Races between spectators and police. That investigation lead to an approach to understanding the leisure-based riots which drew on a number of disciplines including media studies, sociology, history and legal studies.

The evolution of a methodology capable of both capturing and explaining the complex dynamics of a riot was an integral part of the research. Generally, previous research into the field had been explanations of a 'riot' in retrospect. Because of regularity of conflict at Bathurst, a research method had to be developed capable of capturing the observations of 'participant' researchers. After moving away from a 'natural-science model' of hypothesis – testing in regard to causation of the riot, the research moved towards what Phil Cohen has termed a three-tiered analysis: the phenomenology of the event (how it is lived-out); a structural analysis of the meanings in the subculture; and an historical analysis of the subculture which elucidates its relationship to dominant social structures: in particular, the relations of class, age, and gender to the state.

The principal results of our research can be stated briefly as follows:

Our observation of the 1985 riot indicated that the riot took on the form and meaning of a ritual game. It was a collective expression of class, age and subcultural sentiment in opposition to police.

The historical analysis indicated the emergence and institutionalisation of conflict at Bathurst dated back to the early 1960s. The riots which occurred in 1985, 1983, 1981, 1980 and so on, were not isolated events but had a distinct historical development.

Simplistic, causal explanations of riots at Bathurst such as alcohol consumption, planned violence, bike gangs, etc. had little explanatory powers in accounting for the riots.

The analysis of court records over a twenty-five year period indicated a strong continuity in the age, class and genders of those arrested; the vast majority were young men from the manual working class. The time, location and nature of the conflict with police also retained a strong continuity.

In regard to the media's representation of conflict at Bathurst, it was found that the media were more intent upon establishing a climate of opinion rather than establishing conditions that would enable the public to derive attitudes and directions. The media approached the conflict from an assumed ideological and moral consensus that condemned out of hand any argument of the bike riders. The media played a central role in the creation of a 'moral panic' over the riots.

The analysis of TV news coverage indicated that police and politicians are used as the primary definers of the conflict. The mutually reinforcing relationship between police and TV media in defining the 'menace' has serious implications for a balanced view of the nature of such disorder. It is a powerful alliance which narrows the terms of public debate.

Since the 1960s the police have gradually assumed a larger profile in the process of defining and controlling the public order 'crisis' at Bathurst. Simultaneously the police have developed specialisation in their response and there has been a diminution of the control capacities and responsibilities of other groups.

Public disorder at Bathurst has become increasingly more clearly focussed against police presence. The contest over public space and the exercise of force is now seen in terms of a struggle for authority. The police themselves have become the 'community' threatened by such disorder.

COMMENTS/CONCLUSIONS

Dr Ken Polk
Criminology Department
University of Melbourne
Melbourne, Victoria

The papers presented at this seminar make clear that there is
much good research being conducted in criminology in Australia.
The development of innovative research procedures, especially to
deal with potentially sensitive and difficult areas of
investigation, is particularly notable. Novel and significant
methods have been discussed for analysing such topics as
police/Aboriginal relations, the juvenile clients' perceptions of
the juvenile court process, riot behaviour or correctional inmate
cultures. There is also a commendable diversity, with a broad
range of qualitative and quantitative procedures being utilised.
Interesting suggestions have been made regarding ways of
exploring through observational and participatory techniques the
scenes of youthful unemployment or prison life for women, while
more quantitative procedures were proposed for the important
tasks of longitudinal analysis.

These papers also suggest that there is much that Australian
research can contribute to an understanding of the workings of
various components of the criminal justice system. Some overseas
scholars have argued that the labelling perspective is dead,
perhaps because past research on the interactive dynamics of
labelling produce problematic results. If it is assumed that a
major intent of labelling (and other) perspectives is to shift
the focus from analysis of characteristics of individual
offenders to a focus on the response of the criminal justice
system, then an overview of these papers would indicate that
there is still some potency in such perspectives. Relatively
little attention has been given in the papers at these sessions
to descriptions of attributes of particular kinds of offenders.
Instead, we see here a rich array of descriptive material on how
the criminal justice process works to produce (or not produce)
one or another kind of person who is labelled 'criminal' or
'delinquent'.

This writer emerges from this seminar with a more rounded
knowledge of the function of the justice system to maintain some
amount of control over disreputable or troublesome behaviour.
Often, especially when we look at the deep end of the justice
process, we focus on the most serious of 'hard core' crime. Yet,
as John Irwin (of California State University, San Francisco) has
suggested in his recent writings, it may be that a major function
of the criminal justice system is to maintain control (or the
appearance of control) over troublesome, difficult behaviour even
though that behaviour may not be either specific enough or
serious enough to violate criminal codes.

If one assumes that the criminal justice system is primarily about the control of serious crime, and that it should be guided by strict interpretations of the law, then it becomes hard to account for such processes as the 'street cleaning' that is often a part of police/juvenile encounters (including the sweeps through shopping malls), or the imposition of restrictive bail conditions in what appear to be cases of trivial law violation. At the same time, an understanding of these control processes may be essential if criminal justice reforms are to produce their intended consequences. Perhaps one factor that helps to explain the failure of bail reform (as discussed in this seminar) is that such initiatives are premised on a narrow and strict legal interpretation of the presumed function of bail, and ignore the actual factors governing the use of brief, pre-trial periods of confinement by police and magistrates.

Given the concerns for theory which run rather deeply in the perspectives for the study of crime in Australia, the relative scarcity of the treatment of wider theoretical concerns is notable in these research papers. This is, of course, due in large part to the fact that the individual writers were following a direction to address primarily methodological issues in papers prepared for this seminar. Even granting that, however, it still might be expected that these discussions would be a bit clearer in their underlying theoretical structure. Without such references to theory, it becomes difficult at times to assess the wider meaning or significance of the research.

Perhaps because of this problem of the inattention to theory, few of the papers made explicit reference to the wider social systems within which the problems of law violation, or the criminal justice system, are imbedded. Juvenile delinquency, for one example, is clearly an issue enmeshed in wider economic, political, educational, employment and other community forces. Any discussion of either the problem, or the response of the juvenile justice system, which does not incorporate these wider forces will by definition be limited and incomplete.

These comments aside, criminological research in Australia would seem in a healthy state. There are signs of appropriate concern for particularly vulnerable groups such as Aborigines and female offenders. There seems to be a commitment among many to approach the study of the criminal justice system from the point of view of assuring that that system be carefully monitored and called into account where there are clear issues of violations of natural justice rights. Let us hope that such research continues.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PARTICIPANTS

Dr Christine Alder	Lecturer Criminology Department University of Melbourne PARKVILLE VIC 3057
Ms Ann Aungles	Sociology Department University of Wollongong PO Box 1144 WOLLONGONG NSW 2500
Ms Becky Bailey-Harris	Law School University of Adelaide GPO Box 498 ADELAIDE SA 5001
Ms Eve Barboza	Lecturer Social Sciences and Welfare Studies Mitchell College of Advanced Education BATHURST NSW 2795
Mr David Biles	Acting Director Australian Institute of Criminology PO Box 28 WODEN ACT 2606
Ms Roseanne Bonney	Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research GPO Box 6 SYDNEY NSW 2001
Dr David Bradley	Dean of Studies NSW Police Academy McDermott Drive GOULBURN NSW 2580
Professor W G Carson	Dean of School of Social Sciences La Trobe University BUNDOORA VIC 3083
Mr Dennis Challinger	Assistant Director Information and Training Australian Institute of Criminology PO Box 28 WODEN ACT 2606
Ms Janet Chan	43 Townson Street BLAKEHURST NSW 2221
Sergeant P Cioccarelli	NSW Police Headquarters College Street SYDNEY NSW 2000

114

Mr B Couper

NSW Police Academy
McDermott Drive
GOULBURN   NSW   2580

Dr Garry Coventry

Lecturer
Department of Legal Studies
La Trobe University
BUNDOORA   VIC   3083

Mr Chris Cunneen

Research Officer
Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
GPO Box 6
SYDNEY   NSW   2001

Ms Vicki Dalton

Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Mr Ian Dobinson

Project Officer
Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
GPO Box 6
SYDNEY   NSW   2001

Mr J D Fine

Lecturer
Faculty of Law
University of Western Australia
NEDLANDS   WA   6009

Dr Ronald D Francis

Senior Lecturer
Psychology Department
Chisholm Institute of Technology
CAULFIELD   VIC   3145

Professor Fay Gale

Department of Geography
University of Adelaide
GPO Box 498
ADELAIDE   SA   5001

Ms Julie Gardner

Project Officer
Office of Crime Statistics
Attorney-General's Department
211 Victoria Square
ADELAIDE   SA   5000

Dr Angela Gorta

Senior Research Officer
Department of Corrective Services
GPO Box 31
SYDNEY   NSW   2001

Dr Peter Grabosky

Senior Criminologist
Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Dr Riaz Hassan	Reader in Sociology School of Social Sciences Flinders University BEDFORD PARK SA 5042
Mrs Kayleen Hazlehurst	Senior Research Officer Australian Institute of Criminology PO Box 28 WODEN ACT 2606
Ms Bronwyn Hendry	Tutor and Research Assistant Criminology Department University of Melbourne PARKVILLE VIC 3052
Mr David Indermaur	Acting Senior Clinical Psychologist W.A. Prisons Department 441 Murray Street PERTH WA 6000
Kaylene	Paula Kelly & Associates 704 Canterbury Road SURREY HILLS VIC 3127
Ms Paula Kelly	Director Paula Kelly & Associates 704 Canterbury Road SURREY HILLS VIC 3127
Dr Joachim Kersten	Lecturer Criminology Department University of Melbourne PARKVILLE VIC 3052
Mr Stephen Knightbridge	Research Assistant Psychology Department La Trobe University BUNDOORA VIC 3083
Senior Constable Christine Lidgard	Social Research Fellow Queensland Police Department GPO Box 1440 BRISBANE QLD 4001
Dr Kevin McConkey	Senior Lecturer in Psychology School of Behavioural Sciences Macquarie University SYDNEY NSW 2109
Dr Gerry M McGrath	National Police Research Unit GPO Box 2047 ADELAIDE SA 5001
Dr John Minnery	Senior Lecturer Queensland Institute of Technology GPO Box 2434 BRISBANE QLD 4001

Mr Frank Morgan

Department of Corrective Services
GPO Box 1747
ADELAIDE   SA   5001

Ms Janelle Morgan

Research Assistant
Psychology Department
La Trobe University
BUNDOORA   VIC   3083

Ms Jane Mugford

Principal Programs Officer
Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Dr Stephen K Mugford

Senior Lecturer in Sociology
Australian National University
GPO Box 4
CANBERRA   ACT   2601

Dr Satyanshu Mukherjee

Principal Criminologist
Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Mr Ray Myers

School of Social Sciences
Mitchell College of Advanced Education
BATHURST   NSW   2795

Mr John Myrtle

Librarian
Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Dr Ngaire Naffine

National Research Fellow
University of Adelaide
GPO Box 498
ADELAIDE   SA   5001

Dr Ian O'Connor

Lecturer
Department of Social Work
University of Queensland
ST LUCIA   QLD   4067

Mr Mark Pathe

Senior Research Officer
S.A. Police Headquarters
GPO Box 1539
ADELAIDE   SA   5001

Ms Jenny Pitts

Research Officer
Victorian TAFE Off-Campus Network
143 Franklin Street
MELBOURNE   VIC   3000

Dr Ken Polk

Criminology Department
University of Melbourne
PARKVILLE   VIC   3057

Mr Don Porritt	Chief Research Officer Research and Statistics Division Department of Corrective Services GPO Box 31 SYDNEY NSW 2001
Mr Mike Presdee	Lecturer S.A. Centre for Youth Studies Magill Site, Lorne Avenue MAGILL SA 5072
Ms Lynn Roberts	Secretary/Research Officer Special Government Committee on Aboriginal/Police/Community Relations 295 Rokeby Road SUBIACO WA 6008
Mr Leigh Roeger	Department of Corrective Services GPO Box 1747 ADELAIDE SA 5001
Mr Stuart Ross	Acting Manager, Research Office of Corrections 20 Albert Road SOUTH MELBOURNE VIC 3205
Ms Gloria Rossini	Senior Project Officer Office of Crime Statistics Attorney-General's Department 211 Victoria Square ADELAIDE SA 5000
Ms Anita Scandia	Australian Institute of Criminology PO Box 28 WODEN ACT 2606
Dr Michael Siegal	Senior Lecturer Department of Psychology University of Queensland ST LUCIA QLD 4067
Mr Robert Smith	Senior Lecturer, Police Studies Chisholm Institute of Technology PO Box 197 CAULFIELD EAST VIC 3145
Mr Keith Solomon	Senior Lecturer, Civil Engineering Chisholm Institute of Technology PO Box 197 CAULFIELD EAST VIC 3145
Dr David Tait	Study Director Magistrates Court Sentencing Project 18 Perry Street MARRICKVILLE NSW 2204

Mr John Van Groningen   Professional Adviser to the
Attorney-General
221 Queen Street
MELBOURNE   VIC   3000

Dr Arthur Veno   Senior Lecturer
Department of Psychology
Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education
Switchback Road
CHURCHILL   VIC   3842

Mr John Walker   Criminologist
Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Dr Rosemary Wearing   Senior Lecturer, Sociology
La Trobe University
BUNDOORA   VIC   3083

Dr Don Weatherburn   Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
GPO Box 6
SYDNEY   NSW   2001

Dr Paul Wilson   Assistant Director
Research and Statistics
Australian Institute of Criminology
PO Box 28
WODEN   ACT   2606

Ms Joy Wundersitz   Research Associate
Department of Geography
University of Adelaide
GPO Box 498
ADELAIDE   SA   5001

EVALUATION OF THE SEMINAR

In the week following the seminar a short questionnaire was sent
out to participants listed in Appendix A. As with past seminar
questionnaires, this questionnaire also sought reactions to the
organisation and content of the seminar and invited suggestions
for the improvement of future seminars of this type.

Of the 57 questionnaires sent out the week following the seminar,
51 (89%) were returned promptly to the Institute. Responses to
the 14 questions are set out below:

1. **How many days or half days were you at the seminar?**

   70% of respondents attended the seminar for at least three
   days, with 63% attending for the entire seminar. There were
   a small number who, due to other commitments, were only able
   to attend for a short time. Nearly all of those who received
   assistance with travel were present for the majority of the
   seminar.

2. **Did you present a paper?**

   33 of the 51 respondents who completed the questionnaire had
   presented papers at the seminar. This relatively low figure
   of speakers is due to the fact that the number of speakers
   had been reduced in comparison with past research seminars
   and therefore fewer people were able to present papers.
   Unfortunately, we were not able to accommodate the large
   number of requests we received from persons wishing to
   present papers, including Institute staff. It was pleasing to
   see that a large number of those who were not able to present
   papers in the program still attended the seminar.

3. **Given that abstracts are published in the Proceedings, do
   you believe it is worthwhile circulating them at the
   seminar?**

   46 of the 51 respondents agreed that it was worthwhile
   circulating abstracts at the seminar with only 3 of these
   wanting the papers circulated before presentation.

   3 indicated they believed it not worthwhile (one being the
   Assistant Director, Information & Training at the Institute)
   and 2 had no preference.

4. **Do you think a four-day seminar is too long, not long enough, too short, or about right?**

32 respondents thought the seminar was about right, compared to 16 who thought it was too long. A reasonable number believed there should be more leisure time to allow for informal discussions. A number of people indicated they believed a half-day recreational outing to break the tension of the seminar and to clear their heads from the air-conditioning was needed.

5. **In comparison with past research seminars, the number of speakers was reduced. Do you think in the future the numbers of speakers should be reduced, stay the same or be increased?**

Just over half the respondents felt the number of speakers was about right (25), while 21 believed even though the number of speakers had been reduced since previous seminars, the program was still too crowded. 2 believed the number of speakers should be increased (one being the Acting Director and previous organiser of Research Seminars, Mr David Biles). 3 failed to comment.

More than half the respondents offered comments including: running concurrent sessions to reduce the total number of days of the seminar; arranging early morning sessions over breakfast and longer lunch breaks; cutting down on the number of papers to perhaps two per session; perhaps an evening seminar.

A number felt that time allowed for speakers was insufficient and should be increased, especially allowing more time for discussion after presentation of the paper.

6. **In general, was the seminar useful for you?**

Most respondents believed it was extremely useful because they were able to obtain feedback on their research and methodology and also had the opportunity to meet with people with similar research interests. One also commented that it was 'motivational'.

Some believe it important in that they were able to gain a greater understanding of areas that they were not normally involved in.

A Western Australian respondent said she 'felt revitalised by the conference - and ready to move East' after referring to the isolation of her work and location in the West.

One respondent believed the seminar was useful as he was 'able to observe the power distribution within the AIC'!

7. **List the three papers that you found most interesting (in order of importance)?**

   Nearly everyone who presented a paper was mentioned by respondents as presenting interesting papers – in fact the 51 respondents named 33 out of the 38 papers presented. Only 8 respondents were unable to decide because they either attended for too short a time or felt all the papers were interesting.

   Those mentioned most frequently were: Lynn Roberts (13), Mike Presdee (12), Kaylene (11), Joachim Kersten (10), Paula Kelly (9), David Bradley (9), Fay Gale/Joy Wundersitz (9), Kit Carson (7) and Chris Cunneen (7). From this it would appear that the most popular sessions were Youth and Delinquency, Females and Prisons and Police Issues.

   We noted the modesty of some participants in nominating their own paper as one of the most interesting!

8. **At present the Institute is committed to conducting research seminars once every two years. Do you believe that this is satisfactory?**

   Of the 12 respondents who answered 'no', a couple of these commented that because of the increasing amount of research being done there was a need for such a conference yearly.

   Of the 37 who answered in the affirmative, 7 offered comments which included: it would not be practical with all the other seminars/conferences conducted during a year; there may be repetition of papers because a lot of research projects take at least a year to complete and sufficient new ideas would not be generated at the seminar; and finally, that coming to Canberra is expensive.

9. **Would you like to be invited to a similar seminar in the future?**

   All 51 respondents indicated that they would like to be invited in the future.

10. **Was it a good idea to have a discussant at the end of each day?**

    36 of the 51 responded in the affirmative. The comments offered included: more analysis of themes in research; comments by discussant to be followed by more discussion; different discussants; a panel of discussants or a discussant for each group of speakers who is familiar with the area. Most, however, believed that it was essential in bringing together the day's thoughts even though the discussant had too much to cover in far too short a time.

11. **What suggestions, if any, would you make for improving future seminars of this type?**

    Because there were so many varied suggestions put forward it is difficult to find any common solutions for improving future seminars. Some of the more common suggestions were:

    - less papers and more discussion

    - workshop groups

    - group seminars on issues/problems/methods

    - half-hour of general discussion time following the discussant

    - arrange for simple meals to be available at a fixed venue at reasonable costs

    - evening seminars/breakfast sessions

    - advertise widely and in advance in journals to attract wide range of papers

    - establish a panel to screen papers for 'quality control'

    - improvements in air conditioning and seating

    - perhaps a guest speaker who is a non-criminologist (e.g. the Attorney-General)

    - perhaps varying the venue from Canberra.

    Naturally it is impossible to cater to everyone's suggestions, but in future seminars we will try to incorporate as many of the suggestions from participants as possible.

12. **Were the arrangements made for your travel and accommodation to the seminar satisfactory?**

    Nearly all participants who had sought assistance with travel and accommodation were happy with the arrangements. A large majority of participants took advantage of the bulk booking at the Statesman Hotel in Curtin and found this satisfactory. There were, however, two who would have preferred a location closer to the city - like University House at the ANU, which they felt had a more relaxed atmosphere and whose prices were comparable with the Statesman. One respondent commented that he thought 'the Statesman was a real dump' and another thought it was rather depressing.

A couple of respondents from Western Australia pointed out they may not be able to attend future seminars unless they could be offered travel assistance as not only were the fares expensive, but they found the seminar overall to be expensive for meals and accommodation. A couple of respondents just commented that 'Canberra is expensive'.

A number mentioned that they had appreciated the bus travel very much. One respondent said he would like to be collected from the airport, but this is clealy impossible due to large number of participants and varying arrival times/departures.

Overall, respondents agreed that it was a good idea to have such a large number of participants staying at the one venue as this permitted time for informal discussion and social gatherings.

13. **Would you be offended if participants were permitted to smoke in the reception area during the coffee breaks?**

Non-smokers outweighted smokers 42 to 9. In addition, 32 persons indicated that they would be offended by persons smoking compared to 19 who would not be offended.

Of the 19 who indicated that they would not be offended, a number said that they would not actually be 'offended', but would prefer if it did not happen. A couple of respondents pointed out that it was not at all a moral issue and another that it was just not desirable in such a confined space and when food was present.

Events have overtaken the results. As part of Institute policy, smoking is not allowed in the reception area.