

INTRODUCTION

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A Masters Research Project Submitted By

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### INTRODUCTION

Joint Teams or "J" Teams as they are commonly known, are a co-operative enterprise comprising a Department of Maori Affairs Community Officer, a Police Youth Aid Officer, a Social Worker of the Department of Social Welfare and, where possible, a volunteer from the community. It is a unique form of social work characterised by preventive work achieved through team co-operation, collective effort, flexibility and mobility.

This paper is concerned specifically with the present Wellington 'J' Team. The writer does acknowledge, however, that some comments may be relevant in a general sense to any of the other six 'J' Teams that exist in New Zealand.

The paper begins by tracing the history and development of the 'J' Team, and Wellington's first 'J' Team, to establish why they were originated and what they are intended to accomplish. Then, based on the writer's personal and therefore selective experience, follows an assessment of 'J' Team activities in Wellington.

The writer endeavoured to spend as much time as possible with the Team in the field, and has based his conclusions, on that experience and a large number of interviews. These were conducted with previous 'J' Team members, a number of the present Team's clients, and people working in the same problem areas, as the 'J' Team.

The aim of the paper is to attempt to analyse the development of the 'J' Team concept to date, and possibly provide some suggestions as to what directions the 'J' Team's future development might follow.

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#### HISTORY

The conception of a Joint Team can be traced, in the writer's opinion, to the political embarrassment felt by the respective Government departments following a television programme on Tuesday, 14 July 1970. The then, New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation, current affairs programme "Gallery", concerned the 'Stormtroopers' a Polynesian 'gang' in Auckland. Allegations of harassment and illegal arrests, did not improve the Police image. But perhaps the most crucial comment during the programme was that the Stormtroopers felt that it was the first occasion anyone had bothered to listen to their side of the story.

The reactions considered by the civil servants crystallised when the then, Maori and Island Affairs Department focussed on one of the ideas reported by the Working Sub-Committee of the Joint Committee on Young Offenders. It suggested that a Maori and Island Affairs officer and a Policeman work together as a team. The idea was developed by agreement between the Police and Maori and Island Affairs Departments and finally brought about the establishment of the first Team (Central Auckland (Police District)) in July 1971.

The original 'J' Team (comprising a Policeman, Maori and Island Affairs officer, and a Minister) was established to investigate and, where possible alleviate the effects of gang disturbance prevalent in Auckland at that time: There was also an

intention to improve gang/Police relations.

The value of the grass-roots method of working, adopted by the Team, soon became apparent. Through their emphasis on preventive work, their high mobility and adaptability, and above all the co-operative spirit in which they worked together, this Team comprised of members from different social work agencies, both statutory and voluntary, pioneered a unique form of social work.

The Team's success was recognised (1) and led to the formation of a second team six months later in South Auckland. The ease with which the teams were able to gain the confidence of gangs and young people in general, and their apparent success in averting confrontation situations encouraged the formation of other teams of the same format.

The present seven 'J' Teams are located in Auckland Central,
Auckland South, Auckland Western District, Counties, Gisborne,
Wellington and the Hutt Valley.

The first 'J' Team in Wellington began operations in late 1974, with a Police Constable and a Maori Affairs representative.

The Social Welfare Department, who had become officially committed to the concept, failed to appoint a representative because of an internal squabble over who would do the job. Two years later the Social Welfare Department appointed its first representative.

Initially the first Auckland Teams experienced expected conflicts due to some variations in the application of agency procedures, which was essential for 'J' Team effectiveness; eg. Maori Affairs officers travelling in unmarked Police cars, Policemen working as social workers. Over three years later the first Wellington Team had particularly difficult 'birth' problems with negative feedback from all departments. When the Wellington Team were well founded, so that teething problems should have been eliminated within the departments. Much of the opposition that was experienced can be attributed to the Wellington District Offices, as opposed to National Head Offices.

The original Wellington Team (M Bennett - Maori Affairs,

R Perenara - Police, D O'Reilly - Volunteer) became heavily
involved with the 'gangs' that existed in Wellington, often
with "success". One example was the organisation of the
Highway 61 Bikie convention in the city. During the two years
the first 'J' Team was in operation, the fact that the gang
scene in Wellington was relatively calm, can partly be
attributed to the Team.

The cost involved in gaining a working rapport with the gangs was high. The "J' Team members' relationships with their departments soured. In attempting to work in very unstructured ways, they kept coming up against the departmental view. One observer described the Government departments as trying to play a game - which is essentially without rules - strictly by the rule book of regulations and official procedures. (2)

The Maori Policeman on the Team experienced opposition, not so much from the hierarchy in the department, as from his fellow Policemen. It took the form of comments such as, whether the constable was still a "real" cop. Such an attitude may be understandable, if not excusable, but it didn't make life on the streets any easier for the constable.

It came to a head with the officer being ordered to don his uniform and be on duty at the All Black trials in Wellington to choose the team to tour South Africa. He objected to this on grounds that his empathy with the gangs could be compromised, and for this he was disciplined by the Police. A similar charge against a member of one of the Auckland Teams was dismissed on the recommendation of the Commissioner. Local pressure saw the constable fined for a breach of Police discipline.

The Maori Affairs officer also had a stormy relationship with his department. An example being his use, without authority, of departmental letterhead paper. His department was not impressed with his involvement with Highway 61, although its members were mostly Maori.

Both the original members of the Wellington 'J' Team were replaced by their departments. The volunteer member also gave up, soured by what he saw as bureaucratic nonsense in a field bureaucrats have little knowledge of.

"It is not far fetched to say that the effectiveness of any

There followed a period where the only member on the Team was the Police replacement. (Meke Vitale). He worked for a period of some six months by himself before being joined by the present Maori Affairs (Sam Tuhakaraina) and the Social Welfare representatives (Hugh Fussel) late in 1977. This composition can be considered as the second 'J' Team in Wellington, whose activities will be considered in greater detail in the course of this paper.

Although mid-1979 saw the establishment of a separate Mutt Valley - Porirua Team, only the Police Department have added a further representative (Eugene Paea) for that Team. Consequently that constable and the Maori Affairs Officer constitute the Mutt Team. The Wellington Team is comprised of the Social Worker, and Alan Kinnane from the Police Department who replaced Meke Vitale two months ago.

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### PURPOSE AND AIMS

\*J' Teams were originally established when 'gang' problems among Polynesian young people existed in the Auckland area and the images of the Police and Maori Affairs Departments were low among the young members in the community. Over the years the focus of the work of 'J' Teams has varied with changing community circumstances. The original aims remain basically the same but experience and new trends have led to changes, and will continue to do so.

The purpose of 'J' Teams can be expressed as being concerned with the prevention of crime and anti-social behaviour in the broadest sense. Their most important objectives is the re-direction of young people into a worthwhile life-style in which they have a real sense of identity and worth.

### Methods

To achieve the objective of prevention of crime and delinquency by children and young persons, the "J" Team should attempt to -

- I Initiate community action to deal with undesirable youth activity:
- 2 Create community awareness of the problems of youth:
- 3 Give assistance and guidance to young people who

9.

are at risk and to parents who are identified as having problem children;

Identify the needs of young people in their community and liaising with groups or individuals who are able to assist in meeting those needs.

To achieve these aims it will be necessary for the 'J' Team to gain knowledge of what is really happening at the grass-roots level so there can be early detection of difficulties occurring in communities. This can be obtained by the patrolling of places frequented by young people, particularly those which are known to be resorts attractive to undesirable elements. Also close liaison must be maintained with -

- i Agencies, both statutory and voluntary;
- ii Principals, teachers and other like persons at schools and educational institutions;
- iii Groups, clubs and organisations which cater for the development of young people.

Similarly the 'J' Team needs to maintain contact with known leaders and members of gangs and groups which have tendencies towards anti-social behaviour. This will require the Team to have an ability to sometimes defuse tense situations and prevent their occurrence.

Such preventive work means that Maori and Pacific Island young people will often be the main focus of 'J' Team work.

### GANG INVOLVEMENT

The second Wellington 'J' Team continued to establish contacts with the gangs. Mostly with the Black Power and Mongrel Mob. The working relationship is established by joining gang leaders and members as often as possible in informal situations such as in the hotel bar, at a gang party or at a convention. The aim is to gain a rapport with the gang so that there is a greater possibility of being effective when things blow up.

The prevention of 'rumbles' - fights - becomes the main focus for two reasons. In the area of inter-gang conflict the detached worker does have specific techniques for avoiding the fight. These range from his presence as a witness to informing enforcement agencies, and also arranging a 'truce' meeting between representatives of the warring factions. (4) In contrast it is important to acknowledge that there are not many other analogous techniques in the worker's repertoire.

Especially none specifically pertinent to burglary, vandalism, rape, drug use, etc. Secondly, the societal costs of gang activity, physical and financial, require that special attention be paid to procedures that might reasonably be espected to decrease that activity. A decrease in the overt activity, and not elimination of the causes. Real prevention of it must

attack the contributing factors to delinquency and the motivations that precipitate delinquent behaviour. Society is not yet prepared for a Government agent to expose the real causes of such activity. (eg. State housing areas, unemployment, etc). They would be criticised like the Corso film "Fair Deal", for being political.

Consequently the 'J' Team operations in this area are generally limited to attempting to curb inter-gang conflict situations. Therefore it is important that the 'J' Team actions, within these acceptable bounds, be assessed separately. Only then can questions be asked to what else the Team could be doing.

"If it is fair to consider that gang delinquency is affected by factors external to the gang, we must honestly admit that our control on these factors is at best minimal."(5)

### Wairarapa Activity

The writer found the Team concept to be particularly advantageous in the gang setting. An example was the 'J' Team's involvement, after being called in by the Police, in a developing conflict in the Wairarapa. The fact that they were called in by the Police is not, in the writer's opinion, an indication that the Team is unaware of what is happening at grass-roots level, but rather, indicates the impossibility of knowing just what is happening if the area to be covered is too great.

The 'J' Team because of the Police representative is able to get an honest appraisal from the Senior Police Officer, on how he sees the conflict, and what he wants done. The team is then able to converse with the Detached Youth Worker appointed to the gang, for whom the Police do not have a very high regard. The Social Worker provides an acceptance with the detached worker, so that the Team is able to know just what is happening, from both points of view. The detached youth worker although involved in similar work to the 'J' Team, rarely achieves the same degree of acceptance with the Police as the 'J' Team achieves.

The 'J' Team faced problems in the Wairarapa because of their unstructured and informal approach. There had only been limited visits by the Team to the area so that it was not possible to just turn up at the Black Power headquarters. An unexpected appearance when there was trouble brewing would look too much like a Police operation. This cannot be avoided by merely making an appointment. Should you go shead, hoping there will be limited apprehension to your arrival, there is no guarantee that gang members will be at home or at their place of work. This appeared to be a major flaw in the operational technique of involving the 'J' Team in Masterton. Once there, all efforts may be pointless, if in the time available you are unable to track down the protagonists and introduce yourselves to them in an acceptable manner.

On one of the trips on which the writer accompanied the Team to the Wairarapa, (April 17th and 18th), the aim was to settle the

dispute between members of the local Black Power and the security guards for the Local Licensing Trust. The guards had given evidence in Court against some of the members who were appearing for sentencing the next day. That night when the 'J' Team called at the Black Power residence nobody was at home. At that stage there was a possibility that the individuals could not be contacted until the next day, when in Court. The Team then proceeded to a local hotel, which the Black Power was known to frequent. (Information given by the Police). After some time in the public bar, in which there were not obviously any gang members, an individual approached the Team members. (He turned out to be one of the local gang up for sentencing the next day.) He enquired if they were the 'J' Team who had visited previously. At this point an acquaintence was re-established and an hour was spent discussing the problems facing the gang members the next day, as well as their attitudes to a work trust.

The 'J' Team's location, and subsequent discussions with the gang members, was to a large extent pure chance. This raises doubts as to the effectiveness of sending the 'J' Team into the Wairarapa, when it only occurs at irregular intervals. However the rapport that existed with the gang, and the gang members' initiative and willingness to re-establish it with the Team, indicates the Team's acceptance by the gang members. The Masterton Maori Affairs Officer, was not held in high regard by the gang members. The area he was to cover was also so large that he too could only spend little time with the gang.

Therefore in making a choice, the 'J' Team's rapport with the gang could be a deciding factor.

The protection of the special relationship with the gang members, is vital to the effectiveness of the 'J' Team operation.

Unfortunately it had been two months since their last visit and would be a further three months before another. Consequently, the hopes raised about the possibility of establishing a work trust were to dwindle before anything constructive could be achieved by the Team on a return visit. Such a return visit, with the right resource material, saw only a few members of the gang prepared to discuss a work trust with the Team.

When the Wairarapa gang members did appear for sentencing the next morning, the Magistrate, in the writer's opinion, was aware the 'J' Team's presence. Firstly because of their presence in the Court room which contained very few others, and secondly the Team had spoken to the Registrar explaining who they were to obtain a list of the charges, to discuss with the gang.

As a result of this, in the writer's opinion, the local gang members were treated very leniently. One member charged with intimidating a witness (when he threatened to molitov his house) was given three months Periodic Detention with special conditions, and a small fine. In comparison some defendants, who were non-gang members charged with minor offences, were given rather severe fines. One month later, (see Evening Post 8 May 1979) a gang member was sentenced in Hamilton, on a charge of intimidating a witness, in almost exactly similar circumstances, to two years jail. There may have been other factors influencing the Wairarapa Magistrate that morning, but the writer believes a major influence in his decision was the presence of the 'J' Team.

By being lenient he would provide the 'J' Team with the opportunity to sort out the gang problem in Masterton and achieve something constructive with the members. Somebody was there to do something. A 'specialist' team which should be given the opportunity to work with the gang.

Before leaving Masterton, the "J" Team took the opportunity to speak with the Manager of the Licensing Trust, about the gang problem in the local hotels. The Team encountered a gentleman who was staggered to think that somebody actually spoke with the gang, and had a successful rapport with them. The 'J' Team attempted to inform him of methods by which the problems could be averted in the hotels. eg, no patches to be worn, always ask for the leader to speak to, etc. Unfortunately there was no evidence of a formulated policy which had been discussed earlier by the Team and could be passed on to the Manager. To an extent this is so because there is no answer. Perhaps the only one, is a discussion between the gang's leader and the management. This was suggested to the manager who seemed in favour of the idea. The 'J' Team's offer to arrange this was again a case of raising hopes which were not to be fulfilled, due to their return to Wellington after the discussion.

There have been other conflicts in which the Wairarapa Black

Power was one of the protagonists, where the 'J' Team has

successfully allayed the crisis by mediating between the two

gangs and getting the problems worked out. (6) It is

debatable though that methods for dealing with future problems

have been arranged. The gang has been involved in different

conflicts since. The underlying causes of that delinquency have not yet been resolved.

To fulfil the goals the Teamhas set itself, ie, initiating community action - an example would be providing work, with the establishment of a Work Trust - the "J" Team will need to consolidate on its previous visits and attempt to construct a solution. This will require a continual period of time in Masterton, something the Team's work pattern nor some of the departments will tolerate. (This will be discussed in more detail later.) Until this does happen the 'J' Team's approach remains a crisis one. They can only hope to befriend, as they do not have time to influence. Consequently the prevention that occurs normally arises from their mere presence, as opposed to their ability to help. The 'J' Team have shown they have the ability to defuse tense situations, but not at this point to prevent their occurrence. In the writer's opinion the 'J' Team's activities in the Wairarapa could be considered as merely repeating the social control work already done by other agencies, albeit with a softer edge.

# Lower Hutt-Wellington Activity

The 'J' Team has had a good rapport with the five Black Power and three Mongrel Mob Chapters in the Wellington area.

"If rapport is taken to mean a good emotional relationship then

we would accept the belief that good rapport is often
established. But if rapport is operationally defined and judged
by the degree to which it can lead to important behavioural
change, then one would have to conclude that it is seldom strong."

(7)

It is the former, the writer refers to as being achieved by the \*J\* Team.

To a degree, the 'J' Team can be considered as an institutionalised mediation service, for gang conflicts. The Team's function is to develop contacts with the gang members who have often become suspicious of adults and officials. Thus it becomes essential to understand and respond to these young people, identifying with their sense of being a loser and to become 'plugged in' to their hopes, anxieties and fears. If the reaching out process continues and is successful, then the initial barriers begin to break down and a relationship emerges in which faith and trust are central. This makes the Team members ideal to act as mediators.

"Mediation, ... flourishes where mediators share the social and cultural experience of the disputants they serve, and where they bring to the processing of disputes an intimate and detailed knowledge of the perspectives of the disputants." (8)

The 'J' Team played a successful role as mediator between the Petone Mongrel Mob and the Waiwhetu Chapter of the Black Power, in a dispute over territory. They had successfully gained acceptance with both gangs and so were able to learn the story from both sides — each of which had a different perspective.

The following is a good example. In the middle of an ongoing dispute, ten 'Blacks' (Black Power) encountered two of the 'Monkeys' (Mongrel Mob) at a local hamburger bar. Realising that they obviously out-numbered them the Blacks decided it was unfair to attack. A few jeers were passed back and forth but nothing more. Later in the evening approximately ten of the Monkeys encountered two Blacks and beat them up, because the Black Power were useless checken bastards, too scared to attack even two of the Mongrels.

The 'J' Team was firstly able to learn both sides' views, and then explain to the opposing side why the others had done what they had.

The dispute over territory was resolved when the 'J' Team organised a 'truce' meeting which both gangs attended, where grievances were brought out into the open, discussed, and finally a 'peace' treaty was signed. That action, and the 'J' Team's continuing involvement with gangs brought about a long period of stable peace between the Wellington gangs.

The Team approach can be helpful when attempting to convince a gang not to attack another. The approach tried by a particular individual may not be acceptable. At that point another member of the Team is able to suggest a different approach, until hopefully an acceptable alternative is reached. This occurred when the 'J' Team arrived at a Black Power house to find a wounded member on the floor, and the rest of the gang in a state of frenzy, planning an attack. The Team were able to act

individually and assess the attitudes of different gang members, with who they had a particularly good relationship. Putting the information together the 'J' Team established that many members did not feel happy about attacking but were prepared to for the sake of the gang. Much talking and discussing ensued before one of the 'J' Team was able to successfully point out to the members of the gang that an attack at that point would be foolish. Their opponents would know they were coming and be waiting. It would be tactically better to attack later. Such a compromise solution was acceptable to the different factions within the gang, and illustrates the success of the Team approach. They are able to manipulate different sections of the gang, while stalling those on their way to attack. The adoption of the suggested tactic by the gang, enabled the attack to be temporarily avoided, providing the 'J' Team with sufficient time to successfully resolve the dispute.

The 'J' Team were also able to inform the Police so that if they were unsuccessful in talking the gang out of the attack, the Police could be present to avert the confrontation. This, surprisingly, was an action which was undertaken often by the 'J' Team without reprisals towards them by the gangs. It is acceptable because the Team have laid down the ground rules, eg, no rapes in their presence. The gang is aware of the Policeman's role which is informing his department of the 'rumble' situation, and they accept it. This is an integral part of the relationship with the gang. There is a need to maintain credibility with the gang members - if you are who you say you are then they expect actions accordingly. That you do act maintains your integrity

with the gang. It is important to understand that gangs will try you out all the time. It is part of a game whereby they test you to become aware of, and establish, the limits.

There have been examples when the 'J' Team has achieved the operationally defined rapport, but they are exceptional.

Perhaps the most dramatic example occurred when one member of the Team was able to arrange employment for a member of the Black Power 'Nomads'. One of the key elements of the Nomads' philosophy is that they do not work. The change had repercussions with the gang member being beaten up by his fellows for disobeying the code.

The 'J' Team has been able to consolidate its efforts with the Wellington gangs, and initiate some action which may have a preventive effect. Over a period of time they were able to involve members of the gangs in Kokiri - the Basic Work Skills Training Marae in Seaview, which was developed with the Team's help. This has been successful in providing the gang members with employment. The major problem has been that the concept and the 'J' Team, have been seen by the Mongrel Mob to be favouring the Black Power. (Recently the Mongrel Mob threatened to burn Kokiri down.)

This has occurred because the Black Power is a far more structured organisation with an hierarchael structure resembling many establishments. The Black Power gang generally tends to be comprised of the more "conservative" (if that term is possible) gang member who is more open to re-direction by

such organisations as the 'J' Team. The Black Power operate as a group, with responsibility to the hierarchy. In contrast the Mongrel Mob often act individually: wearing their 'patch' in public by themselves, is frequently done. The Black Power tend to move in clusters, and therefore it is easier to associate with them and achieve a group opinion. Their collective action makes them more amenable to re-direction.

### Assessment

It is important to realise that the 'J' Team operating like the Detached Worker cannot hope to achieve much more than the solving of intra-gang conflict. It is unrealistic to expect them to be able to bring about a significant change in the cognitive structures of these youngsters. A 'J' Team cannot be expected to change attitudes, values, and perceptions which -

- a have been a decade and a half in the making; and
- b receive constant reinforcement from the current environment.

With the 'J' Team concept, you are placing a few adults in the gang setting, but matters are arranged in such a way that they have an average of only a few minutes of contact per week with each gang member. They cannot be expected to perform miracles.

The 'J' Team have successfully averted confrontations, established lasting 'peace' treaties and in some instances initiated attempts in re-directing youths. This suggests that the 'J' Team concept is achieving what can realistically be expected of it, within its operational boundaries in this area.

The present 'J' Team tend to fulfil their departments'
expectations of them. In contrast the original team considered
it was attempting to fulfil the gang members' expectations of
them. The outcome of that latter approach is a greater
involvement with the gangs and less of the 'arrow head' approach
- going into the trouble area and feeding back to the departments.

The 'J' Team is confined to its present role in which it achieves a degree of success by the memory of what happened to the members of the previous team. It is not the present members' inability or illdefined goals which restrict the achievements which can be attained by the Team.

"(e) ven if a more up to date conception of the preventive function were accepted the very fact that such work is carried out within the bureaucratic structure operates against its success." (9)

(The limitations this imposes will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.)

Is there then a place for "J" Teams in the gang scene?

The following are the comments of one person involved with gangs who has also had association with the 'J' Team.

"The 'J' Team actually has a very wide area to cover and I feel through experience that to work with gangs is a 24-hour, 7-day effort, because they have so many problems to overcome - eg, education, budgeting, housing, being accepted for themselves by the community and most of all Aroha. This is the reason why individuals with the right temperament would be more valuable than for instance the 'J' Team."

In comparing the 'J' Team with the Detached Youth Worker (which is what is being advocated by that commentator) it is important to be aware of the limitations that are involved in that scheme.

Both approaches, present the possibility that the worker may become so involved with the gang that he ends up fighting their cause. This can lead to complete isolation from the Government departments which can provide valuable resources. Close communication with the Police is essential. Generally this problem will occur more often with the Detached Youth Worker than the 'J' Team (but only if there is not too intense an involvement). Many of the Detached Youth Workers presently involved in the gang area have a negative relationship with the Police.

Secondly, the 'J' Team approach provides its members with the secure knowledge that there is a large amount of support behind them which can be called on. Particularly the Police Force.

Often the Detached Youth Worker's relationship will not afford

him this comfort.

Both approaches have shortcomings which generally arise from the Government departments attitudes. Until they are prepared to acknowledge a more active approach then the problems remain. In the interim, the writer believes the 'J' Team, due to the support behind it, and the advantages of the Team concept, still has a role to play in bringing the Detached Youth Worker and the departments to a closer understanding. (Should any of the recommendations expressed at the conclusion of the paper be adopted then this becomes even more favourable.)

The 'J' Team's at their last conference decided to move away from involvement with the adult gangs. \*(This may be due to the frustrations involved in this particular type of work and/or those experienced with the departments. The writer considers that it was more of the former.)

The emphasis has been changed to attempting to prevent recruitment into the adult gangs with the "J" Team concentrating on "at risk" children within the education system. This approach may be more successful in achieving the Team's preventive aims.

\*The Teams have been replaced to an extent by Maori Affairs officers. There have already been problems of over-identification. eg, an officer was stopped in a departmental car with gang members and a shotgun. There is indeed a fine line to tread.

## GROUPS, CLUBS, AND ORGANISATIONS

The 'J' Team have been involved with a number of clubs which cater for the development of young people. One such example is the Strathmore Park Youth Club.

established. To this effect they worked with the youths of the club on bottledrives to help raise funds. By this practical assistance the 'J' Team is able to demonstrate a commitment to the success of the venture. It also provides an excellent opportunity for breaking down the barriers that may exist, with the young people. The 'J' Team has also organised a 10-Pin Bowling trip to Upper Hutt for the club, as well as a Disco.

The writer spoke to the organiser of the club and a number of the young people. All had respect for the 'J' Team, and considered that they were doing a lot for them. The young people perceived a distinction between the 'J' Team and the Police in uniform. The latter's presence was not appreciated at their discos while the 'J' Team's was. Many of the youngsters were on the verge of, or had come into, contact with the Police. There were examples of some members being hassled by the Police and turning to the Police member of the 'J' Team for assistance. The Team would appear to have built up a considerable degree of trust and co-operation with the club members.

The youngsters often referred to the present two Wellington team members as 'Starsky and Mutch'. While this might raise questions about the image that is being presented - the cool good guys - it does represent an affectionate term and not a derogatory one. The club supervisor was grateful for the time and assistance given by the Team. He considered the 'J' Team's backing and encouragement was crucial following a major fight at the club, without such help he believed he would not have continued on. His only regret was that the 'J' Team was unable to visit the club on club night every week.

The 'J'Team is presently organising a 'YOURECA' weekend camp (see later in the paper for more detail) for club members, with the youths themselves selecting the activities they wish to participate in.

The Johnsonville Youth Club organiser who also ran the Onslow Games Evening, was a strong critic of the 'J' Team (a local community worker). Questioned on the 'J' Team's involvement at her games evening she felt their presence had not aided her. On the occasions on which they had come they tended to talk with some of the parent helpers which decreased the numbers available to supervise the children. On another occasion the Team had brought a pair of boxing gloves, and quite successfully developed an interest in boxing and other related activities. She believed their failure to return and pursue the development of this interest only gave the children more reason to distrust members of Government departments. In her opinion, it would have been better had they not come at all, rather than once

which only further disillusioned kids, already at odds with society and their own place in it.

Namely the Cannons Creek Youth Club, the YMCA Drop-In centre, and the Newtown Adventure Playground. These places all provide the 'J' Team with the opportunity to get to know young people in a friendly informal setting, which the youths have chosen to be involved in. But there appears to be a pattern similar to that criticised by the Johnsonville supervisor. The Team frequents the club for a number of occasions, establishes a rapport, and then either moves to involvement in another club or begins a venture into a different area of activity. Continual contact has only occurred at the Strathmore Park Youth Club. This movement on may be due to personality clashes but the Team appraoch is designed so that at least one person achieves a stable relationship.

The Hutt Team only having been established recently has not had the opportunity to form strong contacts as yet. The Team is involved regularly in the Petone Drop-In Centre, but the youth clubs being attended have been church-based (Mormon) and it is doubtful that the youngsters being contacted are "at risk".

## YOURECA (YOUth RECreation Activity)

YOURECA, pronounced "eureka" and with the same meaning was the name given to a pilot weekend programme held in March 1979. It

evolved from discussion between the 'J' Team and the Scouting movement. The Team expressed the community's view, as they saw it, that the Scout Association is a "middle class" organisation for "middle class" youngsters; that Scouting is not reaching out to where the need really lies - to the children of the poor and ethnic groups.

A way whereby the resources within the Scout Association might be brought to meet with some of the problems continually confronting 'J' Team members, was developed. This involved a jointly promoted weekend programme at Brookfield, the Wellington Scout Area's camp site near Wainuiomata. The programme was directed at the 13-18 age group.

The objectives of the programme were to bring together young people from varying cultural groups to acquaint them with various sporting and cultural activities. It also involved a co-operative venture between those organisations able to meet the needs of young people. A wide range of activities were offered for those who wished to participate. These included canoeing, rifle shooting, grass skiing, a commando course - flying fox, and a martial arts display and disco.

It was planned that each day a large number of young people, 16 and under, would travel to Brookfield to take part in the activities. Twenty-five venturer scouts and twenty-five young people aged 15-18 years, from youth clubs, schools and departments, were to be the leaders to assist and support the various specialist instructors running the activities.

The concept is a meritable one to overcome the problem of the lack of socially acceptable, constructive means for achieving adventure and status for poor youth. This gap often leads to the street gang way of life proving attractive. The programme facilitates the access of youth to community resources. One of the goals of the 'J' Team.

The actual administration comes in for criticism though. The adults involved from youth clubs who participated in the programme in conversation with the writer expressed a number of criticisms.

The participants were welcomed with Maori Karanga, Whaikorero and Waiata. They were not briefed on this, and being unaware it led to feelings of alienation, which was increased when they were criticised for not observing correct protocol in responding. This did nothing to promote cultural understanding. The participants, at risk children, do not benefit by being further alienated. This feeling of alienation and view of oneself as a 'loser' was not allieviated in any way by the attitude of many of the Police Cadets and Venturer Scouts who were "leaders" on the course. Foul language comments were often made to the children unable to come to grips with a particular activity. This did not help the development of self-confidence - one of the aims of the programme. This was something that could have been avoided by a leaders course before the programme.

The situation provided the ideal opportunity for those people

designated as leaders to learn that by displaying genuine leadership qualities they could gain respect. Rather than the natural adulation they would receive from the Cubs, for example, Thus the programme potentially could benefit, not only the "at risk" children but also develop the potential of those involved in other aspects, like leadership. To this end the programme failed to provide the leadership experience to young people it could have.

There was recognition, of the incredible enjoyment and exhiliaration experienced by the participants from the critics. which indicates that the concept may be a successful one. Its major fault, occurred when there was no follow-up. There is not much point in providing an alternative source of adventure, if it is not fostered further by encouraging the kids to continue their enjoyment of it. This could have been achieved by informing those interested in rifle shooting, what clubs are available in their area to pursue it further. Perhaps even more beneficial, the Police may have been able to provide a shooting session once a week to encourage and develop the interest further. Similarly for those interested in the commando course, or canoeing, a further introduction to the Scouting movement was a possibility.

Without such follow-up and possible contacts, the exercise fails to establish and fulfil an alternative interest which may help prevent the street gang appearing so attractive.

The programme, because of the large numbers participating, meant

groups remained together rather than the mixing process hoped for. There were a limited number of examples of this occurring in the leadership group, but to be successful on a large scale, it will be necessary for only a small number of participants to be involved. (Now being undertaken with the Strathmore Youth Club.)

This concept, given the elimination of the administrative errors mentioned, is an approach that has great potential. Not only for the 'at risk' children, but also in the re-direction and possibly re-emergence of the Scouting movement. The 'J' Team must help the Scout movement reach out to these youngsters.

The 'J' Team should evolve a series of small YOURECA camps over summer involving a mixture from many places -

eg,	Epuni Boys Home		5
	Miramar Girls Home	-	5
	Venturer Scouts	-	10
	Police Cadets	-	5
	Youth Clubs - three different		
	clubs providing	-	5

It is suggested that this may be more beneficial than involving just one youth club whose members know each other already.

### SCHOOLS

With many secondary and intermediate schools in the Wellington

area it is impossible for the team to cover all of them. Instead attempts are made to approach associations of principals, teachers, and visiting teachers, to inform them of the 'J' Team role. This information provides knowledge of the assistance available for such problems as truancy. In the writer's opinion this promotes the Team as an 'ambulance' which may mean they move from crisis to crisis, should the principals etc, involve them.

Both teams are involved in particular schools (and recently some 'Alternative' schools) where they address classes on the 'J' Team. This often involves general discussions on aspects of their work, and also on subjects suggested by the pupils. It is desired by this method to get to know the majority of the young people in a particular area, especially the problem ones. If a rapport is established then the Team is able to attempt to re-direct those individuals who appear at risk. The liaison with the abovementioned associations of principals etc, leads to the 'J' Team's involvement in truancy cases. This generally requires home visits spending time in discussion with parents about their child. The writer feels that this is overlapping, to a degree, with the role of the visiting teacher as he understands it. Thus the Team becomes another link in the chain. The one before the 'real' policeman is called in.

The writer accepts that the 'J' Teams concentrate on particular schools where something may be achieved on an individual level.

But he believes that the Team will have to be careful that they do not become specialists in truancy operations, which is basically

crisis work. If crisis work is allowed to dictate the Team's full attention they will not have the opportunity to work at the elimination of the causes of particular problem areas.

The school classroom presents a captive audience to the Team.

One they do not have to work at. The young people are obliged to go to school, and listen to a talk from the 'J' Team. Although they might enjoy the Team's participation in their school, it is not on their level. The meeting place should be the discos, billiard parlours, fun parlours and the street corner. The school setting may appeal because it is a more structured environment. It is important though that it only remains the supplementary source of contact, and not the major one.

The Team's are involved in, out of school programmes, specifically designed for the 'at risk' children. The Team members have helped organise and run school holiday programmes in different suburbs, which attempt to interest and occupy those who would otherwise have been left to their own devices during the day.

With these programmes, which run for a limited time, the 'J' Team does not expose itself to the, by now familiar, problem that they develop with similar programmes run to cater for the 'at risk' after school. The 'J' Team's involvement in such an after school programme at Wellington South Intermediate, was a repetition of the boxing gloves incident. The kids were excited to see the Team, but obviously disappointed that they had not brought the boxing gloves.

The nature of the Teams attendance at a disco at Wellington High was that of social control. While informal contacts were made with some of the kids on their own ground which is to be encouraged, the 'J' Team was unable to assist in any way other than the prevention of trouble by their presence. Upon the disco finishing the team left. They did not return later to establish that all the participants had been able to make their way home. It may have been beneficial to check later on, that nobody needed a ride. Thereby eliminating the possibility of them getting into trouble on the way home.

# PATROLS

The 'J' Team attempts to undertake patrols on Friday and Saturday evenings, visiting those places in which the drug pushers, the prostitutes, and the drag queens congregate. The aim being to look out for young people who may need assistance and who are 'at risk' in this environment. A good working relationship with the managers and owners of these places has been established by the Team. This often leads to these people taking a responsible attitude towards young people. The members of the Team have visited the proprietors during the day to discuss what it is the 'J' Team is trying to achieve. One particular owner though has been non-co-operative.

These patrols enable the Team to meet 'clients' on their home ground and get a good knowledge of just what is happening at the grass-roots level. The Team does successfully bridge the gaps

and befriend many of the people involved in this particular nightclub scene. In an environment in which the average person would become overwhelmed and apprehensive, the 'J' Team was able to successfully communicate. The Team was warmly received by the clientelle of such places, even though they were "policemen".

There was, though, insufficient time spent in these resorts. The more structured environment of the school, youth club or social welfare home being preferred. This is understandable considering the Team are all family men., and this scene does not really come 'alive' until well after midnight. There is also a very high level of frustration in this work. (The Team concept is an advantage as it gives you somebody to share the frustration with who understands.) This work necessitates spending long periods of time in the particular environment getting yourself known Often this involves walking the same stretch, visiting the same clubs, at the end of which you have little to show other than a friendly smile and wave. But these are the people the Team needs to be more involved with. They will not be so accessible in the more structured settings if they are to be encountered there at all.

# COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL WORK ORGANISATIONS

Co-ordination of the untapped sources of strength in the community is a key \*J\* Team concept. The application of these to social or personal difficulties being experienced may provide resources which

help resolve problems and ease the strains on the established social services. Thus the 'J' Team attempt to learn as much as possible about what other organisations are doing in the community work and crime prevention areas.

The 'J' Team has established contact with most of the organisations operating in this field - eg, Maori Wardens, Jaycees, District Maori Councils etc. But this has been accomplished at the expense of not extensively working with one or two particular groups. The 'J' Team is involved in a continual round of introductions and job descriptions. This process of 'legitimising' oneself to ones fellow community bodies has been done at that expense of spending more contact time with clients. That does not mean that there is no place for this activity, but merely that it should not take precedence.

It is a constructive approach to attempt to re-direct organisations like Rotary and Lions away from building monuments with bricks and mortar. But the redirection to more valuable community objectives must be followed by involvement. The writer is aware of only one example where the Team operated a disco with a Lions Club (Wellington South Intermediate). Too much time is spent informing organisations about the Team's role, when it could be spent developing activities such as that mentioned above. Passing on the message should be left to those bodies with which the Team has had involvement, and created good impressions. Informative addresses of this type only have a place within a particular 'J' Team's first six months of operations.

The Team should concentrate on mobilising community resources within a particular suburb, rather than initial contacts on a grand scale with the whole Wellington region.

# COUNSELLING AND CASEWORK

There are a limited number of examples of the Team becoming involved with particular individuals for long periods of time. The work that is done in this area normally concerns establishing employment and accommodation for a youth whose problems the Team has become aware of. The counselling of problems generally occurs when the Team is informed of a particular problem like truancy and discusses the matter with the child and parents. Counselling has also taken place with individuals involved in particular problems such as "sniffing" (lighter fluid).

The Team's constant movement, generally from one crisis to the next, limits too long an involvement with any particular individual. Also many contact move before any form of casework begins, eg, Miramar Girls' Home residents.

There tends to be referral to the particular agency or body that can best cope with the individual's problem, rather than 'J' Team involvement. The 'J' Team sees its role as one of identifying needs and then bringing in the correct solution before it is too late. Of the casework and counselling undertaken the follow-up generally involve the contact being

established on the street and a question as to how is it all going? .

The Team is beginning to attempt a movement away from the emphasis on crisis work, to more long term case type work. That it may be more beneficial to achieve something constructive with a small number of children, than the present shallow level achieved with many.

This has led to the Wellington Team beginning an intensive course with the Fourth Form classes at Wellington Girls\* East, in conjunction with the school\*s Counsellors.

# LIAISON WITH STATUTORY AGENCIES

The 'J' Team members have failed to pass on the information they are gaining in the field to the statutory agencies which may benefit from it. This information may lead to a change of opinion on a subject by the department to which it is given. A good example occurred with the Probation Service. While discussing with the 'J' Team a particular gang member's record and attitudes, a Probation Officer commented that there was not much hope for the individual concerned. While he had acquired employment with the freezing works: it only lasted a short time, and he had not worked since. A Team member was then able to point out that this particular member belonged to the 'Nomads' gang. A central part of their philosophy was that you didn't

work but lived on the dole. Therefore the fact that he had attempted to gain employment and spent some time at it was commendable in the 'J' Team members' view. Within his own context the individual was showing indications of change that needed to be encouraged. Unfortunately that information was too late to be of value to that individual as Probation's recommendations had been dispatched. It does indicate how useful the knowledge gained by the 'J' Team can be. It is crucial that more time be spent with these departments.

To the writer's knowledge there has been little contact with the Probation Service or similar statutory agencies when this type of knowledge has been put forward. The Team would appear to have relevant information that could be used. The Team's knowledge is even more important and useful to their respective departments - particularly the Police. There is also a need for Team members to become more familiar with their fellow departmental colleagues so that there is an awareness of what each other are doing. Without such contact overlapping will occur. Referral by the Lower Hutt Youth Aid to the Hutt 'J' Team, of a number of solvent abuse cases (sniffing) occurred because they were aware of the Team's previous contact with the youths. The Team is better equipped for follow-up work and future prevention if it has successfully established good community resources. This will often involve kinship ties, with Polynesian children and their families. Similar work can be done between the Police and 'J' Team, with youths sleeping in railway carriages. The 'J' Team can attempt to assess the reason behind it, and take some preventive action.

An example of how valuable information is not passed on occurred on one visit to Porirua. One of the Team had a kinship tie with the leader of one of the local juvenile gangs. A discussion developed when they encountered each other on the street, which indicated to the writer that the Team had a valuable contact with the youths in the area. That night a 'rumble' took place between that particular youth's gang and another, resulting in one person being stabbed. A rather dramatic action among youngsters - 13-14 year olds. The next day the 'J' Team knew nothing of the incident.

There was no contact from the Police to see if the 'J' Team had contacts in the area, which could be pursued to attempt to defuse the conflict that existed. Equally important, the 'J' Team had never bothered to inform the Police they had good contacts in the area which may be beneficial should trouble develop.

This can, to an extent, be understood. In attempting to co-operate with the department you often run up against the same attitudes and reception. In attempting to break down the communication barriers you get the same reaction based on entrenched attitudes. The result is that you become inward, not bothering with your fellow departmental colleagues. This leads to decisions to do your work not bother to involve anyone else. The only real way this can be overcome is for senior officers to be seen as supporting the concept of a free-flow of information between the two bodies. If it does not happen then the Police Department and the "J" Team will continue to fail to benefit from each others resources.

At present the 'J' Team attends most Police recruiting courses to inform them of the 'J' Team. This exercise becomes of limited value if the cadets are not continually informed what the Team is doing once the cadets move into the Force.

This passing of information will also be valuable in attempting to overcome the following problem.

# WORKER ISOLATION

The close association with young people who are often at variance with authorities has at times led to resentment from fellow workers. The special relationship with the young people has sometimes been interpreted as a rejection of the agency role and an over-identification with the clients.

Police members on the 'J' Teams have experienced the greatest difficulties in this area.

The original 'J' Team Police member on the Wellington Team became isolated from his fellow workers in this way. During a particular gang-Police confrontation in Porirua he interceded between the two opposing sides. By speaking to the gang leaders he was able to cool them down. Some of the Policemen had been beaten up, and the Police reacted by charging the gang leaders with a number of serious offences. The Police evidence was fabricated as they did not really know who had hit who. The 'J' Team Policeman who

knew the gang members individually was subpoensed by the Defence and under oath his evidence contradicted all the Police evidence. He was placed in an unfortunate position but he had no choice.

Worker isolation with the Police member can have crucial consequences when the individual returns to the uniformed branch. It is notable that both the constables that have served on the Wellington 'J' Team resigned from the Force after spending only a limited time back with the department. This has also occurred with the Auckland Teams. The last Police constable resident on the Wellington 'J' Team wished to be returned to Youth Aid. The department felt it desirable that he be returned to the beat so he could learn how to be a policeman again.

The failure to retain ex \*J\* Team members in the Force means that there is little opportunity that someone will in the future be involved in a supervisory capacity who has had \*J\* Team experience himself.

Isolation with the Police member often results in the constable being reminded that he is still a policeman by his colleagues. With the original Wellington member, the department actually went as far as to send him memo's stating such.

As one gang girl perceptably put it, "We really liked Ruben (the original cop) he was doing some good things. But as soon as you guys start doing anything your departments will sit on you".

In attempting to have an effective liaison and thereby overcome

the ignorance which exists about the 'J' Team in the departments, the 'J' Team members will have to be cautious.

It may be beneficial to let your colleagues know that you are working with girls from the Miramar Girls' Home, in case he comes across some of them and calls for your assistance. But let him know that in teaching them how to have satisfactory Police relations you are also educating them as to their 'rights' and the Policeman will feel the 'J' Team is attempting to undermine him.

## INTER-DEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS

The complexities of bureaucracies and intra organisational structure have played their part in the 'J' Team history and continue to do so. As mentioned at the beginning of the paper it has been a rare occurrence when all three departments have been represented on the Team at the same time. This has not helped the effectiveness and acceptance of the concept. Many people have been openly against the 'J' Team in the respective departments, leading to confrontations within departments and between departments.

Supervision and control of the day to day activities of 'J'

Teams at the district level is undertaken by a co-ordinating

and controlling committee consisting of senior officers of the

three departments. One of the present co-ordinators was strongly

against the introduction of a 'J' Team to Wellington. This culminated in the individual being told in the relevant Cabinet Minister's officer by a Head Office official, "You'll damn well have a 'J' Team whether you want one or not.". The writer is not questioning the integrity of that particular co-ordinator, but merely questioning the appropriateness of appointing someone with such a strong negative attitude as a co-ordinator.

The writer believes that one of the former co-ordinators was also strongly against the 'J' Team concept.

Unfortunately the problems are beginning again. As mentioned earlier, so far only the Police have appointed a second representative for the Hutt Valley Team.

It now appears that Social Welfare are prepared to appoint another member for the Hutt Team. At the same time though, the Maori Affairs officer has become almost non-existent on that Team. Throughout the Wellington Team's history the Maori Affairs Department has habitually withdrawn its member for other duties. This has a detrimental effect on the Team's work and its success. Recently this activity has left his fellow Hutt Team member without transport, because the Maori Affairs officer also has that department's car.

This is about to come to a head with the Police Department taking action to clarify the situation. Because the Joint Statement (Job Description) is so widely drafted the Maori Affairs

Department is claiming that their officer is fulfilling the requirements of 'J' Team work. They are clearly not fulfilling

the intended spirit of the inter-departmental agreement.

This represents a more widespread problem of which all three departments are guilty. Namely, the failure to recognise the importance of Team Dynamics.

The 'J' Team consists of members from three different departments. It is similar to a jigsaw puzzle. If a section is missing then it is incomplete. If it is incomplete it is also ineffective. The present Wellington Team consists of two pakehas. The lack of a Maori Affairs representative limits their acceptability with the Maori people. This is particularly crucial as a large percentage of the 'J' Team clientelle are Maori and Pacific Island children. As one gang member expressed it —

"I've got nothing against the pakeha. It's just that it doesn't take as long to speak to a Maori as it does to a Pakeha. I don't have to use so many words for him to understand me."

There has also been a failure to recognise the importance of the Team concept when granting leave. It may be necessary that the Team take leave together so that they are not a half constituted body when one of them is on leave.

More consideration needs to be given to the replacing of Team members by a new colleague. The outgoing member should prepare a summary of his experiences and contacts. As much knowledge as possible should be shared and this should involve both persons

working together for a period of time.

As one researcher has concluded (10)-the greatest resistance to delinquency reduction lay not in the youngsters but in the recalcitrance of the adults in community agencies and institutions.

#### SELECTION OF MEMBERS

Although there are no essential requirements that can be laid down for the selection of future 'J' Team members, there are a number of aspects that should be given careful consideration.

It may be an advantage that the prospective team member have an element of the rebel spirit. An ability to see things differently and to desire change may help due to the 'new' and 'unorthodox' methods involved in 'J' Team work. It is also important the prospective member have a stable marriage, as support will be required due to the frustrations of the type of work, and the irregularity of hours that go with it. The new member will be at an advantage with a knowledge of Maori tanga and the willingness to learn from experience in the field. The member will find himself confronted with a whole new environment which will often affect a change in attitudes.

It will be important that a new 'J' Team member be phased-in slowly and that the co-ordinators maintain a close contact during

the first six months when most of the major frustrations occur. The writer believes that because of the disruption caused by changing members, that all three departmental representatives should begin and end their terms at the same time.

It is suggested that a consultant be available to the Team for

It is suggested that a consultant be available to the Team for consultation when problems arise. An example of this is one of the Northern Teams. It has split into two Teams of two, neither speaking to the other. Most of the members in the country are aware of it but nothing is being done.

The writer believes a similar problem may exist in Wellington.

One of the Police representatives is a Mormon, and very straight cop. When he came onto the Team there was no phasing—in undertaken and no attempt to educate him in the new role of the Policeman. With his placement in Lower Hutt and the withdrawal of his Maori Affairs colleague there is nobody exerting a tempering influence on him. He continues to play the role of a cop. This may have repercussions because the Hutt Team's reputation will depend on his approach. In the writer's opinion, while no slur is meant on his individual character, he does not appear to "fit the bill". This would indicate a poor selection process is at fault.

#### CONCLUSION

"Social problems are so complex that they defy solution by any

one agency." (11)

Response to this with the creation of a 'J' Team appealled as a concept with tremendous potential.

Unfortunately the Departments involved have failed to legitimate their 'Bastard'.

Consequently, the problem, that "there is so much work and so few 'J' Teams" (12), remains. A lack of indepth involvement in many areas because of such wide operational boundaries and over indulgence in crisis work, has developed. This results in a superficial approach achieving no more than the presentation of a 'good guy' image to attempt to overcome the negative attitude towards the Departments.

The 'J' Team has though, developed some successful prevention projects, despite the problems inherent in the bureaucratic structure. This indicates that development of a detailed long and short term plan, with involvement in a limited no of areas may have beneficial results.

The success of such work undertaken by the Team will be dependant on the attitude of the Departments to the dynamics of the Team approach. Until that occurs then the Team will continue in it's present role, where overall they are repeating social control work already done by other agencies. Albeit, with a softer edge.

# NOTES

(1)	Auckland Star - 11 August 1971 "Secret Welfare Mission Works"
(2)	Dominion - 18 August 1976 "No place for the Rule Book"
(3)	Youth at Risk seminar held by the Wellington City Council. Address by Kim Workman.
(4)	"Street Gangs and Street Workers"  By Malcolm W Klein - Page 52.  1971 Prentice-Hall Inc New Jersey
(5)	Ibid Page 153
(6)	Wairarapa Times - Age - 15 February 1979
(7)	Klein - Page 154
(8)	Felsteiner "Influences of Social Organisation on Dispute Processing." - Page 74 Law and Society Review Volume: 9 (1974) - Page 63
(9)	Kim Workman, Youth At Risk Seminar
(10)	Waller B Miller  "Inter-Institutional Conflict as a Major Impediment to Delinquency Prevention"  Human Organisation 17, No. 3 (Fall, 1958) 20-23
(11)	Rusbatch J  The Youth Aid Section of the New Zealand Police:  Research Essay - D.P.A. 1974 V.U.W. Page 105
(12)	Ibid - Page 107  VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

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Youth at Riek seminar held by the Wellington City Council. Address by Kim Workman.	
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	(6)
Kim Worlsman, Youth At Risk Seminar	(6)
Waller B Miller "Inter-Institutional Conflict as a Major Impediment to Delinquency Prevention" Human Organisation 17, No. 3 (Fall, 1958) 20-23	(10)
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