REACTIONS TO THE KARINGA PROJECT 1976-1983

by

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for

OFFENDERS AID AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

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an attempt to integrate people who have been excluded from normal social life by providing group housing in a pleasant locality. It is central to the success of such projects that the fears and hostility of neighbouring residents should be eased and their interests considered.

This report gives the results of a survey of people who live near Karinga House, some of whom protested about its establishment, some who did not protest, and some who have moved into the area since 1976. Karinga House is occupied by one of the most feared categories of people - male, Aboriginal offenders. It has a seven year history of trouble-free operation. By providing information about the current opinions of neighbours and their recollections of their original response this study should increase understanding of the reactions of neighbours to the presence of community housing for the kinds of people who have historically been excluded from social life.

This study deals with one specific aspect of the situation - the reactions of neighbours as they report them in interview. There are other important factors. These include the events which precipitated the campaign, the strategies used in the attempt to prevent the establishment of Karinga and the counter moves as well as the preparation of local people for what can be a disturbing and frightening change in their neighbourhood, the management of the community house and continuing contact with neighbours. Community based care, in the long run, depends on the goodwill of the community. It is hoped that this survey of public opinion about Karinga may indicate some issues which need consideration if this goodwill is to be gained.

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(1) INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background

Karinga House was established, and is managed, by the Offenders Aid and Rehabilitation Service, then the Prisoners Aid Association, in South Australia. It offers accommodation for up to eight Aboriginal youth and men. The residents at Karinga are ex-offenders, but those placed there are considered not to pose any danger to other people living in the area.

Karinga House is in a pleasant middle class suburb. There was an active campaign by local residents who objected to the establishment of Karinga. An anonymous group placed leaflets in letter boxes and by the closing date 154 objections had been received (News Review 7.4.76). The local council gave consent for a trial period of twelve months.

During this period, the Prisoners Aid Association sought to deal with the issues. The local council made protest letters available (Advertiser, 12/4/76) and a letter was forwarded to all protesters pointing out that there would be strict supervision of residents, that special emphasis would be placed on finding work and involving residents in worthwhile activities, and that premises would be cared for. The letter also sought to dispel fears by emphasising that no alcohol, undesirable drugs or firearms would be allowed on the property. Some protesters were visited personally. They expressed support of the aims of Karinga but objected to it being in their neighbourhood (Advertiser 3.4.76, 5.4.76, 12.4.76). At the time it was suggested that explanation before the announcement of the project might have eased the fears of people in the area (Advertiser 3.4.76).

As the trend towards community based care accelerates, it becomes evident that an important factor in its success will be the response of the community. Karinga House is an example of first stages of

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1.2 Aims of the Study

The basic aim of this study was to describe the impact on the community of the Karinga Hostel, and to suggest explanations for what happened, as far as community attitudes toward the project was concerned, over the seven year period from 1976-1983.

Of particular importance in this study were the reactions and attitudes of residents who had protested in 1976 against the setting up of the hostel. These "protesters" provided the focus for this enquiry. However, it was considered desirable to compare them with a sample of residents who did not protest, and thus establish if they were in some ways different.

The more specific aims of this study may be described as follows:

A. To assess the general conduct of the Karinga residents as perceived by people living in the neighbourhood.

B. To assess the extent to which the neighbourhood was seen as being more or less "pleasant" as a consequence of Karinga.

C. To determine the extent to which fear or worries had arisen as a result of Karinga, and whether they had changed over the seven year period of the hostel's existence.

D. To examine general opinions and judgements made of the Karinga project by members of the community.

E. To examine beliefs held by community members, relating to whether:

   (a) ex-prisoners can be helped;
   (b) "half-way houses" (like Karinga) are, in fact, desirable;
   (c) Aboriginal people constitute an especially difficult problem for white people who may wish to help them.

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It was hoped that the realisation of such aims would enable one to anticipate community reactions to any further projects like Karinga, and to understand, to some degree, why some individuals or groups may react as they do.

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(2) THE SURVEY

2.1 Method

The method chosen for this enquiry involved the use of a standardised questionnaire.which was administered by interviewers at the homes of residents in the neighbourhood of the Karinga Hostel.

The questionnaire itself was piloted and revised following advice provided by interviewers. Both closed-ended and open-ended questions were used, and a relatively informal style of questioning was practised. (The final questionnaire is given in Appendix I). Female interviewers only were used in the main study.

As addresses from which protests had come in 1976 were available, interviewers (four in all) were provided with the street numbers, and, where possible, the "protesters" were interviewed. It should be emphasised that no names were provided, nor were any requested. In some cases recent residents were at the given addresses. Respondents were identified for coding purposes as "protesters" only if they answered the question (asked of everyone) whether they had registered an objection in 1976 to the Karinga Hostel, by saying "yes". Other residents at addresses from which no protests had come were also interviewed to provide a comparison group. Some of these had, in fact, moved into the area after 1976, and the most recent of them tended not to be aware of the Karinga Hostel. In order to gain a fairly representative sample of the Payneham residents in the vicinity of Karinga, no-one approached was rejected. General beliefs (see Aim E) were considered relevant, even if respondents could not answer questions about Karinga itself.

Interviews generally occupied 20 minutes or so, with some taking considerably longer. The level of co-operation from the respondents was, in fact, very high.

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2.2 The Sample

In total 113 respondents in the Payneham area were interviewed. These consisted of:

(a) The protesters (N = 35). They were identified on the grounds that they:

(i) were living at an address from which an objection had been received in 1976 by the Payneham Council;

(ii) indicated that they were living at the same address in 1976;

(iii) said they had registered an objection to the proposed "half-way house"; (See Appendix I, q.4.).

(b) Non-protesters These may be divided into two groups:

(i) those who were living in Payneham in 1976 but who said they had not protested (N = 60); and

(ii) those who had come to live in Payneham since 1976, and therefore could not have protested (N = 18).

The sex composition of the respondents is given below in Table 1.

TABLE 1.

Respondents Interviewed

	Male	Female	Total M & F
Protesters	10	25	35
Non-Protesters (Pre-1976)	17	43	60
Post 1976 Respondents	5	13	18
	32	81	113

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It may be noted that for each category female respondents predominated by at least 2.1. (This, in part, may be due to the fact that more respondents were interviewed during the work day.) The age distribution is given below in Table 2.

TABLE 2.
Age categories (in years) of respondents

	Under 30	30-49	50-69	70 +
Protesters	1	8	15	11
Non-protesters	8	11	18	23
Post 1976	0	5	5	8
	9	24	38	42

Clearly, the respondents sampled tended to be older citizens, for the most part over 50 years of age in each category.*

Respondents were also categorised according to the distance of their homes from the Karinga Hostel. Four zones were defined: close; fairly close; intermediate; and relatively distant (see map, Appendix II). Types of respondent are classified below in Table 3. according to zone:

TABLE 3.
Distances of respondents from Karinga

	Close	Fairly Close	Intermediate	Relatively Distant
Protesters	17	7	9	2
Non-protesters	17	15	18	10
Post 1976	7	8	2	1
	41	30	29	13

Footnote: The relatively large numbers of older people in the sample, especially older females, partially reflects the age/sex composition of the population.
See Appendices III(a) and III(b).

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An examination of the distributions of respondents with respect to sex, age and distance from the Karinga Hostel, given in the preceding tables, shows that the protesters and the other respondents sampled did not differ greatly on the selected characteristics. It seems reasonable, therefore, to compare the responses of the "protesters" to questionnaire items with those given by others, and to establish in what ways (if any) the protesters may have differed.

2.3 Knowledge and Experience of Karinga

To what extent, it may be asked, were the respondents in this study aware of Karinga?

Firstly, one may consider the 95 respondents who had been living in Payneham in 1976 at the time of the debate as to whether the hostel should be set up. Obviously, the protesters heard about it, but what of the 60 residents who evidently did not protest? Their responses, indicating that 52 of them recalled the request by the Payneham Council to state their objection (if any), suggests that the publicity attending to the affair some seven years ago indeed made a strong and memorable impact.

Secondly, were the respondents aware that Karinga was in fact set up? With one curious exception, all of the protesters knew that it had been set up, and that their objections had, therefore, failed to prevent the establishment of the hostel. Among the non-protesters living in Payneham in 1976, there were eight respondents who did not know that it had been set up, and among the more recent, post 1976 residents, six were unaware. All the non-protesters who indicated awareness, in fact, knew where the hostel was located.

Footnote: The ethnic composition of the sample of respondents was similar for protesters and non-protesters: 66% were Australian born among the former; 67% among the latter.

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Some 65% of the respondents indicated that they sometimes walked past the hostel. The numbers and percentages for each category of respondents are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4.

Respondents indicating that they had "walked past" the hostel

	N	%
Protesters	27	77
Non-Protesters	37	62
Post 1976 respondents	10	55

The differences between the categories were not large, but one may note from Table 4. a slight tendency for the protesters to be more likely to have walked past the hostel. A more detailed analysis of the frequency of reported "walking past" Karinga is provided in Table 5.

TABLE 5.

Frequency of walking past Karinga

Numbers of Respondents

	Very or fairly often	Occasionally	Never
Protesters	19	8	8
Non-protesters	24	13	23
Post 1976	7	3	8

Again, it is evident that the protesters were somewhat more likely to have first hand information about Karinga - though the difference was not great.

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The Karinga Aboriginals appear to have been highly "visible" in the community. Ninety-one of the respondents reported that they had seen the Aboriginals from Karinga. This included all of the protesters who knew about the hostel. In fact, 23 of these protesters (66%) said they had seen the Aboriginals (presumably from Karinga) fairly or very often. Once more it was the protesters who appear to have been more exposed to, or aware of, the Aboriginals. Among other respondents, only 25% reported that they had seen the Aboriginals that often.

Some 28% of the respondents reported that they had "spoken with" Aboriginal people, for the most part "occasionally" or "very occasionally". As before, the protesters figures more prominently, some 37% of protesters reported having spoken with the Aboriginals as compared with 24% of all others.

In summary, the picture that emerges is that among the respondents sampled a high proportion (84%) were aware of Karinga Hostel and where it was actually situated. A large majority of the respondents (About 81%) had seen the Karinga Aboriginals at least once. Rather more than half (65%) had walked past the Hostel and more than one quarter (28%) had spoken with them. By each one of the criteria indicated above, the sub-group of respondents that were of primary interest in this report - the protesters - appear to have had somewhat more experience of the Aboriginal people from Karinga than others, though it should be emphasised, the difference was not very pronounced.

2.4 The Impact of Karinga

One of the purposes of this enquiry was to study the impact of Karinga on the community of which they had become a part. Questions were asked to assess how positively or negatively the Aboriginal people were perceived. Of particular interest, was whether the

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protesters were different from others in the community in the way in which they evaluated the Aboriginal people of Karinga.

A. The conduct of the Karinga residents

Firstly, respondents were asked to say whether, in their own personal experience, they had found the conduct of the Aboriginal people from Karinga "better", "the same" or "worse than most." Ninety-five respondents provided answers to this question. Of these, 16 said that they could not judge. The breakdown is given below in Table 6.

TABLE 6.

Perceived Conduct of Aboriginal People from Karinga

	Better than most	Same	Worse than most	Can't judge
Protesters	0	23	4	7
Non-protesters	3	38	2	7
Post 1976	0	6	2	2
	3	67	8	16

Clearly, the overwhelming majority saw the conduct of Aboriginal people at Karinga as "same as most people". Further, the proportion for each category were very similar for both protesters and non-protesters.

Further questions were asked to allow respondents to give examples from their own experience, or from that of others, to support their judgements. Opinions were sometimes contradictory. For example, for some respondents the Karinga Aborigines were, "rough", "rude", "cheeky", "untidy" and "loud"; whereas for others they were, "well-mannered", "courteous", "tidy" and "quiet". One respondent said they

were "no worse than other kids, get involved in kid-things". A common reaction was that nothing bad had been heard about them, one person adding, "and I think it would be voiced loudly in a place like this". Nevertheless, a number of crimes or misdemeanours that had evidently occurred in the neighbourhood were mentioned, with the suggestion or insinuation that the Aborigines may have been involved. These included: petty theft, trespassing, acting as a "peeping tom", ransacking cars, clothes stolen off a line, bottles thrown over a fence - narrowly missing someone, underwear littered around, fruit taken from trees, and telephone booths vandalised. It was sometimes conceded that "it could have been anybody", but suspicion tended to fall on the Aborigines at Karinga, despite lack of evidence.

B. Perceived "pleasantness"

A further question aimed at providing a general evaluation of the impact of Karinga asked whether the area was a more or less pleasant place to live in because of Karinga Hostel. Ninety-six respondents answered the question. The large majority (N= 78) answered "no difference". However of those who thoughtKaringa had made a difference, all of them (N = 18) said it was "less pleasant". A breakdown by type of respondent showed that while a small proportion of non-protesters believed that Karinga Hostel had made the area "less pleasant" (some 10%), a somewhat larger proportion of protesters (35%) were of this opinion. It should be noted that the impression of the place being "less pleasant" cannot be attributed entirely to perceived poorer conduct of Aboriginals since only eight respondents judged their conduct in this way. Of the few people who provided some explanation for their view that the area was "less pleasant", the "reasons" reflected a vague sense of being under threat, for example, "not sure about letting children out", or of general distaste, for example, "just don't like them".

It is possible that the impression of the place being "less pleasant" might have derived from the belief that land values had fallen because of the Aboriginal presence. Indeed, some 20 of the 89 respondents who gave an opinion on this question believed that this was so. This belief tended to be only slightly more prevalent among protesters (7 out of the 27 giving an opinion). In other words, this minority view is fairly widely held and may, in part, account for the belief that the area is now "less pleasant". Specific evidence of people actually acting on such feelings by leaving the district was, however, sparse, amounting to reports to this effect from three respondents. (It could not be ascertained whether three different individuals or families were implicated.)

There is then some evidence that a very small minority of respondents felt that the conduct of the Aboriginal people was not as good as that of most people and an even smaller group that thought it was better. A somewhat larger minority (about 19%) felt that the place was "less pleasant" because of the Karinga Aboriginals.

Information provided by respondents tended to be contradictory in that opposite views were presented of the conduct of the Aborigines. Among a small minority there were suspicions that the Aborigines had been engaged in minor misdemeanours or crimes. A vague sense of threat appears to be a contributing factor to the judgement of some that the area is now less pleasant, together with a belief that land values may have declined.

C. Fear and worry

One of the central issues in this enquiry concerned the amount and kinds of fear and worry experienced by residents in the vicinity of the Karinga Hostel, and whether with the passing of time such concerns changed in any way.

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There is no doubt that among a substantial proportion of the respondents questioned, they recalled having a sense of personal danger, either "a lot" or "some", and some respondents felt worried in varying degrees about what might happen to other people.

Not surprisingly, it was the protesters who were more likely to have recalled a sense of danger. Table 7. summarises the answers to the question, "When you first learned about the Karinga Hostel, did you personally feel in some danger?" and, for comparison, answers to the question whether they felt danger now, i.e. in 1983.

TABLE 7.

Numbers of respondents reporting different levels of perceived danger in 1976 and, for comparison, in 1983.

	A lot	Some	No real danger
Protesters	10 (2)	13 (8)	11 (24)
Non-protesters	2 (0)	7 (3)	45 (51)

Note: (i) Numbers for 1983 are given in parenthesis.
(ii) For some respondents data were missing.

From Table 7. it is apparent that among the 88 people who responded to the two questions, in 1976 there were 32 people (some 36%) who felt danger, either "some" or "a lot", associated with the establishment of the Karinga Hostel. As one would expect, the protesters were much more likely to report a perception of danger in 1976, that is, 23 out of the 34 protesters recalled feeling danger then, compared with nine out of 54 among the non-protesters.

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This difference is statistically significant by chi square: $\chi^2 = 23.43$ df = 1, $p < .001$. This result confirms that the protesters were in general unusually fearful compared with other residents in 1976. However, the fact that nine of the non-protesters in the sample also felt some danger should prevent one from concluding that they were uniquely afraid.

The nature of the perceived danger is best conveyed by quotations from the respondents who felt threatened. Many were afraid of the "criminal element" - anything can happen with ex-prisoners. The fears ranged from break-ins and petty thefts, to "mob the house" and sex and rape offences.

Some related their perception of danger to a feeling of strangeness, of lack of control - "When something new happens you don't know what is going to happen" and another, "We felt nervous as to what the hostel might mean". "We didn't know what the hostel entailed then, it was brought on suddenly". "We felt vulnerable - felt someone could break in and we'd be at a disadvantage".

Others feared less but felt uncomfortable - "We were not sure, were afraid of some personal abuse, for example, swearing when we walked past". In general, the perception of danger was related to criminality, although for some race was an issue - "mixing of races leads to problems".

Respondents were also asked whether they had felt worried for the sake of others when they heard about Karinga. Analysis of responses from people who were living in the surrounding area in 1976 again suggest that there were a substantial number of people who had such worries. Twenty-one of the 33 protesters answering this question indicated that they were worried. A further 5 out of 51 non-protesters also said they were worried for the sake of others. As before, in the case of feelings of personal danger, there is evidence of considerable

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apprehension among a minority (some 29%) of the respondents in the Karinga area in 1976.

Levels of worry were also estimated. Among the 21 "worried protesters", 7 were "very worried", 12 were "fairly worried" and 2 "slightly worried". Two non-protesters said they were "fairly worried" and two said they were "slightly worried".

The nature of the worries may be illustrated from the answers of respondents. Some objected to the establishment of the hostel but did not report taking defensive measures. Others prepared for siege - "The house has barbed wire around the fence and is multi-locked, in fact, it is barricaded in good taste", and another, "We got new security locks and my husband built a fence and a gate", another "We got a new dog, a biting Australian silky terrier". Some restricted their activities - "We were scared to send children to the shop on their own - they might get hurt". For this family, the situation continues - "We always watch the children now".

What changes took place in people's feelings of danger and worry over the intervening six years?

Table 7 also provides (in parenthesis) the figures relating to perception of danger from Karinga in 1983. It is clear that there was a large overall reduction in the frequency with which individuals experienced feelings of danger. Indeed, the differences between "protesters" and "non-protesters", so striking in 1976, were at the later date much smaller.

In the sample available for analysis 10 of the 34 protesters felt some danger in 1983 compared with 3 of the 54 non-protesters. These differences in proportions are relatively small, compared with the initial differences. Clearly the protesters became, over the seven years between 1976 and 1983, much more like the non-protesters.

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An alternative (and better) way of examining the changes is by tracing what happened to the feelings of individual respondents who provided answers to questions relating to danger and worry both in 1976 and in 1983. To do this respondents were categorised according to whether they remained with the same feelings of danger over the period in question or whether they changed either positively (showing less fear or worry) or negatively (showing more fear or worry).

Results are summarised in Table 8. below:

TABLE 8.

Respondents categorised according to perception of danger from Karinga initially and in 1983

Protesters

1983 danger

		None	Some	A lot
Initial danger	A lot	6	2	2
	Some	9	4	0
	None	9	2	0

Summary - No change = 15; positive change = 17; negative change = 2

By McNemar's test, $\chi^2 = 10.32$, $_df = 1$

$p < .01$

Non-Protesters

1983 danger

		None	Some	A lot
Initial danger	A lot	1	1	0
	Some	5	2	0
	None	45	0	0

Summary - No change = 47; positive change = 7; negative change = 0

By the binomial test, X = 0, N = 7,

$p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

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TABLE 8. (cont.)

Post 1976 residents

		None	Some	A lot
Initial danger	A lot	0	0	0
	Some	1	0	0
	None	10	1	0

Summary - No change = 10; positive change = 1, negative change = 1.

All respondents

		None	Some	A lot
Initial danger	A lot	7	3	2
	Some	15	6	0
	None	64	3	0

Summary - No change = 72; positive change = 25; negative change = 3.

By McNemar's test, $\chi^2 = 15.75$, df = 1, $p < .001$.

Notes:-

(1) The tables should be interpreted as indicating the numbers of respondents whose perception of danger stayed at the initial level, and the numbers that changed to a higher or lower level. For instance, for the "protesters", six initially experienced a "lot of danger" but changed to feeling "none" in 1983; two changed from feeling "a lot" to feeling "some"; and two continued to feel "a lot".

(2) For McNemar's test, for the significance of changes,* results for "a lot" and "some" were pooled before χ^2 was computed.

Footnote: *See: Siegel, S. Non-parametric statistics, McGraw-Hill, 1956, p. 63-67.

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As may be seen from Table 8., among both the "protesters" and "non-protesters", changes tended to be positive, that is, more frequently in the direction of feeling "less danger". Despite the small size of the sample, the changes were statistically significant, that is, it is highly unlikely that they came about by chance (less than 5 chances in a 100). This analysis supports the previous one, i.e. perceived danger became less with the passage of time. It is encouraging that 17 of the 23 protesters who had felt some personal danger had had at least some of their fears removed, and 7 of the 9 non-protesters had also experienced a positive change. It may also be noted that, in general, the respondents were relatively old people whose attitudes were probably not easy to change.

Some worries experienced by the respondents in 1976 were for the sake of others. Again those concerned were mainly "protesters": 61% of the 33 protesters for whom answers were available expressed such worries, as against only 10% of the "non-protesters" who provided answers. Fears were expressed particularly in relation to the elderly and widowed who lived alone. Others were particularly concerned about their children, for example, "We often have grand children to stay; they're young. I didn't like to leave the wife alone when I went out". Fear for children often centred upon "sexual molestation".

Some of the concern for others related to the disruption of their lives - "They might be frightened to walk alone there or come home at night". "People could be accosted if not molested". "No idea if inhabitants (of Karinga) would be sober or drunk".

As with the case of personal danger, fears for others had reduced strikingly by 1983. In tracing the development of the 20 "worried" protesters, 10 had lost their worries completely, 5 had had them reduced and 3 of them had not changed.

Footnote: In two cases worries increased. By McNemar's test the changes were significant in the positive direction: $\chi^2 = 8.47$, df = 1, $p < .01$.

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Results relating to changes in the experience of danger or worry for the sake of others are in general positive and highly significant in the statistical sense. However, a word of caution is necessary. There were still in the community people who felt threatened by the existence of the Aboriginal hostel. Precautions were still being taken, especially by the original protesters : some 12 of them indicated this, as well as 2 non-protesters. Concern was particularly evident among the six protesters whose feelings of danger had not changed and two protesters whose fears had actually increased.

These eight "exceptions" are worth considering further. In general, they expressed negative feelings towards the Aborigines and suspected that the residents from Karinga were in some sense a menace to others. The two whose fear had increased (husband and wife) said that they had been jeopardised by bottles being thrown over a fence, narrowly missing one of them. (They did not imply that this was intentional). The six others repeated rumours concerning thefts and house breakings, which, it was felt, the Aborgines may be responsible for. Yet only one of the six was of the opinion that the conduct of the Aborigines was "worse than most people". Suspicion rather than evidence of the Aborigines' misconduct appeared to be responsible for the sense of being in danger.

D. Further Comments

Respondents were then asked a general question which was designed to identify issues arising from the establishment of "Karinga" which had not yet been raised in the interview -

"Are there any further opinions that you would like to express about the establishment of Karinga Hostel in Payneham?"

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Some respondents used this to reflect further on their negative feelings towards Karinga. For example,

. "Prefer not to have them on the front doorstep. It's not taking the boys away from problems and temptations by placing them in the city (pubs on either corner). They should be in own environment."

. "I don't like those kids being there, it's a nuisance."

. "Wouldn't buy a house next door. They have done absolutely, nothing, but being realistic I wouldn't want to see another hostel in the area. Seen police car and OARS' van there. Felt a bit funny about it, but no reason to feel like that"

Some others reflected positive feelings:

. "They're part of the neighbourhood, no problem at all."

. "There is need to have these places as long as they're supervised properly. Never heard of anything happening. Don't hang around streets. Didn't know they were ex-prisoners. Thought they were children without parents or from country staying there for schooling. Place kept in fairly good condition."

. "No reason why people should worry. It's well-staffed. Aboriginals always appear clean and well groomed."

. "Enjoy listening to songs practised in garage."

. "Think person organising them doing a marvellous job."

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One person appeared indignant about the protesters:

. "Aggresive woman came around in 1976 asking for me to protest. She was rude, and no-one should be called those names because of their colour. She was afraid her 'land price' would go down. There was a stink in 1976 They are always neatly dressed. It's the white man in the area that we are worried about. I heard that one woman was worried and complained that land values would decrease."

Some comments suggested a somewhat grudging acceptance or resignation.

. "No problems now feel OK about Karinga. Wouldn't call Karinga a neighbour. Live and let live. There were a lot of objections at the public meeting and council were expecting trouble. The hostel is too close to annoy us i.e. for burglaries. The hostel is a good thing. Just would prefer it to be in another suburb. There are always police cars outside. That says something doesn't it?"

. "At first I thought it should have been situated in a less thickly populated area, further out, but it hasn't concerned us at all really. We wouldn't like to be living next door."

. "I thought there were too many institutions in the area, elderly homes, and objected to another institution. Felt better after talking to Ray Kidney and being reassured about the criminal element. I'm worried as nearly every 2nd house in street already broken into. Some people believe the land value has gone down. Why did the institution need to be here? Why not another suburb?"

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Finally, the suggestion that attitudes have indeed been changing in Payneham towards Karinga is clearly indicated by a non-protester, who like a large proportion of the respondents, had reservations in 1976.

. "As long as they behave they have every right to have a chance. Land values? Have no personal experience, but it could make a difference in some cases. Hope it keeps running the way it is, smoothly. In 1976 felt that the hostel was an intrusion into residential privacy, thought it should be in a more isolated area, although found arguments for Karinga's establishment at '430' reasonable. The hostel is running smoothly. Leave it alone. Feel that people's attitudes have changed. They don't feel threatened. I was prepared to give Karinga a chance after hearing about it at a council meeting, and learning that ex-prisoners were to be screened."

2.5 Community Attitudes

Community attitudes, whether rationally or irrationally based, are the "givens" which need to be taken into account when such projects as Karinga are envisaged. A part of this survey was, therefore, concerned with social attitudes that appeared to be relevant to the undertaking.

Karinga, being a hostel for Aboriginal ex-offenders, would appear to have been acceptable to the community to the extent that it was believed that:

(a) ex-prisoners could be helped to reform themselves;
(b) a half-way house was a reasonable means of achieving such an end, and that
(c) Aboriginal people constituted no additional and intractable problem for the community.

Community attitudes relating to these issues were canvassed from the respondents.

Firstly, it was asked whether ex-prisoners could be helped to reform themselves. Responses to this question were obtained from 93 people. These are summarised in Table 9.

TABLE 9.

Numbers of respondents indicating that various proportions of ex-prisoners can be helped.

	All	Most	About Half	A Minority	None
Protesters	1	2	6	13	4
Others	1	13	20	25	8

From the above table it is clear that the pattern of responding tends to be similar for protesters and others. The most commonly expressed view was that only a minority could be helped. It appears from these data that in general a pessimistic view was

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taken - generally, it is implied, "once a criminal always a criminal".

Opinions as to the desirability of half-way houses were elicited from 108 respondents. These are summarised in Table 10.

TABLE 10.

Reactions of respondents and others to the idea of "half-way" houses

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
Protesters	31	2	1
Others	63	8	3

Clearly from Table 10, an overwhelming proportion of respondents (87%) thought that half-way houses were "a good idea", with a slightly higher proportion favouring them among the protesters!

Supporters of half-way houses emphasised different issues, some evinced concern for people who were down and others emphasised the rehabilitative aspects. Some respondents expressed support but emphasised the need for control, others support only if the half-way house was far away. Some saw no value in the idea.

Those who expressed concern for the downtrodden made comments such as -

- "Ex-prisoners need some help and somewhere to go. We all make mistakes but not all of us get caught."

- "Every member of community should be more involved with thedisadvantaged and assist if possible."

- "These people need a chance."

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- "I see Karinga as a positive idea. Community support is needed."

Those concerned with rehabilitation took a generally positive approach -

- "These people have got to have something to go to after prison. Need chance to settle themselves otherwise they'll hang around the streets".

- "I think they (half-way houses) are necessary as part of reform."

- "Everyone needs to face their own problems not run away - we need to stand behind them and give support. Depends on personality of person helping."

- "Gives opportunity to rehabilitating themselves - readjust to environment. Also need someone to help them at a half-way house, to let problems out. Need dedicated people to really understand and help them. Must expect some disappointments - always an achievement to get a few through."

- "If run on proper lines, with proper supervision. More of a home atmosphere. Certain freedom. Not same confined feeling. A certain amount of latitude."

- "Probably helps them get back into the community - a big jump otherwise. If they've served time in prison we should give them a chance to start afresh in the community."

Concern with need for control was expressed in a number of ways -

- "Under strict supervision."

- "It must be controlled. People must have somewhere to go. Can't send them out in the street."

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- "Only for minor offenders - not murderers, etc."

- "People need to be somewhere, as long as they're not murderers, hardened criminals in the community, they're alright."

Others wanted half-way houses to be far away -

- "People need somewhere to go - it shouldn't be in the city or near an area like this."

- "Yes, but out of a residential area. It is wrong that criminals should be near a city."

- "There are other places for them, not in a residential area."

There were some who saw no value in attempts at rehabilitation of offenders -

- "They'll always be criminals."

- "Nothing will help them."

In comparing protesters and others (see especially Tables 9 and 10), it appears that the belief of protesters and others about the incorrigibility or otherwise of prisoners and the desirability of half-way houses, differed, in fact, very little. One cannot on the basis of this study attribute opposition to the Karinga project to beliefs that members of the community might have on such matters.

A further question sought to discover the extent to which problems associated with Karinga might be derived from beliefs that Aboriginal prisoners were more difficult to help than white prisoners. The

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responses of 92 respondents to the question of who are easier or more difficult to help are summarised below in Table 11.

TABLE 11.

Numbers of respondents indicating that Aboriginal or White ex-prisoners are easier to help.

	Easier to help White	Easier to help Aboriginals	No Difference
Protesters	11	2	17
Others	26	1	36

From Table 11 the most common response is that there is "no difference". However, among the respondents who choose one race or the other it is obvious that "Whites" are seen as more easy to help. The difference by Sign Test is highly significant, for both "protesters" and for "others", $p < .01$, in each case. Thus it would appear that where a neutral position is not adopted, in the community at large the Aboriginal ex-offender is seen as posing the greater difficulty. These results do not, of course, necessarily imply "racism". They may simply reflect a common perception in the community that it is particularly difficult for White people to help Aboriginal people. Of particular interest, again the protesters and others did not diverge. Once more in the area of beliefs no apparent differences were found.

Community attitudes towards Aborigines were elicited using a broad question about the relationship between Aborigines and White people. The question was: "Some people think that Aboriginal people cannot be helped to adjust to White society. What do you think?" This question deliberately worded to

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overcome the tendency to answer in a socially desirable manner, produced a wide range of answers. Some challenged the assumption, seemingly implied in the question, that Aboriginal people should be "helped"to adjust to White Society, and that such adjustment was an "improvement". Some answers reflected intolerance and prejudice. But, in many cases, answers appeared to reflect different judgements about the degree of difficulty involved in Aborigines making the adjustment. Some appeared optimistic, some pessimistic. Finally, for some respondents the question provided an opportunity to blame "White society" and to disavow any feelings of racism in themselves.

Categorising the responses was therefore not easy. After considerable discussion the answers were classified according to their dominant idea or theme, using seven categories.

The number of respondents falling into these categories are given in Table 12.

TABLE 12.

Perceived potential of Aboriginal people to adjust to White society

	CATEGORIES						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Protesters	6	3	7	2	11	0	4
Non-protesters	5	9	5	9	15	6	5
Post 1976	4	5	1	3	0	4	1

*Notes - Categories were as follows : 1 = Races should live apart; 2 = Aboriginals personally unacceptable; 3 = Aboriginals generally will not adjust; 4 = Aboriginals can be helped to adjust; 5 = Adjustment possible in the right circumstances; 6 = White society is to blame; 7 = People should not be judged by their race. (See text for further discussion).

A. Races should live apart (14% of respondents)

In some cases, the comments classified under this heading appear as highly judgemental and "racist" in the sense of implying not only the desirability of separate living areas, but also inferiority or unacceptability on the part of the Aboriginal people in general, for example:

. Aboriginals should be in the wild where they belong. Give Australians a chance; and

. Aboriginals should be living where they come from.

Some respondents appeared to think that separation was necessary because of certain negative attributes on the part of Aborigines, for example, one respondent said it was "not their nature to work"; others said that Aborigines could not keep off "the booze".

However, it should be emphasised that, for the most part, arguments favouring "separation" did not imply "inferiority", but rather a perception that differences between the races were impossible, or almost impossible, to bridge. No "judgement" of Aboriginals was necessarily implied:

. Aboriginals should be back in the country. They can't live in the cities. We don't mix well.

. Better to live in their own districts altogether, away from Whites.

. We have our culture, they have theirs - different ways of living.

. Need their own people - their right environment. Can feel so out of place living as a White person in society.

. Aboriginals don't belong in White society.

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. Let them live how they want to live. Own lives - different from White persons.

. Every race should keep to themselves.

A number of respondents, while subscribing to the idea that Aboriginals and White people should live apart, emphasised the advantages for Aboriginals:

. Aboriginals lost dignity. Tried to civilise (sic) towards one's way of thinking and all he wanted was to be left alone. Tribal Aboriginals had dignity and own code of living. Needs a chance to live as they wish - a nation within a nation.

. Against their own way of living ... Hand-outs not the answer. No use giving them money. Ideally should have their own set up in a better region of Australia ... Need to maintain their dignity - its important.

. Their own people should help Aboriginals. We don't know or understand enough. They need Aboriginal people who think the same way.

It is obvious from the above comments that the view that the "races should live apart" was supported for a variety of reasons, some implying a "racist" attitude, but more frequently upon a judgement of what may be best for Aborigines. Whatever the reasons, however, such views are not supportive of the Karinga project, aiming as it does at the rehabilitation of Aboriginal ex-offenders in a White society?

B. <u>Aborigines personally unacceptable</u> (16%)

Under this heading were respondents who, while not suggesting that Aborigines should live apart, expressed certain negative opinions about them because of their differences from White Australians. In some cases, the conduct of Aborigines was strongly criticised.

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. Biggest problem is 50% drink, 50% agitators got to become more European to be good neighbours. Hygiene and general living standards different.

. Aboriginals given homes - rip them apart.

. Aboriginals abuse privileges.

. Booze a big influence. Can't manage themselves.

. Liquor is the problem.

For some respondents differences in understanding or beliefs were seen as crucial.

. Haven't had the education.

. Not Christians. Very different ideas.

For one respondent Aborigines were simply too threatening:

. I'm scared of darkies - don't you go bringing them around here.

In general, given such critical, negative attitudes, dominating any considerations of whether Aborigines could be helped to adjust, it is difficult to see how respondents in this category could be supportive of the project.

C. Aborigines generally will not adjust (12%)

This category consisted of respondents who felt that Aborigines, with few exceptions, would not adjust to White society, but at the same time were not necessarily judgemental about Aborigines.

. Very hard, very few might adjust.

. Some can, but not the majority.

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. It would be a very, very slow process.

. No, can't adjust - only a minority can.

Some sought to explain why adjustment was difficult:

. It's not so easy. They're their own class of people.

. There is a difference. Learn differently from White people. They have their own life.

. Aboriginals are not used to our environment. Roots are different - outlook on life different. It's easier to help White, because we are helping them in our environment.

And finally,

. This is true because they do not want to adjust.

These respondents certainly appear to be pessimistic about the chances of Aboriginals "fitting into" a White society, and, one may surmise, they would not be very hopeful about the success of half-way houses like Karinga. They may think of themselves as tough-minded realists, but not unsympathetic to Aborigines. Sceptical of Karinga, perhaps, but not hostile.

D. Aborigines can be helped (13%)

One category of respondents consisted of people who felt that Aborigines could be helped to adjust, and expressed no reservations on the matter.

For the most part these respondents simply asserted that Aboriginals could adjust, and felt no need to elaborate on what appeared self-evident.

. A lot are living in White society. So Aboriginals must be able to.

. They can, for example, Kath Walker.

. They can - They're human beings.

. I believe they can. Wouldn't care if they were living next door to me.

It would seem from these responses that for one section of the community there is no problem involved in helping Aboriginal people.

E. Adjustment is possible in the right circumstances (25%)

This next set of respondents tended to believe that adjustment was possible, but only under certain conditions or circumstances. Compared with respondents in category C, they were optimistic, despite some awareness of difficulties.

. Lots of "if's" and "buts". It is a disadvantage but no reason why not. Some many not want to.

The importance of the Aboriginal person wanting to be helped was emphasised by a number of respondents.

. Some will, some won't. If they put they're minds to it.

. They can, if they set about it the right way.

. A lot of Aboriginals don't want to be helped. If they want to be helped, they can.

. They must help themselves and not just be helped.

For some respondents, self-help involved avoiding bad company or not making trouble.

. Company they keep makes a difference. Know for a fact that they can (adjust). Know some half-castes who've done very well indeed. Drink is most of their downfall.

. As long as they are not trouble-makers they can - each case must be taken seriously.

Some respondents felt that the capacity of many Aborigines to adjust was due to a sense of resentment against White society.

. Some can, some can't ... Depends upon the chip they've got on their shoulders ...

. People who wish to adjust or to learn can get on. Aboriginals included. People help themselves. From experience, Aboriginal people have a chip on their shoulders. If they wish to get on, they're "beaut" people.

Although, in general, the onus is put upon the Aborigines to help themselves, several respondents noted the part that others should play:

. Think they could (adjust) if people were decent towards them.

. They need help to adjust. Whether or not complete adjustment depends upon people on both sides. We all need to live together.

The possibility of adjustment was also seen by some to be dependent upon the background of the Aborigine:

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. Depends where they've come from. If they are from the bush and suddenly brought in, it would be hard. If they've lived with Whites for a long time, then it's not so bad.

Some respondents pinned their faith on "education".

. If educated when young, no reason why Aborigines shouldn't (adjust). Some have, haven't they?

. The educated Aborigines would find it easier than others, so they need to be educated.

. They can, provided they are educated.

. I think all Aborigines should be educated - all integrated.

F. White society is to blame (10%)

For these respondents the issue of whether Aboriginals can adjust appeared secondary to the responsibility and even guilt that White people should feel in relation to the general plight of Aborigines.

. They (the Aborigines) should not really have to adjust

. If Whites hadn't interfered, the race would have been entirely different. Why should we try and change them to be like us - trying to "help" them in this way. They're nomadic, not used to living in houses, in a confined area. They were forced out of their own environment. Who says that we are any better?

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. They were taken out of their natural habitat and expected to conform to our way of life, yet in White society we don't accept them. It's unfair.

. Aboriginals must be very bitter. Been exploited. Don't think they're violent unless aggravated, for instance, by drink White man brought in. Who wants to be adjusted to White society as it is today - it's foul.

. Think it's our fault, the White man's.

. White society doesn't give them the chance and opportunities to adjust.

. People like ourselves are to blame. Public turns them bad. Often prison is the only home they've got, so they do something to get back. There are more criminals outside.

The prevailing tone is one of feelings of guilt and sympathy for Aboriginals.

G. People should not be judged by their race (10%)

This final category of person also appeared as deeply sympathetic towards Aboriginals, but without any evident feelings of regret or guilt. They appeared motivated mainly by a desire to combat racial prejudice which they saw as a major obstacle to any change in the status of Aborigines. Some replied in part with slogans:

. All races have to live together.

. There are good and bad Aboriginals Good and bad Whites.

. All men are equal.

. Two different cultures living together should adjust together.

Others explained:

. A lot of people are prejudiced against Aboriginals and they may not be given the same chance.

. It's racism. A lot of people will never accept black prisoners or black people. Takes a lot to convince black people if you do.

. Altogether unfair on Aboriginals - such discrimination. Treated as aliens. Intolerance! People don't take time to learn.

. Some people are brought up to hate Aboriginals. Racial discrimination. It can work in reverse too. Blacks are brought up to hate Whites.

Opinions concerning Aborigines and their potential for adjustment, and whether indeed they should adjust, clearly varied widely. There is obviously no generally accepted opinion in the Payneham community about the role of Aborigines in a White society.

There was division first between those who accepted that Aborigines should adjust to White society and those who did not. There were some who believed that Aborigines should live separately from Whites, and those who believed in integration. Estimate of the Aborigines who could adjust spanned the entire continuum, from none, to some, to all. In seeking to identify those who could adjust, a variety of criteria were suggested: place of origin, education, and motivation. Some blamed Aborigines, and listed their faults; others blamed the Whites for the misfortunes of the Aboriginal race. Still others evidently saw no problem: they're human beings, they can adjust. There were a few "racists", and, it would seem, rather more people who are angry about "racism".

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Comparison of protesters and non-protesters suggest that with respect to beliefs about Aborigines there is, in general, little or no difference. The two kinds of respondents cannot be differentiated according to their views about separate development for the races, nor according to the incidence of negative judgements made about Aborigines. However, one exception is noteworthy. While feelings of "guilt" on behalf of White people were strongly expressed by a small minority of non-protesters, no similar feelings were evident in the sample of protesters. Although examples of prejudice and ignorance certainly did appear in the comments of some respondents, there is little support for the simplistic view that "protesters" had a "racist" outlook, and others did not.

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(3) DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

3.1 The Contribution of the Study

This inquiry aimed at assessing the impact of the Karinga Hostel on the local community and to suggest explanations for what happened over the period since its introduction in 1976.

It was based on a sample of 113 residents who were living in the vicinity of the Karinga Hostel during 1983. This is a relatively small sample, and one cannot be sure that the respondents were representative of the community. The fact that rather more women than men were interviewed was in part a consequence of their greater availability to interviewers, mainly during the day-time when the interviews were conducted, although in the general population women do predominate in the over-sixty category.

Some "protesters" were no longer at the addresses they had in 1976. The deficiencies of the sample must, therefore, be acknowledged. At the same time, the preponderance of older people in the sample reflects the age composition of the residents of the Payneham area. Further, the sheer diversity of opinion expressed by the respondents on various social issues testifies to the heterogeneity of the sample's composition.

The accuracy of the percentages of respondents giving certain answers as indicators of community opinion must clearly be treated with caution. Fortunately, on key issues, such as the perceived conduct of the Aboriginal residents, the preponderance of certain opinions was so great as to leave little doubt that large majorities felt in a particular way. Finally, on demographic variables, age, sex and ethnicity, the "protesters" and "non-protesters" were quite well matched, so that differences of a psycho-social nature were unlikely to be due to such factors.

The main findings of this study may now be briefly summarised in relation to the specific aims given on page 3.

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a) In general, the conduct of the Karinga residents was not seen as different from that of other people in the community. Only a small minority saw it as "worse".

b) The neighbourhood was not, in general, seen as having become "less pleasant" because of Karinga. Again, only a small minority thought otherwise.

c) Fears or worries either for one's own safety or that of others were certainly experienced by a small proportion of the residents in 1976. However, by 1983, these fears or worries had, in general, subsided, except for a small minority.

d) Although some respondents would have preferred the Karinga Hostel to have been established "elsewhere", there was a general acceptance of the "project" and support for the way it had been managed.

e) Community opinion suggested a widespread belief that it was difficult to help many prisoners to reform, especially Aboriginals. At the same time, there was considerable support for the idea of "half-way" houses. A wide variety of views was expressed concerning the question of whether Aboriginals could be helped in a white community and, if so, how. Views that were clearly "racist" were comparatively rare, but many were pessimistic or reflected uncertainty about the help that could be provided to improve the situation for Aboriginals in general.

One focus of the study was on the residents who had protested against the establishment of the Hostel in 1976. In a number of ways, the "protesters" in the sample did not differ very much from the "non-protesters". Age, sex and ethnic composition were similar. They were very similar in their appraisal of the conduct of the Aboriginal residents of Karinga, and only slightly more inclined to believe that the area had become less pleasant because of the Hostel. Further, their beliefs about whether ex-prisoners could be reformed, whether "half-way" houses should be set up, and whether Aboriginals could be helped were not, in general, very different from those of others. There was no evidence that they tended to be "racist" in outlook. They were found to differ only in one important

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respect: they tended to have been much more fearful or apprehensive concerning the establishment of the Karinga Hostel in 1976. But like the small proportion of non-protesters who were also fearful, on the whole, their fears disappeared or were reduced with the passage of time.

The above summary necessarily deals in generalities, and it should not obscure the fact that some individual people living near the Hostel remained fearful and even angry. Nor should it be ignored that some negative opinions were quite strongly held regarding the possibility of helping ex-prisoners to reform, and Aboriginal people especially. Special attention has been paid in this study to the people whose fears had not diminished and had, in a few instances, grown despite an evident lack of demonstrated threat. People's reactions, sometimes quite negative ones, have been quoted in order that personal cases should be recognised and seen as important. Whether the reactions are irrational or not, they are indications of distress on the part of some residents, and a reminder that while a community as a whole may adjust to the intrusion of an element that many would view with suspicion, some people may find it particularly difficult to do so.

Despite the overall positive findings of this study, which should be encouraging to the supporters of such projects as Karinga, it would certainly be unwise to become complacent. It must be emphasised once more that Karinga has produced no untoward incident during the seven years of its existence. Were one to occur, or be seen to occur, it is not difficult to see how hostility based upon residual personal fears could be mobilised. A small minority appears to be ready to believe the worst of the residents, judging from the suspicion aired by some respondents on the basis of mere rumour or conjecture. While community attitudes towards Aboriginals are certainly complex, forming a curious mixture of good-will, contempt, pity and guilt, it is clear that a substantial minority has limited sympathy for them or believes that their case is practically hopeless as long as they live in a white society.

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3.2 Implications

What then are the practical implications of this study? The first is that projects like Karinga must expect an initial resistance from residents who are genuinely fearful and are not necessarily racist or punitive in their social attitudes. Their fears need to be faced and accepted, however irrational their bases might be. There is clearly an important task of reassurance to be undertaken. The findings of this study that fears are extremely likely to subside with the passage of time should increase one's confidence in offering reassurance.

The second implication is that organisations sponsoring such projects as Karinga should be prepared with strategies for mediating with residents in case of any unfortunate incidents that could mobilise general hostility and lead to organised opposition. One approach would be the allocation of responsibility for local public relations to a particular staff member of OARS. This would mean that there would be one person whom locals could contact about concerns, without being placed in the potentially embarrassing position of complaining to the hostel manager. That one person would have responsibility for speaking to local groups and organisations and, where possible, involving these in various ways to assist the Hostel.

The third implication concerns the need for continual community education in the area of race relations. There is certainly scope for a variety of opinion to be held about the means of improving relationships between racial groups and there is nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, by hasty imputations of "racism" and bigotry. Nevertheless, this study, though limited in scope, provides evidence of some intolerable examples of ignorance and prejudice. "Aboriginals should be in the wild where they belong. Give Australians a chance." At root, it is only by the elimination of such prejudice at the community level, that projects like Karinga can flourish with a sense of security. In the meantime, as this study has shown, there is a considerable need for vigilance and care.

APPENDIX I

SOCIAL OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

I am conducting a social opinion survey of people who live in the Payneham district. I am doing this for the School of Social Studies in Adelaide. (Show credentials if necessary). We are trying to find out how people feel about living in this area.

1 2 3 ☐ 4

1. When did you begin to live in this home (year and month if possible)?

☐ 5 6 7 8

2. Where did you live before moving here?

_____ ☐ 9

If Respondent lived here before May 1976 ask Question 3, if not, go to Question 6 next page

3. You may remember that in 1976 the Payneham Council began to examine the possibility of starting a 'half-way house' for Aboriginal ex-prisoners in a hostel along Payneham Road. They asked people to state any objections they might have towards it being set up. Did you hear about this?

Yes ☐ No ☐ ☐ 10

4. If yes, did you make such a statement of objection?

Yes ☐ No ☐ ☐ 11

5. Do you know whether the hostel was actually set-up for ex-prisoners?

Yes it was ☐ Do not know ☐ No it wasn't ☐ ☐ 12

If "Don't Know" or "No", say: Well in fact, a hostel was set up as a 'half-way house' for selected Aboriginal ex-prisoners. It is called Karinga and is situated on Payneham Road. Then go to Question 34. If yes, go to Question 7 (i.e. skip a page).

6 (Only if person began living in present home after 1976)

Now, you wouldn't have been living here when the Payneham Council considered starting a half-way house for Aboriginal ex-prisoners in a hostel along Payneham Road.

Do you know whether the Hostel was actually set-up for Aboriginal ex-prisoners?

Yes,it was ☐

Do not know ☐

No, it wasn't ☐ 13

If "Don't Know" or "No" say :

Well, in fact, a hostel was set-up as a "half-way house" for selected Aboriginal ex-prisoners. It is called Karinga and is situated in Payneham Road.

Then go to Question 34

If "Yes" go to Question 7 on next page

7. In fact, our main aim is to find out how people feel about Karinga now that it has been going for six years. There are no plans to start another such centre here.

When did you become aware that Karinga Hostel had begun to operate?

Immediately it opened in 1976 ☐

Not immediately but before the end of 1976 ☐

Between 1977 and 1979 ☐ ☐ 14

8. Do you know where the Hostel is situated?

Yes ☐ No ☐ ☐ 15

If "No", say :

"It's on the corner of Barnes and Payneham Road."

9. Do you ever walk past there?

Yes ☐ No ☐ ☐ 16

If "No" - Pass on to Question 11

10. How often do you do so?

Very often (i.e. about every day) ☐

Fairly often (i.e. not every day, but generally each week ☐

Occasionally (i.e. not every week but at least once a month) ☐

Very occasionally (i.e. less than once a month) ☐

Never (i.e. not at all) ☐ ☐ 17

11. Have you actually seen any of the Aboriginal people from Karinga?

Yes ☐ No ☐ ☐ 18

12. How often would you say?

Very often ☐
Fairly often ☐
Occasionally ☐
Very occasionally ☐ ☐ 19

13. Have you personally spoken to Aboriginals who live at the Karinga Hostel?

Very often ☐
Fairly often ☐
Occasionally ☐
Very occasionally ☐
Not at all ☐ ☐ 20

14. Under what circumstances?

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 21

15. From you own personal experience, how would you describe the conduct of the people from the Hostel?

Better behaved than most ☐

Same as most people ☐

Worse than most ☐

Can't really judge ☐ ☐ 22

16. If better or worse than most, in what way?

_____

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 23

17. Quite apart from your own experience, have you heard anything about their behaviour from another person or persons that you would care to pass on?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 24

Before Karinga Hostel opened, some people expressed fears about what might happen. We are interested to see whether these fears have changed at all.

18. When you first learned about the Karinga Hostel, did you personally feel in some danger?

Yes, a lot ☐

Some danger ☐

No real danger ☐ 25

If "No", skip to Question 21

19. What did you think might happen to you?

_____

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 26

_____

20. What did you do?

_____

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 27

21. How do you feel <u>now</u> about the danger?

Still a lot of danger ☐

Some danger ☐

No real danger ☐ 28

22. Are <u>you</u> still taking precautions?

Yes ☐ No ☐ 29

23. Some people were worried when they heard about Karinga, not for themselves, but for other people in the community. Were you worried for the sake of others

Yes ☐ No ☐ 30

24. If so, who were you concerned about?

_____

_____

_____ 31

25. What did you think might happen to them?

_____

_____

_____ 32

26. How worried were you on behalf of these people?

Very worried ☐
Fairly worried ☐
Slightly worried ☐
Not at all ☐ ☐ 33

27. How worried do you feel now about these people, as a result of Karinga?

Very worried ☐
Fairly worried ☐
Slightly worried ☐
Not at all ☐ ☐ 34

28. Do you think this area is a more or less pleasant place to live in because of Karinga?

More pleasant ☐
No difference ☐
Less pleasant ☐ ☐ 35

29. If more or less pleasant, could you explain in what way.

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 36

30. Do you know of any families that have actually left the district because of Karinga?

Yes ☐ No ☐

☐ 37

31. If yes, how many? ☐☐ (38 39)

32. What effect, if any, has Karinga had on land values in the area?

No effect ☐ Increase ☐ Decrease ☐ (40)

33. Are there any further opinions that you would like to express about the establishment of the Karinga Hostel in Payneham?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

☐ (41)

FOR ALL RESPONDENTS

34. Do you think any ex-prisoners can be helped to reform themselves?

Yes ☐ No ☐ 42

(If"No" skip to Question 37)

35. What proportion of them is that?

All of them ☐
Most ☐
About half ☐
Minority ☐
None of them ☐ 43

36. What sort of ex-prisoners do you think could be helped?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____ 44

37. Do you think a 'half-way house' is a good idea?

Yes ☐ No ☐ 45

38. Why (or why not?)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

39. Do you think that the chances of being able to help Aboriginal ex-prisoners and white ex-prisoners are about the same or different?

Easier to help white ☐

Easier to help Aboriginal ☐

No difference ☐ ☐ 47

40. Some people think that Aboriginal people cannot be helped to adjust to white society. What do you think?

_____

_____

_____ ☐ 48

Finally, some personal details.

41. Country of origin _____ ☐ 49

42 Occupation of self _____ ☐ 50

43. Occupation of spouse (if married) _____ ☐ 51

44. Number of children in age groups

5 or under ☐

6 - 11 ☐

12- 17 ☐

17+ ☐

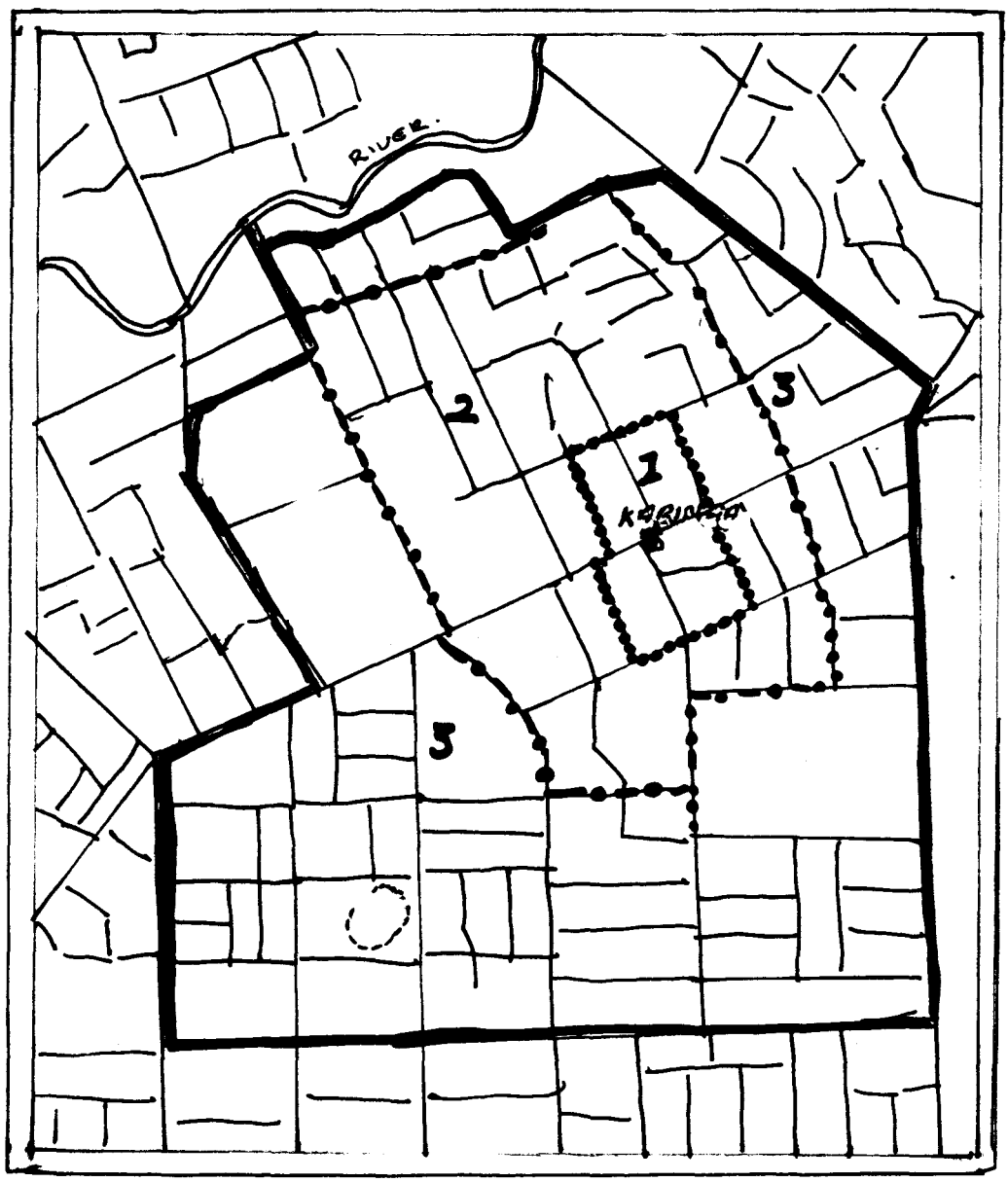
☐ 52

45. Age of respondent ☐☐ 53 54

46. Location _____ ☐ 55

APPENDIX II

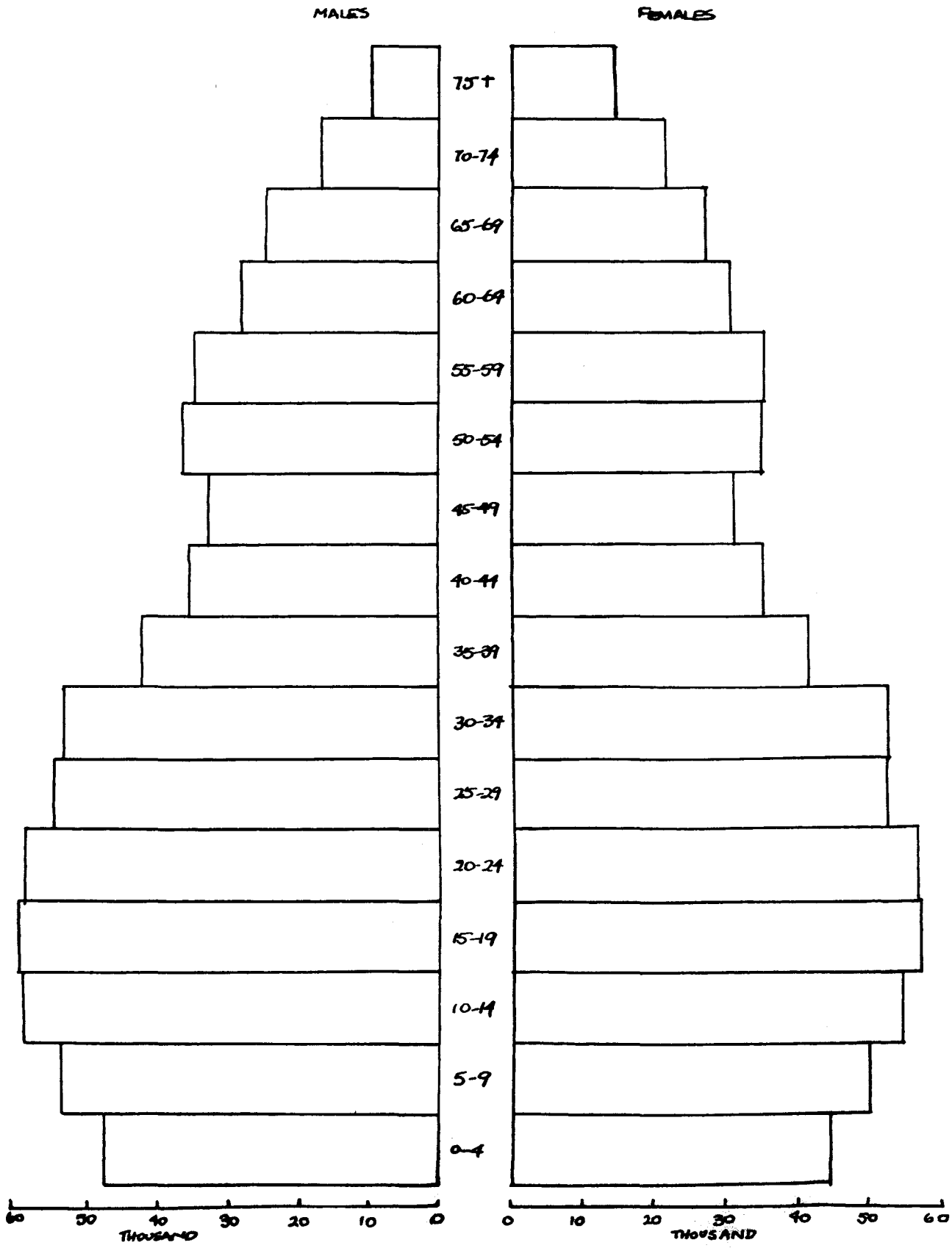
KARINGA STUDY AREA - PROXIMITY



AREA BOUNDARY
AREA 2 BOUNDARY
AREA 1 BOUNDARY

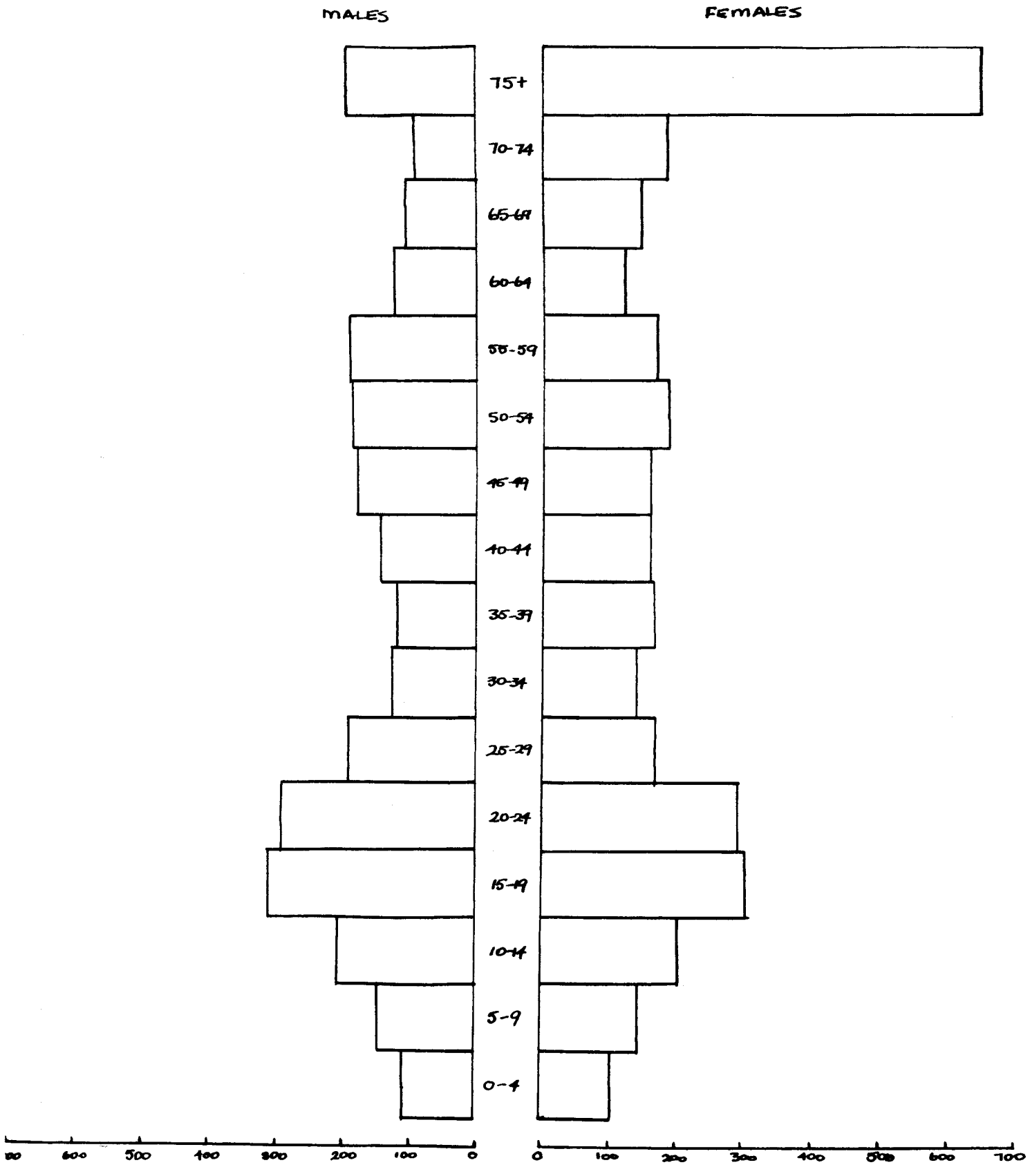
APPENDIX III(a)

POPULATION OF S.A. BY SEX AND AGE 1981 CENSUS



APPENDIX III(b)

THE STUDY AREA 1981 CENSUS



KARINGA HOUSE

430 Payneham Road,
Glynde S.A. 5070

Ph. 336 2525

Operated by Offenders Aid & Rehabilitation Services of S.A. Inc.
222 Halifax Street, Adelaide S.A. 5000
Ph. 223 1988

"KARINGA HOUSE" is an Aboriginal home managed and operated by the Offenders Aid and Rehabilitation Services of S.A. Inc. The home is owned by Aboriginal Hostels Ltd. who lease it to OARS and provide funding for its maintenance and operation.

The Home offers short and long term accommodation for Aboriginal males - both adults and juveniles, who have recently been in prison or a juvenile institution or are in need for emergency accommodation.

Board is required to be paid at the rate set by Aboriginal Hostels Ltd. Assistance may be approved to assist with paying board in urgent cases.

Karinga House is located at 430 Payneham Road, Glynde and is on the corner of Barnes Road. It is approximately 7 km from the centre of Adelaide. Bus 9 from North Terrace and the home is between stops 15 and 16 on the south side of Payneham Road. A phone box is located in front of the house.