A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF INDIGENOUS ADOLESCENT OFFENDING IN QUEENSLAND

by

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Certificate of authorship and originality of thesis (Declaration)

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted either in whole or in part for a degree at CQUniversity or any other tertiary institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the material presented in this thesis is original except where due reference is made in the text.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my brother, Terrence Patrick Skinner (1957-2011).

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to achieve a better understanding of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. Although much has been written on this topic, there has been no research into patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending across urban, rural and remote areas in Queensland, or anywhere else in Australia. Similarly, no studies have compared a wide range of demographic, social, economic and cultural factors with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. This study shows that there are discernible differences in rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offences across different geographical areas of Queensland. The similarities and differences are explained using a sociological perspective, with particular emphasis on the work of Jock Young.

The study is based on offence data supplied by the Queensland Police Service for 110 Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Queensland for the period from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2007. The LGAs were further categorised according to geographical and social characteristics, resulting in 27 ‘urban’, 49 ‘rural’, 19 ‘Aboriginal’, and 15 ‘Island’ councils or LGAs. After an initial comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offending to put the study in context, Indigenous adolescent offending in the four categories of LGA was analysed according to the sex of the offender, the age of the offender, the type of offence committed, and the type of police action taken against the offender. Following on from this examination of rates and patterns of offending, correlation and regression analyses were used to elucidate relationships between Indigenous adolescent offending and various social, economic and cultural variables.

The study found that rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offences varied greatly among the four categories of LGA, with offending being most pronounced in Aboriginal councils and least in Island councils. This pattern persisted when offending was analysed according to age, sex, type of offence, and type of police action. Nevertheless, a sociological interpretation of the results suggests that particular forms of structural exclusion and relative deprivation associated with Indigeneity underlie the high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland, although they manifest in different ways depending on the type of Indigenous community. Following on from this, it is argued that socioeconomic status alone cannot account for the high overrepresentation of Indigenous adolescents in the Queensland criminal justice system. Despite the importance of the underlying factors mentioned above, the differences between Indigenous communities and the variations in rates and patterns of offending mean that the approaches taken to address this problem must be tailored to suit each community.

Table of Contents

Certificate of authorship and originality of thesis (Declaration) ii
Copyright statement iii
Dedication iv
Abstract v
List of tables xi
List of figures xii
Acknowledgements xiii
Chapter 1: An introduction to the study of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland 1
Problem statement 1
Aim and scope 3
Overview of the thesis 4
Chapter 2: A background to Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland 8
A brief sociology of youth 8
The juvenile justice system in Queensland 14
Historical contexts of Indigenous policy in Queensland 16
Policy of conquest 17
Protectionist policies 17
Assimilationist policies 20
Commonwealth policies of self-determination and conflict with Queensland government policy 21
Queensland government policies of self-management 23
Chapter 3: Literature review 25
Introduction 25
National crime data – all ages 26
National crime data – adolescents 33
Offending in other Australian States and Territories – all ages 36
Offending in other Australian States and Territories – adolescents 40
Offending in Queensland – all ages 43
Offending in Queensland – adolescents 47
Conclusion 53
Chapter 4: A review of sociological perspectives on crime and delinquency 58
Introduction 58
Individualistic/situational perspectives 60
Labelling theories 61

Lifestyle/routine activity theory 62
Developmental criminology 64
Consensus/Functionalist perspectives 65
Social control theory 66
Merton's anomie or strain theory 69
Agnew's strain theory 74
Social disorganisation theory 75
Conflict/critical perspectives 77
Radical perspectives 77
Feminist theories 85
Conclusion 86
Chapter 5: Methodology 89
Introduction 89
Crime statistics 90
Queensland Police Service data 95
Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data 105
Other sources of data 108
Analysis of data 110
Tabular and graphic analysis 110
Correlation 110
Regression analysis 112
Chapter 6: A comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland 114
Introduction 114
Gender comparisons 115
Age comparisons 117
Comparisons of types of offences 120
Comparisons of types of police action taken 122
Chapter 7: Gender and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland 125
Introduction 125
Comparisons by gender and types of Local Government Area 126
Results of correlation and regression analyses 128
Island councils 129
Aboriginal councils 130
Rural councils 132
Urban councils 134
Discussion 136

Chapter 8: Age and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland 151
Introduction.....151
Comparisons by age and types of Local Government Area 151
Results of correlation and regression analyses 153
Island councils 154
Aboriginal councils.....155
Rural councils 156
Urban councils 158
Discussion.....161
Chapter 9: Types of offences and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland170
Introduction.....170
Comparisons of types of offences by types of Local Government Areas.....173
Results of correlation and regression analyses 175
Island councils 176
Aboriginal councils.....178
Rural councils 181
Urban councils 186
Discussion.....192
Chapter 10: Types of police action and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland 206
Introduction.....206
Comparisons of types of police action by types of Local Government Areas.....208
Results of correlation and regression analyses 210
Island councils 210
Aboriginal councils.....211
Rural councils 214
Urban councils 217
Discussion.....222
Chapter 11: Discussion and conclusion.....234
Introduction.....234
Young's perspective on structural exclusion, cultural inclusion and relative deprivation 238
Indigenous and non-Indigenous rates of adolescent offending.....250
Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils 257
Factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils 264
Aboriginal councils.....265
Rural councils 268

Urban councils 272
Island councils 276
Conclusion 279
Bibliography 288
Appendices 304
Appendix A: Lists of councils 305
Appendix B: Maps 308
Appendix C: Variables used in analysis of Indigenous adolescent offences 311
Appendix D: Results of correlation and regression analyses 313
Appendix E: Tests of normality 327

List of tables

5.1 Offence categories used by types of offences …….. 102

6.1 Proportion of adolescent populations and offences in Queensland in 2006 by Indigenous status and type of Local Government Area ……. 114

6.2 Proportion of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by gender and Indigenous status and type of Local Government Area ……... 116

7.1 Indigenous adolescents by sex, type of council, population, number of offences and rate of offences …… 126

8.1 Indigenous adolescents by age category, type of council, population, number of offences and rate of offences ……. 151

9.1 Types of Indigenous adolescent offences by type of council and rate of offences …… 174

10.1 Types of police action by type of council and rate of actions …… 208

List of figures

6.1 Rates of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by gender and Indigenous status ..117

6.2 Rates of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by age and Indigenous status …...119

6.3 Rates of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by type of offence and Indigenous status ……. 121

6.4 Rates of police action in Queensland in 2006 by type of police action and Indigenous status ……. 123

7.1 Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by gender and type of council with comparisons to non-Indigenous adolescent offences …….....127

8.1 Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by age and type of council with comparisons to non-Indigenous adolescent offences ……152

9.1 Types of Indigenous adolescent offences by type of council with comparisons to non-Indigenous adolescent offences …… 174

10.1 Types of police action by type of council with comparisons to non-Indigenous adolescent offences ……209

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Chapter 1: An introduction to the study of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland

Problem statement

Rising crime continues to be a problem for all justice systems across Australia, but this is especially relevant to Indigenous offenders. There was a 94 percent rise in non-Indigenous prisoner numbers nationally from 1988 to 2007, but this was heavily outweighed by the growth in Indigenous prisoner numbers, which was an astonishing 266 percent (ABS 2007b; Cunneen 2001a, pp.21-22; Carcach & Grant 2000, p.1). At 30 June 2010, the age standardised imprisonment rate for Indigenous prisoners was 14 times higher than for non-Indigenous prisoners (ABS 2010a). However, the picture is even bleaker for Indigenous adolescents.

In June 2011, a committee established by the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth Parliament – the Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (SCATSIA) – released *Doing Time – Time for Doing*, its report on Indigenous youth in the criminal justice system. The report stated that

> It has been 20 years since the *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Report* and yet the incarceration rate of Indigenous Australians, including Indigenous youth, is worse now. Indigenous juveniles are 28 times more likely than non-Indigenous juveniles to be incarcerated, despite Indigenous peoples representing only 2.5 percent of the Australian population. This is a shameful state of affairs (SCATSIA 2011, p.ix).

Thus, the overrepresentation of Indigenous adolescents in detention is twice as high as the overrepresentation of Indigenous adults in prison, and the disproportionately high rates of Indigenous adult imprisonment can be traced to the even more disproportionately high rates of Indigenous juvenile detention. The overrepresentation of Indigenous people, and

especially Indigenous adolescents, in criminal justice systems throughout Australia is a major hurdle to be overcome if the Council of Australian Governments' (COAG) aim of 'Closing the Gap' in Indigenous disadvantage is to be accomplished (SCATSIA 2011, p.7).

Queensland's Indigenous population is growing faster than that of other Australian States and Territories and, although it now has the second largest Indigenous population after New South Wales, it is expected to have the largest Indigenous population by 2016 (ABS 2009a). Ratios of Indigenous over-representation in States and Territories fluctuate from year to year but, on average between 1994 and 2008, Queensland had the second highest ratio of Indigenous over-representation in juvenile detention after Western Australia (Cunneen 2001a; Cunneen and White 2002).

At the time of writing this thesis, the Queensland Government had released a draft of the new *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Justice Strategy 2011-2014* for public consultation, in which it states that:

> This Strategy acknowledges that the continuing over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the criminal justice system remains a significant impediment to progressing true equality of opportunity and experience between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Queenslanders (Queensland Government 2011, p.4).

Despite a substantial amount of data surrounding Indigenous crime and imprisonment, there has been little sociological research into Indigenous adolescent offending in Australia and even less research into Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. In 1990, Gale, Bailey-Harris and Wundersitz noted that 'empirical data on the nature and frequency of offending by Aboriginal youth is almost non-existent' (1990, p.55, cited in Lynch, Fagan, Ogilvie & Lincoln 2003, p.158). In 2003, Lynch, Fagan, Ogilvie and Lincoln found that the

situation was largely unchanged and ‘there is much that remains unknown about Indigenous young people’s patterns of offending and how these patterns are associated with the operation of the criminal justice system’ (2003, p.158).

Hogg and Carrington observe that ‘there is a paucity of published statistical data showing a geographical breakdown of Indigenous contact with the criminal justice system for different offences’ (2006, p.121). There has been no research into patterns of Indigenous offending or juvenile offending across urban, rural and remote areas anywhere in Australia. There has been no research into patterns of offending across urban, rural and remote areas of Queensland, irrespective of Indigenous or juvenile status, although the new *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Justice Strategy 2011-2014* promises a ‘place-based approach, with a focus on high need areas’ (Queensland Government 2011, p.24). There have also been no Queensland or Australian studies that have compared a wide range of demographic, social, economic and cultural factors with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences.

The above discussion illustrates that Indigenous adolescent offending is a major problem in Queensland and in Australia overall, and that there is a serious gap in the knowledge required for a comprehensive sociological or criminological analysis of the problem.

Aim and scope

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the data on Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland sociologically so as to ascertain differences in rates and patterns of offences, not only in comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents, but particularly among Indigenous adolescents in different geographic regions, namely urban regions, rural regions, discrete Aboriginal communities, and islands of the Torres Strait.

As discussed above, the research will be restricted to Queensland and will be based on offence data obtained from the Queensland Police Service (QPS) for the period 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2007. 'Indigenous adolescents' are classified as persons of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander descent who are aged between 10 and 19 years inclusive. The various geographical regions will be categorised according to types of Local Government Areas (LGAs), namely urban councils, rural councils, Aboriginal councils, and Island councils. These are listed in Appendix A and their locations are shown on maps in Appendix B.

A variety of sociological perspectives can be applied to Indigenous adolescent delinquency and crime and all of these contain useful insights and arguments. Since this is an exploratory study, however, an eclectic approach will be taken initially, using what I see as the best and most useful insights from a number of perspectives. This will be refined throughout the thesis and the results will be discussed in light of the most relevant perspectives.

Overview of the thesis

To achieve the aim that was stated above, it is important to show how the thesis will develop. Chapter 2 provides a contextual background for the study of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. It begins by looking at the sociology of youth, before examining the juvenile justice in Queensland. This chapter also contains a substantive discussion on the historical contexts of Indigenous adolescent offending, specifically the history of Indigenous policy in Queensland, the legacy of which continues to have enormous impacts on the lives of Indigenous people.

Chapter 3 examines the literature on crime and delinquency, categorising it according to 'national crime data', 'offending in other Australian states and territories', and 'offending in Queensland', with each geographical category further divided into discussions of overall offending and adolescent offending. This chapter shows that there are significant gaps in our knowledge of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland.

Chapter 4 explores sociological perspectives on crime and delinquency. As stated earlier, there are many theories and perspectives that can be applied to crime and delinquency. The aim of Chapter 4, therefore, is to outline and discuss some of the most widely used theories and perspectives that are associated with crime and delinquency, with a special emphasis on adolescent offending. The chapter looks firstly at theories that focus on individualistic or situational factors, such as labelling theory, lifestyle or routine activity theory and developmental criminology. The chapter then examines functionalist or consensus theories, including theories pertaining to social control, anomie, strain and social disorganisation, and finally conflict or critical theories, which include feminist and radical theories, are discussed.

The aim of Chapter 5 is to discuss the methodology used in the research. It begins by examining crime statistics in general before going into a more detailed examination of the data that were obtained from the Queensland Police Service. The other major source of statistical data is Census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics; this is discussed along with other sources of data used in the research. Finally, the actual analysis of the data – or the means by which it is analysed – is reviewed.

Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 provide the empirical results of the research and briefly discuss those results. Chapter 6 is a comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences. This is the shortest by far of all the results chapters and, although the focus of the thesis is on differences in rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offences in various geographical regions of Queensland, this comparison is necessary to put the rest of the thesis into context.

Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10 focus on Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland according to four categories of dependent variables and analyse different factors that may be responsible for Indigenous adolescent offending in urban regions (urban councils), rural localities (rural councils), discrete Aboriginal communities (Aboriginal councils), and Torres Strait Islander communities (Island councils). Apart from the different dependent variables, the same format will be used in each chapter. Chapter 7 analyses offences according to gender, Chapter 8 according to age, Chapter 9 according to the type of offence, and Chapter 10 according to the type of police action taken. Each chapter supplies data on rates of offences according to the type of council, and only in this first section are comparisons also made with non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences. The second section of each chapter gives results of correlation and regression analyses of Indigenous adolescent offences, according to the respective dependent variable, in the various types of councils. The final section of the chapter discusses the relationship between various factors and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, as measured according to the dependent variable. The same factors are used in all four chapters and are categorised as demographic, socioeconomic, housing, cultural, inequality and ‘other’ factors.

Finally, in Chapter 11, the results from Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are integrated to permit an overall sociological discussion of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. Conclusions are also drawn in this chapter.

Chapter 2: A background to Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overall background to Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland by separating the phenomenon into its various components, namely Indigenous, adolescent, and offending. The first section of the chapter discusses the sociology of youth, briefly examining factors such as class and socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity, the family, relationships with friends and peers, and geographic locality, and their impacts on the lives of young people. Since this thesis does not have the scope for a comprehensive analysis of the criminal justice system in Queensland, the second section of this background chapter briefly addresses the juvenile justice system in Queensland, including legislation, contact with police, the court systems, sentencing, and youth justice services. The final, and major section by far, of the chapter analyses the historical contexts of Indigenous policy in Queensland, including the policy of conquest, protectionist policies, assimilationist policies, Commonwealth policies of self-determination and their conflict with Queensland government policy, and Queensland government policies of self-management. The legacies of these policies continue to impact upon Indigenous Australians in contemporary society, and it is necessary to gain an understanding of historical contexts in order to properly interpret the phenomenon of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland.

A brief sociology of youth

There is some debate in youth studies as to whether youth is a definitive and universal stage of life or whether it is a social construction and its meaning derives from social conditions existing in time and place. For instance, until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

young people were simply treated as ‘small adults’. The concept of childhood came about when philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau argued for the sexual innocence and vulnerability of children, and thus a need for their dependant status (Bessant & Watts 2007, p.189). Adolescence, however, is a twentieth century construct, being closely associated with the publication of *Adolescence*, by the American psychologist, Stanley-Hall in 1904 (Bessant & Watts 2007, p.189), and the establishment of secondary schools, as separate from primary schools (Sercombe 1996, p.71). Prior to white settlement, Indigenous Australians had vastly different attitudes towards child-rearing and young people’s involvement in adult life; to a large extent, there are still many attitudinal differences (Cunneen & White 2002, p.156). There is certainly an overlap between childhood, youth, young adulthood and adulthood, and terms such as adolescents, juveniles, young people, and youth are used interchangeably. The meaning of youth is therefore subjective, and no more so than among young people themselves. However, the construction of identity is dependent upon the frameworks, limits and constraints of subject positions (White & Wyn 2008, pp.5-12), and so, while identity is produced by young people, it is mediated by factors such as class and socioeconomic status, social inclusion and exclusion, gender and sexuality, geographic location, ethnicity, education, employment and the relationships that they have with family and peers. This section of the chapter will briefly look at some of these factors and how they relate to the sociology of youth.

Class and socioeconomic status play an important role in the lives of young people, impacting upon lifestyle choices, where and how they live, leisure activities, education and employment. ‘In essence, the poor are being locked into poverty-stricken areas with few job prospects and overall declining economic fortunes’ (White & Wyn 2008, p.18). This inevitably leads to social exclusion, which is profoundly experienced by young Indigenous

people and, inherent in any discussion of social exclusion is the concept of inequality, which then questions the distribution of power and wealth in a society. In Queensland, as in all advanced Western countries, young people do not have equal access to the same material resources and opportunities. However, it should be pointed out that social exclusion is constructed along not only economic, but also class, ethnic and even spatial lines. For instance, in urban settings, young people from poor neighbourhoods may be unwelcome outside of their neighbourhood and may be prevented from entering popular venues for young people such as nightclubs. Thus, the streets, and other public places, often become places for socialising. Nevertheless, the youth experience of class is subjective and young people respond to social exclusion in different ways (White & Wyn 2008, pp.14-28).

Gender constructions may change over time but there are also signs of continuity. The number of young people aged 15-24 years in registered marriages dropped dramatically between 1996 and 2006, but the actual ratio between females and males remained about the same, with females being approximately 2.4 times more likely than males to be in registered marriages. Employment for young people has its ebbs and flows but again the gap between males and females remains about the same. Males were 1.8 times more likely to have full time employment in 1996 and 1.9 times more likely in 2006. On the other hand, females were 1.5 times more likely to have part-time employment in 1996 and 1.4 times more likely in 2006. The greatest change appears to be occurring in part-time tertiary education, where young males are becoming increasingly more likely than females to attend TAFE colleges, and young females are becoming increasingly more likely than males to attend university (ABS 2007a). Other social issues may have differing levels of importance for young males and females. For example, young females value friendships and a good education more than young males, while young males value a job and keeping fit more than young females (White

& Wyn 2008, pp.35-36). Despite other issues that impact upon young people's lives, the social construction of gender remains a major factor in understanding youth cultures and the meanings that young people give to social life, although it should be emphasised that gender intersects with other divisions in society, such as age, sexuality, class and ethnicity.

The most marginalised ethnic group in Australian society is Indigenous Australians, but it is impossible to understand the social exclusion and marginalisation that affects Indigenous young people without an understanding of the historical treatment of Indigenous people and its legacy upon contemporary Indigenous societies and Indigenous youth. Because of its importance, and its relevance to this thesis, the historical background to Indigenous adolescent offending will be dealt with in greater depth later in this chapter. The structural exclusion of Indigenous youths from mainstream society, and the relative deprivation that is experienced by many Indigenous young people, is discussed throughout this thesis and is thus only touched upon briefly here. Nevertheless, it is worth quoting from White and Wyn (2008, p.67), who contend that:

> There is a close relationship between social marginalisation (incorporating racial discrimination and economic and social exclusion) and criminalisation (which constitutes only one type of state response to marginalisation).

Despite changes over time and place, the family probably still has the greatest influence on young people, and yet there are many different types of family structures in Australia. For instance, in 2006-2007, for children aged 0-17 years who lived with at least one natural parent, 73.3 percent lived in 'intact' families, 3.2 percent in step families, 5.0 percent in blended families, 15.6 percent in lone mother families, and 2.4 percent in lone father families. Apart from this, there were about 14,000 'grandparent' families, 7,000 foster families, and 27,000 same sex families, most of which, however, had no children (ABS 2008a). These

changes in family structures throughout childhood and adolescence can have significant effects on young people. Research has shown that children in 'intact' families have the highest rates of well-being, and that children of sole mothers were the least happy on average (White & Wyn 2008, p.127). In 2006, lone parent family households made up about 28 percent of all Indigenous households in Australia, as compared to about 10 percent of non-Indigenous households. Another important difference in many Indigenous families is the presence of the multiple or extended family household. In 2006, multiple family households made up 5.5 percent of all Indigenous households in Australia, but only 1.2 percent of non-Indigenous households. Similarly, about 12 percent of Indigenous households had six or more residents, compared to three percent of non-Indigenous households (ABS 2007a). White and Wyn (2008, p.135) have also observed that there can be marked differences in parenting styles between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parents.

Apart from family, friends and peers are also very important in the lives of young people. In fact a study by Wyn, Lantz and Harris (2011, p.16) found that 58 percent of participants discussed social and political issues with their families, and that 56 percent discussed these issues with their friends. Other studies have found that 'developing personal relationships' was a high priority for 75 percent of male participants and 87 percent of females (Dwyer & Wyn 2001, p.31). Young people tend to congregate together in groups, and White and Wyn (2008, p.248) believe that 'much of the concern about gangs is really a misunderstanding of the nature of youth subcultures, of how young people naturally associate with each other in groups'. The importance of family and peers in young people's lives tend to converge to a large extent for many Indigenous young people. White (2009, p.47) asks 'What happens, however, when the 'gang' and the 'family' are one and the same?'. When Indigenous youths congregate together, they more often than not have extended family bonds with others in their

peer group or gang. They find the same sense of belonging, security, material support, and sense of identity that many other young people find in the family or the gang context, only these are intertwined for Indigenous youths.

Young people in rural and remote areas of Australia are likely to have poorer outcomes in health, education and employment than their peers in urban regions (see Bourke 2001; McKenzie 2000). White and Wyn (2008, p.86) point to the lack of transport, community services, and accommodation as other things that limit young people's participation in rural and remote societies. McKenzie (2000, p.82) contends that there are few facilities for youth entertainment in rural and remote towns and communities and, consequently, young people tend to congregate at the local hotel, because this is where their families and adult friends get together. Thus, young people are often exposed to violence, alcohol abuse, and antisocial behaviour from a young age. Suicide is the leading cause of death for rural males aged 15-19 years, and rates are even higher for rural males aged 20-24 years; rates for youth suicides in towns with populations less than 4000 residents are especially alarming, being about three times those among young urban males (Bourke 2001, pp.91-92). Part of the reason for these high rural youth male suicide rates lies in the strong masculinity that permeates rural and remote societies. In order to counteract many of the social and economic disadvantages found in rural and remote societies, Bourke (2001, p.95) believes that 'young people be given a voice, as they perhaps best understand these issues', while White and Wyn (2008, p.93) contend that the 'recognition and acceptance of youth cultures in rural communities is important'.

This section of the chapter has looked briefly at the sociology of youth as background for the thesis. The next section will examine, albeit also briefly, the juvenile justice system in Queensland.

The juvenile justice system in Queensland

In Queensland, as in all other States and Territories, children aged less than ten years are not held criminally responsible. However, offences committed in Queensland by persons aged 17 years or over are dealt with under judicial legislation relating to adults, whereas in all other States and Territories, only those offenders who are aged 18 years or over are treated as adults (AIHW 2009, p.7). Thus, juvenile offenders in Queensland are 'those aged between and including ten and sixteen years' (QPS 2009, p.83). The major legislation that provides laws for juveniles in Queensland is the *Youth Justice Act 1992*, which includes police and court procedures for dealing with juveniles, as well as the operation of juvenile detention centres. Other legislation that may apply to juvenile offenders in Queensland includes the *Children's Court Act 1992*, the *Child Protection (Offender Prohibition Order) Act 2008*, the *Child Protection (Offender Reporting) Act 2004*, the *Bail Act 1992*, the *Young Offenders (Interstate Transfer) Act 1987*, and the *Police Powers and Responsibilities Act 2000* (AIHW 2009, p.125; Department of Communities 2011).

The first point of contact for juveniles who enter the criminal justice system in Queensland is the Queensland Police Service. Police may, at their discretion, use diversionary options such as cautions or youth justice conferences (also known as community conferences) to prevent juvenile offenders from entering further into the criminal justice system (AIHW 2009, p.125; Department of Communities 2011). Police may refer juveniles to court without taking them into custody by serving them with a 'complaint and summons' or an 'attendance notice' (also

known as a ‘notice to appear’), where the juvenile is ordered to appear in court at a nominated time and place (*Youth Justice Act 1992*, s. 23 – s. 35). In some cases, police officers may apply for a warrant to arrest a juvenile, although juveniles may be arrested without a warrant in certain circumstances (Douglas & Harbidge 2008, p.26). In fact, section 20 of the *Youth Justice Act 1992* states that ‘a police officer may arrest a child if the police officer believes on reasonable grounds that arrest is necessary’. Police officers must, where practicable, allow the juvenile to contact a support person and to talk with that person before giving a statement, and the support person must be present during any subsequent police interview (Douglas & Harbidge 2008, p.38).

Most juvenile offences which are referred to court are dealt with by the Childrens Court (Magistrates Court). However, Murri Courts, which also fall under the jurisdiction of the Magistrates Court, have been established in Brisbane, Ipswich, Caboolture, Cleveland, Caloundra, Cherbourg, Rockhampton, Mount Isa, Charters Towers, Townsville, Cairns, Coen, St George and Toowoomba; they allow involvement by elders of the Indigenous community and members of the offender’s family (Department of Communities 2011). More serious cases can be heard in the Childrens Court of Queensland (District Court) and, in some circumstances, matters involving juveniles can be heard in the adult District Court or even the Supreme Court (Department of Communities 2011).

The Queensland juvenile justice legislation emphasises rehabilitation, and custodial sentences are normally seen as a last resort (Douglas & Harbidge 2008, p.246). Unsupervised non-custodial court orders include reprimands, good behaviour bonds, and monetary fines. The court may also order restitution and compensation. Supervised non-custodial court orders include probation, community service orders, intensive supervision orders, and conditional

release orders. Supervision is carried out by Youth Justice Services from the Department of Communities. Juveniles may also be sent to youth detention centres, which consist of the Brisbane Youth Detention Centre, and the Cleveland Youth Detention Centre, located in Townsville (Department of Communities 2011).

At the time of writing this thesis, juvenile justice services in Queensland are the responsibility of the Department of Communities. Youth Justice Services are located at 16 Youth Justice Service centres across Queensland and are responsible for the supervision of juveniles in the Queensland juvenile justice system. They also work with young people, their families, and their communities to prevent juveniles from reoffending, and provide rehabilitative and re-integrative services to assist youths to play a greater part in community life (Department of Communities 2011).

Historical contexts of Indigenous policy in Queensland

Many authors comment upon the impact of historical factors, and government policies in particular, on the overrepresentation of Indigenous Australians in the various criminal justice systems within Australia (see for example Cunneen 2001a, 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Fitzgerald 2001b; Memmott, Stacy, Chamber & Keys 2001; Broadhurst 2002; Cunneen & White 2002; Blagg, Morgan, Cunneen & Ferrante 2005; Daly & Lincoln 2006; Hogg & Carrington 2006) . This section of the chapter seeks to look briefly at the history of Queensland government policies and legislation pertaining to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. It is necessary to place Indigenous adolescent offending in a historical context because, without an understanding of the exclusionary policies and systemic racism that Indigenous Queenslanders have undergone, it is almost impossible to understand the position of Indigenous adolescents in present day Queensland urban, rural and remote societies.

Policy of conquest

White occupation of Queensland began with the convict settlement in Moreton Bay in 1824, although free settlement was not allowed until 1842. The State, or colony as it was at that time, became progressively taken over by white settlers. The Brisbane, Darling Downs and Wide Bay regions were first settled in the 1840s, the Central Queensland region in the 1850s, the northern and far western regions in the 1860s, and the far northern region in the 1870s, while some parts of Cape York and the Gulf region were not infiltrated until after the 1880s (Aplin, Foster & McKernan 1987, pp.288-333). The main form of Aboriginal administration until 1897 was the Native Police, which was introduced to allow the spread of white settlement without heavy losses of stock from Aboriginal retaliation. Although the Native Police was, in principle, to maintain order, in practice contingents often attacked first without provocation. Thus, Rowley (1970, pp.158-59) remarks that 'Queensland frontier policy came close to the alternative of complete conquest before introduction of the rule of law'. Rather than being an instrument of Aboriginal administration, the Native Police was primarily an instrument for the protection of white settlers. When all Aboriginal resistance was quashed in a region, the Native Police moved on to other parts of the expanding frontier and, by the 1880s, control of the remaining Aboriginal population was being handed over to the regular police (Rowley 1970, p.169).

Protectionist policies

From the start of white settlement in Queensland, Aboriginal people were decimated by European diseases to which they had no resistance, were killed by settlers and police, and were forcibly removed from their ancestral lands. The remnants of Aboriginal groups were forced to live on the fringes of pastoral stations and frontier towns. In 1896, Archibald

Meston reported that Aboriginal people, and especially those in Cape York, were in a dreadful condition due to the violence of frontier settlement, disease, malnutrition, and abuse of alcohol and opium. Along with the new Commissioner of Police, Parry-Okeden, they reported that a greater promotion of justice between Aborigines and settlers was called for, but stressed that it was the mere remnants of Aboriginal groups in all areas of Queensland that required urgent protection. Meston's report resonated with many in Queensland who thought that Aborigines were doomed to extinction and that action should be taken to ease their passing. As a result, the *Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* came into being in 1897 and was the model for Aboriginal protectionist legislation in many other Australian States. The Native Police was disbanded and a Chief Protector of Aborigines was appointed to oversee government reserves[1], missions, and police who acted as Protectors of Aborigines in rural townships (Rowley 1970, pp.180-85).

It must be said that Queensland invested more money and effort into the development of its protection system than any other State and that the legislation was based largely on humanitarian concerns. Nevertheless, the legislation was also based on racist beliefs that Aboriginal people were in need of paternalistic control and that they were inferior to white people. In addition, as Cunneen (2011) comments, 'criminalisation is a key part of the building of the nation through processes of exclusion'. All Aboriginal people, regardless of their circumstances or their degree of descent, were placed under the Act and segregated from white society. Aboriginal residents of reserves and missions were encouraged to work for white employers, but their wages were strictly controlled and, in most cases, provided a cheap labour pool for employers. Aboriginal children were confined to dormitories, and

[1] Government reserves were set up in the south of the State at Barambah (later Cherbourg), in central Queensland at Taroom (later Woorabinda) and in northern Queensland at Palm Island.

historians and ethnographers[2] have commented upon the devastation caused by the dormitories on Aboriginal social life in individual communities. Marriage was also strictly controlled in all Queensland Aboriginal communities. Any marriage between an Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal person required the written consent of the Director of the Sub-Department of Native Affairs, even though consent was mostly refused, and any marriage between Aboriginal people required the permission of a protector, who was normally a policeman, or the reserve superintendent (Rowley 1971a, p.22). Every effort was also put into 'civilising' and 'Christianising' the Aboriginal residents of reserves and missions and the result of these efforts was loss of identity and culture, dismantling of kinship networks, confusion about social roles, economic exploitation and exclusion, disempowerment of elders and internecine conflict. Unfortunately, the fundamental humanitarian aims of protection that underlay the Act were in contradiction to forced removals, forced loss of culture, and economic exploitation. This is a good example of systemic racism where, despite the *intent* of government legislation, the *outcomes* of the legislation were discriminatory and impacted severely upon a minority group who were selected solely because of ethnic or racial characteristics. The impacts of the violence on the frontier of white settlement were severe and it would be expected that Aboriginal people would be apprehensive of any measures of goodwill proposed by authorities. The harsh protective legislation did little to ameliorate these concerns and Rowley (1970, p.185) remarks that 'Profound distrust of government measures must have been increased by their *exclusion*, after 1897, in considerable numbers, from the only chances of constructive change left to them' (my italics).

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[2] For Cherbourg, see Blake (2001) and Cox (2000); for Palm Island, see Watson (1993); for Doomadgee, see Trigger (1988) and Copland (2005); for Mornington Island, see McKnight (2002); for Aurukun, see Martin (1993).

Assimilationist policies

In 1937, Aboriginal protectors from the various State and Territory governments came together in Canberra to discuss Aboriginal welfare and to formulate a uniform policy. A number of resolutions were dealt with but three are of concern here. These related to 'the destiny of the race and the absorption of the natives other than full-blood into the white community', 'the education of cross-breed children to white standard with a view to their employment and absorption into the white community', and 'the segregation of the full-blood and education of the detribalised towards development of the village life and self dependence' (Bleakley 1938, p.4). Thus, this was the beginning of the policy of assimilation and the 'absorption' of lighter-skinned Indigenous people into the mainstream 'white' society. It should be pointed out that assimilation did not *replace* protection as a government policy. Instead, the two policies worked side by side. The Queensland government continued to 'protect' or control Aboriginal people on missions and reserves until the late 1970s. While populations of 'full blood' Aborigines were decreasing, it also became obvious that populations of Aboriginal people of part descent were rapidly increasing, and policies of assimilation were introduced to deal with the "half caste problem" (see Kidd 1997; McGregor 1997; Rowley 1970, 1971a).

The resolutions from the 1937 Conference quoted above show a commitment by the Queensland government (and other governments) to 'assimilate' Indigenous people with mixed European and Aboriginal ancestry into mainstream society. Although the Chief Protector still had firm control over the lives of all Indigenous people in Queensland, Aboriginal people of 'part descent' were encouraged to move from the missions and reserves to rural towns where most encountered rejection by white townspeople. They were stigmatised and many of them tried to 'pass' into white mainstream society by conforming to

all of the rules and accepting a lower status in the community. Others rejected the norms and values of mainstream society and were unwilling to completely sever their ties from kin in missions and reserves. For many years, most of the Aboriginal residents of rural towns were not only socially, economically and politically excluded, but they were also spatially excluded, forming enclaves on the outskirts of rural towns. Even in Brisbane, Aboriginal enclaves were formed in South Brisbane, Inala and Acacia Ridge (Rowley 1971a, p.372). The policy of assimilation brought about a caste system in Aboriginal affairs in Queensland, where some Aboriginal people, depending on skin colour and facial features, continued to be confined to missions and reserves, while others were expected to assimilate into mainstream society but, because of structural exclusion, were denied the tools or resources to do so.

Commonwealth policies of self-determination and conflict with Queensland government policy

In 1972, the Whitlam Labor government was elected and Whitlam declared that new Commonwealth government policy was 'to restore to the Aboriginal people of Australia their lost power of self-determination in economic, social and political affairs' (cited in Broome 2010, p.230). Previously, in 1966, Australia signed the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the ratification of which depended upon elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in federal and state legislation. The Queensland legislation was seen as 'grossly inequitable' with its discriminatory practices of confinement to reserves, restriction of movement, control over wages and savings, and control over other facets of Aboriginal lives (Kidd 1997, p.265). The policy of self-determination led to increased funding for Aboriginal affairs and the formation of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, with branch offices in all States *except* Queensland. This brought the Commonwealth government into conflict with the Queensland Bjelke-Petersen government. Bjelke-Petersen believed that,

although the 1967 referendum had given the Commonwealth government powers to make laws for Aboriginal people, it still had no powers over State lands or administrations, although this belief was to be strongly tested (Kidd 1997, pp269, 275).

The Whitlam government attempted to alter Australia's northern boundary, thus ceding several islands of Torres Strait to Papua New Guinea, and threatened to introduce a Racial Discriminatory Bill to ratify the 1966 Convention of Civil and Political Rights and render Queensland's contradictory legislation invalid. In response to this threat, the Queensland government proposed that all Aboriginal reserves and missions could be redefined as Local Government Areas or as national parks. This impasse between Commonwealth and State governments reached a critical stage with the Queensland government's handling of Aurukun and Mornington Island reserves. Since the late 1960s, the Queensland government had been in negotiations with the Tipperary Land Corporation over mining ventures on the Aurukun reserve. The Presbyterian Church, which had established Aurukun and Mornington Island missions, demanded that there should be fair recompense for the Aboriginal people of Aurukun, especially considering that the State government had deprived Aboriginal people from the other Presbyterian missions of Weipa and Mapoon of any compensation for their loss of lands and livelihoods after granting their lands to Comalco for mining purposes. The Queensland government overrode the concerns of the Presbyterian Church and pushed through legislation to enable Tipperary to mine at Aurukun. The Church sought the assistance of the Fraser Commonwealth government, whose policy was also that of self-determination or self-management for Indigenous Australians. The Commonwealth government subsequently passed the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Queensland Reserves and Communities Self Management)* bill through the lower house. Before it could be passed through the Senate, however, the Queensland government revoked the reserve

status of the two Presbyterian missions, Aurukun and Mornington Island, and instead created two new local government shire councils under the *Local Government (Aboriginal Lands) Act*, which purportedly allowed self-management for the new councils (Kidd 1997, pp.276-300).

Queensland government policies of self-management

During the 1980s and 1990s, all other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities were granted deeds of grant in trust (DOGITs), which enabled local government status for the former reserves and missions under the 1979 *Aborigines and Islanders Amendment Act*. The 1978 and 1979 legislations have been criticised for 'providing neither land security nor self-management' (Kidd 1997, p.301). In fact, the above discussion demonstrates the determination of the Queensland government to maintain total control of Aboriginal communities and reserve lands and to frustrate any efforts of the Commonwealth government to intervene in its affairs. The new 'self-managing' councils were much different to other shire councils. They could not rely on rates as a source of income and were dependent on financial support from the government. Although 'council members' had hunting and gathering rights, they could not sell, mortgage or subdivide the lands, did not have any direct title to the land and ceded access to the Crown for all mining and mining rights. The management of Aboriginal and Islander councils was supervised by an advisory committee of State and Commonwealth ministers and, perhaps most importantly, all councils meetings were attended by Queensland government managers (Kidd 1997, pp.298, 309).

Indigenous people, especially those in reserves and missions on the mainland, were psychologically institutionalised from decades of protection policies and many found it difficult to cope with the subsequent deinstitutionalisation (McKnight 2002, p.28). Hogg

(2005, p.346) remarks that ‘for many Indigenous people the era of formal legal segregation gave way to one of *de facto* economic and social exclusion’, but *de facto* structural exclusion was worse in some aspects because Indigenous people had to move from a highly regulated existence to a situation where they were meant to regulate themselves, according to the unknown norms and values of an unfamiliar white culture. Certainly, the growth of individualism in Westernised cultures in the twentieth century meant that individuals were expected to find their own way in society and, if they failed, then this was interpreted as an individual failure and not a failure of society. However, Indigenous people were not given the economic, social, political or cultural means to find their own way, but many were nevertheless labelled as ‘losers’ and ‘failures’, because failure became a matter of individual responsibility, rather than a collective and seemingly unalterable fate. Systemic racism had a huge impact on Indigenous Australians and, as de Plevitz (2007, p.66) notes,

> The most tragic aspect of systemic racism is that failure to conform to the norms of the dominant group is interpreted both within and outside the disadvantaged group as being the result of ‘natural’ forces.

Chapter 3: Literature review

Introduction

This chapter will review the literature on Indigenous and adolescent crime and offending, not only in Queensland but in other regions of Australia. Although this is a sociological study, the literature in general will be reviewed in addition to specifically sociological studies that have been carried out. It should also be pointed out that, while the extent and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending will be explored in this chapter, the sociological perspectives associated with the topic will not be focussed upon here, but discussed in the next chapter.

A comprehensive sociological study of Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland should not only be specific to Indigenous people, adolescents and Queensland but should integrate a number of other factors. Demographics such as age and sex should be included, while it is important to take geographical location into consideration because of the diverse ways of life practiced by Indigenous communities in urban, remote and rural areas. Moreover, the Indigenous communities of the Torres Strait are also part of Queensland and they should also be included in an analysis of Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland. Cultural, social and economic factors also have to be taken into account. An examination of criminal offending should not only consider rates of offences, but also types of offences committed, and types of police action taken. A study of adolescent offending should include any formal contact with police because many adolescents receive cautions or other non-custodial types of police action.

No studies have been found that can satisfy all of the requirements mentioned above, namely a *sociological* study (including demographic, social, economic and cultural factors) of *Indigenous adolescent offences* (including all those formally recorded by police) in *Queensland* (including urban regions, rural townships, remote Indigenous communities, and Torres Strait). Although there are no studies that comprehensively address Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland, the literature discussed in this review has made an important contribution to the study of crime in Australia and much of it will prove to be an invaluable asset to my research. The literature is categorised according to the geographic location of the study and its emphasis on adolescent offending, as opposed to offending amongst all age groups. The literature could be further categorised according to its emphasis on Indigenous offending but this then becomes a bit confusing and unwieldy. Nevertheless, studies that do provide useful information about Indigenous offending will be highlighted in these various categories. Also, the many studies of non-Indigenous offending that are reviewed are important because they allow comparisons with Indigenous offending, and allow Indigenous offending, and especially Indigenous adolescent offending, to be seen within the 'bigger picture' of Australian crime. Therefore, the literature is categorised into 'national crime data', 'offending in other Australian states and territories', and 'offending in Queensland', with each geographical category further divided into 'all ages' or 'adolescents'.

National crime data – all ages

This section reviews literature that has a national focus and is not age-specific. For the purposes of this thesis and literature review, 'offenders' refers to those persons who have had formal contact with the police and who have been charged with an offence, and 'offences' are those contacts that are recorded in police administrative data. Therefore, the terms do NOT refer to offences that are not recorded by the police, including unreported and undetected

offences and informal cautions. They do refer, however, to any offence for which *any* type of formal police action is taken, including arrest, cautions, notices to appear in court, warrants, summonses, community conferences, or other police action where enough evidence has been obtained but there is a bar to prosecution for some reason.

Firstly, the review uses publications that relate to prisoners or to offenders who are in police custody. Secondly, there are publications that contain more generalised information on offenders and victims. Thirdly, there is research that is based on data from Indigenous social surveys. Finally, there is literature that focuses on factors associated with offending, such as violence in Indigenous communities, alcohol and drug abuse, and the effects of policing.

Some of the national crime data relates to records of offenders who are in the custody of correctional services or the police. *Prisoners in Australia* (ABS 2010a) is an annual publication by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) that provides characteristics of offenders (which includes Indigenous status), length of sentence, and most serious charge for prisoners throughout Australian prisons. The *2002 National Police Custody Survey* (Taylor & Bareja 2005), published by the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), is a snapshot of all people held in police custody throughout Australia during the month of October in 2002, which contains some useful information on Indigenous offenders in police custody. According to the survey, Indigenous people were 17 times more likely to be in police custody than non-Indigenous people and were more likely to be in custody for assault, unlawful entry and good order offences, whereas non-Indigenous offenders were more likely to be in custody for theft, fraud, drug offences and traffic offences. The median age of Indigenous and non-Indigenous offenders was similar, but whereas 17 percent of Indigenous offenders were less than 17 years of age, only seven percent of non-Indigenous offenders were under

17. There were also important gender differences, with females accounting for about 20 percent of all Indigenous offenders but only about 10 percent of all non-Indigenous offenders.

The obvious problem, for the purposes of this thesis, is that prison statistics, in comparison to police custody statistics, do not include those who have been classified by the various State and Territory justice systems as juvenile offenders because of their age when charged. In all other States and Territories except Queensland, persons under 18 years of age are classified as juvenile, whereas in Queensland, persons under 17 years of age are classified as juvenile (ABS 2010a). Moreover, any statistics for offenders in prison, or in police custody for that matter, will still only take into account those offenders who have been arrested and will not include those who have received other types of non-custodial police action, such as cautions, notices to appear in court, summonses or community conferences.

Other national crime data is more generalised. *Australian crime: facts & figures* (AIC 2010) is an annual AIC publication that examines overall rates of recorded crime throughout Australia, types of crime, victimisation, the courts system and correctional facilities, but places little emphasis on juvenile or Indigenous offenders. The ABS also provides annual statistics on offenders (ABS 2010b) and victims of crime (ABS 2010c). At the time of writing, data on Indigenous persons in these publications is only available for Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia and the Northern Territory. Statistics on offenders are provided according to age, sex, principal offence and number of times proceeded against by police. The publication relating to victims provides information on victim characteristics, nature of the crime, and outcome of police investigations, while State and Territory information includes victimisation rates for selected offences and the relationship of offenders to victims of assault and sexual assault. This is important research material, but the

focus of this thesis is on offending rather than victimisation. The publications discussed above are based on administrative data from State and Territory governments, but, in 2005, the ABS also carried out a survey of self-reported crime and safety among individuals and households, which included statistics on household and personal crime, reporting to police, feelings of safety and perceived neighbourhood problems (ABS 2006). The survey was restricted to respondents aged 15 years and over and did not report Indigenous status. These general publications are good sources of statistical data and some, such as the ABS annual report on offenders in Australia (ABS 2010b), do take into account such factors as age, Indigenous status and State and Territory data. Some also include all offenders against whom any formal police action has been taken. Unfortunately, though, these factors, or variables, are not interlinked and so it is not possible to examine 'Indigenous' 'adolescent' 'offending' in 'Queensland'.

In 1994, the Australian Bureau of Statistics conducted the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey (NATSIS) (ABS 2000), and this was followed up in 2002 by the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS) (ABS 2004). These surveys allow comparisons to be made between law and justice issues and other issues such as family and culture, health, education, work, housing, income and transport. From an investigation of a number of surveys that focus on crime and justice issues, including the Crime and Safety Survey, the Personal Safety Survey, the General Social Survey, the International Crime Victims Survey, the National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing, and the 2002 NATSISS, Dodson and Hunter (2006) found that, in those surveys that could describe the interaction of Indigenous people with the criminal justice system – with the exception of the 2002 NATSISS – the sample size was too small to be of much use. While this effectively confines analyses of the relationship between Indigenous crime and

socioeconomic factors to the 2002 NATSISS, there are also criticisms of this survey (see for example Altman & Taylor 2006; Biddle & Hunter 2006; Dodson & Hunter 2006; Weatherburn, Snowball & Hunter 2008), with the major criticism being the lack of non-Indigenous crime and justice statistics to allow comparisons to be made. For my research, the 2002 NATSISS is an improvement on the 1994 NATSIS, allowing breakdowns of Queensland data and even selected Torres Strait Islander characteristics. Drawbacks of the 2002 NATSISS include the exclusion of respondents aged under 15 years and the problematic categorisation of remote and non-remote. Surveys such as these are valuable sources of statistical data but they do not attempt to analyse patterns of behaviour, including Indigenous adolescent offending.

Carcach and Mukherjee (1996) and Hunter (2001) studied the 1994 NATSIS and found significant associations between arrest rates, sex, age, alcohol consumption, and whether a person had been physically attacked or verbally threatened. According to Carcach and Mukherjee (1996), the major drawback of the 1994 NATSIS is that limited data was collected on too many issues, and that no new insights were given into Indigenous crime or family violence. Hunter (2001) found that labour force status and education were also important factors underlying Indigenous arrest rates. Weatherburn, Snowball & Hunter (2008) carried out analyses of the 2002 NATSISS and found that alcohol abuse was the most powerful predictor of Indigenous arrests, followed by welfare dependence, unemployment and social involvement. Apart from the drawbacks associated with these surveys that have already been mentioned, a major problem is that offending is only measured by arrests and not by other formal non-custodial measures.

Some of the literature focuses on Indigenous violence rather than crime. Although this is problematic in itself for the purposes of this thesis, I will briefly mention some of the work that has been carried out. Snowball and Weatherburn (2008), in a separate analysis of the 2002 NATSISS, found that lifestyle factors including alcohol and substance abuse, 'neighbourhood problems' and residing with known offenders contributed most to Indigenous violence. Commonwealth government reports into violence in Indigenous communities throughout Australia have also been carried out by Memmott, Stacy, Chambers and Keys (2001) and Wundersitz (2010). These reports are based mostly on the literature on Indigenous violence and on consultations with key stakeholders in different sectors. Literature such as this can be important for comparisons in my research, but it must be pointed out that not all offences are violent and that not all violence is reported to or detected by police.

Some researchers study the links between drugs and crime. Makkai and Payne (2003) based their research on the Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) project, which was a 2001 national survey of male adult prisoners. They found that Indigenous adult offenders were over-represented to the greatest extent in violent offences, that cannabis was the most common illegal drug used by Indigenous prisoners, and that, although offending at an earlier age, Indigenous prisoners had commenced drug use at a later age than non-Indigenous prisoners. Putt, Payne and Milner (2005) combined the DUCO data with data from the Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) project, which widened the scope by obtaining information from police detainees, and focused primarily on Indigenous males. In comparison to non-Indigenous males, Indigenous males have higher rates of offending, commence offending at an earlier age, report greater use of alcohol and cannabis, and are more likely to attribute their offending behaviour to alcohol than to illegal drugs. Risk

factors for Indigenous males included unemployment, low educational levels and earlier onset of offending. The relationship between alcohol and other drugs and offending is understandably important but, by studying offenders in prison or police custody, the research mentioned here differs from mine in that it does not take into account those offenders who have had formal contact with police but who have not been arrested or placed into police custody. Also, I could not test the relationship between alcohol and other drugs and Indigenous adolescent offending because of the lack of data on alcohol and drug consumption in geographical units of analysis such as Local Government Areas.

Much of the literature concerning Indigenous offenders in Australia relates to policing and imprisonment. This is apart from the literature already mentioned that concerns both Indigenous and non-Indigenous offending in Australia. Cunneen, for example, believes that 'the distinct nature of the relationship between police and Indigenous people and the over-representation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system is symptomatic of the failure to decolonise policing as an institution' (2001a, pp. 249-50). Whilst the value of this literature cannot be denied, my research is concerned with Indigenous adolescent offending rather than Indigenous imprisonment, and policing is only one component of a multi-faceted approach to Indigenous adolescent offending, albeit a major component. Nevertheless, this literature will be an important reference source for my own research.

All of the literature discussed in this section has a national focus and only four publications contain separate data for States and Territories (see Taylor & Bareja 2005; ABS 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). Similarly, the literature is not age-specific and only two publications have separate data for juveniles (see ABS 2010b, 2010c). Much of the literature refers to prisoners, people in police custody, or to arrests, and these categories of offenders fail to take

into account other police action that does not necessarily result in any type of incarceration, such as cautions, notices to appear, and community conferences. Only two publications have incorporated data from States and Territories that show all offenders who have had formal contact with police (see AIC 2010; ABS 2010b). All of the publications, with the exception of the ABS crime and safety survey (ABS 2006), have incorporated Indigenous-specific data. Many of the publications are solely sources of statistical data (see ABS 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Taylor & Bareja 2005; AIC 2010), including those mentioned above that are inclusive of all offenders who have formal contact with police, and that have separate data for juveniles and for States and Territories. Nevertheless, all of the publications in this section are important in that they allow an overall comparison to be made between my research on Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland and national trends in overall offending. Many examine other factors associated with offending that are also useful to my research, such as violence in Indigenous communities, and alcohol and drug abuse. Nevertheless, it must still be emphasised that none of the above publications analyses all Indigenous offences recorded by police according to geographical location and demographic, social, economic and cultural factors, as my research endeavours to do.

National crime data – adolescents

While the previous section looked at national crime data for all age groups in Australia, this section reviews literature that still has a national focus but which is more pertinent to adolescent or juvenile offending. As in the previous section, there are some publications that are mostly sources of statistical data, and these will be reviewed first, followed by publications which emphasise links between juvenile offending and alcohol and other drugs.

As with the national crime data on adult offenders, much of the national literature on juvenile offenders is concerned mostly with the provision of statistical data. The AIC's *Juveniles in detention in Australia* (Richards & Lyneham 2010) is an annual report on numbers and rates of juveniles in detention since 1981. It does have a particular focus on Indigenous juveniles and some separate data for States and Territories. The report found that Indigenous juveniles in Australia were 24 times more likely to be in detention than non-Indigenous juveniles. Ratios of Indigenous over-representation in States and Territories fluctuate from year to year but, on average between 1994 and 2008, Queensland had the second highest ratios of Indigenous over-representation in juvenile detention after Western Australia, and this is confirmed by Cunneen (2001a) and Cunneen and White (2002). Another annual report is the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare's *Juvenile justice in Australia* (AIHW 2009), which presents data from all juvenile justice agencies in Australia. It is broader in scope because it includes data for young people under community-based supervision as well as those in detention. The report found that, in comparison to non-Indigenous juveniles, Indigenous juveniles were almost 15 times more likely to be under community-based supervision and almost 30 times as likely to be in detention. An even broader study was conducted by Richards (2009) for the AIC that presented data for juvenile offenders' contact with police, children's courts and the correctional system. It also included data on juvenile victims of crime. The report found that Indigenous juveniles were over-represented in all jurisdictions as subjects of child protection, in formal contact with police, in children's courts statistics, and in community-based supervision and detention. Much of the information in these publications does not pertain to this thesis because my research is only concerned with the juvenile justice system up to the point of formal contact with police and not beyond to court actions, supervisory orders and detention. Also, apart from Richards (2009), the publications are based on juvenile offenders in detention or other custodial measures and thus

do not take into account those adolescent offenders who received cautions or community conferences and were not required to attend court, and those who attended court but did not receive any type of supervisory sentence.

Other publications examine the links between adolescent offending and alcohol or substance abuse. Based on data from the 1993, 1995 and 1998 National Drug Strategy Household Surveys, Williams (2000) examined the alcohol related social disorder amongst rural youth around Australia and found that three quarters of rural alcohol-related social disorder was committed by offenders aged 14-24 years, and that six percent of this cohort was responsible for about half of the disorder. Unfortunately, the study did not include separate data for Indigenous youths, while self-reported 'social disorder' is much broader than offences recorded by police. Prichard and Payne (2005) interviewed 371 youths throughout detention centres in Australia to ascertain links between alcohol, drugs and criminal offending for juveniles in detention. They found that, in comparison to non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous juveniles were more likely to be detained for unlawful entry than for other offences; were equally likely to report daily and lifetime use of cannabis and alcohol; were less likely to have used amphetamines and ecstasy; were equally likely to have used inhalants (but began using earlier); and were equally likely to attribute offending to drug use. Unfortunately, studies of juveniles in detention are non-inclusive of many other offending juveniles who do not receive custodial sentences. As mentioned earlier, the relationship between alcohol and drugs and crime is understandably important, but I did not have access to data on alcohol and drug consumption in LGAs and so I could not test for any relationship with Indigenous adolescent offences. Although there are different views on this issue, my reading of the literature on Indigenous offending as well as broader sociological literature leads me to believe that Indigenous alcohol and drug abuse is a symptom of underlying

structural factors, and often a catalyst or proximate cause for Indigenous offending, but is not the underlying cause of Indigenous offending.

As in the previous section, all of the literature in this section has a national focus with little separate data for Queensland, but, unlike the previous section, it does focus on juvenile or adolescent offending. All of the literature, with the exception of Williams (2000), also explores Indigenous youth offending to some extent. However, with the exception of Richards (2009), the category of 'offenders' is either confined to those in detention or on supervisory court orders, or broadened to include self-reported 'social disorder', which makes it difficult to make comparisons with my research. Also, these publications do not take social, economic or cultural factors into account, nor do they examine patterns of offending in urban, rural and remote contexts. Nevertheless, they are important publications that contribute greatly to an understanding of important facets of juvenile offending in Australia.

Offending in other Australian States and Territories – all ages

This section reviews studies that are not specific to juvenile or adolescent offending and that focus on offending in other Australian States and Territories apart from Queensland. This section is set out according to authors, firstly reviewing the works of Carlos Carcach, then Patrick Jobes and his colleagues, and finally Russell Hogg and Kerry Carrington.

Carcach (2000a, 2000b, 2001) has written extensively on non-metropolitan crime in Australia. In 2000, he discussed the impact of regional development on crime in non-metropolitan LGAs in New South Wales and Victoria (2000a). In his next study (2000b), he extended his analysis of offences to LGAs in Queensland and Western Australia, and focused on the links between crime and population size and remoteness. In his third study, Carcach

(2001) again looked at population size and remoteness but also focused on economic change and social stability in the mainland eastern Australian States. Among his results, Carcach (2000a, 2000b, 2001) found that crime rates are highest in either highly accessible or very remote areas rather than those in between; that there is no significant relationship between crime and remoteness in LGAs of less than 1000 residents; that crime rates are lower in LGAs that are both residentially and socially stable; and that crime rates in small and medium-size towns that are close to major service centres are highly sensitive to changes in economic and social conditions. These studies have done much to broaden understandings of non-metropolitan crime but are of limited use to my research because there is no separate data for Indigenous people, for adolescents or juveniles, or for Queensland. The main thing in common with my research is that Carcach uses the LGA as his unit of analysis.

Jobes, Barclay, Weinard and Donnermeyer (2004) also use LGAs as units of analysis, focusing on LGAs in New South Wales with populations of less than 50,000 residents. The LGAs in their research are categorised as large urban, coastal, satellite, medium stable, medium declining and small farming. These authors examine the relationships between crime rates and a number of factors, including residential instability, ethnic heterogeneity (including proportion of Indigenous people), family disruption, low economic status and population size. They found that residential instability, family disruption and proportion of Indigenous population had the most significant relationships to various types of offences. They also found significant differences between rates of offending in the various categories of rural LGAs. Jobes, Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005) followed up with a qualitative study of two anonymous towns in New South Wales, both with significant Aboriginal populations. Through interviews with townspeople, they deduced that social cohesion and integration are more important factors in explaining crime than the proportion of the population who are

Aboriginal. The use of LGAs as units of analysis and the categorisation of LGAs into different types of communities is similar to the methodology used in my research, except that no metropolitan LGAs are used by Jobes et al. for comparison. Again, little or no separate data are given for Indigenous or juvenile crime but, although it is a New South Wales study, the authors do recommend that 'statistical analyses of rural community characteristics and crime rates should be extended beyond the boundaries of New South Wales' (Jobes et al. 2004, p. 135).

Hogg and Carrington write extensively on rural crime in New South Wales (see Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2003, 2006; Hogg 2005). Much of their research is based on quantitative studies of crime rates in postcode areas or LGAs in New South Wales, with LGAs categorised according to metropolitan Sydney, coastal, regional, large inland, medium inland and small inland. Their quantitative work is complemented by qualitative research in six rural townships. Although Indigenous offenders are not studied separately, there is an emphasis on factors that affect Indigenous crime rates, such as racism and policing. They found that rates of property crime were highest in urban regions but rates of violent crime and other crime were higher in rural areas. Crime rates varied according to category of postcode area or LGA, but localities with the highest crime rates tended to be those with higher unemployment, lower incomes, greater proportions of Indigenous residents and single parents, and higher proportions of public housing. The visibility of violence in Indigenous households, in comparison to the 'hidden violence' of non-Indigenous households, contributes to the disproportionate rate of violent offences amongst Indigenous people in many rural communities, and this is exacerbated by a deep sense of anxiety in the non-Indigenous population, leading to calls for tougher government responses to crime, and law and order campaigns that are directed towards Indigenous offenders (see also Roach Anleu

2006). Hogg and Carrington's work is important to my research because it not only uses LGAs as units of analysis and categorises them according to geographical location, but also focuses on the criminalisation of Indigenous people, especially in rural communities. It differs from my research because it does not analyse Indigenous offending separately from non-Indigenous offending and it does not analyse juvenile offending. This does not detract from the usefulness of Hogg's and Carrington's studies, and their perspectives on the criminalisation of Indigenous people, or the racialisation of crime, will be beneficial to my research.

The positive aspects of all the above studies from my point of view are that they use LGAs as units of analysis, and that most categorise the LGAs according to certain geographical characteristics, as does my own research. Also, in contrast to most previous publications reviewed in this chapter, the authors have calculated rates of offending based on recorded police administrative data, thus including all offenders who have had formal contact with police, similar again to my own research. The obvious differences between the abovementioned studies and my own research are that they have a distinct New South Wales geographical focus and that they are general studies of whole populations that omit separate data for adolescent or Indigenous populations, although the work by Hogg and Carrington closely examines factors that affect rates of Indigenous offending. Also, with the exception of Jobes et al. (2004), most of the studies do not take any sizeable number of social, economic or cultural factors into account, although they do have their own specific focuses on matters pertaining to criminal offending.

Offending in other Australian States and Territories – adolescents

This section reviews literature that is specific to juvenile or adolescent offending but which is based on offending in other Australian States or Territories apart from Queensland. There are only a few publications in this section that do not take Indigenous status into account, and these are examined first before other publications are reviewed in order to elucidate common findings and/or shortcomings within the literature.

Some of the literature in this section does not take Indigenous status into account. In 1998, Weatherburn and Lind studied the relationships between economic stress, child abuse and neglect, and juvenile offending in postcode areas in the urban regions of Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong. Although strong relationships were found among all variables, they concluded that economic and social stress exert most of their effects on urban juvenile offending by increasing risks of child neglect. In a follow-up study of the same data, Weatherburn and Lind (2006) added geographic mobility and ethnic heterogeneity as variables. Again, through the use of path analysis, they found that most of the effects of economic stress, geographic mobility and ethnic heterogeneity on crime are mediated by parenting processes or child neglect. Smart, Vassallo, Sanson and Dussuyer (2004) studied patterns of antisocial behaviour from early to late adolescence, using a sample of adolescents aged from 13 to 18 years from rural and urban areas of Victoria. Unfortunately, Indigenous status was not taken into account and much of the 'antisocial' behaviour could not be compared to the 'offending' behaviour upon which my research is based. Because of the lack of focus on Indigenous status, the above research is of limited use for my purposes, although factors such as child neglect are undoubtedly important in studies of juvenile offending. Also, since much of the data is based on self-reported offending or antisocial behaviour, it

cannot be compared to offence data in my research that is based on recorded formal contact with police.

Many authors found high levels of over-representation of Indigenous youths, in comparison to non-Indigenous youths, throughout many stages of the justice system in different Australian States and Territories (see for instance Cunneen & Robb 1987; Carrington 1993; Luke & Cunneen 1993; Morgan 1993; Doherty 1999; Cunneen 2001a; Cunneen & White 2002). The discretionary powers of police were examined and many writers found that, in comparison to young non-Indigenous offenders, young Indigenous offenders were more likely to be arrested and less likely to receive more lenient forms of police action such as cautions or notices to attend court (see Luke & Cunneen 1993; Morgan 1993; Doherty 1999; Cunneen 2001a; Cunneen & White 2002; Snowball 2008). Cunneen & Robb (1987) found in their study of crime in north-west New South Wales that there was considerable hostility between Indigenous youths and police, and that policing was mostly directed towards the Indigenous population. The policing of Indigenous adolescents is also commented upon by other authors (see Cunneen 2001a; Cunneen and White 2002; White 1999; ANCD 2003). It should be restated, however, that although policing is a vital component in my research, it is only one component in a multi-faceted approach. Nevertheless, policing practices are important issues and will be taken up later in the thesis when discussing methodology.

Authors also commented on characteristics of Indigenous adolescent offenders in various States and Territories. They are predominantly male (Morgan 1993; Doherty 1999), although Morgan (1993) found that only five percent of all male Indigenous adolescent offenders were responsible for a third of all offences. The proportion of female offenders is much higher amongst the Indigenous adolescent population compared to the non-Indigenous population

(Luke & Cunneen 1993; Morgan 1993; Carrington 1993). In comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents, Indigenous adolescents begin their offending careers at an earlier age and offending is much more ruralised (Luke & Cunneen 1993; Doherty 1999). Baker (1998) based her study on self-reported data from the 1996 New South Wales *Australian school students' alcohol and drugs survey*, and found that most respondents who self-reported offending were male and aged 14-16 years. Aboriginality and gender were predictors of assault and property crime. Carrington's (1993) *Offending Girls* is a study of female delinquency in general, but has a specific chapter on 'Aboriginal girls and juvenile justice', in which she first discusses the very high levels of female delinquency in certain LGAs in New South Wales, and then goes on to a qualitative analysis of the criminalisation of Aboriginality.

Of the studies mentioned above, six were conducted in New South Wales (Cunneen & Robb 1987; Carrington 1993; Luke & Cunneen 1993; Baker 1998; Weatherburn & Lind 1998, 2006), two in South Australia (Morgan 1993; Doherty 1999), one in Victoria (Smart et al. 2004) and two in multiple States and/or Territories (Snowball 2008; Cunneen & White 2002). The publications by Cunneen & Robb (1987), Luke & Cunneen (1993), Doherty (1999) and Snowball (2008) were based on police and court data, and while Morgan's (1993) study was also based on police and court data, it examined the offending transitions of two cohorts of youths born in 1962 and 1972. A study in the Northern Territory is also worthy of mention. Based on interviews with incarcerated Indigenous juveniles and adults, custodial staff and other judicial officials in the Northern Territory, Ogilvie and Van Zyl (2001) and Van Zyl (2001) found that incarceration, especially for Indigenous juveniles, is not a 'rite of passage' as some have argued, but nonetheless does impact upon the construction of identity because it is often an important life transition in the criminal trajectories of Indigenous adolescents.

Although the studies discussed above are very important for an understanding of Indigenous adolescent offending, very few of them have any Queensland basis and a specific regional focus, which is Queensland in my research, is necessary to gain a true understanding of Indigenous adolescent offending for that particular region. Moreover, some do not take Indigenous status into account (Baker 1998; Weatherburn & Lind 1998, 2006), while some are based on self-reported offending (Baker 1998; Smart et al. 2004) or offenders in detention (Ogilvie & Van Zyl 2001; Van Zyl 2001), rather than on all offenders who have formal contact with police, which is the basis of my research. Many publications that do study Indigenous adolescent offending emphasise police actions taken against offenders but fail to examine differences between urban, rural and remote locations of crime, and most do not consider the social, economic and cultural factors that impact upon Indigenous adolescent offending and that are so important to my research. Nevertheless, all of these studies have a different focus to my research and make important contributions to an understanding of Indigenous adolescent offending in Australia.

Offending in Queensland – all ages

This section focuses on literature that is specific to offending in Queensland but is not necessarily specific to adolescent offending. All of this literature is nonetheless pertinent to Indigenous offending, as it enables the latter to be placed in the broader context of offending in Queensland, and opens up the possibility of examining the factors which are common to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous offending, as well as those factors which are not. There are some publications that are solely sources of statistical data and these will be reviewed first, followed by studies of offending in Queensland Indigenous communities that were previously missions or reserves, and then offending in Torres Strait.

As with the national literature, some of the publications concerning offending in Queensland are purely sources of statistical data. The Queensland Office of Economic and Statistical Research (OESR 2006) published crime and social profiles of certain local crime areas in Queensland from 2002-03. They examined rates of offences according to LGA, age categories, socioeconomic disadvantage, remoteness, type of offence and proportion of Indigenous people in the population, although no separate data were given for Indigenous offences or for juveniles. The most comprehensive and up-to-date source of information for offending in Queensland is the Queensland Police Service's *Annual Statistical Review* (QPS 2009); the datasets that I accessed from the Queensland Police Service were specific to my research but came from the same general database as that from which statistics are derived for the *Annual Statistical Review*. The QPS *Annual Statistical Review* contains statistics on monthly and annual crime trends, regional comparisons, victims of crime, offenders, crime locations, police districts and police personnel. The section on offenders, which is the main focus of my research, contains statistics according to age, sex, type of offence, Indigenous status, type of police action, and police region. At first glance, it appears that this publication contains all of the statistical data necessary for my research but, unfortunately, the data are not interlinked, and so while it is possible to access data on Indigenous offences, or adolescent offences, or offences in different geographical locations, it is not possible to access data on Indigenous adolescent offences in various geographical locations. Also, as these are purely sources of statistical data, no attempt has been made in them to analyse patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending, or of any offending for that matter, in relation to social, economic or cultural factors. Nevertheless, the QPS *Annual Statistical Review* is a vital source of information on Queensland crime.

The 2002 NATSISS (ABS 2004) has been mentioned previously in this literature review but it is worth another mention because it includes a thorough breakdown of statistics for Indigenous persons in Queensland. The survey compares law and justice statistics with other social indicators including ‘family and culture’, ‘health and disability’, ‘education’, ‘employment’, ‘income’, ‘financial stress’, ‘housing’, ‘transport access’ and ‘mobility’. Data can be further broken down according to remoteness, Indigenous status (including the distinction between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons), sex and age group. Their main disadvantages for my research include the problematic definition of remote and non-remote which makes geographical comparisons with my data extremely difficult, and the problem of no data being recorded for Indigenous persons aged less than 15 years. Again, the 2002 NATSISS is solely a source of statistical data and does not attempt to sociologically analyse the results of the survey, as is required for my research.

There have been two major inquiries into crime, policing and justice in Queensland Indigenous communities. The first study, The Cape York Justice Study (Fitzgerald 2001a, 2001b, 2001c) is a three-volume report on a comprehensive study of crime and factors associated with crime in Cape York Peninsula, including the post-contact history of Cape York Peninsula, alcohol, violence, police and courts, governance issues, education and health. The inquiry found that while alcohol abuse is the chief precursor to violence, crime, injury and ill health in Cape York Peninsula, it is also important to look at crime and justice problems through the lens of the post-contact history of Cape York Peninsula and the ‘torrid’ history of relations between police and Indigenous people in particular (although the QPS is now regarded by the authors of the study as an important resource).

The second study was commissioned by the Queensland Crime and Misconduct Commission (CMC 2009), which conducted an inquiry into policing in Queensland Indigenous communities – communities that were previously missions or reserves. The study is comprehensively based on QPS data, literature and policy reviews, a public forum, written and oral submissions, and consultations with Indigenous communities. The inquiry found that rates of crime in all Queensland Indigenous communities are higher than the State average and have been consistently high since at least 1995; that Aurukun, Mornington Island and Woorabinda have the highest rates of offending and that the communities in Torres Strait have the lowest; that there has been no clear reduction in rates of offending since the introduction of Alcohol Management Plans; and that high rates of offending are not simply due to 'overpolicing'. These are important and relevant findings.

There has been very little written about offending in Torres Strait. McFarlane (1998) discusses the outcomes of a 1998 seminar called 'Torres Strait – policing the open border', in which he reports that the main concerns of police were substance abuse, domestic violence, and the illegal trade in drugs and weapons between Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea.

Some mention should also be made of the work done by anthropologists and historians in Queensland Aboriginal communities. These communities include Cunnamulla (McKellar 1984), Cherbourg (Blake 2001; Cox 2000), Taroom (L'Oste-Brown & Godwin 1995), Woorabinda (Forde 1990), Palm Island (Watson 1993), Yarrabah (Loos 1988, 2007; Hume 1988), Lockhart River (Thompson 1988), the Northern Peninsula communities of Injinoo, Bamaga, Seisia, Umagico and New Mapoon (Harper 1996), Torres Strait Islander communities (Sanders & Arthur 2001; Mullins 1995; Beckett 1987; Sharp 1993), Aurukun (Martin 1993), Kowanyama (Taylor 1988), Doomadgee (Trigger 1988, 1992) and

Mornington Island (McKnight 2002, 2004). Harris (1990) writes extensively on the history of Australian and Queensland missions and reserves, and the topic of Aboriginal removals is examined by Copland (2005), Sutton (2003), Blake (1998) and Evans (1999). Kidd (1997) writes extensively on relations between Aboriginal people and the Queensland government, while Rowley's (1970, 1971a, 1971b) trilogy, *Aboriginal Policy and Practice*, is a fundamental source of historical information. While the above literature does not necessarily discuss Indigenous offending, it provides valuable information on the history and social dynamics of these communities, which in turn is vital in explaining different patterns of offending.

Most of the literature in this section is pertinent and informative. The QPS *Annual Statistical Review* (QPS 2009) has the most comprehensive data on offending in Queensland but, like the OESR (2006) and ABS (2004) publications, is solely a source of statistical data. On the other hand, the studies by Fitzgerald (2001a, 2001b, 2001c) and the CMC (2009) are in-depth studies of historical, political, social and cultural factors that impact upon Indigenous offending in Queensland Indigenous communities, but their major disadvantage is that they are too geographically specific and do not allow comparisons to be made with rates and patterns of Indigenous offending in Queensland urban and rural communities. Finally, there is a dearth of information on crime in Torres Strait.

Offending in Queensland – adolescents

All of the literature in this section is specific to Queensland adolescent offenders and some is specific to Indigenous adolescent offenders in Queensland. Some of the literature that was reviewed in the previous section also pertains, to some degree, to adolescent offending in Queensland, and will be briefly touched on again, along with some important studies on

vigilantism in Townsville, and joyriding by Indigenous adolescents in stolen motor vehicles. 'The Sibling Study' is a major study of adolescent offending in Queensland and it will be reviewed in this section, along with a number of studies that are based on 'the Sibling Study'. Other major studies focus on criminal trajectories, or pathways of offending from childhood to adolescence and from adolescence to adulthood.

The QPS (2009) *Annual Statistical Review*, as mentioned earlier, also contains statistics on juvenile offending in Queensland, and the abovementioned CMC (2009) inquiry found that there was a particularly high proportion of property *offences* committed by Indigenous adolescents, especially those aged 10-14 years, in Queensland Indigenous communities, and that a substantial proportion of these were by repeat *offenders*. The *Cape York Justice Study* (Fitzgerald 2001) also found a higher proportion of property offences among the 10-14 year age bracket, but found that offences against the person were more pronounced among the 15-19 year population. Much adolescent offending in Cape York Peninsula was attributed to alcohol abuse by family and friends, but adolescents themselves self-reported boredom as the major reason for property crime. The disadvantages of these studies were pointed out in the previous section.

Another North Queensland study was carried out by Hil and Dawes (2000), who examined juvenile crime and vigilantism in Townsville and found that, for local residents, the 'crime problem' was synonymous with the presence of Indigenous people in their neighbourhoods, and with Indigenous adolescents in particular. Although the study is only focused on Townsville, it is important because it again points to the racialisation of crime, a concept which could be particularly beneficial to my research. Dawes (2002) also interviewed Indigenous detainees at six juvenile detention centres in Queensland in order to investigate

the motivation for stealing motor vehicles with the intention of joyriding. He concludes that, for many Indigenous adolescents, 'joyriding may be interpreted as a form of resistance to their social and economic marginalization in society' (Dawes 2002, p.207). Again, although this study only relates to one type of Indigenous adolescent offence, it is relevant to my research.

Probably the most comprehensive single study of juvenile offending in Queensland is 'the Sibling Study', the results of which are discussed in the edited book, *Understanding youth crime: an Australian study* (Western, Lynch & Ogilvie eds. 2003). 'The Sibling Study' is a longitudinal study of youths aged between 12 and 18 years from urban South East Queensland. It was developed in order to gain a comparison of the trajectories of non-offenders through to serious offenders. It mainly consisted of a 65-page self-report questionnaire that was administered to a cohort drawn from schools (n=678), an offender cohort (n=225), a 'vulnerable' cohort (n=160) and an urban Indigenous cohort (n=62). Although the study was designed to utilise mixed-sex sibling pairs in order to control for effects of socialisation on gender, the proportion of mixed-sex sibling pairs varies across the four cohorts, comprising about 83 percent of the school cohort, and about a third of the vulnerable and offender cohorts. There were no sibling pairs in the Indigenous cohort (Lynch, McGrane, Ogilvie & Western 2003).

Many authors have used the results of the Sibling Study to examine factors associated with juvenile offending. Ogilvie (1996, 2003) and Ogilvie and Western (2003) study the association between gender and juvenile offending. Lynch, Ogilvie and Chui (2003) examine the effects of age on juvenile offending. Data from the Sibling Study are used to consider the issues of social inequality, alienation and socioeconomic status (Western 2003). Kennedy,

O'Connor and Western (2003) examine family influences, while Durrington, Fagan and Chant (2003) consider the influence of siblings in particular on delinquency. Fagan, Homel, O'Connor and Teague (2003) review the relationship between victimisation and offending.

Homel, Lincoln and Herd (1999) used data from the Sibling Study, interviews with urban Aboriginal community workers, and existing literature to examine interrelated developmental pathways for Indigenous adolescents in Brisbane. They found that major risk factors were institutionalised racism, welfare dependency, alcohol abuse and use of public places. Cultural resilience, greater self-esteem, and family controls acted as protective factors.

Lynch, Fagan, Ogilvie and Lincoln (2003) compared the urban Indigenous cohort of the Sibling Study with the 'school' cohort and the 'vulnerable' cohort to ascertain whether culturally specific factors act as 'drivers' or 'inhibitors' of offending. The Indigenous cohort of the Sibling Study contained a very small number of young Indigenous respondents (n=62) who had not been 'processed by the criminal justice system' (Lynch et al. 2003, p.158) and the study was primarily based in Brisbane. In fact, Lynch et al. emphasise that 'the group is distinctively "urban" and any findings should not be generalized to rural or remote groups of Indigenous young people' (2003, p. 159). As mentioned previously, there are no sibling pairs in the Indigenous cohort. Among the findings of this research, Lynch et al. (2003) found that, although the Indigenous cohort had the least respect for police, they were also the most likely to expect their parents to support them if they were caught offending. The authors also found that the Indigenous cohort had the highest self-reported rates for public disorder, vandalism, theft and assault, and similar rates to the 'vulnerable' cohort for motor vehicle theft and alcohol and drug abuse.

There have been a number of studies that have examined the criminal trajectories or pathways of juveniles through the Queensland justice system. Stewart, Dennison and Waterson (2002) examined pathways from child maltreatment to juvenile offending based on a cohort of all members of the Queensland population who were born in 1983 and had contact with the child protection and/or juvenile justice system up to the year 2000. A further cohort of people who were born in 1984 was later added to the study (see Dennison, Stewart & Hurren 2006; Stewart, Livingstone & Dennison 2008; Livingstone, Stewart, Allard & Ogilvie 2008). Allard, Stewart, Chrzanowski, Ogilvie, Birks, & Little (2010) based their longitudinal study on a cohort of all members of the Queensland population who were born in 1990 and who had contact with the juvenile justice system. In regards to maltreatment, these studies found that maltreated children were more likely to offend as adolescents and to reoffend after formal contact with police; Indigenous children are more likely to be chronically maltreated; and children whose maltreatment trajectories were confined to early childhood are less likely to offend as adolescents than those whose maltreatment started or continued into adolescence (Stewart, Dennison and Waterson 2002; Dennison, Stewart & Hurren 2006; Stewart, Livingstone & Dennison 2008). In comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents, Indigenous adolescents are more likely to have contact with the criminal justice system and to be overrepresented in the chronic offending trajectory, more likely to appear in court and receive detention, and less likely to receive cautions or community conferences (Stewart, Dennison and Waterson 2002; Livingstone et al. 2008; Allard et al. 2010).

The above studies were concerned with pathways from child maltreatment through to adolescence, but there have also been important studies conducted in Queensland that investigate criminal trajectories from adolescence through to adulthood. The *Youth Justice: Criminal Trajectories Project* collected data from the Department of Families, the QPS, and

the Department of Corrective Services to measure recidivism by tracking the trajectories of young offenders who had contact with the juvenile justice system from 1994-95 through to adult custodial and non-custodial orders served up until 2002 (Lynch, Buckman & Krenske 2003). The researchers found that multiple risk factors were involved in the progression of adolescents on supervised orders through to the adult corrections system. If an adolescent had been subject to a care and protection order, was male, was Indigenous and had been sentenced to a supervised order as a juvenile, then the probability of his 'progression' to the adult system approaches 100 percent (Lynch, Buckman & Krenske 2003). Brame, Mazerolle & Piquero (2010) also used data from the *Youth Justice: Criminal Trajectories Project* to examine criminal trajectories of Queensland adolescents. They found that serious adolescent offenders continued to have high levels of offending in the early years of adulthood, and that, in comparison to non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous adolescent offenders, and especially males, were more likely to have higher rates of offending in adulthood.

My research is specifically concerned with Indigenous juvenile offending, and various geographical locations must be taken into account in my research in order to ascertain different patterns of offending. None of the literature in this section distinguishes among Indigenous patterns of offending in urban, rural and remote Aboriginal communities, nor does it include any breakdown of adolescent offences into different age groups or categories. The Sibling Study and associated research are confined to Brisbane, and the Sibling Study is neither indicative of juvenile offending in rural and remote areas of Queensland, nor is it specific to Indigenous offenders. Lynch, Fagan, Ogilvie and Lincoln's (2003) study of the Indigenous cohort of the Sibling Study is more applicable to this thesis, but the low number of respondents is a major limitation. The studies of criminal trajectories of adolescents in Queensland comprehensively illustrate the association between child maltreatment and

adolescent offending, which was not examined in my thesis due to lack of data. Most of the emphasis is on this relationship, however, and so does not address other social, economic and cultural factors that are intrinsic to my research. Again, the geographical location of adolescent offenders in these studies was not taken into account and the studies are not Indigenous-specific. Nevertheless, the studies mentioned above have made extremely important contributions to understandings of adolescent offending in general and are at the forefront of research into adolescent offending in Queensland.

Conclusion

Despite the substantial amount of data surrounding Indigenous crime and imprisonment, there has been little sociological research into Indigenous adolescent offending in Australia and even less research into Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. There are comprehensive sources of statistical data relating to crime, imprisonment and juvenile detention in Australia, and the Queensland Police Service publishes extensive data on crime and policing in Queensland. However, these publications are purely sources of statistical data and make no attempt to analyse patterns of criminal offending according to geographical, demographic, ethnic, social, economic and cultural factors. Major social surveys such as the 2002 NATSISS supply a wide range of statistical information not only on crime and imprisonment, but also on many social, cultural and economic factors that affect Indigenous people. These are important sources of information but again they do not attempt to analyse the data. Some writers have analysed the data from these major social surveys but their focus has been on the empirical aspects of the surveys rather than on any analysis of Indigenous offending, and there has certainly been no analysis of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland resulting from these surveys.

Much of the analytical literature discussed in this review focuses on specific topics associated with crime and offending, rather than taking an overall approach, as is required in my research. These topics include policing, rural crime, substance abuse, gender, and criminal pathways through childhood and adolescence. Some of the research is based on rural populations while others are based on urban populations, but none comprehensively compare urban, rural and remote populations. Much of the literature tends to focus on offending populations in prisons or detention centres, whereas my research is much wider in scope because it includes all Indigenous adolescent offenders, irrespective of court action. The Sibling Study is a comprehensive study of adolescent offending in Queensland but it is fundamentally an urban study and the Indigenous cohort is very small. Vital research into the criminal trajectories of adolescents has been carried out in Queensland, but this is concerned mostly with the relationship between child maltreatment and adolescent offending, does not take other socioeconomic or cultural factors into account, is not Indigenous specific and does not allow for geographical factors. There have been comprehensive studies of Indigenous offending in Queensland Indigenous communities but their scope is limited to ex-reserves and missions and does not address juvenile offending to any extent. Thus, these major Queensland studies fail to take into account all of the geographical, demographic, social, economic and cultural factors that are necessary for a comprehensive sociological study of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland.

There is a substantial literature concerning crime and justice and there is also an extensive coverage of issues concerning juvenile delinquency. The literature concerning Indigenous people and the criminal justice system is considerably less but is still substantial. However, there is a dearth of literature with a specific focus on Indigenous adolescents and the criminal justice system. There has been no research into patterns of Indigenous offending or juvenile

offending across urban, rural and remote areas anywhere in Australia. There has been no research into patterns of offending across urban, rural and remote areas of Queensland, irrespective of Indigenous or juvenile status. The Sibling Study used only a very small cohort of urban Indigenous adolescents, and there have been no comprehensive studies of Indigenous adolescent offending anywhere in Queensland that have taken factors such as age, sex, type of offence, and type of police action into account. There have also been no Australian studies that have compared a wide range of demographic, social, economic and cultural factors with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences.

After reviewing the literature, it can be seen that some publications will be more relevant to my thesis than others. The purely statistical publications, such as those published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2000, 2004, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c), the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC 2010; Taylor & Bareja 2005; Richards 2009; Richards & Lyneham 2010), the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW 2009), the Queensland Police Service (QPS 2009), and various analyses of these publications (see Carcach & Mukherjee 1996; Hunter 2001; Dodson & Hunter 2006; OESR 2006; Snowball & Hunter 2008; Weatherburn et al 2008) are likely to be only useful for comparative purposes because my own data is not drawn from these publications but supplied directly through the Queensland Police Service specifically for my research. Publications that examine the links between adolescent offending and drug or alcohol abuse (see Baker 1998; Williams 2000; Makkai & Payne 2003; Prichard & Payne; Putt et al 2005) will probably be of limited use because, for reasons mentioned earlier, my research does not analyse these links. Similarly, the government publications by Memmott et al (2001) and Wundersitz (2010) that examine violence in Indigenous communities allow comparisons to be made with violent offending by Indigenous adolescents in my research, but are too specific to allow comparisons with all

types of Indigenous adolescent offending, as my research does. The research on criminal trajectories or developmental pathways through adolescence and adulthood (see Stewart et al 2002, 2008; Dennison et al 2006; Livingstone et al 2008; Allard et al 2010; Lynch et al 2003; Brame et al 2010) have made some important findings but, because this work is based on longitudinal studies, cannot be compared directly to my research and so is of limited use. Developmental criminology will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Other government publications such as the Cape York Justice Study (Fitzgerald 2001) and the report into crime in Queensland Indigenous communities by the Crime and Misconduct Commission (CMC 2009) are important sources of information and will undoubtedly be useful in analyses of Indigenous adolescent offending in Aboriginal communities but will be of limited use in the analysis of Indigenous adolescent offending in rural, urban and Torres Strait communities. The Sibling Study and publications based upon it are also of limited use, not only because the study is restricted to youth offending in Brisbane, but also because it is a longitudinal study of criminal trajectories through adolescence, which cannot be compared directly to my research.

The other sociological and criminological literature reviewed in this chapter, although mostly conducted outside of Queensland, should prove useful to my research, particularly the studies that reflect upon the criminalisation of Indigenous people or the racialisation of crime (see for example Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2003, 2006; Hogg 2005; Carrington 1993; Cunneen & Robb 1987; Cunneen 2001a; Cunneen & White 2002; White 1999; Hil & Dawes 2000; Dawes 2002).

My research will undoubtedly benefit from comparisons to this research. Nevertheless, there have been no studies or publications that take all of the factors needed for a comprehensive sociological understanding of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland into account. As well as Indigenous status, these factors include age, sex, geographical location, inclusion of all offences that are formally recorded by police, rates of different types of offences, types of police action taken, and cultural, social and economic characteristics of Indigenous communities. There are thus significant gaps in our knowledge and understanding of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. My research aims to fill in some of these gaps by exploring the extent and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offences in various geographic communities in Queensland according to age, sex, type of offence, and type of police action, and by emphasising the social, economic and cultural factors that are associated with those offences.

Chapter 4: A review of sociological perspectives on crime and delinquency

Introduction

This chapter reviews the sociological perspectives associated with much of the literature in the previous chapter as well as those associated with crime and delinquency in general. This chapter does not focus upon a particular perspective because my thesis is exploratory. There have been numerous theories and perspectives used to explain crime and delinquency in various societies throughout time and place but there is probably no single theory or perspective that can explain the multidimensional causes of Indigenous adolescent offending. In fact, very few of the studies that will be discussed in this chapter have relied on a single theoretical approach.

> The 'trick' therefore is not so much the identification of a 'one size fits all' theory, but, rather, the identification of the many different contexts and turning points in the pathways to crime and conformity, and the recognition that different theories are all relevant (to a greater or lesser extent at different points in time) in explaining these processes (Lynch et al. 2003b, p.8).

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to outline and discuss some of the most widely used theories and perspectives that are associated with crime and delinquency, with a special emphasis on adolescent offending. There is no single cause of adolescent or juvenile offending and most criminological theories tend to operate at different levels. Cunneen and White (2002, pp.54-55) focus on individual factors, situational factors and social structural factors to analyse theories of youth offending. In much the same vein, Memmott, Stacy, Chambers and Keys (2001, p.2) refer to precipitating causes, situational factors, and underlying factors as categories associated with violence in Indigenous communities. There

is often a blurring, or overlapping, between individual, situational and social structural factors. For example, alcohol and substance abuse can be seen as an individual factor (Cunneen & White 2002) or a situational factor (Memmott et al. 2001), and unemployment can be seen as a situational factor (Memmott et al. 2001) or as a social structural factor (Cunneen & White 2002).

This chapter will first examine individualistic or situational perspectives, including labelling theory, lifestyle or routine activity theory, and the perspective known as developmental criminology. The main emphasis of this chapter and the thesis, however, will be social structural perspectives. These perspectives examine the relationships between broader social divisions in society including different age groups, genders, ethnicities and classes, and ways in which social institutions such as the family, school, work and the criminal justice system influence deviant behaviour (Cunneen & White 2002, p.55). According to Memmott et al. (2001), all of the underlying factors of violence in Indigenous communities have their origins in the state sanctioned dispossession of Indigenous people from their lands, but many other social structural explanations are given by others for adolescent offending.

For the purposes of this discussion, social structural perspectives of deviance will be further classified as ‘consensus/functionalist’ or ‘conflict/critical’ theories, although, in practice, many of the theories contain elements of both consensus and conflict. The discussion of consensus/functionalist perspectives includes social control theory, Merton’s anomie or strain theory, Agnew’s strain theory, and social disorganisation theory, while the section on conflict/critical perspectives addresses radical perspectives and feminist perspectives. An understanding of the major theoretical perspectives associated with crime and delinquency is

necessary in order to evaluate those which may be most applicable to Indigenous adolescent offending.

Individualistic/situational perspectives

Theories associated with individual factors tend to focus on psychological or biological reasons for deviant behaviour. They may consider mental illness (HREOC 2005; Snowball & Weatherburn 2008), psychological factors such as aggression, lack of self-control and childhood abuse, and factors associated with alcohol and substance abuse. The problem with individualistic theories, according to Roach Anleu (1995, p.17), is that because they 'focus on individual behaviour they are unable to account for changing social definitions of behaviour'. Theories that focus on situational factors are concerned with 'the nature of the interaction between different players within the system, the effect of local environmental factors on the nature of this interaction, and the influence of group behaviour on social activity' (Cunneen & White 2002, p.54). Situational factors may include quality of parenting, school performance, labelling and stigmatisation, peer groups and youth gangs, and lack of suitable housing. Memmott et al. (2001, p.19) also identify the internecine feuding between families and distinct linguistic groups as a situational factor, although it could also be regarded as a social structural factor resulting from colonialism. There are many theories that focus on the links between individual or situational factors and deviant behaviour and they will be discussed later in this chapter. However, there is some contention as to whether alcohol should be seen as a 'cause' of deviant behaviour in Indigenous communities or whether excessive consumption on a regular basis should be regarded as another form of deviant behaviour that acts as a catalyst towards criminal offending.

Labelling theories

Official labels that were considered to be negative by those so labelled were first recognised in a 1927 study of juvenile gangs in Chicago by Frederick Thrasher (cited in Shoemaker 2005, p.209). Then, in 1938, Frank Tannenbaum (cited in Shoemaker 2005, p.209) introduced the term 'dramatization of evil', which basically meant that a person could act out the role given to him or her as a result of official labelling. Subsequently, in 1951, Edwin Lemert (cited in Shoemaker 2005, p.209) introduced the concepts of primary and secondary deviance, and these became central to what became known as labelling theory. Finally, in 1963, Howard Becker's analysis of deviance, which was revised in 1973, proposed that deviance was defined by systems of law enforcement that often discriminated against the less powerful members of society in order to safeguard the interests of the powerful (cited in Shoemaker 2005, p.209). Becker's analysis suggests that labelling theory might be regarded as a social structural theory, or even a conflict theory, but this is not the usual view of labelling theory, or of *symbolic interactionism*, from which the theory derives, and so it is included in this section of the chapter, even though this necessitates its inclusion with other more psychological perspectives.

Shoemaker (2005, p.210) outlines four basic assumptions of labelling theory. The first assumption is that there is no behaviour that is intrinsically delinquent (although this is somewhat undermined by Lemert's distinction between primary and secondary deviance). The second assumption is that the behaviour becomes delinquent when it is officially labelled as such by society, so that this labelling becomes the primary factor in further delinquent acts. The third assumption is that subsequent delinquency is influenced by negative labelling so that the juvenile eventually identifies as a delinquent and acts accordingly. The fourth

assumption is that the application of the label is dependent on age, gender, social class, race, and other factors. All of these considerations are relevant to my thesis.

Many other factors pertinent to my thesis, however, also have links to labelling theory. Barclay, Hogg and Scott (2007, p.109) believe that the 'labelling of identifiable groups of young people as *no hopers, dangerous* or *criminals* feeds back to the very problems of marginalisation that are predictive of youth offending' (italics in original). The 'racialisation' of crime, especially in rural towns, is a form of labelling (Hogg & Carrington 1998, p.169). So too is the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton 1968): if individuals are told that they are destined to have few job prospects and are likely to come into frequent contact with the criminal justice system, then they are likely to perform badly at school, associate with delinquent peers, and engage in delinquent behaviour that will bring them into contact with police. Thus, the prophecy is self-fulfilled. Once the individual progresses to the criminal justice system, the label of deviant or criminal is firmly attached to him or her, and he or she gains often unwarranted police attention, leading to higher rates of recidivism. This is known as the 'amplification of deviance' (Young 1999). However, these factors are also important in radical theory and will be further discussed in that section of this chapter.

Lifestyle/routine activity theory

Snowball and Weatherburn (2008) associate alcohol consumption with the lifestyle, or routine activity theory, of Cohen and Felson (1979, cited in Snowball and Weatherburn 2008, p.220). This theory focuses on the immediate factors associated with the crime, rather than the background factors associated with criminality (Halsey 2006, p.96). Hunter (2001, p.2) analysed the 1994 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey (NATSIS) and found that alcohol consumption was 'one of the largest single factors underlying overall

Indigenous arrest rates'. Dodson and Hunter (2006), Snowball and Weatherburn (2008), and Weatherburn, Snowball and Hunter (2008) analysed the 2002 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS) and also found that alcohol consumption had a strong association with Indigenous overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. The topic of alcohol consumption received considerable attention in the Cape York Justice Study. The study found 'overwhelming evidence that harmful levels of alcohol consumption by Aboriginal people in the Cape York region are the chief precursor to violence, crime, injury and ill-health in these populations' (Fitzgerald 2001a, p.13). Aboriginal activist, Noel Pearson, has long pointed to alcohol and drug abuse as the major factor in the ongoing disintegration of Cape York Aboriginal communities (see Pearson 2000, 2001).

Broadhurst (2002, p.262) believes that these attributions of alcohol as a cause of crime are similar to biological perspectives of crime that were linked to Social Darwinism and that have been largely discredited. There is evidence that individuals who offend are frequently under the influence of alcohol or drugs (see Putt, Payne & Milner 2005), but an association between substance abuse and delinquency does not mean that substance abuse actually *causes* delinquency. In fact, delinquency will often precede substance abuse (Agnew 2001a, p.211). When adolescents engage in delinquent acts, they are more likely to be exposed to the use of alcohol and drugs by their delinquent peers. Homel, Lincoln and Herd (1999, p.188) 'prefer a theoretical stance that draws on structuralist and (to some extent) socio-cultural paradigms, in opposition to a biomedical paradigm in which the pharmacological effects of alcohol are of primary importance'. Similarly, Brady (1992, cited in ANCD 2003, p.20) believes that Indigenous substance abuse relates to 'dispossession, colonisation, low socio-economic status and rapid social change' and so should be seen as a structural factor rather than as an individual trait. In fact, the Australian National Council on Drugs (ANCD 2003, p.22)

contends that many of the factors involved in the aetiology of Indigenous adolescent substance abuse are also pertinent to the aetiology of Indigenous adolescent offending. Finally, Memmott et al. (2001, p.28) argue that removal of alcohol will not solve the problem of violence in Indigenous communities, and that alcohol consumption is 'a direct reflection of the collective emotional and psychological damage that has been caused to the individuals of that community'. I do not have access to data on alcohol consumption in LGAs and so I cannot test for any relationship between alcohol consumption and Indigenous adolescent offences in the various types of council but, nevertheless, I also subscribe to the belief that Indigenous alcohol consumption is a symptom of underlying structural factors and possibly a catalyst for Indigenous offending. It is still a major issue, and could still be regarded as a proximate cause, but there are underlying social structural factors, such as poverty, which need to be looked at in order to account for alcohol abuse as well as other lifestyle or routine activity factors. In other words, the alcohol consumption itself needs to be explained, and seen in context.

Developmental criminology

Another perspective that will be examined here is developmental criminology, also known as the life-course or pathway perspective. This theory integrates psychological and sociological perspectives and recognises that different criminogenic factors can affect adolescents at different stages of their lives. These factors can be individual or family factors or they might be more underlying structural factors (Wimshurst & Hayes 2006, p.125).

Developmental criminology emphasises the interrelationship of risk factors and protective factors that impact on adolescents as they move through different life transitions. A developmental perspective was used in the *Pathways to Prevention* report (National Crime

Prevention 1999), while Smart, Vassallo, Sanson and Dussuyer (2004) employ data from the Australian Temperament Project, a longitudinal study of Victorian adolescents, to study patterns of 'antisocial' behaviour from early to late adolescence. One of the most comprehensive studies of developmental pathways through adolescence was conducted in Queensland. The study comprised any children who were born in 1983 or 1984 and who had had official contact with the child protection system and/or the juvenile justice system. Stewart, Dennison and Waterson (2002) studied adolescents from the 1983 cohort who were maltreated and who later offended; Dennison, Stewart and Hurren (2006) studied the impacts of police cautioning and maltreatment on adolescents from the 1984 cohort; and Livingstone, Stewart, Allard and Ogilvie (2008) studied the 1983 and 1984 cohorts and found that there were three distinct groups of adolescent offenders – early peak moderate offenders, late peak moderate offenders, and chronic offenders – and that males and Indigenous offenders were overrepresented amongst the chronic offenders. In a separate study, Homel, Lincoln and Herd (1999) studied the underlying factors that affected the transition through adolescence for Indigenous youths. Because developmental criminology relies on longitudinal studies and intervention studies (Homel, Lincoln & Herd 1999, p.183), and my research does not, I cannot utilise many of the findings from the above studies, although this does not detract from the importance of the studies that have been discussed above.

Consensus/Functionalist perspectives

Consensus or functionalist theories work on the assumption that there are common norms and values adhered to by most members of society and that the breaking of these norms or rules constitutes deviant behaviour. Although all consensus theories see deviance and violation of norms as synonymous, they differ in their explanations of the causes of deviance and have

different theoretical assumptions. The theories discussed in this section are social control theory, anomie or strain theory, and social disorganisation theory.

Social control theory

Durkheim (1951, cited in Hirschi 1969, p.16) clearly had an influence on Hirschi's control theory of delinquency when he stated that

> The more weakened the groups to which [the individual] belongs, the less he depends on them, the more he consequently depends only on himself and recognizes no other rules of conduct than what are founded on his private interests.

Hirschi (1969, p.16) argues that delinquency is more likely to occur as the individual's bond to mainstream society grows weaker and describes four elements of the bond to conventional society, namely 'attachment', 'commitment', 'involvement' and 'belief'.

When Durkheim (1961, cited in Hirschi) said that 'we are moral beings to the extent that we are social beings', he could have been interpreted as saying that we are not deviant, provided we internalise the norms of society. Social norms are defined by members of a society and so by violating norms, deviant behaviour is acting contrary to the wishes of that society (Hirschi 1969, p.18). Attachment refers to the close emotional ties that a person has towards other persons or groups and the extent to which he or she values the opinions and expectations of others. According to control theory, a person is much less likely to commit delinquent acts if he or she has a strong emotional attachment to others and therefore does not wish to hurt or disappoint them through acts that do not conform to social norms. However, if a person is insensitive to the opinions of others, then he or she is not constrained by the norms governing their social environment and so is more likely to commit what might be considered deviant acts. Hirschi (1969, p.18) sees attachment, or internalisation of norms, as the social equivalent of the psychological concept of superego or conscience.

According to Hirschi, his second element, commitment, is the social equivalent of the psychological concept of the ego, because it is the rational aspect of social bonding. The idea of commitment is that because an individual expends a certain amount of time and effort in social investments such as education, employment and social status, he or she must consider the costs of deviant behaviour to these investments (Hirschi 1969, pp.20-21). Therefore, if an individual is unemployed, has little education, and has low social status and self-esteem, then he or she will have little commitment to society and will have little fear of the consequences of delinquency.

Involvement is the third of Hirschi's elements and it relates to participation in conventional activities such as studying and legitimate employment, as well as extracurricular conforming activities such as church, sports, clubs and organisations (Shoemaker 2005, p.176). The assumption is that, while time is spent engaging in conforming activities, the amount of time available for delinquent activities will be decreased. Hirschi’s argument is in line with the view that ‘idle hands are the devil’s workshop’ (Hirschi 1969, p.22). This is the weakest of Hirschi's elements and will not be used in this thesis.

Belief is the last of Hirschi’s elements of social control. In many sociological theories, adolescents are able to justify their delinquency through rationalisations or neutralisations. Matza and Sykes (1957, cited in Shoemaker 2005, p.158), for instance, argue that delinquents share the values of the surrounding society, especially self-gratification, but that they use inappropriate means to realise these values. In other words, they want gratification now, rather than working towards this gratification through socially sanctioned means. Hirschi’s element of belief is also conditional upon the individual believing in the rules of society; his

question is, 'Why does a man [sic] violate the rules in which he believes?' The theory assumes that the individual has been socialised, however imperfectly, into the society whose rules he or she is violating and, further, that the individual believes in the rules even as he or she is violating them. However, Hirschi stipulates that 'if the deviant is committed to a value system different from that of conventional society, there is, within the context of the theory, nothing to explain'. This is important because, according to Hirschi's perspective, if Indigenous adolescents are not sufficiently socialised into the mainstream 'white' value system, then they would have no need to justify or rationalise their deviance from the rules of that society. However, when two different value systems interact, the more powerful value system lays down the rules for acceptable behaviour, and behaviour that may seem acceptable to the minority group is deemed to be 'delinquent' by the dominant group. Thus, functionalist theories such as Hirschi's have difficulty in dealing with this clash between two different value systems. Control theory also assumes that individuals have been socialised into a society where values of 'attachment', 'commitment', 'involvement' and 'belief' (Hirschi 1969, p.16) are uniform. This model of a single, unambiguous system is not suitable for a study of Indigenous societies in Queensland where there is a need to consider a plurality of value systems.

Another problem with Hirschi's theory concerns the whole notion of the weakening of social bonds. It is more likely that sub-cultural groups with different values and/or norms will be operating, rather than a 'weakened' group or bond. More generally, there are interpretive processes involved in the practical application and practical significance of norms and values, including various forms of accommodation, rationalisation, and resistance. This then leads to a more critical rather than functionalist perspective, where values do not directly *cause* action, but are rather ways of *accounting for* action.

Lynch, McGrane, Ogilvie and Western (2003b, p.3) remark that Hirschi's control theory of delinquency has 'markedly influenced criminological research over the past three decades', but has been most extensively used to study the impact of family and parenting on delinquency, where parental attachment is a consistent predictor of adolescent offending. According to Agnew (2001a, p.117), most criminological theories are extensions or elaborations of strain, social learning, and control theories, but others believe that even strain, or anomie, theory is a type of control theory (Shoemaker 2005, p.81; Lynch et al. 2003b, p.5). Thus, few of the research studies cited in this thesis rely solely on control theory as an explanatory perspective, but many of them incorporate elements of Hirschi's control theory.

Merton's anomie or strain theory

Durkheim formulated the concept of anomie to explain the state of normlessness among a social group or groups following a time of rapid social change when the commonly held beliefs of the group are severely weakened and there is confusion about the norms and values to which a person should adhere (Halsey 2006, p.93). Spencer (2000, pp.7-8) notes that Western societies have moved through transitions from earlier forms of culture to later variants over a time span of many generations, whereas Indigenous societies are faced with the task of adaptation to rapid social and cultural changes over one generation. In fact, Aboriginal people have experienced two periods of rapid social and cultural change since white settlement of Australia, thus resulting in confusion about which norms and values to adhere to, and a clash between two different values systems, to which functionalist theories have paid little attention or have had difficulty in explaining. The first period involved the violent dispossession of their lands and their subsequent confinement in missions and reserves where they were forced to give up their cultural, social, economic, political and spiritual belief systems, and to adapt to lives in 'total institutions'. The second period of

rapid social change occurred when government policies changed to those of assimilation and self-determination. Aboriginal people were now expected to live in the same manner as other Australians, but not only lacked the cultural, economic, political and social means of doing so, but were also deprived of the paternalistic support of missionaries and protectors, to which they had grown accustomed. Spencer (2000, p.8) explains that substance abuse, high infant mortality rates, high suicide rates, and 'openly expressed feelings of demoralization and dispossession' are symptoms of this 'transitional dilemma'. Many other writers believe that the anomic conditions brought about by the colonisation of Aboriginal people are fundamental to the self-perpetuating patterns of offending and substance abuse in Aboriginal communities (see Fitzgerald 2001b; Memmott et al. 2001; ANCD 2003; LaPrairie 1997; Wundersitz 2010; Cunneen 2001a).

Merton deviated from Durkheim's work on anomie and associated the concept with crime and deviance. Merton (1938, p.674) believes that deviance can be seen as 'a symptom of dissociation between culturally defined aspirations and socially structured means'. This is getting somewhat away from Durkheim's notion of anomie as 'normlessness' because his perspective involves values that are agreed upon by most members of society ('culturally defined aspirations') but different ways or norms ('socially structured means') of fulfilling these values. In Merton's perspective, any lack or confusion is with norms but not with values, therein being more specific than Durkheim's notion of anomie, which concerns confusion over values *and* norms. Merton argues that the American social structure encourages deviance because there are inconsistencies between 'culturally induced success goals' and the institutionalised means of obtaining these goals. Because Merton (1968, pp.190-91) refers to the 'American Dream', many writers have assumed that the goals that he refers to are monetary or economic goals, but this is not necessarily so. In his view, 'It is the

conflict between cultural goals and the availability of using institutional means – *whatever the character of the goals* – which produces a strain toward anomie' (Merton 1968, p.220, emphasis added). This is an important point to note because a major goal of many Indigenous people is cultural, social and economic inclusion into mainstream society, but on their own terms. This involves *changing* mainstream society, rather than just assimilating into it. I envisage that the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion will figure prominently in this thesis and much of the discussion will focus on these concepts. Although Merton's functionalist perspective cannot be applied directly to a study of Indigenous adolescent offending, many components of his work are useful and have been used as a basis for critical perspectives, especially those of Jock Young, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Merton identifies five types of individual adaptation to the strain between culturally defined goals and socially structured means and these will be discussed using the Indigenous context. The first adaptation is 'conformity', wherein individuals strive for social inclusion or equality and are provided with the institutionalised means to do so. They may still have a lower social status and less material wealth than most members of mainstream society, but they are relatively satisfied and promote stability within the community. This adaptation, according to Merton, is least likely to lead to any form of deviance (Merton 1938, 1968).

The second adaptation is 'innovation' and occurs when individuals strive for the cultural goals of mainstream society but are not provided with the institutional means of achieving them. This adaptation is most likely to lead to criminal offending. Individuals may use illegal means to acquire monetary gains or material goods, or their frustration at not being able to achieve their goals might be shown in violent action against others. Merton admits

that this does not occur in all societies and especially not in societies characterised by rigidified class structures or caste orders:

> It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain *common* symbols of success *for the population at large* while its social structure rigorously restricts or completely eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these symbols *for a considerable part of the same population*, that antisocial behavior ensues on a considerable scale (Merton 1938, p.680, emphasis in original).

The above statement, although first formulated in 1938, is still relevant for contemporary times. The disjuncture between cultural inclusion and structural exclusion is a major underlying cause of adolescent offending and this will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

'Ritualism', Merton's third adaptation, occurs when individuals have access to and accept institutionalised means but have rejected or given up on cultural success goals. In the Indigenous context, this adaptation is similar to 'conformity'. For example, individuals may have access to education and be employed in lower paid jobs but they have given up or rejected any notion of 'getting ahead' in mainstream society and prefer to maintain a routine lifestyle that is acceptable to others in mainstream society. These individuals are most likely socialised to abide by the norms and values of mainstream society and so, according to Merton's theory, criminal deviance is unlikely (Merton 1938, 1968).

The fourth adaptation, 'retreatism', may also have some relevance to this thesis, and occurs when individuals have rejected or given up on the cultural goals of mainstream society and have been denied access to the institutional means. This adaptation might apply to individuals in some Aboriginal communities who have no life goals, have been provided with

poor standards of education and health care, and have few worthwhile employment options. In many cases, there is also confusion about traditional values and identities.

> People who adapt (or maladapt) in this fashion are, strictly speaking, *in* the society but not *of* it. Sociologically, these constitute the true aliens. Not sharing the common frame of values, they can be included as members of the *society* (in distinction from the *population*) only in a fictional sense (Merton 1968, p.207, emphasis in original).

This form of adaptation is likely to lead to deviant behaviour, which not only includes criminal offending, but also alcohol and drug abuse, high rates of suicide, and internecine feuding between families and groups. Again, there is a need to consider the duality, or possibly plurality, of value systems in the context of this thesis, because the model of a single, unambiguous value system is dubious as a general proposition. The clash between value systems, both past and present, has led to conflict and structural exclusion of Indigenous people from mainstream society.

Merton's final adaptation, 'rebellion', occurs when individuals reject the cultural goals and institutionalised means of society and attempt to substitute them with revolutionary goals and means. This adaptation can be seen in the homeland movement, where Indigenous people move back to their homelands and utilise traditional means to achieve traditional culture goals. The land rights movement, the Aboriginal tent embassy and other Indigenous rights movements can also be seen as forms of rebellion, and much has been written about resistance to colonialism on Queensland missions and reserves (see Cox 2000; Watson 1993; Martin 1993; Trigger 1988, 1992). However, this adaptation is not conducive to criminal offending and is not particularly applicable to the thesis.

As discussed earlier, Merton's concept of anomie is quite different from Durkheim's. Durkheim believed that anomie, as normlessness, was caused by rapid social change, whereas Merton does not restrict it to that, and believes that anomic conditions are chronic in contemporary society because of the strain between cultural goals and institutional means. For this reason, Merton's theory is also known as means-end theory or strain theory. A further variation of strain theory will be examined next.

Agnew's strain theory

From the late 1960s, strain theory began to lose appeal in studies of juvenile offending (Lynch et al. 2003b, p.5) but, in the 1990s, Agnew (1992) reformulated Merton's theory and regenerated interest in strain theory. His reformulated theory became known as General Strain Theory (GST). Apart from the strain between goals and means, Agnew introduced two other major types of strain. These are 'the actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli' and 'the actual or anticipated presentation of negatively valued stimuli' (Agnew 1992, p.47). The theory is socio-psychological in nature as the focus is not only on structural factors but also the immediate social environment of the individual. Further studies of deviance using General Strain Theory found that only some of the strains experienced by young people led to crime and so Agnew (2001b) further expanded the theory. He argues that strains are most likely to result in crime when they 'are seen as unjust', 'are seen as high in magnitude', 'are associated with low social control', and 'create some pressure or incentive to engage in criminal coping' (Agnew 2001b, p.319).

General Strain Theory has been used extensively in American studies of delinquency, particularly in regard to gender differences (see Agnew & Brezina 1997; Broidy & Agnew 1997; Hoffmann & Su 1997; Mazerolle 1998; Sharp et al. 2001; Eitle 2002; Hay 2003;

Piquero & Sealock 2004). There have been attempts to adapt the theory to macro studies of strain on communities (Agnew 1999) rather than just on individuals but this has met with only partial or no support (Warner & Fowler 2003; Wareham et al. 2005). Racial differences in offending have been studied using GST but again these have been mostly restricted to African-American populations (see Jang & Johnson 2003; Simons et al. 2003; Kaufmann et al. 2008). There have been very few Australian studies of juvenile delinquency that have utilised GST as a theoretical perspective. Because my research is unable to focus upon the immediate social environment of individuals, including positive and negative stimuli, and because GST is not suited to macro studies of communities, the theory is likely to be of limited use to my thesis.

Social disorganisation theory

Social disorganisation theory originates from the work of Shaw and McKay (1942, cited in Sampson & Groves 1989, p.774) who theorised that low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity and residential mobility lead to social disorganisation in the community, which then leads to higher rates of crime and delinquency[3]. Sampson and Groves (1989) built on Shaw and McKay's theory to develop a community-level theory of social disorganisation. They tied Shaw and McKay's model in with a 'systemic model', in which 'the local community is viewed as a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and ongoing socialization processes' (Sampson & Groves 1989, p.777). This extended theory of social disorganisation hypothesises that low socioeconomic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility, family disruption and urbanisation could lead directly to crime and delinquency, or could lead

[3] Other viewpoints suggest that a 'different' type of social organisation, rather than social 'disorganisation', leads to crime and delinquency (see for example, Whyte (1955) and Suttles (1968)).

indirectly to crime and delinquency through fragile local friendship networks, unsupervised juvenile peer groups and low organisational participation (Sampson & Groves 1989, p.783).

The study by Sampson and Groves (1989) was based in England. Osgood and Chambers (2000) subsequently carried out a study of juvenile violence in 264 counties in the United States to extend social disorganisation theory beyond urbanised areas. They introduced another hypothesis to the application of social disorganisation theory in rural areas, namely that rates of juvenile violence will be positively related to population density. Another branch of social disorganisation theory is environmental criminology (Herbert & Hyde 1985; Bottoms & Wiles 2002). This has associations with routine activity theory and is concerned with factors such as the geographic dispersal of offences and offender residence, along with the 'social disorganisation' of the geographic region and the opportunities to commit crime.

Some Australian studies have used elements of social disorganisation theory to explain their results. Jobes, Barclay, Weinard and Donnermeyer (2004, p.114) used social disorganisation theory in a macro study of crime rates in rural LGAs in New South Wales and found that 'more cohesive and integrated community structures had less crime'. Then, Jobes, Donnermeyer and Barclay (2005) used qualitative methods to study two communities in New South Wales that both had sizeable Aboriginal populations but substantially different rates of crime. They found that 'social cohesion and social integration in these communities, rather than Aboriginality, per se, explain their levels of crime and other social problems' (Jobes, Donnermeyer and Barclay 2005, p.224). Weatherburn and Lind (1998, 2006) integrated social disorganisation theory with developmental theory to explain what mediates the macro-level effects of economic and social stress on crime. They found that poverty, geographic mobility and ethnic heterogeneity not only had direct associations with delinquency, but also

indirect effects because the same factors were significantly associated with child neglect, which was also significantly associated with delinquency. Carcach (2000a, 2001) and Carcach and Huntley (2002) used social disorganisation theory to explain how regional development and community participation affected rates of crime in regional Australia.

Social disorganisation theory may have some relevance to this thesis because it focuses on the location of the offence rather than the offender, and my data is based on offence counts rather than offender counts (see next chapter). It is also a spatially-based theory and my thesis is based upon differences in Indigenous adolescent offences according to whether they occur in urban, rural, or remote (Aboriginal and Island councils) LGAs. However, there are some concerns, as remarked upon by Shoemaker (2005, p. 88-90), that the significance of cultural and ethnic factors is downplayed in this theory, and that 'different' types of organisation may operate in society, rather than 'disorganisation'. In other words, upon whose norms and values is social 'organisation' or 'disorganisation' defined? For instance, it is difficult to compare Shaw and McKay's influx of immigrants to Chicago to the forced segregation of Indigenous people on reserves and missions, and their 'assimilation' into white society. The issues involved in a sociological study of offending among Indigenous adolescents are much more complex than the above discussion suggests, and the diversity of cultural norms and values that is present in contemporary Indigenous communities throughout Queensland is not conducive to the use of social disorganisation theory.

Conflict/critical perspectives

Radical perspectives

In this section of the chapter, 'radical perspectives' covers a wide spectrum of criminological perspectives that particularly pertain to Indigenous crime and delinquency. Radical

criminology originally utilised Marxist theory and focused on problems in capitalist class societies (Halsey 2006, pp.100-01). For the purposes of this thesis, radical theory firstly applies to the institutional racism in the system that has led to negative outcomes for Indigenous people. The second part of this section looks at relative deprivation and the problems caused when structural exclusion is combined with cultural inclusion.

Systemic racism

Many writers have commented that government policy has been an underlying factor in contemporary Indigenous rates of crime and delinquency (see ANCD 2003; Blagg et al. 2005; Broadhurst 2002; Cunneen 2001a, 2006, 2007a; Cunneen & White 2002; Fitzgerald 2001b; Havemann 2005; Hil & Dawes 2000; Hogg 2005; Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2003, 2006; Memmott et al. 2001; LaPrairie 1997; Spencer 2000; Wundersitz 2010). The criminalising effects of government Indigenous policy are explained through various perspectives. These include institutionalisation (Broadhurst 2002, p.267), systemic or institutional racism (Blagg et al. 2005, p.12, Cunneen 2006, p.330), welfare colonialism (Beckett 1987, p.171; Broadhurst 2002, p.265), systemic bias (Weatherburn, Fitzgerald & Hua 2003, p.66), Aboriginalism and the racialisation of crime (Hogg & Carrington 1998, p.169; Hil & Dawes 2000, p.321; Broadhurst 2002, p.257), and 'neocolonialism', which explains 'the massive criminalisation of Indigenous people through the formal processes of the criminal justice system' (Cunneen 2001a, p.8). Further explanation of these concepts or perspectives is not necessary here because I am mainly interested in the *outcomes* of government policies. Blagg, Morgan, Cunneen and Ferrante (2005, p.7) argue that the essential component of institutional or systemic racism is 'the extent to which it focuses attention on the *outcomes* of activities and processes rather than *intentions* and *attitudes*, and the degree to which it reflects an *organisational* failure to understand the impact of policies

and procedures on minority groups' (italics in original). This is the crux of the matter and is what all of the above perspectives explain to some degree. Government policies such as protection and assimilation were undoubtedly well-intentioned to some extent, and the attitudes of many policy makers, administrators and police may or may not have been racist, but there can be no doubt that government policies were responsible for the structural exclusion of Indigenous people and that any subsequent policies have failed to remedy the gross inequalities that this structural exclusion has wrought, especially in the ex-missions and reserves. Similarly, if the *outcome* of the criminal justice system is an overrepresentation of Indigenous people, then it must reflect, to some extent, an organisational failure within the system and, therefore, systemic racism. This is extremely important to any discussion of Indigenous adolescent offending and will receive further attention throughout the thesis.

The social, economic, political and cultural exclusion of Indigenous people brought about by protection policies was the prelude to the 'Othering'[4] of Indigenous people in rural towns that came about as a consequence of policies of assimilation. Many Indigenous people were chosen for 'assimilation' simply because of the colour of their skin. These marginalised groups were subsequently labelled as a different class or caste to Aborigines who were living on missions and reserves, and yet were still excluded from mainstream society, where they were labelled as a dangerous and criminal underclass (Rowley 1971a, pp.184-85). Structural exclusion and the racialisation of crime are 'mutually reinforcing and self perpetuating' (Blagg et al. 2005, p.109). When individuals are excluded from education, employment, health facilities and decent housing, they are more likely to come into contact with the criminal justice system. Involvement in the criminal justice system, however, leads to greater structural exclusion. Thus, there is an 'amplification of deviance' (Young 1999, p.79) and

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[4] See Edward Said (1995) and his discussion of *Orientalism*.

because they have been labelled as deviant and more criminogenic, there is increased police surveillance and a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' develops (Merton 1968, p.475). The structural exclusion that has been discussed here will be further elaborated upon in the following discussion that emphasises the works of Jock Young.

Relative deprivation and structural exclusion

Since Merton (1968) formulated the concept of relative deprivation, it has gained much popularity in studies of equality and inequality. Some theorists have argued that relative deprivation, or inequality, *within* racial or ethnic groups will increase crime and delinquency (see Hipp 2007), whereas others predict that inequality *between* racial or ethnic groups will increase crime (see Blau & Blau 1982). Both of these hypotheses will be tested in my research. It was thought that individuals experienced relative deprivation when they compared themselves to their own reference group, but Stiles, Liu and Kaplan (2000) studied the relative deprivation experienced when comparisons were made with friends, neighbours and national norms. They found that negative self-feelings were induced when comparisons were made with any of these reference groups but that individuals were more likely to choose national frames of reference when comparing their economic wellbeing. It should be noted here, however, that relative deprivation will be absent when divisions between groups of people are large and have existed for a long period of time. Thus, relative deprivation will be absent in caste-based societies or in societies with rigidified class structures. In the context of this thesis, relative deprivation would have been absent, or at least insignificant, in the Indigenous communities of Torres Strait, and in Aboriginal missions and reserves. This would have changed when Indigenous people were deinstitutionalised and allowed, albeit marginally, to join mainstream society. As Young (1999, p.47) notes, relative deprivation is

‘a creature of comparison’ and can be experienced when things improve or get worse ‘*providing* comparison is easy or made easier’ (italics in original).

In their book, *The Spirit Level*, Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) empirically investigated ‘why more equal societies almost always do better’ and found that there was a significant relationship between income inequality and a host of social indicators, including ‘violence’ and ‘imprisonment and punishment’. The authors studied a number of developed countries and the different states in the USA, and found that homicides were more common in more unequal countries and in more unequal US states, and that rates of imprisonment were higher in more unequal countries and in more unequal US states. Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) also found that there was a strong relationship between racial factors and inequality, with African-American youth being treated much more harshly than white Americans at every stage of the criminal justice system.

In any discussion of relative deprivation, the emphasis should be on *relative* (Merton 1968, p.288). Solnick and Hemenway’s (1998, p.373) survey found that half of their respondents actually preferred to have less real or absolute income provided that they had higher relative income than others. Some symbols of material success are also more important than others. Ellaway et al. (2004) studied the social comparisons of two symbols of material success – cars and houses – and found that respondents who rated their house as being inferior to others were likely to suffer from low self-esteem, anxiety and depression, whereas there was no significant relationship between the perceived worth of cars and psychosocial variables. In fact, relative deprivation is not only associated with income or material symbols of success. In an experiment by Solnick and Hemenway (1998), respondents were asked to choose between two hypothetical worlds – a ‘positional’ world where the respondent has more of a

certain ‘good’ than others, or an ‘absolute’ world where the respondent has less ‘good’ than others but where endowment of the good is more evenly distributed. In almost every instance, respondents chose the positional world where it was more important to be better than others. In other words, they chose to be ‘relatively’ better off than others, even if this meant that they were ‘absolutely’ worse off themselves. Importantly for this thesis, this pattern was more pronounced for younger people in the survey.

The above discussion shows that people are continually comparing themselves to others, but Young (1999, p.9) argues that relative deprivation is not only a ‘gaze upwards’ but also a ‘gaze downwards’. In other words, people not only experience frustration and disappointment at not being able to achieve equal merit and rewards for their efforts when compared to others in or above their position in the social hierarchy, but they also ‘gaze’ downwards on those below them in the social hierarchy, who they believe to be unduly advantaged because of government ‘handouts’ and perceived illegal activities. As Roach Anleu (1995, p.258) contends:

> the public perception of Aboriginal people, youths, unemployed people and welfare recipients who come into contact with the criminal justice system is more likely to be along the lines of ‘what can you expect anyway, they are all like that’.

Those in the very lower classes are thus hit doubly by relative deprivation. They not only suffer from chronic relative deprivation because of their inequality in education, employment, housing, health and so on, but also because governments are urged by anxious, fearful and intolerant citizens to increase police surveillance and punitive measures against members of this lower class. Merton (1968, pp.480-83) also comments on the ‘damned-if-you-do and damned-if-you-don’t’ process in ethnic and racial relations, where the racially marginalised are deemed inferior if they do not meet the standards of white society, but are regarded with suspicion and contempt if they do.

As discussed previously, anomie or strain is produced by a conflict between cultural goals and institutional means (Merton 1968). In a more contemporary context, '*crime occurs where there is cultural inclusion and structural exclusion*' (Young 1999, p.81, italics in original). The culture referred to here is Westernised capitalist culture, the 'American Dream' or 'Australian Dream' culture, 'where meritocracy is exhorted as open to all' (Young 1999, p.81). The Islanders of Torres Strait, for instance, would have no conflict with their culture on their home islands but would have a conflict when they migrate to mainland cities and are faced with the consumer culture of mainstream Australian society in combination with social and economic exclusion. Lack of culture is not the problem with Westernised societies, but there is a problem in attachment to a culture which values success and individualism (Young 1999, p.81). Young (2001, p.43) argues that 'discontent rises … when ethnic groups, once separate, become part of the mainstream, coupled with blockages of social mobility, limited access to privileged labour markets and public prejudice and denigration – in short, an incomplete meritocracy'. Hogg (2005, pp.346-47) argues that the 'era of formal legal segregation gave way to one of de facto economic and social exclusion'. The consequence of this was that Indigenous people were taken from a highly regulated institutional way of life and expected to succeed in a highly individualistic society without the institutional means to do so.

Young (1999, 2001, 2004) bases much of his work on cultural inclusion/structural exclusion on Nightingale's (1993) study of an African-American ghetto in inner-city Philadelphia. Nightingale (1993) argues that poor, unskilled, urban African-Americans have suffered from increasing economic and social exclusion in the post-World War II era. However, the direction of *cultural* change was the opposite to that of social and economic change. Inner-

city children have experienced growing cultural inclusion in the mainstream society, due largely to the introduction of television, but also to the mass marketing techniques of merchandisers. One way that inner-city children have compensated for economic and social humiliation due to racial discrimination is by relying on consumer items to redeem their status – 'the culture of consumption has given them a seductive means to compensate for their feelings of failure' (Nightingale 1993, p.135). This begins a vicious cycle because economic and social exclusion remains persistent or worsens while commodity worship becomes even more widespread as youths become even more frustrated. Nightingale (1993, pp.167-68) contends that, just as merchandising of consumer items has catered to the tastes of poor, urban African-American adolescents, the production of America's mass culture of violence has also catered to them. This means that commodity worship is accompanied by a 'cult of violence' (Nightingale 1993, p.168). Young people, and especially young males, compensate for structural exclusion by identifying with the culture of violence, which thus provides them with a vent for their frustrations. In Australia, Dawes (2002, p.207) contends that many Indigenous adolescents steal motor vehicles for joyriding as an act of 'resistance to their lack of economic and social power'.

Many writers have written about the social, economic and political exclusion of Indigenous Australians from mainstream society, including most of the writers mentioned in this section of the chapter, but few have considered the relative deprivation that is caused when Indigenous adolescents are socialised according to the commodity culture of mainstream society, but are then simultaneously denied the opportunities to obtain social equality with mainstream Australians or the status symbols of inclusion into mainstream society because of structural exclusion. There is much merit in Jock Young's perspectives on relative deprivation and structural exclusion, and these perspectives, along with the aforementioned

perspectives on systemic racism will prove to be vital components of my discussion of results in Chapter 11.

Feminist theories

Shoemaker (2005, p.266) points to several feminist perspectives on delinquency. These include 'liberal feminist', where differences in male/female delinquency are attributed to gender role differences; 'radical feminist', which emphasises the domination of women by men in a patriarchal society; 'Marxist-feminist' theory, which focuses on the greater advantages given to men in a capitalist society; and 'socialist-feminist' theory, which explores how class and patriarchy combine in society to dominate and oppress women. Feminists take exception to the notion that women are less criminal than men, and that women commit different types of offences because males are strong and aggressive and women are weak and passive – in other words, that much delinquent behaviour was ascribed to biological or genetic causes (Campbell 1981, pp.36-37). Much of the literature on gender differences in criminal offending is associated with General Strain Theory (see Agnew & Brezina 1997; Broidy & Agnew 1997; Hoffmann & Su 1997; Mazerolle 1998; Sharp et al. 2001; Eitle 2002; Hay 2003; Piquero & Sealock 2004). In Australia, Carrington (1993), Ogilvie (1996) and Ogilvie, Lynch and Bell (2000) have argued that far too much emphasis is placed on the masculinity of crime and that this emphasis can be misleading, while Roach Anleu (1995, p.41) contends that 'a common theme of feminist critiques of sociological theories of deviance is their neglect of women'. Ogilvie (1996, p.221) asserts that 'there are multiple masculinities, and crucially, multiple femininities, the majority of which do not fit into simple dichotomised expressions of gender', and that criminologists need to take this into account in any discussion of gender differences.

Carrington (1993) agrees that there are significant gender differences in the profiles of adolescent offenders, but argues against the gender essentialism adopted by many social commentators, including feminists, especially in the Australian context where there is a major overrepresentation of Indigenous females in the criminal justice system, in comparison to non-Indigenous females.

> What I am arguing is that despite the glaring historical relevance that colonialist discourses have had on shaping the administration of justice in Australia, this relevance has been curiously absent in feminist readings of female crime and delinquency (Carrington 1993, p.17).

Gender is a key topic which must be examined in a comprehensive study of Indigenous adolescent offending, especially since there are significant differences between rates of offending for Indigenous males and females. Accordingly, the relationship between gender and Indigenous adolescent offending is investigated in Chapter 7. Feminist theory has made a vital contribution in highlighting the importance of gender in social life, and the topic of gender is often associated with feminist theory, although not necessarily. Theories of gender, such as feminist theory and masculinity theory, will undoubtedly prove useful to the discussion of gender differences in Indigenous adolescent offending. However, it should also be pointed out that Chapters 8, 9 and 10 address the relationship between Indigenous adolescent offending and age, type of offence, and type of police action respectively, but do not differentiate between male and female offenders, thereby limiting the analysis of gender in the thesis.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be seen that there are a variety of different and competing theories that can be applied to Indigenous adolescent crime and delinquency in Queensland,

rather than a single shared perspective, and that all of these perspectives contain useful insights and arguments. Hence, I will be taking an eclectic approach, or possibly a synthesised approach, using what I see as the best and most useful insights from a number of different perspectives, with a particular emphasis on perspectives associated with systemic racism, structural exclusion and relative deprivation. This is not unusual. Jock Young's perspectives appear to be especially relevant to this thesis, for instance, but Young himself incorporates or synthesises a number of prior perspectives in his work, including Mertonian theory, labelling theory, and Marxism. It must be stressed that a major concern is the presence of at least two different values systems among most Indigenous adolescents, and that the interactions between these value systems can vary enormously. Most functionalist theories are too simplistic in positing a single, unambiguous set of values. In reality, and especially in the context of this thesis, how the *significance* of discrete value systems impacts upon Indigenous adolescent behaviour is much more complex than a simple causal relationship between values and behaviour. Consequently, I do not envisage using control theories and/or social disorganisation theories to explain the results of my research sociologically. Mertonian theory, however, is an exception because, although it cannot be applied directly to a study of Indigenous adolescent offending, it is a basis for many of the perspectives that will be used.

Similarly, for reasons discussed in this chapter, other theoretical perspectives, such as lifestyle/routine activity theories, developmental or criminal pathway perspectives, and Agnew's strain theory, will not be used to any extent to explain the results of my research. Labelling theory, as with Mertonian theory, will be used as a basis for other perspectives, and feminist theories will be useful to explain gender differences in Indigenous adolescent offending. I expect to sociologically explain most of my results, however, using the critical

perspectives of Jock Young and the previous work carried out by those who also sought to explain the criminalisation of Indigenous Australians through critical perspectives. Some of these were pointed out in the previous chapter and include Chris Cunneen, Rob White, Kerry Carrington, Russell Hogg, and Glenn Dawes. However, it is envisaged that the works of Rowley (1970, 1971a, 1971b) and Kidd (1997) will also be used to help explain the systemic racism that has historically impacted upon Indigenous people in Queensland. The following chapter will explore the methodology used in the thesis.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore, discuss and justify the methodology used in the research and the thesis. As stated earlier, the primary objective of this thesis is to explore the extent and nature of Indigenous adolescent offences in different geographical regions of Queensland. Therefore, I will need to rely on published and unpublished statistical data for quantitative analysis, while also evaluating the relevance and limitations of this data. This chapter begins by examining the various types of crime statistics that are available and, in particular, compares offender statistics gained from official sources such as police and correctional facilities with those obtained from crime victim surveys. For my research, crime statistics were mostly obtained from the Queensland Police Service (QPS), and so this data is examined in greater detail, including the time periods that were analysed, the classification of data according to geographical locality, the type of offences recorded and analysed, and the types of police action recorded and analysed, along with the age, sex and Indigenous status of offenders. Dependent variables used throughout the analysis were based on the QPS data, but most independent variables were based on data drawn from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006 Census, some drawn directly from the Census, and others requiring calculations and 'manipulations' to be made. Still other independent variables were based on data from other sources. These included socioeconomic indexes, classifications of remoteness, and police staffing levels. Finally, the actual analysis of the data is addressed, with the major forms being tabular and graphic analysis, bivariate correlations, and multiple regression analysis.

Crime statistics

In order to ascertain differences in rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending throughout Queensland, it was necessary to obtain statistical data in this area of research. Because my research was mostly concerned with *differences* in rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending over various urban regions, rural regions, discrete Aboriginal communities, and islands of Torres Strait, rather than *absolute* levels of offending, I found that primary statistical data on offenders that I obtained from the Queensland Police Service were suitable indicators for analysis, for reasons that are discussed in greater detail below.

There have been some criticisms of police and other official crime statistics. The two most popular measures of crime and victimisation are police statistics based on reported crime, and estimates of victimisation based on crime victim surveys (Carrington 2007a). Police statistics can only include those offences that are reported to police or detected by police, whereas crime victim surveys obtain information directly from the public and the victimisation rates reported in these surveys are considerably higher than those based on police statistics. Crime victim surveys thus give a more realistic measure of the 'dark figure' of unreported crime (Hogg & Carrington 2006, p.55).

Nevertheless, although many crimes of violence are not reported to police, they are also likely to be under-reported in surveys because of feelings of shame, anxiety, embarrassment and fear (Hogg & Carrington 2006; Morgan & Weatherburn 2006). Some people who are victims of 'multiple victimisation' (Hogg & Carrington 2006, p.58), such as domestic violence, refuse to see these offences as crimes (Morgan & Weatherburn 2006, p.25). Others may have their own interpretations of common terms such as 'robbery'. This means that

crime victim surveys may omit some serious offences such as domestic violence, and also include events that are not strictly criminal (Morgan & Weatherburn 2006, p.25).

The national Crime and Safety Survey is conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics at regular intervals and is probably the largest crime victim survey in Australia. It focuses on more serious crimes that occurred in the 12 months prior to the survey, regardless of whether they had been reported to police. The survey provides information on the number of persons and households victimised, the most recent incident experienced by the victim, whether the incident was reported to police, respondents' perceptions of neighbourhood problems, respondents' feelings of safety, the socioeconomic profile of victims and offenders, and the characteristics of offences and offenders (ABS 2006, p.2). However, participation in the 2005 Crime and Safety Survey was limited to persons aged 15 years and over who were permanent residents of private dwellings (ABS 2006, p.31). This effectively excluded children who were younger than 15; homeless people; people in prisons, juvenile detention, hospitals, nursing homes, boarding schools and other institutions; residents of caravan parks, boarding houses, hostels and hotels; and people who were residentially mobile. Approximately 120,000 potential respondents in very remote areas of Australia were also excluded (ABS 2006, p.31), thereby excluding a large proportion of the Indigenous population. In fact, Indigenous status was not taken into account at all in the data item list for the 2005 Crime and Safety Survey (ABS 2006, pp.40-46), and so it is not possible to evaluate Indigenous crime based on this survey. Other factors which affect crime surveys include the response rate of survey participants, accuracy of memory recall over the 12 month period of the survey, the educational standard of the respondent, the relationship between offender and victim, and the seriousness of the offence (Morgan & Weatherburn 2006, p.23). Another major limitation of crime victim surveys is that they 'create an urban-centric bias, as

prevalence rates for rural, remote and non-urban regions remain hidden' (Carrington 2007a, p.29).

The statistics in police data actually reflect detection by police rather than the offences committed. As such, they are influenced by factors such as staffing levels, police priorities and the cleverness of the offender (ANCD 2003, p.12). It should be noted here that QPS statistics are also based on offences and not on offenders:

> Offender statistics are based on offence counts and do not and can not refer to individuals. The data refers to the number of offences cleared or solved through an action against an offender. As such, offender data does not equate to a unique offender count and nor does it equate to the number of offences cleared (QPS 2007, p.140).

Therefore, an offender will be counted more than once if proceeded against for more than one offence, and only offences that are cleared by police will be counted. Similarly, several people may be charged for a single offence, resulting in the offence being counted several times. This is particularly relevant with young people who commit offences in groups, and statistics can be further distorted by multiple offenders. A New South Wales study found that 3.4 percent of young people had more than six court appearances over a five year period but that these accounted for 20 percent of all children's court appearances for that period. Similarly, a South Australian study found that five percent of young people accounted for about a third of offences dealt with by the children's court or the Aid Panel (Cunneen and White 2002, pp.78-79). However, it is assumed for the purposes of this research that the problems pertaining to offence counting methodology would be relevant for all adolescent offending regardless of Indigenous status or geographical location.

Hogg and Carrington (1998, p.163) believe that 'official crime statistics are by-products not of crime but of the techno-normative procedures of policing and criminal justice', while Roach Anleu (1995, p.85) comments that crime statistics 'may tell us more about police activities and recording practices than about the amount of crime'. Cunneen (2001a, p. 29) believes that there is an over-representation of Indigenous offenders in crime statistics due to over-policing, especially when public order offences such as 'assault police, hinder police, resist arrest, offensive behaviour or language, and public drunkenness' are involved, although it must be stated that the concept of over-policing is sometimes questioned (see Fitzgerald 2001b; CMC 2009). Also, youths often offend in groups and commit offences, such as shoplifting, for which they can be more easily apprehended and represented in police statistics (Ogilvie, Lynch & Bell 2000, p.2).

As discussed earlier, and in spite of over-policing in some cases, there is under-reporting of crime in police statistics. Firstly, a victim must decide whether a crime has occurred and then he or she must decide whether to report the crime to police. Common reasons for not reporting to police were that the offence was considered to be too trivial and that the police could or would do nothing about it (ABS 2006, p.8; QPS 2007, p.137). Property crimes are generally reported to police to a greater extent than crimes of violence. For instance, in 2005, 90 percent of victims reported motor vehicle theft, 74 percent reported break-ins, but only 31 percent reported assaults (ABS 2006, pp.7-8). This compares closely with police statistics that showed that approximately 95 percent of motor vehicle theft is reported to police whilst only 33 percent of sexual offences are reported (QPS 2007, p.138). This suggests that official crime statistics may be a useful guide to property crime but might be dubious guides to violent crimes or to overall trends in total recorded crime (Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2003). Adolescents are most overrepresented in property crimes such as motor vehicle theft and

burglary, but these are also offences for which police clear-up rates are low (Cunneen & White 2002, pp.65-66). However, Roach Anleu (1995, p.85) observes that there are large differences between the reporting of crimes such as break-in, robbery, motor vehicle theft, and assault, and those such as corporate crime, tax evasion, embezzlement, and fraud, 'partly because the former are highly visible and have identifiable victims and consequences, and the latter do not'.

There are a number of responses to the criticisms of police statistics discussed here. Sellin (cited in Morgan & Weatherburn 2006, p.21 and Roach Anleu 1995, p.84) argues that some selected offences, including motor vehicle theft, armed robbery, break-in and murder, are reliably reported to police and can provide a good basis for a 'crime index'. Even when under-reporting of offences is taken into account, Morgan and Weatherburn (2006, p.21) believe that 'trends over time and differences between jurisdictions could be reliably estimated, even if absolute levels of crime remained unclear'. Roach Anleu (1995, p.84, 91) remarks that prison statistics are 'useless as indexes of crime' (p.84) and, although no official offence statistics can actually measure the total amount of crime in a society, that police statistics are the 'least contaminated by decision-making and processing in the criminal justice system' (p.91). Finally, Carrington (2007a, p.29) considers that, while police statistics are affected by under-reporting of some offences, they are 'the *only* data that count crimes reported by people living in outer regional, remote and very remote parts of Australia' (italics in original). As my research is mostly concerned with differences in offence rates and patterns over various urban, rural, remote and very remote jurisdictions, rather than with absolute levels of crime, the QPS statistics are broad but suitable indicators for analysis.

Nevertheless, there are also problems with statistical data based on *offenders*. The ABS (2009b) *Recorded crime – offenders, selected States and Territories 2007-08* is a compilation of offenders and not of offences, and so it cannot be used to analyse the amount of crime but only the number of offenders. Each offender is only counted once regardless of how many times he/she may have offended during the 12 month period for the data. Regardless of whether an offender commits multiple offences on one occasion or commits single offences on multiple occasions, only the 'principal', or most serious, offence will be recorded against him or her (ABS 2009b, p.9). Data is presented for court actions but these do not include cautions, community conferences and other diversionary schemes (ABS 2009b, p.14).

The reference date for QPS offence statistics is the date that a police action commenced against an offender. The location of the offence is categorised according to where it occurred and not the residence of the offender. Although there is an important distinction between offence locations and offender residences, Bottoms and Wiles (2002, p.624) found that if non-residential areas such as city centres and industrial areas are excluded, there is a high correlation rate between offence and offender rates. Since my research is based on comparative studies of different Local Government Areas and not on absolute rates of offences, statistics based on offence counting methodology are suitable indicators for analysis.

Queensland Police Service data

The Queensland Police Service (QPS) provided data sets for the 2005/06 and 2006/07 financial years. Offence rates used in the research were based on the aggregated data from these data sets and were calculated as mean rates per annum, thereby corresponding as closely as possible to average offence rates for 2006 and with data collected from the 2006

Census. Offences were not included in the data sets if the offender's age or sex was unknown at the time; approximately 0.3 percent of offences were excluded for this reason (QPS 2007, p.140). Since offence counts will presumably vary with population counts, it was necessary to calculate offence rates that took into account the size of the population so that comparisons could be made across different geographical areas. 'Calculation of statistics, such as crime rates, is a useful way of standardizing information to fairly compare unequal-size groups' (Hagan 2000, p.361). Offence rates are expressed in this thesis as the number of Indigenous or non-Indigenous offences per 1000 Indigenous or non-Indigenous persons aged 10-19 years in the particular region. Rates per 100,000 are used in many publications (see QPS 2007; OESR 2006; Taylor & Bareja 2005; AIC 2008; ABS 2007b; Hogg & Carrington 2003), but since most Local Government Areas have populations less than 100,000, it was considered more logical to use rates per 1000, which have also been used in other publications (see CMC 2009; AIHW 2008). QPS supplied a breakdown of the data according to the financial year in which the offence occurred, the Local Government Area in which the offence occurred, the type of offence committed, type of police action taken, and the age, sex and Indigenous status of the offender. Offence rates were calculated for variables according to sex, age, type of offence, and type of police action taken.

Year of offence

The data from the 2005/06 and 2006/07 financial years were aggregated and a mean calculated to represent average offence rates for 2006. This provided greater validity to the research and also allowed comparisons to be made with 2006 Census data.

Local Government Area

In 2008, many Local Government Areas in Queensland were amalgamated, but data were supplied prior to these amalgamations, and so, for the purposes of this research, the local government regions that existed prior to amalgamation will be examined. The QPS was able to supply accurate data according to Local Government Area (LGA) because they have implemented a new administrative system for use in the recording of offences. Locations of offences are now geo-coded according to a new dataset called the GNAF (QPS, pers. comm., 5 February 2008). GNAF (Geo-coded National Address File) is the 'authoritative index of geocoded Australian addresses' (PSMA Australia 2009). Previous to this system, police boundaries had to be mapped to LGA boundaries but this resulted in incomplete matches (QPS, pers. comm., 5 February 2008). The Office of Economic and Statistical Research reported this problem in converting police division data to LGA data (OESR 2006, p.22). Other studies have used LGAs as the geographical unit of analysis: Carcach (2001) studied 497 LGAs of the mainland eastern Australian States; Hogg & Carrington (2003, 2006) studied all LGAs in New South Wales; and Jobes, Barclay, Weinard and Donnermeyer (2004) studied 123 rural LGAs in New South Wales.

The QPS supplied offence data for 154 LGAs in Queensland. Four LGAs were not included in the QPS data, presumably because no offences were recorded there. These were Mapoon Aboriginal Council, St. Paul's Island Council, Warraber Island Council and Yorke Island Council. One LGA, Ugar Island Council, was included in QPS data but has been omitted from the analyses because, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007a), 'In the 2006 Census, this location had a very low population count and therefore there is no data available for this location'. It also had no Indigenous adolescent offences recorded and only one non-Indigenous adolescent offence recorded. With the exclusion of Ugar (IC) and the

inclusion of Mapoon (AC), St. Paul's (IC), Warraber (IC) and Yorke (IC), 157 LGAs were initially available for analysis.

Hogg and Carrington (2003, p.74) report that crime data for LGAs with populations lower than 3000 may be unreliable.[5] If this principle was adhered to, then all Aboriginal councils, all Island councils and a large number of rural councils would have to be excluded from the analysis. However, since my research is specific to a certain cohort of the population (i.e. Indigenous residents aged 10-19 years), the above principle is not really applicable. For my research, no Aboriginal or Island councils were excluded from analysis because of population size alone; only rural councils with populations of 39 or fewer Indigenous residents aged 10-19 years were excluded from the analysis; and no urban councils were excluded. This resulted in a total of 110 LGAs being left available for analysis as cases.

LGAs in this study have been categorised as Aboriginal, Island, urban and rural councils. Most other studies categorised LGAs according to population. Hogg and Carrington (2006, pp.63-64), for example, divided LGAs into metropolitan Sydney, coastal LGAs, regional inland LGAs with populations greater than 20,000, large inland LGAs with populations from 10,000-20,000, medium LGAs with populations from 3000-10,000, and small inland LGAs with populations less than 3000. Carcach (2001, p.2) used a classification based on population and accessibility. Group 1 were highly accessible LGAs with populations over 50,000; group 2 were highly accessible LGAs with populations of 4000-50,000; group 3 were accessible LGAs with populations of 4000-50,000; group 4 were remote LGAs with populations of 4000-50,000; group 5 were accessible LGAs with populations of less than

[5] However, Osgood and Chambers (2000) analysed 264 U.S. counties in which populations ranged from 560 to 98,000.

4000; and group 6 were remote LGAs with populations of less than 4000. Jobes, Barclay, Weinard and Donnermeyer (2004, p.121) wished only to study rural LGAs with less than 50,000 residents, and so they excluded metropolitan LGAs and LGAs with populations of 50,000 or more.

Aboriginal councils were previously Queensland Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) Communities, but became Local Government Areas from 1 July 2002 (Queensland Department of Local Government, Planning, Sport and Recreation 2006, p.57). The 19 Local Government Areas classified as Aboriginal councils are listed in Appendix A. Two Island councils, Bamaga and Seisia, have been classified as Aboriginal councils because of their geographical location on the mainland.[6] Aurukun and Mornington are actually shire councils[7] but have been classified as Aboriginal councils because they have predominantly Aboriginal populations. Cherbourg is in southern Queensland, north-west from Brisbane; Woorabinda is in Central Queensland, west from Rockhampton, and all other Aboriginal councils are in north Queensland (refer to Map 1 in Appendix B).

Island councils were also previously DOGIT Communities that became Local Government Areas in 2002 (Queensland Department of Local Government, Planning, Sport and Recreation 2006, p.59). All Island councils, with the exception of Bamaga and Seisia, are in Torres Strait. Torres Shire Council has been included as an Island council as it administers Thursday Island, Horn Island, Friday Island, Wednesday Island, Prince of Wales Island and

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[6] The Island councils of Bamaga and Seisia have since been amalgamated with the Aboriginal councils of Injinoo, New Mapoon and Umagico to form the Northern Peninsula Area Regional Council.

[7] Aurukun and Mornington Island became self-administered shire councils in 1978 when the Queensland Bjelke-Peterson Government circumvented the newly legislated *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Queensland Reserves and Communities Self-Management) Act*, which proposed to 'give the Aboriginal people in Queensland the right to be able to manage, direct and determine their own future' (*Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates* (Senate), 11 April 1978, p. 1104, cited in Lippmann 1994, p. 62). The Aurukun people had been seeking Federal Government support against proposed bauxite leases on their reserve.

Goods Island (Torres Shire Council 2008). As previously mentioned, Ugar Island Council has been excluded because no Census data are available (the 15 Local Government Areas classified as Island councils are listed in Appendix A and their locations are shown on Map 2 of Appendix B).

Queensland LGAs were classified as City, Shire or Town councils according to the 2001 Australian Standard Geographical Classification (OESR 2006, p.22) but, for the purposes of this research, urban councils have been classified according to population. All LGAs with populations of 19,663 or more have been included in the category of urban councils – this is based on the population of Mount Isa City Council. These LGAs include Beaudesert, Burnett, Caboolture, Cooloola, Livingstone, Maroochy, Noosa, Pine Rivers, Redland and Warwick Shire Councils. Charters Towers City Council has been excluded from this category because of its relatively low population (7976). Sixteen of the councils are located within a 250 kilometre radius of Brisbane and, apart from Toowoomba, Warwick, and Mount Isa, all other city councils are located on or near the coast (the 27 Local Government Areas classified as urban councils are listed in Appendix A and their locations are shown on Map 3 of Appendix B).

All LGAs not classified as Aboriginal councils, Island councils or urban councils have been classified as rural councils. This avoids the problem of having to define what is meant by 'rural' (see for instance Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2006) (the 49 Local Government Areas classified as rural councils are listed in Appendix A – these LGAs are situated in all regions of Queensland, as illustrated in Map 3 of Appendix B). The least populated is Eidsvold Shire Council and the most populated is Johnstone Shire Council.

Type of offence

The QPS data was broken down according to 49 different types of offences. In their publications, the QPS present statistics under the three broad offence categories of 'offences against the person', 'offences against property', and 'other offences' (see for example QPS 2007). Other publications use the same or similar categories (see OESR 2006; Fitzgerald 2001c; Makkai & Payne 2003; Tyler 1998; Carcach 2000, 2001). However, for the purposes of my research, these categories were expanded into 'violent offences', 'property damage offences', 'drug and liquor related offences', 'theft (excluding motor vehicles) related offences', 'good order offences', 'sundry offences', and 'motor vehicle related theft offences', thus resulting in seven variables to represent 49 types of offences. Types of offences will be discussed more fully in Chapter 9.

The category of v*iolent offences* includes armed robbery, attempted murder, breach of domestic violence order, common assault, conspiracy to murder, driving causing death, exploitation of children, extortion, grievous assault, homicide, kidnapping & abduction, life endangering acts, manslaughter, rape and attempted rape, other sexual offences, serious assault, serious assault (other), stalking, and unarmed robbery. *Property damage offences* include the offences of arson and 'other property damage', which is mostly concerned with vandalism. *Drug and liquor related offences* include drug offences and liquor (excluding drunkenness) offences. The category of *theft related offences* excludes motor vehicle theft but includes fraud by cheque, fraud by computer, fraud by credit card, identity fraud, other fraud, handling stolen goods, other stealing, possession etc. of tainted property, possessing property suspected stolen, receiving stolen property, shop stealing, stealing from dwellings, unlawful entry with intent – shop, unlawful entry with intent – other, unlawful entry with violence – dwelling, and unlawful entry without violence – dwelling. *Good order offences* is

a standalone category that contains no other offence types and includes such offences as resist arrest, offensive behaviour, offensive language, and disorderly conduct. Offences within the *sundry offences* category include traffic related offences, trespassing and vagrancy offences, gaming, racing & betting offences, prostitution offences, stock related offences, Weapons Act offences, and 'other miscellaneous offences'. The category of *motor vehicle related offences* includes unlawful use of a motor vehicle and 'vehicles (steal from/enter with intent)'. The 49 types of offences are expanded upon and shown in their categories in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Offence categories used by types of offences

Offence category	Types of offences contained with category
Violent offences	Armed robbery, attempted murder, breach of domestic violence order, common assault, conspiracy to murder, driving causing death, exploitation of children, extortion, grievous assault, homicide, kidnapping & abduction, life endangering acts, manslaughter, rape and attempted rape, other sexual offences, serious assault, serious assault (other), stalking, unarmed robbery
Property damage offences	Arson, other property damage offences (includes graffiti, vandalism)
Drug and liquor related offences	Drug offences (includes possession of dangerous drugs, possess money with intent to obtain drugs, possess pipes, syringes, other utensils associated with the use of drugs, permit premises to be used for taking, selling or distributing of drugs, fail to keep register for drugs of addiction). Liquor offences (excludes public drunkenness, but includes sale of liquor to minor, sale of alcoholic products without a licence, sale of alcoholic products in contravention of licence conditions, purchase of alcoholic products in contravention of licence conditions)
Theft related offences	Fraud by cheque, fraud by computer, fraud by credit card, identity fraud, other fraud, handling stolen goods, other stealing, possession etc. of tainted property, possessing property suspected stolen, receiving stolen property, shop stealing, stealing from dwellings, unlawful entry with intent – shop, unlawful entry with intent – other, unlawful entry with violence – dwelling, unlawful entry without violence – dwelling
Good order offences	(Includes resist arrest, offensive behaviour, offensive language, disorderly conduct)
Sundry offences	Traffic related offences, trespassing and vagrancy offences, gaming, racing & betting offences, prostitution offences, stock related offences, Weapons Act offences, and other miscellaneous offences (includes defamation, libel, threatening behaviour, harassment, offences against privacy.
Motor vehicle related offences	Unlawful use of a motor vehicle, vehicles (steal from/enter with intent)

Type of police action taken

The QPS data was disaggregated according to seven types of police action, namely arrest, caution, community conference, notice to appear, 'other', summons, and warrant issued. These are defined and discussed more fully in Chapter 10. Summons and warrants were very low volume police actions, and so were incorporated into 'other' police action, thus resulting in five variables to represent type of police action taken.

Age of offender

As a stage in the human lifespan, it is generally considered that adolescence occurs after the age of 12 and finishes at about the age of 18 (Peterson 2004, p.323), but age groupings for adolescents, juveniles and youths vary enormously in publications. The QPS classifies juvenile offenders as being aged between 10 and 16 years (QPS 2007, p.140), whereas police services in all other Australian States and Territories treat young people aged between 10 and 17 years as juveniles (AIHW 2008, p.2). The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) and the Australian Law Reform Commission (ALRC) have recommended that children have criminal responsibility from the age of 10 years and assume adult responsibility at the age of 18 years (Cunneen and White 2002, p.77). In his discussion of Aboriginal suicide, Tatz (1999) suggests that 'youths' should more appropriately be categorised as aged from 12 to 18 years. The lowest age categories in the *2002 National Police Custody Survey* (Taylor & Bareja 2005) are less than 17 and 17-19 years. Williams (2000), in his discussion of alcohol-related social disorder and rural youth, describes youth as being aged 14-19 years and 20-24 years.

The QPS data was disaggregated according to 10-14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20-24 and 25+ age groupings. For my research, I decided to include all offences committed by persons aged from 10 to 19 years inclusive as 'adolescent' offences, and to categorise offenders according to two age groupings, 10-15 years and 16-19 years, thus resulting in two age variables for analysis. Hopefully, this should incorporate most young persons who could variously be described as adolescents, juveniles or youths.

Sex of offender

The QPS data was broken down according to the sex of the offender. This resulted in two variables, male and female, to represent the sex or gender of the offender. As mentioned previously, offences were not included in the data if the offender's sex or age was unknown at the time.

Indigenous status of offender

There have been some problems with the recording of Indigenous status in official crime data. In the QPS data, the Indigenous status of the offender was recorded and offenders were categorised as non-Indigenous, Indigenous, 'not stated' or 'unknown'. Hogg and Carrington (2006, p.133) indicate that official crime data often omit Indigenous status; Blagg, Morgan, Cunneen and Ferrante (2005) report that eight percent of offender records had unknown Indigenous status; and Stewart (2009) advises that her studies had up to 17 percent of missing data on Indigenous status. I did not encounter this problem with QPS data. For the period, 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2007, 151,843 offences by persons aged 10-19 years were recorded and, according to QPS data supplied, only 832 of these were committed by persons of unknown or not stated Indigenous status; this is equivalent to 0.55 percent of all offences by persons aged 10-19 years. The QPS have only been collecting data on Indigenous status since 2003.

Offenders may identify as Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, neither Aboriginal nor Torres Strait Islander, or they may refuse to respond (QPS 2007, p.142). As an explanation for the low count for missing Indigenous status, it is possible that those who refused to respond may not have been included in QPS offence data, but this is highly unlikely. It is more likely that, because of new administrative systems, 'the quality of the data is now more accurate than it has been in the past' (QPS, pers. comm., 5 February 2008).

Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data

As the aim of the thesis is to conduct a sociological analysis of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland, it was necessary to gather data on a number of social, economic, demographic and cultural factors that may be relevant to the research and to construct independent variables for analysis based on this data. Most of the independent variables used in the research were based on data drawn from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006 Census Community Profile Series, using Local Government Area as the location (a list of all of the variables used in the research can be seen in Appendix C). Six types of profiles are available in the 2006 Census Community Profile Series, namely 'Basic Community Profile', 'Indigenous Profile', 'Time Series Profile', 'Places of Enumeration Profile', 'Expanded Community Profile' and 'Working Population Profile'. The Indigenous Profile was chosen because it contains 'key Census characteristics of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons, families and dwellings', includes comparisons with non-Indigenous people, and data is based on place of usual residence (ABS 2007a).

Some variables were based on data drawn directly from the Census data while others required calculations to be made. The total population of the LGA was drawn directly from the Census while the percentage of Indigenous persons aged 10-19 years in the total population of the LGA was computed. The median age of Indigenous persons in the LGA comes directly from the Census whereas the ratio of non-Indigenous median age to Indigenous median age in the LGA[8] was computed. These four variables represent demographic characteristics of the LGAs.

The median weekly Indigenous individual and household incomes in the LGA were drawn directly from Census data. Indigenous unemployment rates and labour force participation rates were drawn directly from Census data and the rate of employment in Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) was calculated for Aboriginal and Island councils. Levels of education were based on the percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who completed year 12, and this variable was also computed from Census data. These variables represent socioeconomic characteristics of the LGAs. Two other socioeconomic indexes, the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD), and an index of relative Indigenous socioeconomic outcomes, were also included in the analysis and these will be discussed later in this chapter.

Variables associated with housing would also normally be considered to be socioeconomic variables but have been analysed separately for the purposes of the research. The median Indigenous weekly rent, the median Indigenous monthly housing loan repayment, the average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom, and the average Indigenous household size in the

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[8] This variable was not computed for Aboriginal and Island councils because of low non-Indigenous populations.

LGA were drawn directly from Census data. The rate of Indigenous home ownership in the LGA and the percentage of multi-family households in the LGA were computed from Census data. These six variables represent Indigenous housing characteristics in the LGA.

The percentage of Indigenous persons married in a registered marriage, the percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships, and the percentage of Indigenous sole parent families in the LGA were all computed from Census data and represent characteristics of Indigenous families in the LGA.

The percentage of Indigenous language speakers, the percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion, and the percentage of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent[9] in the LGA were all computed from Census data and represent cultural characteristics of Indigenous people in the LGA.

In order to measure inequality or, more precisely, income variations, *among* Indigenous persons in the LGA, the ratio of the top quintile to the bottom quintile of Indigenous weekly income was calculated. This was calculated for urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils. However, measures of inequality *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons could only be calculated for urban and rural councils, as there were insufficient non-Indigenous populations in Aboriginal and Island councils to render calculations reliable. Ratios between non-Indigenous and Indigenous unemployment, year 12 education, home ownership, individual income, household income, house repayments, rent, bedroom occupancy, and household size were computed from Census data. This resulted in one variable to represent

[9] This includes all persons in the categories 'Torres Strait Islander' and 'Both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander'.

inequality (income variation) amongst Indigenous people, and nine variables to represent inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations.

The only other variable to be drawn and computed from the Census is the percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who lived at a different address one year before the Census enumeration. This variable, along with remoteness and police staffing levels, which will be discussed in the next section, does not fit into previous categories and can be regarded as a sundry or 'other' characteristic.

Other sources of data

Two socioeconomic indexes complement the socioeconomic variables that were based on Census data. The first of these is the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD), developed by the ABS alongside three other indexes which formed the Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) 2006. The others are the Index of Relative Socio-economic Disadvantage (IRSD), the Index of Economic Resources (IER) and the Index of Education and Occupation (IEO) (ABS 2008b). The IRSAD was chosen because the IER and the IEO were not suitable for the purposes of the research and the IRSD was not recommended if the user 'is analysing information that was used to create this index, such as Indigenous status' (ABS 2008b, p.11). The second index was developed by Nicholas Biddle (2009) and is an index of relative Indigenous socioeconomic outcomes. This index is referred to in my research as 'Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank'. Biddle uses nine measures of socioeconomic outcomes across income, education, employment and housing 'to create a single index for 37 Indigenous regions and 531 Indigenous areas' (Biddle 2009, p.v).

Remoteness was measured by using the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia Plus (ARIA+), which 'measures remoteness in terms of access along the road network from populated localities to each of five categories of service centre' (GISCA 2009). Values range from 0 for high accessibility to 15 for high remoteness. ARIA+ is the standard measure of remoteness endorsed by the ABS.

Police staffing levels were based on statistics from the 2006-07 QPS Annual Review for actual strength of police officers and staff for Queensland police divisions (QPS 2007) and converted to rates of police per 1000 population of division. This was not entirely satisfactory as there are 29 police divisions that service the 140 LGAs in my research. All of the Island councils and most of the Aboriginal councils were located in the Cairns police district, so their individual police staffing levels could not be ascertained using this data. The Crime and Misconduct Commission (2009) has recently published data on police staffing levels in 15 Queensland Indigenous communities, which includes most of the Aboriginal councils in my research. These were actual numbers as at 9 July 2009 and, although this is outside of the timeframe of my research, they have not changed dramatically since the Cape York Justice Study (Fitzgerald 2001b, p.183) supplied police staffing levels for certain Cape York Aboriginal communities in 2001, and so would still be valid for my analyses. In the Torres Strait, police stations are only located at Horn Island and Thursday Island (CMC 2009), and so police staffing levels for all other Island councils must be recorded as zero. In rural councils, different LGAs fall within the same police district but have been allocated the same rate of police staffing levels. Thus, police staffing levels have not been included in the analysis of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils and should be taken with caution in rural councils. The QPS data should be a reliable indicator of police staffing levels in urban councils and Aboriginal councils.

Analysis of data

Tabular and graphic analysis

Tables and graphs are among the most common methods of presenting and analysing data and can be understood by professionals and lay persons (Hagan 2000; Kumar 1996). A combination of tables and graphs has been used in this research. 'Tables are presentations of quantitative data in a summary or uniform fashion' (Hagan 2000, p.347) and, although graphs are based on tabulated data, they allow differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous offences and differences between categories of LGA to be more easily ascertained or observed. Most Australian publications of crime statistics rely on tables, graphs or both to convey most of their information (see for example QPS 2007; ABS 2006, 2007b; Taylor & Bareja 2005; AIC 2008; OESR 2006; AIHW 2008; Taylor 2007). I use tables and graphs in Chapter 6 to analyse and explain differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences according to various criteria such as gender, age, type of offence and type of police action. I use tables and graphs to analyse and explain differences between Indigenous adolescent rates of offences in Aboriginal, Island, rural and urban councils according to gender, age, type of offence, and type of police action in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10 respectively. Tables and graphs are useful means of illustrating differences across populations and across geographical areas. 'They enable the researcher to gain an overall view of the findings, to identify trends and to display relationships between parts of the findings' (Sarantakos 1998, p.345).

Correlation

'Simple bivariate correlation … refers to the correlation between two continuous variables and is the most common measure of linear relationship' (Coakes, Steed & Dzidic 2006, p.57). Correlation analyses were carried out to determine the relationship between rates of

Indigenous adolescent offences in various types of LGA or council and the various dependent variables discussed above relating to demographic, socioeconomic, housing, parenting, cultural, inequality and 'other' factors. To employ correlation analysis, a number of assumptions must be met. The data should be measured at an interval or ratio level; the scores for each variable should be normally distributed; the relationship between the two variables should be linear; and the deviation of scores from the regression line should be relatively uniform or *homoscedastic* (Coakes, Steed & Dzidic 2006, p.57; Hagan 2000, p.389). The first assumption is related to research design and has been satisfied. Before discussing normality, linearity or homoscedasticity, it should be pointed out that most variables produced skewed data, as a consequence not only of the varied size and structures of LGAs in each category of council, but also of the social, economic and cultural differences existing within and between LGAs. Jobes et al. (2004) pointed out this problem in their study of rural LGAs in New South Wales. However, it is also worth quoting Osgood and Chambers (2000, pp.90-91) in relation to their study of American counties:

> It is important to recognize that, though our research design treats a single value of each variable as characteristic of an entire county [LGA], communities within a county [LGA] may deviate from that average. Inaccuracy of this sort will decrease the variation in our explanatory variables, with the statistical consequence of reduced power to detect relationships. Nevertheless, if a meaningful level of variation occurs across counties [LGAs], strong relationships should be apparent, and any lack of precision would not introduce systemic biases. Indeed, Land et al. (1990) demonstrated that structural correlates of crime rates are generally robust across city, county, and state levels of aggregation.

Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998, p.70) identify normality as the 'most fundamental assumption in multivariate analysis', and so tests of normality were carried out on all variables prior to analysis of Aboriginal, Island, urban and rural councils. Normality was

explored through visual checks of the normal probability plot, which is the approach recommended by Hair et al. (1998, p.71), and the boxplot. In Aboriginal councils, normality could not be assumed for three variables, and outliers were removed from another 14 variables. In Island councils, normality could not be assumed for 11 variables and outliers were removed from three variables. In rural councils, normality could not be assumed for one variable and outliers were removed from 18 variables. In urban councils, normality could not be assumed for two variables and outliers were removed from 12 variables. Outliers were identified and removed to achieve normality but, in some cases, removal of outliers only resulted in the creation of further outliers, so compromises were sometimes made. Coakes, Steed and Dzidic (2006, p.133) contend that the 'decision to remove outliers from the data set must be made with care because their deletion often results in the generation of further outlying cases'. Hair et al. (1998, p.66) believe that the removal of outliers improves analysis of variables but sometimes limits 'generalizability' to the entire population being studied (a list of variables for which normality could not be assumed or from which outliers were removed can be seen in Appendix E). Correlation analyses were then carried out (and the results of these analyses can be seen in Appendix D and are discussed further in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10).

Regression analysis

Following bivariate correlation analysis, those variables with significant relationships were then entered into stepwise multivariate linear regression analyses in order to obtain the best predictors of Indigenous offence rates, as categorised by sex, age, type of offence and type of police action. It should be pointed out that, because there will normally be a very significant relationship between rates of Indigenous adolescent offences measured for each sex, and those measured according to age group, separate regression analyses controlling for sex and

age group were carried out sequentially. The stepwise procedure was chosen because 'the number of independent variables entered and the order of entry are determined by statistical criteria generated by the stepwise procedure' (Coakes, Steed & Dzidic 2006, p.132), because it is used primarily in exploratory work (Ho 2000, p.129) and because, in some analyses, a large number of independent variables were entered relative to the number of cases. For the same reasons, the adjusted coefficient of determination (adjusted R^2) is reported instead of the unadjusted coefficient of determination R^2, as advised by Hair et al. (1998, p.182):

> Several rules of thumb have been proposed, ranging from 10 to 15 observations per independent variable to an absolute minimum of 4 observations per independent variable. As we approach or fall below these limits, we need to adjust for the inflation in R^2 from "overfitting" the data. … The adjusted R^2 value is particularly useful in comparing across regression equations involving different numbers of independent variables or different sample sizes because it makes allowances for the specific number of independent variables and the sample size upon which each model is based.

The assumptions underpinning the use of regression are much the same as those discussed with correlation analysis, and normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of residuals were examined with the use of residual scatterplots. Missing values were replaced with the mean (the results of the regression analyses can be seen in Appendix D and are discussed further in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10).

This chapter has examined and justified the methodology that is used in the research. The following chapter is the first of the 'results' chapters and will compare rates and patterns of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland.

Chapter 6: A comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland

Introduction

Between 1 July 2005 and 30 June 2007, there were 34,471 recorded offences in Queensland for Indigenous adolescents aged between 10 and 19 years inclusive, an average of 17,236 offences per annum. In comparison, there was an average of 58,270 offences per annum recorded for non-Indigenous adolescents in the same age group. In the 2006 Census, there were 29,820 Indigenous adolescents aged between 10 and 19 years inclusive, and 491,204 non-Indigenous adolescents in the same age group (ABS 2007a). Table 6.1 uses these figures to compare Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent populations and offence rates in Queensland.

Table 6.1 Proportion of adolescent populations* and offences in Queensland in 2006 by Indigenous status and type of Local Government Area**

Type of local government authority	Indigenous		Non-Indigenous	
	Population (%)	Offences (%)	Population (%)	Offences (%)
Aboriginal councils	10.2	19.5	Negligible	0.8
Island councils	3.9	1.2	Negligible	0.1
Rural councils	21.4	22.2	13.2	12.1
Urban councils	64.6	57.1	86.7	86.9

*Based on 2006 Census
** Based on an annual average of Queensland Police Service data for the period from 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2007

The Indigenous adolescent population is distributed throughout Queensland, with 10.2 percent residing in Aboriginal councils, 3.9 percent in Island councils, 21.4 percent in rural councils and 64.6 percent in urban councils. The non-Indigenous adolescent population is much more urbanised, with negligible populations in Aboriginal councils and Island councils, 13.2 percent in rural councils and 86.7 percent in urban councils. Thus, the majority of non-

Indigenous offences occur within urban councils whereas a substantial proportion of Indigenous adolescent offences occur in rural councils and Aboriginal councils.

The rate of offences was much higher amongst the Indigenous adolescent population. The highest rates were found in Aboriginal councils where 1107 offences were recorded per 1000 Indigenous adolescents.[10] Outside of urban regions, the overall rate was 659 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents. In comparison, the Indigenous rate in urban councils was 510 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents. Amongst non-Indigenous adolescents, the overall rate was 119 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescents, slightly higher than the rural rate which was 109 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescents.

Overall then, the offence rate was 577 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents, in contrast to the non-Indigenous rate of 119 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescents, an overrepresentation of 4.8 times. Within that, Indigenous adolescents were more heavily overrepresented outside of the urban regions by a ratio of 5.6 times, in comparison to urban regions where the ratio of overrepresentation was 4.3 times. This overrepresentation can be further explored by an examination of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences according to gender, age, type of offence, and type of police action taken.

Gender comparisons

The geographical spread of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents differed little when gender was taken into account, although slightly higher percentages of males were observed in rural centres, regardless of Indigenous status. The proportion of male adolescents was the

[10] Rates of offending for Aboriginal councils must be taken with some caution because of undercounting in the census. This will be discussed further in the next chapter, but see Martin and Taylor (1995), Taylor and Bell (2003), Martin, Morphy, Sanders and Taylor (2004), and Taylor and Biddle (2008).

same (51.1 percent) for both populations. The geographical dispersion of offences according to Indigenous status for male and female adolescents is shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Proportion of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by gender and Indigenous status and type of Local Government Area

Type of local government authority	Male offences		Female offences	
	Indigenous (%)	Non-Indigenous (%)	Indigenous (%)	Non-Indigenous (%)
Aboriginal councils	20.0	0.9	17.8	0.6
Island councils	1.3	0.08	0.8	0.06
Rural councils	22.4	12.4	21.4	11.3
Urban councils	56.2	86.7	60.0	88.0

A sizeable proportion of offending by Indigenous male and female adolescents occurs in Aboriginal councils and rural regions, in contrast to their non-Indigenous counterparts, whose offences occur almost exclusively within urban areas. Female adolescents are relatively more likely to offend within urban areas than their male counterparts, and this tendency is more pronounced amongst Indigenous adolescents. Indigenous adolescent males (n=26664) were responsible for 77.4 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences (n=34471) whilst non-Indigenous adolescent males (n=93864) were responsible for 80.5 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences (n=116540). Male Indigenous adolescents had by far the highest rate of offences (with 873 offences recorded for every 1000 Indigenous adolescent males); this was followed by Indigenous females, non-Indigenous males, and non-Indigenous females (with rates of 268, 187 and 47 offences per 1000 of their respective populations). These rates are displayed in Figure 6.1.

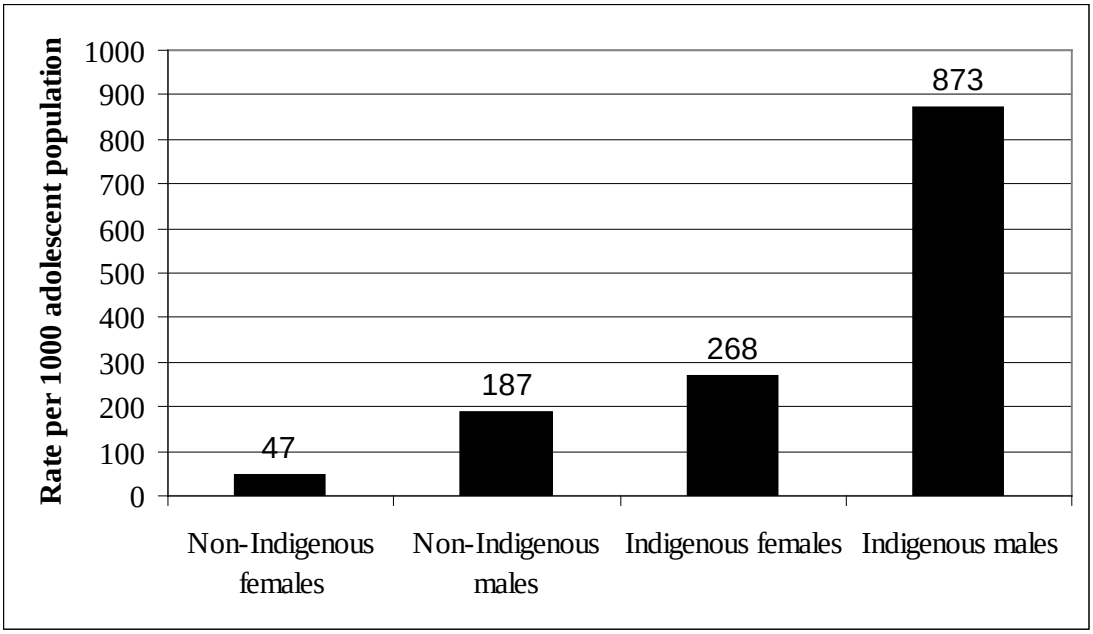

Figure 6.1 Rates of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by gender and Indigenous status (per 1000 population)

Despite the much higher rate of Indigenous male offences, the ratio of male to female offences is higher in the non-Indigenous adolescent population (where the ratio is four times) and the ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous offences is higher in the female adolescent population, where Indigenous female adolescents have rates of offences that are 5.7 times that of non-Indigenous female adolescents. In regards to proportions of offending populations, there were no significant gender differences – Indigenous adolescent males (n=26664) accounting for 22.1 percent of all male offences (n=120528) and Indigenous adolescent females (n=7807) accounting for 25.6 percent of all female offences (n=30483). The next section examines age differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents in Queensland.

Age comparisons

As discussed in the chapter on methodology, adolescents have been defined in this thesis as those persons between the ages of 10 and 19 years inclusive. Because the QPS statistical data

groups together all adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 years into a single age category, and because the analysis of individual age groups becomes slightly unwieldy, the age data for this research has been divided into two categories, the younger 10-15 year age group and the older 16-19 year age group. There is a wider geographical dispersion of Indigenous adolescents in all age groups and a greater urbanisation of non-Indigenous adolescents in all age groups. However, the proportion of adolescents in rural councils is markedly lower for the 16-19 year age group in comparison to the younger 10-15 year age group. Older Indigenous adolescents apparently migrated to Aboriginal councils, where 11.2 percent of the 16-19 year population live, and to urban regions, where 65.5 percent live. In contrast, the older non-Indigenous adolescents migrated only to urban regions, where 88.4 percent of the 16-19 year population live.

There is a relative increase in urban offences as age increases for all adolescents, regardless of Indigenous status. However, this increase is much more noticeable amongst Indigenous adolescents where the percentage of urban offences increases from 51.3 percent for the 10-15 year age group to 62.6 percent for the 16-19 year age group. In contrast, the percentage of offences by non-Indigenous adolescents in urban councils rises from 84.8 percent in the younger age group to 87.9 percent in the older age group.

Rates of offences are much higher amongst the older 16-19 year age group for all adolescents regardless of Indigenous status, but Indigenous adolescents from both age groups have much higher rates of offences than non-Indigenous adolescents. Figure 6.2 illustrates differences according to age and Indigenous status.

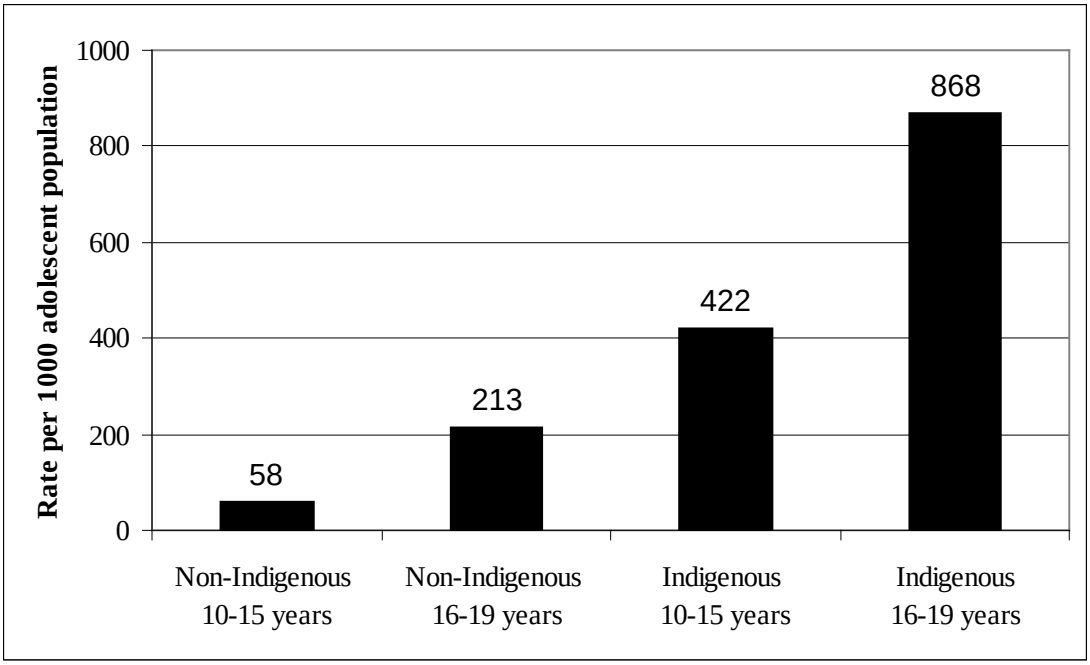

Figure 6.2 Rates of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by age and Indigenous status (per 1000 population)

Figure 6.2 shows a similar pattern to that displayed in Figure 6.1. Indigenous adolescent rates of offences are much higher than non-Indigenous rates and there is a marked difference in rates of offences between age groups. Despite the extremely high rate of offences in the Indigenous 16-19 year age group, the ratio of rates of older group offences to younger group offences is highest in the non-Indigenous population, 3.7 times higher than that for the 10-15 year group. Importantly, the highest ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous offences can be found amongst the 10-15 year group, where the rate of Indigenous adolescent offences is 7.3 times that of the non-Indigenous group. Indigenous 10-15 year offenders (n=16817) are responsible for almost half of all Indigenous adolescent offences (n=34471) whilst non-Indigenous offenders in the same age category (n=35031) only account for about thirty percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences (n=116540). Nevertheless, Indigenous overrepresentation is still high among the older adolescents where the Indigenous rate of offences is more than four times the rate of non-Indigenous offences. The next section will examine the types of offences recorded for Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents.

Comparisons of types of offences

For the purposes of this research, the offences will be broken up into the following categories: *violent offences*, *property damage*, *drug and liquor (excluding drunkenness) related offences*, *theft (excluding motor vehicles) related offences*, *good order offences*, *sundry offences*, and *motor vehicle related theft*. Refer to Chapter 9 for a further description and discussion of these categories.

Because of population numbers, the greatest proportion of offences occurred in urban regions, regardless of the type of offence. However, non-Indigenous offending was much more urbanised and some types of offences were slightly more urbanised than others, with proportions of offences occurring in urban regions ranging from 85.7 percent for *property damage* to 88.8 percent for *motor vehicle related theft*. Amongst Indigenous adolescents, *motor vehicle related theft* was also the most urbanised offence with 61.6 percent of offences occurring in urban regions, and *property damage* was also the least urbanised offence with 51.2 percent of offences occurring in urban regions. As noted earlier in this chapter, there are significantly higher proportions of non-Indigenous adolescent offences occurring in urban centres but, apart from that, the data indicates that geographical factors do not have any significant impact on differences between types of offences recorded against Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents.

The most significant variations in patterns of offending occur in the categories of *drug and liquor offences*, *sundry offences*, *theft related offences* and *motor vehicle related theft*. *Drug and liquor offences* account for 6.3 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 15.2 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. *Sundry offences* account for 8.1 percent of

all Indigenous adolescent offences and 14.1 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. *Theft related offences* account for 37.4 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 28.7 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. *Motor vehicle related theft* accounts for 12.5 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 7.7 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. In fact, the two categories of theft account for about half of all Indigenous adolescent offences. Nevertheless, rates of offences for all types of offences are higher for Indigenous adolescents and this is shown in Figure 6.3.

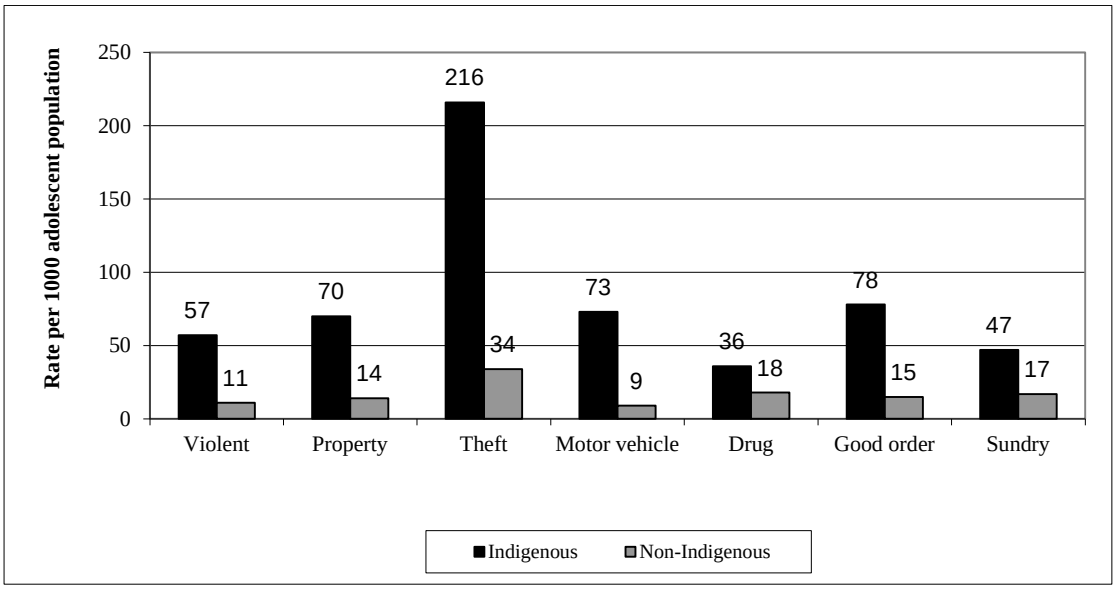

Figure 6.3 Rates of adolescent offences in Queensland in 2006 by type of offence and Indigenous status (per 1000 population)

Indigenous adolescents were overrepresented in all types of offences, although the ratios varied. The rate of *motor vehicle related theft* amongst Indigenous adolescents was more than eight times that found amongst non-Indigenous adolescents; *theft related offences* were more than six times higher; *violent offences*, *property damage* and *good order offences* were about five times higher; and the lowest overrepresentation was found amongst the categories of *drug and liquor offences* and *sundry offences* which were between two and three times higher. The next section will examine types of police action taken and their relationship to Indigenous overrepresentation.

Comparisons of types of police action taken

The types of police action that will be examined are *arrests*, *cautions*, *community conferences*, *notices to appear*, and *other police action*, which includes warrants and summonses. These types of police action are discussed in more depth in Chapter 10. There are significantly higher proportions of police actions taken against non-Indigenous adolescents in urban regions, but this is in accord with the significantly higher proportion of offences recorded against non-Indigenous adolescents in these regions. Apart from this, no geographical factors seem to have any significance. *Community conferences* are the most 'urbanised' and *cautions* the least 'urbanised' forms of police action taken against all adolescents, Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

There are, though, widespread differences in patterns of police action taken. *Arrests* accounted for 43.6 percent of all police actions taken for Indigenous adolescent offences but only for 27.6 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. Conversely, *cautions* and *notices to appear* accounted for 16.0 and 33.5 percent respectively of all police actions against Indigenous adolescents, while the same actions accounted for 21.2 and 40.6 percent respectively of all police actions against non-Indigenous adolescents. *Community conferences* and *other types of police action* are low volume police action categories. Despite the different patterns of police action taken, the rates of police action are much higher for Indigenous adolescents, as shown in Figure 6.4.

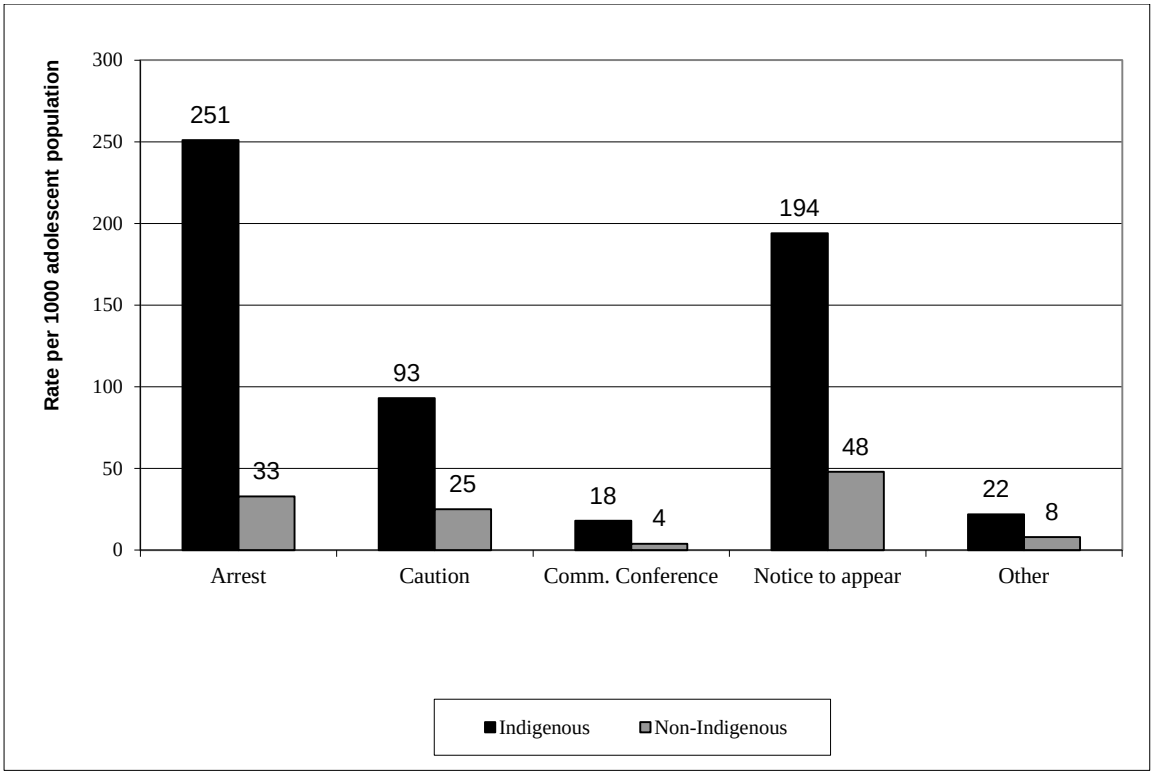

Figure 6.4 Rates of police action in Queensland in 2006 by type of police action and Indigenous status (per 1000 population)

Rates are higher across all categories of police actions taken against Indigenous adolescents. The greatest difference is in the category *arrest*, where the rate for Indigenous adolescents is 7.6 times the arrest rate for non-Indigenous adolescents. Rates of *community conferences* are 4.5 times higher, and *notices to appear* four times higher for Indigenous adolescent offences. *Notices to appear* have the highest rate for types of police action taken for non-Indigenous offences. Apart from *other types of police action*, the lowest discrepancy is in rates of *cautions* where the Indigenous rate is 3.7 times the non-Indigenous rate. This indicates that *cautions* are used as a type of police action to a greater extent for non-Indigenous offences.

This section and the preceding sections of this chapter have taken non-Indigenous offending into consideration and have shown the extent to which Indigenous adolescent overrepresentation in criminal offences is reflected in factors such as gender, age, the types of offences recorded, and the types of police action taken. The following four chapters will look

at each of these factors separately, but will focus solely on Indigenous adolescent offending and how it differs according to geographical locality. The next chapter will compare Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils by gender.

Chapter 7: Gender and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland

Introduction

The previous chapter compared Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland. This is the first of four 'results' chapters that focus mostly on Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland according to four different categories of dependent variables, and analyses different factors that may be responsible for Indigenous adolescent offending in urban regions (urban councils), rural localities (rural councils), Aboriginal communities (Aboriginal councils), and Torres Strait Islander communities (Island councils). Apart from the dependent variables, the same format will be used in each chapter. It should be emphasised that this chapter and the following three chapters are concerned with my research findings and do not compare my results with the findings of other researchers. This will be taken up in Chapter 11. It is organised this way because it is an exploratory study and I wish to reveal the common factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland, when measured according to gender, age, type of offence, and type of police action, before I discuss these combined factors in light of previous research.

This chapter focuses on gender, and the dependent variables are the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* and the *rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences*. The first section supplies data on population, number of offences, and rate of offences by sex and type of council. It is only in this first section that comparisons are also made with non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences. The second section of the chapter gives results of correlation and regression analyses of Indigenous adolescent offences, according to gender, in the various types of councils. The final section of the chapter discusses the relationship between

various factors and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, as measured according to the sex/gender of the offender. The same factors are used in this and the following three chapters, and are categorised as demographic, socioeconomic, housing, cultural, inequality and 'other' factors.

Comparisons by gender and types of Local Government Area

Table 7.1 shows Indigenous adolescents by sex, type of council, population, number of offences, and rate of offences. Figure 7.1 displays the rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by gender and type of council and also gives a comparison with non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences. The female population makes up almost half of the total population in Aboriginal councils, about 48 percent in Island councils, 47 percent in rural councils and 49 percent in urban councils.

Table 7.1 Indigenous adolescents by sex, type of council, population, number of offences, and rate of offences (per 1000 population)

Type of council	Population of males (no. of persons)	Offences recorded against males (no. of offences)	Rate of offences (per 1000 male population)	Population of females (no. of persons)	Offences recorded against females (no. of offences)	Rate of offences (per 1000 female population)
Aboriginal council	1520	2665	1753	1513	693	458
Island council	601	173	288	558	31	56
Rural council	3360	2987	887	3010	837	279
Urban council	9771	7487	766	9487	2342	247

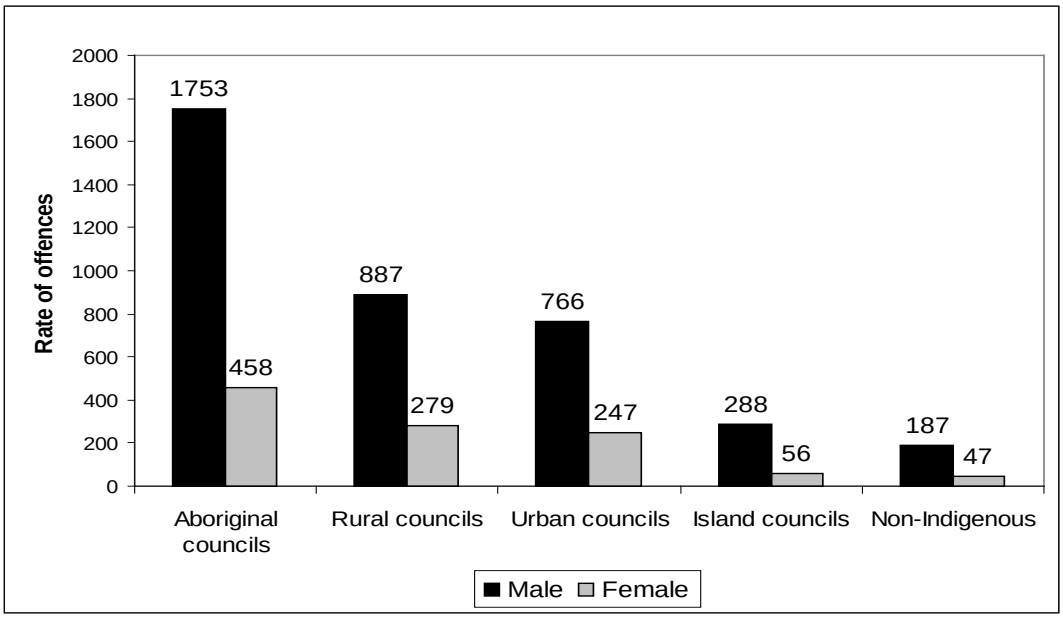

Figure 7.1 Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by gender and type of council, as compared with rates of state-wide non-Indigenous adolescent offences (per 1000 population)

It can be seen from Figure 7.1 that, although there is not a great difference between rates of offences for either sex in rural and urban councils, there are significant overall differences in rates of offences for the various geographical regions. The rate of male offences in Aboriginal councils is about twice that found in rural and urban councils and about six times that found in Island councils; whereas the rate of female offences in Aboriginal councils is still almost twice that found in rural and urban councils and about eight times that found in Island councils.

Offence rates are significantly higher among Indigenous adolescent males, regardless of geographical region. The ratio of male to female offence rates is 3.8 in Aboriginal councils, 3.2 in rural councils and 3.1 in urban councils. However, there is a significant difference in Island councils where the ratio of male to female offending is over five to one. Looked at another way, males are responsible for about 79 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, 78 percent in rural councils, 76 percent in urban councils, and 85 percent in Island councils.

Results of correlation and regression analyses

After removal of cases with extreme outlying values, correlation analyses were carried out for the various types of council to ascertain whether there were any significant correlations between the Indigenous male adolescent offence rate and the Indigenous female adolescent offence rate and a number of other social and economic variables (the results of these analyses are displayed in Table 1 in Appendix D). Those variables with significant correlations were then entered into a stepwise regression analysis in order to obtain the best predictors of Indigenous offence rates for adolescent males and females, as interactions are eliminated (the outcomes of the regression analyses follow Table 1). It must be pointed out here that the significant predictors and the variability in dependent variables obtained from regression analyses and described in the thesis are reliant upon the variables entered into the regression analysis. This has been discussed more fully in Chapter 5, where the methodology for the research is explained. In regard to variables that measured relative differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, correlations could only be carried out on rural councils and urban councils, as Aboriginal councils and Island councils had negligible non-Indigenous populations.

For both sexes, no significant correlations were found with *median Indigenous household income*, the *rate of CDEP employment*, the *rate of Indigenous unemployment*, the *percentage of Indigenous persons who completed year 12 education*, the *Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage*, *average bedroom occupancy*, *average Indigenous household size*, *percentage of multi-family households*, the *percentage of Indigenous language speakers*, the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous completion of year 12 education*, the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous individual income*, the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous household income*, the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous*

bedroom occupancy, and *percentage of Indigenous persons who lived at different address one year ago*.

An examination will now be made of the variables where gender did have significant correlations with Indigenous adolescent offences in the various types of councils. The discussion will start with Island councils and then proceed through Aboriginal councils, rural councils and urban councils.

Island councils

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent male offences* in Island councils increased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = 0.723), and *median Indigenous individual income* (r = 0.565) increased; and decreased as the *median age of Indigenous persons* (r = -0.551) increased. A regression analyse left *median Indigenous rent* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences in Island councils.

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent female offences* in Island councils increased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = 0.580) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.660) increased. A regression analysis left both of these variables as significant predictors of rates of Indigenous adolescent female offences in Island councils, although the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* was the more significant.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* in Island councils and the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences*.

The highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences occur in the western islands of Torres Strait and these islands, especially Thursday Island, are the most commercialised. Housing rentals in the more commercialised centres such as Thursday, Horn, Moa and Mabuiag Islands are higher on average than those in the outer northern, eastern and central islands, where housing mostly consists of community housing. Individual incomes are higher in the commercialised regions and higher housing rents are commensurate with this. The results of correlation and regression analyses indicate that rates of offences for both male and female Indigenous adolescents increase as housing rents become higher. For males, greater social control is achieved in communities where there is a greater presence of elders, whereas, for females, greater social control is achieved in communities where marriage seems to be valued as a social norm. Westernisation and commercialisation are found to be risk factors for Indigenous adolescents in Island councils.

Aboriginal councils

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent male offences* in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.525) increased, and decreased as *labour force participation* (r = -0.569) increased. A regression analysis left *labour force participation* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences in Aboriginal councils. The rate of *Indigenous adolescent female offences* in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.763), and *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.494) increased, and

decreased as *median Indigenous individual income* (r = -0.578) increased. A regression analysis left *median Indigenous individual income* and *police staffing levels* as significant predictors of rates of Indigenous adolescent female offences in Aboriginal councils, although *police staffing levels* was the more significant.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* in Aboriginal councils; by contrast, the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences*.

It is understandable that Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage would be a factor associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, as Aboriginal councils, in comparison with other types of councils, have the lowest individual and household incomes, the lowest rate of completion of year 12 education, the most overcrowding, and the highest rank of socioeconomic disadvantage. The association between socioeconomic disadvantage and female Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils is well demonstrated by the above analysis. However, the association between male Indigenous adolescent offences and participation in the labour force indicates that community esteem or autonomy may be a greater factor in male Indigenous adolescent offending in Aboriginal councils than socioeconomic disadvantage as such. This is elaborated upon in the discussion section of this chapter. It can be seen from the analysis that police staffing levels are significantly associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, regardless of gender. What cannot be discerned yet is whether increased police staffing is a result of higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offending, whether increased police staffing leads to greater detection of Indigenous adolescent offences, whether increased police staffing leads to more

discriminatory policing practices, whether increased police staffing actually causes higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offending, or whether it is a combination of factors.

Rural councils

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent male offences* in rural councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.481), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.372), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.352), the *remoteness of the LGA* (r = 0.342), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous house repayments* (r = 0.294) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.485), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.421), the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.369), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.305), and *Indigenous house repayments* (r = -0.296) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences in rural councils.

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent female offences* in rural councils increased as the *median age of Indigenous persons in the LGA* (r = 0.396), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.350), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.348), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.316), and the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.296) increased; and decreased as the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0. 507), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.428), and *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.335) increased. Regression analyses left the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent female offences in rural councils.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* in rural councils, but that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences*.

Marriage and home ownership have traditionally been social values and norms of mainstream white middle-class Western societies and their significant relationship with Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils shows the importance of social inclusion into mainstream rural societies for Indigenous adolescents of both sexes. In fact, there is a significant correlation between Indigenous marriage and Indigenous home ownership in rural councils ($r = 0.582$, $p<.001$). There is also a significant relationship between police staffing levels and rates of offences by both sexes in rural councils.

Male Indigenous adolescent offence rates are higher in rural LGAs with high proportions of Indigenous adolescents, as would be expected, but offence rates are generally also higher in the less populated rural councils. The male Indigenous adolescent offence rate is probably also influenced by colonial impacts, as the Christianisation of Indigenous people might possibly be taken as an indicator of colonialism. There is not only a significant correlation between Christianity and male Indigenous adolescent offending in rural Indigenous communities, but also between Christianity and remoteness ($r = 0.515$, $p<.001$). The positive relationship between Christianity and male Indigenous adolescent offending is an important finding, but a sociological interpretation of this will be left to the discussion of results in Chapter 11, when it can be compared to other research findings.

The correlation between rates of female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils and inequalities in home ownership indicate that relative deprivation is experienced by female Indigenous adolescents in rural councils where there is a considerable gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous home ownership. There is also a significant correlation between rates of female Indigenous adolescent offences and income variation within Indigenous communities, but the relationship is negative, which means that offence rates decrease as income variation increases. This suggests that in rural councils, where populations are small and communities are close-knit, Indigenous people who achieve financial success are seen as role models by female Indigenous adolescents. However, Indigenous adolescent females in rural communities may have less respect for elders, as the rate of female offences actually increases as the median Indigenous age of the LGA increases, although this explanation is speculative.

Urban councils

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent male offences* in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.597), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.553), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.521), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.514), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.791), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.522), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.509), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous rent* (r = 0.395) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.637), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.620), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.510), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = -0.410) increased.

Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences in urban councils.

The rate of *Indigenous adolescent female offences* in urban councils increased as the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.472), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.453), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.430), and the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.430) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.540), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.458), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.418) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent female offences in urban councils.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* in urban councils, but that the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences*.

Social inclusion into the dominant white mainstream society is again a major factor associated with Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban councils, as indicated by the importance of marriage and quality residential rentals. The percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage is strongly correlated with differences in Indigenous/non-Indigenous unemployment rates (r = -0.707, p<.001) and differences in Indigenous/non-Indigenous home ownership (r = -0.759, p<.001), which suggests that conformity to the institution of marriage leads to greater equality of employment and home ownership.

Relative deprivation caused by inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people is the strongest factor associated with Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban councils. Inequalities in employment and home ownership are the most significant inequality indicators, with inequalities in employment being most strongly experienced by Indigenous male adolescents while females experienced relative deprivation mostly from inequalities in home ownership. Other indications of inequality that affect male Indigenous adolescent rates of offences are associated with residential rentals and household sizes. Residential rentals become an important factor in urban councils for Indigenous adolescents of both sexes because, unlike small rural and remote communities, Indigenous residents are able to escape from socioeconomically disadvantaged areas of the city.

Discussion

Demographic factors and gender

The statistical relationships between gender and age vary slightly according to type of council. In Aboriginal and urban councils, the rate of offences among the 10-15 year age group is the more significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent male offences and the rate of offences among the 16-19 year age group is the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent female offences. Conversely, in rural councils, the rate of offences among the 16-19 year age group is the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent male offences and the rate of offences among the 10-15 year age group is the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent female offences. The pattern is different again in Island councils. Here, the rate of offences among the 16-19 year age group is the more significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent male *and* female offences. It should be pointed out that these statistics are a measure of the consistency of offences and that the actual volume or rate of offences is much higher amongst Indigenous adolescent males for both age categories and in all types of

council. The highest rates of offences by both sexes are found in Aboriginal councils, followed by rural councils, urban councils and Island councils. However, the ratio between male and female rates of offences is highest in Island councils, followed by Aboriginal councils, rural councils and urban councils.

The median age of Indigenous persons has no correlation with rates of offences by Indigenous adolescents of either sex in urban or Aboriginal councils, but has a significant negative correlation with Indigenous male adolescent offences in Island councils and a significant positive correlation with Indigenous female adolescent offences in rural councils. However, the *ratio* of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age is significant in urban councils, being negatively correlated with Indigenous male adolescent offences, indicative of some association with peer relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous male adolescents in urban councils. This variable has no significant statistical relationship with any type of offence in rural councils, and was not analysed in Aboriginal or Island councils. The total population of a region is a significant factor in male Indigenous adolescent offending only in rural councils. There was no statistical relationship found between the total population of an LGA and rates of offences by male or female Indigenous adolescents in any other type of council. The proportion of Indigenous 10-19 year adolescents in the total population of the LGA, however, is significantly correlated to rates of male and female Indigenous adolescent offences in urban and rural councils. And again, there is no correlation in Aboriginal or Island councils where the populations are predominantly Indigenous.

In summary, there is no clear indication of any significant relationship between demographic factors and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Aboriginal councils. In Island councils, the only demographic variable of any significance is Indigenous median age, which perhaps indicates respect for elders amongst Indigenous adolescent males. In contrast, the direction of the relationship between Indigenous median age and female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils is the opposite of that in Island councils, which indicates that either interaction with offending adult members of the community or a lack of respect for elders by Indigenous girls in rural councils might be risk factors in offending. This implication is supported by that part of my research which shows that there is also a significant positive relationship between median Indigenous age and drug and liquor offences by Indigenous adolescents in rural councils. Also, in rural councils, higher rates of male Indigenous adolescent offences are likely to occur in LGAs with smaller populations. The proportion of Indigenous adolescents in the LGA affects rates of offences by both sexes in rural and urban councils, but this might be expected in these councils where the majority of the population is non-Indigenous, compared to Aboriginal and Island councils, where the majority of the population is Indigenous. Indigenous/non-Indigenous peer relationships are probably important for Indigenous male adolescents in urban councils.

Socioeconomic factors and gender

Socioeconomic factors are not strongly associated with Indigenous adolescent offences according to gender in most types of council. Differences between socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations will be discussed in the section relating to ‘inequality factors’. Variables relating to Indigenous rent, home ownership and home repayments will be discussed under ‘housing factors’. In this section, I will be discussing median individual income, median household income, CDEP participation rate, labour force

participation rate, the Indigenous unemployment rate, completion of year 12 education, and two socioeconomic indexes, the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage, and Biddle's index of Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage.

Median Indigenous individual income is significantly correlated with Indigenous male adolescent offences only in Island councils and with Indigenous female adolescent offences only in Aboriginal councils but is a significant predictor of the latter. The labour force participation rate is significantly correlated with Indigenous male adolescent offences only in Aboriginal councils and is a significant predictor of those offences. Biddle's index of Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage is not significantly correlated with Indigenous male adolescent offences in any type of council but is significantly correlated with Indigenous female adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils and rural councils.[11] The CDEP participation rate is not significantly correlated with offences by either sex in Aboriginal or Island councils and was not analysed in rural or urban councils. Median Indigenous household income, the rate of Indigenous unemployment, the proportion of Indigenous persons who had completed year 12 education, and the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage are not significantly correlated with offences *by either sex in any type of council*.

Socioeconomic factors are without doubt indirectly associated with other factors such as housing and inequality, but there is little *direct* correlation between the socioeconomic factors examined here and Indigenous adolescent offences in most types of council, with the possible exception of Aboriginal councils.

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[11] Biddle's index of Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage also had a strong, though not significant (at the 0.05 level), correlation ($r = 0.501$, $p<0.06$) with Indigenous male adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils.

The positive relationship between Indigenous individual income and Indigenous male adolescent offences in Island councils is an indication of relative deprivation. Young Indigenous males in the more Westernised and commercialised areas of Torres Strait are enveloped within Western culture but, even though incomes are higher than those in the outer islands, there is still relative economic deprivation.[12] Thus, there is cultural inclusion but economic and, more than likely, social exclusion. There is no direct correlation between the selected socioeconomic variables and Indigenous female adolescent offences in Island councils, suggesting that relative deprivation mostly affects young males.

There is also a significant relationship between Indigenous individual income and Indigenous female adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, but here the relationship is negative so that rates of offences decrease as individual income increases, indicating that socioeconomic status is a factor. Indigenous female adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils also increase as Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank increases, which supports the supposition that socioeconomic status or disadvantage is associated with Indigenous female adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils. Male Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, however, are more influenced by the labour force participation rate, which indicates that it is not socioeconomic status as such or even employment that is associated with male Indigenous adolescent offending – since there is no significant relationship with the Indigenous unemployment rate or with the rate of CDEP participation – but the level of community esteem or autonomy within the Indigenous community.

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[12] For example, the median Indigenous income in Torres Shire in 2006 was $340 per week, whereas the median non-Indigenous income was $726 per week (ABS 2007a).

Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank is also associated with female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils and is the only socioeconomic variable in this section that is associated with Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in rural councils. Socioeconomic factors as such have no direct impact on Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in urban councils. They do have indirect impacts through factors such as housing, which will be discussed next.

Housing factors and gender

Most housing in Aboriginal and Island councils is community or government housing, and so the rate of Indigenous home ownership has no significant correlation with Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Island or Aboriginal councils. Nevertheless, the variable has significant negative correlations with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban and rural councils, and is a significant predictor of female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils.

As Indigenous home ownership is not common in Aboriginal or Island councils, Indigenous housing loan repayments are not significantly related to rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Aboriginal or Island councils, but there is also no significant relationship with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in urban councils. There is a relationship between Indigenous housing loan repayments and the male Indigenous rate of offences in rural councils, but the significance level of the relationship is low in comparison to other variables.

Median Indigenous rent has no significant correlation with Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Aboriginal councils, but has a significant *negative* correlation with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban councils and a significant *positive* correlation with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in Island councils, while the variable is also a significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in Island councils. There is also a significant correlation between median Indigenous rent and male Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils, but the significance of the relationship is low in comparison to urban and Island councils.

Other variables, such as the number of Indigenous persons per bedroom, average Indigenous household size, and percentage of Indigenous multi-family households, are good indicators of overcrowding and, to a lesser extent, of parenting concerns. None of these variables was significantly correlated with Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in any type of council.

In summary, relative deprivation and inequality are associated with housing factors in rural and urban councils. Indigenous home ownership is perhaps a symbol to members of rural and urban Indigenous communities that they have become socially included rather than excluded, and perhaps even economically included to a certain extent. Note that it is home ownership itself that is significant rather than the quality of the home, as indicated by the lack of statistical association with home repayments. In urban councils, median Indigenous rent is also a significant housing factor. Increased rents indicate residency in less socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods and this, in turn, is indicative of greater social and economic inclusion. Because of the small populations of rural centres, neighbourhood status is not really applicable and so rental factors are not so important. The relationship between median

Indigenous rent and Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils points to relative deprivation. In the outer Island councils, young people are not economically or socially excluded from the rest of Islander society and there is a great sense of cultural inclusion. In the more Westernised Island councils where housing rents are higher, young people are included and even propelled into the mainstream Western culture, but are socially and economically excluded, thus leading to relative deprivation and higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. There is no evident relationship between housing factors and Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Aboriginal councils, and there is no evident relationship between overcrowding and Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in any type of council.

Cultural factors and gender

This section takes cultural factors into account. These include religion, Indigenous cultures, and marriage. The proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent and the percentage of Indigenous language speakers are indicators of Indigenous cultural effects. The percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage, the percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* relationships, and the percentage of Indigenous sole parent families are indicators of adherence to mainstream cultural norms and values. The variable, percentage of Indigenous persons who affiliate with a Christian religion, is possibly not so much a measure of religiosity as an indicator of Christianisation and the historical impacts of colonialism.

The proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent is significantly correlated with Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban councils, but the relationship is positive, which indicates that Torres Strait Islander culture is not a protective factor in urban councils as it is in Island councils where offending rates for Indigenous adolescents are much

lower. Merton contends that 'when poverty and associated disadvantages in competing for the culture values approved for *all* members of a society are linked with a cultural emphasis on pecuniary success as a dominant goal, high rates of criminal behaviour are the normal outcome' (1968, p.201, italics in original). The emphasis is on cultural inclusion and Young clarifies Merton's argument – 'crime is not the result of a lack of culture but of embracing a culture of success and individualism' (1999, p.81) – thus reversing the dictum of individual positivism. Merton's formulation depends upon cultural inclusion into mainstream Western society. On the islands of the Torres Strait, Islanders practice their own distinctive cultures and so there is little experience of relative deprivation. The relative deprivation occurs when cultural differences diminish and Indigenous people become more acculturated into Western culture. There is no significant correlation between the proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent and Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Aboriginal, rural or Island councils. The percentage of Indigenous language speakers is not significantly correlated with Indigenous adolescent offending by either sex in any type of council.

The percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage is significantly correlated with Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in rural and urban councils, and with female Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils. The variable is also a significant predictor of male Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils and of female Indigenous adolescent offences in urban and Island councils. Giddens defines marriage as 'a socially approved sexual relationship between two individuals' (2006, p.1023) and it is this 'social approval' that is at the heart of the matter here because the variable, percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage, is an indication of social inclusion, especially in rural and urban councils, rather than an indication of social control through attachment or commitment to parents. If the variable was an indicator of social control, then other variables, such as the

percentage of Indigenous sole parents and the percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* relationships, would have significant relationships with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences as well. However, there is no significant correlation between the percentage of Indigenous sole parents and Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in any type of council, and the percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* relationships is only significantly correlated with the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils. The relationship between marriage and female Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils is probably closely associated with Christian morality, as Christianity had a strong influence in the Torres Strait.

The percentage of Indigenous persons who affiliate with a Christian religion is significantly correlated with male Indigenous adolescent offences in rural and urban councils. As discussed earlier, this variable is probably an indication of the imposition of Christianity upon Indigenous peoples, and thus an indicator of the historical impacts of colonialism upon Indigenous adolescents. In rural councils, Christianisation is significantly correlated with remoteness, and the higher rates of male Indigenous adolescent offences occur in the 'frontier' regions and towns of Queensland's colonial past, where Indigenous people formed fringe camps or to where Indigenous people migrated from reserves. Similarly, the higher rates of Christianisation in urban councils are found in the regional cities such as Cairns, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton and Toowoomba, which have higher rates of male Indigenous adolescent offences and to which Indigenous people were more likely to migrate from missions and reserves. If the variable was an indicator of social control, through attachment, commitment and belief in Christianity, then a negative relationship between Christianity and offending would be expected, but the relationship is positive in all correlations.

In summary, there is little to demonstrate that Indigenous cultures act as a protective factor against Indigenous adolescent offending by either sex in urban, rural or Aboriginal councils, but *loss* of Indigenous cultures and acculturation into mainstream culture can be a risk factor for Torres Strait Islanders in urban councils, especially when cultural inclusion is combined with social and economic exclusion. Adherence to mainstream cultural norms such as registered marriage is perhaps an indicator of willingness by Indigenous people in rural and urban councils to conform to mainstream cultural values and thereby to achieve social inclusion within mainstream society. In Island councils, marriage is probably not as much an indication of social inclusion and acculturation into white society as an indication of the impact by missionaries on the norms and values of Torres Strait Islanders. Whereas Christianity was willingly accepted by Torres Strait Islanders and incorporated into their cultures, it was forcibly imposed upon Aboriginal people on the mainland where it contributed to the destruction of their cultures, and the historical legacies of the colonial experience, including Christianisation, continue to impact upon male Indigenous adolescents in rural and urban councils.

Inequality factors and gender

Social inequality can be analysed *within* Indigenous communities, and *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. For inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, there are a number of variables that can measure inequalities in education, income and housing. However, these have been calculated only for urban and rural councils because there are insufficient non-Indigenous populations in Aboriginal and Island councils to allow comparisons. For inequality within Indigenous communities, Indigenous income

variation has been measured by calculating the ratio of top quintile to bottom quintile of Indigenous weekly income in the LGA.

The ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous year 12 education, the ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous individual income, and the ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous household income are not significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in rural or urban councils. However, the ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment is significantly correlated with Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban councils and is a significant predictor of male Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils.

The ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership has a significant correlation with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in urban councils and with female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils. The ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous weekly rents is significantly correlated with male Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils, and the ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous house repayments is significantly correlated with male Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils. However, the significance of these correlations is low in comparison to other correlations.

Two variables were used to measure inequalities in housing conditions, the ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous persons per bedroom, and the ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size. The ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous persons per bedroom was not analysed in urban councils because it did not conform to assumptions of statistical normality, and was not significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in rural councils. The ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size is

only significantly correlated with rates of male Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils.

Indigenous income variation has no significant correlation with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in Island, Aboriginal or urban councils but is significantly correlated with rates of female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils.

Inequality *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous people is strongly associated with relative deprivation, cultural inclusion and structural exclusion. Indigenous adolescents in urban communities are impacted upon to a greater extent by mainstream culture than Indigenous adolescents in rural or remote communities, and are thus likely to experience greater relative deprivation if they are socially and/or economically excluded. As the gap narrows between Indigenous and non-Indigenous unemployment, home ownership, standards of rental housing and housing conditions, a sense of greater social and economic inclusion is achieved, thus resulting in less relative deprivation and less crime. Inequalities in rental housing are not as pertinent in rural communities because the communities are much smaller, but home ownership is still a symbol of social and economic inclusion for Indigenous female adolescents in rural councils, and offence rates decline as the gap narrows between Indigenous and non-Indigenous home ownership.

Inequality *within* Indigenous communities does not seem to have any significant association with Indigenous adolescent offending in most types of council according to gender, but there is a negative relationship between female Indigenous adolescent offences in rural communities and Indigenous income variation. Because of the small size of rural communities, it seems that the experience of relative deprivation is relieved somewhat for

Indigenous adolescent females when some members of Indigenous rural communities achieve improved career status and subsequent elevated incomes, even when the majority of the Indigenous community remains on low incomes.

Other factors and gender

Other factors to be considered here include remoteness, migration, and police staffing levels. An indication of remoteness is based on an extension of the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA), known as ARIA+ (GISCA 2009). This index 'measures remoteness in terms of access along the road network from populated localities to each of five categories of service centre'; the index ranges from 0 for high accessibility to 15 for high remoteness (GISCA 2009). Remoteness could not be analysed in Island councils because all cases had values of 15, and the variable has a significant correlation with rates of male Indigenous adolescent offences only in rural councils.

Migration refers to the percentage of Indigenous people in an LGA that lived at the same address one year ago. The variable is not significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex in any type of council.

Some caution should be taken with police staffing levels in the analysis. The only police stations in Torres Strait were located at Thursday Island and Horn Island and so police staffing levels could not be analysed in Island councils. There is a significant correlation between police staffing levels and Indigenous adolescent offences by both sexes in Aboriginal and rural councils. Police staffing levels are also a significant predictor of female Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils. Data for the time period under analysis was not available for police staffing levels in discrete Aboriginal councils, and so

CMC 2009 data was used, which is still considered to be reliable. However, there was considerable divergence between the boundaries of police districts and the boundaries of LGAs and so the data is not entirely reliable or accurate for rural councils. These problems have been discussed more fully in Chapter 5 on methodology. Nevertheless, the level of the significance is high, and so it is likely that police staffing levels do have some impact on Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils. On the other hand, the QPS data is reliable for police staffing levels in urban councils, and no significant correlation is found there between police staffing levels and Indigenous adolescent offences by either sex.

The next chapter examines the relationship between age and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland.

Chapter 8: Age and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland

Introduction

This chapter focuses on age, and the dependent variables are the *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences* and the *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences*. The format of the chapter is identical to that used in the previous chapter.

Comparisons by age and types of Local Government Area

Table 8.1 shows Indigenous adolescents by age group, type of council, population, number of offences and rate of offences. The 10-15 year Indigenous adolescent population makes up about 62 percent of the total adolescent population (10-19 years) in Aboriginal councils, 65 percent in Island and urban councils, and 69 percent in rural councils.

Table 8.1 Indigenous adolescents by age category, type of council, population, number of offences, and rate of offences (per 1000 population)

Type of council	10-15 year population (no. of persons)	10-15 yr offences (no. of offences)	Rate of offences (per 1000 10-15 year population)	16-19 year population (no. of persons)	16-19 yr offences (no. of offences)	Rate of offences (per 1000 16-19 year population)
Aboriginal council	1894	1960	1035	1139	1398	1227
Island council	751	66	88	408	138	338
Rural council	4408	2059	467	1962	1766	900
Urban council	12598	4301	341	6660	5528	830

Figure 8.1 compares rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by age group and type of council and also gives a comparison with non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences.

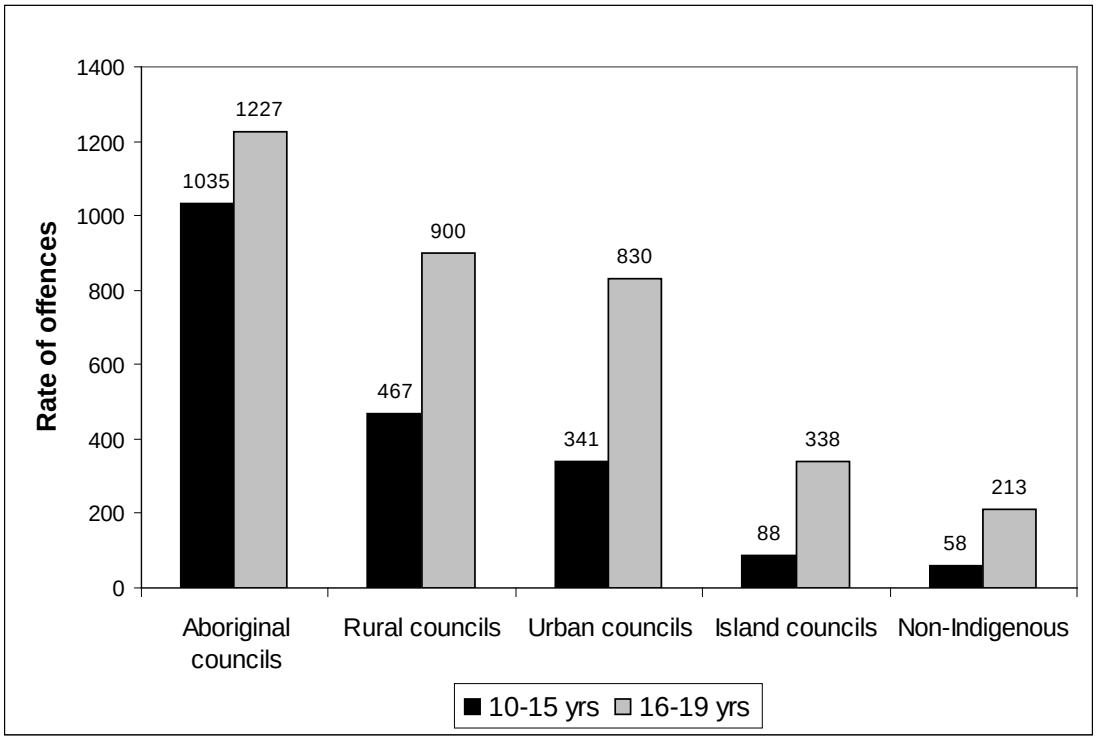

Figure 8.1 Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by age and type of council, as compared with rates of state-wide non-Indigenous adolescent offences (per 1000 population)

Figure 8.1 illustrates that there is a significant variation in offence rates between the various geographical regions. For both age categories, offence rates are highest in Aboriginal councils, followed by rural councils, urban councils and Island councils, although there is not a great difference between rates of offences for either age category in rural and urban councils. However, more significant differences can be seen in the 10-15 year category. Whereas offence rates for the 16-19 year age group in Aboriginal councils are about one and a half times those found in rural and urban councils and about three and a half times that found in Island councils, for the 10-15 year age group, offence rates in Aboriginal councils are between two and three times those found in rural and urban councils and almost twelve times that found in Island councils.

Results of correlation and regression analyses

After removal of cases with extreme outlying values, correlation analyses were carried out for the various types of council to ascertain whether there were any significant correlations between the Indigenous 10-15 year offence rate and the Indigenous 16-19 year offence rate and a number of other social and economic variables (the results of these analyses are displayed in Table 2 in Appendix D). Those variables with significant correlations were then entered into a stepwise regression analysis in order to obtain the best predictors of Indigenous offence rates for the two age groups (the outcomes of the regression analyses follow Table 2). As explained in the previous chapter, with variables that measure relative differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, correlations could only be carried out on rural councils and urban councils, as Aboriginal councils and Island councils had negligible non-Indigenous populations.

For both of the age variables, no significant correlations were found in any type of council with *Indigenous median age*, *median Indigenous individual income*, *median Indigenous household income*, the *rate of CDEP participation*, the *percentage of Indigenous persons who completed year 12 education*, the *Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage*, *median Indigenous housing loan repayments*, *average Indigenous bedroom occupancy rates*, *average Indigenous household size*, *percentage of Indigenous multi-family households*, the *percentage of Indigenous sole parent families*, the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous individual income*, the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous household income*, the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous bedroom occupancies*, and the *percentage of Indigenous persons who lived at a different address one year ago*.

It was noted in the previous chapter that many variables measuring aspects of socioeconomic disadvantage do not have significant statistical relationships with Indigenous adolescent offences, as measured by gender. Here, there is also no direct relationship between Indigenous adolescent offences, as measured by age, and variables that measure income and education. Income and education may have some indirect relationship with variables such as home ownership and median rent, but it will be seen that these variables have a greater association with social inclusion than with socioeconomic disadvantage. An examination will now be made of the variables that do have significant correlations with Indigenous adolescent offences according to age in the various types of councils. The discussion will start with Island councils and then proceed through Aboriginal councils, rural councils and urban councils.

Island councils

The *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences* increased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = 0.788) increased. Regression analysis left *median Indigenous rent* as the only significant predictor of the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences in Island councils.

The *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences* increased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = 0.696), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.570) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous language speakers* (r = -0.665) increased. Regression analysis left *median Indigenous rent* and the *percentage of Indigenous language speakers* as significant predictors of the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in Island councils, although *median Indigenous rent* was the more significant.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences* and the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences*.

In the previous chapter, I discussed how commercialisation and commodification in many of the western islands of Torres Strait lead to increased residential rents, in comparison to the community housing of the outer islands, although Torres Strait Islanders are at a marked economic disadvantage. These commercial centres also have much greater ethnic diversity than other island communities in Torres Strait, contributing to social exclusion, something rarely experienced in most Torres Strait Islander communities. Indigenous adolescents of all ages may be affected by this economic and social exclusion and this, when combined with seemingly less traditional cultural attachment and more acculturation into mainstream culture, is reflected in higher rates of offences for both age groups. The rate of offences by Indigenous adolescents in the older 16-19 year age group is also impacted upon by adherence to Torres Strait Islander cultures and by Christian moral values of marriage.

Aboriginal councils

The *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences* increased as *police staffing levels* ($r = 0.532$) increased but decreased as the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* ($r = -0.523$) increased. Regression analyses left the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* as the only significant predictor of the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences in Aboriginal councils.

The *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences* increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.712), and *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.573) increased. Regression analyses left *police staffing levels* as the only significant predictor of the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in Aboriginal councils.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the *rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences* was the only significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences*, and the *rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences* was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences*.

Police staffing levels have a significant impact on Indigenous adolescent offences by both age groups in Aboriginal councils. There is little relationship between Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils and individual socioeconomic variables that measure income, employment or education, but non-participation in the labour force in the community affects adolescents aged 10 to 15 years, and the overall level of socioeconomic disadvantage is a significant factor in offending by adolescents aged 16 to 19 years.

Rural councils

The *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences* increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.361), and *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.360) increased; and decreased as the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.421), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.446) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences in rural councils.

The *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences* increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.436), the *levels of police staffing* (r = 0.425), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.395), *remoteness* (r = 0.349), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.313), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous house repayments* (r = 0.332), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.321), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous completion of year 12 education* (r = 0.295) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.542), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.501), and *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.379) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* as significant predictors of the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in rural councils, although the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* was the more significant.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the *rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences* was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences*, and the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* was the more significant predictor of the *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences*.

Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences for both age groups are lower in rural councils where Indigenous people display indications of acculturation and where they seek social inclusion into mainstream society, as evidenced by marriage and home ownership, which have the highest correlations with offences for both age groups. Indigenous socioeconomic

disadvantage is also a factor associated with the 10-15 year age category of Indigenous adolescent offences, but the level of significance is low in comparison to marriage and home ownership.

While marriage and home ownership in Indigenous rural communities perhaps indicate a desire for social inclusion into mainstream society and are negatively associated with offences by Indigenous adolescents, the Christianisation of Indigenous rural societies is positively associated with offences by Indigenous 16-19 year adolescents and, as discussed in the previous chapter, may be an indication of the historical effects of colonialism. This will be examined more closely in Chapter 11. There is also a strong historical association between policing and rural Indigenous communities, which is borne out by the strong relationship between police staffing levels and rates of Indigenous 16-19 year offences. Inequality *within* Indigenous communities, as measured by income variation, is negatively correlated, while inequality *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous rural communities is positively correlated, with offences by Indigenous 16-19 year youths, although the significance of the latter correlation is low in comparison to other correlations.

Urban councils

The *rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences* increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.638), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.563), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.559), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.454), the *remoteness of the LGA* (r = 0.409), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.731), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous rent* (r = 0.425), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-*

Indigenous household size (r = 0.417) increased; and decreased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.597), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.555), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = -0.415) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age*, *median Indigenous rent*, and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* as significant predictors of the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences in urban councils, although the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* was the most significant.

The *rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences* increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.536), the *Indigenous unemployment rate* (r = 0.497), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.483), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.475), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.439), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.385), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.714), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.659), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.625) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.667), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.624), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.600) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment*, and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* as significant predictors of the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in urban councils, although the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* was the more significant.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the *rate of Indigenous adolescent male offences* was the more significant predictor of rates of offences for both age groups in urban councils.

As in rural councils, marriage is conceivably an indication of the desire for social inclusion amongst Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, but it is more pronounced, especially among the 10-15 year age group, because an opposite highly significant relationship exists with *de facto* relationships. As mentioned earlier, this does not seem to be an indication of lesser standards of parenting or less parental control because there is no significant relationship between Indigenous adolescent offences by either age group and the percentage of sole parent families in the LGA.

Rates of offences by Indigenous adolescents in both age groups are lowest in those urban councils where marriage rates are high, where there is less inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous unemployment, and where there is less socioeconomic disadvantage, as indicated by the significant relationship with Indigenous rent. The historical effects of colonialism, as perhaps indicated by Indigenous Christianisation, may still have some impact on rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils, but at a lower level of significance than those factors discussed above. Among the 16-19 year age group, Indigenous home ownership is still a feasible indication of social inclusion, and the differences in home ownership and household size between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are much more significant than for the younger 10-15 year age group.

The impact of mainstream culture in urban councils, especially on Indigenous adolescents in the younger 10-15 year age group, is evident. In the Torres Strait, Islander culture is a protective factor and the rate of offences by adolescents in the 10-15 year age group is extremely low. In the urban centres, the mainstream culture of commoditisation takes over, Islander culture is no longer a protective factor, and higher percentages of Indigenous persons of Torres Strait Islander descent in urban councils are indicators of higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, especially among the 10-15 year age group.

Discussion

Demographic factors and age

The statistical relationship between age and gender has been discussed in the previous chapter where gender was the subject of analysis, but will be briefly reiterated here where age is the subject of analysis. The rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences is the more significant predictor of offences by the 16-19 year age group in rural, urban and Island councils, and the only significant predictor of offences by the 10-15 year age group in urban, Island and Aboriginal councils. The rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences is the more significant predictor of offences by the 10-15 year age group in rural councils and the more significant predictor of offences by the 16-19 year age group in Aboriginal councils.

The median age of Indigenous persons has no significant correlation with rates of offences by Indigenous adolescents, regardless of age, in any type of council, but the *ratio* of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age is significant in urban councils, where it has a significant negative correlation with the rate of offences by Indigenous adolescents aged 10-15 years, perhaps indicative of some peer relationship between younger Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents in urban councils. The variable has no significant statistical

relationship with any type of offence in rural councils, and was not analysed in Aboriginal or Island councils.

There is a significant relationship between the total population of an LGA and rates of offences by Indigenous 16-19 year adolescents in rural councils, but the variable has no significant relationship with rates of Indigenous offences, regardless of age group, in any other type of council. The proportion of Indigenous adolescents in the LGA, however, is significantly correlated with rates of offences by Indigenous adolescents from both age groups in urban and rural councils, with the relationship being strongest in urban councils. There is no correlation in Aboriginal or Island councils where the populations are predominantly Indigenous. This indicates that, conceivably, peer relationships operate along ethnic lines in rural and, especially, urban councils.

In summary, demographic factors are not significantly associated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, regardless of age group, in Island councils and Aboriginal councils, although the association with male offending is more pronounced in Island councils. Demographic factors, such as ethnic mix and age differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, are significant in rural councils and, especially, in urban councils, where the association with male offending is also more pronounced.

Socioeconomic factors and age

As in the previous chapter concerning gender, socioeconomic factors are not strongly associated with Indigenous adolescent offences according to age in most types of council. Again, Indigenous rent, home ownership, home repayments, and differences in

Indigenous/non-Indigenous socioeconomic outcomes will be discussed in following sections of this chapter.

Median Indigenous individual income, median household income, the rate of CDEP participation, completion of year 12 education, and the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage are not significantly correlated with offences by either age group in any type of council. Participation in the labour force is significantly correlated with Indigenous 10-15 year offences in Aboriginal councils, but has no significant statistical relationship with rates of Indigenous offences by either age group in any other type of council. The Indigenous unemployment rate is significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in urban councils, but has no significant statistical relationship with rates of Indigenous offences by either age group in any other type of council. Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank is significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous 10-15 year offences in rural councils and with rates of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in Aboriginal and urban councils.

None of the socioeconomic variables examined in this section are correlated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either age group in Island councils and there is only a relatively weak statistical relationship in rural councils, so socioeconomic factors only have, at best, an indirect relationship to Indigenous adolescent offences, as measured by age, in these types of council. Similarly, there is no direct relationship between socioeconomic factors and rates of 10-15 year Indigenous offences in urban councils, although unemployment in urban regions, in combination with overall Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage, has a detrimental effect on Indigenous adolescents aged 16-19 years, leading to structural exclusion, relative deprivation and higher rates of offences. Lower Indigenous

participation in the labour force has a detrimental effect on younger 10-15 year adolescents in Aboriginal councils, while overall Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage, as indicated by Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank, has a detrimental effect on adolescents aged 16-19 years.

Housing factors and age

The rate of Indigenous home ownership is significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in urban councils and with rates of offences by Indigenous adolescents in both age groups in rural councils. Indigenous home ownership is not a factor in Aboriginal and Island councils because of the prevalence of community and government housing. Indigenous home repayments are not significantly correlated with rates of offences in either age group in any type of council, which seems to indicate that it is home ownership that matters rather than the value of the home as such.

Median Indigenous rent has a significant positive correlation with rates of offences by both age groups in Island councils, and a significant negative correlation with rates of offences by both age groups in urban councils. There is no significant association between rent and Indigenous adolescent offences by either age group in rural or Aboriginal councils.

There is no significant relationship between Indigenous bedroom occupancy rates, household size or percentage of multi-family households and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by either age group in any type of council, although, as will be seen in further sections, there are significant relationships with *inequalities* in household size in urban councils.

An analysis of housing factors shows that relative deprivation is experienced more by Indigenous adolescents in rural councils and urban councils and, as discussed previously, by Indigenous adolescents in Island councils that are more commercialised and Westernised. Indigenous home ownership tends to lessen the relative deprivation experienced by Indigenous adolescents in rural councils, whereas, in urban councils, experience of relative deprivation decreases not only as Indigenous home ownership increases, but also by residence in areas of higher socioeconomic status, as indicated by increased residential rents. On the contrary, increased residential rents in Island councils are a reasonable indication of greater commercialisation and Westernisation, which leads to greater social and economic exclusion in combination with greater impacts of mainstream culture, and thus the sense of relative deprivation increases. Factors associated with Indigenous household size seem to have no significant relationship with Indigenous offences by either age group in any type of council, when age of offending is used as the dependent variable.

Cultural factors and age

The percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage has a significant negative correlation with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by both age groups in rural and urban councils, but has no correlation with rates of offences by either age group in Aboriginal and Island councils. Conversely, the percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* relationships has a significant positive correlation with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences by both age groups in urban councils and with the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in rural and Island councils. There is no significant relationship between the percentage of Indigenous sole parent families and Indigenous offences by either age group in any type of council. Indigenous Christianisation has a positive correlation with the rate of Indigenous offences by both age groups in urban councils and with the rate of Indigenous 16-

19 year offences in rural councils, but has no significant relationship with rates of offences by either age group in Aboriginal or Islander councils.

The proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent has a significant positive correlation with the rate of Indigenous offences by both age groups in urban councils, but the variable has no significant relationship with rates of Indigenous offences by either age group in any other type of council. The percentage of Indigenous language speakers has a significant negative relationship with the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in Island councils but no relationship with rates of offences by either Indigenous age group in any other type of council.

In summary, lower rates of Indigenous adolescent offences tend to be found in rural and urban councils where there seems to be willingness by Indigenous people to conform to mainstream cultural values such as marriage and a desire for greater social inclusion. On the other hand, Indigenous cultural factors tend to have a protective impact on rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils, although this protection is seemingly lost when Islanders are acculturated into mainstream urban culture. Neither Indigenous nor mainstream cultural values seem to have any impact upon adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils. The cultural impacts of colonisation may possibly be demonstrated in the relationship between Indigenous adolescent offences and the Christianisation of Indigenous people in rural and urban councils.

Inequality factors and age

A number of variables measure inequality *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, but analyses were not carried out for Aboriginal or Island councils, due to

insignificant non-Indigenous populations. Inequalities in income, as measured by differences in individual and household income, have no significant relationship with Indigenous adolescent offending, regardless of age group, in any type of council.

The most significant relationships between Indigenous/non-Indigenous inequality and Indigenous adolescent rates of offences are found in urban councils. Inequalities in unemployment rates are especially significant for Indigenous adolescents in both age groups in urban councils, while inequalities in household size are also significant for both age groups. A strong significant relationship is also found between inequalities in home ownership and rates of offences by Indigenous adolescents aged 16-19 years in urban councils.

Inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations have no significant correlation with rates of offences by adolescents aged 10-15 years in rural councils, but some correlations, albeit at low levels of significance, are found between 16-19 year rates of Indigenous offences in rural councils and differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in completion of year 12 education, house repayments, and unemployment rates.

The relationship between inequality *within* Indigenous communities, as measured by differences in median Indigenous individual incomes, and rates of offences by both Indigenous age groups was analysed for all types of council, but the only significant relationship that could be found is a significant negative correlation with rates of Indigenous 16-19 year offences in rural councils.

Inequality *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities is probably not a factor in Indigenous adolescent offending in Aboriginal and Island councils, and only a minor factor in rural councils. However, it is a major factor in urban councils, especially in relation to rates of unemployment and especially amongst the older adolescents, the 16-19 year age group, which indicates that relative deprivation is experienced more acutely by older Indigenous adolescents in urban societies. Inequality *within* Indigenous communities is not a factor in Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal and Island councils, but there is a significant negative relationship between Indigenous income variation and Indigenous offences by 16-19 year adolescents in rural councils. This indicates that Indigenous people who 'make it' in rural societies and thus achieve higher incomes, are looked upon as role models by many Indigenous adolescents in the 16-19 year age group.

Other factors and age

Other factors include remoteness, police staffing levels, and migratory patterns, although migratory patterns have no significant relationship with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, regardless of age group, in any type of council.

Remoteness, which is measured according to road access to major service centres and capital cities, is not applicable in Island councils, which all have the highest value of remoteness, and has no significant relationship with Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, most of which are classified as remote. The variable has a significant relationship with 10-15 year Indigenous offences in urban councils and with 16-19 year offences in rural councils, but the level of significance is low.

Police staffing levels were not applicable in Island councils, as police stations were only situated on Thursday Island and Horn Island for the time period of this research, and no significant relationship was found between Indigenous adolescent offences by any age group and police staffing levels in urban councils. However, in Aboriginal councils, there is a significant relationship between police staffing levels and Indigenous offences by both age groups and, in rural councils, a significant relationship between the variable and offences by Indigenous adolescents in the 16-19 year age group.

In summary, the only factor that is of any importance here is the levels of policing in rural councils and, especially, in Aboriginal councils. It has been noted earlier, but should be noted again, that police staffing levels in rural councils must be taken with some caution (see Chapter 5 on methodology). Nevertheless, the variable is an important factor in Aboriginal councils, although it cannot be ascertained whether this is because of conflict with police or because of greater detection of offences.

The next chapter continues to analyse factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland by examining the relationships with different types of offences.

Chapter 9: Types of offences and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland

Introduction

There are many types of offences recorded by the Queensland Police Service. These are based on the Australian National Classification of Offences (ANCO)[13], which is prepared by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 1997). The Queensland Police Service then categorises these offences into three main categories, 'offences against the person', 'offences against property' and 'other offences' in order to facilitate an understanding of the statistical data in publications such as the *Annual Statistical Review* (QPS 2007, p.139). For the purposes of this research, however, the offences will be broken down into the following categories: 'violent offences', 'property damage', 'drug & liquor [excluding drunkenness] related offences', 'theft [excluding motor vehicles] related offences', 'good order offences', 'sundry offences', and 'motor vehicle related theft'. Rates of offences for Indigenous adolescents are higher in comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents for all categories of offences and this was discussed more fully in Chapter 6. The categories of offences will be explained further below.

Violent offences includes armed robbery, attempted murder, breach of domestic violence order[14], common assault, conspiracy to murder, driving causing death, exploitation of children, extortion, grievous assault, homicide, kidnapping & abduction, life endangering acts, manslaughter, rape and attempted rape, other sexual offences, serious assault, serious

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[13] It should be noted that the Australian Standard Offence Classification (ASOC) is now superseding ANCO in many jurisdictions, but the QPS will continue to use ANCO (QPS 2007).

[14] 'Breach of domestic violence order' is included in the main QPS category of 'other offences', but has been included in the category of 'violent offences' here because violence was originally the reason for the enforcement of the order and because the actual breach often, but not always, includes violence.

assault (other), stalking and unarmed robbery. For Indigenous adolescent offenders in Queensland during 2005-07, the 'assault' offences easily account for the greatest percentage of offences in this category (64.8%), followed by robbery (10.7%), sexual offences[15] (10.3%), breach of domestic violence orders (8.0%), life endangering acts (5.1%), and all other *violent offences* (1.1%). *Violent offences* tend to be reported by the public rather than detected by police. *Violent offences* account for 9.9 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences in comparison to 9.2 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

Property damage offences include the offences of arson and 'other property damage', which includes graffiti and vandalism (ABS 1997, p.76). *Property damage offences* can be reported by the public and detected by police. Arson is a low volume offence, accounting for only about two percent of Indigenous and non-Indigenous *property damage offences*. Nevertheless, *property damage offences* account for 12.2 percent of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

Drug & liquor offences are detected by the police rather than being reported by the public. The largest sub-categories of drug offences are 'possession of dangerous drugs' and 'other drug offences' (QPS 2007, p.14). 'Other drug offences' includes 'possess money with intent to obtain drugs', 'possess pipes, syringes, other utensils associated with the use of drugs', 'permit premises to be used for taking, selling or distributing of drugs', and 'fail to keep register for drugs of addiction' (ABS 1997, p.70). Liquor offences do not include public drunkenness, but include 'sale of liquor to minor', 'sale of alcoholic products without a licence', 'sale of alcoholic products in contravention of licence conditions', and 'purchase of

[15] Statistics for sexual offences should be treated with caution, as these offences can be reported years after the offence occurred and a single offender can be charged with multiple offences (QPS 2007).

alcoholic products in contravention of licence conditions' (ABS 1997, p.82). *Drug & liquor offences* account for 6.3 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 15.2 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

The category of *theft related offences* excludes motor vehicle theft but includes 'fraud by cheque', 'fraud by computer', 'fraud by credit card', 'identity fraud', 'other fraud', 'other handling stolen goods', 'other stealing', 'possession etc of tainted property', 'possess property suspected stolen', 'receiving stolen property', 'shop stealing', 'stealing from dwellings', 'unlawful entry with intent – shop', 'unlawful entry with violence – dwelling', 'unlawful entry without violence – dwelling' and 'unlawful entry with intent – other'. Most 'theft related offences' are reported to police. For Indigenous adolescent offences, the 'unlawful entry offences' easily account for the highest percentage of offences in this category (59.2%), followed by 'shop stealing' (16.2%), other types of stealing (15.6%), offences involving the handling and receiving of stolen goods (6.7%), and offences involving fraud (2.2%). *Theft related offences* account for 37.4 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 28.7 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

Good order offences is a broad category that includes such offences as 'resist arrest', 'offensive behaviour', 'offensive language', and 'disorderly conduct'. This is a category in which the offences are mostly detected by police. *Good order offences* account for 13.5 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 12.9 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

Offences within the *sundry offences* category include 'traffic related offences', 'trespassing and vagrancy offences', 'gaming, racing & betting offences', 'prostitution offences', 'stock related offences', 'Weapons Act offences', and 'other miscellaneous offences'. 'Other miscellaneous offences' consists of offences such as some defamation and libel, threatening behaviour, harassment, and offences against privacy. These offences are mostly detected by police. *Sundry offences* account for 8.1 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 14.1 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

The category of *motor vehicle related offences* includes 'unlawful use of a motor vehicle' and 'vehicles (steal from/enter with intent)'. These offences are mostly reported by the public. *Motor vehicle related offences* account for 12.6 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 7.7 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences.

So far, this chapter has explored the different types of offences used in the research. It is now necessary to compare different types of Local Government Areas by different types of offences. The format is the same as that used in the previous two chapters.

Comparisons of types of offences by types of Local Government Areas

Table 9.1 shows types of offences by type of council and rate of offences. Figure 9.1 displays the types of offences by type of council and also gives a comparison with non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences.

Table 9.1 Types of Indigenous adolescent offences by type of council and rate of offences (per 1000 Indigenous adolescent population)

Type of council	Violent offences	Property damage	Drug & liquor	Theft related	Good order	Sundry offences	Motor vehicle
Aboriginal councils	129	169	51	394	141	94	130
Urban councils	50	56	32	189	72	42	69
Rural councils	48	76	47	238	78	47	68
Island councils	29	27	13	78	15	8	6
Non-Indigenous	11	14	18	34	15	17	9

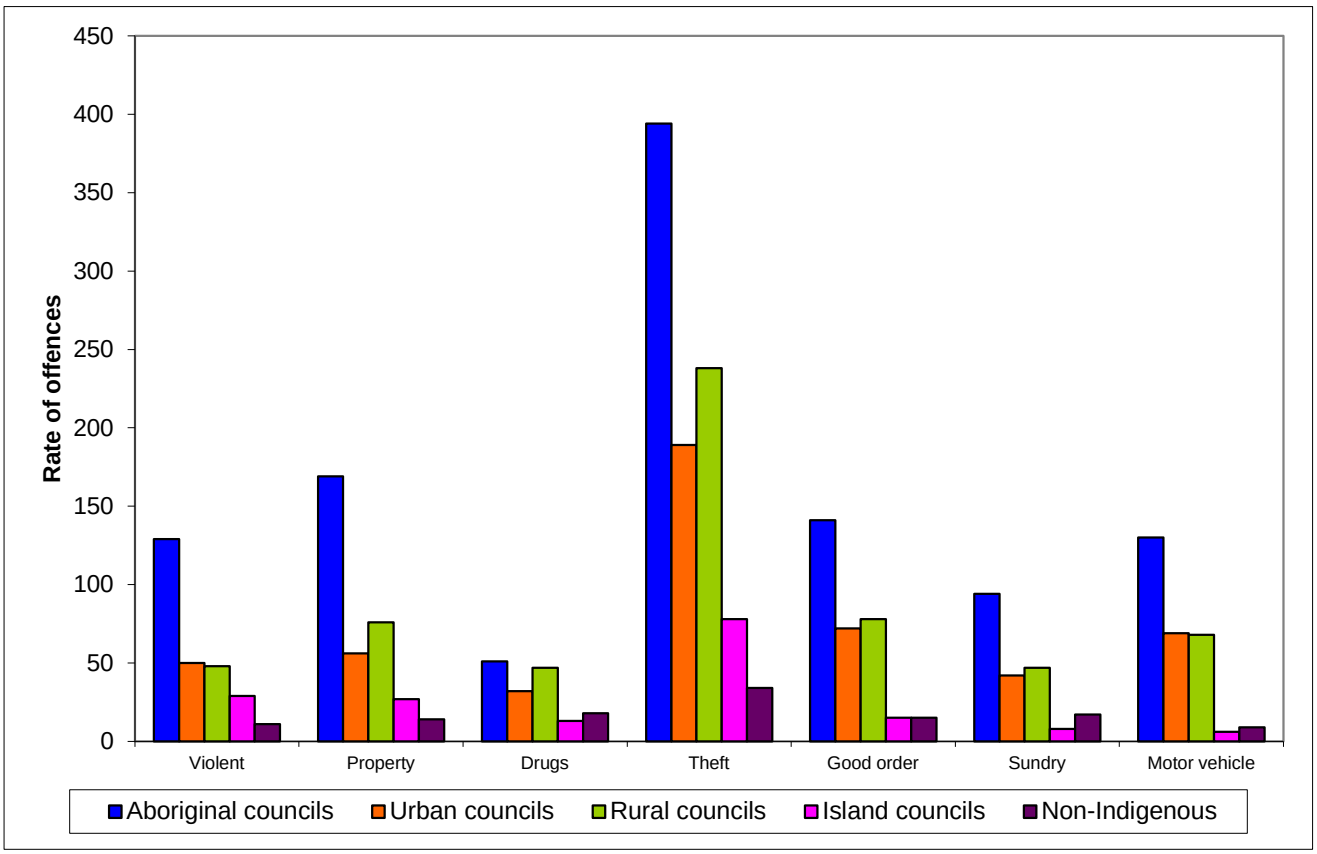

Figure 9.1 Types of Indigenous adolescent offences by type of council with comparisons to state-wide non-Indigenous adolescent offences (rate per 1000 population)

A comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous types of offences was made in Chapter 6. It is repeated here only to include comparison to the rates of offences in the various types of councils. The highest rates of offences for all categories of offences are found in Aboriginal councils, although, as discussed in Chapter 7, these rates are likely to be inflated due to

under-enumeration of census counts, extreme rates of offences in a small minority of Aboriginal councils, and multiple offences recorded against individual offenders. The next highest rates are generally found in rural councils, followed by urban councils and Island councils. Rates of some offences in Island councils are lower than non-Indigenous rates, but non-Indigenous rates are lower than those found in Aboriginal, rural and urban councils for all types of offences.

Theft related offences is the highest offence category in all types of council. Patterns of offending are relatively similar in Aboriginal, urban and rural councils but are different in Island councils. *Property damage, good order* and *motor vehicle related offences* are the highest categories of offences after *theft related offences* in Aboriginal, rural and urban councils, although the order of magnitude differed among them. *Violent offences* are the next highest category of offences in these three councils, followed by *sundry* and *drug & liquor offences*.

By contrast, in Island councils, *violent offences* are the highest category of offence after *theft related offences* and this is followed in order of magnitude by *property damage offences*, *good order offences, drug & liquor offences, sundry offences,* and *motor vehicle related offences*. The overall pattern for non-Indigenous adolescent offences has *theft related offences* most prevalent, followed by *drug & liquor offences*, *sundry offences, good order offences, property damage offences, violent offences,* and *motor vehicle related offences*.

Results of correlation and regression analyses

After removal of cases with extreme outlying values, correlation analyses were carried out for each of the four types of council to ascertain whether there were any significant correlations

between crime rates for types of offences and various social, cultural, economic and demographic variables (the results of these analyses are displayed in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Appendix D). Those variables with significant relationships were then entered into stepwise regression analyses in order to obtain the best predictors of Indigenous offence rates for types of offences in the various types of council (the outcomes of the regression analyses follow the correlation tables in Appendix D). In regards to variables that measured relative differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, correlations could only be carried out on rural councils and urban councils, as Aboriginal councils and Island councils had negligible non-Indigenous populations. The only variables to have no significant statistical relationship with any type of offence in any type of council were the *Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD)*, the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous individual income* and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous household income*. This section will now examine the results of the statistical analyses in different types of council.

Island councils

Due to low volumes of offences, tests showed that normality could not be assumed for *drug & liquor*, *good order*, *sundry* and *motor vehicle related offences* in Island councils, and so no correlation or regression analyses were carried out with these variables.

No significant correlations were found between the independent variables used in the research and rates of *violent offences*. Rates of *property damage offences* increased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = 0.563) increased and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.650) increased. Rates of *theft related offences* increased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = 0.712), and *median Indigenous individual income* (r

= 0.628) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the more significant predictor of *property damage offences*, and *median Indigenous rent* as the only significant predictor of *theft related offences*. These results confirm those found in previous chapters which indicate that migration to commercialised regions of Torres Strait is not only associated with higher incomes and higher residential rents but also with social exclusion, greater exposure to mainstream consumer culture and increased rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, and so migration is a risk factor for Indigenous adolescents in Island councils. On the other hand, marriage is a protective factor and may be indicative of the Islanders' embrace of Christianity.

Regression analyses showed that the rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent *violent offences* and *property damage offences*, while the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent *theft related offences*. The rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent *violent offences*, *property damage offences* and *theft related offences*.

Overall, the five most significant variables correlated with types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Median Indigenous rent*
2. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*
3. *Percentage of Indigenous language speakers*
4. *Indigenous median age*
5. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships*

Aboriginal councils

Rates of *violent offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.692), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.638), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.532) increased, and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.627), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = -0.505), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who completed year 12 education* (r = -0.487), *median Indigenous rents* (r = -0.476), and the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* (r = -0.470) increased. Regression analyses left *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent *violent offences* in Aboriginal councils.

Rates of *property damage offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils decreased as the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* (r = -0.513) increased. This was the only significant relationship for this type of offence in Aboriginal councils.

Rates of *drug & liquor offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.644), the *average Indigenous household size* (r = 0.488), and the *percentage of multi-family households* (r = 0.485) increased, and decreased as the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = -0.663), *median Indigenous rents* (r = -0.634), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who completed year 12 education* (r = -0.612), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.551), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.532), and the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* (r = -0.486) increased. Regression analyses left *median Indigenous rents* and the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* as significant predictors of

rates of Indigenous adolescent *drug & liquor offences* in Aboriginal councils, although the latter variable was the more significant.

Rates of *theft related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.707), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.514), and the *average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom* (r = 0.479) increased, and decreased as *median Indigenous individual income* (r = -0.582), and the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* (r = -0.488) increased. Regression analyses left *median Indigenous individual income* and *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* as significant predictors of rates of Indigenous adolescent *theft related offences* in Aboriginal councils, although the latter was the more significant.

Rates of *good order offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.728), and *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.597) increased, and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.684), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = -0.569), the *Indigenous labour force participation rate* (r = -0.550), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who completed year 12 education* (r = -0.521) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* and *police staffing levels* as significant predictors of rates of Indigenous adolescent *good order offences* in Aboriginal councils, although the latter was the more significant.

Rates of *sundry offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.717) increased and this was the only significant relationship for this type of offence in Aboriginal councils.

Rates of *motor vehicle related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous sole parent families in the LGA* (r = 0.580) increased and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = -0.565) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous sole parent families* as the only significant predictor of rates of Indigenous adolescent *motor vehicle related offences* in Aboriginal councils.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of *property damage offences* in Aboriginal councils, and the rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of *violent offences, drug & liquor offences, theft related offences, good order offences* and *sundry offences*. Neither the rates of male nor female Indigenous adolescent offences were significantly correlated with *motor vehicle related offences*.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of *violent offences, theft related offences, drug & liquor offences*, and *good order offences* in Aboriginal councils, and the more significant predictor of *sundry offences*. The rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the only significant predictor of *property damage offences*. There were no significant correlations between the rates of Indigenous 10-15 year and 16-19 year offences and *motor vehicle related offences*.

Overall, the ten most significant variables correlated with types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Police staffing levels*
2. *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank*

3. *Proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent*
4. *Indigenous labour force participation rate*
5. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*
6. *Percentage of Indigenous persons who completed year 12 education*
7. *Median Indigenous rent*
8. *Percentage of Indigenous persons who lived at different address 1 year ago*
9. *Rate of Indigenous home ownership*
10. *Median Indigenous individual income*

Rates of most types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils increase as police staffing levels and overall levels of socioeconomic disadvantage rise, and decrease in councils where there are significant proportions of Torres Strait Islanders, where marriage seems to be valued as a cultural and social norm, and where community members participate in the labour force.

Rural councils

Rates of *violent offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.333), and the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.319) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.432), the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.351), and *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.344) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of rates of *violent offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Rates of *property damage offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.332), and *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.313) increased, and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.408), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.315) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of rates of *property damage offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Rates of *drug & liquor offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as *Indigenous median age* (r = 0.382), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.363), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.354), the *percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.337), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.309) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.516), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.323) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of rates of *drug & liquor offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Rates of *theft related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.398), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.361) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.450), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.410), the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.346), and *median Indigenous rents* (r = -0.285) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the

only significant predictor of rates of *theft related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Rates of *good order offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.448), the *percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.392), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.373), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.361), the *percentage of Indigenous sole parent families in the LGA* (r = 0.329), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous completion of year 12* (r = 0.316), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous house repayments* (r = 0.310) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.602), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.318), the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.301), and *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.289) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of rates of *good order offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Rates of *sundry offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as *Indigenous median age* (r = 0.409), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.361), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.335), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.308), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home repayments* (r = 0.322) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.505), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.449), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = -0.421), and *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.415) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as

significant predictors of rates of *sundry offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils, although the latter variable was the more significant.

Rates of *motor vehicle related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as *levels of police staffing* (r = 0.430), *remoteness of the LGA* (r = 0.414), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.356), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous completion of year 12* (r = 0.295), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous rents* (r = 0.294) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.423) and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.398) increased. Regression analyses left *police staffing levels* as the only significant predictor of rates of *motor vehicle related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences was the more significant predictor of *property damage offences* and *motor vehicle related offences*, and the only significant predictor of *sundry offences* in rural councils. The rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the more significant predictor of *violent offences*, and the only significant predictor of *drug & liquor offences*, *theft related offences*, and *good order offences*.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the more significant predictor of *property damage offences*, *sundry offences* and *motor vehicle related offences* in rural councils. The rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the more significant predictor of *violent offences*, and the only significant predictor of *drug & liquor offences*, *theft related offences*, and *good order offences*.

Overall, the ten most significant variables correlated with types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*
2. *Police staffing levels*
3. *Rate of Indigenous home ownership*
4. *Percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population*
5. *Percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion*
6. *Indigenous income variation*
7. *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank*
8. *Total population of the LGA*
9. *Indigenous median age*
10. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships*

The independent variable, *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*, has by far the strongest statistical association with most types of offences committed by Indigenous adolescents in rural councils. In rural councils where Indigenous people are socially included, or where they endeavour to be socially included, as feasibly indicated by conformity to mainstream cultural values of marriage and home ownership, rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are lower. In fact, in rural councils where there is greater Indigenous income variation, rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are lower, possibly because some members of Indigenous communities in certain rural townships, especially where racial intolerance and structural exclusion are not as pronounced, have achieved higher economic and social status and thus act as role models to Indigenous adolescents. On the other hand, social exclusion tends to be exacerbated in smaller rural communities, in rural

communities with substantial populations of Indigenous adolescents, and in rural councils where there is a high degree of socioeconomic disadvantage, and rates of most Indigenous adolescent offences subsequently increase. In rural councils where there are more indications of Christianisation, Indigenous adolescent offences tend to be higher and this seems to be a legacy of the structural exclusion of Indigenous peoples brought about by colonisation. Finally, rates of most Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils increase as policing increases although, as previously noted, this finding should be taken with some caution.

Urban councils

Rates of *violent offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.562), *remoteness of the LGA* (r = 0.546), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.511), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.427), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.388), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.547), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.478), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.420) increased; and decreased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.620), and *median Indigenous house repayments* (r = -0.450) increased. Regression analyses left *median Indigenous rent* and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* as significant predictors of *violent offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, although the former variable was the more significant.

Rates of *property damage offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.679), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.408), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-*

Indigenous unemployment (r = 0.670), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.468) increased; and decreased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.560), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.480) increased. Regression analyses left *median Indigenous rent* and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* as significant predictors of *property damage offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, although the latter variable was the more significant.

Rates of *drug & liquor offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.435), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.548), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.502), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.501) increased; and decreased as the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.520), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.474), and *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.410) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as the only significant predictor of *drug & liquor offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Rates of *theft related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.531), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.527), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.500), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.413), the *Indigenous unemployment rate* (r = 0.392), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.738), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r =

0.595), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.504) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.640), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.560), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.540), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = -0.418) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as the only significant predictor of *theft related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Rates of *good order offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.559), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.559), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.456), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.624), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.601), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.518) increased; and decreased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.650), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.620), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.550) increased. Regression analyses left *median Indigenous rent*, the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* as significant predictors of *good order offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, although *median Indigenous rent* was the most significant.

Rates of *sundry offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.577), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.569), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.559), the *percentage*

of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA (r = 0.499), *levels of police staffing* (r = 0.468), *remoteness* (r = 0.419), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.833), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.510), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.432) increased; and decreased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.630), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.620), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.460) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as the only significant predictor of *sundry offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Rates of *motor vehicle related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.631), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.585), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.441), *median Indigenous household income* (r = 0.422), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.833), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous rent* (r = 0.469) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.580), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = 0.580), and *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.490) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as significant predictors of *motor vehicle related offences* among Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, although the latter variable was the more significant.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the more significant predictor of *drug & liquor offences*, and *theft related offences*, and the only significant predictor of all other types of offences in urban councils.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the only significant predictor of *property damage offences* and of *motor vehicle related offences* in urban councils. The rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the more significant predictor of *theft related offences*, and the only significant predictor of all other types of offences.

Overall, the ten most significant variables associated with types of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment*
2. *Median Indigenous rent*
3. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*
4. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships*
5. *Ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size*
6. *Percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population*
7. *Proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent*
8. *Percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion*
9. *Ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership*
10. *Rate of Indigenous home ownership*

In rural councils, Indigenous marriage and home ownership are probably indications of social inclusion and long term conformity within rural communities, and inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations do not contribute to rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. In urban councils, however, social inclusion, as indicated by Indigenous marriage and home ownership, is still important, but inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, especially in regards to unemployment, are causes of relative deprivation and increased rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. Whereas home ownership seems to be a major indicator of social inclusion and long term stability in rural councils, higher residential rents in urban councils seem to be indicators of a transition from areas of social exclusion in urban regions to areas of greater social and economic inclusiveness.

Rural councils with low rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are characterised by high rates of legalised marriage but rates of *de facto* marriages are not significant, which indicates that the low-offending councils are those where Indigenous people have seemingly enjoyed long term stability and social inclusion. By contrast, in urban councils, the relationship with Indigenous adolescent offences is almost as significant for *de facto* marriages as it is for registered marriages (but in the opposite direction), which may indicate that there are transitions from higher offending areas that are characterised by low stability and short term relationships, to lower offending areas that are characterised by long term stability and legalised marital relationships as the norm.

As in rural councils, social exclusion tends to be exacerbated in urban communities with substantial populations of Indigenous adolescents, while the legacy of social exclusion brought about by colonisation is evident in those urban councils with higher levels of Christianisation and subsequent higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. Finally,

there is an interesting relationship between rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils and the proportion of Torres Strait Islanders in the community. In Torres Strait, most Islanders practice traditional cultures, communities are tightly knit with high degrees of social inclusiveness, and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are low. By contrast, in urban councils, Torres Strait Islanders are heavily influenced by mainstream culture, they suffer from high degrees of structural exclusion, and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are much higher.

Discussion

Demographic factors and types of offences

It was shown in Chapter 7 that rates of Indigenous adolescent offences were much higher for males in all types of council than for females. However, regression analyses in this chapter show that the rates of most types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island and Aboriginal councils are better predicted by rates of female Indigenous adolescent offences. In contrast, the rates of most types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural and urban councils are better predicted by rates of male Indigenous adolescent offences.

Similarly, it was shown in Chapter 8 that rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are higher for the 16-19 year age group than the 10-15 year age group. Regression analyses in this chapter show that rates of most types of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, Aboriginal and Island councils are better predicted by 16-19 year rates of Indigenous offences. However, in rural councils, rates of property damage offences, sundry offences, and motor vehicle related offences are better predicted by 10-15 year rates of Indigenous offences, while violent offences, drug & liquor offences, theft related offences and good order offences are better predicted by 16-19 year rates of Indigenous offences.

The median age of Indigenous communities has no correlation to any type of offence in urban or Aboriginal councils. In rural councils, the rates of drug & liquor offences and sundry offences increase as median age increases but, in Island councils, the rate of theft related offences decreases as median age increases[16]. In other words, older members of the community may have a beneficial impact on Indigenous adolescents in Island councils, but there is possibly a negative influence from older persons in rural councils, at least so far as drug & liquor offences and sundry offences were concerned. However, the *ratio* of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age is significant in urban councils, where it has a significant correlation with theft related and motor vehicle related offences, and in rural councils, where it has a significant correlation with sundry offences. This relationship is negative, so rates of offences decrease as the age gap widens between Indigenous and non-Indigenous urban communities, perhaps indicative of some association with peer relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents in urban councils. This comparison variable was unavailable for analysis in Aboriginal or Island councils.

The total population of a region is not a significant factor in rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, Aboriginal or Island councils, but rates of some types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils increase as populations become smaller. Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island and Aboriginal councils are not significantly influenced by proportions of Indigenous adolescents, but there are significant correlations between the proportions of Indigenous adolescents in rural and urban councils and rates of all Indigenous adolescent offences, with the exception of property damage offences and drug & liquor offences. Therefore, the proportion of Indigenous adolescents does not seem to be a

[16] But the correlation was significant only at the 0.06 level.

factor associated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in councils where the population is predominantly Indigenous, but becomes more significant in councils where the population is predominantly non-Indigenous.

Socioeconomic factors and types of offences

Contrary to expectations, socioeconomic factors are not strongly associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in most types of council. Differences between socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations will be discussed in the section relating to 'inequality factors'. Variables relating to Indigenous rent, home ownership and home repayments will be discussed under 'housing factors'.

Median Indigenous individual income is not significantly correlated with any type of offence in urban or rural councils, but there is a significant negative relationship between the variable and rates of Indigenous adolescent theft related offences in Aboriginal councils, and a significant positive relationship between the same variable and type of offence in Island councils, which is indicative of the structural exclusion experienced by Torres Strait Islanders in the more commercialised and higher income regions of Torres Strait. Median Indigenous household income is not significantly correlated with any type of offence in rural, Aboriginal or Island councils, and is only significantly correlated with motor vehicle related offences in urban councils, where the level of significance is relatively low.

The rate of Indigenous CDEP participation is not significantly correlated with any type of offence in Aboriginal and Island councils and was not analysed in rural and urban councils. The rate of Indigenous unemployment is not significantly correlated to any type of offence in Aboriginal, Island or rural councils, but is significantly correlated with theft related offences

in urban councils, although the level of significance is low. The rate of Indigenous participation in the labour force is not significantly correlated with any type of offence in urban, rural or Island councils but is significantly correlated with most types of offences in Aboriginal councils.

The percentage of Indigenous persons who completed year 12 education varies considerably around Queensland, but the variable has no significant correlation with any type of offence in urban, rural or Island councils. Education seems to be an important factor only in Aboriginal councils, where there are significant correlations with rates of Indigenous adolescent violent offences, drug & liquor offences, and good order offences.

There is no significant correlation between the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD) and any type of Indigenous adolescent offence in any type of council. Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank is significantly correlated with violent, property damage and good order offences in urban councils; with property damage, drug & liquor, good order and sundry offences in rural councils; with violent, theft related and good order offences in Aboriginal councils; but with no type of Indigenous adolescent offence in Island councils.

In summary, socioeconomic factors, such as income, labour force participation and education, are mostly associated with rates of various types of offences in Aboriginal councils but, with the exception of Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank, there is little relationship between socioeconomic factors and Indigenous adolescent offences in other types of council. The statistical relationship between Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank and rates of various types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal, rural and

urban councils demonstrates that overall Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage is an important consideration. There seems to be some common association between overall Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage and Indigenous adolescent rates of violent, property damage, and good order offences in various types of council.

Housing factors and types of offences

The rate of Indigenous home ownership is significantly correlated with all types of Indigenous adolescent offences except violent offences in rural councils; with all types except violent, property damage and motor vehicle related offences in urban councils; with drug & liquor offences in Aboriginal councils; but with no types of offence in Island councils. While Indigenous home ownership may not be an important factor in Aboriginal and Island councils, where most housing is community owned, it is an important factor in urban and rural councils, particularly because it is statistically associated with the same types of offences. As discussed earlier, Indigenous home ownership is an indication of social and economic inclusion, and is also an indication of the long term stability of Indigenous rural and urban communities.

Indigenous housing loan repayments are not significantly related to any type of Indigenous adolescent offence in Aboriginal, Island or rural councils. However, there is a significant correlation between Indigenous housing loan repayments and Indigenous adolescent violent offences in urban councils.

Median Indigenous rent is an important variable associated with various types of Indigenous adolescent offences in all types of councils. It has a significant negative correlation with *all* types of offences in urban councils, a significant negative correlation with violent offences

and drug & liquor offences in Aboriginal councils, a significant negative correlation with theft related offences in rural councils (although the level of significance was low: $p = 0.047$), and a significant positive correlation with property damage and theft related offences in Island councils. Increased rent is normally associated with better quality rental housing and/or rental in areas of greater socioeconomic status. In urban councils, increased residential rents can indicate a greater level of structural inclusion in mainstream society and/or a transition to greater socioeconomic status, which is accompanied by lower rates of all types of Indigenous adolescent offences. In Aboriginal councils, the increased rents are probably indicative of greater socioeconomic status and better quality housing, and the elevated community status results in lower rates of violent and drug & liquor offences among Indigenous adolescents. In Island councils, however, increased residential rents are associated with the more commercialised regions of Torres Strait and these regions also have higher rates of most types of Indigenous adolescent offences. Because of the small populations of rural communities, there are no 'neighbourhoods' as such in which socioeconomic disadvantage becomes a factor, and better quality housing is not a status symbol, whereas home ownership as such may be. Thus, while median Indigenous rent is an important factor in most types of council, the nature and meaning of that relationship varies considerably among councils.

Other variables, such as the number of Indigenous persons per bedroom, average Indigenous household size, and percentage of Indigenous multi-family households, are good indicators of overcrowding and, to a lesser extent, of parenting concerns. These variables are not significantly correlated with any type of Indigenous adolescent offence in urban, rural or Island councils, but they are significantly correlated with rates of Indigenous adolescent drug

& liquor and theft related offences in Aboriginal councils, although the levels of significance are comparatively low.

In summary, social inclusion and long term residential stability, as conceivably evidenced by Indigenous home ownership, are protective factors against Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils and especially in rural councils, while shorter term transition into areas of greater structural inclusiveness and socioeconomic status, as indicated by increased residential rents, is a significant protective factor in urban councils. On the other hand, higher residential rents in Island councils are an indication of transition to more Westernised regions of Torres Strait, where structural exclusion and exposure to mainstream culture are risk factors for Indigenous adolescents. Better quality housing in Aboriginal councils, as evidenced by higher rents, may be a protective factor against some types of Indigenous adolescent offences, especially drug & liquor offences, since overcrowding is a risk factor for these types of offences. This corresponds with the discussion in the previous section which showed that socioeconomic factors are mostly associated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils.

Cultural factors and types of offences

The percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage has a significant negative correlation with rates of all types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils (where it is also a significant predictor of all types of offences except motor vehicle related offences); with rates of all types of Indigenous adolescent offences except violent offences in urban councils; with rates of Indigenous adolescent violent, drug & liquor, and good order

offences in Aboriginal councils; and with rates of violent and property damage offences in Island councils[17].

The percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* relationships has a significant positive correlation with rates of all types of Indigenous adolescent offences except violent and good order offences in urban councils; with rates of Indigenous adolescent violent offences in Aboriginal councils; but with no types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural or Island councils.

The percentage of Indigenous sole parent families has a significant correlation with only one type of Indigenous adolescent offence in Aboriginal and rural councils, namely motor vehicle related and good order offences respectively, and has no significant correlation with any type of Indigenous adolescent offence in urban or Island councils.

There is a significant positive correlation between the Christianisation of Indigenous people and various types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural and urban councils, but no significant relationship is found in Island councils. It is interesting to note that, in Aboriginal councils, a significant negative correlation is found between Christianisation and motor vehicle related offences and that the direction of the relationship, although not significant, is negative in regard to all other types of offences. By contrast, the direction of the relationship in urban and rural councils is positive.

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[17] The correlation between Indigenous marriage and rates of violent offences in Island councils was significant only at the 0.06 level.

The percentage of Indigenous language speakers is not significantly correlated with any type of offence in any type of council, although correlations are significant at the 0.07 level with violent and property damage offences in Island councils.

The percentage of Torres Strait Islanders in the LGA has a significant positive correlation with various types of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils; a significant negative relationship with various types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils; but no relationship with any types of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural and Island councils.

In summary, traditional Indigenous cultural factors such as language are protective against Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils where mainstream Western cultures have had less impact, but traditions seem to have little impact on Indigenous adolescent offences in all other types of council, although Aboriginal councils with higher proportions of Torres Strait Islanders have lower rates of some types of Indigenous adolescent offences, indicating that Torres Strait Islander cultures may have a beneficial impact in Aboriginal councils. However, the protection offered by Torres Strait Islander cultures is negated in urban councils, where exposure to mainstream culture has a deleterious effect on Torres Strait Islanders, and their presence in urban communities becomes a risk factor for Indigenous adolescent offences.

Higher proportions of Indigenous people in Aboriginal and Island councils claim affiliation to Christian religions in comparison to rural and urban councils, but the most significant relationships between Christianisation and types of Indigenous adolescent offences are found in rural and urban councils. Also, the relationships are positive, which means that rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are higher in rural and urban councils with higher proportions

of Christian Indigenous people. This is not an indictment of Christianity but an indictment of the colonial system that totally excluded Indigenous people and which forcibly imposed Christianity on many Indigenous people. In Aboriginal councils, the relationship between Christianisation and rates of Indigenous adolescent offences is negative but not very significant, which indicates that any minor effect that Christianity might have is beneficial there. Higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are generally found in the urban and rural regions that formed part of the historical 'frontier' or were the closest to reserves and missions, and it is in these areas that the historical effects of colonisation are perhaps most profound.

The relationship between marriage and Indigenous adolescent offending is also complex. Marriage rates are higher in Island councils than in other types of council and this is probably an indication of the Christian morals adopted by Torres Strait Islanders and adapted into their cultures. In Aboriginal councils, the relationship between marriage and Indigenous adolescent offending is probably associated with parental control, as the relationship is negative, but significant positive relationships can also be found with the variables percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* relationships, and percentage of Indigenous sole parent families. In rural councils, no significant relationship exists between any types of Indigenous adolescent offences and Indigenous sole parents or *de facto* relationships. Indigenous marriage in rural councils is almost certainly an indication of social inclusion and long term conformity to mainstream values and norms. In urban councils, there is a significant negative relationship between rates of various types of Indigenous adolescent offences and Indigenous marriage *and* a significant positive relationship with *de facto* relationships. This dual relationship in urban councils is indicative of the different lifestyles and social conditions experienced by Indigenous residents of urban areas in comparison to

rural areas, but also seems to indicate that conformity to mainstream social norms such as marriage leads to greater social inclusion and subsequent reduced rates of Indigenous adolescent offences.

Inequality factors and types of offences

A number of variables measured inequality *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, but analyses were not carried out for Aboriginal or Island councils, due to negligible non-Indigenous populations. Inequalities in income, as measured by differences in Indigenous/non-Indigenous individual and household income, have no significant relationship with Indigenous adolescent offending, regardless of age group, in any type of council.

There were some scattered correlations of relatively low significance found between rates of various types of Indigenous adolescent offences and inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in rural councils, but the most significant impact of racial inequality on Indigenous adolescent offences can be found in urban councils. The ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment in particular has a very significant relationship with *all* types of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils and was also a significant predictor of most. Also, inequalities in household size are significantly correlated with all types of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils except motor vehicle related offences; and inequalities in home ownership are significantly correlated with all types of Indigenous adolescent offences except property damage and motor vehicle related offences.

Inequality *within* Indigenous communities was measured by variations in Indigenous incomes, but no significant relationship was found between this variable and any types of Indigenous adolescent offences in any type of council except rural councils. In rural councils, however, there is a significant negative relationship between Indigenous income variation and rates of Indigenous adolescent violent, good order and sundry offences.

In summary, inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations are not relevant in Aboriginal and Island councils because of very low non-Indigenous populations, but income variations within Indigenous communities are also not significantly associated with types of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal and Island councils, possibly because the enormous inequalities in income found in mainstream societies are not evident in the more traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies.

Inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations are not an issue in rural councils because the social and economic order is entrenched through generations of residence by Indigenous families and a history of domination by non-Indigenous residents. Income variation *within* Indigenous rural communities is significant, but greater Indigenous income variation is associated with lower rates of various types of Indigenous adolescent offences. As in Aboriginal and Island councils, there would not be major differences in Indigenous incomes in most rural communities, but economic success by some Indigenous people in certain rural communities would be an indication of greater social and economic inclusion, which consequently leads to lower rates of Indigenous adolescent offences.

In urban councils, inequality within Indigenous communities, as measured by income variation, is not associated with Indigenous adolescent offences, but inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people is a significant factor, especially in regards to unemployment, household size and home ownership. Comparisons between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities can be made much more easily in urban centres because of the diverse economic and social conditions that exist in cities compared to rural towns. Thus, while Indigenous social inclusion is a paramount factor in rural councils, it is also important for Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, but here the effects of social inclusion are counter-acted by highly visible inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations.

Other factors and types of offences

Other factors include remoteness, police staffing levels and migratory patterns, although migratory patterns have no significant relationship with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, regardless of type of offence, in any type of council.

Remoteness, which is measured according to road access to major service centres and capital cities, is not applicable in Island councils, which all have the highest value of remoteness, and has no significant relationship with Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, most of which are classified as remote. The variable only has a significant relationship with rates of Indigenous adolescent motor vehicle related offences in rural councils and with rates of Indigenous adolescent violent and sundry offences in urban councils. As discussed earlier, higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are generally found in the rural and regional centres that formed part of the historical ‘frontier’ or were close to reserves and missions, and

it is these areas that are more likely to be classified as remote because of their distance from Brisbane.

It was not appropriate to analyse police staffing levels in Island councils because, at the time of the research, police stations were only situated on Thursday Island and Horn Island. In urban councils, the only type of offence to be significantly correlated with police staffing levels is sundry offences, but the level of significance is relatively low. However, police staffing levels are significantly correlated with all types of offences in rural councils except theft related offences, and with all types of offences in Aboriginal councils except property damage and motor vehicle related offences. Analyses regarding police staffing levels should be taken with some caution for rural councils (see Chapter 5 on methodology), but there is an association between police staffing levels and Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils. The relationship between policing and Indigenous adolescent offences will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 10: Types of police action and Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland

Introduction

Data received from the Queensland Police Service refers to 'the number of offences cleared or solved through an action against an offender' (QPS 2007, p. 140). The methodology is explained more fully in Chapter 5. In statistical data received from the Queensland Police Service, actions against an offender fall into seven categories, namely arrest, summons, notice to appear, warrant, caution, community conference and 'other' (QPS 2007). The following definitions apply to these types of action:

- *Arrest: The taking into custody of an offender to compel that person's appearance before a court;*
- *Summons: A direction or command issued by a magistrate or justice to an offender to appear before a court with reference to a matter described therein, at a given time and place;*
- *Notice to Appear: A notice issued and personally served by a police officer upon an offender whom he/she reasonably suspects has committed or is committing an offence, to appear before a court, with reference to a matter described therein, at a stated time and place;*
- *Warrant: For the purposes of this application, a warrant is an authority under the hand of a judge or justice to arrest an offender in order that the person may be dealt with according to the law;*
- *Caution: An official caution administered to a child under the provisions of the Juvenile Justice Act, 1992 … The term does not apply to any informal*

process where a child is spoken to by an officer where the officer is exercising discretion in relation to the child's particular behaviour or actions;

- *Community Conference: The referral of a child under the provisions of the Juvenile Justice Act, 1992 to community conference by a police officer before the start of a proceeding for an offence, or by court after a finding of guilty is made against a child for the offence;*
- *Other: The offender is known and sufficient evidence has been obtained but there is a bar to prosecution or other official process* (QPS 2007, p. 142).

Summonses and warrants are very low volume statistical categories for Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland and so, for the purpose of this research, summonses and warrants have been included with 'other' types of police action. Therefore, the types of police action represented in this research are *arrest*, *notice to appear*, *caution*, *community conference* and *other police action*. *Arrests* account for 43.6 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 27.6 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. *Notices to appear* account for 33.5 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 40.6 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. *Cautions* account for 16.0 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 21.2 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. *Community conferences* and *other police action* are low volume categories and account for 3.2 percent and 3.8 percent respectively of all Indigenous adolescent offences and 3.6 percent and 7.1 percent respectively of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. Comparisons of types of police action taken against Indigenous and non-Indigenous offenders were explored more fully in Chapter 6.

The above discussion has explored the different types of police actions that are analysed in the research. It is now necessary to compare Indigenous adolescent offences in different types of Local Government Areas by different types of police actions. The format is the same as that used in the previous three chapters.

Comparisons of types of police action by types of Local Government Areas

Table 10.1 shows types of police action by type of council and rate of offences. Figure 10.1 displays the types of police action by type of council and also gives a comparison with non-Indigenous adolescent rates of offences.

Table 10.1 Types of police action by type of council and rate of actions (per 1000 Indigenous adolescent population)

Type of council	Arrest	Caution	Notice	Com. Con.	Other
Aboriginal councils	476	205	369	31	27
Urban councils	231	71	170	18	21
Rural councils	243	114	202	16	27
Island councils	53	40	70	4	9
Non-Indigenous	33	25	48	4	8

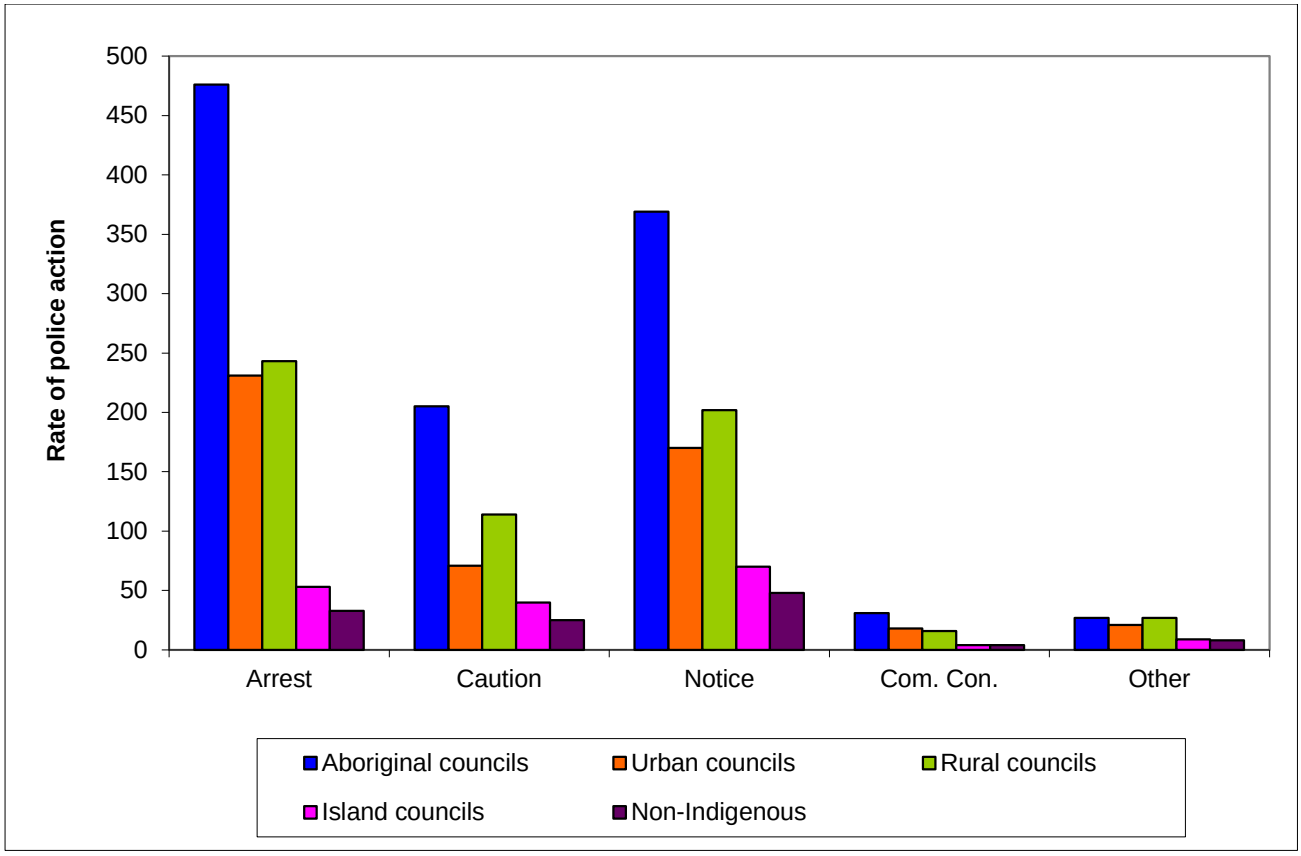

Figure 10.1 Types of police action by type of council with comparisons to state-wide non-Indigenous adolescent offences (rate per 1000 population)

As shown in Figure 10.1, rates of *arrest*, *caution*, and *notice to appear* are substantially higher in Aboriginal councils, followed by rural councils, urban councils and Island councils. Rates of *community conferences* and *other police actions* are relatively low in all types of council. In Aboriginal, rural and urban councils, *arrests* form the highest category of police action taken, followed by *notices to appear* and *cautions*. In Island councils, *notices to appear* are the major type of police action taken, followed by *arrests*, *cautions*, and *other police action*. The pattern in Island councils is the same pattern of police action taken against non-Indigenous adolescents in Queensland overall.

Results of correlation and regression analyses

After removal of cases with extreme outlying values, correlation analyses were carried out for each of the four types of council to ascertain whether there were any significant correlations between rates for types of police action and various social, cultural, economic and demographic variables (the results of these analyses are displayed in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Appendix D). Those variables with significant relationships were then entered into stepwise regression analyses in order to obtain the best predictors of Indigenous offence rates for types of police action in the various types of council (the outcomes of the regression analyses are listed below the tables discussed above). In regards to variables that measured relative differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, correlations could only be carried out on rural councils and urban councils, as Aboriginal councils and Island councils had negligible non-Indigenous populations. This section will now examine the results of the statistical analyses in different types of council.

Island councils

The only type of police action which satisfies tests of normality in Island councils is *notices to appear*, and it is consequently the only variable on which statistical analyses were conducted.

Rates of *notices to appear* against Indigenous adolescents in Island councils decreased as *median age of Indigenous persons* and the *proportion of Indigenous language speakers* increased. Regression analyses left the *median age of Indigenous persons* as the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*. These results indicate that Indigenous adolescents on the outer islands, especially where there are older populations and where traditional languages are spoken, are less likely to receive notices to appear as a type of police action.

However, the Queensland Police Service had police stations only on Thursday Island and Horn Island during the time period of this research and the results may be indicative of this.

Further regression analyses, separately introducing sex and age variables, show that the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences and the rate of offences by Indigenous youths aged 16-19 years were the only significant predictors of *notices to appear* in their respective analyses.

Overall, the five most significant variables correlated with rates of notices to appear in Island councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Indigenous median age*
2. *Percentage of Indigenous language speakers*
3. *Median Indigenous rent*
4. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto marriages*
5. *Median Indigenous individual income*

Aboriginal councils

The rate of *arrests* against Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as police staffing levels (r = 0.704), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.602), *average Indigenous household size* (r = 0.527), *average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom* (r = 0.518), and *percentage of multi-family households* (r = 0.499) increased; and decreased as *Indigenous participation in the labour force* (r = -0.635), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = -0.504), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons who changed address in the last year* (r = -0.486) increased. Regression analyses left *Indigenous*

participation in the labour force as the only significant predictor of rates of *arrests* for Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils.

There were no significant correlations between the rate of *cautions* and independent variables used in the analysis, although *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.477) approached significance (at the 0.06 level), and no variables were entered into a regression analysis.

The rate of *community conferences* against Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils decreased as *Indigenous participation in the labour force* (r = -0.715), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who completed year 12 education* (r = -0.499) increased. Regression analyses left *Indigenous participation in the labour force* as the only significant predictor of rates of *community conferences* for Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils.

The rate of *notices to appear* against Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as *police staffing levels* (r = 0.693) increased, and decreased as *median individual income* (r = -0.603) increased. Regression analyses left both of these independent variables as significant predictors of rates of *notices to appear* for Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils, although the former was the more significant.

The rate of *other police action* against Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils increased as the *average Indigenous household size* (r = 0.800), *percentage of multi-family households* (r = 0.769), and *average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom* (r = 0.727) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons who changed address in*

the last year (r = -0.671), *Indigenous participation in the labour force* (r = -0.589), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who completed year 12 education* (r = -0.544) increased. Regression analyses left the *average Indigenous household size* as the only significant predictor of rates of *other police action* for Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of *arrests* and *community conferences* in Aboriginal councils, whereas the rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences was the more significant predictor of *cautions*, and the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*. Neither male nor female Indigenous adolescent offences were significant predictors of *other police action*.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the only significant predictor of *arrests* and *cautions*. The rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*. Neither age category was a significant predictor of *community conferences* or *other police action*.

Overall, the ten most significant variables correlated with types of police action taken against Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Indigenous participation in the labour force*
2. *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank*
3. *Police staffing levels*
4. *Percentage of Indigenous persons who changed address in the last year*

5. *Average Indigenous household size*
6. *Average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom*
7. *Percentage of Indigenous multi-family households*
8. *Proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent*
9. *Percentage of Indigenous persons who completed year 12 education*
10. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*

Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils with high levels of overall socioeconomic disadvantage, including high levels of overcrowding and low levels of education, are more likely to experience higher levels of police action taken against them, whereas police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to be lower in Aboriginal councils which have higher rates of Indigenous participation in the labour force, more transient populations, and greater proportions of Torres Strait Islander residents. Police staffing levels in Aboriginal councils have the strongest statistical associations with the high volume categories of type of police action, such as arrests and notices to appear.

Rural councils

Rates of *arrests* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.473), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.454), the *percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.416), *remoteness* (r = 0.317), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous house repayments* (r = 0.373), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.308) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.516), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.395), the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.309), *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.299), and the *rate of*

Indigenous home repayments (r = -0.285) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* as the only significant predictor of rates of *arrests* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Rates of *cautions* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.361), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.295), *remoteness* (r = 0.287), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.348) increased; and decreased as the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.528), and the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.348) increased. Regression analyses left the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* as the only significant predictor of *cautions* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils.

Normality could not be assumed for statistical testing of Indigenous adolescent *community conferences*, and so no statistical analyses were carried out.

Rates of *notices to appear* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.386), the *percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.348), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.312), and *remoteness* (r = 0.301) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.449), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.391), the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.370), and *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.362) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* and *median Indigenous rent* as significant

predictors of *notices to appear* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils, although the former was the more significant.

Rates of *other police action* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.322) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.395), *Indigenous income variation* (r = -0.385), and the *total population of the LGA* (r = -0.383) increased. Regression analyses left the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* and *Indigenous income variation* as significant predictors of *other police action* against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils, although the former was the more significant.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of *arrests*, *notices to appear* and *other police action* in rural councils, and the more significant predictor of *cautions*.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the only significant predictor of *arrests*, *notices to appear* and *other police action* in rural councils. The rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the more significant predictor of *cautions*.

Overall, the ten most significant variables correlated with types of police action taken against Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*
2. *Rate of Indigenous home ownership*
3. *Percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population*
4. *Police staffing levels*
5. *Total population of the LGA*
6. *Percentage of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion*
7. *Remoteness of the LGA*
8. *Indigenous income variation*
9. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships*
10. *Ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership*

Less police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to occur in rural councils where Indigenous people have conformed to majority mainstream cultural values, as 'operationalised' by Indigenous marriage and home ownership. Rural councils with low populations and/or those in remote areas of the State are at greater risk of police action being taken against Indigenous adolescents, while rural councils with higher proportions of Indigenous adolescents are also likely to have higher rates of police action. The Christianisation of Indigenous rural communities is most likely a legacy of colonialism, while there is also a strong statistical association between police staffing levels and the high volume categories of police action such as arrests and notices to appear.

Urban councils

Rates of *arrests* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.546), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.542),

the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.493), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.467), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.704), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.497), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.439) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.650), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.560), the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.500), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = -0.410) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as the only significant predictor of *arrests* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Rates of *cautions* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *rate of Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.612), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.551), the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.539), *remoteness* (r = 0.499), *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.391), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.651), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.629), and the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.573) increased; and decreased as *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.600), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.520), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.500) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership*, the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* as significant predictors of *cautions* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, although the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* was the most significant.

Rates of *community conferences* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.484), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.460), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.457) increased, and decreased as the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.430) increased. Regression analyses left the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent*, and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* as significant predictors of *community conferences* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils, although the former was the more significant.

Rates of *notices to appear* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as the *percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population of the LGA* (r = 0.515), the *proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent* (r = 0.505), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships in the LGA* (r = 0.484), the *percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA affiliated with a Christian religion* (r = 0.431), *police staffing levels* (r = 0.388), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* (r = 0.731), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.493) increased; and decreased as the *percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage* (r = -0.640), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.540), the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age* (r = -0.490), and the *rate of Indigenous home ownership* (r = -0.450) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* as the only significant predictor of *notices to appear* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Rates of *other police action* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils increased as *Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank* (r = 0.437), the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* (r = 0.579), and the *ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership* (r = 0.382) increased; and decreased as *Indigenous house repayments* (r = -0.520), *median Indigenous rent* (r = -0.470), and *Indigenous participation in the labour force* (r = -0.444) increased. Regression analyses left the *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size* as the only significant predictor of *other police action* against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Regression analyses of gender variables showed that the rate of male Indigenous adolescent offences was the more significant predictor of *arrests* and *notices to appear* in urban councils, and the only significant predictor of *community conferences*. The rate of female Indigenous adolescent offences was the only significant predictor of *cautions* and *other police action*.

Regression analyses of age variables showed that the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences was the more significant predictor of *arrests* and the only significant predictor of *community conferences* in urban councils. The rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences was the more significant predictor of *notices to appear*, and the only significant predictor of *cautions* and *other police action*.

Overall, the ten most significant variables correlated with types of police action taken against Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils are shown in order of decreasing significance below:

1. *Ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment*
2. *Ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership*
3. *Median Indigenous rent*
4. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage*
5. *Ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size*
6. *Rate of Indigenous home ownership*
7. *Proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent*
8. *Percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in the total population*
9. *Percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships*
10. *Rate of Indigenous unemployment*

As in rural councils, less police action is likely to be taken against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils where Indigenous residents have conformed to mainstream societal norms and values, as characterised by marriage and home ownership, but levels of police action increase in urban councils where inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents is more evident. This particularly applies to inequalities in employment, but there are also strong relationships between levels of police action and inequalities in home ownership and household size. Lower levels of police action are likely to be taken against Indigenous adolescents in more socioeconomically advantaged urban regions which are characterised by higher residential rentals and less unemployment, while higher levels of police action are associated with greater proportions of Indigenous adolescents among the total population. The greater levels of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils where there are higher proportions of Torres Strait Islanders are an indication of the detrimental effect of mainstream urban cultures on Torres Strait Islanders. Finally, no

significant relationship was found between police staffing levels and rates of various types of police action against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils.

Discussion

Demographic factors and types of police action

Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are much higher for males in all types of council than for females (see Chapter 7). The rate of male offences was the strongest predictor of all types of police action in rural and Island councils, and of 'arrests' and 'community conferences' in all types of councils in which the variables were analysed. However, the rate of female offences was the most significant predictor of 'cautions' and 'other police action' in Aboriginal and urban councils, and of 'notices to appear' in Aboriginal councils.

Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are higher for the 16-19 year age group than the 10-15 year age group in all types of council (see Chapter 8), but regression analyses show that only rates of 'notices to appear', as a type of police action, are better predicted by rates of 16-19 year Indigenous offences in all types of council. Of the other major types of police action, 'arrests' are best predicted by rates of 10-15 year Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal and urban councils and by rates of 16-19 year Indigenous offences in rural councils; and 'cautions' are best predicted by rates of 10-15 year Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal and rural councils and by rates of 16-19 year Indigenous offences in urban councils. Only rates of 'notices to appear' were analysed in Island councils.

The median age of Indigenous persons has no correlation with any type of police action in urban, rural or Aboriginal councils, but is significantly correlated with 'notices to appear' in Island councils. However, the *ratio* of non-Indigenous to Indigenous median age is more

significant in urban councils, where it has a significant correlation with ‘arrests’ and ‘notices to appear’. This relationship is negative, and so police action decreases as the age gap widens between Indigenous and non-Indigenous urban communities, indicative of a greater tolerance of Indigenous adolescent offences by police in urban communities with older populations or, more likely, frictions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents in urban councils where the age gap is narrower. The variable has no significant statistical relationship with any type of police action in rural councils, and was not analysed in Aboriginal or Island councils.

There is no significant correlation between the total population of an LGA and any type of police action in Island, Aboriginal or urban councils, but the variable has a significant negative correlation with most types of police action in rural councils, which may indicate a greater detection of Indigenous adolescent offences by police in smaller rural communities. The proportion of Indigenous adolescents in the total population has no significant correlation with any type of police action in Aboriginal councils or Island councils, but is significantly correlated with ‘arrests’, ‘cautions’ and ‘notices to appear’ in rural and urban councils. Therefore, in councils where the population is predominantly Indigenous, levels of police action are not unduly affected by the proportion of Indigenous adolescents but, in councils where the population is predominantly non-Indigenous, levels of police action increase as the proportion of Indigenous adolescents grows.

Socioeconomic factors and types of police action

As seen with previous analyses relating to sex, age and type of offence, socioeconomic factors are not *directly* associated with types of police action against Indigenous adolescent offences in most types of council. Median Indigenous household income is not significantly

correlated with any type of police action in any type of council, while median Indigenous individual income is not significantly correlated with any type of police action in urban, rural or Island councils, and is only significantly correlated with 'notices to appear' in Aboriginal councils.

Indigenous participation in the labour force has no significant correlation with any type of police action in Island or rural councils, only a comparatively low level correlation with 'other police action' in urban councils ($p = 0.02$), but significant correlations with most types of police action in Aboriginal councils. The rate of Indigenous CDEP employment is not significantly correlated with any type of police action in Aboriginal or Island councils and was not analysed in urban or rural councils. The rate of Indigenous unemployment is not significantly correlated with any type of police action in Island, Aboriginal or rural councils, but is significantly correlated with 'cautions' in urban councils.

There is no significant statistical relationship between education and any type of police action in Island, rural or urban councils, but education is significantly correlated with 'arrests'[18], 'community conferences' and 'other police action' in Aboriginal councils.

There is no significant correlation between the Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD) and any type of police action in any type of council. Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank is significantly correlated with 'arrests', 'cautions', 'notices to appear' and 'other police action' in Aboriginal councils[19], and with 'cautions' and 'other

[18] But the relationship between education and 'arrests' was significant only at the 0.06 level.
[19] The relationship with 'arrests' was significant at the 0.05 level, but with 'cautions' only at the 0.06 level, and with 'notices to appear' and 'other police action' only at the 0.07 level.

police action' in urban councils, but is not correlated with any type of police action in rural or Island councils.

There appear to be no significant statistical relationships between socioeconomic factors and police actions against Indigenous adolescents in rural and Island councils, but there is a significant relationship between employment factors and police actions against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils. The importance of employment in urban councils will be examined further in the section dealing with inequality factors. However, the most significant impacts of socioeconomic factors are seen in Aboriginal councils. More police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to be taken in those Aboriginal communities that suffer from the greatest socioeconomic disadvantage, as indicated by income, education, labour force participation, and Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank.

Housing factors and types of police action

The rate of Indigenous home ownership is significantly correlated with all types of police action against Indigenous adolescent offences except 'other police action' in rural and urban councils, but is not significantly correlated with any type of police action in Aboriginal or Island councils.

As Indigenous home ownership is not common in Aboriginal or Island councils, Indigenous housing loan repayments are not significantly related to any type of offence in Aboriginal or Island councils. The variable is significantly correlated with 'arrests' in rural councils, although the level of significance is low ($p = 0.049$), and is significantly correlated with 'other police action' in urban councils.

Median Indigenous rent has no significant correlation with any type of police action in Aboriginal councils, but has a significant positive correlation with ‘notices to appear’ in Island councils, a significant negative relationship with ‘notices to appear’ in rural councils, and significant negative relationships with all types of police action except ‘community conferences’ in urban councils.

Residential overcrowding in Indigenous councils is indicated by bedroom occupancy rates, household size and percentage of Indigenous multi-family households. Overcrowding is not significantly correlated with any type of police action in Island, rural or urban councils but is significantly correlated with ‘arrests’ and ‘other police action’ in Aboriginal councils.

In summary, less police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to be taken in rural or urban councils where Indigenous residents have apparently conformed to mainstream norms of residential status, as evidenced by Indigenous home ownership. Also, the act of conformity seems to be more important than the quality of the homes which are owned. In urban councils, less police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to take place in areas of greater socioeconomic status, as evidenced by higher rents, and this also applies to rural councils, albeit to a much lesser extent. More police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to be taken in Island councils that are more commercialised and where residential rents are higher, although attention has already been drawn to the fact that police stations are only present on these more commercialised and Westernised islands of the Torres Strait. Overcrowding does not seem to be significantly associated with levels of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents in rural, urban or Island councils, but it is a significant

factor in Aboriginal councils. Three measures of overcrowding[20] indicated that more police action against Indigenous adolescents is likely to occur in communities where overcrowding affects. This accords with the discussion in the previous section where it was shown that greater levels of police action occur in the more socioeconomically disadvantaged Aboriginal councils, as characterised by income, education, employment and overall Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage.

Cultural factors and types of offences

The percentage of Indigenous persons in a registered marriage has a significant negative correlation with rates of all types of police action against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils (where it is also a significant predictor of all types of police action except 'cautions'); with the major types of police action ('arrests', 'cautions', 'notices to appear') in urban councils; but with no types of police action in Aboriginal or Island councils.

The percentage of Indigenous persons in *de facto* marriages has a significant positive correlation with rates of 'arrests', 'cautions' and 'notices to appear' in urban councils – the reverse relationship is found with legalised marriage; with 'cautions' in rural councils, – although the level of significance is relatively low ($p = 0.042$); and with no types of police action in Aboriginal or Island councils.

There is no significant correlation between the percentage of Indigenous sole parent families and any types of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents in any type of council.

[20] These were bedroom occupancy rates, household size and percentage of multi-family households.

The Christianisation of Indigenous people is significantly correlated with rates of ‘arrests’, ‘notices to appear’ and ‘other police action’ in rural councils, and with ‘arrests’ and ‘notices to appear’ in urban councils. The variable is not significantly correlated with any types of police action in Aboriginal and Island councils.

The percentage of Indigenous language speakers is significantly correlated with the only type of police action to be analysed in Island councils, namely ‘notices to appear’. The variable is not significantly correlated with any types of police action in any of the other three types of council.

The percentage of Torres Strait Islanders in the LGA has a significant negative correlation with rates of ‘arrests’ in Aboriginal councils, and a significant positive correlation with rates of ‘arrests’, ‘community conferences’ and ‘notices to appear’ in urban councils. The variable is not significantly correlated with any types of police action in rural and Island councils.

In summary, lower levels of police action are taken against Indigenous adolescent offenders in Island councils, in which Indigenous cultural traditions, such as the use of Indigenous languages, are more widely practiced. This may be a result of the absence of police stations on outer islands of Torres Strait, but less police action is also taken against Indigenous adolescents in Aboriginal councils that have substantial proportions of Torres Strait Islanders, and this suggests that Indigenous cultural traditions are a strong protective factor. However, when Torres Strait Islanders are exposed to the mainstream culture of urban society, the protection of Indigenous culture is negated and police action against Indigenous adolescents in urban councils actually increases as the proportion of Torres Strait Islanders increases.

The Christianisation of Indigenous people in rural and urban councils is most likely a legacy of colonialism, as the higher rates of Christian affiliation are found in the rural towns and regional cities that formed part of the historical frontier of settlement. The association between colonialism and policing in Indigenous communities will be discussed more fully in Chapter 11.

Indigenous marriage also has a significant influence on police action against Indigenous adolescents in urban and rural councils. It is important to note, however, that the emphasis is on the marital relationship and not the family structure, as there is no significant relationship between sole parenting and types of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents. In rural councils, Indigenous populations are smaller and more homogenous, and Indigenous legalised marriages are a feasible indication of stable Indigenous communities whose residents have long conformed to the dominant social and cultural norms of mainstream rural societies and where, subsequently, lower levels of police action are taken against Indigenous adolescents. By contrast, Indigenous populations of urban councils are larger, more diversified and more dynamic. As in rural councils, Indigenous marriage is most likely an indicator of stability in urban councils, as evidenced by the strong significant correlation between Indigenous marriage and Indigenous home ownership ($r = 0.882$, $p<.001$). However, there is no significant relationship between Indigenous home ownership and Indigenous *de facto* relationships. Also, although legalised Indigenous marriages and *de facto* Indigenous relationships are significantly correlated with various types of police action in urban councils, the directions of the relationships are opposite. An examination of the correlation matrix shows that the ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment is significantly correlated with Indigenous legalised marriage ($r = -0.707$, $p<.001$) and with

Indigenous *de facto* relationships (r = 0.575, p = .002). Therefore, Indigenous marriage in urban councils seems to indicate not only greater stability but also greater equality.

Inequality factors

Social inequality can be seen as being *within* Indigenous communities, and *between* Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. For inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, there are a number of variables that can measure inequalities in employment, education, income and housing. However, these have only been calculated for urban and rural councils because there are insufficient non-Indigenous populations in Aboriginal and Island councils to allow comparisons. For inequality within Indigenous communities, Indigenous income variation has been measured by calculating the ratio of top quintile to bottom quintile of Indigenous weekly income in the LGA.

Indigenous/non-Indigenous inequalities in education, individual incomes, household incomes, residential rents and bedroom occupancies are not significantly correlated with any type of police action against Indigenous adolescent offenders in any type of council. In rural councils, inequalities in unemployment and house repayments are significantly correlated with rates of ‘arrests’, and inequality in home ownership is significantly correlated with rates of ‘cautions’. In urban councils, inequalities in home ownership are significantly correlated with all types of police action against Indigenous adolescent offenders; inequalities in unemployment are significantly correlated with all types of police action except ‘other police action’; and inequalities in household size are significantly correlated with ‘arrests’, ‘cautions’ and ‘other police action’.

Inequality within Indigenous communities, as measured by Indigenous income variation, has no significant correlation with any type of police action in urban, Aboriginal or Island councils. However, the variable is significantly correlated with ‘arrests’ and ‘other police action’ in rural councils.

In summary, inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations was not analysed in Island and Aboriginal councils, has a minor effect on levels of police action in rural councils, and has a major effect in urban councils, where lower levels of police action against Indigenous adolescents are likely to be experienced in urban areas that are characterised by less inequality in employment, home ownership and household size. Discrimination in policing, as evidenced by types of police action taken, may accompany discrimination in employment, especially in urban councils.

Inequality within Indigenous communities, as measured by Indigenous income variation, has no significant impact on levels of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents in Island, Aboriginal or urban councils, but it does have some effect in rural councils, especially on arrests. The relationship is negative, which indicates that less police action is taken against Indigenous adolescents in rural councils where there is greater income variation. This may suggest that more successful members of rural Indigenous communities have a positive influence on Indigenous adolescents and also on policing practices.

Other factors

Other factors to be considered here include remoteness, migration and police staffing levels. Remoteness is indexed according to accessibility to major service centres and capital cities. Remoteness has no significant correlation with any type of police action in Aboriginal

councils, but is significantly correlated with ‘cautions’ in urban councils, and with ‘arrests’, ‘cautions’ and ‘notices to appear’ in rural councils. Thus, police are more likely to use cautions as a type of police action against Indigenous adolescents in outer regional urban centres than in Brisbane and inner regional centres, and are more likely to take action against Indigenous adolescents in the more remote rural communities of the State. Remoteness could not be analysed in Island councils because all cases had maximum values of remoteness.

Migration refers to the percentage of Indigenous people in an LGA who lived at the same address one year ago. The variable is not significantly correlated with any type of police action in urban, rural or Island councils, but is significantly correlated with ‘arrests’ and ‘other police action’ in Aboriginal councils. This relationship is negative and fits in with the strong relationship between policing and overcrowding in Aboriginal councils, in that transient populations are less likely to attract police attention.

Police staffing levels are significantly correlated with ‘arrests’, ‘cautions’ and ‘notices to appear’ in rural councils; with ‘arrests’ and ‘notices to appear’ in Aboriginal councils; and with ‘notices to appear’ in urban councils. However, in rural and urban councils, correlations are significant at the 0.05 levels, while in Aboriginal councils, they are significant at the 0.01 level and very close to being significant at the 0.001 level. Although there are some problems associated with data on police staffing levels (see Chapter 5 on methodology), it is very likely that a stronger police presence in Aboriginal councils leads to more police action being taken against Indigenous adolescents.

This was the last of the chapters to display and discuss the empirical results of the research. The next chapter will integrate these results and present an overall sociological discussion of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland.

Chapter 11: Discussion and conclusion

Introduction

The previous results must be analysed through a sociological perspective but there are difficulties with many of the theories and perspectives previously used to analyse crime and juvenile delinquency. In Chapter 4, I discussed various criminological perspectives and explained why many of these would not be applicable for this research. Developmental theories of criminology, for instance, have been used in many Australian studies to explain patterns of adolescent offences (see National Crime Prevention 1999; Smart et al. 2004; Stewart, Dennison & Waterson 2002; Dennison et al. 2006; Livingstone et al. 2008; Homel, Lincoln & Herd 1999) but, because developmental criminology relies heavily upon longitudinal and intervention studies, this perspective was not applicable to my research or to this discussion. Similarly, because lifestyle or routine activity theory focuses on the immediate factors associated with the offence, and especially alcohol consumption in Indigenous communities (see Pearson 2000, 2001; Fitzgerald 2001a; Hunter 2001; Snowball & Weatherburn 2008; Weatherburn, Snowball & Hunter 2008), it was not applicable to my research because I could not access the data necessary to test the theory. Also, as mentioned throughout the thesis, other underlying structural factors also need to be examined in order to account for alcohol abuse and other lifestyle factors. Agnew's strain theory also focuses upon the immediate social environment of individuals and, because it is also not suited to macro studies of Indigenous communities, will not be used to discuss the results of the thesis.

Other theories that were discussed in Chapter 4 are not supported by the research results. In Hirschi's control theory, for instance, parental attachment is a consistent predictor of Indigenous adolescent offences (Lynch et al. 2003b, p.3), but my results do not support this. Factors such as commitment to education and employment are also intrinsic to control theory,

but my overall results show no significant direct relationships between Indigenous adolescent offending and education and/or employment. Finally, according to control theory, religious belief and church involvement will have a positive benefit on adolescents, and yet my research found a positive correlation between affiliation with Christianity and Indigenous adolescent offending, which means that, in many rural and urban regions, offending actually increases as affiliation to Christianity increases, which is the opposite to that proposed by control theory.

Many Australian studies have used social disorganisation theory to help explain criminal offending (see for instance Jobes et al. 2004; Jobes, Donnermeyer & Barclay 2005; Weatherburn & Lind 1998, 2006; Carcach 2000a, 2001; Carcach & Huntley 2002). Theories of social disorganisation hypothesise that low socioeconomic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility, family disruption, and urbanisation lead directly and indirectly to crime and delinquency (Sampson & Groves 1989, p.783), but my results showed that most of these factors had little or no direct overall impact on rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. Also, it should be noted that social disorganisation theory uses the norms and values of white middle-class Western societies to gauge an ‘organised’ society, and subsequently labels those that are different to this as ‘disorganised’. Again, this theoretical perspective fails to take into account the plurality of value systems that are inherent in a study of Indigenous societies in Queensland.

Young’s perspectives on crime are suitable to use in this discussion because they not only incorporate different cultures and social values, but also incorporate other valuable sociological perspectives such as Mertonian theory, labelling theory, and Marxist theory (see Young 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007). Many of Young’s arguments are based on Merton’s

means/end theory and on theories of relative deprivation. These theories can also be adapted to encompass different cultural and social values that exist not only between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, but also between Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and between Indigenous peoples from urban regions, rural areas and ex-missions and reserves. While Young uses many of Merton's basic concepts, he places them in a contemporary theoretical context and seeks 'to establish a cultural criminology which puts the transgressive in a structural context, which critiques the insipid rationalistic nature of current neo-liberal discourses while reformulating Mertonian notions of anomie in terms of energy, resentment and tension' (Young 2003, p.389).

According to Merton, 'it is the conflict between cultural goals and the availability of using institutional means – *whatever the character of the goals* – which produces a strain towards anomie' (Merton 1968, p.220, emphasis added). Merton identifies five types of adaptation to the strain between culturally defined goals and socially structured means, and these have, in turn, been adapted to this discussion. The first adaptation is 'conformity', where Indigenous people try to cope with social exclusion by conforming to, and believing in, mainstream values, and are offered the institutional means, such as education and employment, in order to achieve these goals. The second adaptation is 'ritualism' and includes Indigenous people who have access to institutional means such as education and employment, but do not aspire to all mainstream values, or believe that they can only achieve a modicum of success because of limited opportunities in education and employment and because of persistent racial discrimination. Nevertheless, they find it convenient to maintain a lifestyle that is acceptable to the white community, even if this means that, in the past, they had to cut ties with other Aboriginal people in reserves, missions and fringe camps (Rowley 1971a, pp.184-85).

Conformists and ritualists are most likely to abide by the norms and values of mainstream society and so criminal deviance is least likely.

The ‘flipsides’ to conformity and ritualism are ‘innovation’ and ‘retreatism’. Innovators seek to attain the cultural goals of mainstream society but are not provided with the institutional means to do so, and so use illicit or illegal means to achieve their success goals. Retreatists, on the other hand, have not only been denied the institutional means to succeed in mainstream society, but have no interest in mainstream success goals in any case. Retreatists are likely to suffer from the most intense experiences of anomie, of resentment and rejection. This form of adaptation is likely to lead to deviant behaviour, which not only includes criminal offending, but also the high rates of alcohol and drug abuse, suicide, and internecine violence experienced in many Indigenous communities. The final form of adaptation is ‘rebellion’, where Indigenous people reject the culture goals and institutionalised means of mainstream society and attempt to substitute them with new goals and means. This adaptation can be seen in the homeland movement, where Indigenous people move back to their homelands and utilise traditional means to achieve traditional culture goals. Much has also been written about resistance to colonialism on Queensland reserves and missions (see Cox 2000; Watson 1993; Martin 1993; Trigger 1988, 1992). This adaptation is not conducive to criminal offending.

Young’s contemporary perspectives on structural exclusion, cultural inclusion, and relative deprivation are very useful to this thesis, and so the first section of this chapter will elaborate and further develop Young’s perspectives, especially in the context of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland. The second section will compare Indigenous and non-Indigenous rates of adolescent offending in Queensland, particularly in the context of historical factors

pertaining to the governance of Aboriginal people in Queensland, which were discussed in Chapter 2. The third section will discuss *rates* of Indigenous adolescent offending in urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils, while the final section will discuss *factors* associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in the same geographical regions.

Young's perspective on structural exclusion, cultural inclusion and relative deprivation

Young (1999, p.30) speaks of the 'crisis of aetiology' in criminology that came about in the late twentieth century. Most criminological theories were associated with social positivism to some extent, in the sense that crime rates were thought to decrease as economic conditions improved, with resultant increases in employment, education, welfare spending and so on. Societies of many developed countries such as Britain, the United States, and Australia experienced the highest living standards known in human history during the 1960s and 1970s. Social reconstruction occurred, the welfare state was promoted, slums were demolished, higher educational standards were attained, and almost full employment was reached. However, this rise in affluence was not accompanied by a decline in crime rates, as foreseen by social positivists. On the contrary, crime rates have soared in Britain and the United States since the 1960s. Merton notes that economic improvement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was also not accompanied by a decrease in crime.

> Poverty as such, and consequent limitation of opportunity, are not sufficient to induce a conspicuously high rate of criminal behaviour. Even the often mentioned "poverty in the midst of plenty" will not necessarily lead to this result. Only insofar as poverty and associated disadvantages in competition for the culture values approved by all members of the society is linked with the assimilation of a cultural emphasis on monetary accumulation as a symbol of success is antisocial conduct a "normal" outcome (Merton 1938, p.681).

Crime rates have also risen drastically in Australia since the 1960s, but this is especially apparent with Indigenous crime rates. Police statistics have included Indigenous status only in recent years, and national data on Indigenous status of prisoners has been available only since 1988, but it is still possible to discern a pattern of increasing rates of Indigenous imprisonment since the 1960s. Rowley (1971a, p.352) reports that Western Australia was the only Australian State in the 1960s to record Indigenous status for convictions at magistrates' courts and for committals to higher courts. In 1962, Indigenous convictions in Western Australian courts represented 8.9 percent of total convictions and, by 1964, this figure had risen to 11.3 percent (Rowley 1971a, p.353). Rowley (1971a, pp.352-53) comments on the high rate of Indigenous overrepresentation in imprisonment during that period, yet, in 2007, Indigenous prisoners accounted for 24.4 percent of the total Australian prison population (ABS 2007b), which is a tremendous increase on Rowley's statistics when one considers that Western Australia has a much higher proportion of Indigenous residents than the national average. There has been a 93.9 percent rise in non-Indigenous prisoner numbers nationally from 1988 to 2007, but this has been heavily outweighed by the growth in Indigenous prisoner numbers, which is an astonishing 266.5 percent (ABS 2007b; Cunneen 2001a, pp.21-22; Carcach & Grant 2000, p.1).

This dramatic increase in Indigenous imprisonment has been accompanied by an increase in government expenditure. Indigenous funding has increased from $10.1 million in 1968-69 to $3.508 billion in 2006-07 (Gardiner-Garden & Park 2007). Altman, Biddle and Hunter (2004) examined trends across a number of socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous Australians using data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses. They found that, in the area of health, there has actually been a relative decline in comparison to non-Indigenous Australians. Individual incomes for Indigenous people rose relatively between 1981 and

1991 but then returned to 1981 levels, with Indigenous individuals receiving about half of the income of non-Indigenous individuals on average. The median Indigenous household size fluctuated slightly between censuses but remains at 1971 levels. Indigenous home ownership actually decreased relatively after 1971 and, although levels have improved, they have not surpassed those of thirty years or more ago. Employment schemes such as CDEP helped to improve the rate of participation in the labour force, but the full-time employment rate, relative to non-Indigenous full-time employment, actually dropped dramatically from 1971 to 1981 and, although it recovered in 1991 and 2001, was still well behind 1971 levels. Outcomes in education have continued to improve for Indigenous people and, although Indigenous adults are still three times more likely than non-Indigenous adults to never have attended school, this is a vast improvement over previous years. Nevertheless, there is a long way to go to 'close the gap' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous socioeconomic outcomes in Australia. Economic prosperity since the 1960s has helped to relieve the absolute deprivation that has historically affected Indigenous Australians but has done little to achieve equality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians or ease the relative deprivation experienced by Indigenous Australians. 'Crime is, therefore, not a result of personal pathology but of cultural and social pressures stemming from the heart of society' (Young 1999, p.81).

Young (1999, 2004) contrasts the immediate period after World War II, which he calls 'modernity', and the last third of the twentieth century, which he calls 'late modernity'. He contends that there was a reversal of structures of tolerance during these two periods. Modern societies did not accept 'diversity', including diverse cultural lifestyles, sexualities and family types. People were expected to conform and assimilate to white middle-class Western 'civilisation'. However, modern societies were relatively tolerant of 'difficulty'.

Prisons attempted to rehabilitate criminals; mental asylums treated drug addicts and patients with mental illnesses; immigrants were assimilated into mainstream society; rebellious teenagers were 'readjusted'; and dysfunctional parts of society were seen as a challenge to the welfare state (Young 1999, pp.59-60). On the other hand, late modern societies have embraced diversity or, as Young (1999, p.59) notes, they '*consume* diversity' (italics in original). Cultural diversity is experienced in food, clothing and music, while diverse hues of sexualities, family types and lifestyles are generally celebrated and accepted. But late modern societies avoid 'difficulty'. The difficult and dangerous classes of society are excluded from mainstream society; under late modernity, there is *more* emphasis on exclusion, and less faith in attempts to 'reform' or 'rehabilitate' difficult people. Defining particular groups as 'difficult' or 'dangerous' can lead to a hardening of boundaries, with an increase in policing and other efforts at social control on the one hand, together with an intensification of deviant behaviour on the other. Cunneen (2011) believes that the Australian criminal justice system 'plays a significant role in constituting social groups as threats and in reproducing a society built on racialised boundaries'.

Similarly, there has been a reversal of structures of tolerance towards Indigenous peoples. Prior to the 1970s, the diversity of Indigenous cultures was not welcome or accepted in mainstream society. Aboriginal people were expected to assimilate into mainstream society. In 1961, a Native Welfare Conference of representatives from State and Commonwealth governments agreed to the following definition.

> The policy of assimilation means that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, as other Australians (cited in Rowley 1971a, p.399).

At the same time, authorities were confident that they would be able to overcome any 'difficulty' associated with Indigenous peoples. In Queensland, the State government controlled reserves into the 1970s and government authorities maintained strict control over residents, with the more recalcitrant being sent to Palm Island.

Since the 1970s, however, there has been much greater recognition and acceptance of 'diversity', of Indigenous cultures and traditions (among many), although Indigenous cultural displays are often kept at arm's length to be 'consumed' as entertainment, advertising or tourism. But, while Indigenous diversity is embraced, mainstream society cannot abide the 'difficulty' associated with what is perceived as the 'dangerous' classes of Australian society, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are seen as a stereotypical example of these dangerous classes. Greater policing and harsher penalties for offenders are called for, while many Indigenous Australians are excluded from mainstream society, forced to live on ex-reserves or ex-missions, or in enclaves within towns and cities. As Hil and Dawes (2000, p.313) note:

> The 'double jeopardy' associated with being both young and black means that for those who 'watch' and 'notice' outbreaks of crime in their localities it is Indigenous youth who are often considered to pose the most direct and serious threat to public order and safety. In the current climate of a supposed 'law and order crisis' in which governments seek to extend the powers of the police and courts to contain the 'rising tide of crime', it is hardly surprising that the most sustained attention has been focused on Indigenous youth.

In rephrasing Merton, Young (1999, p.81) contends that 'crime is not the result of a lack of culture but of embracing a culture of success and individualism'. It is important to understand that it is not only structural exclusion that leads to the involvement of Indigenous adolescents in crime but also, paradoxically, their inclusion in mainstream culture, especially

consumer culture. Carl Nightingale (1993) points out this phenomenon in his study of socioeconomically disadvantaged black adolescents in Philadelphia.

> Inner-city kids' *inclusion* in mainstream America's mass market has been important in determining those kids' responses to the economic and racial *exclusion* they face in other parts of their lives. And, indeed, kids' experience of exclusion and of the associated painful memories has made their participation in mass culture particularly urgent and enthusiastic, for the culture of consumption has given them a seductive means to compensate for their feelings of failure (Nightingale 1993, p.135, italics in original).

Australian Indigenous adolescents have also been heavily influenced by the cult of consumerism. This is particularly evident in urban regions where the latest clothing, computer games, jewellery, mobile phones and other consumer items are keenly sought and are promoted in the media, television, internet, and movies. Dawes (2002, p.203), for example, contends that joyriding in stolen cars by Indigenous adolescents is 'fuelled by the mass media and advertising that played into their fantasies by perceiving cars as a means of escape from the boredom and predictability of their everyday lives'. The consumer culture has not had as great an impact on Indigenous adolescents in rural and remote communities but there can be no doubt that they are still strongly influenced by what is seen on television, the internet, movies, and other media. Of course, the most detrimental legacy of white culture has probably been alcohol but that is a subject that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Young goes on to stress how this lethal combination of cultural inclusion and structural exclusion leads to relative deprivation.

> The combination of cultural inclusion and economic exclusion is, to my mind, the key to the intense relative deprivation, humiliation and resentment, experienced by those at the bottom of the social structure and is also, I would argue, some part of the explanation of the intense and internecine levels of crime and disorder which they experience. So far, this is fairly in

> line with Merton's thinking, but I go on to stress the intensity of cultural inclusion in late modernity, because of the expansion of the mass media, the education system and consumerism (Young 2004, p.554).

The lethal combination of cultural inclusion and structural exclusion goes some way to explaining the problems of ghettos, slums and Indigenous enclaves in Australian urban centres. The major problem has not just been that Indigenous people have been structurally excluded, but that they have been too substantially included in the mainstream culture before being systematically excluded from the realisation of the goals of that culture. This inclusion in mainstream culture has been particularly relevant for Indigenous adolescents in urban regions, less so for those in rural regions, and even less for those in remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Nevertheless, all Indigenous adolescents are subjected to pressures from mainstream culture in one way or another and thus all experience relative deprivation to some extent. It should be pointed out here that I am only discussing relative deprivation through the perspectives of Jock Young. Other concepts, such as systemic racism, will be discussed later in the chapter. Because experiences of relative deprivation differ depending on geographical and cultural factors, the effects of relative deprivation on Indigenous adolescent offending will be discussed more fully later in this chapter where factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils are discussed.

Up until now, we have been discussing the 'gaze upward' (Young 1999, p.9) of relative deprivation, where structural exclusion from mainstream society is compounded with deprivation of the status symbols of that society, thus leading to humiliation, threat to identity, and a sense of being a 'loser'. However, Indigenous people and others that Young

(2007, p.46) refers to as the ‘underclass’ are also severely impacted upon by the ‘gaze downward’ of relative deprivation.

A large proportion of the ‘contented’ upper and middle classes might be sympathetic towards the plight of Indigenous people and accordingly act in a charitable way towards them, but a much larger population of the ‘discontented’ working class are likely to feel that their taxes are going towards the support of an undeserving underclass of ‘welfare cheats’ and criminals (Young 2007, p.41). Public pressure results in a much greater focus of attention by welfare authorities on the most disadvantaged members of society and a much higher level of policing in socioeconomically disadvantaged communities, of which Indigenous people are highly representative. Subsequently, Indigenous people are disproportionately charged with *Centrelink* breaches and offences; Indigenous parents and carers are subject to much greater scrutiny by child protection services; and Indigenous adolescents and adults become a much greater focus of police attention. Hil and Dawes (2000, p.321) refer to this as ‘the connected indices of racialisation and reversed egalitarianism’. This exaggerated response towards Indigenous people and other disadvantaged members of society is not only more punitive, but results in even greater humiliation and debasement of identity. Thus, relative deprivation, through working upward and downward in society, creates hostility on both sides of the social divide and is a perfect recipe for greater violence and criminal offending.

Young (2001, pp.26-27) identifies three basic perspectives on social exclusion. Firstly, there is self-exclusion where the agent refuses opportunity. This is the weakest of the three perspectives and posits that excluded individuals only have themselves to blame for their exclusion due to a lack of motivation and dependency on the welfare system. This position is evident in the writings of Noel Pearson.

> The traditional subsistence economy was very much a real economy. If you didn't work, you starved …. The white fella market economy is a real economy. If you don't work, you don't get paid. Then there is the 'gammon' economy of passive welfare, which is artificially created by government on 'gammon' principles (Pearson 2001, pp.27-28).

The second perspective on social exclusion involves an unintentional failure of the system in that it provides only a few jobs, and this leaves pockets of individuals in 'social isolation' without role models. In the first perspective mentioned above, individuals refuse opportunity. In the second perspective, opportunities are scarce and individuals do not have the capacity to take advantage of them. Racism is ruled out as a primary reason for social exclusion in this perspective, of which William Julius Wilson (1987) is a major proponent. He believes that the exodus of working families from ghettos in American cities has removed an important social buffer against the impacts of prolonged unemployment.

> [T]he very presence of these [more economically stable and secure] families during such periods provides mainstream models that help keep alive the perception that education is meaningful, that steady employment is a viable alternative to welfare, and that family stability is the norm, not the exception (Wilson 1987, p.56).

If, in the first perspective, individuals refuse opportunity and, in the second perspective, lack capacity for taking advantage of opportunity, then in the third perspective, individuals can be seen to be actively blocked from taking advantage of opportunities. This perspective stresses the active rejection of an underclass by society through stigmatisation of the unemployed, racial stereotyping, and criminalisation of the underclass. This is the strongest of the three perspectives and is backed up by the works of Nikolas Rose, Christian Parenti, and Zygmunt Bauman (cited in Young 2001) and, of course, Young himself (1999, 2001a, 2003, 2004, 2007).

The notion of social exclusion is often accepted and adopted by governments in the formulation of policy and decision making. The problem, according to Young (2001a), is that a dualist perspective of social exclusion is envisaged by governments. A number of false binaries are attached to this dualist perspective, which portrays sharp boundaries between mainstream society and the socially excluded, rather than the blurred boundaries that actually exist. These binaries include a mainstream society and an underclass; an unproblematic society and problem groups; an organised mainstream community and social disorganisation; the employed and the unemployed; economically independent members of society and those who are dependent on welfare; stable families and sole parent families; licit prescription drug use and illegal substance abuse; and victims and criminals (Young 2001a). Similarly, the socially excluded are presumed and preferred to be also spatially excluded from mainstream society. All of these binaries obfuscate the reality of social or structural exclusion, especially when ethnic or racial factors are also taken into consideration. Residents of remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are certainly spatially isolated from mainstream society and this is an important factor in these communities, but segregation into fringe camps and urban ghettos in Queensland cities and towns is nowhere as prevalent as that which occurred up until the 1960s and 1970s. Criminals can be found amongst all classes of society, as can illegal drug use; the stability and normality of the nuclear family is questionable in comparison to other family types; those who are unemployed or dependent upon welfare may not necessarily be structurally excluded from society; and there is certainly no simple binary of ‘contented’ and ‘discontented’ groups in society, but a continuum from one extreme to the other. While a dualist perspective exaggerates the reality of social exclusion, it also underestimates the seriousness of the problem. Structural exclusion from education, citizenship rights, and employment and other sections of the economy blocks individuals from taking advantage of opportunities in society and subsequently leads to

feelings of rejection, loss of respect, and general discontent. These feelings are often expressed through substance abuse, violence or other crime. Similarly, relative deprivation is a 'creature of comparison' and, being subjective in nature, varies according to individuals. Those who experience the greatest relative deprivation are more likely to be discontented with their life chances and more susceptible to deviant or criminal behaviour.

Structural exclusion and relative deprivation can also lead to a heightened toughness or hypermasculinity in male adolescents. Daly and Lincoln (2006, p.251) inform us that heightened male criminality is often referred to as 'doing masculinity', while Cunneen and White (2002, p.230) believe that 'Crime becomes a way of accomplishing gender, particularly where other "resources" are not available'. As discussed in Chapter 6, 77.3 percent of all Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland are committed by males, and 80.5 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences too are committed by males. According to Carrington (1993, p.35), the main issue involved in the much higher rates of male offending is the 'masculinity of criminality', and she believes that the sex differential between male and female youth offending 'has been left untheorised in feminist readings of sex and juvenile court statistics, as it has been in most mainstream criminology'. However, this certainly does not mean that female youth offending should be ignored. 'Women's lesser participation in criminal deviance does not justify their exclusion from the criminological literature' (Roach Anleu 1995, p.167). There are, undoubtedly, much higher proportions of adolescent offences committed by males but, at first glance, it seems that ethnic or racial factors do not have anything to do with this phenomenon, although they are definitely responsible for the significant overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Queensland criminal justice system. These high proportions of male offences deserve some investigation.

Young (1999) believes that it is a global phenomenon. He remarks that 'Young men facing such a denial of recognition turn, everywhere in the world, in what must be almost a universal criminological law, to the creation of cultures of machismo' (Young 1999, p.12). These 'cultures of machismo' can be witnessed in the formation of street gangs, in the hierarchy of 'tough' and physically strong males in prisons and juvenile institutions, and in greater recourse to physique and 'the body' as sites for construction of identity (see Young 1999; Cunneen & White 2002; Connell 1995).

There is, however, also a greater need for males to prove their masculinity by taking more risks. This can be seen in the data from this research. Covert types of theft such as shoplifting and fraud account for 32.5 percent of all female adolescent offences, whereas these types of offences only account for 11.5 percent of all male adolescent offences. On the other hand, the more overt types of offences, such as break and enter, robbery and motor vehicle theft, account for 25.2 percent of all male adolescent offences but only 13.2 percent of all female adolescent offences. Surprisingly, the 'culture of machismo' is not borne out in statistics on assault related offences, which account for 7.9 percent of all female adolescent offences and 5.1 percent of all male adolescent offences. In his study of black youths in Philadelphia, Nightingale (1993, p.46) found that 'Values of aggression and aggressive behavior do enter into girls' compensatory identities in the neighborhood, despite boys' and men's dominance of these forms of expression'. There are even greater differences in patterns of offending according to Indigenous status and gender, and these will be discussed later in this chapter. For now, it suffices to concur with Young (1999, p.94), who contends that 'lower class youth have the most extraordinary crisis of identity and self-worth. It is not just relative deprivation, then, that they confront but ontological crisis.' It will be seen in later sections of this chapter that ontological crisis due to structural exclusion based on class

and race does indeed lead to greater levels of high risk offending amongst Indigenous male adolescents, but that this ontological crisis is also experienced by Indigenous adolescent females who also engage in much higher risk offences than their non-Indigenous counterparts.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous rates of adolescent offending

Indigenous adolescents are overrepresented in the criminal justice system in Queensland by a ratio of almost five to one. Many studies have attributed high rates of criminal offending to low socioeconomic status (see for instance Jobes et al. 2004; Jobes, Donnermeyer & Barclay 2005; Weatherburn & Lind 1998, 2006; Carcach 2000a, 2001; Carcach & Huntley 2002; Osgood & Chambers 2000; Sampson & Groves 1989), but socioeconomic status or class discrimination alone cannot explain the high rate of overrepresentation of Indigenous adolescents in the Queensland criminal justice system, even though Indigenous Queenslanders are, on average, the most socioeconomically disadvantaged group in Queensland society. In order to emphasise this point, I will briefly examine a Local Government Area in Queensland where socioeconomic outcomes of non-Indigenous residents approximate those of Indigenous residents.

In the 2006 Census, Mount Morgan Shire Council had a population of 322 Indigenous residents and 2459 non-Indigenous residents. The median Indigenous individual weekly income was $236, compared to $267 for non-Indigenous people, while the median Indigenous weekly household income was $589, compared to $498 for non-Indigenous households. Median monthly housing loan repayments were $585 for Indigenous households and $541 for non-Indigenous households; median weekly rents were $115 for Indigenous households and $110 for non-Indigenous households. In educational outcomes, 21.7 percent

of Indigenous residents had attained grade 12 standard, in comparison to 20.5 percent of non-Indigenous residents. With regards to employment, 42.5 percent of Indigenous people aged 15 years or over participated in the labour force, in comparison to 39.1 percent of non-Indigenous people; and unemployment rates were 15.3 percent and 14.4 percent for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people respectively (ABS 2007). It can be seen that Indigenous residents of Mount Morgan may have suffered a slight socioeconomic disadvantage in comparison to their non-Indigenous counterparts, but that differences were minor.

An examination of the rates of offences among Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents in Mount Morgan Shire Council, however, shows much greater differences between the two groups. The rate of offences among Indigenous adolescents over the period 2005-07 was 1357 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents, in comparison to 476 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescents. These are both much higher than the overall Queensland rates of 577 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents and 119 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescents and thus show that social class and/or socioeconomic status are significantly associated with adolescent offending, but it is the difference between the rates of Indigenous and non-Indigenous offences in Mount Morgan Shire Council that point to factors beyond class or socioeconomic status. Structural exclusion based on class does indeed lead to higher rates of offending but, when this class-based exclusion is compounded by racial exclusion, then the extent of structural exclusion is increased enormously and, consequently, so is the rate of offending by the racialised group.

Roach Anleu (1995, p.35) points out that Young's early Marxist perspectives on deviance and crime, such as that proposed in *The New Criminology* (Taylor, Walton & Young 1973), look at 'the ways in which particular historical periods give rise to economically and politically powerful groups' (Roach Anleu 1995, p.35). The systemic racism that is endemic in Queensland government policy pertaining to Indigenous people is an example of the ways in which economically and politically powerful groups were able to succeed in their endeavours, to the detriment of Indigenous peoples. Also, according to the radical model of crime prevention, 'crime is the product of social problems and, specifically, the deprivation, alienation, and political marginalisation experienced as a result of subjugation to inequitable capitalist political systems' (White & Perrone 2005, p.279).

The historical contexts of Indigenous policy in Queensland that were discussed in Chapter 2 go a long way in explaining the high overrepresentation of Indigenous people, and for the purposes of this thesis, Indigenous adolescents, in the Queensland criminal justice system. In Aboriginal councils that were previously reserves and missions, Aboriginal people have had a long history of structural exclusion and systemic racism and their communities continue to lack the political and economic independence and freedom that is experienced by other Local Government Areas in Queensland. These Aboriginal communities also remain spatially excluded from mainstream society. In rural councils, Aboriginal people were stigmatised during the era of assimilation and this stigmatisation and criminalisation of Indigenous people continues to operate at many levels in rural Queensland towns. Stigmatisation is easier to escape in the more populated urban regions of Queensland where anonymity can be more easily achieved, but the problem in urban regions is that Indigenous adolescents have been too substantially included in the mainstream culture before being systematically excluded from the realisation of the goals of that culture. It is only amongst the islands of Torres Strait

that much lower rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are experienced, and this is because Torres Strait Islanders have not endured the same historical impacts of confinement to reserves or missions, or of forced assimilation into mainland and mainstream white society, and because they still retain much of their traditional culture and have not been subjected to mainstream culture to the same extent as Indigenous people on the mainland, especially in the urban regions. The differences between urban, rural, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander councils will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter but, for now, I wish to focus on a comparison of Indigenous and non-Indigenous offences.

Non-Indigenous adolescents are much more urbanised than Indigenous adolescents, with urban non-Indigenous adolescents representing 86.7 percent of the total non-Indigenous adolescent population and urban Indigenous adolescents representing 64.6 percent of the total Indigenous adolescent population in Queensland. This is because Indigenous people have been historically excluded from towns and cities, and Indigenous migration to cities has only occurred since the 1960s, when assimilation policies were strongly promoted. Much of this migration also came about because of the decline in rural employment since the 1960s (Carrington 2007b, p.96). Taylor (2006, p.3) reports that the proportion of the Indigenous population living in urban regions throughout Australia increased from 44 percent in 1971 to 74 percent in 2001. Because the Queensland government retained control over its Indigenous population for much longer than other States, the urban growth began much later. In 1981, for instance, Indigenous residents of the Brisbane Statistical Division represented only 9.7 percent of the total Queensland Indigenous population (ABS 1983a, 1983b), whereas in 2006 they represented 24 percent of the total (ABS 2007). Although over half of all Indigenous adolescent offences (57.1 percent) occur in urban regions, this is merely a reflection of the urban population. In fact, the Indigenous adolescent offending rate in urban councils is 510

offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents, in comparison to 659 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents outside of the urban regions. The highest Indigenous adolescent offending rates occur in those regions that have suffered from a long history of structural exclusion and systemic racism, and so the highest rates are found in ex-missions and reserves, followed by rural centres in proximity to these Aboriginal communities. This is evidenced by a comparison with the more uniform rates of non-Indigenous adolescent offences in rural and urban councils, which are 109 and 119 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescents respectively.

Earlier in this chapter, it was shown that Indigenous status did not contribute to an emphasis on hypermasculinity or higher proportions of offences committed by Indigenous adolescent males. In fact, Indigenous adolescent males accounted for 22.1 percent of all adolescent male offences in Queensland, and Indigenous adolescent females accounted for 25.6 percent of all female offences. Also, the rate of Indigenous adolescent female offences was 5.7 times that of non- Indigenous adolescent female offences, in comparison to an overrepresentation of 4.7 times for Indigenous males. If anything, structural exclusion due to racial factors had a slightly greater detrimental impact on Indigenous adolescent females and thus led to greater criminality.

The effects of structural exclusion are experienced from a young age and this translates into earlier onsets for offending for Indigenous adolescents. Indigenous 10-15 year offenders are responsible for almost half of all Indigenous adolescent offences, whereas non-Indigenous offenders in the same age category only account for about thirty percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent offences. Looked at in another way, the rate of Indigenous 10-15 year

offences is 7.3 times that of non-Indigenous offenders in the same age category, compared to an overrepresentation of 4.1 times in the 16-19 year category.

There are also significant differences in patterns of offending according to Indigenous status. Although Indigenous adolescents are overrepresented in every category of offence, the extent of the overrepresentation varies from two times for drug offences to over eight times for motor vehicle theft. Earlier in this chapter we saw how there was a greater need for males to prove their masculinity by taking more risks. This is more pronounced in Indigenous adolescent males where, for instance, overt acts of theft such as unlawful entry, motor vehicle theft, and robbery account for forty percent of all Indigenous adolescent male offences but for only 21 percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent male offences. However, the much higher rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences are accompanied by much higher rates of Indigenous adolescent female offences, and again involve the 'riskier' type of offences. Taking the aforementioned offences as an example again, they also account for about 21 percent of all Indigenous adolescent female offences but only about ten percent of all non-Indigenous adolescent female offences. There is a pronounced tendency for Indigenous adolescent males to commit offences for material gain, with all theft related offences accounting for over half of all Indigenous adolescent male offences and less than a third of all non-Indigenous adolescent male offences, and this demonstrates the effects of relative deprivation on Indigenous adolescent males. The humiliation and lack of respect and identity associated with structural exclusion and relative deprivation is evidenced differently in Indigenous adolescent females, where good order offences account for a much higher proportion of total offences than that found with non-Indigenous adolescent females, or any adolescent males, regardless of Indigenous status, for that matter.

The types of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents, in comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents, demonstrate the intolerance of 'difficulty', as espoused by Young (1999, 2004), in present day Queensland society. 'Arrests' account for more than 43 percent of all police actions taken against Indigenous adolescents but for only about 27 percent of those taken against non-Indigenous adolescents. Whereas 'arrest' was the most common form of police action taken against Indigenous adolescents, non-Indigenous adolescents were most likely to be issued with a 'notice to appear'. Therefore, if policing is seen to reflect the concerns of mainstream society, then crime is not only racialised, but Indigenous offenders are perceived to present a greater risk to society than non-Indigenous offenders. As Cunneen (2007b) notes, 'what is important in the context of policing is that racialised constructions of Aboriginality inevitably facilitated discriminatory intervention' (Cunneen 2007b, p.234). On the other hand, Carrington (1993, p.36) does not believe that there is 'an essentialised relation between race and justice', because over-policing in Indigenous communities 'is as much the result of the stress that policing strategies place on controlling public conduct as it is the result of conscious decisions to subject Aboriginal communities to disproportionate degrees of policing' (Carrington 1993, p.51). Nevertheless, if the *outcome* of the criminal justice system is an overrepresentation of Indigenous people, then it must reflect, to some extent, an organisational failure within the system and, therefore, systemic racism (see Blagg et al 2005).

Although class discrimination and low socioeconomic status can lead to structural exclusion and relative deprivation, the effects of these are exacerbated by structural exclusion based on racial factors. This results in Indigenous people being criminalised at a much younger age. Indigenous adolescent rates of offences are much higher than those experienced by non-Indigenous adolescents, and Indigenous male *and* female adolescents engage in offences that

require greater risk. Indigenous adolescents are subjected to mainstream consumer culture but, because they lack the resources to obtain the material success symbols of mainstream culture, they experience relative deprivation and are much more likely to obtain goods illegally, and this is shown in their patterns of offending. Finally, the mainstream society cannot tolerate difficulty and, because Indigenous adolescents are viewed as a dangerous or difficult social group, they are not allowed the same latitude of trust, tolerance or freedom as that given to non-Indigenous adolescents.

Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils

If rates of Indigenous adolescent offending were to be examined through a lens of structural exclusion/cultural inclusion, as pointed out throughout this thesis, then the highest rates of offences would be expected to be found in those regions that have suffered from the greatest amount of structural exclusion, both historically and in present times, and inclusion in mainstream culture would also be a significant factor. This is indeed the case, with the rate[21] of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils being 1107, compared to 600 in rural councils, 510 in urban councils and 176 in Island councils. The overall rate of non-Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland is 119. This pattern persisted when Indigenous adolescent offences were analysed according to gender and age. It persisted when it was measured according to types of police action taken, with the exception of the lowest volume category of 'community conferences'. The pattern also persisted when types of offences were analysed, although there were some slight anomalies. Rates of violent offences and motor vehicle related offences were approximately the same in urban and rural

[21] Rates are calculated as the number of Indigenous adolescent offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescent residents in the population.

councils; rates of drug and liquor offences, motor vehicle related offences and sundry offences were lower in Island councils than those found in the overall non-Indigenous adolescent population; and rates of good order offences were about the same in Island councils and amongst the overall non-Indigenous population.

Aboriginal councils experienced the highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland because they have suffered, and continue to suffer, from much higher levels of economic, political and social exclusion than other Indigenous communities in Queensland, and have suffered directly from historical and contemporary impacts of systemic racism. All of the councils in this category were previously missions or reserves and they continue to be spatially isolated from mainstream communities. Memmott et al. (2001, p.14) and Cunneen (2001b, p.33) also comment that the worst incidences of crime – amongst Indigenous people of all ages – occur in communities that have histories of being mission centres and government reserves. It is interesting to note that the two Aboriginal communities that first had local government imposed upon them, Aurukun and Mornington Island, have the highest and third highest rates of offences among the nineteen Aboriginal councils. The government reserves of Woorabinda, Cherbourg and Palm Island have the second, fourth and eighth highest rates respectively. The deinstitutionalisation in Aboriginal councils was abrupt and, in most cases, people were actively blocked from taking any advantage of opportunities or did not have the capacity for taking advantage of opportunity. They could not cope with the changes that were taking place outside of their institutionalised lives and, in any case, 'When a Shire was imposed on the people their political voice was truly taken away from them or just ignored … so they allow[ed] White people political control over their lives with disastrous results' (McKnight 2002, p.215). Again, the policies of self-determination may not have been racist in *intent*, but still had racist *outcomes* because the Queensland

government failed to take into account cultural factors and the long-term impacts of protectionist and assimilationist legislation. Indigenous residents of missions and reserves not only lack the political and economic autonomy of other Local Government Areas in Queensland, but they also lack the economic and social resources and this is evidenced in extremely poor outcomes for health, housing, education and employment. Finally, they lack the cultural means to find their own way because they have historically been denied access to their own cultures and, although exposed to mainstream culture, have not been given the resources to partake in the material successes of that culture.

Indigenous residents of rural councils have also suffered enormous structural exclusion. Protectionist policies introduced at the start of the twentieth century ensured that most Aboriginal people were socially, economically and politically excluded from white mainstream society. They were thus constructed as an out-group (Merton 1968; Young 1999) or an inferior 'Other' (Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2003; Broadhurst 2002). When protectionist laws were relaxed and assimilationist policies were introduced, however, Aboriginal people continued to be regarded as an inferior 'Other' by rural townspeople. As Hogg and Carrington (1998, p.169) argue, crime and deviant behaviour in rural towns became racialised. If a white individual committed an offence, it was regarded as an individual failing, but if an Indigenous person committed an offence, it was seen as an indication of the criminogenic nature of Aboriginality (Hogg & Carrington 2006, p.93). This is what Cunneen (2001a) is referring to when he speaks of the 'criminalisation' of Indigenous people, what Carrington (2003, p.45) calls the 'criminalisation of otherness', and what Young (1999, 2007) regards as the intolerance of difficulty in late modern societies and the 'downward gaze' of relative deprivation. Public pressure results in a greater focus of police attention on Indigenous adolescents and adults. It is much like Merton's (1968, p.475) self-fulfilling

prophesy. Because Aboriginal people were labelled as criminal, they were excluded from white society, and residents of rural towns expected greater police surveillance over the Indigenous population. Over-policing of Aboriginal communities, especially the 'lower class' fringe camps, led to more involvement in the criminal justice system and further exclusion from white society, thus setting in motion a savage cycle of exclusion and offending, or an amplification of deviance (Young 1999).

Although most Indigenous people suffered from structural exclusion upon 'assimilation' into mainstream rural societies and continue to suffer from this structural exclusion, it is more prominent in the rural regions that are in close proximity to Aboriginal communities that were previously missions or reserves. For instance, the ten rural councils with the highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are, in decreasing order, Murgon, Paroo, Weipa, Goondiwindi, Dalby, Carpentaria, Mount Morgan, Kingaroy, Duaringa and Cook. Murgon Shire Council is adjacent to Cherbourg Shire Council; Weipa Town Council is adjacent to Aurukun and Napranum Aboriginal Councils; Goondiwindi Town Council is adjacent to the New South Wales border Aboriginal community of Toomelah, which was also an Aboriginal reserve; Carpentaria Shire Council is adjacent to Kowanyama Aboriginal Council; Duaringa Shire Council is adjacent to Woorabinda Aboriginal Council; and Cook Shire Council is adjacent to Hope Vale and Lockhart River Aboriginal Councils, and the Northern Peninsula Indigenous communities. Paroo Shire Council includes the rural town of Eulo, where the only officially gazetted town reserve and largest Aboriginal community in South West Queensland was situated (McKellar 1984, p.73). Dalby and Kingaroy Shire Councils are within 150 kilometres of Cherbourg Aboriginal Council. Mount Morgan Shire Council is a low socioeconomic LGA on the outskirts of Rockhampton, the closest regional city to Woorabinda Aboriginal Council. The point here is that high rates of Indigenous adolescent

offences are found in rural areas where there have been, and still are, marked contrasts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, and where Indigenous people have not only been spatially excluded, but also structurally excluded from mainstream communities. In fact, if the abovementioned councils were removed from the dataset of 49 rural councils in this analysis, the rate of Indigenous adolescent offences would decrease from 644 to 425 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents, which is lower than the offence rate in urban councils.

The Indigenous adolescent offence rate in urban councils is 510 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescent population and, although this is less than that found in rural and Aboriginal councils, it is still much higher than the Queensland non-Indigenous adolescent rate of 119 offences per 1000 non-Indigenous adolescent population. Historically, Indigenous people only migrated to the urban centres of Queensland in any significant numbers during the final third of the twentieth century. Because of the greater populations of urban regions and their cosmopolitan nature, anonymity is more easily achieved and structural exclusion is not experienced to the same extent as in rural councils and Aboriginal councils, although racial considerations are still a major factor associated with structural exclusion. It is the lethal combination of cultural inclusion and structural exclusion, the relative deprivation, however, that explains the high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils. Indigenous adolescents from urban regions are more immersed in mainstream culture than other Indigenous adolescents in other parts of Queensland but, while being substantially included in mainstream culture, they are also systematically excluded from obtaining the success goals of that culture. As Young (2001, p.43) argues, ‘discontent rises … when ethnic groups, once separate, become part of the mainstream, coupled with

blockages of social mobility, limited access to privileged labour markets and public prejudice and denigration – in short, an incomplete meritocracy'.

As with rural councils, the highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences can be found in urban regions that are geographically close to Aboriginal councils. The highest rates were found in Mount Isa City Council, which is the closest urban centre for the Gulf Aboriginal councils; the second highest rates were found in Rockhampton City Council, which is the closest urban centre for Woorabinda Aboriginal Council; and the third highest rates were found in Townsville City Council, which is the closest urban centre to Palm Island Aboriginal Council. The historical effects of structural exclusion in Aboriginal missions and reserves continue to impact upon the lives of Indigenous adolescents in urban regions of Queensland.

The lowest rate of Indigenous adolescent offences is found in Island councils. At 176 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescent population, it is much lower than that found in Aboriginal councils (1107), rural councils (600) and urban councils (510), and approaches the rate found in the overall Queensland non-Indigenous adolescent population (119). The difference between rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils and those on the mainland are quite remarkable and the differences remain significant when Indigenous adolescent offences are measured according to gender, age, type of offence, or type of police action. This is because Torres Strait Islanders experienced much less structural exclusion on their home islands, were not exposed to mainstream culture to the same extent as mainland Aborigines, and subsequently retained much of their traditional cultures, albeit adapted in many aspects because of colonial influences. It should be pointed out that this only applies to the geographical region of the Torres Strait and does not apply to Torres Strait Islanders who

migrated to the mainland, although this migration only began in earnest from the late 1960s (Sanders & Arthur 2001, p.3).

Although the Queensland government, particularly the Chief Protector, was responsible for the administration of Aborigines *and* Torres Strait Islanders, there were tremendous differences in methods of colonisation. Torres Strait Islanders did not suffer consequences of colonialism such as violence and disease to the same extent as Aboriginal people; they were not forcibly removed from their lands to the same extent as Aboriginal people [22]; there was no dormitory system or forced removal of children from their parents; there was no dismantling of kinship networks or confusion about social roles; their inclusion in the maritime industry meant social and economic inclusion; they adapted, but did not lose, their identity and distinctive culture; and they retained a sense of political autonomy. Admittedly, their movements were severely restricted by government Protectors, but they did not suffer the same adverse effects of colonialism as mainland Aborigines and were not expected to 'assimilate' into mainstream mainland society. Torres Strait Islanders did not experience the lethal combination of mainstream cultural inclusion and structural exclusion until they migrated to the mainland or to Thursday Island, the administrative centre for Torres Shire Council, which is a much more commercialised and ethnically diverse society than that found in other Torres Strait Islander communities. In fact, the rate of Indigenous adolescent offences in Torres Shire Council is by far the highest of all Island councils. Its rate of 533 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescent population well surpasses the second highest rate of 108, which was recorded for Badu Island Council. In fact, if Torres Shire Council was removed from the analysis, the rate of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils

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[22] Torres Strait Islanders were evacuated from Thursday and Hammond Islands in 1942 because of fears of Japanese invasion. Total number of removals from Torres Strait still only represents one percent of all removals in Queensland (Copland 2005, pp.122-147).

would be 74 offences per 1000 Indigenous adolescents, which is lower than the overall Queensland non-Indigenous adolescent rate.

Factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in urban, rural, Aboriginal and Island councils

This section of the chapter will compare the different factors that have been associated, by means of correlation and regression analyses, with Indigenous adolescent offences in different types of councils throughout this thesis. As befitting the different histories of Aboriginal, rural, urban and Island councils discussed in this chapter, there are also different factors associated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in the various types of councils. In fact, the only variable that has any significant relationship with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in *all* types of council is the variable that measures the percentage of Indigenous persons in the LGA who are in a registered marriage and, even with this variable, the levels of significance vary immensely, from an extremely high level of significance in rural councils to relatively low levels in Aboriginal councils.

Following the history of protection and assimilation policies in Queensland, and the structural exclusion/cultural inclusion that was associated with these policies, the results of correlation and regression analyses depict a changing pattern of factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offending, progressing from Aboriginal councils, through rural councils, to urban councils. Island councils had a different history again and thus have a different set of factors associated with their rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. In Aboriginal councils, the *absolute* socioeconomic disadvantage or deprivation experienced from a long history of structural exclusion is strongly pronounced, and policing is also a major factor. In rural councils, policing is still a significant factor, although not as significant as in Aboriginal

councils, and absolute socioeconomic disadvantage is hardly relevant. Instead, conformity to mainstream social structures, as evidenced by variables such as marriage and home ownership, is paramount and reflects problems associated with exclusion of Aboriginal people from rural townships. In urban councils, there is no evidence that *absolute* socioeconomic disadvantage or policing have any significant effects on rates of Indigenous adolescent offences, but *relative* disadvantage or deprivation is the major cause of discontent amongst Indigenous adolescents, reflecting the combination of structural exclusion and cultural inclusion espoused by Young (2001). In Island councils, analyses show that traditional culture acts as a protective factor, while migration to more Westernised areas is a risk factor. The factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in the various types of councils will now be discussed in greater depth.

Aboriginal councils

Residents of Aboriginal councils have suffered from much higher levels of economic, social and political exclusion than those experienced by residents of other types of council in Queensland. As a result of these high levels of structural exclusion, Aboriginal councils have the lowest individual weekly income, the lowest monthly household income, the lowest home ownership rate, the lowest proportion of persons who have competed year 12 education, the highest number of persons per bedroom, the largest household sizes, the highest proportion of multi-family households, and the highest rates of unemployment. It is little wonder then that absolute measures of socioeconomic disadvantage are significantly associated with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils. In the analysis of Aboriginal councils, 16 dependent variables were used to measure rates of offences and 27 independent variables were used to measure social, economic and cultural factors. The rate of labour force participation is the most important socioeconomic variable, being a significant predictor

of Indigenous adolescent male offences, 10-15 year offences, property damage offences, arrests, and community conferences, and is significantly correlated with five other dependent variables. Other important socioeconomic variables are Biddle's socioeconomic index[23], median Indigenous individual income[24], variables measuring overcrowding[25], median Indigenous rent[26], and completion of year 12 education[27].

A central argument of Cunneen (2001a, p.13) is that the policing of Aboriginal people involves continuities that have carried on from the earliest stages of colonialism, where police were involved in armed conflict with Aboriginal people and acted as 'protectors' of Aborigines by enforcing government policies such as forced removals. Aboriginal community police were employed to keep order on missions and reserves and, since they were dressed in the uniforms of the Queensland Police Service, may have been reminiscent of the Queensland Native Police (Rowley 1971a, p.112). Policing continues to have a major impact in Aboriginal councils, where it is the most significant single variable associated with Indigenous adolescent offences. The variable is a significant predictor of Indigenous adolescent female offences, 16-19 year offences, good order offences, sundry offences, and notices to appear, and is significantly correlated with six other dependent variables. Policing levels in Aboriginal councils are almost double those found in rural councils and about two

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[23] *Biddle's socioeconomic index* is a significant predictor of theft related offences and violent offences and is significantly correlated with four other dependent variables.
[24] *Median Indigenous individual income* is a significant predictor of female offences, theft related offences and notices to appear.
[25] *Average Indigenous household size* is a significant predictor of 'other' types of police action and is significantly correlated with drug & liquor offences and arrests; *average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom* is significantly correlated with theft related offences, arrests and 'other' types of police action; *percentage of multi-family households* is significantly correlated with drug & liquor offences, arrests and 'other' types of police action.
[26] *Median Indigenous rent* is a significant predictor of drug & liquor offences and is significantly correlated with one other dependent variable.
[27] *Completion of year 12 education* is significantly correlated with five dependent variables.

and a half times that found in urban councils[28]. The increased police presence, or perhaps over-policing, in Aboriginal councils may be seen as a necessary means of control by the Queensland Police Service but, due to media and public pressure, is also a reflection of the intolerance of difficulty in present day societies, as identified by Young. Regardless of whether the *intent* is benign or not, it can be seen that the *outcome* of increased policing in Aboriginal councils is an increase in rates of Indigenous adolescent offending, and this seems to indicate systemic racism.

Two other variables are worthy of mention here. As mentioned earlier, the percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages is significantly associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in all types of council and, in Aboriginal councils, is a significant predictor of good order offences and is significantly correlated with two other dependent variables. Rowley (1971a, p.21) believes that the strict controls of protectionist legislation may be the reason why legalised marriages are openly disregarded by people in Queensland Aboriginal communities. In fact, the median percentage of Indigenous people in registered marriages in Aboriginal councils in 2006 was 9.5 percent, compared to 24.8 percent in rural councils, 25.3 percent in urban councils, and 27.6 percent in Island councils (ABS 2007). The correlation between Indigenous adolescent offending and legal marriage is a reflection of the social exclusion brought about by government policies in Aboriginal communities. The other variable that should be mentioned is the proportion of persons of Torres Strait Islander descent in Aboriginal councils, which is a significant predictor of drug and liquor offences and is significantly correlated with three other dependent variables. A negative relationship exists between this variable and Indigenous adolescent offences and this is perhaps an

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[28] In 2006, the median policing staffing levels were 5.1 police staff per 1000 residents in Aboriginal councils, compared to levels of 2.63 and 2.01 police staff per 1000 residents in rural and urban councils respectively (QPS 2005).

indication of the protective effect of Torres Strait Islander culture on offending in Aboriginal councils. More will be said about the protective effects of Torres Strait Islander culture later in this chapter but suffice it to say that generations of colonial domination have devastated Aboriginal cultures in Queensland and traditional Aboriginal culture can no longer be used as cultural capital or as a protective factor against exposure to mainstream consumer culture. Migration of Torres Strait Islanders to many Aboriginal councils in the second half of the twentieth century has resulted in a strengthening of Indigenous cultural capital in these communities.

In summary, the main factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in Aboriginal councils are extremely poor socioeconomic outcomes caused by high levels of structural exclusion and high levels of policing due to systemic racism, the criminalisation of entire Indigenous communities and their labelling as 'difficult' populations. The next section will examine factors in rural councils.

Rural councils

There has been a history of structural exclusion due to racial factors in Queensland rural societies, where Indigenous people have long been regarded as the 'Other'. In order to have any chance of social, economic or political inclusion, Indigenous people were required to conform to mainstream values. Those who did not conform or 'assimilate' were still regarded as an outsider group and continued to be structurally excluded from mainstream society. Legal forms of Westernised marriage and home ownership are reasonable indicators of conformity to mainstream values and these have particularly strong relationships with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils. In other words, non-conformity is more likely to result in structural exclusion, which is more likely to result in the criminalisation of

Indigenous adolescents in rural councils. In analyses of rural councils, 15 dependent variables were used to measure rates of Indigenous adolescent offences and 36 independent variables measured social, economic and cultural aspects. The percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages is a significant predictor of twelve of the dependent variables[29] and is significantly correlated with the remaining three variables. It is by far the most significant variable associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils and its relationship to Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils is more robust than any other relationship between dependent and independent variables in any other type of council. The other feasible indicator of conformity to mainstream values is Indigenous home ownership, and it is a significant predictor of female offences and cautions, and is significantly correlated with 11 other dependent variables, thus also making it a very important measure of conformity and, therefore, structural exclusion.

The factors that were so important in Aboriginal councils, poor socioeconomic outcomes and high levels of policing, are still significant in rural councils, but to a much lesser degree. The variables that measure absolute disadvantage in employment, education, income and overcrowding are no longer significant, although Biddle's socioeconomic index is significantly correlated with six dependent variables. Policing is a predictor of motor vehicle related offences[30] and is significantly correlated with six other dependent variables but it must be kept in mind, as discussed in the methodology chapter, that this variable is not a reliable measure of police staffing levels in rural councils.

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[29] *The percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages* is a significant predictor of male offences; 10-15 and 16-19 year offences; violent, property damage, drug & liquor, theft related, good order and sundry offences; arrests, notices to appear and 'other' police action.

[30] If the variable that measures policing was removed from the analysis, then *percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages* would also be a significant predictor of motor vehicle related offences.

Earlier in this chapter, I made the point that the highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils are found in those regions where marked contrasts between populations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents lead to high levels of structural exclusion for Indigenous people, and that these regions are often in close proximity to Indigenous communities that were previously reserves and missions. This point is borne out by two variables in the analysis. Firstly, the proportion of Indigenous adolescents in an LGA is significantly correlated with 12 of the 15 dependent variables, although it was not a significant predictor in any regression equation. More racial intolerance is encountered in rural towns with higher proportions of Indigenous residents and thus results in higher levels of structural exclusion and subsequent higher rates of Indigenous offending (see Hogg & Carrington 1998, 2006; Jobes et al. 2004; Cunneen 2001a). Secondly, the proportion of Indigenous persons who are affiliated with a Christian religion is a significant predictor of 16-19 year offences and is significantly correlated with seven other dependent variables. The present distribution of Indigenous populations in rural Queensland, and present-day affiliation with Christianity in different regions, may reflect the historical legacy of reserves, where government administration was based on Christian principles and values, and Christian missions, and the lifting of restrictions of movement from these areas.

There is only one other variable that is of any significance to rates of Indigenous adolescent offending in rural councils. Indigenous income variation was not a significant predictor in any regression equation but is significantly correlated with seven dependent variables. At first glance, it seems strange that rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils decrease as the gap between the lowest and highest Indigenous income earners increases, especially since the variable had no significant effect on Indigenous adolescent offences in any other type of council. To interpret this, we need to look to the work of William Julius

Wilson, who believes that the exodus of working families from ghettos in American cities has resulted in the formation of an 'underclass'. Wilson (1987, p.7) contends that, up until the 1960s, urban lower class, working class and middle class African American families all lived in the same communities, albeit in different neighbourhoods.

> The very presence of these [working and middle class] families … provides mainstream role models that help keep alive the perception that education is meaningful, that steady employment is a viable alternative to welfare, and that family stability is the norm, not the exception (Wilson 1987, p.56).

In other words, the presence of working and middle class families acted as a 'social buffer' against the worst effects of structural exclusion based on racial factors. Since the 1960s, there has been an exodus of working and middle class African Americans to higher-income parts of the cities and to the suburbs, leaving behind an 'underclass' of individuals who lack education, training and suitable employment, and who experience greater poverty and welfare dependency (Wilson 1987, p.8). Wilson's work is relevant to the ensuing discussion of Indigenous adolescent offending in urban councils but can also be used to explain the association between Indigenous income variation and Indigenous adolescent offending in rural councils. Because of the small populations of rural towns, there are no 'suburbs' to which working and middle class Indigenous people can migrate and, although towns are often spatially defined by income, all residents reside in a single community. Thus, the presence of working and middle class families in the community acts as a social buffer against the worst effects of structural exclusion.

Non-conformity to mainstream norms and values is the greatest risk factor associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils. Indigenous people who do not, or cannot, conform to mainstream values continue to experience high levels of structural exclusion and

subsequent high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. Absolute socioeconomic disadvantage and police staffing levels continue to have some impact on rates of Indigenous adolescent offences but to nowhere near the same extent as that seen in Aboriginal councils. Much of the structural exclusion in rural councils is a legacy of government protectionist and assimilationist policies, but the tight-knit nature of rural communities can also act as a social buffer against the effects of structural exclusion in the right circumstances.

Urban councils

If it is *absolute* disadvantage or deprivation that is a major factor behind structural exclusion and subsequent high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Aboriginal councils, then it is *relative* deprivation, a combination of structural exclusion and cultural inclusion, that is mostly responsible for Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils. In urban councils, Indigenous adolescents are immersed in mainstream culture and, while desiring the material success symbols of mainstream culture, have been substantially denied the opportunities to obtain them. Because of the heterogeneous nature of urban communities, Indigenous adolescents find it relatively simple to compare their lifestyles with those of their non-Indigenous counterparts and, when these comparisons clearly show inequality, the relative deprivation that is experienced is often expressed as humiliation, feelings of rejection and loss of identity, and often leads to high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. Therefore, it is not the *absolute* socioeconomic outcomes that are important to urban Indigenous adolescents as such, but the perceived *differences* between socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescents, although these differences are not applicable to all socioeconomic factors. For example, *absolute* outcomes associated with education and incomes are not significantly associated with urban rates of Indigenous adolescent offences but neither are the *relative* outcomes in education and income between Indigenous and non-

Indigenous groups. Nevertheless, there are important associations between urban rates of Indigenous adolescent offences and relative deprivation experienced in unemployment, overcrowding and, to a lesser extent, home ownership.

For urban councils, 16 dependent variables were used to measure rates of Indigenous adolescent offences and 34 independent variables measured social, economic and cultural aspects. The ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment is the most significant of all independent variables used in the analyses. It is a significant predictor of eight of the dependent variables[31] and is significantly correlated with seven others. The *absolute* rate of Indigenous unemployment, however, is only significantly correlated with three dependent variables and is not a significant predictor in any regression equation. The ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous household size is a significant predictor of 'other' types of police action and is significantly correlated with eleven other dependent variables. On the contrary, *absolute* Indigenous household size has no significant relationship with any dependent variable in the analysis. The ratio of non-Indigenous to Indigenous home ownership is a significant predictor of cautions and community conferences and is significantly correlated with eleven other dependent variables. However, the variable that measures Indigenous home ownership itself is a significant predictor of good order offences and cautions, and is significantly correlated with nine other dependent variables. The reason that these two variables are much closer in levels of significance may be because the ratio of home ownership (relative measure) is an indication of relative deprivation, whereas Indigenous home ownership (absolute measure) is an indication of conformity to mainstream values, as discussed previously.

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[31] The *ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous unemployment* is a significant predictor of male offences, 16-19 year offences, drug & liquor, theft related, sundry and motor vehicle related offences, arrests, and notices to appear.

Non-conformity to mainstream values is still an indication of structural exclusion in urban councils but does not have the same degree of significance as found in rural councils. I have discussed the significance of Indigenous home ownership to Indigenous adolescent offences above, and the percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages is also of importance here, being a significant predictor of female offences and significantly correlated with twelve other dependent variables. The flipside of legal marriage, the percentage of Indigenous persons in de facto relationships, is a significant predictor of three dependent variables[32] and is significantly correlated with eight others. Because of small populations and the discrete nature of rural townships, non-conformity to mainstream values results in structural exclusion from the entire community whereas, in urban regions, non-conformity to mainstream values is more likely to be found amongst low income 'underclass' sections of the city. This concept of the 'underclass' is important in urban councils and will be discussed next.

In urban councils, Indigenous migration or relocation to higher income areas results in lower rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. This is demonstrated by the finding that Indigenous residential rent is a significant predictor of four dependent variables[33] and is significantly correlated with eleven others. Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences decrease as rents increase and this reinforces Wilson's (1987) notion of a low socioeconomic status 'underclass' that is left behind after working and middle class Indigenous people migrate from Indigenous communities and enclaves in the city to higher-income parts of the city, to outer suburbs, and even to other cities. With the exodus of working and middle class Indigenous residents, an important social buffer is removed, the 'underclass' subsequently

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[32] The *percentage of Indigenous persons in defacto relationships* is a significant predictor of 10-15 year offences, property damage offences, and cautions.
[33] *Median Indigenous rent* is a significant predictor of 10-15 year offences, violent offences, property damage offences, and good order offences.

becomes even more structurally isolated from mainstream society and, because they are still fully immersed in mainstream culture, relative deprivation is more keenly felt. High levels of unemployment can no longer be overlooked by the knowledge that other members of the Indigenous community are employed; those in overcrowded and substandard housing feel stigmatised and rejected by mainstream society because there are no longer working or middle class members of their community living in better class housing; and Indigenous home ownership belongs to a bygone era with the exodus of the working and middle class, replaced instead with 'social housing', which can become another form of stigmatisation.

As in rural councils, higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offending are found in urban regional cities that are in closer proximity to ex-missions and reserves than Brisbane and other urban regions in southeast Queensland. This is demonstrated again by the relationship between rates of Indigenous adolescent offences and two independent variables, namely the proportion of Indigenous adolescents in the LGA and the proportion of Indigenous persons affiliated with a Christian religion. The former was not a significant predictor in any regression equation but is significantly correlated with 12 dependent variables; the latter is a significant predictor of violent offences and good order offences and is significantly correlated with seven others. As in rural councils, these variables are indications of the historical impacts of colonisation on the structural exclusion of Indigenous people.

One other variable is worthy of mention here, but it is probably more relevant to the discussion of Island councils and possibly Aboriginal councils. The proportion of persons in the LGA of Torres Strait Islander descent is a significant predictor of community conferences and is significantly correlated with ten other dependent variables. Rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils increase as the proportion of Torres Strait Islanders in

the population increases. This is in contrast to Aboriginal councils, where rates decrease as the Torres Strait Islander population increases. In Aboriginal councils, there is a cultural void of sorts because Aboriginal cultures have been devastated by colonialism and because they are isolated to some extent from the full impacts of mainstream culture. The introduction of Torres Strait Islander culture helps to fill this void and alleviate the loss of identity experienced by many Indigenous people in remote communities, thus acting as a protective factor against Indigenous adolescent offending. In urban regions, however, Torres Strait Islanders are exposed to the full impacts of mainstream culture and they experience greater structural exclusion and relative deprivation. The migration of Torres Strait Islanders from their home islands to more commercialised and Westernised regions is of great significance to Indigenous adolescent offending in Island councils and so will be discussed more fully in the next section.

Island councils

In comparison to Aboriginal people on the mainland, Torres Strait Islanders retained much of their cultures and their autonomy throughout colonisation of the region. Torres Strait Islander cultures remained resilient, albeit adapted to colonial influences, but could only retain this resilience within the cultural confines of their own societies and home islands. After the Second World War, Islanders were given more freedom and were allowed to migrate to Thursday Island, which is the commercial and administrative centre of Torres Strait. Here, Islanders could gain employment in a greater range of occupations but they also ‘exposed themselves to the inequities of colonialism to a far greater degree than at home’ (Beckett 1987, p.84). The discrimination between Islanders and others on Thursday Island has continued until the present, and Islanders continue to experience much greater structural exclusion on Thursday Island and other commercialised islands in the vicinity. On top of

this, Islanders are exposed to a consumer culture in these urbanised regions that soon negates the protective effects of their traditional cultures. In essence, it is a reversal of the trend that was identified by Wilson (1987) in American cities. In cities, the exodus of working and middle class people from Indigenous communities to new areas of the city results in the removal of a social buffer and the formation of an underclass in the *old* community; whereas in Torres Strait, the exodus of people from their home communities to new commercialised areas results in the formation of an underclass in the *new* community. The dangerous combination of structural exclusion and cultural inclusion identified by Young (1999, 2004, 2007) then leads to higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. This argument is borne out by the results of analyses in Island councils.

Because of low populations, only eight dependent variables were used in the analysis and 22 independent variables measured social, economic and cultural outcomes. Median Indigenous rent has the most significant statistical association with rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils, being a significant predictor of six of the eight dependent variables[34]. In contrast to urban councils, the relationship is positive, which means that Indigenous adolescent offences increase as rents increase. This supports the argument made above that migration to higher-income areas of Torres Strait results in greater structural exclusion and cultural inclusion, which in turn leads to relative deprivation and higher rates of Indigenous adolescent offences.

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[34] *Median Indigenous rent* is a significant predictor of male offences, female offences, 10-15 year offences, 16-19 year offences, property damage offences and theft related offences. The significance of the variable is even more evident when it is considered that no independent variables were significant predictors of violent offences in any regression equation, and that the Pearson correlation between *median Indigenous rent* and notices to appear was significant at the 0.06 level (2-tailed).

While exposure to mainstream culture can be a risk factor for Indigenous adolescent offending in Island councils, attachment to traditional Torres Strait Islander cultures is a protective factor. The percentage of Indigenous language speakers is a significant predictor of 16-19 year offences and is significantly correlated with one other dependent variable. The median age of Indigenous persons is a significant predictor of 'notices to appear' and is significantly correlated with one other dependent variable. The relationship is negative and so rates of Indigenous adolescent offences increase as the median age of the LGA decreases, which is an indication of the migration of younger Torres Strait Islanders from their home communities. These two variables were not significant predictors in any regression equation in any other category of council and so demonstrate the significance of traditional cultures in Torres Strait. Finally, the percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages is also a significant variable[35], as it has been in other types of council, but here it is probably an indication of the impact of Christianity on Torres Strait Islander culture, rather than an indication of non-conformity. In fact, Torres Strait Islanders celebrate the 'Coming of the Light' on 1 July every year, which is the date in 1871 that the London Missionary Society first brought Christianity to the Torres Strait (Beckett 1987, p.87).

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[35] *The percentage of Indigenous persons in registered marriages* is a significant predictor of female offences and property damage offences.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to sociologically analyse the data on Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland so as to ascertain differences in rates and patterns of offences, not only in comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents, but particularly between Indigenous adolescents in different geographic regions, namely urban regions, rural regions, discrete Aboriginal communities, and islands of the Torres Strait. It has been seen that there are not only major differences in rates and patterns of offences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent populations in Queensland but also between distinct Indigenous adolescent populations when categorised according to various geographical locations. It has also been shown, however, that structural exclusion and relative deprivation underlay the high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland and are common factors throughout the thesis, even though their effects on Indigenous adolescent offending vary according to the geographical category of Indigenous community.

The Queensland government attempted to maintain paternalistic control over its Indigenous population well into the latter decades of the twentieth century and this type of all-encompassing control, combined with policies of protectionism and assimilation, has led to systemic racism and the structural exclusion of Indigenous people from mainstream society, although this is more pronounced in Indigenous communities that were previously missions or reserves and where Indigenous people were also spatially excluded from mainstream society. Indigenous adolescents in more urbanised regions are substantially included and immersed in mainstream consumer culture and, when this is coupled with their structural exclusion from the goals of mainstream culture, leads to greater experiences of relative deprivation.

There is a high overrepresentation of Indigenous adolescents in the Queensland justice system and it has been shown that class or socioeconomic status alone cannot account for differences in rates of Indigenous and non-Indigenous adolescent offences. Class discrimination and low socioeconomic status can lead to structural exclusion and relative deprivation, as evidenced by the 'cultures of machismo' among young males in general, regardless of Indigenous status, but the extremely high rates of offending by Indigenous adolescents, in comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents, are the result of much higher levels of structural exclusion and relative deprivation that are the result of historical and contemporary racial factors. Because these high levels of structural exclusion and relative deprivation are experienced from a young age, Indigenous adolescents show evidence of earlier onsets of offending, in comparison to non-Indigenous adolescents. Because Indigenous adolescents experience higher levels of structural exclusion and relative deprivation, they exhibit different types of offending behaviour to non-Indigenous adolescents, typically being involved in more overt or 'riskier' offences than non-Indigenous adolescents, although Indigenous males tend to commit offences for material gain, whereas Indigenous females commit 'good order' offences, such as offensive behaviour or disorderly conduct. Because relative deprivation works both 'upwards' and 'downwards', there is an intolerance by mainstream society of the 'difficulty' that is stereotypically represented by Indigenous adolescents, and greater policing is called for, which results in the racialisation of crime and the criminalisation of Indigenous adolescents. The intolerance of 'difficulty' by mainstream society is evidenced by the extremely high rate of arrests of Indigenous adolescents, whereas other non-custodial forms of police action are more typically used against non-Indigenous adolescents.

The above discussion has summarised the major factors associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland, when compared to non-Indigenous adolescent offending. The main aim of the thesis, however, has been to compare and contrast rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending in four geographical categories of Indigenous communities in Queensland, namely Aboriginal councils, rural councils, urban councils, and Torres Strait Island councils. The highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences were recorded for Aboriginal councils and the lowest rates for Island councils. Rates in rural and urban councils were roughly equivalent, although rates in rural councils were slightly higher on average. These patterns persisted when Indigenous adolescent offences were analysed according to gender, age, type of offence, and type of police action. Again, it must be stressed that structural exclusion and relative deprivation were found to be the main contributing factors that underpin Indigenous adolescent offending across Queensland but, following the history of systemic racism through Indigenous policy in Queensland, the pattern of structural exclusion and relative deprivation evolves from Aboriginal councils, to rural councils, and then to urban councils. The pattern of structural exclusion and relative deprivation is different again in Island councils because of different experiences of colonialism and government control. It is now time to take one final look at Indigenous adolescent offending in various types of Queensland Indigenous communities or geographical localities.

The rate of Indigenous adolescent offending in Aboriginal councils is about twice that found in rural and urban councils and more than six times that found in Island councils. These regions, which were previously missions and reserves, have by far the highest rates because they have experienced, and continue to experience, much higher levels of structural exclusion, and even spatial exclusion, than other Indigenous Queensland communities. They

lack the cultural means to find their own way because they have historically been denied access to their own cultures and, although exposed to mainstream culture, have not been given the resources to partake in the material successes of that culture. The *absolute* socioeconomic disadvantage or deprivation experienced from a long history of structural exclusion is strongly pronounced. These extremely poor socioeconomic outcomes in Aboriginal councils are the worst experienced in any category of Indigenous community and are a major factor in the high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences that are recorded there. Another major factor is the high level of policing in Aboriginal councils. This is representative of the intolerance of 'difficulty' by mainstream society, the difficulty that was once expected to be controlled by Aboriginal reserves and missions, and now is expected to be controlled through more rigorous policing.

The second highest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are found in rural councils, although they are only slightly higher, on average, than those found in urban councils. The factors that were so important in Aboriginal councils – poor socioeconomic outcomes and high levels of policing – are still significant in rural councils, but to a much lesser degree. Indigenous residents of rural townships were impacted upon by assimilationist policies to a much greater extent than residents of ex-missions or reserves and were expected to conform to mainstream norms and values, even though they were structurally excluded from mainstream society. Non-conformity to mainstream norms and values is the greatest risk factor associated with Indigenous adolescent offences in rural councils. Indigenous people who do not, or cannot, conform to mainstream values, as evidenced by factors such as marriage and home ownership, continue to experience high levels of structural exclusion and subsequent high rates of Indigenous adolescent offences.

The overall rate of Indigenous adolescent offences in urban councils compares with that found in rural councils, but the pattern of structural exclusion and relative deprivation underlying urban Indigenous adolescent offending is different again. Non-conformity to mainstream values is still an indication of structural exclusion in urban councils but does not have the same degree of significance as was found in rural councils. In Aboriginal councils, *absolute* disadvantage or deprivation is a major factor associated with Indigenous adolescent offences but, in urban councils, it is the lethal combination of structural exclusion and cultural inclusion, the *relative* deprivation, which explains rates of Indigenous adolescent offences. Urban Indigenous adolescents have a greater exposure to mainstream consumer culture than other Indigenous adolescents but, because of structural exclusion, are denied the opportunities to obtain the success symbols of that culture, thus resulting in feelings of humiliation, rejection, loss of identity, and subsequent delinquent or offending behaviour. Relative deprivation is also experienced because of the exodus of working and middle class Indigenous people to higher income areas, which then results in further resentment and discontent among the more disadvantaged adolescents who are left behind.

The lowest rates of Indigenous adolescent offences are undoubtedly found in Island councils, where Indigenous people did not suffer from the same historical impacts of colonialism as those on the mainland. They did not experience the forced confinement to reserves and missions, and subsequent structural exclusion, as those in Aboriginal councils. Nor have they experienced rigorous police control. They did not experience the same effects of assimilation and expectations to conform to mainstream values and norms as those in rural councils. On their home islands, they have not been immersed in mainstream culture to the same extent as those in urban councils. More importantly, perhaps, they have managed to retain much of their traditional culture, albeit adapted because of colonial influences, although this cultural

resilience is confined to their traditional societies and home islands. Nevertheless, structural exclusion and relative deprivation still underlie rates of Indigenous adolescent offences in Island councils because the higher rates of offending are found in the more commercialised regions of Torres Strait, where Indigenous adolescents experience greater structural exclusion and greater exposure to mainstream culture – and therefore relative deprivation – accompanied by a loss of cultural resilience.

In conclusion, rates of offences vary greatly among Indigenous adolescents in Queensland, depending on whether they reside in urban regions, rural towns, discrete Aboriginal communities, or the islands of the Torres Strait, and are, in all cases, greater than those recorded against non-Indigenous adolescents in Queensland overall. Structural exclusion and relative deprivation are the major cause of all Indigenous adolescent offences in Queensland but are experienced differently depending on the type of Indigenous community. Policy makers and law and order agencies must take this into consideration in order to combat high rates of overrepresentation in the criminal justice system, and also realise that a community-by-community approach to Indigenous adolescent offending is more practical and effective than an overall one-policy approach.

It should be pointed out that the results and conclusions drawn from this thesis are specific to Queensland, and care should be taken with generalisations about Indigenous adolescent offending in other Australian States and Territories. Because administration of Indigenous affairs was the responsibility of the States and, to a lesser degree, the Territories, every Australian jurisdiction has its own unique history of governmental control over its Indigenous peoples and this has impacted upon social, economic, cultural and demographic factors that are associated with Indigenous adolescent offending. The Queensland government

maintained much stricter control over its Indigenous population than other States and Territories, and continued paternalistic measures of control for much longer. This has impacted differently not only upon social conditions in discrete Indigenous communities but also upon the social conditions of Indigenous residents of rural communities and, to a lesser extent, urban communities. The Indigenous communities of the Torres Strait are unique, of course, to Queensland. Nevertheless, the overrepresentation of Indigenous adolescents in the criminal justice system is a problem for all States and Territories and it is likely that historical factors, social exclusion and relative deprivation will underlie the high rates of Indigenous adolescent offending that occur throughout Australia. Further studies in other Australian jurisdictions could test this hypothesis.

The findings from this research should be beneficial to policy-makers, youth workers, police, and others who work with Indigenous adolescents. The thesis has shown not only that rates and patterns of Indigenous adolescent offending vary between Torres Strait Islander communities, discrete Aboriginal communities, rural communities, and urban communities, but also that there are significantly different factors that are associated with Indigenous adolescent offending in these communities. It is no longer practical or realistic to address the phenomenon of Indigenous adolescent offending at macro levels, such as Australian offending or even Queensland offending. At the very least, policy-makers, law enforcement agencies, and practitioners in Queensland should address the issue according to socio-cultural-geographical contexts, such as urban, rural, discrete Aboriginal, and Torres Strait Islander communities. In urban communities, individualism is rampant and so Indigenous community-building should be encouraged and promoted so as to allay the intense feelings of relative deprivation experienced by urban Indigenous adolescents. In rural communities, measures should be taken to ensure that non-conformity to mainstream values does not result

in discrimination against, and criminalisation of, Indigenous people, and Indigenous adolescents in particular. In discrete Aboriginal communities, the emphasis needs to be on improvement in socioeconomic outcomes, but especially more housing projects involving local labour and skills, thus resulting in a greater sense of social inclusion through participation in the labour force and better housing that is seen as more comparable to that found in towns and cities. Care should also be taken in discrete Aboriginal communities to ensure that the police do not take on the role of 'protectors', giving them too much paternalistic control over Indigenous residents. In the Torres Strait, on the other hand, a greater police presence is not needed on the outer islands and may in fact be detrimental; cultural resilience is acting as a good protective factor against offending for Indigenous youths on most of the islands of Torres Strait, and this cultural resilience needs to be promoted. Torres Strait Islanders do need to be educated, however, about the inherent social exclusion and relative deprivation associated with migration to more commercialised parts of Torres Strait and the mainland. The preceding discussion demonstrates a more realistic approach to the phenomenon of Indigenous adolescent offending in Queensland, but the most realistic approach involves a community-by-community effort, evaluating each community by its unique cultural conflicts and strengths.

The thesis has significantly contributed to the development of theory for examining the overrepresentation of Indigenous youths in criminal justice systems. It has shown that, while high rates of Indigenous adolescent offending have their genesis in systemic racism and the historical treatment of Indigenous Australians by the state, there is an evolution of sorts. This evolution is from the overt and total structural exclusion of Indigenous people from mainstream society, as still witnessed in discrete Queensland Aboriginal communities; to structural exclusion based on racist notions of non-conformity to mainstream norms and

values, as seen in many rural communities; to relative deprivation that is experienced from a combination of structural exclusion and overexposure to mainstream consumer culture, as experienced by Indigenous youths in urban communities. This model may have application not only in other Australian States and Territories, but in other countries in which Indigenous peoples have suffered massive structural exclusion due to colonialism and systemic racism.

Theoretical approaches to Indigenous adolescent offending must also take into account the interplay between value systems and norms in different communities. All communities will have their own unique 'cultural environment', or combination of 'subcultures', which will characterize 'cultural conflict' between groups within that community. When I refer to culture here, I do not necessarily mean it as traditional or ethnic culture, but as a shared way of life, a shared value system, and a shared set of guidelines for behaviour. These cultures are not only social constructions, but evolve differently in time and place. Thus, while this thesis has pointed out that different relationships exist in urban, rural, discrete Aboriginal, and Torres Strait Islander communities to explain the different rates and patterns of offending that exist in these communities, further needs to be done to explain differences among various urban communities, among rural communities, among discrete Aboriginal communities and, to a lesser extent, among Torres Strait Islander communities. This can be achieved through a study of the cultural environment of individual communities, including not only mainstream and Indigenous cultures, but also police culture, youth culture, and possibly Indigenous youth culture. In certain Aboriginal communities, there are also distinct Aboriginal groups whose affiliation is often based on cultural values. Any conflict between these groups would also have to be taken into account. These perspectives on the cultural environments of communities would be best investigated through qualitative community analysis.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Lists of councils

Aboriginal councils

Aurukun Shire Council

Bamaga Island Council

Cherbourg Aboriginal Council

Doomadgee Aboriginal Council

Hope Vale Aboriginal Council

Injinoo Aboriginal Council

Kowanyama Aboriginal Council

Lockhart River Aboriginal Council

Mapoon Aboriginal Council

Mornington Shire Council

Napranum Aboriginal Council

New Mapoon Aboriginal Council

Palm Island Aboriginal Council

Pormpuraaw Aboriginal Council

Seisia Island Council

Umagico Aboriginal Council

Woorabinda Aboriginal Council

Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Council

Yarrabah Aboriginal Council

Island councils

Badu Island Council

Boigu Island Council

Dauan Island Council

Erub Island Council

Hammond Island Council

Iama Island Council

Kubin Island Council

Mabuiag Island Council

Mer Island Council

Poruma Island Council

Saibai Island Council

St Paul’s Island Council

Torres Shire Council

Warraber Island Council

Yorke Island Council

Rural councils

Atherton Shire Council
Balonne Shire Council
Banana Shire Council
Belyando Shire Council
Boonah Shire Council
Booringa Shire Council
Bowen Shire Council
Broadsound Shire Council
Burdekin Shire Council
Calliope Shire Council
Cardwell Shire Council
Carpentaria Shire Council
Charters Towers City Council
Chinchilla Shire Council
Cloncurry Shire Council
Cook Shire Council
Dalby Town Council
Douglas Shire Council
Duaringa Shire Council
Eacham Shire Council
Eidsvold Shire Council
Emerald Shire Council
Esk Shire Council
Fitzroy Shire Council
Flinders Shire Council
Gatton Shire Council
Goondiwindi Town Council
Herberton Shire Council
Hinchinbrook Shire Council
Johnstone Shire Council
Jondaryan Shire Council
Kingaroy Shire Council
Laidley Shire Council
Mareeba Shire Council
Mirani Shire Council
Mount Morgan Shire Council
Murgon Shire Council
Murweh Shire Council
Nanango Shire Council
Paroo Shire Council
Roma Town Council
Rosalie Shire Council
Sarina Shire Council
Stanthorpe Shire Council
Tiaro Shire Council
Wambo Shire Council
Weipa Town Council
Whitsunday Shire Council
Wondai Shire Council

Urban councils

Beaudesert Shire Council

Brisbane City Council

Bundaberg City Council

Burnett Shire Council

Caboolture Shire Council

Cairns City Council

Caloundra City Council

Cooloola Shire Council

Gladstone City Council

Gold Coast City Council

Hervey Bay City Council

Ipswich City Council

Livingstone Shire Council

Logan City Council

Mackay City Council

Maroochy Shire Council

Maryborough City Council

Mount Isa City Council

Noosa Shire Council

Pine Rivers Shire Council

Redcliffe City Council

Redland Shire Council

Rockhampton City Council

Thuringowa City Council

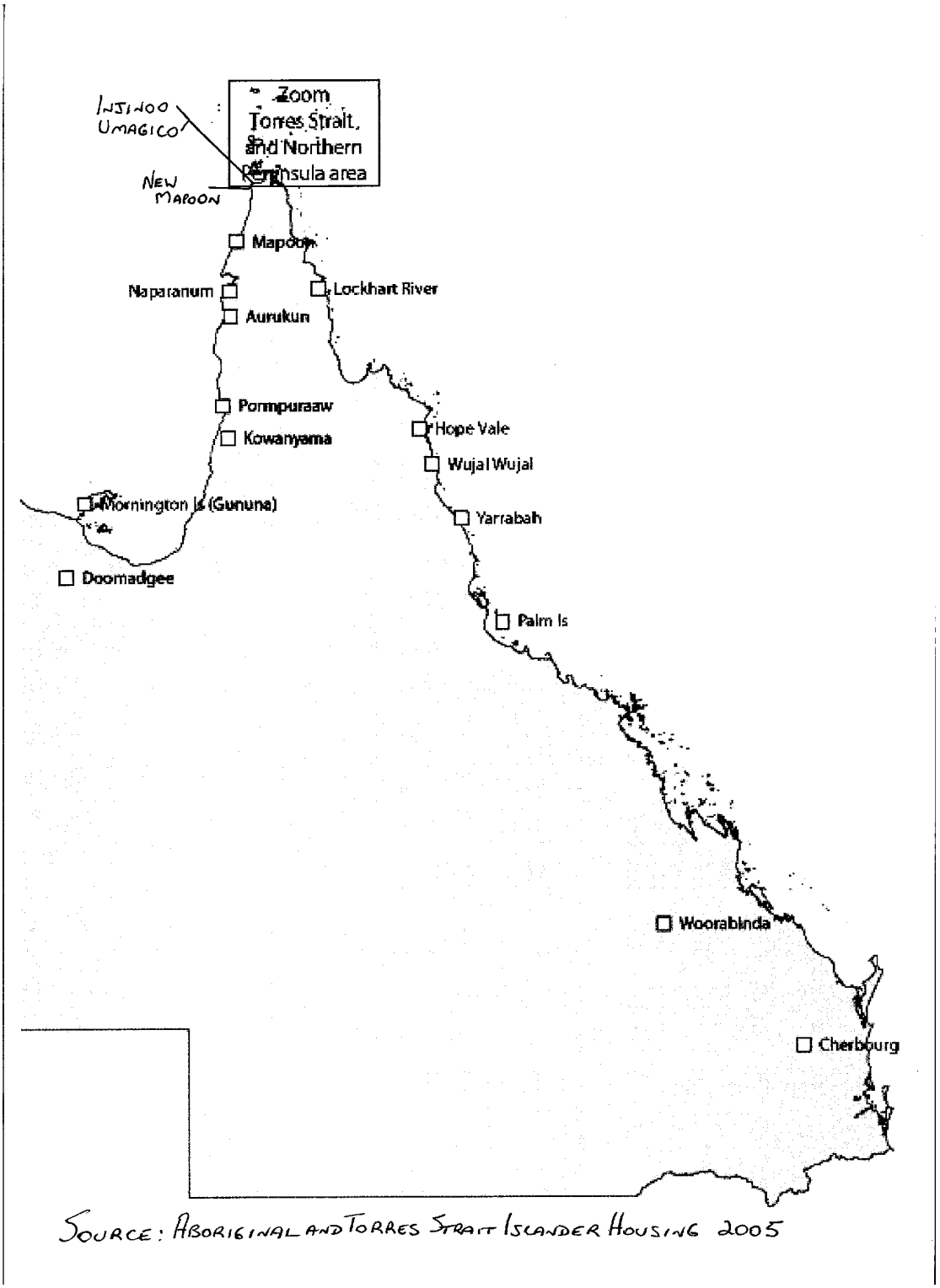
Toowoomba City Council

Townsville City Council

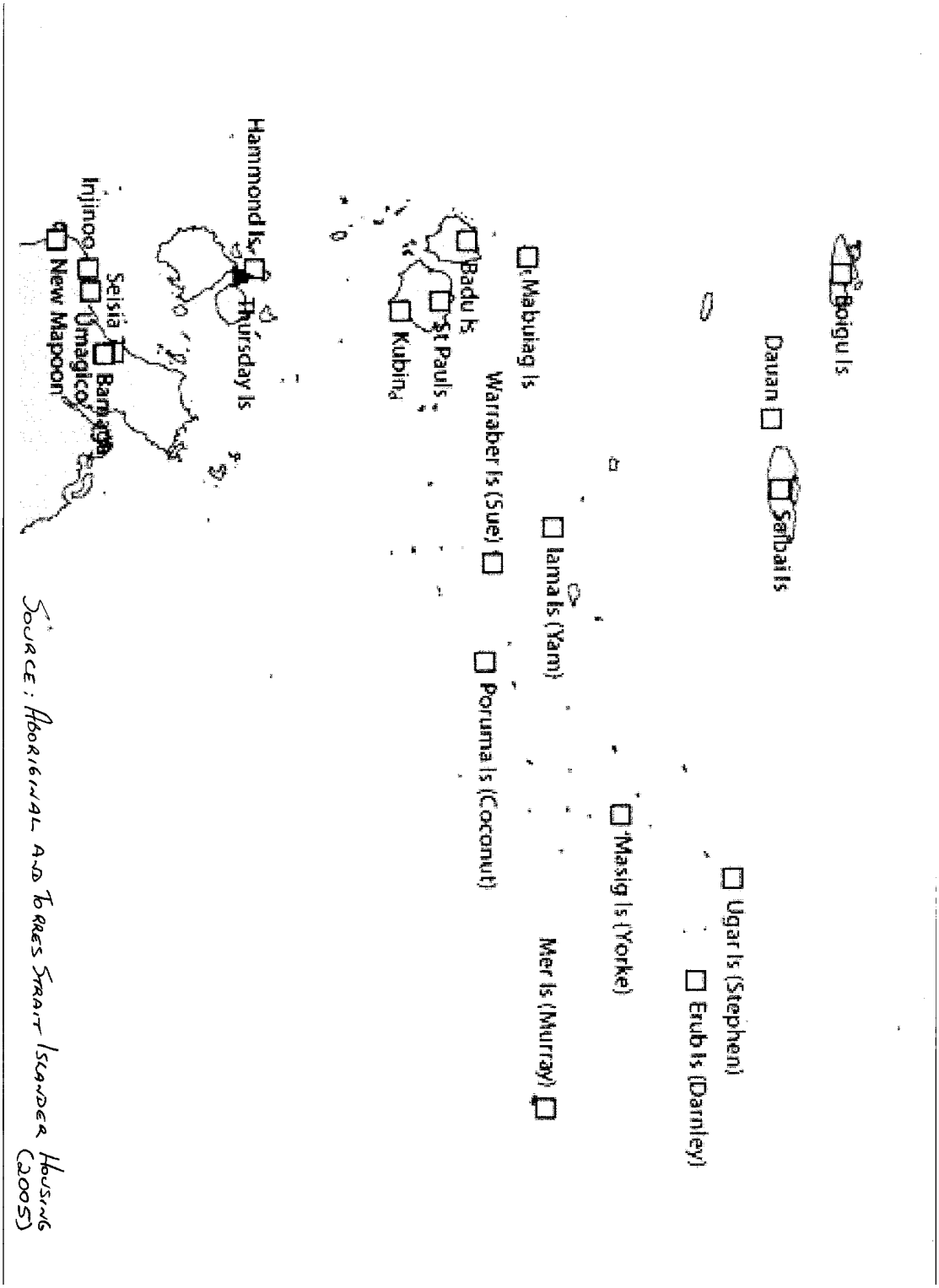
Warwick Shire Council

Appendix B: Maps

Map 1: Aboriginal councils

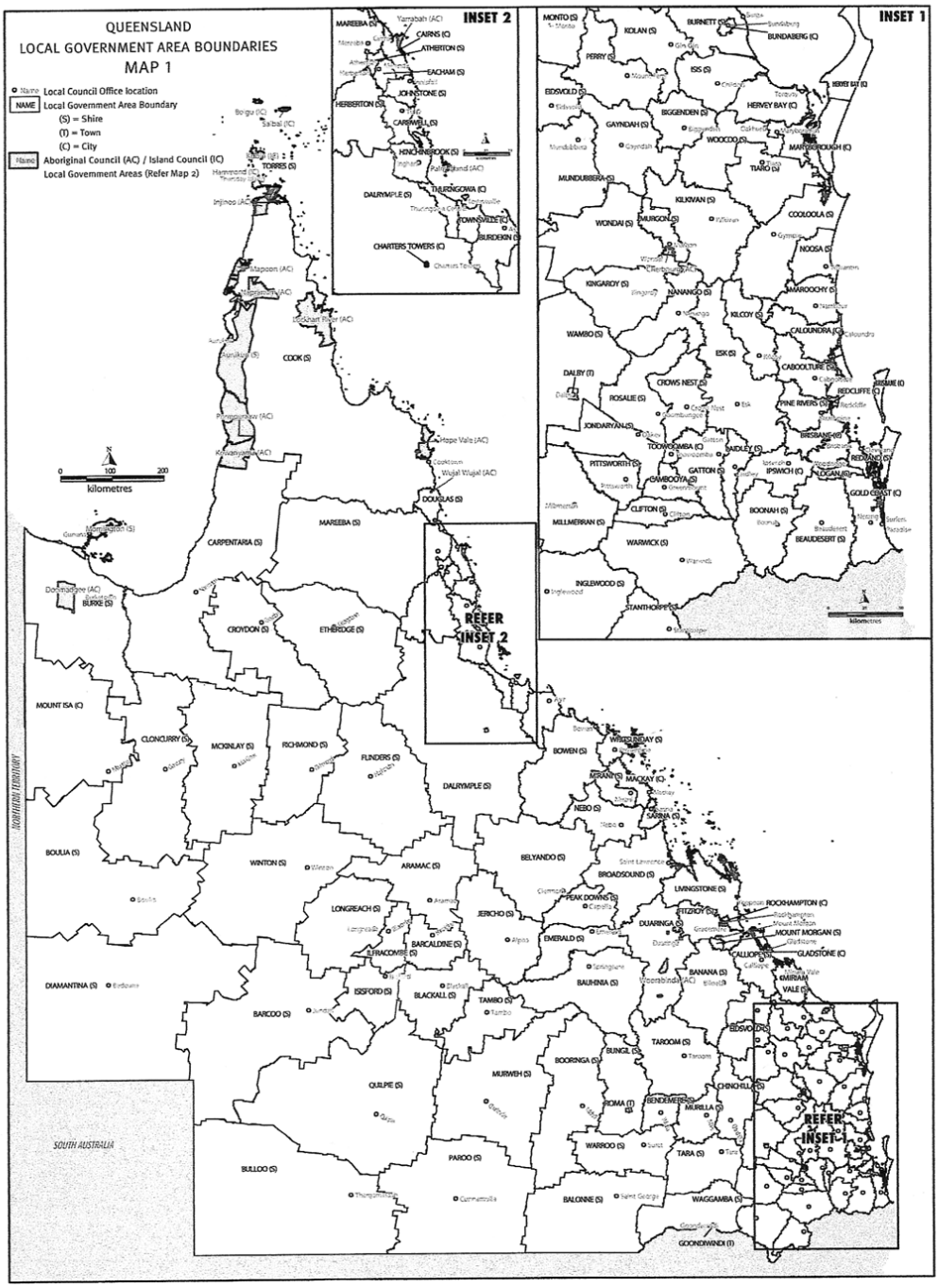


Map 2: Island councils



SOURCE: ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER HOUSING (2005)

Map 3: Queensland Local Government Areas



SOURCE: QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, PLANNING, SPORT AND RECREATION 2004

Appendix C: Variables used in analysis of Indigenous adolescent offences

Name	Label
lga	Name of LGA
lgatype	Type of LGA
inpop1019	Indigenous population aged 10-19 years in LGA
ofinrate	Rate of Indigenous offences per 1000 of 10-19 population in LGA
inmarate	Rate of Indigenous male offences per 1000 of 10-19 population in LGA
inferate	Rate of Indigenous female offences per 1000 of 10-19 population in LGA
in1015rate	Rate of Indigenous 10-15 year offences per 1000 of 10-19 population in LGA
in1619rate	Rate of Indigenous 16-19 year offences per 1000 of 10-19 population in LGA
inpersrate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years offences against the person in LGA
inproprate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years property damage offences in LGA
indrugrate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years drug & liquor offences in LGA
intheftrate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years theft related offences (exc. motor vehicle) in LGA
ingordrate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years good order offences in LGA
inmiscrate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years sundry offences in LGA
inmvrate	Rate of Indigenous 10-19 years motor vehicle related theft in LGA
inarrate	Indigenous arrests (per 1000 Indigenous 10-19 population) in LGA
incaurate	Indigenous cautions (per 1000 Indigenous 10-19 population) in LGA
incocorate	Indigenous community conferences (per 1000 Indigenous 10-19 population) in LGA
innotrate	Indigenous notices to appear (per 1000 Indigenous 10-19 population) in LGA
intyperate	Indigenous other types of police action (per 1000 Indigenous 10-19 population) in LGA
inage	Median age of Indigenous persons in LGA
ageratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous median age to Indigenous median age
totalpop	Total population of LGA
in1019pc	Percentage of Indigenous 10-19 year persons in total population of the LGA
in$indiv	Median Indigenous individual income ($/week) in LGA
in$house	Median Indigenous household income ($/week) in LGA
cdeprate	Rate of CDEP employment in LGA
labforce	Percentage of Indigenous persons aged 15 years and over in labour force in LGA
inunempc	Indigenous unemployment rate in LGA
inyear12pc	Percentage of Indigenous persons in LGA who completed year 12 education
irsad	Index of Relative Socioeconomic Advantage and Disadvantage

inbiddle	Biddle's Indigenous socioeconomic rank
inhomepc	Rate of Indigenous home ownership in LGA
inrepay	Median Indigenous housing loan repayment ($/month) in LGA
inrent	Median Indigenous rent ($/week) in LGA
inroom	Average number of Indigenous persons per bedroom in LGA
insize	Average Indigenous household size in LGA
multipc	Percentage of multi-family households in LGA
marriedpc	Percentage of Indigenous persons in LGA married in a registered marriage
parent1pc	Percentage of Indigenous sole parent families in LGA
defactopc	Percentage of Indigenous persons in LGA in de facto relationship
languagepc	Percentage of Indigenous language speakers in LGA
christianpc	Percentage of Indigenous persons in LGA affiliated with Christian religion
tsipc	Percentage of Indigenous persons in LGA of TSI descent
unempratio	Ratio of Indigenous unemployment rate to non-Indigenous unemployment rate
year12ratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous year 12 education to Indigenous year 12 education
homeratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous home ownership to Indigenous home ownership
indiv$ratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous individual income to Indigenous individual income
house$ratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous household income to Indigenous household income
repayratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous house repayments to Indigenous house repayments
rentratio	Ratio of non-Indigenous rent to Indigenous rent
roomratio	Ratio of Indigenous persons per bedroom to non-Indigenous persons per bedroom
sizeratio	Ratio of Indigenous household size to non-Indigenous household size
inequal	Ratio of top quintile to bottom quintile of Indigenous weekly income in LGA
remote	Indication of remoteness based on an extension of the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA) known as ARIA+
migratepc	Percentage of Indigenous persons in LGA who lived at different address 1 year ago
police	Number of police staff per 1000 population

Appendix D: Results of correlation and regression analyses

Table 1: Correlations and regressions by sex and type of council

Correlations								
	Indigenous male offence rate				**Indigenous female offence rate**			
	Aboriginal councils	**Rural councils**	**Urban councils**	**Island councils**	**Aboriginal councils**	**Rural councils**	**Urban councils**	**Island councils**
in1015rate	**0.907****	**0.922****	**0.944****	**0.751****	**0.884****	**0.656****	**0.694****	0.497
in1619rate	**0.873****	**0.851****	**0.894****	**0.842****	**0.837****	**0.610****	**0.757****	**0.791****
inage	-0.138	0.046	0.109	***-0.551****	-0.013	**0.396****	0.230	-0.204
ageratio	no data	-0.072	***-0.410****	no data	no data	-0.267	-0.339	no data
totalpop	0.198	***-0.369*****	-0.199	n/a	0.170	-0.138	-0.065	n/a
in1019pc	-0.098	**0.481****	**0.597****	-0.149	-0.106	**0.296***	**0.430***	-0.137
in$indiv	-0.081	0.090	0.168	**0.565***	***-0.578****	0.020	0.046	-0.019
in$house	0.194	-0.150	0.225	0.266	-0.167	-0.256	-0.008	0.049
cdeprate	-0.218	no data	no data	0.016	0.194	no data	no data	0.075
labforce	***-0.569****	0.077	-0.093	-0.216	-0.441	-0.030	-0.184	-0.115
inunempc	-0.109	0.020	0.334	n/a	-0.099	-0.038	0.326	n/a
inyear12pc	-0.231	-0.026	-0.001	0.025	-0.251	-0.162	-0.006	0.143
irsad	-0.329	-0.061	-0.020	0.316	-0.184	-0.118	0.165	0.321
inbiddle	0.501	0.110	0.353	-0.079	**0.494***	**0.316***	0.296	-0.015
inhomepc	-0.248	***-0.421*****	***-0.51*****	0.073	-0.215	***-0.507*****	***-0.418****	0.192
inrepay	0.112	***-0.296****	-0.204	n/a	-0.007	-0.013	-0.201	n/a
inrent	-0.263	***-0.305****	***-0.62*****	**0.723****	-0.257	-0.139	***-0.458****	**0.580***
inroom	0.262	0.026	n/a	0.251	0.300	0.195	n/a	0.209
insize	0.283	0.054	0.209	-0.106	0.237	-0.219	0.002	0.045
multipc	0.227	-0.072	0.125	-0.332	0.273	0.057	-0.055	0.084
marriedpc	-0.286	***-0.485*****	***-0.637*****	-0.072	-0.400	***-0.428*****	***-0.54*****	***-0.66*****
parent1pc	0.149	0.198	0.098	0.209	-0.017	0.067	0.194	0.098
defactopc	-0.073	0.219	**0.553****	0.312	0.097	0.204	0.370	0.421
languagepc	-0.323	0.116	0.253	-0.431	-0.247	-0.189	-0.058	-0.367
christianpc	-0.076	0.**352***	**0.514****	0.349	-0.242	0.184	0.277	0.055
tsipc	-0.343	-0.040	**0.521****	0.053	-0.409	0.243	**0.430***	-0.046
unempratio	no data	0.184	**0.791****	no data	no data	0.032	**0.453***	no data
year12ratio	no data	0.100	0.216	no data	no data	0.132	0.028	no data
homeratio	no data	0.177	**0.509****	no data	no data	**0.348***	**0.472***	no data
indiv$ratio	no data	-0.044	0.242	no data	no data	0.058	0.208	no data
house$ratio	no data	0.040	0.130	no data	no data	0.079	0.255	no data
repayratio	no data	**0.294***	-0.118	no data	no data	-0.037	-0.090	no data
rentratio	no data	-0.108	**0.395***	no data	no data	0.156	0.272	no data
roomratio	no data	0.026	n/a	no data	no data	0.099	n/a	no data
sizeratio	no data	0.163	**0.522****	no data	no data	0.139	0.325	no data
inequal	-0.132	-0.260	-0.001	-0.165	0.007	***0-.335****	-0.124	-0.001
remote	-0.084	**0.342***	0.357	(a) n/a	-0.110	0.258	0.316	.(a) n/a
migratepc	-0.376	0.061	-0.013	-0.166	-0.395	0.152	0.067	-0.205
police	**0.525***	**0.372****	0.387	n/a	**0.763****	0.**350***	0.288	n/a

** Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
(a) Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.
n/a Normality could not be assumed.

Regressions

While significant correlations are evident in Table 1, some explanation must be given for the results of regression analyses that are displayed below. Because there will normally be a very significant relationship between rates of Indigenous adolescent offences measured for each sex, and those measured according to age group, separate regression analyses controlling for sex and age group sequentially were carried out for the four types of councils.

For each type of council (i.e. Aboriginal, Island, rural, urban), separate analyses were carried out to first ascertain the best predictors of rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences from the rates of 10-15 year offences (*in1015rate*) and 16-19 year offences (*in1619rate*), and then to ascertain the best predictors of rates of Indigenous adolescent male offences from all other independent variables that were significantly correlated with Indigenous adolescent male offences.

The same procedure was then used for each type of council, using rates of Indigenous adolescent female offences as the dependent variable.

- Aboriginal councils:

  in1015rate and *in1619rate* together explained 85.4% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, $F(2,15) = 50.6$, $p<.001$, but *in1015rate* was the more significant predictor.

  labforce explained 24.4% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, $F(1,17) = 6.8$, $p<.05$.

  in1619rate explained 59.4% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, $F(1,17) = 27.4$, $p<.001$.

  police and *in$indiv* together explained 60.7% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, $F(2,16) = 14.9$, $p<.001$, but *police* was the more significant predictor.

- Island councils:

  In1015rate and *in1619rate* together explained 76.9% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, $F(2,12) = 24.3$, $p<.001$, but *in1619rate* was the more significant predictor.

  inrent explained 48.5% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, $F(1,13) = 14.2$, $p<.01$.

  in1619rate explained 59.7% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, $F(1,13) = 21.8$, $p<.001$.

  marriedpc and *inrent* together explained 55.3% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, $F(2,12) = 9.7$, $p<.01$, but *marriedpc* was the more significant predictor.

- Rural councils:

  in1619rate explained 71.9% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, $F(1,47) = 123.5$, $p<.001$.

  marriedpc explained 21.9% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, $F(1,47) = 14.5$, $p<.001$.

  in1015rate explained 39.8% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, $F(1,47) = 32.7$, $p<.001$.

inhomepc explained 23.4% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, F(1,47) = 15.7, p<.001.

- Urban councils:

  in1015rate and *in1619rate* together explained 95.7% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, F(2,24) = 289.9, p<.001, but *in1015rate* was the more significant predictor.
  unempratio explained 61.1% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent male offences*, F(1,25) = 41.8, p<.001.

  in1619rate explained 55.6% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, F(1,25) = 33.5, p<.001.
  marriedpc explained 26.1% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent female offences*, F(1,25) = 10.2, p<.01.

NB. An explanation for the names of variables can be found in Appendix C.

Table 2: Correlations and regressions by age and type of council

Correlations								
	Indigenous 10-15 offence rate				**Indigenous 16-19 offence rate**			
	Aboriginal councils	**Rural councils**	**Urban councils**	**Island councils**	**Aboriginal councils**	**Rural councils**	**Urban councils**	**Island councils**
inmarate	**0.907****	**0.922****	**0.944****	**0.751****	**0.873****	**0.851****	**0.894****	**0.842****
inferate	**0.884****	**0.656****	**0.694****	0.497	**0.837****	**0.610****	**0.757****	**0.791****
inage	-0.226	0.265	0.110	-0.496	-0.031	0.123	0.089	-0.440
ageratio	no data	-0.164	***-0.415****	no data	no data	-0.187	-0.291	no data
totalpop	0.173	-0.259	-0.248	n/a	0.157	***-0.313****	-0.122	n/a
in1019pc	-0.087	**0.361***	**0.563****	-0.135	-0.006	**0.395****	**0.536****	-0.024
in$indiv	-0.331	0.052	0.224	0.312	-0.349	0.077	0.002	0.249
in$house	-0.019	-0.075	0.285	0.333	0.041	-0.192	-0.008	0.134
cdeprate	-0.147	no data	no data	-0.086	-0.109	no data	no data	-0.112
labforce	**-0.533***	-0.143	-0.014	-0.306	-0.371	0.089	-0.233	-0.212
inunempc	-0.093	0.061	0.262	n/a	-0.217	0.142	**0.497****	n/a
inyear12pc	-0.102	-0.047	-0.022	-0.052	-0.131	-0.18	-0.048	-0.065
irsad	-0.251	-0.230	0.057	0.279	-0.195	-0.036	-0.100	0.424
inbiddle	0.359	**0.360***	0.276	-0.031	**0.573***	0.218	**0.483***	-0.138
inhomepc	-0.156	***-0.421*****	-0.380	0.255	-0.130	***-0.501*****	***-0.600*****	0.267
inrepay	0.121	-0.094	-0.165	n/a	0.193	-0.233	-0.317	n/a
inrent	-0.065	0.003	***-0.597*****	**0.788****	-0.269	-0.203	***-0.624*****	**0.696****
inroom	0.249	0.147	n/a	0.473	0.190	0.083	n/a	0.283
insize	0.211	0.023	0.216	0.218	0.146	-0.042	0.168	-0.157
multipc	0.169	-0.089	0.137	-0.214	0.138	-0.012	0.025	-0.130
marriedpc	-0.123	***-0.446*****	***-0.555*****	-0.226	-0.381	***-0.542*****	***-0.667*****	-0.381
parent1pc	0.157	0.186	-0.034	0.168	0.163	0.178	0.322	-0.047
defactopc	-0.166	0.210	**0.638****	0.091	-0.043	**0.313***	**0.385***	**0.570***
languagepc	-0.366	-0.266	0.162	-0.341	-0.265	0.024	0.189	***-0.665*****
christianpc	-0.190	0.171	**0.454***	0.273	-0.066	**0.436****	**0.475***	0.221
tsipc	-0.245	0.086	**0.559****	0.239	-0.387	0.019	**0.439***	-0.094
unempratio	no data	-0.014	**0.731****	no data	no data	**0.321***	**0.714****	no data
year12ratio	no data	0.053	0.142	no data	no data	**0.295***	0.179	no data
homeratio	no data	0.247	0.376	no data	no data	0.234	**0.659****	no data
indiv$ratio	no data	0.033	0.242	no data	no data	0.106	0.155	no data
house$ratio	no data	0.051	0.196	no data	no data	0.175	0.045	no data
repayratio	no data	-0.051	-0.089	no data	no data	**0.332***	-0.174	no data
rentratio	no data	-0.069	**0.425***	no data	no data	-0.019	0.213	no data
roomratio	no data	0.082	n/a	no data	no data	0.092	n/a	no data
sizeratio	no data	0.230	**0.417***	no data	no data	0.16	**0.625****	no data
inequal	-0.072	-0.154	0.062	0.036	-0.105	***-0.379*****	-0.190	-0.047
remote	-0.106	0.144	**0.409***	n/a	-0.152	**0.349***	0.280	n/a
migratepc	-0.372	0.080	-0.051	-0.247	-0.283	0.209	0.103	-0.116
police	**0.532***	0.282	0.381	n/a	**0.712****	**0.425****	0.352	n/a

** Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
(a) Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.
n/a Normality could not be assumed.

Regressions

As with the regressions in the section following Table 1, regression analyses were carried out to determine the best prediction of Indigenous adolescent offences (as measured according to age group) from rates of male and female Indigenous adolescent offences, before separate analyses were carried out using other social, cultural and economic factors as independent variables.

- Aboriginal councils:

  inmarate explained 81.3% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(1,17) = 79.2$, $p<.001$.
  labforce explained 20.7% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(1,17) = 5.7$, $p<.05$.

  inferate and *inmarate* together explained 66.8% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,16) = 19.1$, $p<.001$, but *inferate* was the more significant predictor.
  police explained 39% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(1,17) = 12.5$, $p<.01$.

- Island councils:

  inmarate explained 53.0% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(1,13) = 16.8$, $p<.01$.
  inrent explained 59.3% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(1,13) = 21.4$, $p<.001$.

  inmarate and inferate together explained 85.3% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,12) = 41.5$, $p<.001$, but *inmarate* was the more significant predictor.
  inrent and *languagepc* together explained 60.9% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,12) = 11.9$, $p<.01$, but *inrent* was the more significant predictor.

- Rural councils:

  inmarate and inferate together explained 48.3% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(2,46) = 23.4$, $p<.001$, but *inferate* was the more significant predictor.
  marriedpc explained 15.9% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(1,47) = 10.1$, $p<.01$.

  inmarate and inferate together explained 75.2% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,46) = 73.6$, $p<.001$, but *inmarate* was the more significant predictor.
  marriedpc and *christianpc* together explained 32.9% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,46) = 12.8$, $p<.001$, but *marriedpc* was the more significant predictor.

- Urban councils:

  inmarate explained 88.7% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(1,25) = 204.5$, $p<.001$.
  defactopc, *inrent* and *ageratio* together explained 68.5% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 10-15 year offences*, $F(3,23) = 19.9$, $p<.001$, but *defactopc* was the most significant predictor.

inmarate and inferate together explained 84.6% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,24) = 72.3$, $p<.001$, but *inmarate* was the more significant predictor.
unempratio and *homeratio* together explained 59.6% of the variance in *Indigenous adolescent 16-19 year offences*, $F(2,24) = 20.1$, $p<.001$, but *unempratio* was the more significant predictor.

NB. An explanation for the names of variables can be found in Appendix C.

Table 3: Correlations by type of offence and type of police action in Aboriginal councils

	Type of offence							Type of police action				
	Violent	Prop. damage	Drug	Theft	Good order	Sundry	Motor vehicle	Arrest	Caution	Comm. Con.	Notice	Other
inmarate	**0.490***	**0.927****	**0.542***	**0.846****	**0.775****	**0.694****	0.412	**0.907****	**0.795****	**0.579***	**0.876****	**0.489***
inferate	**0.691****	**0.847****	**0.491***	**0.863****	**0.834****	**0.721****	0.162	**0.725****	**0.701****	0.290	**0.913****	0.402
in1015rate	0.304	**0.959****	0.324	**0.907****	**0.645****	0.412	0.393	**0.823****	**0.826****	0.458	**0.939****	0.394
in1619rate	**0.746****	**0.804****	**0.546***	**0.816****	**0.871****	**0.861****	0.288	**0.781****	**0.630****	0.329	**0.863****	0.318
inarrate	**0.558***	**0.799****	**0.614***	**0.888****	**0.715****	**0.648****	0.271	1	**0.548***	0.477	**0.753****	**0.606****
incaurate	0.399	**0.888****	0.405	**0.500***	**0.612****	0.310	0.376	**0.548***	1	0.346	**0.584****	0.347
incocorate	0.422	0.464	0.224	0.344	**0.490***	0.298	-0.070	0.477	0.346	1	0.354	**0.480***
innotrate	**0.698****	**0.936****	0.452	**0.964****	**0.886****	**0.824****	0.477	**0.753****	**0.584****	0.354	1	**0.487***
intyperate	0.439	0.306	**0.580***	**0.582****	**0.649****	0.272	0.199	**0.606****	0.347	**0.480***	**0.487***	1
inage	0.196	-0.159	0.323	-0.179	0.095	0.025	-0.452	0.015	-0.023	-0.184	-0.145	-0.185
totalpop	0.246	0.200	0.297	0.142	0.218	0.165	-0.060	0.223	0.150	0.275	0.127	0.304
in1019pc	-0.229	-0.093	-0.130	0.042	-0.039	0.011	0.393	-0.266	-0.125	-0.025	0.087	0.126
in$indiv	-0.354	-0.256	-0.029	***-0.582****	-0.337	-0.393	-0.236	-0.117	-0.206	0.001	***-0.603****	-0.207
in$house	0.157	0.048	0.256	-0.058	0.005	-0.126	-0.191	0.346	0.057	0.189	-0.180	0.441
cdeprate	0.150	-0.147	0.367	0.123	0.268	0.030	-0.348	-0.006	-0.102	-0.213	0.145	0.076
labforce	***-0.470****	***-0.513****	***-0.486****	***-0.488****	***-0.550****	-0.297	-0.147	***-0.635*****	-0.303	***-0.715*****	-0.446	***-0.589*****
inunempc	0.152	-0.157	-0.042	-0.002	-0.018	-0.075	-0.334	-0.079	-0.088	0.307	-0.082	0.029
inyear12pc	***-0.487****	-0.075	***-0.612*****	-0.351	***-0.521****	-0.328	0.265	-0.482	0.015	***-0.499****	-0.261	***-0.544****
irsad	-0.274	-0.195	-0.379	-0.150	-0.266	-0.150	-0.196	-0.296	-0.214	-0.185	-0.180	-0.302
inbiddle	**0.692*****	0.385	0.481	**0.514***	**0.597***	0.385	-0.331	**0.602***	0.477	0.403	0.451	0.459
inhomepc	-0.432	-0.024	***-0.551****	-0.224	-0.379	-0.339	-0.337	-0.350	0.051	-0.316	-0.205	-0.382
inrepay	-0.233	0.256	-0.334	-0.027	-0.141	-0.163	n/a	-0.082	0.334	-0.169	0.023	-0.239
inrent	***-0.476****	-0.089	***-0.634*****	-0.266	-0.432	-0.328	-0.203	-0.362	-0.351	0.009	-0.240	-0.377
inroom	0.365	0.169	0.440	**0.479***	0.358	0.179	-0.125	**0.518***	0.112	0.243	0.302	**0.727*****
insize	0.414	0.143	**0.488***	0.415	0.382	0.174	-0.106	**0.527***	0.108	0.365	0.253	**0.800*****
multipc	0.410	0.116	**0.485***	0.402	0.421	0.158	-0.106	**0.499***	0.115	0.221	0.270	**0.769*****
marriedpc	***-0.627*****	-0.161	***-0.532****	-0.344	***-0.68*****	-0.394	0.030	-0.271	-0.260	-0.433	-0.433	-0.318
parent1pc	-0.284	0.217	-0.287	-0.019	-0.076	0.025	**0.580***	-0.210	0.218	0.016	0.100	-0.293
defactopc	**0.532***	-0.191	0.386	-0.023	0.248	0.095	-0.312	0.107	-0.060	0.070	0.006	0.038
languagepc	-0.118	-0.347	-0.085	-0.160	-0.130	-0.238	0.190	-0.463	0.063	-0.316	-0.117	-0.050
christianpc	-0.095	-0.049	-0.121	-0.312	-0.180	-0.127	***-0.565****	-0.161	0.092	-0.013	-0.288	-0.233
tsipc	***-0.505****	-0.293	***-0.66*****	-0.321	***-0.569****	-0.408	0.379	***-0.504****	-0.160	-0.414	-0.330	-0.427
inequal	-0.020	-0.146	-0.351	0.192	-0.051	-0.241	0.429	-0.249	0.175	-0.209	0.152	0.064
remote	0.108	-0.170	-0.041	-0.139	-0.183	-0.192	0.064	-0.020	0.086	-0.263	-0.190	-0.016
migratepc	-0.454	-0.274	-0.411	-0.412	-0.405	-0.240	-0.120	***-0.486****	-0.251	-0.315	-0.340	***-0.671*****
police	**0.638*****	0.489	**0.644*****	**0.707*****	**0.728*****	**0.717*****	-0.318	**0.704*****	0.246	0.270	**0.693*****	0.393

**	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
n/a	Normality could not be assumed.

Regressions

Table 3 is the first of four tables to analyse factors according to type of council, namely Aboriginal, Island, rural, and urban councils. Many separate regression analyses were carried out.

Item 1 firstly shows the best predictors of various types of offences from rates of male and female Indigenous adolescent offences and, secondly, the best prediction of various types of police action from the same variables.

Item 2 uses a similar format, except rates of 10-15 year offences and rates of 16-19 year offences are used as independent variables.

Items 3-9 show the best predictors of the sequence of offences listed across the top of the table from among significantly correlated variables representing social, economic and cultural factors.

Items 10-14 show the best predictors of the five types of police action listed across the top of the table from among significantly correlated variables.

The explanations of regressions following Tables 4, 5 and 6 follow a similar format to that which is outlined here.

1. *inmarate* is the only significant predictor of *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.85), F(1,17) = 104.0, p<.001. *inferate* is the only significant predictor of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.45), F(1,17) = 15.5, p<.01, *drug & liquor offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.19), F(1,17) = 5.3, p<.05, *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.73), F(1,17) = 49.7, p<.001, *good order offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.68), F(1,17) = 39.0, p<.001, and *sundry offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.41), F(1,17) = 13.6, p<.01.

   inmarate is the only significant predictor of *arrests*, (adjusted R^2=0.81), F(1,17) = 78.6, p<.001, and *community conferences*, (adjusted R^2=0.28), F(1,17) = 8.1, p<.05. *inferate* is the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.82), F(1,17) = 85.4, p<.001. *inferate* and *inmarate* are significant predictors of *cautions*, (adjusted R^2=0.58), F(1,17) = 16.5, p<.01, but *inferate* is the more significant.

2. *in1619rate* is the only significant predictor of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.43), F(1,17) = 14.6, p<.01, *drug & liquor offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.20), F(1,17) = 5.6, p<.05, *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.46), F(1,17) = 16.2, p<.01, and *good order offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.46), F(1,17) = 16.3, p<.01. *in1015rate* is the only significant predictor of *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.92), F(1,16) = 185.2, p<.001. *in1619rate* and *in1015rate* are predictors of *sundry offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.78), F(2,15) = 31.8, p<.001, but *in1619rate* is the more significant.

   in1015rate is the only significant predictor of *arrests*, (adjusted R^2=0.66), F(1,16) = 33.5, p<.001, and *cautions*, (adjusted R^2=0.50), F(1,17) = 19.0, p<.001. *in1619rate* is the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.55), F(1,17) = 22.7, p<.001.

3. *inbiddle* explained 41.7 % of the variance in *violent offences*, F(1,17) = 13.9, p<.01.
4. *labforce* explained 18.7 % of the variance in *property damage offences*, F(1,17) = 5.1, p<.05.
5. *inrent* and *tsipc* together explained 68.8 % of the variance in *drug & liquor offences*, F(2,16) = 20.8, p<.001, but *tsipc* was the more significant predictor.
6. *in$indiv* and *inbiddle* together explained 65.7 % of the variance in *theft related offences*, F(2,16) = 18.3, p<.001, but *inbiddle* was the more significant predictor.
7. *police* and *marriedpc* together explained 60.1 % of the variance in *good order offences*, F(2,16) = 14.6, p<.001, but *police* was the more significant predictor.
8. *police* explained 40.5 % of the variance in *sundry offences*, F(1,17) = 13.3, p<.01.
9. *parent1pc* explained 18.9 % of the variance in *motor vehicle related offences*, F(1,17) = 5.2, p<.05.

10. *labforce* explained 31.8 % of the variance in *arrests*, F(1,17) = 9.4, p<.01.
11. There were no significant correlations with *cautions* and thus none were entered into the regression analysis.
12. *labforce* explained 46.9 % of the variance in *community conferences*, F(1,17) = 16.9, p<.01.
13. *police* and *in$indiv* explained 54.7 % of the variance in *notices to appear*, F(2,16) = 11.8, p<.01, but *police* was the more significant predictor.
14. *insize* explained 61.9 % of the variance in *other police action*, F(1,17) = 30.2, p<.001.

Table 4: Correlations by type of offence and type of police action in Island councils

	Type of offence							Type of police action				
	Violent	Prop. damage	Drug	Theft	Good order	Sundry	Motor vehicle	Arrest	Caution	Comm. Con.	Notice	Other
inmarate	0.431	**0.543***	n/a	**0.961****	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**0.895****	n/a
inferate	**0.737****	**0.921****	n/a	0.463	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**0.609***	n/a
in1015rate	0.398	0.442	n/a	**0.703****	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.501	n/a
in1619rate	**0.683****	**0.826****	n/a	**0.788****	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	**0.921****	n/a
inarrate	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
incaurate	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
incocorate	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
innotrate	**0.622***	**0.667***	n/a	**0.841****	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	n/a
intyperate	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
inage	-0.413	-0.188	n/a	-0.513	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	***-0.57****	n/a
totalpop	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
in1019pc	0.039	-0.126	n/a	-0.071	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.036	n/a
in$indiv	-0.12	0.035	n/a	**0.628***	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.360	n/a
in$house	-0.272	-0.029	n/a	0.405	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.035	n/a
cdeprate	0.040	0.084	n/a	-0.020	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.051	n/a
labforce	-0.212	-0.216	n/a	-0.184	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.098	n/a
inunempc	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
inyear12pc	-0.012	0.066	n/a	0.088	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.013	n/a
irsad	-0.008	0.350	n/a	0.405	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.230	n/a
inbiddle	0.054	-0.110	n/a	-0.218	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.059	n/a
inhomepc	0.04	0.146	n/a	0.181	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.053	n/a
inrepay	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
inrent	0.273	**0.563***	n/a	**0.712****	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.509	n/a
inroom	0.13	0.050	n/a	0.329	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.200	n/a
insize	-0.047	-0.149	n/a	-0.088	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.195	n/a
multipc	-0.178	-0.086	n/a	-0.234	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.221	n/a
marriedpc	-0.511	***-0.65****	n/a	-0.240	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.204	n/a
parent1pc	0.17	0.159	n/a	0.075	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.048	n/a
defactopc	0.295	0.463	n/a	0.273	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.507	n/a
languagepc	-0.488	-0.503	n/a	-0.404	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	***-0.54****	n/a
christianpc	-0.13	-0.012	n/a	0.427	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.273	n/a
tsipc	-0.158	-0.275	n/a	-0.162	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.104	n/a
inequal	0.232	0.133	n/a	-0.299	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.147	n/a
remote	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
migratepc	-0.079	-0.163	n/a	-0.111	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-0.083	n/a

**	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
n/a	Normality could not be assumed.

Regressions

1. *inferate* is the only significant predictor of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.51), F(1,13) = 15.5, p<.01, and *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.84), F(1,13) = 72.7, p<.001. *inmarate* is the only significant predictor of *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.92), F(1,13) = 157.4, p<.001.

   inmarate is the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.79), F(1,13) = 52.2, p<.001.

2. *in1619rate* is the only significant predictor of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.43), F(1,13) = 11.4, p<.01, *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.66), F(1,13) = 27.9, p<.001, and *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.59), F(1,13) = 21.3, p<.001.

   in1619rate is the only significant predictor of *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.84), F(1,13) = 73.1, p<.001.

3. There were no significant correlations with *violent offences* and thus none were entered into the regression analysis.
4. *marriedpc* and *inrent* together explained 52.8 % of the variance in *property damage offences*, F(2,12) = 8.8, p<.01, but *marriedpc* was the more significant predictor.
5. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent drug & liquor offences* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
6. *inrent* explained 47.0 % of the variance in *theft related offences*, F(1,13) = 13.4, p<.01.
7. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent good order offences* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
8. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent sundry offences* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
9. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent motor vehicle related offences* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.

10. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent arrests* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
11. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent cautions* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
12. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent community conferences* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
13. *inage* explained 27.0 % of the variance in *notices to appear*, F(1,13) = 6.2, p<.05.
14. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent other police action* in Island councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.

Table 5: Correlations by type of offence and type of police action in rural councils

	Type of offence							Type of police action				
	Violent	Prop. damage	Drug	Theft	Good order	Sundry	Motor vehicle	Arrest	Caution	Comm. Con.	Notice	Other
inmarate	**0.657****	**0.665****	**0.510****	**0.963****	**0.683****	**0.567****	**0.670****	**0.907****	**0.607****	n/a	**0.918****	**0.586****
inferate	**0.656****	**0.604****	**0.455****	**0.530****	**0.465****	**0.628****	**0.545****	**0.527****	**0.535****	n/a	**0.436****	**0.486****
in1015rate	**0.706****	**0.829****	**0.543****	**0.907****	**0.525****	**0.691****	**0.667****	**0.751****	**0.681****	n/a	**0.724****	**0.591****
in1619rate	**0.623****	**0.736****	**0.662****	**0.834****	**0.831****	**0.720****	**0.676****	**0.858****	**0.553****	n/a	**0.856****	**0.665****
inarrate	**0.620****	**0.692****	**0.540****	**0.911****	**0.740****	**0.595****	**0.674****		**0.401****	n/a	**0.782****	**0.632****
incaurate	**0.524****	**0.617****	**0.357***	**0.620****	**0.337***	**0.612****	**0.576****	**0.401****		n/a	**0.570****	**0.494****
incocorate	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
innotrate	**0.640****	**0.574****	**0.608****	**0.898****	**0.765****	**0.509****	**0.556****	**0.782****	**0.570****	n/a		**0.606****
intyperate	**0.704****	**0.605****	**0.581****	**0.649****	**0.639****	**0.551****	**0.578****	**0.632****	**0.494****	n/a	**0.606****	
inage	0.217	0.245	**0.382****	0.005	0.165	**0.409****	0.131	0.047	0.284	n/a	0.059	0.123
ageratio	-0.118	-0.193	-0.21	-0.055	-0.113	***-0.42*****	-0.123	-0.071	-0.238	n/a	-0.072	-0.056
totalpop	***-0.351****	-0.186	-0.132	***-0.346****	***-0.301****	-0.136	-0.266	***-0.309****	-0.197	n/a	***-0.37*****	***-0.38*****
in1019pc	**0.319***	0.239	0.246	**0.398****	**0.373****	**0.308***	**0.356***	**0.473****	**0.361***	n/a	**0.386****	0.248
in$indiv	0.076	0.098	-0.065	0.125	-0.03	0.169	0.053	0.096	0.178	n/a	-0.03	0.208
in$house	-0.121	-0.027	-0.21	-0.085	-0.259	-0.197	-0.114	-0.123	0.002	n/a	-0.214	-0.058
labforce	-0.083	-0.053	-0.144	0.125	-0.098	-0.014	-0.047	0.033	0.107	n/a	0.101	-0.027
inunempc	0.08	0.067	0.182	0.058	0.239	0.098	0.15	0.189	-0.165	n/a	0.013	0.223
inyear12pc	-0.171	-0.166	-0.042	0.014	-0.264	-0.182	-0.276	-0.164	0.12	n/a	-0.024	-0.159
irsad	-0.155	-0.108	-0.23	-0.058	-0.185	-0.112	-0.178	-0.148	-0.038	n/a	-0.034	-0.215
inbiddle	0.266	**0.313***	**0.363***	0.05	**0.361***	**0.335***	0.274	0.201	0.179	n/a	0.074	0.168
inhomepc	-0.278	***-0.315****	***-0.323****	***-0.41*****	***-0.318****	***-0.45*****	***-0.40*****	***-0.40*****	***-0.53*****	n/a	***-0.39*****	-0.219
inrepay	-0.197	-0.055	-0.112	-0.203	-0.27	-0.071	-0.173	***-.285****	-0.008	n/a	-0.204	-0.27
inrent	-0.167	0.098	-0.03	***-0.285****	-0.125	0.05	-0.067	-0.199	-0.167	n/a	***-0.362****	-0.091
inroom	0.179	0.104	0.185	0	0.069	0.098	0.167	0.102	0.105	n/a	-0.013	0.087
insize	0.105	0.002	-0.139	0.061	-0.099	-0.153	0.093	0.096	-0.066	n/a	-0.021	0.024
multipc	0.098	0.022	-0.048	-0.074	0.032	0.04	0.026	0.07	-0.125	n/a	-0.136	-0.034
marriedpc	***-0.43*****	***-0.41*****	***-.052*****	***-0.45*****	***-0.62*****	***-0.51*****	***-0.42*****	***-0.52*****	***-0.348****	n/a	***-0.45*****	***-0.39*****
parent1pc	0.23	0.076	0.195	0.235	**0.329***	0.09	0.132	0.254	-0.06	n/a	0.189	0.214
defactopc	0.156	0.244	0.246	0.155	0.213	0.275	0.255	0.197	**0.295***	n/a	0.2	0.152
languagepc	-0.207	-0.23	-0.085	0.112	-0.073	-0.167	-0.291	0.009	0.115	n/a	0.138	-0.144
christianpc	0.236	0.216	**0.337***	**0.361***	**0.392****	0.247	0.242	**0.416****	0.052	n/a	**0.348***	**0.322***
tsipc	-0.006	0.043	0.104	-0.057	0.070	0.162	-.044	0.000	0.209	n/a	-0.083	-0.133
unempratio	0.124	0.111	0.143	0.158	0.251	0.243	0.274	**0.308***	-0.094	n/a	0.134	0.251
year12ratio	0.136	0.187	0.243	0.032	**0.316***	0.236	**0.295***	0.214	0.048	n/a	0.092	0.186
homeratio	0.194	0.114	**0.309***	0.182	0.215	**0.322***	0.14	0.174	**0.348***	n/a	0.159	0.162
indiv$ratio	-0.083	0.07	0.094	-0.05	0.007	0.122	0.143	-0.031	0.034	n/a	0.027	-0.083
house$ratio	-0.088	0.08	0.031	0.038	0.034	0.277	0.17	0.043	0.034	n/a	0.056	-0.018
repayratio	0.218	0.031	0.083	0.19	**0.310***	0.094	0.238	**0.373****	-0.057	n/a	0.184	0.228
rentratio	-0.131	0.021	0.083	-0.012	0.001	0.078	**-0.294***	-0.121	0.034	n/a	0	-0.232
roomratio	0.093	0.074	0.21	-0.006	0.084	0.079	0.133	0.099	0.036	n/a	-0.003	0.057
sizeratio	0.227	0.17	0.28	0.173	0.233	0.095	0.138	0.156	0.169	n/a	0.197	0.142
inequal	**-0.344***	-0.168	-0.274	-0.222	**-0.289***	**-0.42****	-0.292	**-0.299***	-0.127	n/a	-0.244	**-0.39****
migratepc	0.042	0.159	-0.106	0.102	0.126	0.103	0.204	0.08	0.016	n/a	0.103	0.023
police	**0.333***	**0.332***	**0.354***	0.269	**0.448****	**0.361***	**0.430****	**0.454****	0.229	n/a	**0.312***	0.275
remote	0.215	0.104	0.108	0.24	0.207	0.242	**0.414****	**0.317***	**0.287***	n/a	**0.301***	0.17

**	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
n/a	Normality could not be assumed.

Regressions

1. *inmarate* and *inferate* are significant predictors of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.54), F(2,46) = 28.8, p<.001, but *inmarate* is the more significant. *inmarate* and *inferate* are significant predictors of *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.36), F(2,46) = 14.8, p<.001, and *motor vehicle related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.33), F(2,46) = 12.9, p<.001 but *inferate* is the more significant. *inmarate* is the only significant predictor of *drug & liquor*

offences, (adjusted R^2=0.24), F(1,47) = 16.5, p<.001, *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.93), F(1,47) = 607.2, p<.001 and *good order offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.46), F(1,47) = 41.0, p<.001. inferate is the only significant predictor of *sundry offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.33), F(1,47) = 24.1, p<.001.

inmarate is the only significant predictor of *arrests*, (adjusted R^2=0.82), F(1,47) = 216.7, p<.001, *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.84), F(1,47) = 250.6, p<.001, and *other police action*, (adjusted R^2=0.30), F(1,47) = 21.3, p<.001. *inmarate* and *inferate* are significant predictors of *cautions*, (adjusted R^2=0.36), F(2,46) = 14.3, p<.001, but *inmarate* is the more significant.

2. *in1015rate* and *in1619rate* are significant predictors of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.46), F(2,46) = 21.0, p<.001, but *in1619rate* is the more significant. *in1015rate* and *in1619rate* are significant predictors of *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.73), F(2,46) = 66.2, p<.001, *sundry offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.49), F(2,46) = 23.8, p<.001, and *motor vehicle related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.50), F(2,46) = 24.8, p<.001, but *in1015rate* is the more significant. *in1619rate* is the only significant predictor of *drug & liquor offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.43), F(1,47) = 36.8, p<.001, *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.69), F(1,47) = 107.4, p<.001 and *good order offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.68), F(1,47) = 104.8, p<.001.

   in1619rate is the only significant predictor of *arrests*, (adjusted R^2=0.73), F(1,47) = 131.1, p<.001, *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.73), F(1,47) = 128.6, p<.001, and *other police action*, (adjusted R^2=0.39), F(1,47) = 31.5, p<.001. *in1015rate* and *in1619rate* are significant predictors of *cautions*, (adjusted R^2=0.43), F(2,46) = 19.4, p<.001, but *in1015rate* is the more significant.

3. *marriedpc* explained 16.9 % of the variance in *violent offences*, F(1,47) = 10.8, p<.01.
4. *marriedpc* explained 13.0 % of the variance in *property damage offences*, F(1,47) = 8.1, p<.01.
5. *marriedpc* explained 25.0 % of the variance in *drug & liquor offences*, F(1,47) = 17.0, p<.001.
6. *marriedpc* explained 18.6 % of the variance in *theft related offences*, F(1,47) = 11.9, p<.01.
7. *marriedpc* explained 34.9 % of the variance in *good order offences*, F(1,47) = 26.7, p<.001.
8. *marriedpc and ageratio* explained 28.4 % of the variance in *sundry offences*, F(2,46) = 10.5, p<.001, but *marriedpc* was the more significant predictor.
9. *police* explained 16.7 % of the variance in *motor vehicle related offences*, F(1,47) = 10.6, p<.01.

10. *marriedpc* explained 25.1 % of the variance in *arrests*, F(1,47) = 17.1, p<.001.
11. *inhomepc* explained 26.4 % of the variance in *cautions*, F(1,47) = 18.2, p<.001.
12. Normality could not be assumed for the category of *Indigenous adolescent community conferences* in rural councils, and so no regression analyses were carried out.
13. *marriedpc* and *inrent* explained 23.7 % of the variance in *notices to appear*, F(2,46) = 8.5, p<.01, but *marriedpc* was the more significant predictor.
14. *marriedpc* and *inequal* explained 18.7 % of the variance in *other police action*, F(2,46) = 6.5, p<.01, but *marriedpc* was the more significant predictor.

Table 6: Correlations by type of offence and type of police action in urban councils

	Type of offence							Type of police action				
	Violent	Prop. damage	Drug	Theft	Good order	Sundry	Motor vehicle	Arrest	Caution	Comm. Con.	Notice	Other
inmarate	**0.699****	**0.831****	**0.776****	**0.914****	**0.849****	**0.860****	**0.888****	**0.957****	**0.646****	**0.581****	**0.849****	**0.432***
inferate	**0.647****	**0.592****	**0.741****	**0.736****	**0.666****	**0.598****	**0.696****	**0.727****	**0.614****	**0.398***	**0.836****	**0.564****
in1015rate	**0.646****	**0.870****	**0.72****	**0.878****	**0.758****	**0.813****	**0.925****	**0.921****	**0.666****	**0.538****	**0.851****	0.373
in1619rate	**0.749****	**0.686****	**0.833****	**0.889****	**0.860****	**0.818****	**0.743****	**0.890****	**0.628****	**0.519****	**0.861****	**0.586****
inarrate	**0.687****	**0.775****	**0.773****	**0.885****	**0.874****	**0.859****	**0.894****	**1**	**0.514****	**0.500****	**0.867****	0.359
incaurate	**0.621****	**0.628****	**0.581****	**0.681****	**0.505****	**0.649***	**0.433***	**0.514****	1	0.343	**0.608****	**0.517****
incocorate	**0.391***	0.368	**0.573****	**0.594****	**0.467***	**0.494***	**0.459***	**0.500****	0.343	1	**0.432***	**0.415***
innotrate	**0.591****	**0.726****	**0.748****	**0.891****	**0.73****	**0.835****	**0.861****	**0.867****	**0.608****	**0.432***	**1**	**0.389***
intyperate	**0.599****	0.283	**0.629****	**0.543****	**0.440***	0.329	0.295	0.359	**0.517****	**0.415***	**0.389***	1
inage	-0.146	-0.089	0.218	0.231	0.080	0.051	0.250	0.150	-0.159	0.144	0.232	0.044
ageratio	-0.049	-0.251	-0.218	***-0.418****	-0.299	-0.356	***-0.58*****	***-0.41****	0.083	-0.287	***-0.49*****	0.006
totalpop	-0.188	-0.280	-0.079	-0.167	-0.085	-0.119	-0.189	-0.134	-0.302	-0.055	-0.071	-0.290
in1019pc	**0.562****	0.344	0.268	**0.500****	**0.559****	**0.577****	**0.441***	**0.542****	**0.539****	0.221	**0.515****	0.188
in$indiv	-0.05	0.117	-0.013	0.192	-0.053	0.149	0.324	0.152	-0.144	0.155	0.201	-0.151
in$house	-0.096	0.209	-0.012	0.178	-0.028	0.206	**0.422***	0.174	-0.224	0.114	0.238	-0.242
labforce	-0.278	-0.036	-0.152	-0.064	-0.300	-0.072	0.044	-0.075	-0.075	-0.039	-0.012	***-0.444****
inunempc	0.323	0.344	0.361	**0.392***	0.308	0.297	0.162	0.315	**0.612****	0.165	0.369	0.291
inyear12pc	-0.173	-0.175	-0.041	0.106	-0.171	-0.056	0.132	0.060	-0.135	0.014	0.121	-0.364
irsad	-0.199	-0.092	0.043	0.085	-0.137	0.003	0.225	-0.016	-0.22	0.079	0.117	0.019
inbiddle	**0.388***	**0.408***	0.296	0.292	**0.456***	0.365	0.171	0.302	**0.391***	0.192	0.262	**0.437***
inhomepc	-0.290	-0.328	***-0.52*****	***-0.56*****	***-0.55*****	***-0.46****	-0.324	***-0.50*****	***-0.50*****	***-0.43****	***-0.45****	-0.245
inrepay	***-0.450****	-0.219	-0.241	-0.145	-0.339	-0.198	-0.024	-0.184	-0.339	-0.037	-0.106	***-0.52*****
inrent	***-0.62*****	***-0.56*****	***-0.41****	***-0.54*****	***-0.65*****	***-0.63*****	***-0.49*****	***-0.56*****	***-0.6*****	-0.255	***-0.54*****	***-0.47****
inroom	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
insize	0.305	0.240	-0.060	0.100	0.111	0.264	0.170	0.129	0.111	0.082	0.126	0.136
multipc	0.209	0.090	-0.097	0.039	0.094	0.115	0.086	0.114	-0.005	0.035	0.092	-0.094
marriedpc	-0.371	***-0.480****	***-0.474****	***-0.64*****	***-0.62*****	***-0.62*****	***-0.58*****	***-0.65*****	***-0.52*****	-0.344	***-0.64*****	-0.179
parent1pc	0.218	-0.044	0.131	0.158	0.281	0.194	-0.126	0.121	0.31	0.168	0.094	0.277
defactopc	0.306	**0.679****	**0.435****	**0.527****	0.254	**0.499****	**0.631****	**0.467***	**0.551****	0.291	**0.484***	0.156
languagepc	0.194	0.110	0.126	.070	0.390	0.330	0.116	0.238	0.047	0.218	0.040	-0.135
christianpc	**0.511****	0.360	0.301	**0.413***	**0.559****	**0.559****	0.364	**0.546****	0.373	0.186	**0.431***	0.036
tsipc	**0.427***	0.325	0.353	**0.531****	0.357	**0.569****	**0.585****	**0.493***	0.352	**0.484***	**0.505****	0.174
unempratio	**0.478***	**0.670****	**0.548****	**0.738****	**0.624****	**0.833****	**0.690****	**0.704**	**0.573****	**0.460***	**0.731****	0.295
year12ratio	0.174	0.306	0.134	-0.009	0.372	0.275	0.172	0.129	-0.255	0.136	0.037	0.159
homeratio	**0.420***	0.265	**0.502****	**0.595****	**0.601****	**0.432***	0.25	**0.497****	**0.651****	**0.457***	**0.493****	**0.382***
indiv$ratio	0.126	0.163	0.016	0.136	0.220	0.325	0.369	0.225	0.078	0.023	0.316	-0.240
house$ratio	0.190	0.109	-0.099	0.020	0.228	0.186	0.265	0.166	0.030	0.086	0.167	-0.160
repayratio	0.110	-0.064	-0.053	-0.214	-0.054	0.065	-0.089	-0.098	-0.084	-0.089	-0.184	-0.031
rentratio	0.347	0.306	0.229	0.296	0.310	0.448	**0.469***	0.344	0.193	0.355	0.308	-0.019
roomratio	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
sizeratio	**0.547****	**0.468***	**0.501****	**0.504****	**0.518****	**0.510****	0.242	**0.439***	**0.629****	0.283	0.357	**0.579****
inequal	-0.226	-0.060	-0.070	-0.001	-0.173	0.081	0.107	-0.001	-0.192	0.106	-0.013	-0.373
remote	**0.546****	0.180	0.150	0.325	0.252	**0.419***	0.318	0.280	**0.499****	0.163	0.312	0.317
migratepc	0.249	0.137	0.025	-0.055	0.129	-0.094	-0.137	0.004	0.282	-0.214	-0.026	0.225
police	0.350	0.346	0.130	0.277	0.344	**0.468***	0.385	0.351	0.382	-0.026	**0.388***	0.023

**	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*	Pearson correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
n/a	Normality could not be assumed.

Regressions

1. *inmarate* and *inferate* are significant predictors of *drug & liquor offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.68), F(2,24) = 28.6, p<.001, and *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.87), F(2,24) = 84.1, p<.001, but *inmarate* is the more significant. *inmarate* is the only significant predictor of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.47), F(1,25) = 23.9, p<.001, *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.68), F(1,25) = 55.6, p<.001, *good order offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.71), F(1,25) = 64.5,

p<.001, *sundry offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.58), F(1,25) = 36.9, p<.001, and *motor vehicle related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.78), F(1,25) = 93.6, p<.001.

inmarate and *inferate* are significant predictors of *arrests*, (adjusted R^2=0.93), F(2,24) = 183.7, p<.001, and *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.86), F(2,24) = 77.7, p<.001, but *inmarate* is the more significant. *inmarate* is the only significant predictor of *community conferences*, (adjusted R^2=0.31), F(1,25) = 12.7, p<.01. *inferate* is the only significant predictor of *cautions*, (adjusted R^2=0.35), F(1,25) = 14.9, p<.01, and *other police action*, (adjusted R^2=0.29), F(1,25) = 11.7, p<.01.

2. *in1015rate* and *in1619rate* are significant predictors of *theft related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.87), F(2,24) = 90.1, but *in1619rate* is the more significant. *in1015rate* is the only significant predictor of *property damage offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.75), F(1,25) = 77.8, p<.001, and *motor vehicle related offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.85), F(1,25) = 148.3, p<.001. *in1619rate* is the only significant predictor of *violent offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.54), F(1,25) = 32.0, p<.001, *drug & liquor offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.68), F(1,25) = 56.8, p<.001, *good order offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.73), F(1,25) = 70.8, p<.001, and *sundry offences*, (adjusted R^2=0.54), F(1,25) = 31.5, p<.001.

   in1015rate and *in1619rate* are significant predictors of *arrests*, (adjusted R^2=0.92), F(2,24) = 157.3, p<.001 (*in1015rate* is more significant), and *notices to appear*, (adjusted R^2=0.81), F(2,24) = 57.8, p<.001 (*in1619 rate* is more significant). *in1015rate* is the only significant predictor of *community conferences*, (adjusted R^2=0.26), F(1,25) = 10.2, p<.01. *in1619rate* is the only significant predictor of *cautions*, (adjusted R^2=0.31), F(1,25) = 12.5, p<.01, and *other police action*, (adjusted R^2=0.32), F(1,25) = 13.0, p<.01.

3. *inrent* and *christianpc* explained 44.6 % of the variance in *violent offences*, F(2,24) = 11.5, p<.001, but *inrent* was the more significant predictor.
4. *defactopc* and *inrent* explained 64.7 % of the variance in *property damage offences*, F(2,24) = 24.8, p<.001, but *defactopc* was the more significant predictor.
5. *unempratio* explained 27.2 % of the variance in *drug & liquor offences*, F(1,25) = 10.7, p<.01.
6. *unempratio* explained 52.7 % of the variance in *theft related offences*, F(1,25) = 29.9, p<.001.
7. *inrent*, *inhomepc* and *christianpc* explained 64.7 % of the variance in *good order offences*, F(3,23) = 16.9, p<.001, but *inrent* was the most significant predictor.
8. *unempratio* explained 66.6 % of the variance in *sundry offences*, F(1,25) = 52.8, p<.001.
9. *unempratio* and *ageratio* explained 55.4 % of the variance in *motor vehicle related offences*, F(2,24) = 17.1, p<.001, but *unempratio* was the more significant predictor.

10. *unempratio* explained 47.5 % of the variance in *arrests*, F(1,25) = 24.5, p<.001.
11. *homeratio*, *defactopc*, and *inhomepc* explained 66.3 % of the variance in *cautions*, F(3,23) = 18.1, p<.001, but *homeratio* was the most significant predictor.
12. *tsipc* and *homeratio* explained 32.8 % of the variance in *community conferences*, F(2,24) = 7.3, p<.01, but *tsipc* was the more significant predictor.
13. *unempratio* explained 51.6 % of the variance in *notices to appear*, F(1,25) = 28.7, p<.001.
14. *sizeratio* explained 30.8 % of the variance in *other police action*, F(1,25) = 12.6, p<.01.

Appendix E: Tests of normality

Table 1: Variables affected by tests of normality in analysis of Aboriginal councils

Variable name	Result of normality tests
inmarate	Aurukun, Woorabinda removed
in1015rate	Aurukun, Woorabinda removed
in1619rate	Aurukun removed
inproprate	Aurukun, Woorabinda removed
indrugrate	Cherbourg removed
inmiscrate	Aurukun, Cherbourg removed
inmvrate	Mornington, Woorabinda, Aurukun, Seisia removed
inarrate	Aurukun, Woorabinda removed
incocorate	Woorabinda removed
inrepay	Normality could not be assumed
inhomepc	Normality could not be assumed
christianpc	Mapoon, Doomadgee removed
irsad	Normality could not be assumed
in$indiv	Bamaga, Seisia removed
police	Normality could not be assumed using QPS 2006 data. Mapoon, Napranum removed using CMC 2009 data.
inequal	New Mapoon removed
inbiddle	Bamaga, Seisia removed

Table 2: Variables affected by tests of normality in analysis of Island councils

Variable name	Result of normality tests
indrugrate	Normality could not be assumed
ingordrate	Normality could not be assumed
inmvrate	Normality could not be assumed
inmiscrate	Normality could not be assumed
inarrate	Normality could not be assumed
incaurate	Normality could not be assumed
incocorate	Normality could not be assumed
intyperate	Normality could not be assumed
inrepay	Normality could not be assumed
remote	Normality could not be assumed
cdeprate	Torres removed
police	Normality could not be assumed
inequal	Torres removed
tsipc	Torres removed

Table 3: Variables affected by tests of normality in analysis of rural councils

Variable name	Result of normality tests
inferate	Murgon, Goondiwindi removed
in1015rate	Murgon, Paroo, Weipa removed
inproprate	Murgon, Paroo removed
inmiscrate	Murgon, Paroo, Mt Morgan removed
inmvrate	Murgon, Weipa removed
incaurate	Murgon removed
incocorate	Normality could not be assumed
intyperate	Dalby, Mt Morgan removed
indiv$income	Belyando, Broadsound, Weipa removed
house$income	Belyando, Broadsound, Weipa removed
inyear12pc	Belyando removed
inrepay	Weipa removed
tsipc	Weipa removed
languagepc	Cook, Douglas removed
inequal	Belyando, Chinchilla removed
repayratio	Weipa removed
unempratio	Cloncurry removed
repayratio	Weipa removed
sizeratio	Carpentaria removed

Table 4: Variables affected by tests of normality in analysis of urban councils

Variable name	Result of normality tests
inmiscrate	Rockhampton removed
incaurate	Mt Isa removed
inroom	Normality could not be assumed
languagepc	Cairns, Thuringowa, Townsville removed
tsipc	Cairns removed
totalpop	Brisbane, Gold Coast removed
in1019pc	Mt Isa removed
remote	Mt Isa removed
police	Mt Isa removed
inequal	Livingstone removed
roomratio	Normality could not be assumed
year12ratio	Caboolture, Toowoomba removed
indiv$ratio	Mt Isa removed
house$ratio	Mt Isa removed