Developing successful diversionary schemes for youth from remote Aboriginal communities

Kate Senior
William Ivory, Richard Chenhall
Teresa Cunningham
Tricia Nagel
Robbie Lloyd
Rachael McMahon

July 2012

Foreword

An important belief for our people at Port Keats is *Da Ngimalmin*. It means the roots and tree of life. We need to assist and show our young people the real life story. Help them in knowing who they should become. If the young people are not supported, then we will never go ahead. We need to take the young kids seriously. We need to help them get jobs, look after their families, play sport and importantly, to look after themselves. Show them how to live healthy lives and develop their skills. We want them to walk tall and be proud of who they are.

We have a message for the researchers and the Government. Come to Wadeye. Get on the ground. Do things that help our young people. We cannot wait. It has to happen *now.* Get programs going, start things up and be with the young people until it is working properly. Work *with* them and us. Don't just do the research and then leave. We have told people what we need. Now we need to start with youth leadership groups, drop in centres and family responsibility centres. Don't just train people for jobs and then have nothing available, we, the middle-aged group, the *Kardu Keke*, also have a responsibility. We need to step up and work with the young people to ensure that they have a good life to look forward to. We need to work alongside the research to make it happen.

Tobias Nganbe
Rak Kirnmu People

Contents

Figures, Tables and Maps

Partners

This project was conducted by a research team from The Menzies School of Health Research and The University of Melbourne. The Research was funded by the Criminology Research Council and The Northern Territory Department of Justice. Responsibility for this report, including the findings and interpretation, lies with the research team. All information presented here is sourced from participants who willingly provided their time and input, as well as from policy documents that are available in the public domain.

Acknowledgements

Acronyms and abbreviations

AOD	alcohol and other drugs
CAEPR	Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
CCNT	Catholic Care Northern Territory
CDEP	Community Development Employment Program
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
CYDU	Community Youth Development Units
DEEWR	Commonwealth Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
FRP	Family Responsible Program
IDPCDP	Illicit Drug Pre-Court Diversion Program
MSHR	Menzies School of Health Research
MST	Multi Systemic Theory
NGO	non-government organisation
OLSH	Our Lady of the Sacred Heart
OLSHTCC	Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Thamarrurr Catholic College
PAR	Participative Action Research
PC	personal computer
PROMIS	Police Real-time On-line Management Information System
SEIQoL-DW	schedule for the evaluation of individual quality of life, direct weighting
SEWB	social and emotional well being
TRAC	Thamarrurr Regional Aboriginal Council
VET	Vocational Education and Training
VOC	Violence Offence Conference

Project Team

Dr Kate Senior, is a program leader in Youth Health and Wellbeing at the Menzies School of Health Research. She is an anthropologist with 15 years experience working in remote Indigenous communities. She is the chief investigator of this project.

Dr William Ivory is an anthropologist, currently employed by FaHCSIA at Gunbalanya in Western Arnhemland. He was engaged as a research officer for MSHR during part of this research project. He has been engaged in Aboriginal field work in the Northern Territory since 1971.

Dr Richard Chenhall is an anthropologist, currently working as a Senior lecturer in the Centre for Health and Society, Melbourne School of Population Health, University of Melbourne. Richard has been conducting research with Indigenous Australians since 1995 and is one of the chief investigators on the project.

Dr Teresa Cunningham is a research fellow at the MSHR. She has over 25 years experience working in both the public and academic sectors in the areas of juvenile justice, family studies, education and youth wellbeing. Teresa is one of the chief investigators on the project.

Associate Professor Tricia Nagel is a psychiatrist who brings expertise as a senior clinician, health service administrator and research in Indigenous mental health in the Northern Territory with over 20 years of experience. Tricia is one of the chief investigators on the project**.**

Dr Robbie Lloyd is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Youth Health and Wellbeing at the Menzies School of Health Research. He has nearly 20 years experience in working with Indigenous communities across Australia. He has formerly worked coordinating Pastoral Care and Wellbeing for the Catholic Education Office of the NT, including supporting students and staff at OLSH Thamarrurr School in Wadeye.

Ms Rachael McMahon is the project manager for this project. She is currently an Anthropology PhD student with Menzies School of Health Research. Her PhD is looking into the dynamics of quality of life research. Rachael has a background in development studies, project management and mental health rehabilitation and aged care nursing.

Executive Summary

This report explores the experiences and aspirations of youth in Wadeye, a remote Aboriginal community in the Northern Territory which has become synonymous with the deviant behaviours of its young people. The research was undertaken over a three year period, and builds upon a previous ten year period of community based research. As such it forms a unique longitudinal study of young people during a period of extreme change in their lives.

The research applied a mixed methods approach, utilising ethnography, interviews and the application of a community wide survey. Although young community based people were the primary focus of the study, the research also included the wider community perspectives, service providers and a sample of imprisoned community members.

The proliferation of gangs in the Wadeye community has become a primary focus for outsiders' interpretation of social issues in the community. These gangs have been defined by their violent and oppositional cultures. This period of research and the research which preceded it, emphasise the complexity of gang cultures and gang dynamics in this community. The report also emphasises that a primary focus on gangs serves to obscure other factors influencing young people's lives and behaviours. This includes those youth who do not engage in deviant behaviour, who attend school and progress to employment. It also includes youth who engage in non-gang related violent and anti-social behaviour.

The report argues that effective service delivery and the development of appropriate diversion activities for young people must recognise the diversity and complexity of the youth experience in the community and recognise and develop their current strengths.

Feedback from elders, young people and long-term community workers, advocates that more partnership approaches to further research and program evaluation must become an integral part of the process. Involving young people themselves as part of this research process will provide opportunities to create new roles for them and to establish a positive foundation for the future of the community.

Recommendations

Juvenile justice and diversion

- That youth programs should involve young people themselves as designers and facilitators of restorative activities, linked with culture and country, and pathways to employment and enterprises.

- Given the respect which young people had for elders in the community, local elders in conjunction with other community members should be consulted about Restorative Justice and Circle Court approaches to be possibly conducted under the auspices of TRAC, for handling young people who offend and re-offend.

Appropriate services and activities for youth

- Any new interventions for young people in the community must be aware of, and, where appropriate, based on the evidence. They should build upon existing successful programs.

- Programs should be developed which facilitate and encourage community members to develop the life skills of young people.

- Young people's leadership skills should be respected and developed and they should be offered opportunities to define and develop services that most effectively meet their needs.

- Since the early periods of the research the Indigenous clan leaders, other community members, and the youth have often suggested a possible option of work camp type experiences coupled with economic venture. These should be explored and developed within the existing clan structure and hierarchy, possibly with the assistance and cooperation of corrective agencies.

- The rural development of people and economic ventures on clan country should be further encouraged and financially supported.

- The Wadeye football experiment of sending teams to Darwin to develop not just their sporting prowess but also their engagement with, and exposure to a wider world has proved very successful. It should not be restricted to this field. Other areas of development should also be encouraged.

- A calendar of youth community activities and events should be developed in conjunction with the various government and NGO agencies.

Mental health and well being

- A small percentage of respondents reported having thought about self harm. This concern needs to be addressed in greater depth in future research. Currently in the community there are few options for proper diagnosis and treatment of mental health problems. These should be urgently considered for Wadeye and other remote communities.

- There needs to be ongoing prevention and intervention programs to address the issue of substance use in the community, particularly in the light of findings by respondents.

- Domestic violence appears to have been largely hidden by the emphasis on gang activity. There needs to be extensive education about domestic violence and safe, supportive relationships.

- As an adjunct to the findings in the report Aboriginal leaders have also notified the research team of the need for youth life counselling. This would be an all inclusive mechanism that enables youth to discuss and develop job pathways, physical well-being, health, traditional responsibilities, and next steps in life as well as self discovery in a multi-cultural sense.

- The development of a holistic, coordinated youth social and emotional wellbeing program could link all agencies to avoid overlap and complement various programs. This strategy would link the health clinic, school, TRAC, Corrections and others as needed in offering SEWB support for young people.

Addressing the social determinants of health

- Physical factors, such as reasonable housing conditions, adequate sporting and recreational facilities, and services that may be 'normal in other Australian country towns appear to factor strongly in a person's positive life span development. Governments should continue to pursue positive outcomes in such areas.

- Environmental health programs could be part of youth employment development, bringing caring for country and local town maintenance into the mix for young people – creating cultural trails, bush food gardens etc.

Information needs

- Data that will inform the law and justice strategy and government involvement showing statistics, types of activity, trends, events and other information should be collected on a regular basis. Such information should be linked to the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR) on population, housing, education, and social conditions. This type of research should be supported and continued.

Further research

- Given that this is one of the few longitudinal research projects focussed on Indigenous youth in the Northern Territory and Australia, it is recommended that the research be continued possibly with a refined goal and objectives. Even during the period of this research the structure, behaviour, and development of the gangs have changed which should be monitored.

- The research refers to various models of engagement and redirecting of dysfunctional youth. These models are not exhaustive and further examination of possible models should be explored.
- Family violence should be further addressed in the context of the community as a whole and the outcomes of the combination of gangs and family networks in terms of perpetuating family infighting and in relation to domestic violence.

- One of the areas with great potential for bringing youth and elders together is through active circles of sharing and learning. This sort of Participative Action Research (PAR) in mainstream terminology matches Indigenous ways of exploring and developing knowledge. So the report advocates working with TRAC to create such a cross-generational body to explore ways to involve young people more in this work as a vocational pathway.

1. Introduction

This is the final report for the research project *Developing successful diversionary schemes for youth from remote Aboriginal communities*. The research has entailed a detailed study of the Wadeye community in the Northern Territory and although it has a particular focus on the experience of young people, the project has engaged at a whole of community level to discuss the problems experienced by youth and potential solutions to these problems.

The original aims of the project were twofold: to provide a detailed exploration of youth and their activities in the Wadeye community; as well as engaging with an Indigenous youth diversion program. This latter aim was developed in order to share research findings and to contribute to the development of appropriate strategies for this program to effectively engage with remote living Indigenous youth. Unfortunately, during the course of this project, the diversion program experienced problems affecting its sustainability and while conversations did occur, mechanisms did not exist for the program to incorporate many of our findings. This translation of findings did occur throughout the project at the level of the local service providers.

The research team utilised a mixed methods approach to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the Wadeye community. Ethnographic approaches were important and the ethnographic engagement with youth, community members and service providers described in this project, builds upon an extended period of research conducted previously in the community by Ivory (2003, 2009). The ethnographic material therefore covers ten years of engagement in the community and provides a unique picture of young people in the context of a rapidly changing world. This material is supplemented by the results of a survey, principally conducted in youth spaces and the local school, which was designed to obtain the views of young people across the community. In depth interviews were also conducted with imprisoned community members as well as service providers and policy makers.

From the outside, Wadeye is a community which is often defined by levels of violence and particularly the violence of young people associated with gangs. This report aims to provide a more nuanced and contextualised understanding of the dynamics of gangs and gang membership in the community. We have described some of the positive youth outcomes that emerge in the community, the protective factors associated with gang membership as well as how some individuals resist being involved in criminal activities.

Nevertheless, this community does experience high rates of involvement in crime, so an important component of this project has been to explore how services can engage effectively and appropriately with Indigenous youth to ensure the development of meaningful diversionary activities.

This report will begin with an overview of the literature pertaining to youth gangs and the development of diversionary programs. This will be followed by a discussion of methods and the research setting. The results of the project will be presented in chapters outlining the results of the household survey, the ethnographic findings, the prison interviews and the service provider and policy interviews. This material will then be synthesised into a discussion regarding the key elements of gang formation and activity in the community and how best services may respond to the needs of at risk youth.

2. Literature Overview

Introduction

Being involved in a gang is a high risk activity for youth; it may expose them to violence, substance misuse, peer pressure to be involved in dangerous and destructive behaviours and may result in early and on-going conduct with the criminal justice system. Youth gang membership is also associated with poor educational outcomes, unemployment and homelessness (Dukes et al 1997). Furthermore, youth gang involvement may be a precursor to involvement in adult criminal organisations (White, 2007:31). From an outsider's perspective involvement in gangs is potentially dangerous for youth health and quality of life. From a youth perspective, however, involvement in gangs may confer a range of benefits, including a sense of purpose, a form of protection, raised self esteem and can provide an arena where youth can demonstrate success to their peers.

Gangs: definitions, theories and characteristics

Thrasher's (1929) research on street gangs, defined a gang as an:

> Interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then integrated through conflict. It is characterised by the following types of behaviour: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict and planning. The result of this collective behaviour is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness and attachment to a local territory (Thrasher 1929, 46).

Since this time, the development and dynamics of gang identity has been a significant focus of sociological inquiry. The Eurogang network, unlike its American counterparts who have struggled to reach consensus, defines a gang as:

> Any durable, street orientated youth group whose identity includes involvement in illegal activity ((Weerman et al. 2009).

Gangs in Australia

White (2007: 5) states that, 'the issue of youth gangs has received considerable media, political and police attention in Australia in recent years. Periodic media reports about perceived proliferation and criminal or anti-social activities of youth gangs have long featured in press stories in many parts of the country'. Wadeye gang violence, however inaccurate a depiction, was plastered across media and political discourse depicting a society in great

chaos and crisis (*NT News* 28 May, 7 September 2002, 11 January, 11 October 2003; Paul Toohey, 'A Town like Wadeye', *The Australian* 3 November 2007). So the greater public has a definition of Wadeye gang activity centred on social dysfunction and cultural breakdown. This view is not based on sound research because there is a fundamental lack of research in gang behaviour in Indigenous gangs in Australia. This literature review will describe how Wadeye gangs can be a positive and innovative means to survive socio-economic disadvantage and the remnants of colonialism.

To illustrate the fluency between gang and non-gang characteristics, and how Wadeye 'gangs' do not fit neatly into either category, White's (2007, 23) characteristics of gangs versus non-gang dimensions are listed below:

Table 2.1 General gang characteristics

Dimensions	Gang member	Non-gang member
Formation	Large groups, includes older members	Small to medium sized peer based age
Activities	Criminal, antisocial	Social, recreational
Locations	Street based, city, parks, licensed premises	Privately based (own and others' homes), commercial outlets (malls), beaches
Basis of membership	Status, protection, illegal activities	Friendship, belonging, group based activities
Gender composition	Male	Mixed gender
Conflicts and violence	Intensive and extensive experience of violence, as both perpetuator and victim	Spontaneous and sporadic experience of violence, as both perpetrator and victim
Drugs	Poly drug use, regular and recent use hard drugs	Experimental, sporadic use, soft drugs
Experience of school	Social isolation, exclusion, low commitment, high truancy, outside problems, drug use	Socially connected with school community, enjoy school, do well at school

Wadeye gangs meld between the gang and non-gang identifiers, for example with drug use, basis of membership and conflicts and violence. As gangs are stereotyped to be functions of violence, White (2007, 24) has provided the table below to describe the difference between gang and non-gang violence. Wadeye gangs do not fit neatly into gang definitions here either.

Table 2.2 Gang characteristics relating to violence

Dimensions	Gang member	Non-gang member
Group dynamics	Violence and conflict tends to involved groups	Violence and conflicts tend to be individually based
Motivation	Revenge, ongoing dislike, protection of territory, influence of drugs	Spur of the moment, ongoing dislike
Location	Outside school as well as inside school, street locations	Primarily inside school, institutional locations
Frequency	Recent, regular, and often involving group conflicts	Occasional and sporadic
Intensity	Multiple experiences of victimisation and as perpetrators, with high degrees of violence exhibited	Infrequent experiences as victims or perpetrator, low levels of violence exhibited
Weapons used	High proportion of weapons ownership, and use	Low proportion of weapons ownership, and use
Injuries	Frequent experiences of injuries such as wounds, with majority respondents experiencing an injury	Low incidence of injury, and injuries relatively minor when experienced
Relationship to drugs	Poly drug use and extensive use of drugs linked to violence, also tied to drug selling	Alcohol linked violence

Areas of loose definition of Wadeye gangs in this list include frequency and intensity. Definitions relating to motivation, group dynamics and drug use are more accurate in the Wadeye context. Drugs related to violence are to a greater extent related to gang members. The only real difference is that gang members tend to commit more crime than non-gang members (White and Mason 2009, 65)

What constitutes a gang relative to a non-gang is very fluid and flexible. Definitions of gangs are not always relevant to the Wadeye gang situation. Cited in Ivory (2003), Miller (1974 in Grennan, Britz, Rush and Barker 2000, 9-10) identified six major elements of a gang:

- Being organised
- Having identifiable leadership
- Identifying with a Territory
- Continual association

- Having a specific purpose
- Being engaged with illegal activities

Wadeye gangs possess these elements, however loosely.

Type of Wadeye gangs

White (2007, 16) argues that there four main types of gangs: criminal, conflict, retreat and street culture. The Wadeye gang type might be classified as "conflict – in which the main feature is that of street fighting and where violence is associated with gaining social status and street reputation. This kind of activity is marked by an emphasis on honour, personal integrity and territoriality (defending one's physical or community boundaries). Issues of self esteem and identity, constructions of masculinity and self protection loom large in consideration of why conflicts occur and persist over time.

It is important to note that Wadeye gangs are a complex, porous and multifaceted phenomenon, which have developed from a strong cultural history of leadership stemming back from early colonial tension and the days of Nemarluk and the Red Band in the 1930s and are a robust socio-cultural reaction to a very turbulent environment with little opportunity to escape from, for example, a lack of employment opportunities (Ivory 2003, 2009).

Theory

Ivory (2003, 2009) outlined a strong argument for gang theory to understand the Wadeye gangs. He began by stating that Emile Durkheim (1982,101) argues that deviance is an integral part of all societies because it affirms cultural norms and values. Functionalist disciples of Durkheim, including such contemporary sociologists as Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton, believed that identifying deviant behaviour was central to the process of generating and sustaining cultural values, clarifying moral boundaries and promoting social solidarity. Others such as Foucault (1967) and other post-modern theorists later argued that the sociology of deviance was a means by which the powerful exerted power over the powerless. According to Foucault, things like murder, illegal drug use, robbery, and the activities of sub groups were not "deviance" but "categories of censure" which were gradually created, developed or re-formed in the course of establishing and mapping out new systems and territories of domination (Sumner 1994, 297) (Ivory 2003, 56).

Ivory (2003, 57-8) goes on to describe Cohen's (1972) theory of sub-cultural deviance in which gangs delight in upsetting the authority of the hierarchy, perpetuating their separation yet reliance on the mainstream culture as a structure to revile. As such, gangs are labelled by the broader society as defiant and out to cause trouble for no apparent reason but to cause trouble.

Gangs, their formation and action in Wadeye, must be viewed within the historical, cultural, political, social, environmental and economic dynamics creating them. These things cannot be separated from consideration of the remnants, or possible continuance, of colonisation and race theory. Smith

(1999) and Pholi et al (2009) argue that Indigenous peoples are defined by the dominant culture as 'lacking' in every aspect of their lives, so it is no surprise that youth groups in Wadeye have taken back the power, shown some masculine bravado (displaying male prowress and dominance), and become deviant subcultures. It should be emphasised that these subcultures are not static entities but depict potential for locally defined social change through their fluidity, flexibility and multivocality, creatively finding means to empower themselves against the dominant colonising culture, paradoxically by integrating parts of the dominant culture in their adoption of heavy metal gang personas.

Dynamics of Wadeye gangs

The reasons for joining 'gangs', as they will be called here for convenience, are developing as much social, cultural, political, environmental and economic capital as possible.[1] Social capital is gained by a sense of anomie, social belonging and identity as part of a gang. Young men, mainly, are also obliged to join the gang due to kin and clan obligations. The obligation felt to kin cannot be underestimated. Gangs are families not just communities. A sense of anomie increases social capital and decreases incidences of mental health issues and the dependence on drug use. (Hickie et al 2005, 402). Social learning theory, relative to developing social capital for gang members, relates to the need to associate with people who model and provide opportunities to reproduce it, thus perpetuating the gang sociality, and in turn making rehabilitation programs more complicated. (White et al 1999; White, 2007; White 2009)

Cultural capital is gained as described by Oglivie and Van Zyl (2001) as being inducted to a type of rite of passage by joining the gang, which gives members a sense of purpose, worth and community. Oglivie and Van Zyl (2001) even argue that going to prison is like a rite of passage, in opposition to the view that the importance of traditional ceremony and ritual should be paramount and entry into the criminal justice system as a rite of passage is an abhorrent milestone of development. Nevertheless, dynamics of gang existence operate within today's dynamics of cultural capital, including whatever rites of passage have developed or have continued.

Political capital is developed through the development of leadership for upcoming youth. Ivory (2009) argues that gang leaders have the power to be flexible in their lead to change and develop Wadeye, and to maintain connections to culture, kin and country. Ivory (2003, 2009) argues that a strength of Wadeye is that it has such a robust leadership legacy that community members can rely on in times of trouble. The legend of Nemarluk and the Red Band in the 1930s has interwoven a great sense of strength and resilience for the people of Wadeye. The new gang leaders have the

---

[1] It should be recognised that some Aboriginal people in the Port Keats area have objections to the use of the term 'gang' and prefer to use the terms 'family' or 'group'. Other Aboriginal people do use the term freely and do not object to its use. These views are respected and the term 'gang' is used in this report to provide consistency.

opportunity to reinstate a sense of order and purpose in what may be seen as somewhat of an organised chaos, governed too much by violence as an answer to disputes.

Environmental capital is gained as gang members are territorially based and fight fiercely to protect their country. Wadeye gangs are tightly centred on country which cannot be separated from their socio-cultural identity. Country is paramount and environmental capital is non-negotiable to the capital needed to retain stability in Wadeye.

The use of economic capital for gang members, especially from lower socio-economic backgrounds, is very interesting because in an environment of poverty and lack of resources, their physical bodies become the resources and currency which are effectively bartered, exchanged and negotiated in gang violent interactions. A further interesting dynamic is that it is the gang member's sense of masculinity which is commodified and put forward for currency. As White (2007, 41) argues, when a man lacks all other resources, his physicality is the most valuable resource he has available to retain or maintain social credence and respect. His physicality is related to his social identity and brings valourisation in the face of marginalisation. Foucault (1967) would argue that the interactive nature of power dynamics and variances entwine and influence the different forms of gang capital and add a dynamic of governmentality in their formation.

Intergenerational violence, criminalisation and colonisation

The relationship between exposure to violence in childhood and later involvement in adult violence has been described by many authors (Cunningham and Baker 2004, Graham and Baker 2004; Graham-Bermann 1988). They often propose a social learning theory as the mechanism for the perpetuation of violence, whereby children learn violent behaviours from watching a family member or significant other person (Feshbach 1980).

White (2009) states that not only are Indigenous people in Australia overrepresented in the criminal justice system, they are overrepresented in government interventions dealing with youth. For example, Indigenous children in state care in Australia are overrepresented due to family criminalisation: there are family rearing issues due to historical instability and broken relationships – poor social, political and economic capital developed over years of colonisation, such as the effects of the stolen generation and the disruption to traditional knowledge of child rearing . Over twenty percent of Indigenous children in state care have psychological or psychiatric issues. White (2009) states that many children want to go to prison to escape their lives which lack opportunities and hope. The lack of opportunity and hope is a complicated result from a history of colonisation and dependency.

It is no wonder that the solidarity and structure of gangs is attractive to youth. Gang membership may present an immediate way out of chaos, an entrenchment within a colonised state with a consequent deviance from the colonising culture.

Policy

A recent review of the youth justice system in the Northern Territory found a need for a more coordinated approach to addressing youth offending in the NT. It proposed that this approach should involve collaboration between government and non-government agencies and, most importantly, should involve families in helping young people avoid the cycle of offending and detention. Integral to this approach is the need to address the underlying causes of offending and to provide the young person with support to prevent reoffending (*Review of the Northern Territory Youth Justice System: Report*, 2011).

The report also acknowledged that putting young people in detention increased their risk of reoffending as 'detainees leave detention centres and go back into the community – unless their needs are addressed how can we expect them to change their behaviours?' (*Review…* 2011, vii). The report therefore proposed that greater support be provided for young offenders by expanding diversionary options and by increasing eligibility for pre-court diversion.

This report provides the context in which these options can be increased and sustained by including the young people and other community members in the development and implementation of programs to prevent the cycle of offending and the continuing overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in the NT criminal justice system.

Diversions and interventions for at risk youth

The primary aim of most interventions is to reduce offending and, although the definition and measurement of reoffending and recidivism varies, it is the most commonly used measure of the effectiveness of an intervention program (Ogilvie and Allard 2011). Types of intervention which are claimed to have an impact on reducing recidivism include family based interventions, community based interventions, multi-modular interventions based on Multi-Systemic Theory (MST)[2] and those based on clinical models, such as behaviour modification and cognitive behavioural programs (Ogilvie and Allard 2011).

Interventions can occur along a range of timelines and stages in the development of youth, from early intervention programs such as day care or preschool programs to interventions used for offenders within the criminal justice system.

Factors impeding the success of intervention programs include the systemic emphasis on punitive rather than rehabilitative solutions to recidivism (Ogilvie

---

[2] MST is 'an intensive family and community based treatment that addresses the multiple determinants of serious anti-social behaviour in juvenile offenders'. http;//mstservices.com/files/comparisonpdf , accessed 30 May 2012.

and Allard 2011). This focus can negatively impact on both the psychological and social functioning of the individual, resulting in the stigma of labelling and consequently promoting contact with the criminal justice system and offending into adulthood (Steinberg 2009; Richards 2011a). This situation can also be exacerbated by a system which treats young people as adults by exposing them to punitive punishment and adult correctional facilities (Schubert et al. 2010). In recognition of the negative impact of punitive sanctions on young people there has been a return to more restorative models of addressing the offending of young people, including the use of diversion.

Diversion in Australia

All jurisdictions in Australia use a model of restorative justice in the form of police or pre-court diversion including cautioning, family conferencing and victim offender conferencing (Richards 2010). This development has been in large part due to the well documented fact that Indigenous people have been, and continue to be, over-represented in the criminal justice system throughout Australia (Cunneen 2006). Indigenous youth are more likely to have contact with criminal justice system and to appear in court for their first appearance suggesting that over-representation could be reduced by increasing the use of diversion (Cunneen, Collings and Ralph 2005). In the NT, this suggestion is supported by an evaluation of the NT Police Pre-Court Juvenile Diversion Scheme which found that Indigenous youth diverted from court were less likely to re-offend than those who went through the court process (Cunningham 2007). Other research however has indicated that Indigenous young people have a greater risk of re-contact with the criminal justice system compared to non-Indigenous young people regardless of the form of diversion or court appearance they undergo (Dennison et al. 2006).

The extent to which diversion is applied is often dependent upon police discretion. Although there were differences in the percentage of Indigenous youth given diversion across jurisdictions in Australia, they were consistently more highly represented in those juveniles sent to court (Richards 2010). White (2009) discussed the dynamics of policing for different groups of young people and, in a survey of young people in Darwin, found that the combination of colour, age and class made Indigenous youth 'very vulnerable to over-policing and exclusionary practices' (White 2009, 49). A study examining disparity in applying diversion found that, in terms of policing practices across Australia, Indigenous youth were less likely to receive a caution (2.9 times), two times less likely to have a police conference than appear in court and 1.5 times less likely to be cautioned than attend a conference (Allard et al. 2010, 4). Police discretion in applying diversion may contribute to these disparities however more research is needed to determine if this is the case.

NT Youth Diversion Scheme

The basis of diversion in the NT is that police divert wherever possible. However, as stated above, some police discretion is allowed in the application of diversion as, although the *Youth Justice Act* (2006) states that young

offenders aged 10-17 years of age are to be diverted, this is not the case in the following situations:

- the offender has a previous significant history of convictions which makes them unsuitable for diversion;
- the offence is "serious" as designated by the *Youth Justice Act*[3]; or
- the offender has received diversion twice before, although the Police Commissioner has discretion to reconsider this, and a Section 64 referral is available to the Court to request an assessment for diversion

To receive diversion the offender must also admit involvement in the offence and, together with a responsible adult, consent to the diversion. Note, that there is a key difference here between a young person initially admitting guilt and involvement – the latter is all that is required for diversion consideration.

In relation to Indigenous remote communities the diversion program includes working with remote Community Youth Development Units (CYDUs) and other youth focussed programs which provide support for youth at risk within a community development framework.

The Youth Diversion Scheme also includes the NT Illicit Drug Pre-Court Diversion Program (IDPCDP) which had 23 offenders referred to it in 2010-2011. Anecdotally there have been successes with this program with clients obtaining employment and training after treatment.

The Family Responsibility Program (FRP) is also available in Alice Springs and Darwin and, through a combined inter-agency approach, including a Police Family Liaison Officer who provides support and training to offenders and their families. A total of 37 families were referred to the program in the reporting period (Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services, 2011).

From 2010 to 2011 the program administered:

- 1034 apprehensions
- 505 diversion apprehensions (49% total apprehensions)
- 125 family conferences (25%)
- 64 victim offender conferences (13%)
- 40 verbal warnings (8%)
- 276 written warnings (55%)
  (Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services (2011)).

---

[3] Serious offences include armed robbery, dangerous acts, manslaughter, murder, escaping custody and serious offences relating to unlawful entries, criminal damage, drugs, traffic, and sexual and aggravated assault offences.

The reoffending rates are reported to be consistently lower for those youth undergoing formal diversion compared with those who did not (Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services 2011, 33).

Northern Territory Youth Camps

In the Northern Territory, wilderness programs and youth camps have been used as both diversion and intervention programs particularly in relation to at-risk Indigenous youth. One early example was the *Wilderness Work Camp* established in 1986. This particular model was diversionary as it consisted of young offenders given a sentence who attended the camp rather than a detention facility. The program was based on the Outward Bound paradigm of structuring a series of challenging events increasing in difficulty aimed at developing basic work and life skills to prepare the individual for their eventual return to the community. A description of the camp was as follows:

> The camp is a minimum security facility situated on a ten-acre block in a bushland setting. The boundary is enclosed with a normal cattle fence about one and a half metres high. Detainees at the camp enjoy relative freedom during the day and are locked in their dormitory at night. Detainees are generally aged between 15 and 17 years with provision for sentenced juveniles to be kept up to their 18th birthday. Juveniles are selected for placement at the camp by means of a classification process which is designed to determine the suitability of offenders to participate in the various programs conducted by Correctional Services. These juveniles usually have an extensive criminal history and may come from any of the cities, towns or isolated communities within the Northern Territory (Newman 1990, 142).

An evaluation of the program in 1992 found that recidivism was reduced for those attending the program. Other community based programs were also developed at this time specifically to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous prisoners in the NT detention and prison system and to promote the practice of imprisonment as a sanction of last resort (Owston 1990).

More recently the *Review of the Northern Territory Youth Justice System: Report* stated that an evaluation of the three youth camps in the NT, Brahminy, Balanu and Tangenteyre, provided support that this type of therapeutic intervention had the potential to assist youth at risk of offending and to reduce the extent of re-offending (Northern Territory Government 2011). The aims of these youth camps are similar to those of the original Wilderness camp i.e. to develop life skills and positive social relationships (Brahminy 2012).

Juvenile Diversion in Wadeye

Between August 2001 and December 2011 there were a total of 460 juvenile apprehensions in Wadeye representing 167 individuals (NT Police PROMIS). Nearly all (96.5 percent, n=444) of the apprehensions were males and the majority (83 percent, n=382) were for juveniles aged 15 to 18 years at the

time of the apprehension. Only two apprehensions related to non-Indigenous juveniles.

As shown in Figure 2.1 over half of all apprehensions were for unlawful entry of a building or dwelling (39.1 percent and 14.8 percent, n=248). It should be noted that at Wadeye unlawful entry to a building is often associated with a desire to either find food, money or items of worth (such as CDs, mobile phones, CD players). Associated with such unlawful entry is often damage to property and this has been an ongoing issue at some places such as the school.

Figure 2.1. Apprehensions of juveniles by offence group August 2001 to December 2011
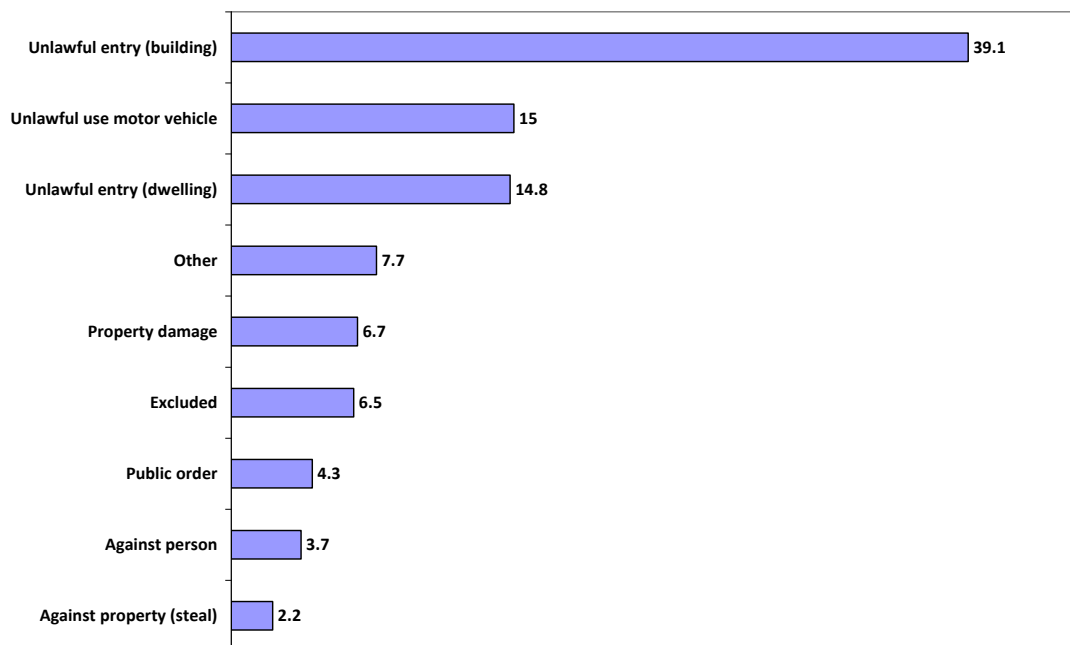
Source: NT Police PROMIS

Offence seriousness

The majority of offences (87.0 percent, n=400) were categorised as serious, 11.1 percent (n=51) were excluded and 2.0 percent (n=9) were minor offences. Of the serious offences 71.5 percent (n=286) resulted in a court appearance.

Diversion type

The majority of apprehensions (69.8 percent, n=321) resulted in juveniles being denied diversion by police (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Apprehensions by diversion type August 2001 to
December 2011

	Number	%
Diversion declined by offender	16	3.5
Diversion denied by police	321	69.8
Family conference	71	15.4
Victim/Offender conference	17	3.7
Written Warning	23	5.0
Verbal Warning	12	2.6
Total	**460**	**100.0**

Source: NT Police PROMIS

Of those apprehensions which resulted in diversion over half (57.7 percent,
n=71) resulted in a family conference (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 Apprehensions by type of diversion August 2001 to
December 2011
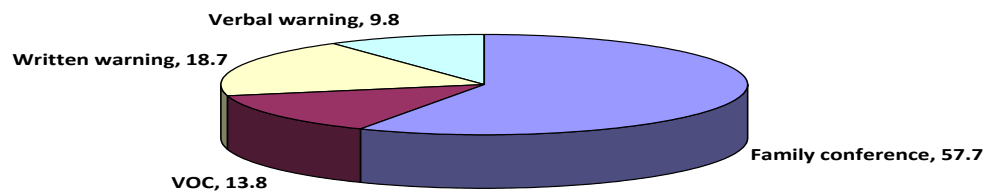
Source: NT Police PROMIS

Reoffending

In relation to reoffending, less than half (42.5 percent, n=71) of individual
juveniles did not reoffend. Of those individuals who did reoffend the number
of times they reoffended ranged from one to 14 times with over half (57
percent, n=55) of individuals reoffending once or twice.

As stated in the previous section the extent to which juveniles are diverted
relates to the extent of reoffending and whether the offence is classified as
serious. The data show that the majority of offences were classified as
"serious" and related to unlawful entry and the majority of juveniles had
reoffended therefore deeming over two thirds (69.8 percent) of juvenile
apprehensions in Wadeye over the 10 year period ineligible for diversion.

3. Methods

The original study aim was to investigate the dynamics and meaning of youth gangs in a remote NT Indigenous community. Diversionary schemes for Indigenous youth need to be evidence-based for gang membership's negative effects (substance misuse, crime and violence) and positive effects (high self esteem, low rates of self harm and suicide). This three year longitudinal project, built upon data from ten years involvement with the community and utilising mixed methodologies, was designed to gain an in-depth understanding of youth gang membership and more broadly the aspirations and life goals of the youth involved. In close association with an Indigenous-run diversion project, the most appropriate diversionary activities for Indigenous youth were also a focus of our investigation.

The methodology of the project was, to summarise:

Stage one: engage with a Darwin-based youth diversion program for at risk youth to analyse the dynamics of a successful diversionary program. This wasn't possible because the program was facing considerable issues surrounding the sustainability of its activities during this period.

Stage two: emphasise the use of ethnographic methods utilised in Wadeye and supported by interviews, focus groups and quality of life assessments. The themes of the questions asked are described in table 3.1

Table 3.1: Themes guiding interviews

Gang focused questions	Individual focused questions
Social structure	Family background
Networks	Daily routine
Membership	Social support
Recruitment	Engagement with education
Activities	Engagement with other youth activities
Leadership	Other interests
Identity formation	Individual understanding of the gang and their role in it.
Interactions with other gangs	Individual perceptions of other gangs
Interactions with police, media, schooling, the public	Individual perception of life quality
	Individual perception of life courses & aspirations

We have returned to the field in the last six months and used ethnographic methods to explore the experiences of young people in the community of Wadeye and the dynamics of gang membership, with a focus on possible diversionary interventions, until data saturation has been achieved.

Hidden populations such as gang members are notoriously difficult to locate, which means that there are difficulties obtaining a representational sample. This research utilised a snowballing sampling technique, where initial informants were asked to help identify other potential informants. This technique has been found to be effective in other studies of youth involvement in gangs (Petersen & Valdez 2005). The organisations involved in this project and the chief investigators had extensive networks within the targeted population.

Stage three: While emphasising the need for rich ethnographic descriptive and analytical methods, we identified that mixed methods are necessary to capture various dynamics, so the research was supported by a context of quantitative demographics. Firstly, a community survey was conducted based on the community's own identified needs: 133 community members participated. There were some issues with the validity sampling techniques, nevertheless the survey represents some of the most informative data on Wadeye demographics available. For example, the survey explores some key social determinants of youth behaviour. The survey was a compromise between the researchers and the community addressing their concerns.

Stage four: we considered that our current qualitative data to describe the context and richness of the youth gang phenomena was insufficient. In response, we targeted prisoners who are gang members. We were able to do this via relationships that the project staff have with Northern Territory Department of Justice. Interviewing the prisoners has provided a significant insight into gang life experience, including descriptions of what it means to belong to a gang, leadership constructs, and possible diversionary activities that can be initiated to dissuade youth from engaging in gangs. The prisoners have expressed a desire to be personally involved in these diversionary programs.

The sample size of the incarcerated gang members is eight, although it was planned to be fifteen. The questions asked of the prisoners reflected the original interview themes outline above.

Another method that the project aimed to use was an individualised quality of life measurement tool aimed to depict youth values, goals and aspirations and barriers to achieving these goals and aspirations. The schedule for the evaluation of individual quality of life, direct weighting (SEIQoL-DW) assessments were completed with the three youngest incarcerated gang members. They needed a lot of prompting during the assessment. Details of the results of the SEIQoL-DW assessments will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Stage five: this research emphasises and incorporates reflexive research practices such as journaling and noting transparent logical processes. These practices ensure greater empowerment for the Indigenous participants.

Mixed methods are necessary to capture the multifaceted dynamics of gangs, emphasising the need for rich ethnographic descriptive and analytical methods but supported by a context of quantitative demographics and use of

validated and reliable scaling. Mixed methods enable a flexible, adaptive and pragmatic approach to all research, not just Indigenous research as exemplified in this case.

Project limitations

It can be difficult to ascertain what will be considered the most appropriate research methodology at the outset of a project, and as will be explained, our methodologies have changed to suit the Indigenous participants.

Indigenous research, especially covering stories as sensitive as youth 'gangs', is bound to be beset with failures and disappointments. We think that we have a responsibility to report on the difficulties and variances we have had to develop in order to produce quality and relevant research which captures the complexity and intangibles of youth groups in Wadeye.

In keeping with the sentiments expressed by the (Canadian) Engineers Without Borders (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) who are very transparent about their project failures, we think that we have a responsibility to report on the difficulties and variances we have had to develop in order to produce quality and relevant research. The purpose of presenting a perspective on what has not worked, why this may be the case and how these issues are being addressed, is being done to illustrate the immense complexity and multivocality inherent in conducting research with Indigenous youth gang members from a remote community. In examining this complexity, we anticipate that a process can be developed which provides for a sound evidence base from which to conduct future research, especially anti-racist research that is empowering and capacity building for Indigenous peoples.

Delivering the required research for our Indigenous focussed project on youth gangs in Wadeye has been affected by various barriers outside our control, including cultural and political barriers, agential barriers and bureaucratic processes, which may possibly affect the quality and outcomes of the research. The research was not always successful, not because the methods were inadequate, but for other reasons: community politics promoting research needs in opposition to the project's focus; personal dissidence, and personal agendas of community members and community- based non-Indigenous employees; and inadequate time to address these barriers to Indigenous research. There was also during the life of the project some powerful anti-research statements voiced by elders in the community council. These statements appeared to be engendered by a frustration with the research process with its emphasis on 'finding out' rather than intervening. On occasions there were also tendencies shown particularly by community leaders in authority to deny the notion of gangs and their existence. This may well have been a self preservation factor notably during the early stages of the research.

Orchestrating the prison interviews was difficult and very slow due to: cultural barriers (sorry business, elders' influence and men's business) slowing down

the prison interviews; inadequate time allowances for barriers to Indigenous research; organisational barriers, for example, being short staffed in the prison; and transient staffing needs. It should be emphasised that interviewing prisoners, within the presence of a prison employee (an Aboriginal Liaison Officer) and a white female researcher, will definably bias the interview data as the prisoner may provide answers which he thinks is what is required of him by the prison employee and researcher. Then again, it is entirely possible that the prisoners have no agenda and tell the truth as they see it.

A final limitation of the research was formed by our own research agenda. Our original focus on the gangs in Wadeye meant that our research focussed on the lives of male youth. Our research, however, has emphasised the complexity and diversity of the experiences of all youth in the community and that the development of appropriate youth services must be sensitive to these needs.

Ethics

Ethics approval for this project was granted by the Research Ethic Committee of the Department of Health and Families and Menzies School of Health Research in 2009. The reference for the projects is 09/80.

4. The Wadeye Community

The country, people and its history

Wadeye (also commonly referred to as Port Keats) is one of the largest Aboriginal towns in the Northern Territory with a population of approximately 2500 people (Taylor 2010, 10). It is situated 320 kilometres south-west of Darwin, in the Northern Territory. Taylor (2010) estimates that by 2019 the population will probably will be about 4300 (about the size of Renmark in South Australia). Just over half of this current population is less than 18 years of age (Taylor 2010, 10). School aged children and youth (aged from 4-17 years) comprise approximately 36% of the population.

The land on which Wadeye and the outstations are situated was declared as part of the Daly River Aboriginal Reserve in 1885 (Crassweller 2004, 8). The Commonwealth Government managed it until 1976 when the land tenure of the region was declared as inalienable Aboriginal freehold under the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976* (Commonwealth). It was subsequently vested in the Daly River∕Port Keats Aboriginal Land Trust and this trust today is managed by the Northern Land Council.

The Port Keats region is relatively isolated [4] and cut-off by poor road conditions affected by heavy rain for about five months of the year during the 'wet season'. [5] The main road is gravel for about 100 kilometres of its 360 kilometre journey and crosses two major rivers (the Daly River and the Moyle River) and numerous creeks. During the wet season, movement is restricted to travel by air or sea, an expensive option for locals. Thus some individuals and families have few opportunities to move beyond the immediate township of Wadeye. [6] Surrounding the town of Wadeye are a number of smaller outstations situated on clan land and inhabited by family groups with association to that area of land.

The people of Wadeye travelled some distances from about the 1880s onwards to work principally on cattle stations in the broader region (such as the Timber Creek area and across the border into Western Australia). There were and still are today cultural ties with Aboriginal groups in these areas. People from Port Keats also travelled to and from Daly River and Darwin.

---

[4] Classified as 'very remote' within the Australian Bureau of Statistic (ABS) (2006) classification model.
[5] The 'wet season' of heavy tropical monsoonal rainfall usually extends from about December to April each year.
[6] Ivory encountered some youth in 2003 who had never travelled beyond the town of Wadeye and a few had never been to the coast (about 5 kilometres away).

Map 4.1 Location of Wadeye
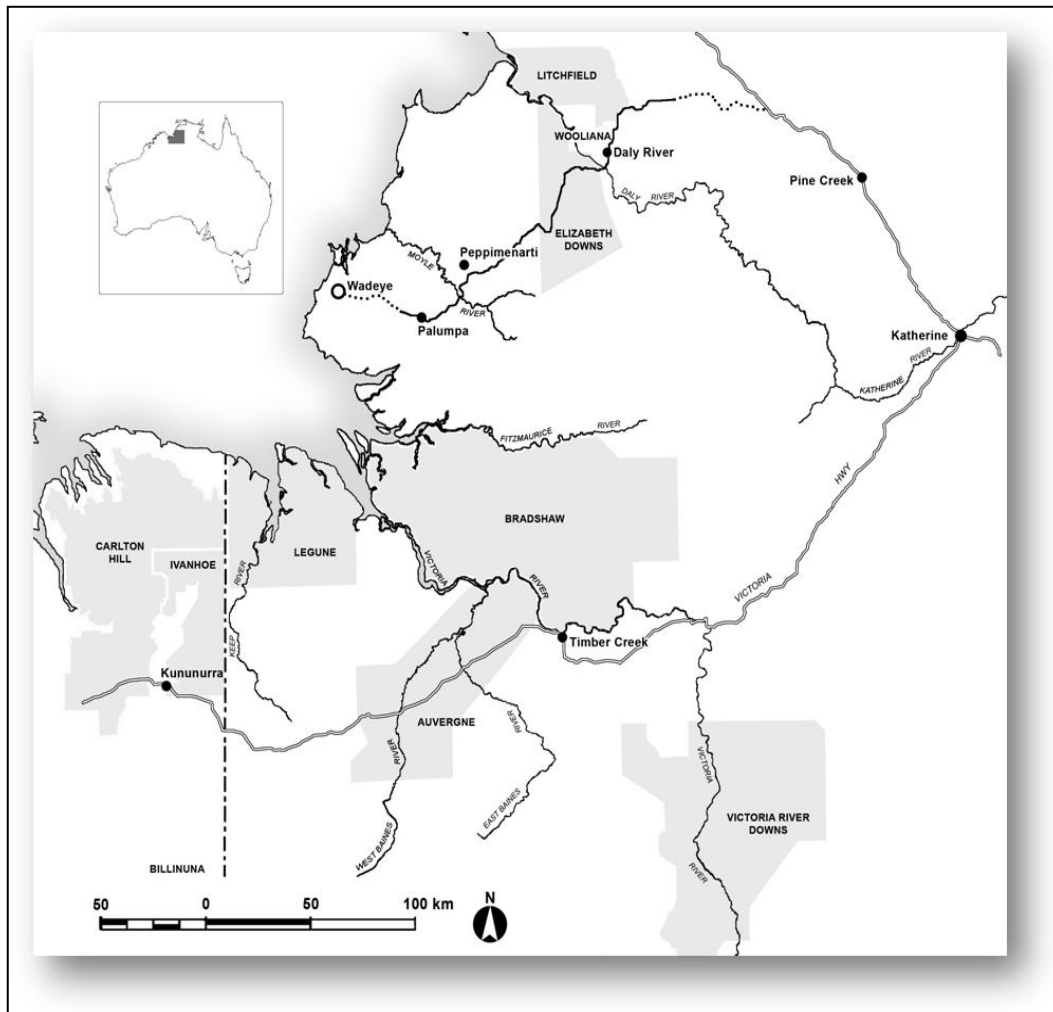
First contacts were limited to early explorers then later contacts with pastoralists and the occasional prospector. By the 1930s, the population of the region had been devastated principally by disease (Ivory 2009, 158-161) However in 1935, with the assistance of some Port Keats Aboriginal people who had been living in Darwin, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart missionaries arrived and began a long relationship with the people. The missionaries assisted with the development of the community and focussed on areas such as work and education. The missionaries also established a dormitory type system for youth which entailed young males and females being separated from their immediate family, usually for extended periods.[7]

The Federal Government's 1972 policy of self-determination introduced Aboriginal governed councils into the Territory. A local Wadeye council, Kardu Numida Inc., was established in 1978 through the *Associations Incorporation Act 1963* (NT).

---

[7] Most people from Wadeye over the age of 40 years have experienced the dormitory form of education.

(Desmarchelier 2000, 7). It was to provide local government-type services and was intended to 'provide a stable and legal authority' that could access various resources. The Wadeye community in 1996, concerned by a perception that the previous structures did not truly reflect the community clan structure of decision making, began to develop a governance structure founded on a culturally-based model of resolution and power balance, referred to in the Murrinh-patha language as *Thamarrurr*. This model effectively recognises the relationships between individuals, groups and clans. They subsequently established the Thamarrurr Community Government Council in 2003.

In 2006, the Northern Territory Government announced the reform of local government to improve and expand service delivery to towns and communities across the Territory through an amalgamation of local governments also referred to as "super shires". The new *Local Government Act* commenced on 1 July 2008, creating eight new large and three small shire councils to replace 55 existing councils. This included one large council servicing the wider Daly, Port Keats and Timber Creek regions. The Thamarrurr Council was wound up and today the Victoria-Daly Council provides local government services to Wadeye. The Thamarrurr concept of governance however remains a reality for the community though through the Thamarrurr Development Corporation and the social services provider Thamarrurr Incorporated.

Ethnography

There are ten languages and dialects associated with land contained within the Thamarrurr region (Dixon (2002, xli).[8] The primary language spoken at Wadeye and surrounds is Murrinh-patha. Nevertheless those people whose clan estate is situated on land associated with a particular language still retain a close affiliation with that particular language.

---

[8] There are many variations on the spelling of words from the region that have been developed by linguists and others. For the sake of consistency, I will utilise the spelling used by linguist Dixon (2002) in his *Australian Languages*.

Map 4.2 Languages spoken in the Wadeye region

Language Groups

Port Keats Region

Emmi/ Merranunggu (NHb1)

Menhthe (NHb1)

Marri Amu (NHb2)

Marritjevin (NHb1)

Magati-ge (NHb3)

Wadeye

Marri Ngarr (NHb3)

Murrinh-patha (NHd1)

Ngan.gi-kurunggurr (NHd2)

Ngan.gi-wumeri (NHd2)

Ngan.gi-tjemerri (NHd2)

Ngan.gimerri (NHd2)

Djamindjung/ Ngaliwuru (NCa1)

Map Centre: 129° 35' E, -14° 10' S
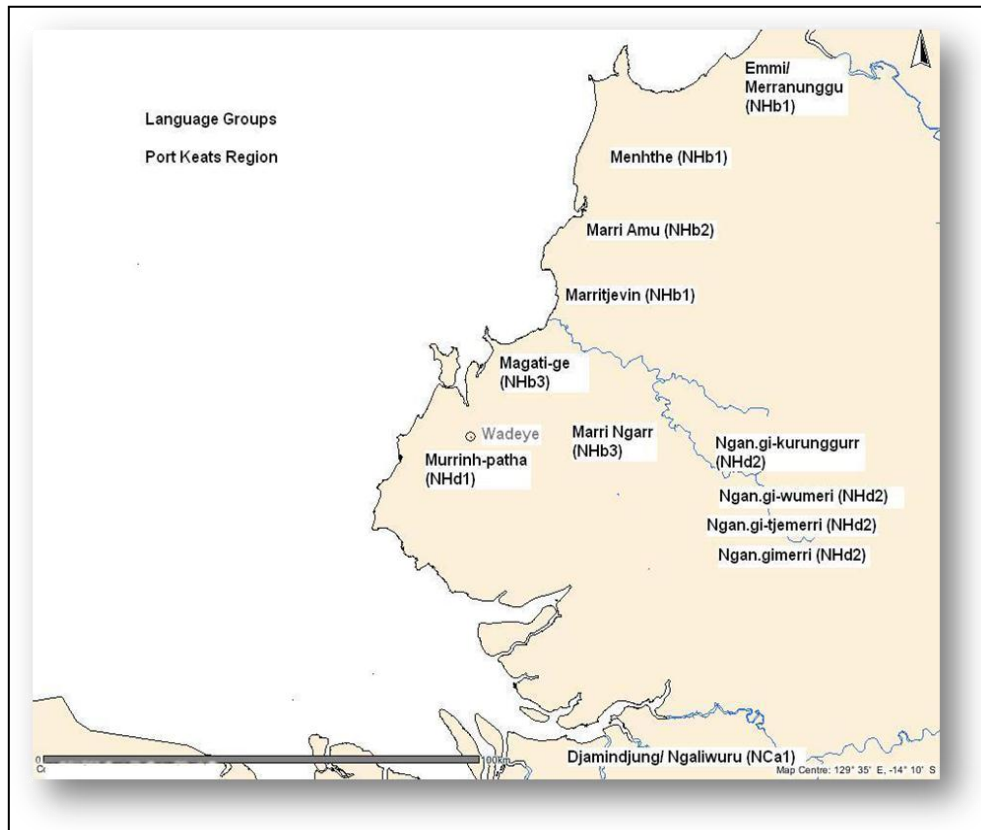
Source: Ivory (2009)

Clans, as patrilineal landowning groups, are the key structural unit in the Port Keats region.[9] There are 20 clans with estates and boundaries delineated within the Thamarrurr Council area. The clans are important local political units and provide individuals and fellow group members with sustenance and support. The clan groups range in membership size from about 300 to about 20 people.

---

[9] Whilst Stanner (1979, 32) refers to them as 'bands', and Barber (2000, 4) as 'local groups', most of the people in the region use the terminology 'clan' so this term will be used. My own research (Table 2A) has identified the names of the clans, the number of people in the clan (in collaboration with the Thamarrurr Council, Dr John Taylor and others), and the relevant language group (corresponding to Dixon 2002).

Map 4.3 Clan groups in the Wadeye Region

Clan Groups

1. Rak Angileni
2. Rak Kirnmu
3. Rak Kubiyirr
4. Rak Kulingmirr
5. Rak Kungarlbarl
6. Rak Kuy
7. Rak Merrepen
8. Rak Nadirri
9. Rak Nemarluk
10. Rak Nganthawudi
11. Rak Nuthunthu
12. Rak Perrederr
13. Rak Thinti
14. Rak Wudipuli
15. Yek Diminin
16. Yek Maninh
17. Yek Nangu
18. Yek Ngudanimarn
19. Yek Wunh
20. Yek Yederr
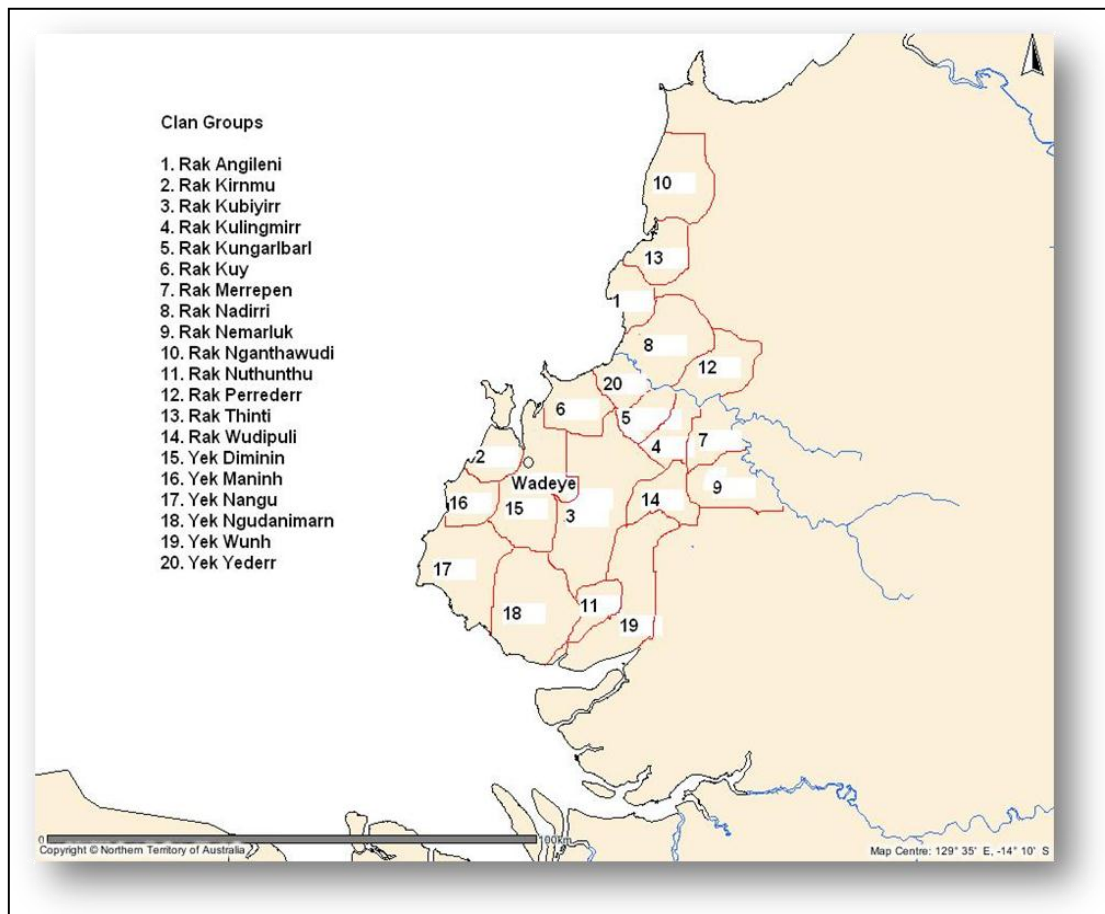
Source: Ivory

Today whilst the clan is still very important, there are other influences in a young person's life due to the "modern" environment of the Wadeye town. Nevertheless many youth are still inducted into key life stages marked by ceremonies and other ritual and cultural procedures. Ivory (2009) refers to the final stages of growing up as progression to manhood (for males) coupled with the acceptance of responsibilities. This is explained to youth by elders through revelation and exposure to sacred conceptual life principles.

Figure 4.1 Life stage progression
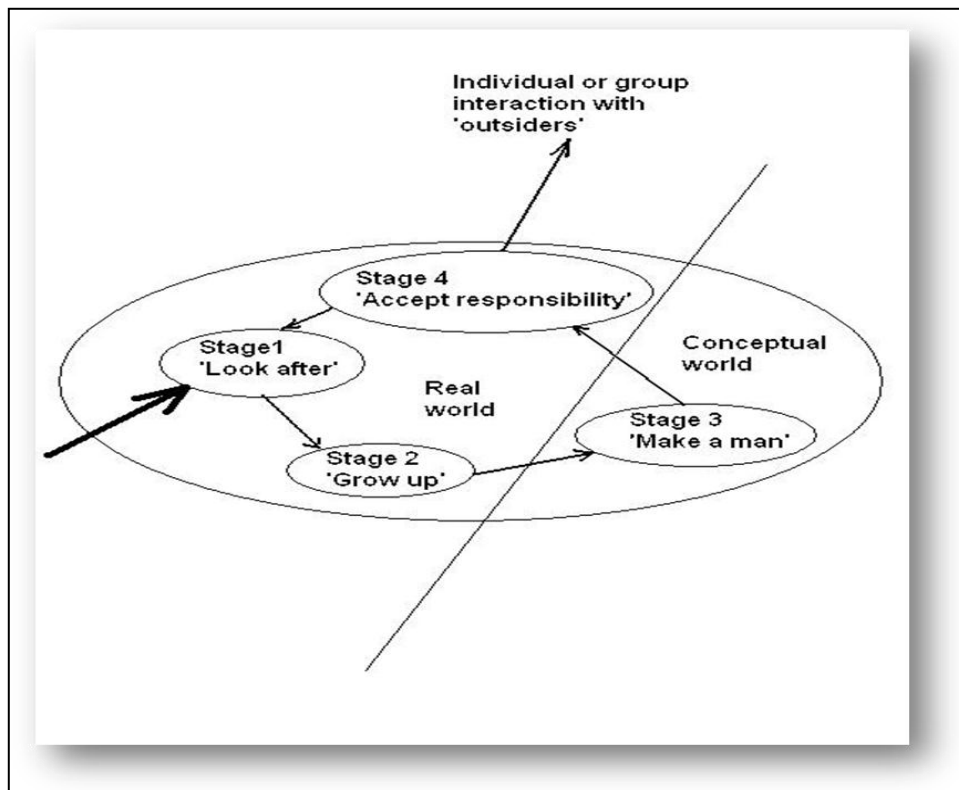
Education and employment

Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Thamarrurr Catholic College is the primary education provider at Wadeye. It is an accredited bilingual school (Murrinhpatha and English) and has both Non-Indigenous and Indigenous teachers and other staff. Education at Wadeye has been provided by the Catholic Church since the first missionaries in 1935 and today the school is associated with the Northern Territory Catholic Education system.

A survey conducted by Taylor and others in 2010 found that 617 young people were of compulsory school age (6 -15 yrs). At that time attendance had hovered around 1/5th of enrolment and that large numbers of "intermittent enrollees" attend "occasionally" with some 200 not enrolled at all. In previous years attendance had also been problematic despite considerable attempts by the school to entice attendance and to engage with parents and students.

The enrolment and attendance figures fluctuate even within a given year. Current enrolments (June 2012) are 650, with a 43 percent attendance rate. The school management team have set their target at 62 percent attendance (personal communication with School Principal, April 2012).

Taylor argued in 2010, that a primary indicator of educational performance is the degree to which parents enrol their children in school and the extent to which daily attendance in class is sustained throughout the school year. He found that at that stage "the situation at Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Thamarrurr Catholic College raises significant issues of concern" (Taylor 2010, 19). The report also advised that there were 67 students with behaviour/learning difficulties, disabilities, neurological conditions etc.

 A recent initiative is the development of a whole-school well being program which is supported by the Catholic Education Office (NT).

The school is implementing a Vocational Education and Training (VET) Centre, which aims to provide relevant job-related training for senior students. The Commonwealth Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWAR) has constructed a new boarding facility adjacent to the secondary school campus, in an effort to create a stable domestic environment for senior students and encourage them to stay at school to complete year 12.

Wadeye in the early years of settlement and noticeably until the advent of 'sit down' money (unemployment benefits) in the 1970s supplemented funding received from the government and other sources with small scale sustainability projects. Such projects that provided relatively intensive local employment included a market garden, bakery, sewing centre, hospital, town beautification and road making, saw mill, furniture production and so on.

Taylor (2010, 22-23) argues that over time this has not translated into an economy that produces jobs for a growing population. Instead he says that, 'combined with the decline of regular schooling and employment as a social norm it has produced an economy that is dominated by transfer payments from government'. The annual value of government benefits and pensions paid to Thamarrurr residents is estimated at $12.9 million and Taylor thought it likely that Centrelink payments may provide the main source of income for most families. He did find though that the overall contribution from employment must have risen considerably in recent years because there has been a substantial increase in salaried positions occupied by local people. Many of these positions are Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) positions and others have been generated by Thamarrurr Development Corporation activities in building construction, accommodation, land management, employment services and forestry (Taylor 2010, 22-23). The situation for young people is challenging with Taylor (2010) providing statistics showing that only 29 percent of those aged 15-49 had jobs (69 percent in general Australian population). There were in 2010, 626 young adults aged 15-34 without jobs.

Figure 4.2 Labour force status of Indigenous residents of the Thamarrurr region aged 15-34, 2009
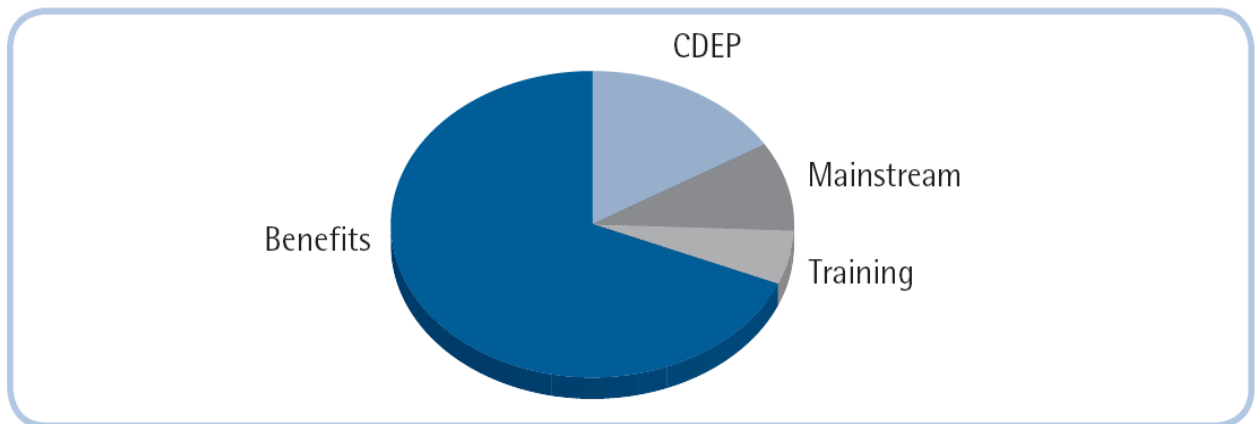
Source: Taylor 2010

Taylor (2010) concluded that, whilst there was 'momentum for growth in working-age numbers', if it is not developed, welfare dependency could become 'chronically entrenched'. He summed up by arguing that, unless 'urgently addressed', the social policy challenge could 'reverberate for decades to come (Taylor 2010).

5. Youth in context, the survey

Introduction

As a result of our on-going consultations with community members, it became clear that many of the elders advising on the research considered that it was essential to gauge the views of as large a group of youth as possible. It was difficult to effectively engage a large cross section of youth through qualitative research methods and so the household survey was developed in consultation with a range of community informants.

The survey was conducted in Wadeye in 2010 and 2011 by field workers assisted by local community members who had been working with the community for several years. An important contributor to the process was Jonathan McLeod, a government employee who was involved with youth programs and planning. The sample was chosen by initially approaching young people who attended the community gym and then using a snowballing technique to contact friends and associates of gym members. Children who attended school were also selected for interview.

Aboriginal liaison officers employed by a local organisation, Thamarrurr Incorporated also became involved and they started bringing relatives and people they knew – including females. Surveys were also conducted with individuals residing in different "camps" of the community – usually at their place of residence. Also the Australian Red Cross and the local Catholic School became involved and the Red Cross workers interviewed children who were attending school. Thus a fair cross section of youth was contacted within the survey confines – both youth participating in "normal" activities such as attending school and those who do not attend. The Questionnaire was designed with input from various quarters. The first draft was developed by researchers from the Menzies School of Health Research (MSHR). It was then presented and further comments provided by senior members of the Thamarrurr Incorporated and their leadership forum.

A primary affiliation and identity code for Aboriginal people at Wadeye is linkage to a particular clan group with associated land estate. There are over 20 clans with members living in the town of Wadeye.[10] The 'randomness' of the survey was substantiated in this respect by the diversity of individuals belonging to different clans.

The questionnaire was divided into several sections relating to home environment, education and employment, health and wellbeing, contact with the law, values and priorities and community participation.

---

[10] The number of clans varies depending on seasonal factors and peoples' movements throughout the wider region. Visitation occurs from communities such as Palumpa, Peppiminarti, Daly River and beyond.

Results

The results are divided into two sections. The first section includes results for all questions from all of the respondents. The second section refers specifically to gang members and discusses their social networks in terms of values and respect for their family and community members.

All respondents

A total of 133 respondents were interviewed. Of those 52 percent were male and the average age of respondents was 18 years with a range of 12 to 30 years.

There were over 30 clans represented in the survey and the main language spoken at home was Murrin Patha (75.9 percent, n=101). Only five respondents (3.8 percent) stated that their main language at home was English.

The majority of respondents did not have a partner (81.8 percent, n=108) or children (78.9 percent, n=105).

One third of the males had been initiated (34.8 percent, n=24).

Home environment

The majority of respondents (86.5 percent, n=115) lived with family members. A further 9.8 percent (n=13) lived with their partner only and 3.8 percent (n=5) shared a house with friends.

Over half of the respondents (53.4 percent, n=71) said that there were too many people living in their home. The average number of people in a house was 10 and ranged from three to 24 people.

The majority of respondents (93.2 percent, n=124) said they felt safe at home. Just over one quarter (26.3 percent, n=35) of respondents said they did not get enough sleep at night. A small number of respondents gave reasons for this: fighting (n=7) or dogs (n=6).

Education, employment and training

Of those respondents of school age 92 percent (n=69) stated they attended school four to five days each week.

Of those respondents not of school age 14.3 percent (n=8) were in full time work, 25 percent (n=14) were unemployed and looking for work, 37.5 percent (n=21) were unemployed and not looking for work, 19.6 percent (n=11) were home with children. A further two respondents were attending training or CDEP.

Figure 5.1 presents the types of jobs which respondents said they would like to do.

Figure 5.1 Desired employment
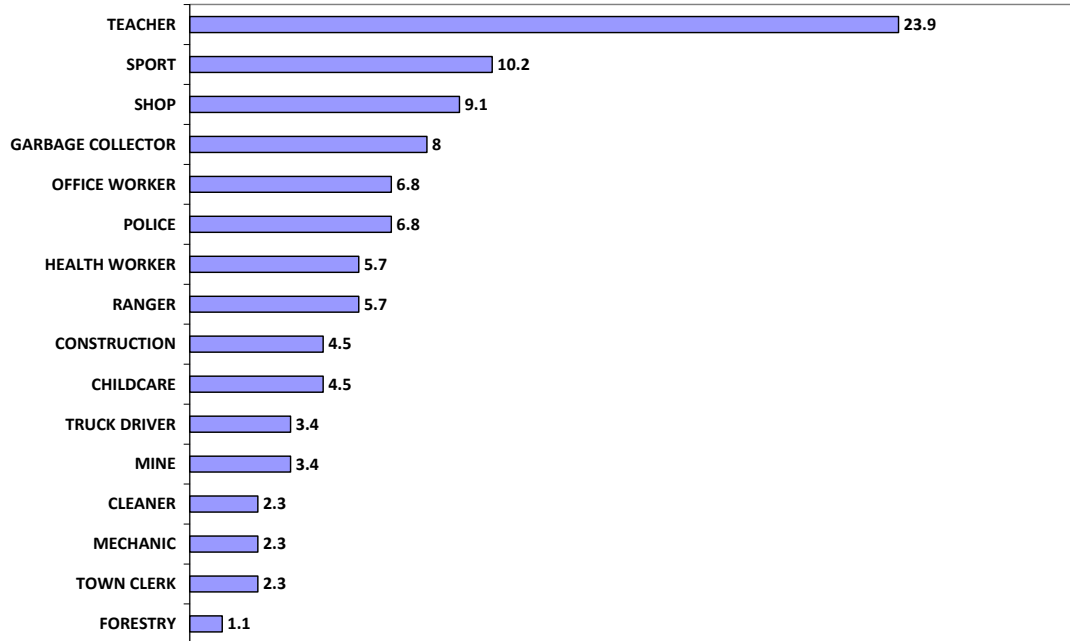
The main income source for respondents was parents/family (45.9 percent, n=61), CentreLink (48.9 percent, n=65) and employment (5.3 percent, n=7).

Health and wellbeing

Only small numbers of respondents stated they had problems with physical or mental health. Fifteen (11.3 percent) said they had problems "thinking", 10 respondents (7.5 percent) had problems hearing, seven (5.3 percent) had problems with their limbs and five (3.8 percent) had problems with their eyes.

In relation to health checks nearly half (47 percent, n=62) respondents had not had a check within the past year, just over one third (37.1 percent, n=49) had a health check within the past year and 15.9 percent (n=21) could not remember when they had a health check. Less than one quarter (21.8 percent, n=29) said they had a regular health check.

Respondents were asked what they worried about in terms of family, personal safety and substance use. Figure 5.2 provides the results.

Figure 5.2 What worries you?

Family fighting	79.7
Bullying	35.3
Overcrowded house	27.8
Gunga	23.3
Not being safe	20.3
Grog	19.5
About self	11.3
Someone hurt you	9.8
Body image	9
Petrol sniffing	7.5
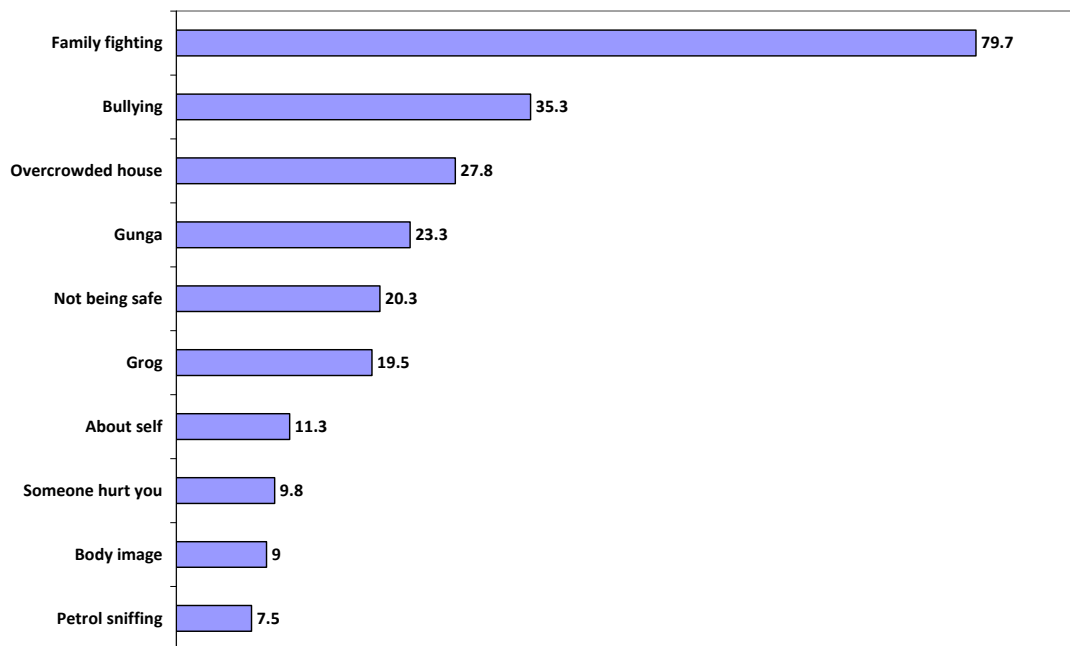
As shown in this figure the greatest worry for respondents was family fighting (79.7 percent). A much smaller percentage of respondents were concerned about bullying (35.3 percent) and around one quarter were worried about overcrowded housing (27.8 percent) and gunja (marijuana) (23.3 percent).

In terms of mental wellbeing, 21.4 percent (n=28) respondents said they had thought about hurting themselves.

Personal substance use

Respondents were asked about their own personal substance use.Tobacco was used by over one third (35.1 percent) of respondents and marijuana by nearly one quarter (22.1 percent) of respondents. Fifteen percent of respondents used alcohol, 2.3 percent sniffed paint and 1.5 percent sniffed petrol.

Positive aspects of people's lives

Respondents were asked to describe the things in their lives that 'made them feel good'. Sport and family and friends were what made the majority of respondents feel good about their lives (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 What makes you feel good?

Sport	34.3
Family&friends	28.1
Friends	12
Entertainment	7
Fishing/hunting	5.4
Good health	5.4
Gunja/grog	4.7
School/work	3.1
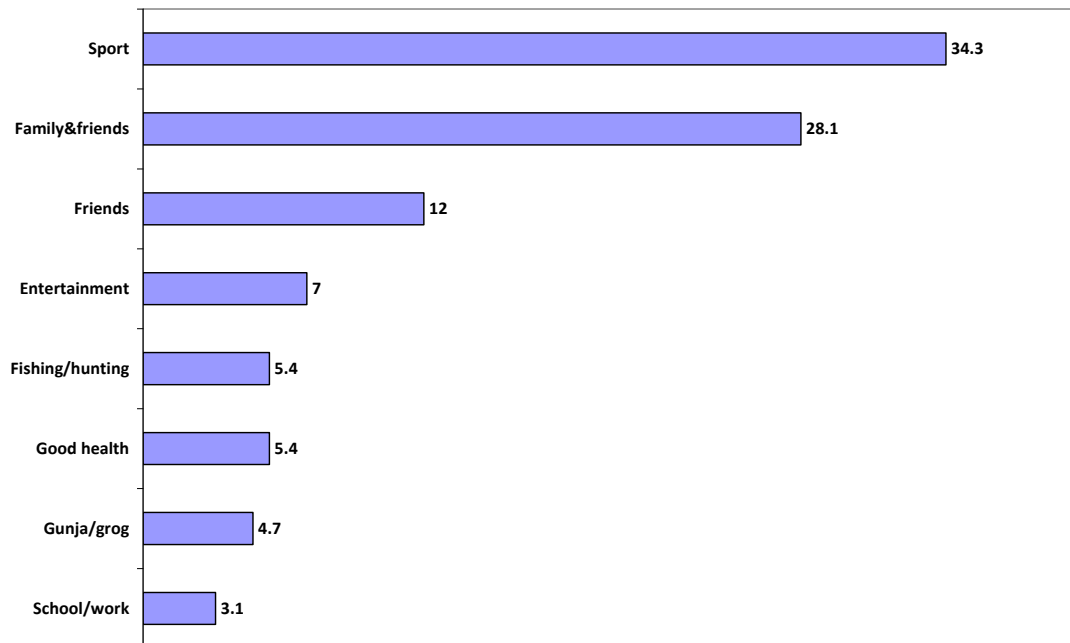
Contact with the law

The majority of respondents had not been arrested (81.8 percent, n=108). A total of 15 respondents (11.9 percent) had been to court or had been in police cells. Four respondents (3.2 percent) had been in prison or detention.

Nearly three quarters (71.2 percent, n=94) of respondents knew someone who was in prison at the time of the interview. Seven (5.3 percent) had a parent in prison, 16 (12.0 percent) a sibling, one (0.8 percent) a grandparent, 18 (13.5 percent) friends and 75 (56.4 percent) other family members.

Victims of assault

The majority of respondents reported that they had not been beaten up (77.4 percent, n=103) or injured (86.4 percent, n=115).

Values

Respondents were asked about what were the most important values in their lives

Figure 5.4 What do people value?
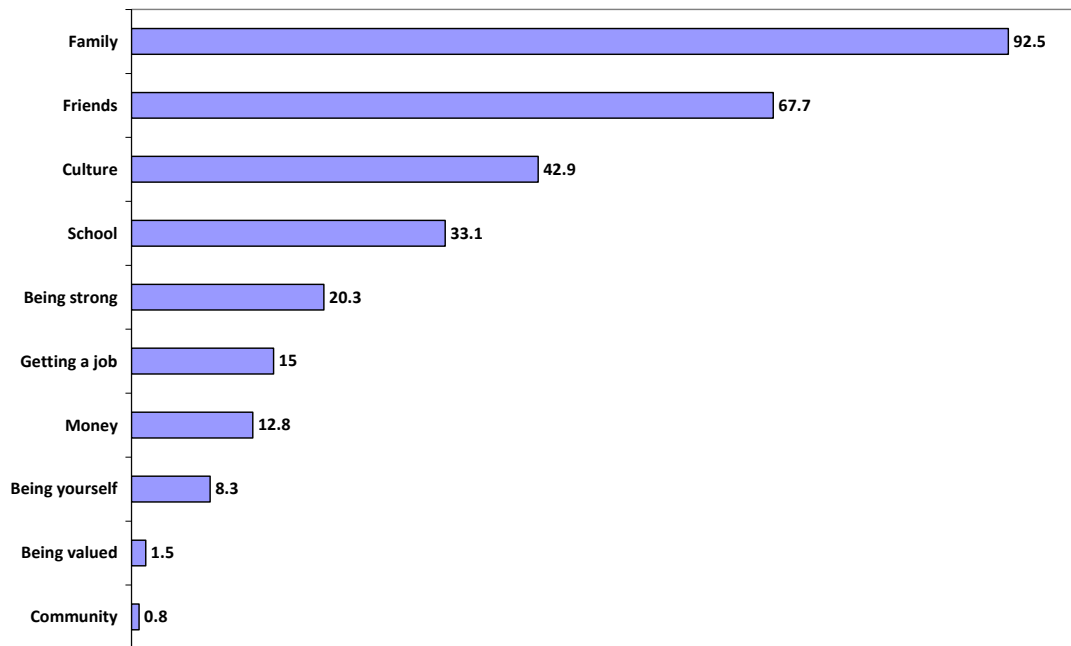
The importance of family and culture as key values are consistent with other surveys of who Indigenous people consider to be the most important things in their lives (Chenhall et al 2010) Chenhall and Senior 2012). The emphasis on friends as a key value is consistent with the values of young people (Chenhall et al 2010).

Advice and support

Nearly half of the respondents reported that they went to their parents for advice and support in the first instance (48.1 percent) (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 To who do you turn for advice and support?

Category	Value
Parents	48.1
Friends	25.6
Relative	12.8
Government worker	4.5
Elders	4.5
Community worker	2.3
Teacher	1.5
Phone helpline	0.8
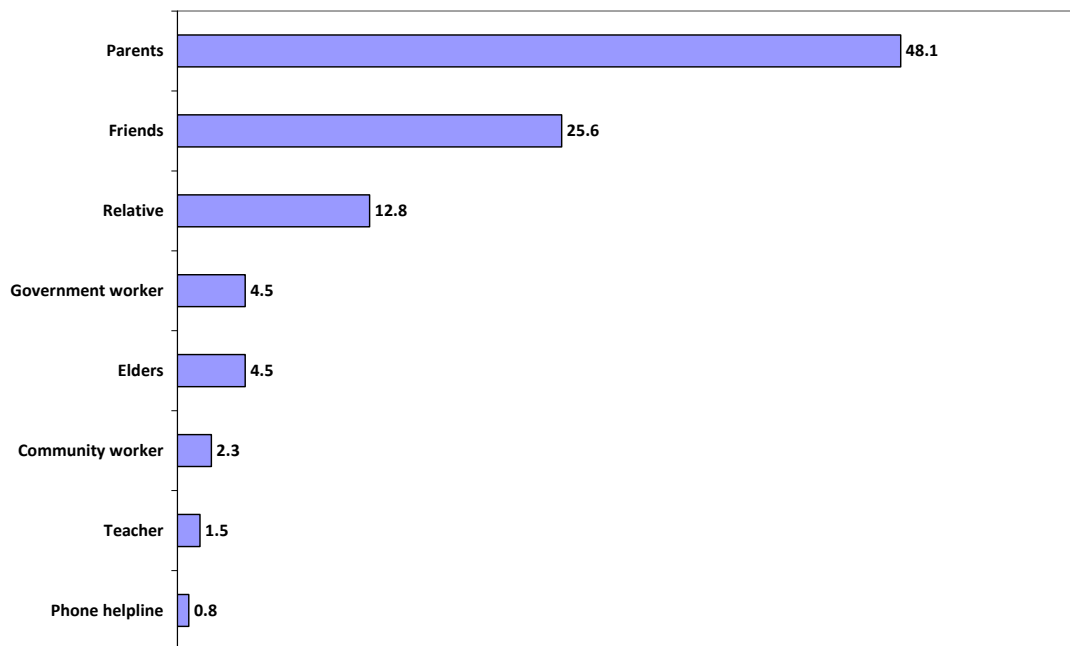
Admiration for authority and others

Respondents were asked which people or organisations they liked. As shown in Figure 5.6 below family, friends and elders were most liked (87.2 percent, 66.9 percent and 61.7 percent).

Figure 5.6 People or organisations you like

Category	Value
Family	87.2
Friends	66.9
Elders	61.7
Sports people	33.8
Teachers	24.8
Singers	12.8
Church	9.8
Police	8.3
Government workers	4.5
Working people	3.8
Catholic care	3
Animals	1.5
Health centre staff	1.5
Business people	1.5
Aged care workers	0.8
Women's centre	0.8
Politicians	0
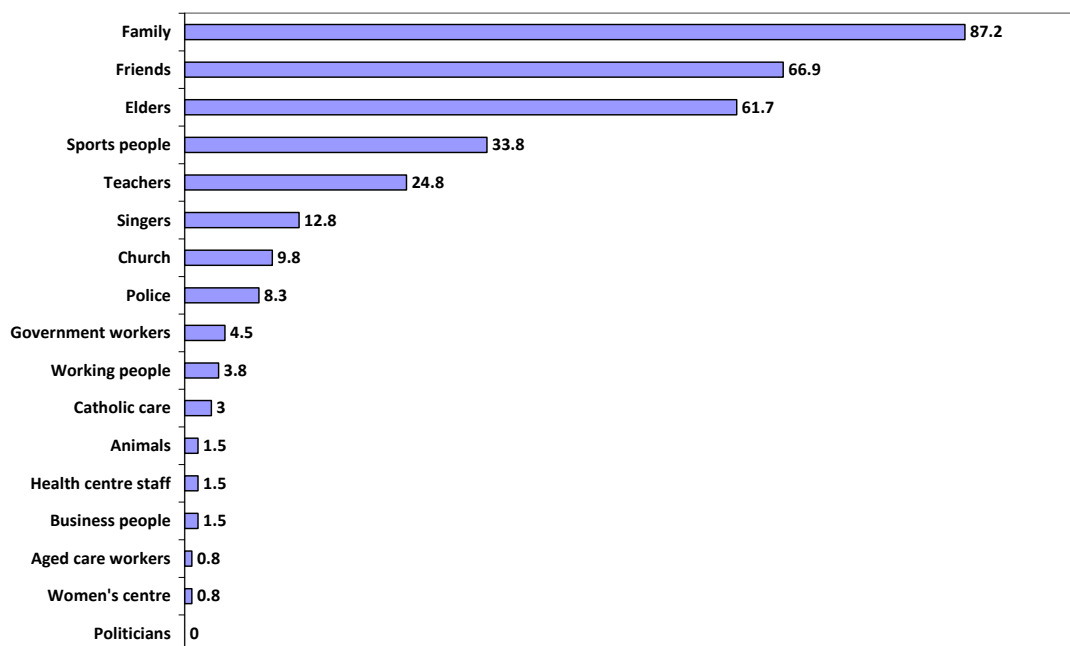
Whom do you respect?

Nearly all respondents stated that they respected parents (99.2 percent), elders (97.7 percent) followed by traditional owners (92.5 percent).

Around two thirds (64.7 percent) of respondents respected police and less than one third (30.1 percent) respected gang leaders. The response for gang members in terms of their values and respect for their family and other community members is discussed in the following section.

Community participation

An important aspect of the survey was to ask young people what they did and what they would like to do in relation to activities in their community.

Figure 5.7 What activities are you involved in?
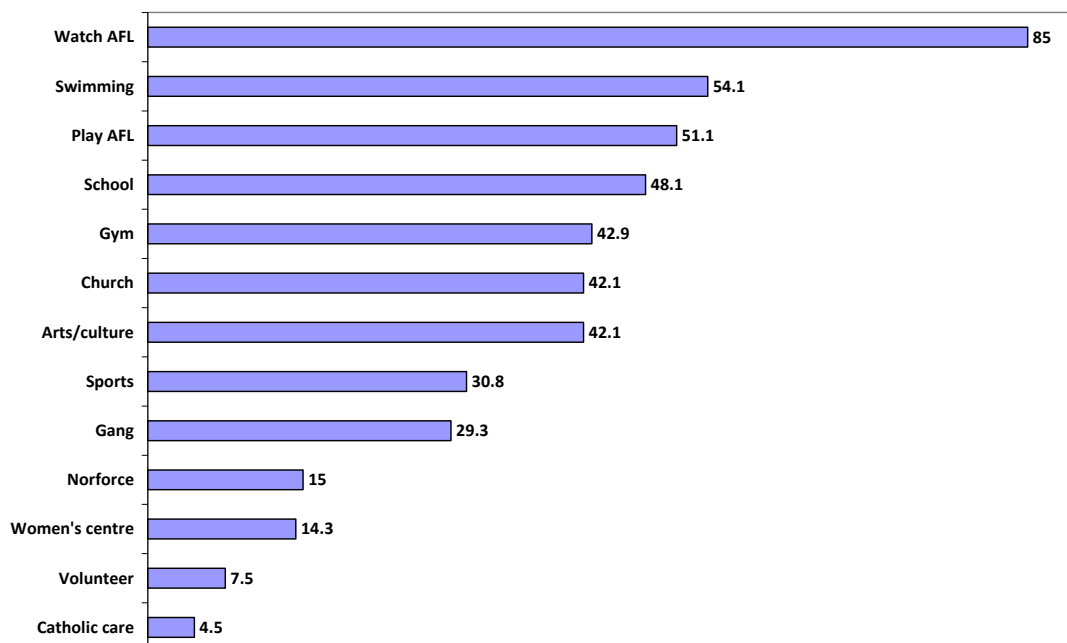
As shown in Figure 5.7, the availability of activities is represented by what the respondents participated in including AFL, swimming and other sports with just under one third specifying gangs.

Youth program design

Nearly all respondents (93.2 percent, n=124) said that an area was needed for young people. Additionally the majority (81.2 percent, n=108) stated that young people did not have enough input into youth programs and they would like to do so (94.0 percent, n=125).

Activities wanted

The types of activities which respondents wanted to be able to participate in are shown in Figure 5.8. The majority of respondents said that outdoor 'traditional' activities such as fishing and hunting and camping on country were the activities they would like to do.

Figure 5.8 Activities wanted
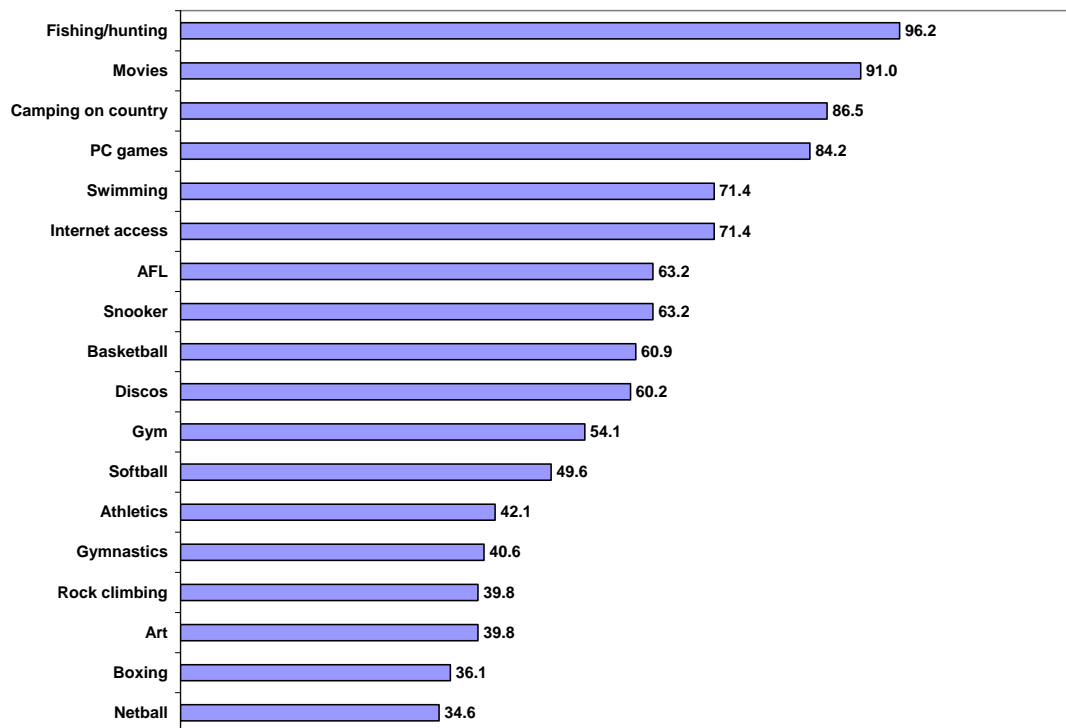
Additionally sports such as swimming, AFL and basketball were popular. Less physical activities such as PC games and internet access were also wanted by the majority of respondents.

In summary, the survey provided descriptive information about young people in Wadeye, their health and wellbeing and how these could be improved through increased opportunities to develop and participate in activities in the community. In the main these activities were "traditional" in nature, comprising hunting, fishing and camping, and provide a practical basis for introducing or increasing these types of activities generally and as an integral part of diversion programs.

Gang participation – values and respect

This section examines gang membership and the social networks of gang members.

One third of respondents (33.1 percent, n=44) stated they were in a gang. The majority of gang members were male (70.5 percent, n=31) and under 18 years of age (59.1 percent, n=26).

The initial analysis examined the social networks for gang and non-gang members in terms of whom they respected, took advice from, and whom they regarded as most important to them on a scale of one to four (i.e. first most important, second most important, third most important or not important).

Table 5.1: Values, social support and respect for authority for gang and non-gang members

	Gang members (n=45)		Non-gang members (n=88)		p
	N	%	N	%	
Values - most important people					
Family first most important	34	82.9	62	75.6	ns
Friends first most important	2	6.3	15	25.9	ns (.06)
Advice and support					
Advice from parents	39	86.7	68	77.3	ns
Advice from friends	**38**	**84.4**	**45**	**51.1**	**<.001**
Advice from relatives	30	66.7	59	67.0	ns
Advice from elders	14	31.1	26	29.5	ns
Admiration and respect for authority					
Respect parents	Only one respondent did not respect their parents (non-gang member)				
Respect elders	Only 3 respondents did not respect elders (2 were gang members)				
Respect gang leaders	**28**	**66.7**	**12**	**14.5**	**<.001**
Respect police	18	41.9	24	28.2	ns

The family was the first most important group of people for the majority of both gang and non-gang members (82.9 percent and 75.6 percent, ns). A much smaller percentage of gang members than non-gang members stated that their friends were the first most important to them (6.3 percent and 25.9 percent), and only two gang members said that their friends were the first most important people to them, but this finding was not statistically significant.

In terms of respect for authority, only one respondent, a non-gang member, said they did not respect their parents and only three, two of whom were gang members, said they did not respect elders in the community. Gang members respected gang leaders significantly more than did non-gang members (66.7 percent, 14.4 percent, p>.001). Gang members also respected police more than did non-gang members (41.9 percent and 28.2 percent respectively) but this finding was not statistically significant.

Whom they turned to for advice and support was significantly different for each group as a greater percentage of gang members received advice and support from friends compared with non-gang members (84.4 percent and 51.1 percent, p>.001).

Therefore in terms of gang membership there were no significant differences in relation to the importance of and respect for family members and elders, particularly in relation to the level of respect, which was nearly unanimous for both groups. Interestingly however, although the majority of gang members stated that their friends were not the first most important group of people for them, they used their friends for advice and support to a significantly greater extent than non-gang members. Perhaps not surprisingly gang members were also significantly different in that they had a much greater respect for gang leaders.

In order to examine the characteristics of gang and non-gang members in relation to their involvement with violence, substance use and the criminal justice system, an analysis of the relative risk ratio was undertaken. The relative risk is a ratio of event probabilities and for this analysis indicates the probability/risk of a characteristic occurring for a particular group. For the purposes of this analysis the *Values – most important people* variables were recoded as 1 important, 0 not important.

Table 5.2: Gang member characteristics – relative risk ratios

	Risk for cohort in a gang=YES/NO n=133	Confidence interval 95%	Sign.
Demographics			
Male/Female	**2.28**	**1.32 to 3.94**	**<.01**
Age <=18yrs/18yrs+	1.15	.72 to 1.91	ns
Substance use - personal			
Use tobacco (Yes)	1.22	.71 to 1.8	ns
Use gunja	**2.35**	**1.24 to 4.44**	**<.01**
Use grog	1.56	.70 to 3.49	ns
Substance use - others			
Worry grog (Yes)	.86	.41 to 1.84	ns
Worry gunja	.80	.40 to 1.59	ns
Violence/personal safety			
Worry family fight (Yes)	1.00	.84 to 1.20	ns
Worry bullying	1.44	.92 to 2.27	ns
Been beaten up	1.30	.69 to 2.46	ns
Been threatened	**3.37**	**1.76 to 6.47**	**<.001**
Considered self harm	.90	.44 to 1.83	ns
Criminal activity			
Been arrested (Yes)	**1.93**	**.94 to 3.95**	**<.05**
In police cells	**3.90**	**1.42 to 10.71**	**<.01**
In court	**3.86**	**1.40 to 10.58**	**<.01**

Gang members were twice as likely to be male (2.28, p<.01), and to use gunja (2.35, p<.01).   In terms of personal violence they were three times more likely to have been threatened (3.37, p<.001).

In relation to criminal activity gang members were nearly twice as likely to have been arrested (1.93, p<.05), and three times as likely to have been in police cells (3.90, p<.01) or to have made a court appearance (3.86, p<.01). It should be noted that only four respondents had been in detention.

Discussion

This portrait of a gang member in the remote Indigenous community of Wadeye therefore compares to some extent with gang members in other environments, such as urban communities in Australia and overseas. Their exposure to personal violence, drug use, and the criminal justice system is similar to that in other social environments as is the reliance on friends for advice and support and respect for gang leaders (White and Mason 2006). However, in relation to the level of respect for others around them, all the young people surveyed respected their parents. Therefore, unlike risk factors identified in earlier research, gang membership did not appear to be linked with a weakening of these "conventional bonds" (Bell and Heathcote, 1999). The continuing importance of the family for gang members and the fact that members said family and friends were most important to the gang point to the need to treat Aboriginal youth within their family context given that the gang is so central to young people's lives (Bell and Heathcote, 1999). In this context the development of 'anti-gang' strategies 'that do not reflect, and respect family considerations are bound not only to fail, but also to reproduce the worst aspects of oppressive colonial rule'. (White 2009, 48).

The employment of anti-gang strategies may be reflected in the extent to which gang members were at increased risk of being exposed to the criminal justice system when compared with non-gang members. This level of exposure could have resulted from a variety of situations: such as the increased violent behaviour by gang members; or by the easy police identification and targeting of gang members using illegal drugs, provoking anti-social behaviour by gang members (White 2009).

Interventions therefore need to encompass the issues of gang as family and gang as reaction to marginalisation and to regard the gang not as a problem entity but as a family network (White 2009). These issues need to form an integral part of the development and sustainability of any prevention or intervention programs for young people in this community. Any response to gang activity needs to take into account both the risk and protective factors which are involved in being part of a gang. Most importantly this needs to occur within the context of the particular community within which it operates with the recognition that there is a complex relationship and dependency between the gang and the family.

6. Youth gangs in Wadeye

Introduction

Wadeye first came to prominence in both media and political circles in the early 1980s as a community 'under siege' from continual gang violence (*Age* 2006, NTG 2011, *Australian*, 2008, *ABC News* 2008). In Wadeye, gangs appear to have emerged in the early 1980s and are generally defined through youth aligning themselves along cultural, clan and family affiliations into groups with contemporary Americanised gang characteristics, symbolic heavy metal music links and clearly defined turf boundaries. Although they engage in some relatively minor drug (predominantly marijuana) distribution for profit, the rationale for these groups appears to be either as a provocative and offensive structure, or at other times a defence mechanism.

The youth gangs have evolved in an environment at Wadeye that is characterised by substantial social and economic disadvantage. Taylor (2010, 48) describes the community as being 'very much at the crossroads' in addressing this disadvantage. Issues faced by the community include the quality and quantity of housing and the educational achievements of children. These circumstances and the conflict that the youth engage in create a situation, at times of considerable turmoil and frustration. An evaluation of a Council of Australian Governments (COAG) service delivery trial model commented on the conditions of 'endemic social dislocation and community violence' that residents of Wadeye had to endure (Gray & Chapman 2006). Further comments addressing social dislocation come from the report, *Closing the gap of Indigenous disadvantage*, Department of the Chief Minister, Northern Territory Government 2009). Some progress is also denoted in the Remote Service Delivery National Partnership Agreement as an identified 'growth town' in the NT.

History

Ivory states in his thesis that no youth gangs were apparent in the Wadeye community when he first worked in the community in 1978, but that when he had returned to the community in 2001 the gangs appeared to be highly developed entities and 'had emerged as an active structured locus of power, with a considerable amount of attached symbolism and magnetism (Ivory 2009, 297).

Ethnography

Ivory considered that between 2001-2003, there were fourteen distinct gangs operating in the Wadeye region and McLeod (2012) also charted the

existence of fourteen gangs in 2012 (see map below). Often these gangs took their names and identity from heavy mental music, thus a prominent gang was, and continues to be the Judas Priest Gang. Another prominent gang, the Evil Warriors Gang, construct their identity on the history of the warrior Nemarluk, who, in the early part of the 20th century, consistently outwitted non-Indigenous attempts to capture him. Although the majority of gangs were composed of male members, Ivory describes the existence of at least one girls' gang, the Kylie Girls (Ivory 2009, 297).

The emergence of the gangs and the reasons why are debatable. One explanation is that it was related to the establishment of musical bands in the 1980s which were loosely made up of kinfolk from particular areas. These groups, it is proposed by some, later developed activities beyond music, grew in size, and eventually metamorphosed into 'gang' type structures. Other 'theories' are that Bruce Lee movies, cowboy movies, and gang movies shown at a local open air theatre spawned the gang structures. Nevertheless their emergence correlated to a particular period in the community's history when the population was rapidly growing, houses became overcrowded, there were few job opportunities, and a sense of futility about the future was pervading the town. There had also emerged a degree of tension between the 'old' and the 'new' ways – older and the middle-aged people and the emerging youth generation.

Members' ages of the younger gangs generally range from about seven to fourteen years (Ivory 2009, 297). However with the older and more powerful groups the ages range from about fifteen to twenty-five years. Ivory (2009, 297) noted however that a few members were in their thirties and he raised the question about what age one reaches before becoming 'ineligible' for membership. It should be noted that since Ivory's research some gang participants have moved into mainstream activities such as involvement on the local shire council.

The members develop affiliations with other gangs at times and also broaden their networks through the Northern Territory prison system. They can travel afield to Darwin and parts of Western Australia and Ivory (2009, 298) noted that 'their ability to expand and enhance their networks…is noticeably a characteristic of the elderly leadership group'.

The members generally have low educational levels (although there are exceptions), are unemployed, have limited intercultural skills, and may have limited cultural and ceremonial immersion (Ivory 2009). Desmarchelier (2000) found a rejection of the 'new ways' by the youth (at the time meaning engagement with the mainstream and the government) and they displayed such rejection with antisocial behaviour such as substance abuse, non-attendance at school, graffiti, actively seeking incarceration, theft, youth group association, and other behaviours.

Gang territory

Affinity with clan country and protection of this country from outsiders was a key component of gang members' discourses about what being in a gang meant to them. The leader of the Evil Warrior Gang described the need for protecting the land as the key motivation for the formation of the gang:

> If someone threatens our family, then we fight them. We protect out street. We protect our family, street, property and our cars..We are fighting for our land. Some blokes are a bit slack and don't know how to protect their land. My father, when I was young and going through initiation, took me and showed me my clan's *noimingi* (totemic sites). My father said don't be stupid..look after it and pass on to your kids and grandkids. Keep white fellas from destroying it (Ivory 2009, 301)

This discourse emphasises the duty to not only 'look after' but also to fight to protect the land. The gangs are sanctioned in this discourse through their power to protect important totemic sites which were revealed to the individual during initiation.

Map 6.1 outlines the territories associated with the two most prominent gangs, the Judas Priest Gang and the Evil Warriors Gang, as well as the territory associated with some of the less prominent gangs. As can be seen, the community of Wadeye is clearly divided by the territories claimed by these gangs.

Map 6.1 Territory occupied by Wadeye gangs

Source: Jonathan McLeod.

Leadership

Another important theme that arises out of Ivory's ethnography is one of leadership. He argues that:

> A key prerequisite to be a leader of one of the youth groups is the ability to fight, to think strategically and to communicate and relate to other gang members (Ivory 2009, 320).

Gang leaders, he argues, display strong leadership qualities and sometimes, in their own descriptions, they emphasise that their leadership emerged due to their frustrations with the leadership demonstrated by the elder men of the community, those people traditionally sanctioned to be leaders (Ivory 2009, 311).

Media Coverage of Wadeye youth gangs

Outsider perceptions of the youth gangs and their impact on the Wadeye community are largely influenced by the media. Media stories on Wadeye's youth gangs have fluctuated from shock horror portrayals of violence, through despairing personal portraits, to tales of hopeful resurgence in community spirit. It's a pendulum, swinging from negative to positive, depending on the latest action on the street, and the media's own need for controversy.

This is consistent with the findings in Natalie Bolzan's 2003 report, *'Kids Are Like That!' Community Attitudes to Young People*, which showed that there were 'a large number of reports in the Northern Territory media that deal with the bad behaviour of the young, mostly concerned with criminal activity and alcohol use. Such reports were not challenged by any other substantial discourse. This is different in other parts of Australia where young people are seen to be needing help (Bolzan 2003)."

Paul Toohey's Quarterly Essay on the NT Intervention in June 2008 mentioned the gangs 'assembling in the streets as they prepared to face off against the enemy' in April 2006, and recently Nicholas Rothwell wrote in *The Australian Weekend Magazine* in April 2012 that 'Wadeye… long a byword for trouble and tension, is well on the road to a stable future of its own making' (Rothwell 2012).

These contrasting perspectives illustrate how media reports both report the current state of play as well as echo ongoing reputations. However, Wadeye has received a series of sensational reports over the past decade, and the combination of heavy metal band imagery, wild looking Indigenous faces gesturing at the camera, violent words and loud music, plus conflict on the streets, has made this subject a favourite for news editors 'looking for some colour'.

If we look more closely at actual occurrences around Wadeye, however, there is a gap between the image and the presentation. Often media coverage becomes its own self determining force, following the presuppositions made

by journalists on the way to covering the story. As Christians et al remarked in *Good news: social ethics and the press*:

> Human reality is structured by ideas. In Heidegger's profound sense, we live in the house of language. Our presuppositions are the grid through which we view the world and act upon it (Christians et al 1993).

This distorting influence of media presuppositions is magnified even more when young people hear that they have become infamous for being in gangs, so they act out that fierceness in response to the image they have been told they have achieved. Hence the fierce faces and finger pointing gestures that adorn many stories of the Wadeye heavy metal youth gangs. It creates a cycle of reinforcing gestures and stories that never really address the issues lying underneath such public portrayals.

Sarah Ferguson from Channel Nine's *Sunday* program remarked in July 2006 that:

> More than half of the population (of Wadeye) is under 20. Most of them don't go to school and speak little or no English. There's no alcohol for sale here and they have unsniffable petrol. In spite of that, during the last wet season, Wadeye exploded. The town gangs turned on each other. Dozens of houses were trashed. And there were even calls to send in the Army (Ferguson 2006a).

Mal Brough, Minister for Families and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (2006-2007) in an example of the heated dialogue at the time was interviewed as follows:

> 'You seemed upset by the boys in the Judas Priest and the Evil Warrior gear that came up, that troubles you doesn't it?' asked Sarah Ferguson, from the *Sunday* program on Chanel 9.

> 'That does trouble me, answered Mal Brough. This is so foreign to everything that they are and everything that they've ever been, and when we're talking about a culture this is so alien to their culture, it's because it's been jammed down their throats through television, particularly watching *Rage* on ABC, quite frankly' (Ferguson 2006a).

During the same coverage, an elder from the community told Sarah Ferguson:

> No good him coming down for a day and chat, chat, chat, promise and leaves so… he lives in Canberra with his little office and air condition, he has to see us in the bush in Wadeye… It's only the people, not the white people, it's us that get off our bum and work with these young men we gotta stop doing all these bad things.

Sarah Fergusson summed up Minister Brough's Wadeye encounter in the following way:

As cyclone Mal moved on to the next community, the locals were left assessing the damage… In his rush the Minister never found out that it's the one thing he and William Parmbuk really agree on (Ferguson 2006a).

There is a tension in the media's role in the ongoing story of Wadeye's youth gangs. Part of this coverage brings positive awareness to the nation, part of it scares people about what Wadeye must be like, and part of it may also add to individual young people's self image as being strong and able to stand up to outsiders.

ABC Radio's PM host Mark Colvin interviewed News Limited journalist Paul Toohey in a June 2008 cover story on Wadeye and the NT Intervention:

When I spoke to Paul Toohey this afternoon on the line from Darwin, I began by suggesting that almost everyone involved, on both sides of politics, got a savage kicking in his essay, including the Howard Government minister Mal Brough who he describes as an insensitive thug.

'I did call Brough an insensitive thug', Toohey remarked. 'And at the same time I think I qualified that slightly by saying there has been so much hand wringing over the previous decades, that a degree of insensitivity was required in order to get some of these things moving' (Colvin 2008).

Sarah Ferguson, the *Sunday* reporter who spent two weeks in Wadeye to produce the 2006 TV report, 'The gangs of Wadeye, a lost generation?' (Ferguson 2006a), appears to have strove to emphasise the way local people were 'caught between two worlds', as she re-emphasised in a debate in the eurekastreet.com.au on-line newsletter following the screening (Ferguson 2006b).

Nicholas Rothwell reflected recently that one of the key factors in things improving in Wadeye was a decrease in negative media attention:

The vital ingredients for the Wadeye renaissance over recent years have been straightforward: the launch of a new style of governance structure squarely built on regional traditions; the provision of well-paid, continuing local employment, backed by sustained, intensive public funding; a holiday from hostile media coverage; and – from a most unlikely quarter – the intrusion of strict, unbending discipline into the younger generations (Rothwell 2012).

For effective analysis of young people's emerging challenges in Wadeye, media reports need to be included in a much wider context, to be seen as part of the bigger picture, for locals and for Australians generally. There are positive signs in the patterns of youth gangs gathering, as well as some inappropriate behaviours, that will hopefully be addressed by local elders working with their youth on new development programs using old traditions.

7. Imprisoned Gang Members

Introduction

While the primary focus of this research is the Wadeye community, the research team also recognised the need to explore the experiences of Wadeye community members who were currently incarcerated in Berrimah prison, as these members were/are at the centre of gang life in Wadeye. We wanted to understand what it's like to be in a gang, what values these people have, and their goals and aspirations for the future, as well as barriers to achieving these goals. As Geertz (1973) argues, it is important to ascertain a rich description of the detail of peoples' lives. These interviews were designed to obtain a detailed understanding of gang members' lives. The method we chose to do this qualitative data collection was semi-structured interviews. As Ezzy (2002, :xxii-xxiii) states, '[semi-structured interviews] try to work out how the things that people do make sense from their perspective. This can be done only by entering into their world, so that their world becomes our world...[and] ensures that the voice of the other is heard.;

The incarcerated gang members were keen to engage in the interviews as they were interested in sharing their views on diversion programs so Wadeye youth could stay out of jail and not have the experiences and disadvantages that they have had. They also wanted to talk about what's important to them, their values, goals and aspirations. By discussing these barriers to achieving their goals, our intentions for the interviews were realised.

There were a total of eight interviews, taken over three months at the beginning of 2012, although we had been trying to commence interviewing nine months before. We had to be very flexible and respect occurrences such as funeral business and visits from elders, as well as the operational requirements of the prison.

Setting of interviews

The interviews were conducted in Darwin's Berrimah minimal security prison in an interview room situated off the main prison guard "fishbowl" head quarters. It was a small air-conditioned room with a table and four chairs. The interview room has lemon coloured walls, a TV, filing cabinet and dog cage in corner.

The interviewer is an experienced Aboriginal Liaison Officer, aged in mid 30s, casually dressed in shorts and a t-shirt, wearing a distress monitor, (which didn't work in the interview room) He took his time to scan the formally framed mainstream English set questions and translate the questions used in Aboriginal-English. For example, the interviewer would ask, "Do your mob....?" referring to the interviewees' peers and family.

Description of interviews

The responses from the interviews are presented under four headings: a basic description of gang life, values, goals and aspirations including for diversional activities, and barriers to living a life away from gangs. These themes seem a natural delineation as they cover all that was said in the interviews, and will more efficiently and appropriately represent the groups of themes that were discussed, especially with a focus on diversionary programs. These themes are of course strongly interrelated.

Gang descriptions

All the interviewees were from the minimal security section of Berrimah jail. They were male, aged 21, 22, 25, 25, 36, 42, and 49. The eighth interviewee withdrew from the interview before questions were asked. He appeared uncomfortable and I don't think he really understood exactly what he had volunteered for. The two older interviewees, initially did not fit the profile of a gang member, who we expected to be in the younger age groups, however we found that the 42 year old was a leader of the Evil Warriors Gang, and the 49 year old was a brother of another Evil Warriors leader. This multiplicity of people who professed to be gang leaders was again surprising.

Of interest is that six of those interviewed were incarcerated due to domestic violence, not gang related violence. As one interviewee, aged 49, stated, 'Coming to prison [because] sometimes I need to bash wife'. The Aboriginal Liaison Officer stated that this was not unusual as people living in Wadeye have been socialised into a culture of violence and have come from generations of regarding violence as an appropriate way of expressing anger, for whatever reason. Such interpretation as a broad analysis is debatable and would be questioned particularly by Wadeye leaders, most community members, and our research team. It should be emphasised however, that the message from the interviews was that gang violence is more a reflection of male bravado than causing injury. Bravado was explained in terms of what made you a strong man. There is a difference between public and private expressions of violence. Gang bravado is public and has greater social credence, whereas domestic violence is private and holds little social credence. Sometimes it is difficult to separate between behaviour that is endorsed in one arena and shameful in another. This can lead one to deny responsibility for domestic violence (Langton 1994). For example, one interviewee did not feel responsible for the death of his wife caused by his beatings, but blamed black magic. Causation of negative events associated with sorcery is prominent in Wadeye. According to Keen (1995, 522), sorcery is believed to have an instrumental efficacy of its own. In addition, the basis of sorcery has an esoteric significance. There is an awareness of, and belief in, the supernatural in sorcery

Most of the interviewees joined their gangs at the age of fourteen, but some joined after they finished school at eighteen or nineteen. Younger kids are also starting up gangs, which are not taken as seriously as the gangs which

have been around longer, such as Evil Warriors and Judas Priest. People join gangs because they get respect and they are obliged to kin. It is an assumption made by kin that other kin will join their gang. There are both girls and boys in gangs, but the boys have more agency than the girls. In fact the girls have limited to no agency. According to those interviewed, girls are only involved in so much as they are girlfriends of gang members. It is very important to be part of a gang. Languages are shared between gang members in their own gangs, based upon the country they are from. Gangs are not always necessarily kin but a mix. Kin, however, are vital to feelings of connectedness and belonging in gangs.

The men explained that there can be multiple gang leaders, and action by the gang is taken by 'the leader who feels the angriest (42 year old). Ideas of leadership come from watching movies. The intricacies of movie preference were not elaborated on too much but seem to be related to martial arts movies.

The construct of leadership is fluid and reactive to the prevailing situation in the community and is defined by respondents in the following way: 'whoever is angriest takes leadership. One of the interviewees from an older gang, an Evil Warriors Gang leader, stated that gang members just go about their own lives until a fellow gang member in angered by something, then the gang members get together to address the issue. It seems to be different for the younger gangs who spend more time together, for example roaming the streets. The younger gangs seem to be more likely to name call and provoke anger from others. Sometimes there is violence for no reason, but generally fights are caused by name calling or jealousy over girls. It is fairly common that the girls causing the fights are victims of violence themselves.

The older gang members do their own thing and only get involved in the gang when there is an issue to sort out. The younger gang members walk around Wadeye in gang groups between 1pm and 6am, or they smoke cigarettes and gunja at someone's house. There are fights for gunja and money. Anyone can start a fight but the whole gang has to back them up. Weapons such as axes and machetes are sometimes used, when it gets really violent. In most cases, however, violence is avoided and there is merely showmanship of male bravado.

Although the interviewees state that they had no choice but to be in a gang, they also stated that they were never made to do something that they didn't want to do. Apparently to get out of a gang you just explain your reasons to your kin in the gang. Though there is definitely strong pressure to be part of a gang: 'If you're born into it you have to be in a gang due to the old tribal stuff... Nothing to do but be in gang – way of life (age 36).

Values

From the interviews and the SEIQoL-DW assessments, the prisoners interviewed value: work, family, culture and ceremony, country, cultural leisure activities such as hunting, education, leadership, footy, and music including

heavy metal music. The gangs in Wadeye are all named after heavy metal bands. No explanation for why the gangs were named after heavy metal bands was given during the interviews.

Violence was not mentioned in any of the interviews as a value but an unfortunate necessity. Violent outbreaks were described as less common than displaying male bravado between gangs. A great majority of the interviewees were incarcerated for domestic violence not gang violence. Gang behaviour is more about masculine bravado than violence.

The subjects of kin, culture and country were the most discussed values.

Most interviewees noted that they didn't want to join a gang but had to due to kin obligation. The gang chooses the individual rather than the individual choosing the gang. It is an obligation and duty and there is no right to complete freedom. Even though gang members say they can leave their gangs, it is hard to do so due to this sense of obligation. The interviewees felt a strong sense of obligation to their gangs mostly because most of their fellow gang members are kin. There are non-kin members too but the majority of the older gangs are kin based. The very close connection to kin was repeatedly stated by all interviewees, as was respect for kin relations and obligations to kin. You are not forced to join a gang by your kin but you are obliged to.

> ...with cousin brothers in Metallica Boys. A family gang. They my family. Full blood..... 40-50 people – all cousin brothers..... Didn't want to join gang but had to, not made to but had to.
>
> Became a member from a young kid, 21 years old. Cousins and brothers....[in gangs]
>
> No choice but to be a gang member. Family thing. But don't want kids and grandson to go to jail. [Being in a gang equates to going to prison].
>
> I was sick of being part of a gang. Didn't want to get involved. I did because I had to follow my brothers and cousins.
>
> You are born into a gang and join when you're a young boy. Women also have a role in the gang. Newer gangs are not so rigid on kin membership, having kin separated across different gangs, but the older gangs such as Evil Warriors and Judas Priest value kin membership more.

Culture is a very strong value for the interviewees. One interviewee who is a gang leader stated that:

> [Gangs are] not gangs but tribes. If you're born into it you have to be in a gang due to the old tribal stuff. Gang leader means doing ceremony. Not gang but tribe – just described as gangs. Tribes means culture means go through law and ceremony. Lot going on. Evil Warriors and

Judas Priest [family based gangs] started about in the 1980s. Each has the same language group.

Another said, 'I just care about my culture and my ceremony'. Another commented on gangs and Aboriginal law, 'Bad things about gangs. If break black fella law get punished.'

Also important is country and territory. The gangs are defined within certain territories. Protecting territory was a main reason for gang violence or at least bravado as emphasised earlier. The gangs are connected to different areas of country in and around Wadeye.

Evil Warriors [territory] from Belyuen to Kununurra – have salt water elders. Fresh water from Palumpa to Timber Creek – have elders too. Only Wadeye has gangs.

[Fighting is] territory based. The bottom camp are fresh water and the top camp are salt water. They have different languages.

[I] have cousins and brothers in fresh water but main connections to salt water. Times when fresh water and salt water help each other out and other times trouble.

In the discourse of the prisoners, this fighting to protect land is coloured by heroic imagery and is given the status of a long standing history. In the example below, the history of the dispute appears to far precede the provenance of the gang name (Judas Priest formed in 1969).

Fight for motherland.
I have been in the gang for 20 years. There are about 8 gangs in Wadeye. Fear Factory is also a fresh water tribe. Fighting between Judas Priest and Evil Warriors has gone back since 1935 for land.

Goals, aspirations and ideas for diversion opportunities

There were a few goals and aspirations mentioned that may enlighten diversion program ideas. Some of those people interviewed spoke about a desire to:

Want to start project in art community, fix and paint fences. All set to go. Getting money from elder in Palumpa and give employment to other family.

Want to be a bus driver and take kids to school.

I wanna go back to country

The main goals and aspirations of the interviewees were based on ways to get out of gang life and keep others, especially other youth, out of gangs. There were a number of suggestions about how to do this:

Got to keep them busy; footy only sport; need work – housing, road works, night patrol, ranger – plenty of work if you want it. Basketball and baseball for women. Need programs to help youth. Lots of domestic violence, gunja, sniffing, can, petrol, fighting, angry – need anger management – relational problems, grog. Lot of young start sniffing after finish school. Nothing to do after school – danger period. Good during high school, but young boy and girl smoking at school.

I've been in prison 9 years all up – nothing here. But can play music. Be good role model. Tell story in language and song. Teach kids though music. Tell them about prison.

New life – go back to workshop. Different life – stay away from friends. Kids aged 20, 20 something, 17, 4. 17 yr old not in gang – ready for ceremony. Had enough of prison life.

Need intervention at school.

Get back to culture when get home: hunting, dancing, song.

Hunting and culture, stop gangs, get a job – plenty of jobs, education, keep kids in school eg his son, learn to read and write English, young mob don't speak English much because don't go to school, 7 languages.

[When I get out] I'm gonna say bad stuff about prison to get kids to [change their views] and get them off their back.

[Aims] to teach young kids to stay out of trouble.

Try to talk one to one; program to talk to elders, gang members need work, young kids go back to school. The bus driver picks them up; culture and respect together; gangs hide from culture. Talk to group of young kids, my family, about prison and how bad it is. Get ideas from prison. Who can help?

People want me to keep playing music – even boss one. Wants to teach him to sing. Play music to help settle people down. I think music can change things- cross territories. Band travels around all territories of Wadeye – breaks boundaries.

Culture stopping some violence by marriages and interconnections.

Going back bush after prison to outstation – leave gang- family outstation – Dad find job – He's in Port Keats at the moment. Build new houses.

Put to big meeting. Old people talk about violence.

The Aboriginal Liaison Officer made the following comments:

[The prisoners] lack direction and desire to improve themselves-resigned to gang lifestyle. Don't seem to want anything else.

Maybe this work from Menzies will show that a mentoring program is needed.

Footy huge deterrent.

Difficult to try and figure out what's important to them and what goals they have when they lack direction and influence of positive leadership. You could be a leader in a good way and a leader in a bad way.

When you don't know anything but violence it is hard to imagine how to live without violence and these guys [the younger three interviewed] lacked the maturity to have great insight into the issue.

Construct of leadership is fluid – whoever is angriest takes leadership. Positive leadership and direction is obviously lacking in their lives.

The Aboriginal Liaison Officer suggested work at the Wadeye hotel?? or building houses. It is possible to get experience through a jail program to get skills up so people can work in construction back home once released from prison – Intervention involves building many houses]. There are also non-governmental organisations in Wadeye that help promote positive lifestyle choices such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Catholic Care. Footy (Australian Rules Football) was regularly mentioned as a positive divergence. Interviewees were also keen to get training and employment, and to engage in cultural activities such as music and hunting.

SEIQoL-DW assessments

The SEIQoL-DW assessments were completed with the three youngest incarcerated gang members. They needed a lot of prompting during the assessment. They had no aspirations to do things outside of gang life even though two of them said that they wanted to keep out of trouble, but their choice of lifestyle e.g. sleeping hours (awake at 1pm til 6am) isn't conducive to a non gang related lifestyle including working and/or training. The Aboriginal Liaison Officer encouraged them to get work experience on a construction site during their incarceration. They were somewhat interested. It is interesting to note that the interviews with the three youngest gang members did not provide as rich descriptions compared to the older interviewees.

The Aboriginal Liaison Officer suggested they lacked maturity and insight and knowledge of a life outside of gang life. Of interest, the quality of life scores of the three youth were 13 percent, 40 percent and 70 percent, and gangs or gang related activities were not mentioned as being important to them. The main areas of importance included family, learning, work, country, and footy. The interviewee with the worst quality of life (13 percent) placed great importance on the areas of staying out of trouble and staying out of prison. Obviously he was not going well in those areas of his life, decreasing his quality of life considerably.

Barriers

The Aboriginal Liaison Officer stated that young people in the community are all 'strong gang members' and have known nothing else but gangs and violence their whole lives and so have no ideas about diversion programs. He stated that Wadeye has inescapable intergenerational and all pervasive violence. 'When you are brought up with violence, you live violence and there is nothing but violence around you what choice is there but to be violent.'

In some of the gangs, young men go to ceremony but some don't due to too much sniffing petrol, bong smoking , gunja, and spray paint sniffing. Interviewees stated that:

> Young people don't have culture. Go to Don Dale. Run away from ceremony – don't want to do ceremony

> New gangs don't work like old gangs. New gangs not necessarily through ceremony and culture.

> Some gangs – young guys in gangs go to ceremony but some don't. Too much sniffing petrol, bong, gunja, spray paint, steal women – haven't followed ceremony so in gangs.

> Born or marry into Evil Warriors. Law and culture govern groups. But young people here [prison], hiding place, cause broke culture and law – coming back to prison all the time cause hiding.. One respect sister break law can't talk to – hide in her. Young boys sacred about culture and older people – hiding in here. People wait for people when they get out, then get payback – spear in leg. Hide from pay back. If they can't get you then get your family one be one for payback. Tribal law very strong in Wadeye – stronger than white man law.

> Have 3 kids now. Ages 5 yrs, 3 yrs and baby. Don't want them to be in gangs. Too much fighting. Don't know why. Not following culture. Like fighting. Culture number 1 – from grandfather, dancing and songs.

> Years lost in prison. When ceremony due, they start trouble to avoid ceremony. Prison hiding place. Don't wanna know about tribal law. But feel weak when miss family in here.

Kids lie to parents. Meet up and smoke gunja instead of going to school.

The Aboriginal Liaison Officer states that:
Sleeping til 1pm and roaming the streets in gangs til 6am when they went to bed is not conducive to working, and it sounds like they don't want to work. After they get out of jail they will go back to the gang lifestyle. Jail offers rehabilitation and training and more regular sleeping patterns. Though one interviewee states, 'There is work in the jail but not back home. Not enough work back home – too much fighting.

Discussion

The interviews showed insight into the values, goals and aspirations of the incarcerated gang members. Of great importance is kin, culture and country. Violence was not valued, rather it was seen as a means to an ends. Paradoxically, for this sample of interviewees, most were in prison for domestic violence. Women were also a common reason for gang violence when it does occur, for example fights regarding jealousy. It should be emphasised that gangs interacted mainly through non-contact expressions of male bravado. The interviewees wanted to get away from gang life and deter others from becoming involved in gang life. However, these statements must be interpreted within the context of where the interviews took place – in a prison, with a prison worker asking the questions. Under such conditions, statements of contrition and remorse may be considered by respondents to be the most appropriate response.

> Avenues to disengage with gangs that were proffered were a re-connection with culture and ceremony, keeping away from drugs, and getting jobs. The younger gang members seemed more resolved to being involved in gang culture. They possibly lacked the maturity and insight that the older interviewees have, or still, perhaps they were being more truthful. It is clear from these interviews that the gang structures are perpetuating important aspects of traditional life – connection and knowledge of country, language, kin and tribal group. Yet gang behaviour is not always culturally appropriate. The less appropriate behaviour, such as unnecessary violence, stems more from the younger gangs than the older established gangs with strong historical cultural presence and stature such as the Evil Warriors and Judas Priest. There is a schism between the traditional and the modern transience of cultural identity and how this is exemplified in gang behaviour. Perhaps the younger gang members depict to a greater extent the porous nature of gangs and multiplicity of gang cultural identity, redefining the complexities of life in Wadeye today.

8. Current Service Delivery to Youth

Introduction

Young people in Wadeye are subjected to a large range of programs, supports and interventions from various agencies utilising several approaches. Going by the evidence of the past twelve months (2011-12), the programs that have been most successful have followed van Linden and Fertman's flexible staged sequence of strategies: developing local 'awareness, interaction and (then) mastery' as the keys to ensuring effective take-up (van Linden & Fertman 1998). Along these lines, the school-based culture programs running at Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (OLSH) Thamarrurr School have begun to engage young people in longer-term development. However, the more widely dispersed groups of youth in the community have slipped through the net of mainstream youth support programs.

The reported pattern of failure in imported youth programs, observed over the past few years by long-term members of the community at Wadeye has been consistent: no consultation with locals on what is planned and delivered; assumptions that off-the-shelf schemes from elsewhere will be easily transposed into Wadeye's culture; inexperienced 'blow-in' workers deliver the programs, with no idea who they are dealing with, or what the implications are for locals if they get involved in these programs; fly-in, fly-out delivery methods, with no sustained presence in the community, or relationship-building to invite partnership approaches; expecting that young people will want to be part of the latest blow-in activity, when they have no incentive at all to join in; and portraying local young people in a negative light inside their own thinking, which shows up in so-called patronising attitudes.

This sort of background does not give a strong start to most of the schemes that have been flooding into Wadeye since the 2007 NT Emergency Response. But local programs, which have gradually spawned from these initiatives from elsewhere, show signs that things can change.

Culture programs through the school, and music outside school, have been the most successful and popular initiative with the youth. The Harmony in the Community program run by Catholic Care NT (CCNT) has been very popular, with eleven rock music bands meeting and rehearsing regularly over the past year, at the makeshift studio assembled in a demountable building within CCNT's grounds.

This project, which is funded through a drug and alcohol counselling program, uses music to engage young people and integrates messages about decreasing dependency on alcohol and other drugs (AOD). The philosophy and practice applied by the three CCNT music therapists are informed by their background in Maori first nation community cultural development work in New

Zealand and elsewhere. All three therapists are Maori, spending three days each week in Wadeye over the past 18 months, and they are both professional AOD support workers and professional musicians. So their status with young people has more credibility than mainstream youth or social workers who come on a fly-in, flu-out basis and don't develop ongoing relationships with the locals.

The combination of hands-on practicality, indigenous-informed practice, and natural respect earned through staying on in the community, collaborating with young people, demonstrating excellence in performance, has established a different kind of 'vibe' than the usual 'youth work' program. This is consistent with Janet Finn and Barry Checkoway's findings in America, where they critique social work with youth that does not involve young people themselves as the chief architects of change:

> Social workers have an uneven record in the promotion of youth participation as competent community builders. It is time to take the capacity of young people seriously and challenge the limits of our helping paradigms in the process. This calls for a reorientation from therapeutic models of individual treatment to consciousness-raising models for group reflection and action (Finn & Checkoway 1998, 344).

Creative arts are a key component in many successful programs, due to the way they engage young people in hands-on learning, and then draw them into leadership roles. By contrast, the Victoria Daly Shire's, and Police youth diversionary, sport and recreation programs in Wadeye have too often felt like short-term entertainment, and have not led to long-term take-up by young people, according to several senior local community representatives and some of the facilitators themselves. These programs show promise, but with more youth-led orientation, as is now being planned for a BMX competition between different sections of Wadeye's cohort of youth.

Finn and Checkoway discuss the Latin American Youth Centre, in Washington DC, as an example of multi-stranded creative expression engaging youth in ongoing self reflection and healthy cathartic expression. 'The centre promotes the personal, social, educational, and economic development of youths in the heart of the Latino community in Washington DC, serving young people from over 40 countries' (Finn & Checoway 1998, 340).

Their programs vary from open-ended theatre skits on everything from teenage pregnancy, substance misuse and family relations, to radio plays on race relations and teenage suicide. Public murals, collections of prose writing, and publishing a bi-lingual newsletter all involved young people as the drivers (Finn & Checkoway 1998, 340-1). Wadeye's young people have shown they have similar preferences, but the programs on offer have yet to achieve the patient investment and consistent staff involvement that lead to successful take-up.

Phil Mitchell, Manager of Thamarrurr Regional Aboriginal Council (TRAC), said the biggest problem for locals was the failure to coordinate incoming

service providers, and to ensure they were vetted by an appropriate local authority before even planning to come. 'We need these agencies, pardon the French, to get their shit together because we're all over it', Mitchell said. 'They arrive in town, go around and meet people, and at the end of a visit come and see the one organisation that has an overview of what locals are trying to do to support youth with patient development. We only want locally-run, culturally-based, empowering programs for our young people, not these blow-in, off-the-shelf, generic solutions that outsiders want to dump on us.'

Mitchell said that the embryonic youth and elders bush camp program being sponsored by TRAC in 2012 was already showing results. 'We had twelve young people, aged between 10 and 21 years, involved in serious breaking and entering, stealing activities. They went away on a bush camp, and now three have entered offenders programs of their own volition, and plan to head into traineeships with Thamarrurr Development Corporation to work as truck drivers and in other local roles. Some have gone back to school. So, while it's early days, these bush camps are proving on the mark for engaging young people through local culture and values.

This perspective echoes what Carole MacNeil and Jennifer McClean found in their US study, 'Moving from "youth leadership development" to "youth in governance"' (MacNiel & McClean 2006). By creating the 'contexts and relationships where young people can engage in the action of leadership', they can move from 'being helped' to 'practising leadership'.

> These days I find myself thinking more about systems change and social justice than about youth leadership and development *per se*. Whereas I used to ask, How can I be more effective at supporting young people in discovering and developing their own unique leadership strategies? Now I find myself asking, What can I do, in partnership with youth and other adult allies, to create system change to address the marginalization of youth? (MacNeil & McClean 2006, 103).

Mitchell (Pyers com 2012) said youth programs were often 'dumped' into Wadeye, with no outcomes other than disturbing locals with more blow-in ignorance. 'There is no such thing as a "Territory-wide solution" to youth issues', he said. 'Everything in Aboriginal business is local, local, local. Even the Shire has had problems because its programs don't engage enough local facilitators, and they end up just being seen by the kids as short-term entertainment, not anything they want to belong to long-term.'

The patterns in Wadeye reflect international trends, where advantages and disadvantages have been recorded in youth program delivery, left too much in young people's hands alone, and others which were over-controlled by adults. Larson, Walker and Pearce explored these perspectives, in ways that produced some insights that may assist Wadeye's next level of development.

> Examining the unfolding of experiences in youth programs that differed in the degree of youth and adult influence over program activities, in-

depth qualitative data were obtained over a three- to four-month cycle of activities, in two 'youth-driven' and two 'adult-driven' programs for high school-aged youth… Rather than finding that one approach was categorically better than the other, our analyses suggested that each provided distinct developmental experiences (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005, 57).

The two youth-driven programs showed 'benefits… derive from the teens' experience of ownership over the direction of program activities… (which they saw) as their own and they were highly invested in the outcome of their work… taking on the multifaceted challenges of planning… and organising' (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005, 66).

Adult-driven programs were able to offer 'specially designed learning experiences, and pass[ing] on their knowledge…It's about gaining experience, and they [the adults] have the experience…[and for example] artistic knowledge' (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005, 67).

In Wadeye, TRAC's local cultural program for youth, involving taking young people out onto their ancestors' country around the Port Keats region, has involved experienced adults mentoring young people. This has given the young people freedom to help arrange things, and the respect to listen when cultural knowledge is being shared. The combination of youth involvement, and adult passing-on of culturally valuable knowledge, has shown that youth who were previously distracted and negative can show respect, and get involved in making such events happen.

One of the international trends shown up vividly in Wadeye's whole history of 'interventions' for youth is the power of perception among those 'helping', as much as among those 'being helped'. The 'deficit focus' that has dominated programs aiming to help Wadeye's young people has been a large part of their own demise, as many locals comment. Lori Holleran and Margaret Waller reinforced this message, with their US/Mexican Borderlands ethnographic study, 'Sources of resilience among Chicano/a youth'. That report showed that it is only when local perspectives, cultures, history and spirit are acknowledged and celebrated, that young people will 'get on board' with change from within:

> [E]ducation and prevention/intervention programs grounded in salient cultural values and beliefs related to (a) collectivism and (b) the relationship between hardship and transformation, would engage Chicano/a adolescents and build on their own belief systems (Holleran & Waller 2003, 345).

By adopting a strengths perspective, Holleran and Waller showed that the young people in the barrio (Spanish-speaking quarter) had significant factors contributing to their survival under often harsh circumstances. 'Findings suggest that identification with core values and beliefs rooted in traditional Mexican American culture may be a protective factor contributing to resilience

among second generation Mexican American adolescents' (Holleran & Waller 2003, 335).

The main influences that were threaded through young people's lives, assisting in keeping their self-story as a strong thread supporting their lives, were: enduring traditional values and beliefs; family closeness and loyalty (*familismo*); consideration for the sensibilities and needs of others (*respeto*); dignity, honour (*dignidad*); loyalty (*fidelidad*); ethnic pride (*orgullo cultural*); qualities of bravery, courage, generosity, respect for others, protection of and provision for loved ones (*machismo*); and the centrality of the strong virtuous mother in the family (*marianismo*) (Holleran & Waller 2003, 336).

Out of these combined threads, four patterns showed direct parallels with Wadeye's youth gangs: the importance of ethnic identity; collectivism; eclectic religious symbolism (*religiosidad*); and resilience. While Wadeye's youth gangs represent anti-Christian attitudes in many circumstances, their use of heavy metal music band names and icons maintains a quasi-religious symbolic function communicating togetherness and belief in something outside the immediate life-world.

Gangs themselves are the expression of collectivism in action. Local clan identities are deeply ingrained with gang membership. And resilience, in the face of waves of invading whitefellas and their programs, is a prominent aspect of gang identity and function for locals.

These aspects of Wadeye's youth cultural life have not been seen as strengths so far. But the local leadership group has expressed its strong desire to replace incoming youth programs with locally-run ones that build on these strengths.

How exactly, then, is it done? How do you take an indigenous community under stress and change its mood and outlook? According to Rothwell (2012), in the bush, everything is local, and defies the governmental preference for one-size-fits-all solutions. And the past's influence is persistent. Hence the crucial importance in this saga of Wadeye's own back story.

9. Developing Appropriate Youth Services

Growing up in any community is challenging for young people, trying to manoeuvre their way through the world of adults and peers, culture and climate, rules and conflicts, dreams and fears. In Wadeye, there is the added burden of being the largest Indigenous community in the Northern Territory, comprised of 23 clan groups who don't always get on. And this happens in one of Australia's most "studied" and "intervened in" places, by people from an outside culture. No wonder young people act out occasionally, in trying to make some meaning out of it all. How *are* they meant to find their signposts in life?

French philosopher Gilles Deleuze likened the journey of learning that young people and artists go through to an apprenticeship. He used novelist Marcel Proust's work as an example, of what is involved when people are confronted with the often-frustrating experience of trying to understand 'the signs'.

> Proust's work (*In Search of Lost Time*) is not oriented to the past and the discoveries of memory, but to the future and the progress of an apprenticeship. What is important is that the hero does not know certain things at the start, gradually learns them, and finally receives an ultimate revelation… To be sensitive to signs… is doubtless a gift. But this gift risks remaining buried in us if we do not make the necessary encounters (Deleuze 1972, 18).

One of the reasons for this whole report is that Wadeye's young people *have been* 'making the necessary encounters', to try to fully explore the signs around them, and to choose those that attract them. Sometimes this has led to rule breaking, at other times it has left them apparently wandering aimlessly. But it has also led them into relationships of mutual support, loyalty and strong belonging. One of the clear indications of this report, is that the adults in the Wadeye precinct need to be clearer about how, and in which directions, they invite and involve young people into their search for meaning. Currently the gangs hold more congruence and promise of engagement than most of what's on offer in Wadeye, from the authorities, and from many other parties.

Frustration and anger by local adults have regularly erupted at public meetings of Indigenous leaders and visiting authorities, due to them feeling overloaded with experts 'researching their problems'. What has become obvious in this reporting process is that Wadeye's citizens want practical and local appropriate solutions for young people, provided on site, working alongside the young people themselves.

These frustrations are matched by those felt by the 'incoming' representatives of government and NGOs, who want to contribute to nurturing positive growth for young people, but feel distanced from their perspective and context. This parallel frustration, from both sides in 'the Wadeye youth equation', seems to come down to the need to find an agreed way to ensure youth get access to the best growth paths possible.

What should such paths look like? According to US educator MC Richards, they require figuring out 'how we can cooperate with the growth forces which are emerging at any given moment…

> The growth which we continue to experience (in 'growing up') is more like an inner ripening, it is an experience of quality. Qualities for example like meaningfulness, relationship, courage, insight, humility, perseverance, humour, friendliness, confidence, caution, a sense for the welfare of others, a sense for the part of yourself that is decreasing as it were with age, and the part of yourself that is increasing (Richards 1973, 174).

Such perspectives were strongly endorsed by Wadeye leaders, Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The senior school assistant principal who wanted to promote resilience among young people. The corrections officer who wanted to see more engagement in local activities that held meaning for local youth. The cultural officer wanting to see more local focus on caring for country as a channel for future motivation. And the other cultural developer who saw more cross-generational exchanges as the key to shared futures. All these perspectives combined to promise hopeful foundations for the next phase of youth development in Wadeye, and positive alternatives by way of 'diversionary' outcomes.

Going by international trends, several options are available for consideration that fit within these criteria, and some are already underway in early stages, fostered by Wadeye's contemporary cultural leaders. Four main categories show up, with others likely in the local community's consideration of this report's recommendations:

(i) Adults may create models for young people to follow. This is consistent with elders teaching young people the traditional law and lore of their land, in an adult-driven way;

(ii) Young people may design and deliver their own activities. Such approaches to youth responsibility can strengthen skills, confidence and ownership over the outcomes;

(iii) Partnerships between youth and adults can foster understanding on both sides, while benefiting from the wealth of ideas and energy that each group brings;

(iv) Training for all ages, in shared approaches to new developments, building teamwork, mutual awareness and understanding, and ultimately the whole community's investment in seeing things succeed.

Research by Larson, Walker and Pearce from the USA has shown benefits in both adult-driven and youth-driven approaches among high-school age young people (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005). They investigated four different settings, where the range of adult and youth leadership varied, and each

project showed that the key factors were mutual respect, ability for youth to take leadership at some point in proceedings, and that adults trusted young people to give it a go and make mistakes.

The main determining factor for success was that the adults were sensitive to and respectful towards the young people. Without that foundation, youth investment in the programs could not be sustained. Wadeye has shown fluctuating evidence of adults investing trust in young people. Some commentators told this review that they felt the police could sometimes forget that they were meant to be helping youth get onto the straight and narrow, not just punishing them for making mistakes. Others felt the approach was too soft, and that young people needed stronger guidance from elders to ensure they 'got it' that some business is serious, and it requires effort to persevere until it goes smoothly.

Those who worked with youth, such as the musicians facilitating young bands, found their commitment was consistent and their motivation high. This is in line with Tobias Nganbe's Foreward to this report, calling for 'taking the young kids seriously'. As shown in the US study on 'youth action' with multicultural immigrant young people, working together to develop a Youth Summit, it was their ability to set the agenda that made the difference in keeping them focused (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005, 62).

In the same study, another group of young people was facilitated by adults in presenting a major theatre production. Here the emphasis by youth was on trusting the adults to see their potential, and to invest energy into guiding them, which would help them to realise their hidden talents (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005, 64). This is similar to TRAC's cultural camp project, which is providing adult guidance, but spawning new engagement with traditional culture, as a result of young people being willing to receive their elders' direction and endorsement 'on country'.

Further approaches in Larson et al's study involved more multicultural young people joining an experiential learning program, in two six-week training sessions. The Art-First project demanded 'rules and procedures shaped to match those encountered in real-world work settings, including a strict policy on attendance' (Larson, Walker, Pearce 2005. 65). Young people allowed this level of adult direction and expectation because they had decided the process was helping them achieve more important long-term goals, when previously they had protested about 'school rules'.

Wadeye's return to cultural instruction and enhancement is following this same disciplined track. But it may require some patience from funding agencies, to allow for periods while young people come to establish their own rhythm with new learning patterns. This is a similar process to that explored in Greece by Elizabeth Anne Davis, who studied young people living with psychiatric challenges in Thrace (north eastern Greece) from 2001-2004. She explored how young adults' experience of 'the system' (mental health care in hospitals and community settings) balanced with their own sense of responsibility for their lives (Davis 2012). A large part of Davis's work involved

understanding how young people needed help to find their collective world of meaning after having been exposed to the mental health system.

This experience involved a combination of what French philosopher Michel Foucault called sstrategy' ('the rationality by which an end is sought'), and what his countryman Pierre Bourdieu called the understanding that 'truth games are at play in encounters about social practices'. This is similar to those 'truth games' between youth and authorities in Wadeye. Sometimes the youth gangs seem to have decided to reject the games the authorities want them to join, other times they went along with them to see what transpired.

Davis discusses how Bourdieu argued, in his work *The Logic of Practice* (1991) that people who are 'native' to a social situation are involved in 'the real play of social practices, such as ritual, gift exchange, and work' (Davis 2012, 55). This fits the role of the youth gangs in Wadeye. They have held cultural cachet for nearly 40 years, they know their own rituals, and their secrets of gang membership remain undisclosed to outsiders.

In contrast to these 'natives' are 'the system's' (i.e. Government and NGO representatives delivering policies and programs into Wadeye) insiders, who come out to Wadeye and apply judgements about what's appropriate and not appropriate. Without arguing the issue of matters of legality or illegality, the wider view of young people's futures emerging from Wadeye today does invite critiquing the results of the system's approaches so far.

Bourdieu's theory of practice criticised the way mainstream system operators can succumb to never questioning their own game. 'Questions about the coherence of the game, broached by contradictions between its theoretical and practical elements, remain unasked by players, because they play the game over (extended) time' (Davis 2012, 56).

Observing the multitude of official programs and regulations applied to the lives of young people in Wadeye, one could be forgiven for agreeing with Bourdieu, that the game's 'social function, and the relations of domination hidden within it… naturalize and legitimize the strategies of the privileged' (Davis 2012, 56). What is now being requested by locals is a stronger agreed partnership with youth and their elders, to develop approaches that bring to the fore local values and traditions, as the foundation of a new regime of youth development (and thus diversion).

Elizabeth Davis's work in Greece showed that the gap between the rhetoric and the action, in places like Thrace [and Wadeye], resides in 'the social fabric' and in the 'political economy [e.g. of youth diversions] that promotes a humanitarian ethic… but withholds the resources' (Davis 2012, 58).

Hopefully the recommendations and evidence in this report will encourage further provision of resources, to help the citizens of Wadeye to realise a new set of youth pathways into the future.

10. Discussion: Current Lives and Youth Futures in Wadeye

In his forward to this report, Tobias Nganbe exhorted the need to 'take the young kids seriously'. In our efforts to do this, we have conducted a detailed, youth focussed project over a period of three years. We have attempted to move beyond the stereotypes of youth as deviant and youth as criminal, to develop a detailed understanding of their lives, the decisions they make about their lives and their hopes and aspirations for the future. Instead of simply defining youth by their deficits we have attempted to understand their worlds and their values and explore the factors which contribute to their resilience.

This research has required a methodical unpacking of a concept which is frequently used to describe Wadeye youth – 'the gang'. Our examination of this concept has revealed that it is extremely complex, and that the criminal aspects of gang membership may be less important than such factors as identity construction, experiments with leadership and challenging accepted patterns of leadership, and preservation of knowledge about culture and history. The way support agencies do or don't engage with a deeper understanding of the dynamics of youth gangs can determine their success or failure. This needs close partnerships with local cultural leaders.

One of the mystifying aspects of young people's patterns of behaviour today is the combination of time-honoured acting-out and boundary pushing, using brand new media. This sense of 'old knowing through new media' is a source of confusion for those trying to work with and understand the complexities of being young in a place like the Port Keats region. Using mobile phones and Facebook to curse people, for example, is a strong reminder that, as Merleau-Ponty said 'the modern heart is intermittent and does not even succeed in knowing itself '(Merleau-Ponty 2008, 79).

When you combine decades of disempowerment with pre-existing clan rivalries and routine clashes across country, there is a lot for young people to take in, on top of the usual challenges of growing up. No wonder many young people choose different heavy metal bands with which to identify. They are just trying to find a place in the scheme of things. And then they appear to be aligned with ways of being that they may not even have become familiar with, before they have been judged for making that apparent alliance. Perception rules in so many of these circumstances, as Merleau-Ponty again pointed out: 'We have discovered that it is impossible, in this world, to separate things from their way of appearing' (Merleau-Ponty 2008,: 70).

The key to effective diversionary planning in future will be to incorporate local ways of engaging young people, so they can find their place with as much local support as possible, rather than trying to navigate too many worldviews before they even reach their twenties.

Youth and gangs in Wadeye

Young people in remote Aboriginal communities have lives that remain characterised by disadvantage. The material presented in this report, shows that young people in the Wadeye community experience poor housing, either direct or vicarious trauma, poor educational outcomes, and few opportunities for engagement in the workforce.   This statement is based on qualitative survey data.

There have since been steady but definite improvements due to contemporary and significant government investment in Wadeye: for example, the Strategic Indigenous Housing Service Delivery, with ABS 2011 data showing a housing occupancy of 5.4 per household in Wadeye. See also the Wadeye Local Implementation Plan (http://www.workingfuture.nt.gov.au/Territory_Growth_Towns/Wadeye/Wadeye_LIP.html). There are regular reports by the Coordinator General on Remote Indigenous Service Delivery (http://www.cgris.gov.au/userfiles/file/CGRIS_Six_Monthly_Report_Sep_2011.pdf; http://www.workingfuture.nt.gov.au/Targets_and_Evaluation/docs/CTG_report.pdf).

Family fighting, bullying and overcrowded housing are some of the young people's key concerns about their lives. So too is a level of confusion when confronted by multiple agencies aiming to provide support services, but often leaving young people disoriented about their place in the overall scheme of things.

The young people in Wadeye today, however are also experiencing dramatic changes in how they experience and engage with outside influences on their lives, made possible through increasing access to media and technology. New ideas and global forms of youth culture offer them opportunities to experiment with identities, to challenge the traditional views and expectations of the adult generation, and to resist traditional ways of conceptualising one's life course. These new opportunities are the site for both innovation and tension. For example, Chenhall and Senior (2009, 29) point out that incomplete, or 'glimpsed' opportunities to be involved in globalised youth culture, particularly as a consumer of the material products of that culture, are often the cause of deep dissatisfaction with one's own life.

Of course, young people resisting the imposition of adult control over their lives is not a new phenomenon. Burbank's work for example describes how young girls in a remote Aboriginal community tried to avoid traditional promise marriages, by choosing and getting pregnant to a boy of their own choosing (Burbank, 1988). The difference now, is the expansion of knowledge about life choices and the abundance of influences which are now being experienced by Indigenous youth.

From the outsider's perspective, youth in Wadeye are defined by their involvement in gangs and associated violent activities. Gangs are sociologically interesting and they also make for colourful and confronting stories in the media. Youth involvement in crime and violence is easily defined as gang related violence. We argue that these views have served to stereotype one group of young people in Wadeye and obscure the lives and needs of the remainder. The youth gang image is a strongly gendered one, and the lives of young women remain largely hidden. Hidden too, are the lives of those young people who do go to school, become engaged in community life and find local employment.

One result, from the dominance of negative imagery among the media and government officers and contracted agents, is that negative perceptions colour the approaches taken to developing solutions. Instead of a strengths-based approach, agencies end up 'doing to' the 'target groups' they have been told to 'fix up'. This ignoring of local potential and ways of being, plus those pursuing successful mainstream pathways, exacerbates the problems leaving youth feeling judged and blamed.

The household survey, which we conducted with 133 youth in Wadeye, provides an insight into the far more ordinary lives of the broader youth population. In this survey, 92 percent of school aged youth said they attended school at least four times a week and becoming a teacher was the preferred profession of 23 percent of the survey population. The majority of young people said that they felt safe most of the time. Post school employment options were not good, with only 14.3 percent of non-school aged youth in full time employment. However a wide range of potential future careers were suggested by youth.

One third of the youth who were surveyed reported that they did belong to a gang, but gang membership itself appears to be pre-determined by kinship relationships and gang membership alone does not mean that the individual is involved in violent activities. Most of the young people stated that they respected their parents (92.5 percent) followed by elders (92.5 percent) and that they would turn to their parents for advice, therefore gang membership was not associated with any weakening of these conventional bonds.

The focus on youth gangs also distorts the perception of the type of crimes that young people are involved in. Youth incarceration is very high in Wadeye, but when the actual crimes are investigated, most involved offences to property, rather than violent crime.

At the same time, the gang focus may also obscure other forms of more hidden violence in the community. It is interesting to note that the majority of the seven gang members who we interviewed in Berrimah Prison were not imprisoned for gang related activities. They had been imprisoned for domestic violence. This private, behind closed doors violence is very different from the public violence (or threats of violence) associated with the gangs. Although people were comfortable talking about their activities in gangs, and such talk was peppered with heroic language, there was little attempt to take responsibility for domestic violence. This is also a gap in agency 'targeting' of problems, which could be a major source of improvement if a strength-based approach was adopted with families themselves.

The proliferation of youth gangs in Wadeye, with their emphasis on heavy metal music and distinctive clothing could at first glance be seen to epitomise youth resistance to adult norms and traditions. They could also be seen as evidence of the reach of globalised forms of youth consumption. But as Lukose (2005, 931) comments 'easy associations among youth, consumption and globalisation obscure more than they reveal'. It is important to investigate how these forms are negotiated and experienced at the local level. The material in this report demonstrates that young people's involvement in gangs appears to be influenced as much by traditional ideas and beliefs as they are about the creation of oppositional cultures, modernity and homogenisation of youth. These are similar findings to those of Holleran and Waller (2003) who in their ethnographic study of Mexican American youth describe the importance that youth place on traditional values and beliefs. They argue that in lives which are punctuated by marginalisation, dysfunction and violence that these beliefs

> [g]ive meaning to adolescent experiences, guide their behaviour and inspire positive live transformation…even when their family and community lives have been disrupted and the respondents have assumed oppositional lifestyles they have been guided and strengthened by traditional Mexican values and beliefs related to collectivism and religiosity (Holleran and Waller, 2002, 346)

In many of the accounts from both from youth and from former gang members, there is a very important emphasis on land, kinship, history and culture and evidence of an extensive knowledge of these areas. Many of the reasons provided for being involved in a gang are to protect these aspects of traditional life. These values resonate with those of the wider youth community, who in the youth survey, positioned family, friends and culture as the most important values in their lives.

Conflict arises between the generations, when young people consider that important cultural activities have not been adhered to by the older generation (Ivory 2009, 311). The issue, however, appears to be the unwillingness of the older generation to divulge important information about such things as ceremony to a generation who they consider to have markedly different values and understandings. This problem has been addressed recently through the TRAC culture camps and youth culture program associated with OLSH Thamarrurr school.

As Ivory has pointed out, as well as being a repository for traditional knowledge, the gangs are also a site where young people have the opportunity (otherwise usually denied to them) of displaying leadership qualities and to challenge the traditional hierarchical structures of leadership. Strong social capital exists among gang members based on shared identity and a sense of legitimacy stemming from the desire to protect family, country and culture. This social capital seems to be protective against youth suicide in Wadeye. Social capital is pivotal as it involves the networks of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society, enabling that society to function effectively

The interviews with the imprisoned gang members provided some important insights into what appear to be different beliefs and values of some of the younger members of the gangs. The younger prisoners talked about gangs as a way to evade culture and described a fear of being involved in ceremony. It was suggested that the young men feared ceremony due to possible physical harm. This suggests a strong cultural disconnect. Young people observe the very visible characteristics of the gangs in their community, and perhaps even hear about their bravado or infamy through the media. They may not, however, have the skills to decipher the more complex cultural and historical factors that underpin the existence of gangs such as Judas Priest and the Evil Warriors.

Towards appropriate youth services

The challenge in Wadeye is to create structures for youth, which recognise and support their skills, embrace their core values, but which divert them from being involved in the criminal justice system. These interventions will need to be conversant with the diversity of youth experience and aspirations in Wadeye. This research has shown that Wadeye has been the target for many youth based interventions, but that many of them fail to be effective due to the service having limited knowledge about the dynamics of the community and its complex cultural mix.

An important key to the development of effective youth strategies is the recognition and support for youth as leaders, combining with elders and clan custodians to form a cooperative network. This would entail the agencies developing more patient and listening approaches, so they could form real relationships and then assist in developing the capacity of young people in these roles, but also working with the community to ensure that these roles were regarded as legitimate ones.

Our material has stressed that youth activities that are subsumed under the gang title conceal a great variety of experiences and beliefs. Interventions which involve young people in cultural activities are frequently suggested by both youth and service providers as the most effective approaches for delinquent youth. Youth initiatives based on exposing young people to cultural activities must proceed with the knowledge of the variance in both knowledge and acceptance of traditional culture among people, from high levels of knowledge to fear and avoidance (especially among the younger groups).

When agencies bring resources to Wadeye, they should be expected to combine forces with locals to ensure they are adding value to existing positive steps, not setting up competing activities. And the 'traffic management' of incoming agency programs should be run through one coordinating agency (most likely TRAC), which has the right of veto if they are seen to be unhelpful in the overall scheme of things. Eventually it would be hoped that young people themselves could play a key role in determining the programs that fit their current needs and aspirations.

11. Conclusion

This report has presented findings from a three year study of youth and youth services in the Wadeye community. However there has been data analysed over a ten year period in instances throughout the report. Our initial motivation to undertake the research was to explore the dynamics of youth gangs in the community and particularly to examine the positive attributes of gang membership which had been identified by Ivory (2003 & 2009).

Building on Ivory's findings, we have demonstrated that membership of a gang may be characterised by high social capital, cohesion, demonstration of leadership skills and knowledge of history and culture. These attributes appear to be typified by the older gangs in the region. Our interviews with imprisoned gang members appear to point to the development of quite different values among the younger and emergent gangs. These appear to be based on fear about culture and the desire to evade being involved in ceremony.

The focus on gangs as exemplifying the typical youth experience, however, means that the lives and experiences of a large section of the youth population are neither explored or described. One third of the youth in this study did not report that they were involved in gang activity. Furthermore, not all youth activity is characterised by dysfunction. Many young people are involved in education and have aspirations for a career.

There is a perception, both at the community level and from media reports, that most of the disorder in Wadeye is caused by the gangs. They may be the main protagonists when there are violent incidents involving fighting. However anxiety also surrounds the activities of youth aged 8-12 years vandalising and damaging property. The factors influencing the behaviour of this group of young people must also be explored in order to develop a complete understanding of service requirements for the community.

Furthermore, the emphasis on gang related violence, which is characterized by its high visibility within the community, has also served to obscure other forms of violence. Based on community perceptions, and a small sample of prison interviews, our study demonstrates that domestic violence (which is private and hidden) is a serious issue within the community, requiring interventions which focus on responsibility and respect within relationships. This finding combined with the respondents concern about family fighting is an important issue which should be further examined in depth in future research.

 It is important that future studies of youth in Wadeye focus on the wider youth population and that service delivery is conversant with the variety of youth experiences and aspirations in the community.

The service environment in Wadeye is often reactive and responds to periods of crisis in the community. Services delivered under such a model may not be able to generate the long term trust and support of the community. There are several models of engagement with youth, which do have strong community support and have demonstrated sustainability in the community and these need to inform future interventions.

There are considerable strengths within the youth population in Wadeye which need to be recognised, fostered and developed. These include their knowledge of history and culture, demonstrated leadership skills and their abilities to mentor and develop the skills of younger people. This is an important focus for community members, service providers and policy makers.

12. Recommendations

Juvenile justice and diversion

- That youth programs should involve young people themselves as designers and facilitators of restorative activities, linked with culture and country, and pathways to employment and enterprises.

- Given the respect which young people had for elders in the community, local elders, in conjunction with other community members, should be consulted about Restorative Justice and Circle Court approaches to be possibly conducted under the auspices of TRAC, for handling young people who offend and re-offend.

Appropriate services and activities for youth

- Any new interventions for young people in the community must be aware of, and, where appropriate, based on the evidence. They should build upon existing successful programs.

- Programs should be developed which facilitate and encourage community members to develop the life skills of young people.

- Young people's leadership skills should be respected and developed and they should be offered opportunities to define and develop services that most effectively meet their needs.

- Since the early periods of the research the Indigenous clan leaders, other community members, and the youth have often suggested a possible option of work camp type experiences coupled with economic venture. These should be explored and developed within the existing clan structure and hierarchy, possibly with the assistance and cooperation of corrective agencies.

- The rural development of people and economic ventures on clan country should be further encouraged and financially supported.

- The Wadeye football experiment of sending teams to Darwin to develop not just their sporting prowess but also their engagement with, and exposure to a wider world has proved very successful. It should not be restricted to this field. Other areas of development should also be encouraged.

- A calendar of youth community activities and events should be developed in conjunction with the various government and NGO agencies.

Mental health and well being

- A small percentage of respondents reported having thought about self harm. This concern needs to be addressed in greater depth in future research. Currently in the community there are few options for proper diagnosis and treatment of mental health problems. These should be urgently considered for Wadeye and other remote communities.

- There needs to be ongoing prevention and intervention programs to address the issue of substance use in the community, particularly in the light of findings by respondents.

- Domestic violence appears to have been largely hidden by the emphasis on gang activity. There needs to be extensive education about domestic violence and safe, supportive relationships.

- As an adjunct to the findings in the report Aboriginal leaders have also notified the research team of the need for youth life counselling. This would be an all inclusive mechanism that enables youth to discuss and develop job pathways, physical well-being, health, traditional responsibilities, and next steps in life as well as self discovery in a multi-cultural sense.

- The development of a holistic, coordinated youth social and emotional wellbeing program could link all agencies to avoid overlap and complement various programs. This strategy would link the health clinic, school, TRAC, Corrections and others as needed in offering SEWB support for young people.

Addressing the social determinants of health

- Physical factors, such as reasonable housing conditions, adequate sporting and recreational facilities, and services that may be 'normal' in other Australian country towns appear to factor strongly in a person's positive life span development. Governments should continue to pursue positive outcomes in such areas.

- Environmental health programs could be part of youth employment development, bringing caring for country and local town maintenance into the mix for young people – creating cultural trails, bush food gardens etc.

Information needs

- Data that will inform the law and justice strategy and government involvement showing statistics, types of activity, trends, events and other information should be collected on a regular basis. Such information should be linked to the Centre for Aboriginal Economic

Policy Research (CAEPR) on population, housing, education, and social conditions. This type of research should be supported and continued.

Further research

- Given that this is one of the few longitudinal research projects focussed on Indigenous youth in the Northern Territory and Australia, it is recommended that the research be continued possibly with a refined goal and objectives. Even during the period of this research the structure, behaviour, and development of the gangs have changed which should be monitored.

- The research refers to various models of engagement and redirecting of dysfunctional youth. These models are not exhaustive and further examination of possible models should be explored.

- Family violence should be further addressed in the context of the community as a whole, including gangs and family networks, and the outcomes of that combination in terms of perpetuating family infighting and in relation to domestic violence.

- One of the areas with great potential for bringing youth and elders together is through active circles of sharing and learning. This sort of Participative Action Research (PAR) in mainstream terminology matches Indigenous ways of exploring and developing knowledge. So the report advocates working with TRAC to create such a cross-generational body to explore ways to involve young people more in this work as a vocational pathway.

Notes

References

ABS 2006, *Census data*,
http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/Data.

ABS 2010a 4703.0*, Framework for measuring wellbeing: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*,
http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4703.0, accessed 15 March 2010.

ABS 2010b 1362.7, *Regional Statistics, Northern Territory,* Mar.,
http://www8.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/latestProducts/1362.7Media%20R elease1Mar%202010#, accessed 15 March 2010.

Allard, T, Stewart, A, Chrzanowski, A, Ogilvie, J, Birks, D & Little, S 2010, Police diversion of young offenders and Indigenous over-representation, *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice no. 390,* Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Association Incorporation Act NT 1964
https://wiki.qut.edu.au/display/CPNS/State+legislation+for+incorporated+asso ciations

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2011, 'Juvenile detention population in Australia 2011', *Juvenile Justice Series*, no. 9.

Andrews, C1999, *Tribal youth program*, OJJDP Fact Sheet 108, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington.

Barber, JG, Delfabbro, PH & Cooper, L 2000, 'Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children in out-of-home care', *Children Australia*, 25,3, 5-10.

Belcher, J & Yaman, F 2007, *Prisoner health in Australia: contemporary information collection and a way forward,* AIHW, Canberra.

Bell, D & Heathcote, B 1999, 'Gangs and kinship: gang organisation amongst contemporary Indigenous culture in Western Australia', paper presented at the Children and Crime: Victim and Offenders Conference, Australian Institute of Criminology, Brisbane, 17-18 June.

Berger, P& Luckmann, T 1966, *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Bolzan, Natalie 2003, *'Kids are like that!' Community attitudes to young people: a report for the National Youth Affairs Research Scheme (NYARS)*, Child and Youth Policy Research Unit (CYPRU), University of Western Sydney.

Bourdieu, P 1991, *Language and symbolic power*, Harvard University Press, Harvard.

Brahminy Foundation 2012, *Wilderness therapeutic program,* http://brahminygroup.org.au/index.php/our-programs/wilderness-therapeutic-programs accessed 2 February 2012.

Burbank, VK 1988, *Aboriginal adolescence; maidenhood in an Australian community*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.

Catholic Education Office Northern Territory, *Towards 2012: strategic plan,* Catholic Education Officer Northern Territory: Darwin.

Chenhall, R & Senior, K 2009, '"Those young people all crankybella", Indigenous youth mental health and globalisation', *International Journal of Mental Health*, 38 (3),28-43.

Chenhall, R D, Senior, K, Cole, D, Cunningham, T & O'Boyle, C 2010, Individual quality of life among at risk youth in Australia, *Applied Quality of Life Research*, 5 (3), 171-183.

Chenhall, R & Senior, K 2012, 'Treating Indigenous Australians with alcohol/drug problems: assessing quality of life', *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 130, 1-16.

Christians, Clifford G, Ferre, John P & Fackler, P Mark 1993, *Good news: social ethics and the press*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Cohen, S 1972, *Folk devils and moral panics: the creation of the Mods and Rockers*, Routledge, London.

Colvin, M 2008, host, ABC Radio National, *PM*, " 'Report assesses NT Intervention', Friday 6 June, accessed 14/05/2012, www.abc.net.au/cgi-bin/common/printfriendly.pl?http://www.abc.net.au/pm

Coordinator General on remote Indigenous service delivery – NT and Commonwealth – progress reports, see: http://www.workingfuture.nt.gov.au/Overview/progress_reports.html http://www.cgris.gov.au/userfiles/file/CGRIS_Six_Monthly_Report_Sep_2011.pdf

Cunneen, C 2006, 'Racism, discrimination and the over-representation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system: some conceptual and explanatory issues, *Current Issues in Criminal Justice,* 17,3, 329-346.

Cuneen, C, Luke, G & Ralph, N 2006, *Evaluation of the Aboriginal overrepresentation strategy – final report*, Institute of Criminology, University of Sydney Law School, Sydney.

Cunneen, C, Collings, N & Ralph, N 2005 *Evaluation of the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander justice agreement*, http//www.justice.qld.gov.au/files/AboutUs/QATSIJusticeAgreement.pdf, accessed 10 December 2011.

Cunningham, T 2007, 'Pre-court diversion in the Northern Territory: impact on juvenile reoffending', *Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice*, no. 339, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Cunningham, T 2009, 'Restorative justice and pre-court dDiversion: implications for the development of social policy in the Northern Territory', *Just Policy*, 50, 62-69.

Cunningham, A & Baker, L 2004, '*What about me?' Seeking to understand the child's view of violence in the family*,: London Family Court Clinic, London, Ontario.

Cuneen, C 1995 'Contemporary comment: ethnic minority youth and juvenile justice: beyond the stereotype of ethnic gangs', Current Issues in Criminology, 6 , 3, 387-394.

Davis E 2012, *Bad souls (Κακόψυχοι): madness and responsibility in modern Greece*,. Duke University Press, Durham.

Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari, Félix , 1972, *Anti-Œdipus*, (trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem & Helen R Lane), Continuum, London and New York, 2004, vol. 1 of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. 2 vols 1972-1980, (trans. of *L'Anti-Oedipe*,: Les Editions de Minuit, Paris.

Dennison, S, Stewart, A & Hurren, E 2006, 'Police cautioning in Queensland: the impact on juvenile offending pathways', *Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice*, *n*o. 306, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Denzin, N 1997, *Interpretive ethnography: ethnographic practices for the 21st century*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, USA.

Department of the Chief Minister, Northern Territory Government 2009, *Closing the gap of Indigenous disadvantage*, http://www.workingfuture.nt.gov.au/Targets_and_Evaluation/docs/CTG_report.pdf

Department of Communities, Queensland Government, 2011, *Just futures 2012-2015: growing community, family , opportunity and justice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Queenslanders*,.

Department of Justice 2012, *Juvenile justice,* NT Government, Darwin, http://www.nt.gov.au/justice/corrservices/juvenile_justice/index.shtml, accessed 5 February 2012.

Desmarchelier, X 2000, 'A historical and cultural overview to the re-emergence of Thamarrurr: a traditional form of governance for the people of Wadeye', unpublished manuscript prepared for the people of Wadeye on behalf of Thamarrurr Inc., Wadeye.

Desmarchlier, X 2001, 'A historical and cultural overview to the re-emergence of Thamarrurr: a traditional form of governance for the people of Wadeye', MA thesis, University of South Australia, Adelaide.

Dixon, RMW 2002, *Australian languages: their nature and development*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Dukes, R. L, Martinez, R. O and Stein, J. A, 1997, 'Precursors and consequence of membership in youth gangs', *Youth and Society* 29(2): 139-165.

Durkheim, E 1982, *The rules of sociological method*, Free Press, New York.

Engineers without borders (2009) "Learning from our mistakes: a collection from overseas volunteer staff" Canada: Engineers without borders national conference 2009

Engineers without borders (2010a) "Learning from our mistakes: a collection from overseas volunteer staff" Canada: Engineers without borders national conference 2010.

Engineers without borders (2010b) "Failure report: learning from out mistakes" Canada: Engineers without borders

Engineers without borders (2011) "Failure report: learning from out mistakes" Canada: Engineers without borders

Esbensen, F, Winfree, L, He, N & Taylor, R 2001, Youth gangs and definitional issues: when is a gang a gang, and why does it matter? *Crime and Delinquency*, 47, 105-130.

Ezzy D 2002, *Qualitative analysis: practice and innovation*, Routledge, London.

Feinberg, D 2009, Director, *Heavy metal gangs of Wadeye*, 45 min. film produced by VICE Magazine and VBS.TV Productions, Melbourne: http://hi-fi.com/editing/heavy-metal-gangs-of-wadeye, accessed 15/05/2012.

Feshback,S & Malamuth, N 1980, 'Testing hypothesis regarding rape', *Journal of Research in Personality*, 14, 121-137.

Ferguson, S 2006a, 'The gangs of Wadeye, a lost generation?', *Sunday* Program, Channel 9, 30 July 2006, TCN9, Sydney: http://sgp1.paddington.ninemsn.com.au/sunday/cover-stories/transcript_2034.asp,

accessed 14/05/2012.

Ferguson, S 2006b, 'Letter: No white conspiracy in TV report on Wadeye youth gangs', in eurekastreet.com.au, 04 September 2006 http://www.eurekastreet.com.au/article.aspx?aeid=1624, accessed 14/05/2012.

Ferguson, S 2009, 'Sounds of Summer: Wadeye efforts', *ABC AM*, 10 January.

Finn, J & Checkoway, B 1998, 'Young people as competent community builders: A challenge to social work', *Social work*, 43, 4, 335-345.

Foucault, M 1967, "Of other spaces: heterotopias," the basis of a lecture given by Foucault to architects in 1967, published in Oct 1984 ed. *Architecture Mouvement Continue,* France.

Gatti, U, Tremblay, R & Vitaro, F, 2009, 'Iatrogenic effect of juvenile justice*, Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 50, 8, 991-998.

Geertz, C 1973, *The interpretation of cultures:sSelected essays*, Basic Books, New York..

Grace, J, Krom, I, Maling, C, Butler, T & Midford, R 2011, 'Review of Indigenous offender health', Australian Indigenous health reviews, *Australian Indigenous Health Infonet*, no. 8, April.

Graham-Bermann, S 1988, 'The Moderating Effects of Parenting Stress on Children's Adjustment in Woman-Abusing Families', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, June, 13, 383-397.

Gray, M & Chapman, B 2006, 'Some labour market measurement issues for Indigenous Australians', *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 9, 1, 5-16.

Grennan, S, Britz, M.T, Rush, J and Barker, T, 2000, *Gangs: an international approach*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Hickie, I, Groom, G, McGorry, P, Davenport, T & Luscombe, G 2005, 'Australian mental health reform: time for real outcomes', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 182, 8, 401-406.

Holleran, LK & Waller, MA 2003, 'Sources of resilience among Chicano/a youth: forging identities in the borderlands', *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 20, 5, 335-350.

Howell, J & Egley, A 2005, 'Moving risk factors into development theories of gang membership', *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 3, 334-354.

Ivory, B 2003, 'Nemarluk to heavy metal: cultural change and the development of contemporary youth sub-culture at Port Keats, Northern Territory', BA (Hons) thesis, Charles Darwin University, Darwin.

Ivory, B 2009, '*Kunmanggur*, legend and leadership: a study of Indigenous leadership and succession focussing on the northwest region of the Northern Territory of Australia', PhD thesis, Charles Darwin University, Darwin

Keen, I 1995, 'Metaphor and the Metalanguage: "Groups" in Northeast Arnhem Land', *American Ethnologist*, 22, 3, August, 502-527.

Langton, M 2004, 'Unsettling sovereignties', in ML Langton et al., *Honour among nations? Treaties and agreements with Indigenous people*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 29-33.

Larson, R, Walker, K, & Pearce, N 2005, A comparison of youth-driven and adult-driven youth programs: balancing inputs from youth and adults, *Journal of Community Psychology,* 33, 57-74.

Lukose, R 2005, 'Consuming globalization: youth and gender in Kerala, India', *Journal of Social History*, 38, 4, 915-935.

MacNeil,K & McClean, J 2006, 'Moving from "youth leadership development" to "youth in governance": learning leadership by doing leadership', *New Directions for Youth Development. Special Edition-Youth Leadership*, 109, Spring, 99-106.

Major, A, Egley, A, Howell, J, Mendenhall, B & Armstrong, T 2004, 'Youth gangs in Indian country'*, Juvenile Justice Bulletin*, March, 1-16.

Maxson, C, Matsuda, K & Hennigan, K 2009, '"Deterrability" among gang and non-gang juvenile offenders: are gang members more (or less) deterrable than other juvenile offenders?' *Crime and Delinquency*, 57, 516-543.

Melde, C, Gavazzi, S,. McGarrell, E & Bynum, T 2011, 'On the efficacy of targeted gang interventions: Can we identify those most at risk?' *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, http://yvj.sagepub.com/content/9/4/279.

Merleau-Ponty, M 1962, *Phenomenology of perception*, Routledge, London.

Newman, K 1990, 'Juvenile Offender Diversionary Programs in the Northern Territory'*,* paper presented at the Keeping People out of Prison Conference, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 27-29 March.

Northern Territory Government 2011, *Review of the Northern Territory Youth Justice System: Report,* NTG, Darwin.

Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services 2011, *Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services Annual Report 2010-2011*, NT Government, Darwin.

O'Brien, M 2005, 'What is *Cultural* about Cultural Criminology?' *British Journal of Criminology,* 45, 599-612.

Ogilvie, E & Van Zyl, A 2001, 'Young Indigenous males, custody and the rights of passage' *Trends and Issues in Crime and Justice*, no. 204, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Ogilvie, T & Allard, T 2011, 'Preventing reoffending – evidence based rehabilitative programs and interventions', in Stewart, A, Allard, T & Dennison, S (eds) *Evidence Based Policy and Practice in Youth Justice*, Federation Press, Sydney, 134-151.

Owston, D 1990, 'Declining Northern Territory prison population: how this was brought about by effective community based programs', paper presented at the Keeping People out of Prison Conference, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 27-29 March.

Peterson, R & Valdez, A 2005, 'Based methods in hidden populations to generate a randomized community sample of gang affiliated adolescents', *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 3, 2, 151-167.

Perrone. S & White, R 2000, 'Young people and gangs', *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, no. 167, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Pholi, K, Black, D and Richards, C 2009, 'Is "close the gap" a useful approach to improving the health and well being of Indigenous Australians? *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 9, 2, 1-3.

Pollack, W 2004, *Male adolescent rites of passage: positive visions of multiple developmental pathways*, New York Academy of Sciences, New York.

Richards, K 2010 'Police-referred restorative justice for juveniles in Australia', *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, no. 398*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Richards, K 2011a, 'What makes juvenile offenders different from adult offenders?' *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, no. 409, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Richards, K 2011b, 'Trends in juvenile detention in Australia', *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, no. 416, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Richards, MC 1973, *The crossing point: selected talks and writings*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown.

Rose, D & Clear, T 1998, 'Incarceration, social capital and crime: implication for social disorganisation theory', *Criminology*, 36, 3, 441-479.

Rothwell, N 2012, 'Township reborn under a spreading tree', *The Australian*, April 7 2012.

Schubert, C, Mulvey, E, Loughran, T, Fagan, J, Chassin, L, Piquero, A, Losoya, S, Steinberg, L & Cauffman, E 2010, 'Predicting outcomes for youth transferred to adult court', *Lawand Human Behavior*, 34, 460-475.

Smith, LT 1999, *Decolonising methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples*, Zed Books, New York.

Snowball, L 2008, 'Diversion of indigenous juvenile offenders', *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, Australian Institute of Criminology, June,, Canberra.

Stanner, WEH 1979, *White man got no dreaming: essays 1938-1973*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Steinberg, L 2009, 'Adolescent development and juvenile justice', *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 5, 459-485.

Sumner, C, 1994, *The sociology of deviance: an obituary, New York: Continuum.*

Taylor, J 2010, *Demography as destiny: schooling, work and Aboriginal population change at Wadeye*, *CAEPR* Working Paper no. 64, ANU Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Canberra.

Thornberry, T, Krohn, M, Lizotte, A, Smith, C & Tobin, R 2003, *Gangs and delinquency in developmental perspective*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Thrasher, F. M, 1927 (2000), *The Gang: a study of 1313 gangs in Chicago*, New Chicago School Press: Chicago.

Toohey, P 2004, 'Gangsters' paradise', *Bulletin*, February, 31-36.

Toohey, P 2008, 'Last drinks: the impact of the Northern Territory Intervention' *Black Inc., Melbourne.*

Trotter, C 2006, *Working with involuntary clients*, 2nd edn, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Wadeye Local Implementation Plan (10/06/2011), http://www.workingfuture.nt.gov.au/Territory_Growth_Towns/Wadeye/Wadeye_LIP.html

Wakeling, S, Jorgensen, M & Michaelson, S 2004, 'Policing on American Indian reservations', *National Institute of Justice Journal*, January, 3-7.

Weatherburn, D & Lind, B 2006, *Delinquent-prone communities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Weerman, F. M, Maxson, C. L, Esbensen, F, Aldrige, J, Medina J and van Gemert, F, 2009, *Eurogang Program Manual, background, development and use of the Eurogang instruments in multi-site, multi-method comparative research*, http://www.umsl.edu/ccjleurogang/Eurogang-20manual.pdf

White,R, Perrone, S, Guerra, C & Lamppugnani, R 1999, *Ethnic gangs in Australia, do they exist? Overview report*, Australian Multicultural Foundation, Melbourne.

White, R 2002, 'Understanding Youth Gangs', *Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice*, no. 237, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

White, R & Mason, R 2006, 'Youth gangs and youth violence: charting the key dimensions, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 39, 1, 54-70.

White, R 2007, *Youth Gangs, Violence and Anti-Social Behaviour*, Australian Research Alliance for Children, Perth (available online).

White, R 2008, 'Disputed definitions and fluid identities: the limitations of social profiling in relation to ethnic youth gangs', *Youth Justice*, 8, 149, 149-161.

White, R 2009, 'Indigenous youth and gangs as family', *Youth Studies Australia*, 28, 3.

Appendices