

DELINQUENCY AND HOMELESSNESS: TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED RESPONSE

Lesley Podesta and Peter Jones

THIS PAPER WILL BEGIN BY LOOKING AT SOME OF THE TRADITIONAL explanations given for youth offending and then juxtapose these with a profile of marginalised and homeless young people to argue in support of a social theory of causes of crime. The authors will then describe some program responses to the problems described which have been undertaken in Victoria.

Traditional Explanations for Youth Offending

Almost everyone has a view on why young people commit offences. Some theories are listed below:

- Generational criminality—an inherited predisposition for wrongdoing or growing up with a culture of crime.
- Media reporting and the media's saturation with crime and violence invoking copycat responses which accept criminal "normalness".
- A moral breakdown in the fabric of society based on factors such as promiscuity or loss of discipline and parental control.
- Thuggery and violence for its own sake.
- Physical environmental factors creating a fertile bed for criminal activity such as poor street lighting, industrial wastelands, urban design which depopulates remote city stretches and provides concealment for potential attackers.
- The notion that adolescent crime is often essentially related to growing up and is therefore a stage in one's development which one grows out of.

- Related to this is the theory that a large proportion of the population being concentrated in the adolescent years can result in increasing crime rates and that increasing economic dependency of young people on their families is currently resulting in prolonged adolescence.

What have marginalised and chronically homeless young people got to do with all this?

First of all we know that they are "very likely to be involved in the criminal justice system" (Burdekin 1989, p. 19). Two Victorian examples make the point clearly. In a Salvation Army auspiced study of 200 homeless young people, conducted in Melbourne in 1989 and published as the *Forced Exit* (Hirst 1989) report, it was found that 72 per cent were under some corrective or protective order (and of these 78 per cent were under a corrective order). In a separate study of sixty-five marginal and homeless young people undertaken as part of the review of the Victorian "Crossroads" Project (Newman et al. 1991) it was found that 94 per cent were subject to some form of "legal determination" with 46 per cent having had a combination of legal determinations, 33 per cent were presently or had previously been state wards, 5 per cent were current wards and 9 per cent were on bail. Of the *Forced Exit* sample (Hirst 1989), "62 per cent had been under a custodial residential order at some time" and 44 per cent of the *Great Leap Forward* sample (Newman et al. 1991) had also been placed in a penal facility or institution (most commonly Turana, Winlaton or Pentridge Prison). These findings suggest that as a community we have sometimes confused homeless young people's need for a secure accommodation environment with the need to lock up or detain them.

A Profile of Homeless and Marginal Young People

If one develops a profile of homeless and marginal young people some clues as to why this confusion has arisen may emerge. We may also declare the apparently comprehensive list of traditional causes of crime, just referred to, incomplete explanations.

The Burdekin Report (1989) identified three different categories of homeless young people:

- those who leave home temporarily and then return;
- those who have left home and require some temporary assistance to make the transition to independence; and
- those who become homeless in their mid to late teens and who find it very difficult to break the cycle of homelessness.

It is this third group who surface in programs such as "Crossroads" (often after a period of contact with the welfare or criminal justice systems) and with whom this paper is primarily concerned. Commissioner Burdekin

describes these young people as being "locked into a homeless, rootless lifestyle often . . . embroiled in the sub-culture of the streets with its related drug abuse, violence and conflict with the law" (Newman et al. 1991). The corresponding experience of being locked into this sub-culture is often of "being locked out" (by their behaviour and reputation) of mainstream community and its human services; schools, the health system, employment and income support and counselling and psychiatric services.

So how would we characterise homeless and marginalised young people?

- They are involuntarily homeless often from ages as young as thirteen to fourteen and are sent into the world unequipped to cope with its threats and to meet its challenges (Leary 1990).
- As a result, many are stalled developmentally in their early teens for a number of years (Leary 1990).
- Their connection with family is often existent but tenuous and unsatisfying (Leary 1990).
- They feel intensely the pain, isolation, anguish and abandonment of prematurely leaving home, often exchanging a situation of little care or nurturing for none at all (with the exception of that provided by peers) (Leary 1990).
- Many have left school before the statutory leaving age and most fall well short of the bottom rung of the prescribed Carmichael and Mayer competency ladder (Leary 1990).
- Most are painfully, anxiously aware of feelings of inadequacy in many aspects of their lives (Leary 1990).
- This sense of fragility and vulnerability consumes much of their strength and energy (Leary 1990).
- They develop screens to conceal their vulnerability such as anti-social behaviour, bravado and displays of toughness and invulnerability (Leary 1990).
- Many fear and shun closeness and desire both independence and isolation (Leary 1990).
- Whilst living very immediately, engaging in reckless and risk-taking actions which suggest that they are out of love with their lives and out of hope that they may feel differently in the future, many nevertheless harbour and nurture complex fantasies about the future, often bound up with family (Leary 1990).
- Anger, depression and sadness are often mixed up, finding inward expression in self-mutilation, risk taking behaviour and suicide

attempts and outward expression in a sometimes confusing cocktail of criminal and anti-social behaviour (Leary 1990).

- Their grip on physical, emotional and (meaningful) support and human service networks is tenuous and so, therefore, is their grip on any hope of quality of life—and, in some cases, on life itself.
- Approximately 43 per cent of homeless young women will have experienced sexual abuse before leaving home (Hirst 1989) and up to 76 per cent will have this experience revisited upon them once homeless (Alder 1991).
- Young homeless men on the street are also extraordinarily vulnerable to violent attacks, up to 96 per cent having been bashed since becoming homeless (Alder 1991).
- The health of marginal and homeless young people is characterised by a range of disorders, including: malnutrition, sexually transmitted diseases, tinea, asthma, scabies, crabs, eczema and Hepatitis B. Many have a lack of concern for their own well-being which means that minor infections may be allowed to burgeon into major illnesses (Newman et al. 1991).
- Many have psychiatric disorders and many "self-medicate" with alcohol, marijuana, cough medicine and other drugs such as speed and heroine (Howard 1992). Recent research through the National Youth Affairs Research Scheme has found that disagreement between the various psychosocial, social and medical professionals on classifications for mental conditions means that referral between their various systems is often dysfunctional (Sawyer et al. 1992). Often the psychiatric disorder of such young people is considered to be drug induced and, therefore, not considered appropriate for treatment within a mental health facility. The result is that many homeless young people go without treatment and so develop dual disabilities (Newman et al. 1991).

Unfortunately, the criminal justice system is not always so discriminating as the health system in who it deals with. It is not without good reason that the third most common reason given in the *Forced Exit* report for young homeless people not seeking medical care was "fear of contact with police" (Hirst 1989). As we have already seen, 62 per cent had been held in a custodial institution at some time—in many cases in a corrective facility.

This extensive sketch of the circumstances of homeless and marginalised young people underscores the close relationships which should exist between juvenile justice responses and responses to issues such as alcohol and drug use, child abuse, homelessness and suicide. Delegates at a youth suicide conference held in Adelaide in July 1990, for example, heard that:

- a 1985 study had found that "70 per cent of adolescents who end their lives by suicide had associated substance misuse and 70 per cent had a history of anti-social behaviours . . ." (Shafii et al. 1985);
- three other studies throughout the 1980s found that the comorbidity of antisocial and depressive symptoms appears a particularly lethal combination (Chiles et al. 1980; Frances & Blumenthal 1986; Shaffer et al. 1988);
- a 1982 comparative study found that a group of fifteen-year-old young offenders (42 male, 22 female) held in a remand centre in Western Sydney "were as depressed as a group of adolescents diagnosed as depressed by psychiatrists" (Lamond 1982);
- amongst those most likely to commit suicide in prison were "young offenders with histories of convictions for property offences and who were single with no job, family or support" (Hatty & Walker 1986);
- of seventy-eight adolescents, "most from chaotic social backgrounds and . . . without education and social support" admitted to Adelaide's Youth Remand Centre in a study of 1990, 40 per cent registered depression scores "four times greater than that found amongst adolescents living in the community . . . [a] figure comparable with that reported by adolescents attending child psychiatric services in Adelaide" (Kosky et al. 1990);
- suicide is the leading cause of death in most penal settings with a rate three times that of the civilian population (Tuskan & Thase 1983).

The report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody highlights the life experiences which often result in people ending up in prisons and lock-ups and also reveals experiences once incarcerated. For many young people who are already adrift in the world and unglued socially, the experience is one in which an already devalued life experiences a further spiritual diminution. This is not the intention of custodial settings but it is often how young people relate to and describe their experiences within them.

Having described some of the circumstances of the young people with whom this paper is concerned we are in a better position to examine the causes of youth crime listed at the beginning of the paper and to reject them as only half complete. Even the addition of the "Consumerism and the Underclass Paradigm", the leftist notion of a proletariat flouted with the glittering prizes of our materially comfortable community—prizes constantly paraded as needed and available whilst simultaneously being denied and withheld—will not serve entirely. The young people described are poor materially, but they are also deprived of the emotional support found within an harmonious family situation. They are disaffected from a legal system which is perceived by them as "inaccessible, inadequate and hostile" (Robson 1992, p. 1), but they also feel a more general disengagement from almost all

other social institutions—including the most primary and immediate of these: their own families. Eckersley (1988) is perhaps close to the truth in his analysis of young people as casualties of the speed of the social, economic and technological changes occurring within western societies which have left some families and young people reeling.

Victorian Program Responses

Having arrived at this rather grim critique of the world through the eyes of homeless and marginal young people, the authors believe that we are in a strong position to argue that criminal behaviour for such young people is only one manifestation of a many-sided problem. Other manifestations include self-harming behaviours such as suicide attempts, drug and alcohol abuse, driving recklessly, failing to observe basic health care requirements, engaging in high risk sexual activities and needle sharing. Adversarial law and order responses, such as heightened policing or harsher prison terms for such young people, are not a complete solution and may in fact further exacerbate the problem.

An integrated, holistic response which addresses the root causes of offending is required. The policy underpinning which exists in the broadest sense to support us in this approach is Victoria's integrated anti-crime strategy. This strategy acknowledges that policing is only one crime prevention mechanism and that socioeconomic, cultural, environmental and personal factors require a more coordinated and proactive response. The initiatives described in this paper may all be seen as fitting within this overall strategy.

Diversionsary systems

Like most other jurisdictions of Australia, Victoria has invested a great effort in developing diversionsary programs which keep young people out of custodial settings. These include a very successful police cautioning system and, more recently, two agencies charged with alternative dispute resolution powers have been established. A comprehensive and rigorous review of national and international models of alternative dispute resolution models was commissioned and published by the Preston Youth Homelessness Taskforce (Fisher et al. 1992).

Adolescent/parent mediation

Family mediation has also been a feature of the work of the Youth Homelessness Taskforce. In his paper "Fast Cars Don't Kill Me : Marginalised Young People, HIV and Suicide" (Leary 1992), on which the present writers have drawn extensively in the profile of marginalised young people in this paper, Leary argues that contact with and support of family is absolutely critical to survival. Assisting both the young people and the family to regain and maintain some level of contact must remain on the agenda even if it appears impossible. The experience of Victoria's Youth Homelessness Taskforce strongly confirms this perception. Through the Preston Dispute

Settlement Centre, the Preston Youth Homelessness Taskforce has funded a Parent/Adolescent Mediation Service. The service trains adolescent mediators to undertake mediation between young people and their parents. The aim is to achieve reconciliation in a safe and neutral setting and so prevent homelessness and risk of offending.

Significant research exists which emphasises the need to provide young people with support from at least one significant adult, preferably a parent or guardian or, if not, a teacher, a friend or a youth worker. An example of such research is cited in the NYARS report (Brady 1992) *The Health of Young Aborigines* in which the author refers to a comprehensive longitudinal Hawaiian research study of "high risk" children. The 201 children in the study designated "high risk", "experienced severe parental stress, grew up in poverty . . . lived in families experiencing discord, divorce, parental alcoholism or mental illness" (Brady 1992). Two-thirds of these children developed "serious learning or behavioural problems (by 10 years) or had delinquency records, mental health problems or pregnancies before the age of eighteen". However, seventy-two of the young people in this sample made a successful, untroubled transition to adulthood. For the researchers in this study these became the "resilient children". When interviewed at eighteen "many resilient youth mentioned a favourite teacher who had become a role model, friend and confidant and was particularly supportive at times when their own family was beset by discord or threatened with dissolution." Others who experienced delinquency or mental health problems in adolescent years were able to bounce back in their twenties and thirties. Again "informal" sources of support were considered critical to this resilience.

In keeping with this, many of Victoria's most successful programs which work with young offenders and disaffected young people place an extraordinarily strong emphasis on providing the sustained support of a significant adult. Significantly, such relationships emphasise a shared agreement or partnership between the young person and the adult to achieve personal objectives for the young person (as opposed to externally imposed discipline from courts and statutory authorities). This is a feature of programs such as Crossroads, the "Inside-Out" Project and the Brosnan Centre.

Crossroads

Perhaps the highest profile and most successful service for homeless and marginal young people in Victoria is the Crossroads network of programs. Crossroads provides a holistic response to the needs of the young people in its care through an integrated network of programs. It places a very strong emphasis on the value of the resource of time for young people. Leary's (1992) and Burdekin's (1989) analyses of the problems experienced by homeless young people emphasise the absence of stability which has characterised their lives. Crossroads recognises that it is tending the bruises of a lifetime and they will require proof of sustained support before a healing process can commence. There is a recognition that young people's tolerance to intervention is low at first and that the initial changes for a person in contact with an effective homeless service will not necessarily be transition to independent living, but better and more stable accommodation, improved

nutrition and greater personal safety. Young people who come to the project usually display a number of behavioural problems which can make life difficult for staff. But the rules of youth work dictate that this swearing, aggression, unsophisticated communication, bravado and depicting of illegal exploits must sometimes be accepted, sometimes ignored, always managed and never used against the young people. In this way trust is built and perceived anti-social behaviour contained or diminished (Newman et al. 1991).

Crossroads is an integrated service which provides accommodation, employment experience and access to income support and other human and counselling services. The Crossroads model is incremental in the sense that it allows for young people to develop at different rates in different aspects of their lives. Some may begin by living in independent accommodation but with employment support, while for others independence is currently unattainable but they are given the confidence to make significant steps towards independence and optimising the control over their lives which is within their grasp. With the demise of CYSS services three or four years ago and their replacement with more formal structured employment programs and services such as SkillShare and Youth Access Centres, integrated services such as Crossroads perform a critical and vital function.

Inside-Out and the Brosnan Centre

The "Inside-Out" Project for young offenders and potential young offenders is a companion project to Crossroads. "Inside-Out" assists the younger end of the young offender continuum and emphasises the need for the sustained support of at least one significant adult for the young offenders within the program. Inside-Out complements a similar integrated program for older offenders run through the Catholic Church's "Brosnan Centre". Like Crossroads and "Inside-Out", the "Brosnan Centre" provides accommodation, employment and skills development experience, counselling, advocacy and support. Again, there is a strong emphasis on sustained and consistent support for the young people in the program who are often making their transition back into the community following imprisonment. Whilst "Inside-Out" is a fledgling service, soon to become independent of Crossroads for the first-time (having demonstrated enormous success in its first twelve months), "Brosnan" is more of an institution in Victoria, having survived and developed since the 1970s. Both programs place a strong emphasis on the dignity of all human life.

Funding was made available in August of this year to consolidate the "Inside-Out" project and to establish community outreach worker positions in areas with an index of high offending risk in Victoria. The community youth workers' tasks will be to provide intensive support to young people at risk of offending and to work in partnership with local support services to create a safety net of care and support for young people at risk. The youth workers within this new Youth Outreach Project will have the challenging task of attempting to assist marginalised young people to become a part of the

mainstream community with all of its attendant advantages—employment, hope, belonging, trust, love, security and accommodation.

Eckersley (1992) recently commented that, for marginal young people:

the ethical sense is rooted in a social sense, but that social sense is very limited, very transient, and very fragile. Lacking a broader sense of "the community", many young people have difficulty in establishing an ethical framework which has application beyond the boundaries of their own immediate circle of friends.

We all operate to a greater or lesser extent within this form of cultural relativist ethical framework. Our shared cultural and moral values form the basis of law. One of the challenges of the "Community Care for Young People" project will be to penetrate the circle which Eckersley describes and inject it with a much broader social and moral sense. Of course this can only happen by engendering in the young people involved the capacity to take responsibility for their actions and by making available to them the mainstream benefits and services enjoyed by the rest of the community. If we dehumanise and marginalise young people it can be no surprise to us if they behave without humanity or respect for social and community institutions, including the law.

The Fitzroy YouthCare Project

The Fitzroy YouthCare Project, established in 1990, was conceived initially as a suicide prevention project but broadened to become a project addressing young people at risk of self-harm. This decision was strongly underpinned by a report on youth suicide by the Australian Institute of Criminology for the Department of Employment, Education and Training (Mason 1990 unpub), which provided support for the notion that youth suicide should be seen as an end point on a continuum of high risk and self-harming behaviours. Goldney (1992) "The Prediction of Suicide", argued that the prediction of suicide was like tossing a coin—49.7 per cent was the highest rate of prediction which (under perfect circumstances) might be expected.

The Fitzroy YouthCare Project developed on the premise put forward by Dr Bret Hart that if the coin metaphor were to be replaced by that of a dice we could tackle a many-sided problem comprehensively: suicide attempts, offending behaviour, alcohol and drug abuse, experience of sexual, emotional or physical abuse, homelessness and social marginalisation became the six-sided selection criteria for young people to be involved in the project. YouthCare has adopted a dual strategy of establishing peer support structures for its participants (taking a range of forms determined by the needs of peer groups) while at the same time undertaking a community development function, strengthening the capacity of local services to respond to youth needs. It will surprise no-one that young offenders have been a core target group of the project and that one of its highlights was conducting a state-wide cricket tournament between police teams and young offenders in July of this year.

The authors believe that this two-year project has been a tremendous success, but the jury is out until December when a final evaluation report will be delivered. One of the achievements of the project has been its capacity to identify and activate forums in which marginal young people who feel rejected from school and, perhaps families, may receive some compensating affirmation most notably through their peers.

Although the project is now winding up, there will be many outcomes and activities generated by Youth Care which will outlive it. These include:

- the continuation of a young single mums netball team the "All-Rounders";
- a cricket team comprising many young ex-offenders and drug users "the Legends" has corporate sponsorship to continue competing indefinitely;
- interest from a corporate sponsor to make 1992's young offender/police state-wide cricket tournament an annual, national event in future years;
- ten non-English speaking background young people educated as peer educators and up to four hoping to present a paper to a national conference on community health next year;
- a young people's health service established at Fitzroy Community Health Centre continuing to operate one night per week with the support of workers and volunteers;
- young people's relations with police and cooperation between police and youth workers greatly enhanced according to local police officers; and
- young people no longer considered a major threat to community safety according to the most recent public quarterly forums held by the Community Health Centre in contrast to opinions expressed before the project began.

Conclusion

To an extent, projects such as YouthCare and the Youth Homelessness Taskforce aim to restore young people to school or to families or, if this fails, to find a valid third option. This is very much the role which we see for youth work in working with young offenders; to find some kind of backdoor through which to bring young people back in touch with the community and to assist them to reclaim their own lives.

The authors would like to conclude with some observations on the qualities required of those who wish to work effectively with alienated and marginal young people. This paper has emphasised the importance of workers having a strong personal commitment to the young people in their

care. It has also maintained that the young person's ability to consolidate and build on their strengths and move forward in their lives will depend on the stability provided by sustained support.

Programs such as "Inside-Out" and the Brosnan Centre emphasise the need for a partnership between the worker and young person. Whilst it is often true that it is a relationship with a youth worker which provides the young person with the skills and spark to begin to restore some sense of future to their lives, this must be achieved through a partnership in which the young person is allowed to articulate their own goals and in which the worker demonstrates support through the effort to assist the young person to achieve those goals.

Youth workers are often special people, but they are no different to any other profession in including amongst their numbers some people who have unfulfilled emotional needs of their own. It is beholden on the profession, in working with young people as vulnerable as those described in this paper, to ensure that the lines of their relationships with young people do not become blurred to the extent that achieving the most positive outcomes for the young person ceases to be the unambiguously central reason for such relationships to exist.

References

- Alder, C. 1991, "Victims of violence: the case of homeless youth", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 24, no. 1.
- Alder, C., O'Connor, I., Warner, K. & White, R. 1992, *Perceptions of the Treatment of Juveniles in the Legal System*, National Youth Affairs Research Scheme, Hobart.
- Brady, M. 1992, *The Health of Young Aborigines*, National Youth Affairs Research Scheme, Hobart.
- Burdekin, B. (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission) 1989, *Our Homeless Children*, Report of the National Inquiry into Homeless Children, AGPS, Canberra.
- Chamberlain, C. 1990, *The Information Deli: An Evaluation of the First Six Months*, Community Services Victoria, Melbourne.
- Chiles, J., Miller, M. & Cox, G. 1980, "Depression in an adolescent delinquent Population", *Archives of General Psychiatry*, vol. 37, pp. 1176-84.
- Eckersley, R. 1988, "Casualties of Change: Social and Economic Issues Affecting Youth", *Youth Studies and Abstracts*, vol. 7, no. 4, November.
- 1992, *Apocalypse No! Youth and the Challenge to Change*, July, Essay Series, Number 1, Australian Commission for the Future, Melbourne.

- Fisher, T., O'Malley, P. & Leigh, A. 1992, *Alternative Dispute Resolution: Strategies for Dealing with Young Offenders*, August, National Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria.
- Frances, A. & Blumenthal, S. 1986, "Personality disorders and characteristics", Paper presented at National Conference on Risk Factors for Youth Suicide, 8-9 May, Bethesda, MD.
- Frankston Dispute Settlement Centre 1992, *Victim Offender Mediation Program*, Frankston Dispute Settlement Centre, Frankston.
- Goldney, R.D. 1992, "The prediction of suicide", in *Preventing Youth Suicide*, Conference Proceedings No. 13, ed. S. McKillop, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Hatty, S. & Walker, J. 1986, *A National Study of Deaths in Australian Prisons*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Hirst, C. 1989, *Forced Exit: A Profile of the Young and Homeless in Inner Urban Melbourne*, Community Services Victoria and the Salvation Army, Melbourne.
- Howard, J. 1992, "The crushing of hope? Youth death in detention centres and adult custody", in *Preventing Youth Suicide*, ed S. McKillop, Conference Proceedings No. 13, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Kosky R.J., Sawyer, M.G. & Gowland, J.C. 1990, "Adolescents in custody: hidden psychological morbidity?", *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 153, 2 July 2.
- Lamond, D. 1982 (Unpub.), *Depression and Self-Perceptions of Control in Clinical Depressed & Delinquent Adolescents*, Macquarie University, BA Hons. Thesis, Sydney.
- Leary, D. 1990, "Fast cars don't kill me: marginalised young people, HIV & Suicide", in *Preventing Youth Suicide*, ed S. McKillop, Conference Proceedings No. 13, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Mason, G. 1990 (unpub), *Youth Suicide in Australia*, Department of Employment, Education and Training, Canberra.
- Newman, T., Dodds, M. & Barkley, M. 1991, *Waiting for the Great Leap Forward: An Evaluation of the Crossroads Interdepartmental Project*, Community Services Victoria and the Salvation Army, Melbourne.
- Raphael, B. 1988, "Youth Health—Who Cares?", *Youth Studies and Abstracts*, vol. 7, no. 4.

- Robson, B. 1992, *Sexual Assault, Homelessness and the Law—Rough Justice*, Youth Homelessness Taskforce and North East Centre Against Sexual Abuse, Melbourne.
- Salvation Army Crossroads Network 1992, *Hard Times : Families in Crisis*.
- Sawyer, M., Meldrum, D., Tonge B. & Clark J. 1992, *Young People and Mental Health*, National Youth Affairs Research Scheme, Melbourne.
- Shaffer, D., Garland, A., Gould, M., Fisher, P. & Trautman, P. 1988, "Preventing teenage suicide: a critical review", *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, vol. 27, no. 6, pp. 657-89.
- Shafii, M., Carrigan, S., Whittinghill, J. & Derrick, A. 1985, "Psychological autopsy of completed suicide in children and adolescents", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 142, pp. 1061-4.
- Tuskan, J. & Thase, M. 1983, "Suicide in Jails in prisons", *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing & Mental Health*, vol. X21, no. 5, pp. 29-33.
- Waters, K., Eldridge, D. & Sheehan, G. 1991, *Unfinished Business*, Crossroads Youth Network, Ascot Vale, Melbourne.