

YOUNG WOMEN, OFFENDING AND SELF-HARM

Introduction

Consistent with most other jurisdictions, the number of young women who offend and enter the formal youth justice system is much lower than their male counterparts. Recent years have, however, seen a slow but steady increase in the number of young women coming into contact with the youth justice system and progressing through to court imposed sanctions that involve the State providing some form of formal structured supervision.

Self-harm has been defined as any form of violence against one's own body. This includes actions that result in physical, psychological and/or emotional harm. It is not attempted suicide, but rather, an alternative behavioural response to despair. For some it is a means of coping with life. It has been argued that while young men are more likely to commit suicide, young women are more likely to self-harm and that this increases their risk of eventual suicide. ¹

Self-harm involves a deliberate or conscious act where there is a level of awareness that the action will result in some degree of personal harm. This can include behaviour where there is known risk of harm, but, at the time of the act, the young person has a lack of regard for the personal consequences of their actions.

Many of the young women who come in contact with the youth justice system engage in self-harming behaviours, with drug and alcohol use and abuse being particularly prevalent. This paper will suggest that for some young women offending can be seen as a form of self-harm. For others it may represent an alternative to other types of self harm. The paper also raises the concern that contact with the youth justice system may lead to or exacerbate self-harming behaviours.

Setting the scene - A statistical overview

Research suggests that most juvenile offending is minor, episodic, opportunistic and transitory in nature. ² Approximately 42% of young people who are apprehended for offending are diverted from the formal youth justice system through the police cautioning process. The majority of young people (60%) who appear in court for offending will not appear again. ³

In 1999/2000, young women made up about 18% of all children appearing in Queensland courts for offending. ⁴ This involved 923 distinct young women who appeared in relation to 1,385 finalised appearances (ie some young women appeared on more than one occasion).

From 1993/94 to 1999/2000, there has been a 91.8% increase in the number of court appearances for offences involving young women. This compares to a 51.1% increase for young men over the same period.

A recidivism study undertaken in Queensland in 1998 found that young women who appear in court for the first time for offending are less likely to re-offend than their male counterparts. Only 29% of the young women were found to have a subsequent appearance compared to 39% for young men. ⁵ Amongst those young women who do re-offend, there are a group whose offending behaviour will persist or be serious enough to warrant a formal court imposed sanction. Therefore for every year that there is an increase in appearances in court by young women, there will be a flow through effect that eventually increases the number of young women on formal supervised orders.

In 1999/2000, young women accounted for approximately 15% of all admissions to supervised youth justice orders. At the 30 June 2000, there were 333 young women on supervised youth justice orders. The orders were as follows:

Probation	261
Community Service	139
Immediate Release	9
Detention	6
Fixed Release	4

(The order breakdown is 419 orders as some young women are subject to more than one order.)

While the 333 young women on youth justice orders as at the 30 June 2000 were scattered throughout the state, there are certain places where there tends to be a concentration of young women on orders. At the end of June, there were 12 of 39 Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland offices who had 15 or more young women on orders. ⁶ These clusters of young women in particular areas might lend themselves to the development of specialised and targeted responses to young women who offend and the adoption of work practices that enable staff to acquire specialised expertise in working with young women. As will be outlined later, this has not necessarily been the case. It is not being advocated that Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland adopt a one-size-fits-all approach to its work with young women. Young women themselves have identified a preference for gender specific programs and for workers who are comfortable and confident in working with them. ^{7 & 8}

Indigenous young people are significantly over-represented in the Queensland youth justice system. According to the 1996 census, Indigenous young people accounted for approximately 4.5% of Queensland's population of 10 to 16 year olds. ⁹ In 1999/2000, Indigenous young women made up 32% of all distinct females who appeared in court for offending and 49.6% of admissions by females to youth justice orders. This is a more significant over-representation than for young Indigenous men who made up 26.9% of all distinct males who appeared in court and 42.2% of admissions by males to orders.

Causal Factors of Offending and Self-Harm

Research has identified a range of contributing and risk factors for suicide and self-harm. 10. There is also a body of research around the contributing and risk factors for offending. 11 & 12. As demonstrated in the table below, these factors are significantly similar. While much of the research has involved examining the behaviour of young men, the limited research available indicates that these factors are similar for young women. 13. The key question is, *are we talking about the same group of young women or are they two quite distinct groups whose similar backgrounds manifest different behaviours?*

CONTRIBUTING AND RISK FACTORS

Suicide and Self-Harm	Offending
Family history of abuse and neglect	Family history of abuse and neglect
Family violence	Family conflict
Economic disadvantage	Economic disadvantage
Early school leaving	Lower than average educational level and occupational aspirations Regular truanting/absences from school or exclusion from school
Homelessness	High residential mobility
Unemployment	Unemployment
Mental health issues	Personality factors including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor impulse control; • Extreme risk taking; • Aggression; • Poor problem-solving.
Alcohol and other drug misuse and/or abuse	Alcohol and other drug misuse and/or abuse
Involvement in the criminal justice system	Associating with anti-social and offending peers
	A background of family members having committed offences
	Attitudes, values and beliefs that support and admire a criminal lifestyle
	Lack of parental supervision and discipline
	A history of anti-social behaviour from a young age
	Low level emotional support from others
Being Indigenous	Being Indigenous

The high rate of suicide and self-harm and offending amongst Indigenous young people in particular areas of the state relates to historical, cultural and community factors. These include patterns of alcohol and substance use. Incidents of suicide and self-harm in particular are often preceded by interpersonal conflict and frequently occur in families in which there have been similar losses and where lifestyles of risk are common. ¹⁴.

A family history of neglect and abuse has been identified as a risk factor for suicide and self-harm and offending. Weatherburn and Lind (1998) found the rate of juvenile crime was highest in areas with a concentration of child neglect. As the rate of neglect increased, so too did the rate of participation in juvenile crime. It was concluded that the economic and social stress in families disrupts the parenting process and causes child neglect which in turn can lead to juvenile crime. ¹⁵.

Queensland child protection data demonstrates that young women who come in contact with the youth justice system are more likely than their male counterparts to have recorded histories of abuse and neglect. Approximately 45% of young women on supervised youth justice orders have been the subject of a child protection notification that has been substantiated, compared to approximately 32% for young men. ¹⁶.

Is Offending a form of Self-Harm?

There are a small group of young people who are recidivist offenders. These young people tend to be responsible for the majority of crime committed by juveniles. In the context of examining whether in some circumstances offending can be seen as a form of self-harm, it is the behaviour of recidivist offenders that will be examined.

Young women who offend are not a homogeneous group. There are, however, some common behavioural patterns. Young women's offending often involves property, is committed in groups, is highly visible and, given that these young women are often quite well known to the police, the risk of apprehension is relatively high. While "public space" type offences of obscene language, resisting arrest and assaulting police may be about being in the wrong place at the wrong time, or being young or from a particular cultural background, sometimes these offences occur at times and places where the likelihood of conflict with police is relatively high.

Recidivist offenders have, by definition, had past contact with the youth justice system. They often associate with other young people who have had contact with the police and court for offending and therefore have some level of knowledge of what "the system" is all about. While young people may not be able to articulate the causes and effects of "system abuse" or the risk of harm they might face while a youth justice client, most are able to indicate clearly what they perceive to be the negative features and personal impacts of this contact. ^{17 & 18}.

If we refer back to the definition of self-harm, that is, a deliberate or voluntary act where it is known that the action will result in personal harm, perhaps it is possible to regard some offending as a form of self-harm. Most offending involves some form of conscious decision about actions on the part of the young person involved. Some offending can be

seen as a form of expressing pain and hurt in a way that is self-destructive. It can also be an effective diversion strategy to avoid dealing with current and past trauma.

For some young women, offending may represent an alternative option to other forms of self-harm. Offending can be seen as behaviour that involves the externalisation of pain and hurt. Breaking the law generally involves inflicting pain and hurt on others. Young women who engage in other forms of self-harming behaviours such as eating disorders and self mutilation may be those who are more likely to internalise their emotions and engage in more direct forms of self-harm.

While Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland guidelines emphasise the need for an assessment of the offending behaviour and developing interventions to address the identified factors, a criticism of the youth justice system is that intervention tends to focus on compliance with orders, that is, on behaviour, rather than on the causal factors.¹⁹ If offending can sometimes be seen as a form of self-harm that involves externalising pain and hurt, there is a risk that, if the causal factors are not addressed, the “cost” of compliance may be to increase the risk of other forms of self-harm such as substance abuse and self-mutilation. This is an issue that youth justice practitioners need to be particularly mindful of in their administration of youth justice orders. Workers must recognise that offending generally meets a need and serves some purpose in a young person’s life. Unless the causal factors are addressed, there is a risk that a young person may substitute one undesirable behaviour for another. Given the high risk of eventual death associated with other forms of self harm, this issue requires serious consideration.²⁰

Young Women in Detention

The *Juvenile Justice Act 1992* includes the principle that detention is the option of last resort. A court may only make a detention order after:

- considering all other available sentencing options;
- taking into account the desirability of not holding the young person in detention; and
- determining that no other sentence is appropriate in the circumstances of the case.

Available research highlights the fact that custodial sentences usually result in higher rates of recidivism. This is generally attributed to the detention experience:

- hindering the learning of skills necessary for young people to live in the community;
- providing young people with opportunities to join criminal networks and learn offending skills; and
- creating a stigma, which impedes the ability of the young person to gain access on release to developmental opportunities.²¹

At the 30 June 2000, there were four young women in custody on remand and five serving detention orders. Seven of the nine were Indigenous. The average number of young women in detention in 1999/2000 was 8.6, compared to 12.1 in 1998/1999.

All young women in Queensland are detained at the Sir Leslie Wilson Youth Detention Centre in Brisbane. This often means young women are displaced from their communities and makes visiting by significant others difficult. Of the nine young women in custody on the 30 June 2000, six were from outside of South East Queensland; two were from Townsville Youth Justice Service; one each from Bundaberg, Cairns, Mackay and Rockhampton. While there are current plans to accommodate young women at the Cleveland Youth Detention Centre in Townsville, it is not anticipated that this facility will be available prior to mid 2001.

If self-harm is a form of seeking some control over one's life circumstances, then it might be expected that there would be high levels of self-harming behaviour within the detention environment where young people are relatively powerless.

Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland collects data in relation to self-harming incidents in detention. This information is recorded separately to incidents of attempted suicide so there is an awareness that the behaviours are quite separate. Behaviour is categorised and recorded in accordance with 3 levels of self-harm. These categories are:

- Level 1 which includes a self-harming episode resulting in injuries or a condition that may be life-threatening or cause permanent and serious impairment;
- Level 2 which includes a self-harming episode resulting in ambulance transportation to hospital and the likelihood of admission for overnight or longer;
- Level 3 which includes a self-harming episode that may require the examination or treatment of a young person either at the centre or a hospital, but is unlikely to warrant overnight hospital admission.

Data for the period 1 June 1999 to 1 June 2000 indicates that there were 26 incidents of self-harming behaviour by residents during this period, 7 incidents or approximately 27% involving female residents. All were level 3 incidents. While the overall numbers are very small, it is interesting to note that as young women make up only about 8.6% of residents, these incidents of self-harm by young women represented a disproportionately high incidence of self-harming behaviour amongst female residents.

Young Offenders and Substance Abuse

Substance abuse and offending can be a vicious cycle. As previously outlined, alcohol and drug misuse and /or abuse have been identified as risk factors for offending. Substance abuse can contribute to offending in a number of ways by:

- negatively impacting on young people's judgement and decision making processes which can lead to higher levels of risk taking behaviour such as offending;
- reducing young people's anger management strategies and thereby contributing to violent behaviour;

- being a source of income for young people who are regular drug users and/or dependent on these substances; and
- exposing young people to a criminal culture and establishing criminal networks. 21.

New South Wales research found that 16.2% of young people who committed shop lifting offences, 30.1% of people who committed break and enter offences and 4.5% of young people who stole a motor vehicle said the reason for committing the offence was to obtain money for drugs and/or alcohol. 23.

In late 1995/early 1996 a research project was undertaken in relation to drug use amongst detainees of Queensland youth detention centres. A total of 118 young people were surveyed regarding their drug use behaviour prior to being detained. This represented 90% of the detention population. Only 10% of the respondents were young women. The research found over 90% of the population had used (or at least tried) pain relievers, other medicines, cannabis, alcohol and tobacco. The use of “harder drugs” was high with 47% having tried amphetamines, 35% admitted to having tried heroin, and 64% having used hallucinogens at least once. Almost 30% acknowledged that their drug use was a problem for which they needed help. 24.

In 1998, Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland undertook a peer based research project that involved interviewing young women about their past experiences of the youth justice system. The majority of the 48 young women who participated in the project reported an extensive history of substance abuse. In many cases this behaviour was linked by the respondents to their offending lifestyle. For a number of the women, substance abuse was reported as still being a factor, which they thought was significant, and that they wished they could address and/or control better. One of their key suggestions for improvements to youth justice programs and services was to introduce programs that address alcohol and drug issues. 25.

Young people use alcohol and other drugs for many different reasons including:

- fun and enjoyment;
- social acceptance;
- relief from boredom;
- to escape from problems, stress and painful feelings;
- availability;
- curiosity;
- rebellion;
- to assert independence; and
- to mimic adult like behaviour.

The main types of drug use are:

- experimental use, when a young person may try a drug once to see what it is like;
- recreational use; and

- dependent use, when a young person is addicted and believes they cannot function without drugs. 26.

It can be argued that most young people would be aware that taking drugs for non-medical purposes represents a risk of harm to their health. They may not think it will happen to them, or that the harm is very serious, but few would deny the risk of harm. In considering whether drug use is a form of self-harm, the motive for the drug taking is the primary consideration. Young people who use drugs as a way of dealing with issues (including those who use drugs to avoid dealing with issues) would generally be seen as engaging in self-harming behaviour.

As previously outlined, self-harming behaviour is often about seeking control. Drug taking is often about losing control. This loss of control is, however, initiated and therefore controlled by the young person.

Responses to Young Women in the Youth Justice System who Self-harm

Historically the youth justice system has not been kind to young women. The 1998/99 Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions highlighted the plight of many young women who were incarcerated for extended periods for perceived inappropriate behaviour, rather than any criminal deeds. 27. In the past we have had both laws and practices that discriminated against young women.

It can be argued that the current youth justice system discriminates against young women through lack of specialised knowledge and expertise of staff and the absence of resourcing and support at a systemic level. As outlined in a 1998 paper produced by the Juvenile Justice Branch, Department of Justice,

“The inadequacy of the programs available to young women in the juvenile justice system has been highlighted by researchers for some time, and indeed, now represents the prevailing “received wisdom” within the wider criminological community.” 28.

There are currently no policies, procedures or specific training for staff on how to engage with and work effectively with young women. Unlike other States and the Queensland adult correctional system, the Queensland Youth Justice Program does not have specialist positions or a unit with responsibility to develop policy and program responses to the needs of young women who offend. Current youth justice programs and services are primarily based on research and practice expertise relating to work with young men. There has been a slow response at a policy and program level to the findings of the Queensland and other Australian research that has been undertaken in recent years on young women who offend. In 1999 the Australian Institute of Criminology conducted a Roundtable on young women in the juvenile justice system. A number of recommendations resulted which might provide a useful framework for the development of a more gender responsive Queensland youth justice system. 29.

Queensland's primary method of service delivery for the administration of youth justice orders is through an individual case work model. While there have been and continue to be examples of creative and effective intervention with young women, the quality of service that an individual young woman receives while subject to a youth justice order is dependent on the skills and knowledge that their allocated worker might have. While the same is true for young men in the system, workers have the opportunity to work with young men more frequently and hence acquire specific expertise. Workers are also more likely to be supervised and mentored by workers experienced in working with young men who offend.

There are currently very few specialised departmental programs for young women on youth justice orders. When a program is run in a community corrections setting, there are no practice standards that require the articulation of program objectives, target group, delivery methodology, session plans and evaluation. Within the detention environment, the girls access the same core programs as the male residents such as drug and alcohol counselling, physical and health education, music and visual arts programs, although they are segregated when they attend. The only specific program in detention for young women is run by an external agency, Sisters Inside, who run a sexual assault program. The young women who participated in the peer research project referred to earlier in this paper identified a strong preference for gender specific programs and services. This project also found that workers do not necessarily make good use of the specialist knowledge and expertise that is available in young women's services based in the community through referral and/or collaborative work.³⁰

Youth justice workers often report that female offenders are more difficult to work with than males.^{31 & 32} There is some evidence that young women in the youth justice system agree that they are harder to work with than young men.³³ Young women may be more difficult to work with or this may be a perception that is influenced by sex role socialisation that decries offending not to be appropriate feminine behaviour. Either way, improvement in the quality of practice and responses may require workers and others such as parents who have a key role in the lives of young women to deal with their fears and biases in working with and responding to their needs. This will be most effectively done in a systemic, strategic and co-ordinated manner that involves young women in the process. As the National Council for Research on Women in their report, *The Girls Report: What we Know and Need to Know about Growing Up Female* notes:

*Adults can learn a great deal about girls' experiences by listening to their perspectives, and incorporating their insights into their work. When girls' collaboration is solicited in authentic and meaningful ways, through involvement in the design and implementation of programs, girls can gain leadership skills, develop supportive inter-generational relationships and experience themselves as active participants in social change.*³⁴

The adoption of successful collaborative work practices requires commitment, resourcing, encouragement and modelling if it is to move beyond "participation" rhetoric and become a reality.

Role of the Children's Commission of Queensland

The Children's Commission of Queensland was established in 1996. It is an independent Government body set up to protect and promote the well being of all children and young people in Queensland.

Legislative amendments expected to be proclaimed later in the year will see key changes to the role of the Children's Commission, particularly in relation to young people who are clients of the youth justice system. The Children's Commission will become the Commission for Children and Young People. It will have an expressed advocacy function, with particular emphasis on young people who are most vulnerable or at risk. This includes those who are subject to youth justice orders. The Official Visitors function for youth detention centres will become part of a State-wide community visitor program. The Commission will have a power to investigate complaints relating to the services provided to children subject to orders or programs under the *Juvenile Justice Act 1992*. These new functions will enhance the capacity of the Children's Commission to monitor and advocate for improved services and programs for young women who have contact with the youth justice system.

In implementing the new legislation, the Commission will seek to work collaboratively with advocacy organisations, services providers and other organisations which may be appropriate to meet the needs of a particular child or young person.

Conclusion

The youth justice system is uniquely placed to identify and respond to young women who engage in self-harming behaviours. As outlined in this paper, many of the young women who come in contact with the youth justice system engage in these behaviours and offending itself can be seen as a form of self-harm.

A young woman's contact with the State as a consequence of offending represents an opportunity for the factors that are contributing to their offending and self-harming to be addressed. The challenge for workers in the system is to ensure that their intervention does not exacerbate or contribute to self-harm. As a starting point this entails workers recognising that offending behaviour and self-harm meet a need and serve some purpose in the young person's life. It might be about having some control and/or avoiding dealing with past issues of pain and hurt. Intervention that focuses on a young person's behaviour and does not address causal factors or facilitate alternative or substitute behaviours may place young people at greater risk of self-harm.

Currently the youth justice system offers little to support and resource statutory officers working with young women. Much of the expertise in working with young women is held by workers in specialist services in the non-government sector. While the State

must assume responsibility for the skills and knowledge of its workforce, an improvement in the quality of services to young women might be achieved in part by the non-government workers making themselves known to local departmental workers, sharing their knowledge and expertise, and encouraging collaborative work.

Leanne Beikoff
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November 2000

FOOTNOTES

1. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *Young Women and Self-Harm, Discussion Paper*, Queensland, December 1999
2. Cunneen, C. and White, R. *Juvenile Justice: An Australian perspective*, Oxford University, Melbourne, 1995
3. Queensland Government, Department of the Premier and Cabinet *Queensland Crime Prevention Strategy – Statistical Profile*, December 1999
4. The statistical information included in this paper which relates to court appearances, order outcomes and child protection notifications is based on the statistical records of Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland
5. Department of Justice, *Juvenile Offending and Recidivism in Queensland*, 1998
6. These areas are Gold Coast, Ipswich Youth Justice Service, Logan Youth Justice Service, Fortitude Valley, Inala, Sunshine Coast, Toowoomba, Maryborough, Rockhampton, Townsville YJS, Cairns and Mount Isa.
7. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *What about the Girls! Young women's perceptions of juvenile justice programs and services*, Queensland, 1998
8. Alder, Christine and Hinter, Nicole, *Not worse, just different? Working with young women in the juvenile justice system. Report of Findings 2: Young women's Juvenile Justice Experiences*, Criminology Department, The University of Melbourne, June 1999
9. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Population and Housing*, Canberra, 1996
10. National Advisory Council for Youth Suicide Prevention, *National Action Plan for Suicide Prevention Consultation Draft*, , Canberra, 1998
11. Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland, *Principles underlying the Youth Justice Program Discussion Paper*, August 1999
12. Andrews, Don. *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct and Effective Treatment in What Works: Reducing Re-offending. Guidelines from Research and Practice*. John Wiley and Sons, England, 1995
13. Alder, Christine and Hinter, Nicole, *Young Women in the Juvenile Justice System. Report of Findings 1: Young Women's Offending* , Criminology Department, The University of Melbourne, March 1999
14. Hunter, Ernest; Reser, Joseph; Baird, Mercy; & Reser, Paul *An analysis of suicide in Indigenous communities of North Queensland: The historical, cultural and symbolic landscape*; University of Queensland, Department of Social and Preventative Medicine, Gurriny Yealamucka Health Service & the Yarrabah Community Council, & James Cook University of North Queensland, School of Psychology and Sociology, May 1999
15. Weatherburn, Don and Lind, Bronwyn. *Poverty, Parenting, Peers and Crime-Prone Neighbourhoods*, Australian Institute of Criminology: trends and issues in crime and criminal justice. No.85, April 1998

16. As at 30 June 2000 there were 1,734 males and 333 females on supervised youth justice orders. Of these, 754 males (43.5% of males on youth justice orders) and 200 females (60.1% of females on youth justice orders) had been subject of a child protection notification between 1986/87 and 1999/2000. Of these notifications, 561 for males (32.4% of males on youth justice orders) and 151 for females (45.3% of females on youth justice orders) were substantiated.
17. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *What about the Girls! Young women's perceptions of juvenile justice programs and services*, Queensland, 1998
18. Alder, Christine and Hinter, Nicole, *Not worse, just different? Working with young women in the juvenile justice system. Report of Findings 2: Young women's Juvenile Justice Experiences*, Criminology Department, The University of Melbourne, June 1999
19. Juvenile Justice Branch, Department of Justice, *Evaluation of the Juvenile Justice Act 1992*, Queensland, 1998
20. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *Young Women and Self-Harm, Discussion Paper*, Queensland, December 1999
21. Moore, E. *Custodial Programs and Transition into the Community: A Review of Policy and Program Reforms*, Australia and New Zealand Current Issues in Criminal Justice, vol.3, no.2, Nov 1991
22. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *If your child breaks the law – A Parent's Guide*, Queensland 1998
23. NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research *Young people and Crime*, Crime and Justice Bulletin, no.32, November 1996,
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25. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *What about the Girls! Young women's perceptions of juvenile justice programs and services*, Queensland, 1998
26. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *If your child breaks the law – A Parent's Guide*, Queensland, 1998
27. *Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institution*, (Forde Report), Queensland, 1999
28. Juvenile Justice Branch, Department of Justice, *Programs for Young Women in the Juvenile Justice System*, Queensland 1998
29. Recommendations arising from the Australian Institute of Criminology Roundtable No. 25 (9 June 1999) included:
 - That there is specialist training on young women's issues and attitudes for workers in the juvenile justice system, which includes examination of workers' attitudes to young women;
 - That young women in the juvenile justice system have access to mainstream services;
 - That mechanisms are put in place to ensure that juvenile justice workers work collaboratively with other service providers to ensure that a broad range of services, work together to assist young women from both community based and custodial settings, to link back into the community;

- That young women in the juvenile justice system be given opportunities to develop purposeful relationships with juvenile justice workers to reflect research which indicates that this is very important to young women;
 - That there is ongoing research and review of who/how/why young women are entering the juvenile justice system;
 - That juvenile justice program diversionary and post order support options for young women are in place;
 - That networks for juvenile justice workers working with young women are developed to share and exchange ideas/programs to maintain an inventory of relevant services and to identify best practice initiatives, research findings, trends and emerging issues;
 - That research and data is developed, to identify the similarities and differences in working with boys and girls;
 - That there is a need to reframe the view that young women are more difficult to work with than young men.
30. Department of Families, Youth and Community Care, *What about the Girls! Young women's perceptions of juvenile justice programs and services*, Queensland, 1998
31. Bessant, J., *Naughty, Immoral and Depraved*. Youth Studies Australia, vol 13. No 20, pp. 45 – 50
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33. Alder, Christine and Hinter, Nicole, *Not worse, just different? Working with young women in the juvenile justice system. Report of Findings 2: Young women's Juvenile Justice Experiences*, Criminology Department, The University of Melbourne, June 1999
34. National Council for Research on Women, *The Girls Report: What We Know and Need to Know About Growing Up Female*. New York: National Council for Research on Women, 1998

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The assistance and input of the following people into the content of this paper is gratefully acknowledged:

- Rob Spencer and Paul Atkins, Statistical Services Branch, Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland
- LeeAnne Hoyer, Youth Advocacy Centre
- Linda Manning, Queensland Government Youth Suicide Prevention Project Officer, Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland
- Brenda Strudwick, Adolescent Forensic Unit, Queensland Health
- Kelly Trewin, Create Foundation