

-Suburban Rites of Passage –
Building, Landscape and the Mediation of Adolescent Aggression

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This thesis questions contemporary society's understanding and ability to deal with the universal instinct known as aggression. The investigation identifies the driving forces behind adolescent aggression and the myth based rituals and cultural devices used to mediate it. The primary case in this study is a suburban community called Malvern, known for its high rate of teen violence and aggressive acts. Malvern is evaluated based on its current rites of passage rituals and institutions used for the socialisation and individuation of the young members of its community. This is followed by a proposed intervention introducing the use of building and landscape as devices to mediate adolescent aggression through the emergence of redefined myth based rituals and rites of passage within Malvern's unique context.

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Dedication

For my Community, my Family, and to my Mother who helped guide me along the path of adolescence towards adulthood.

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Suburban Rites of Passage

Building, Landscape and the Mediation of Adolescent Aggression



Introduction

“There is no such thing as man qua man. The young of the species Homo sapiens are born too soon, absolutely helpless, and acquire their specifically human faculties of speech, thought, and a symbolizing imagination, as well as erect posture and ability to use tools, under the tutelage of the particular social body into which they are adopted. They grow up to its style and world, imprinted with its signature, moulded to its limitations; and the first function of the myths and rites of each group is simply to bring this specialized development to pass. The earliest social units, furthermore, were hardly greater than large families, of which every adult member was in possession of the entire cultural heritage. The myths embodied the substance of this heritage and the rites were the means by which it was both communicated to the young and maintained in force among the old. The myths and rites that is to say, served a fostering, educative function, bearing the unfinished nature product to full, harmonious unfoldment as an adult specifically adapted for survival in certain specific environment, as a fully participating member of a specific social group; and apart from that group he would neither have come to maturity nor have been able to survive.”¹

Joseph Campbell – Creative Mythology

For thousands of years the human race has used culture based rituals to mediate its primal instincts, providing its young with the rites of passage necessary to become civil members of their given society. Modern psychologists such as Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell call this the process of individuation, a psychological transformation preparing the individual for future roles and responsibilities as an adult within the society. However the marginal period between childhood and adulthood is universally a chaotic time, filled with a great amount of emotion and uncertainty. This threshold condition is the child’s search for identity and place in the world around him, existing in a state of social ambiguity and learning to deal with new and unfamiliar instincts. It is at this stage that the child’s responsibilities in terms of movement in ‘life space’ widen in both geographic and social dimensions as well as in terms of a broadened time perspective. This is a period when the adolescent must be guided by the rites of passage of the community, towards socialisation and the inculcation of the instincts.

The most powerful of primal instincts which will be investigated in the thesis is aggression, an instinct very difficult to deal with at this very impressionable phase in life. Ethologists such as Konrad Lorenz would define aggression as the archetypal instinct which has been essential for the preservation and drive to the existence of all socially complex life forms. However, given the complexity of the unique human condition, without the appropriate guidance and cultural symbols to mediate this aggression drive found within the adolescent, aggression may be misdirected into violent and uncontrollable channels. When this youth alienation occurs, it is common among adolescents to instinctually find alternative incompatible avenues within the social norm, often resulting in devastating effects.

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate contemporary society’s

ability to deal with adolescent aggression and to introduce a strategy which may help control this powerful instinct. The departure point is an introduction into the role of adolescent aggression and how this crucial instinct cannot be ignored or suppressed, but rather guided and controlled. It will be shown that human aggression is archetypal, however the rituals utilised to control it cannot be. Instead, they must be grounded in the context of local landscape, myths and symbols.

The Ancient Greeks and the Aboriginals of Australia will serve as precedents in the investigation, showing the significance of local context and character in rites of passage rituals. These cultures illustrate how ritual initiations within consecrated landscapes are used to mediate and train the primal instincts socialising the young into their respective social structures. In addition to this, the precedents will also demonstrate the close relationship between myth and local landscape. In mythological terms the landscape becomes the driving force for the myth and in turn the myth provides the inspiration behind the ritual experiences and the consecrated settings the rituals take place in.

Given the task of this thesis, it is necessary to determine how contemporary society is dealing with adolescent aggression and what rituals, if any, are used to address this universal human condition. In order to answer this question the thesis must be given a context, it must be embodied. The case in question is a suburban community called Malvern, notorious for its high rate of teen violence and aggressive behaviour. The story of Malvern will be introduced through an Autobiographical narrative based on growing up in this tough lower to middle class community.

In effect, Malvern will provide the framework for the thesis, becoming a personification of the theoretical. The key strategy will be the ritualization of aggression with respect to its local character. In this intervention Malvern's landscape will be consecrated bringing forth a series of ritual containers, providing places within the suburban landscape for adolescents to learn to appreciate and to control their aggression. The consecrated landscape will become the mediator in the individuation process, a component of the adolescent's heroic journey into the adult world, a separation, an initiation and return.



1.1 My Siblings and I at our home in Christie Pitts.



1.2 Christie Pits Home on Montrose Ave. Downtown Toronto



1.3 Laneway off the back of the house where I played as a child



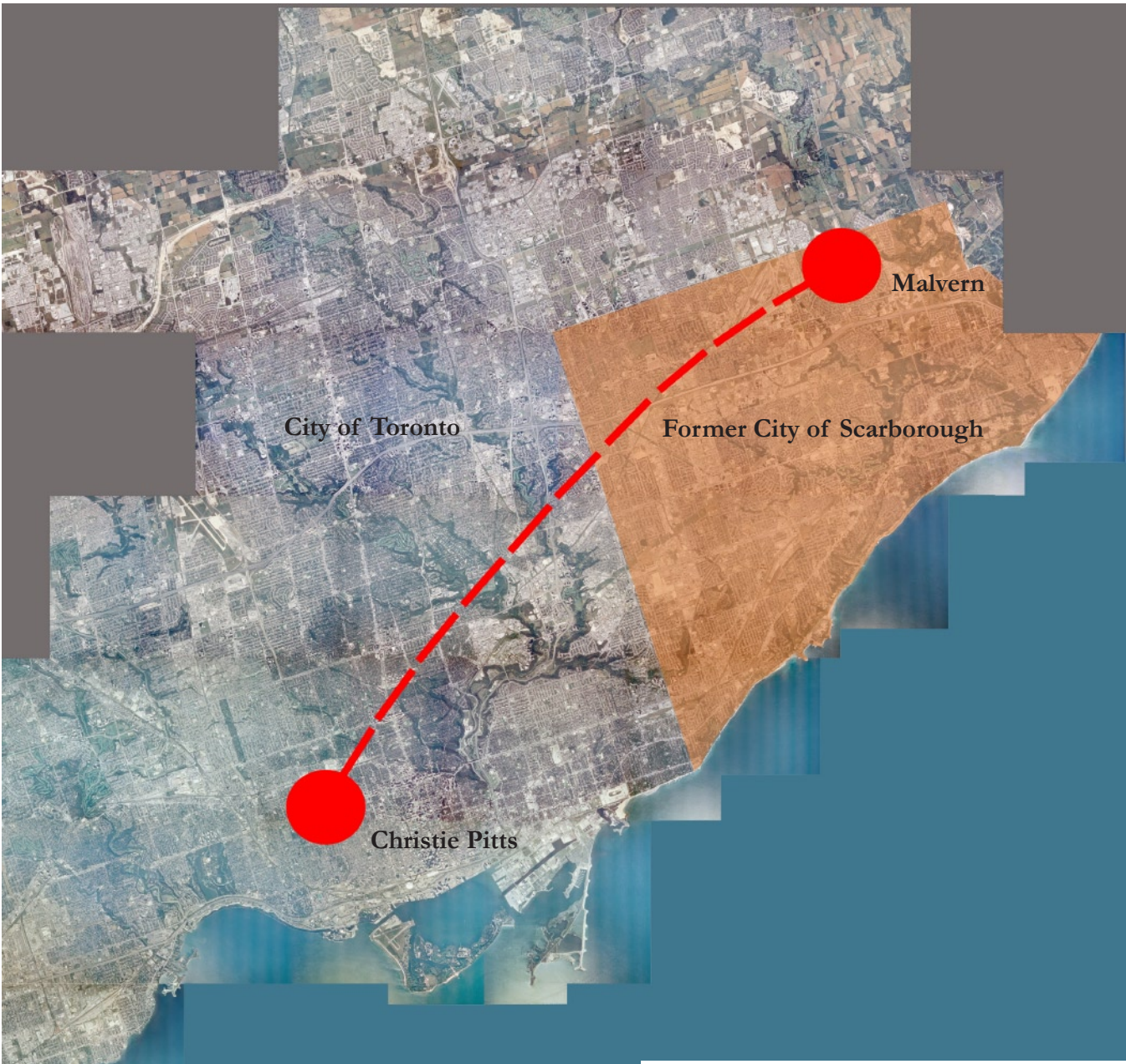
1.4 Parking Lot off of Montrose Ave. another playground

Growing up in Malvern

As far back as I can remember the place I grew up in and the place I still call home has always been negatively portrayed by the media, its reputation grounded in a long history of youth aggression and violent criminal acts. The name of this place is Malvern; a vision which was spawned from a suburban planner's ideal, later to become place where many low-income immigrant and minority families felt they could become viable members of Canadian society. This was the promise my Father believed in; an affordable subdivision, the sweet life of suburbia where everybody had a piece of property to call their own, a place where ones children could grow up in a safe environment away from the fast paced city life of Toronto. In some respects, Malvern became a dream come true for many immigrant and minority families, however today it is a far cry from its original ideal intentions, both socially and with respect to its urban and architectural character.

Being a product of this environment and socialized within it, I can say that I am proud to be from this tough community but at the same time I also feel a sense of shame, embarrassed to admit to outsiders that I come from such a place. To outsiders, Malvern is symbolic of a 'ghetto' community in Scarborough, a disconnected and alienated place which is represented by a large population of teenaged 'gang members', trouble makers, at-risk teens, and misfits of society. Although there is some truth to this, just as in any myth, there is much more to Malvern than the myth it has become. For me Malvern is the place that gave me my identity; it is the place where I had my adolescent experiences, the place that made me the adult I am today.

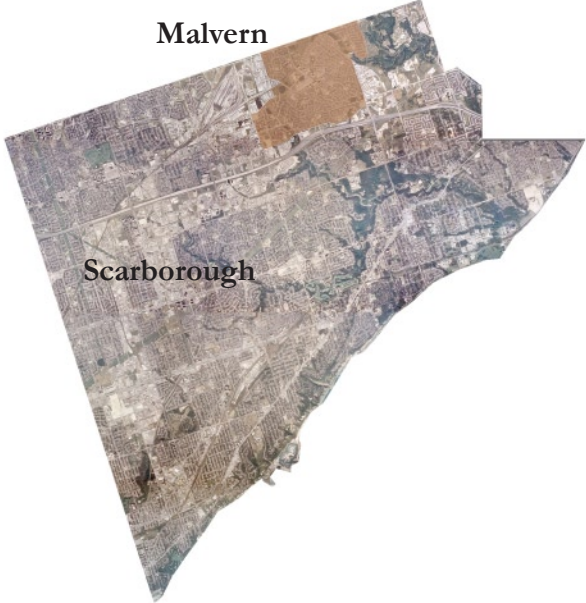
When I was 5 years old, my Father made the big decision to move our family to the suburbs from the west end of downtown Toronto. The area we left, known as Christie Pits, was predominantly a mix of Greeks, Italians and Portuguese families, not very diverse by any means in comparison to the diversity of Malvern. At the immature age I was, I did not understand why we were moving to this new place with so many unfamiliar faces and skin colours. I did however know that it was very far away from home. My siblings and I were excited about this journey to a new place however we also felt a sense of sadness to leave. We were not only leaving a home we were leaving an extended family of neighbours.

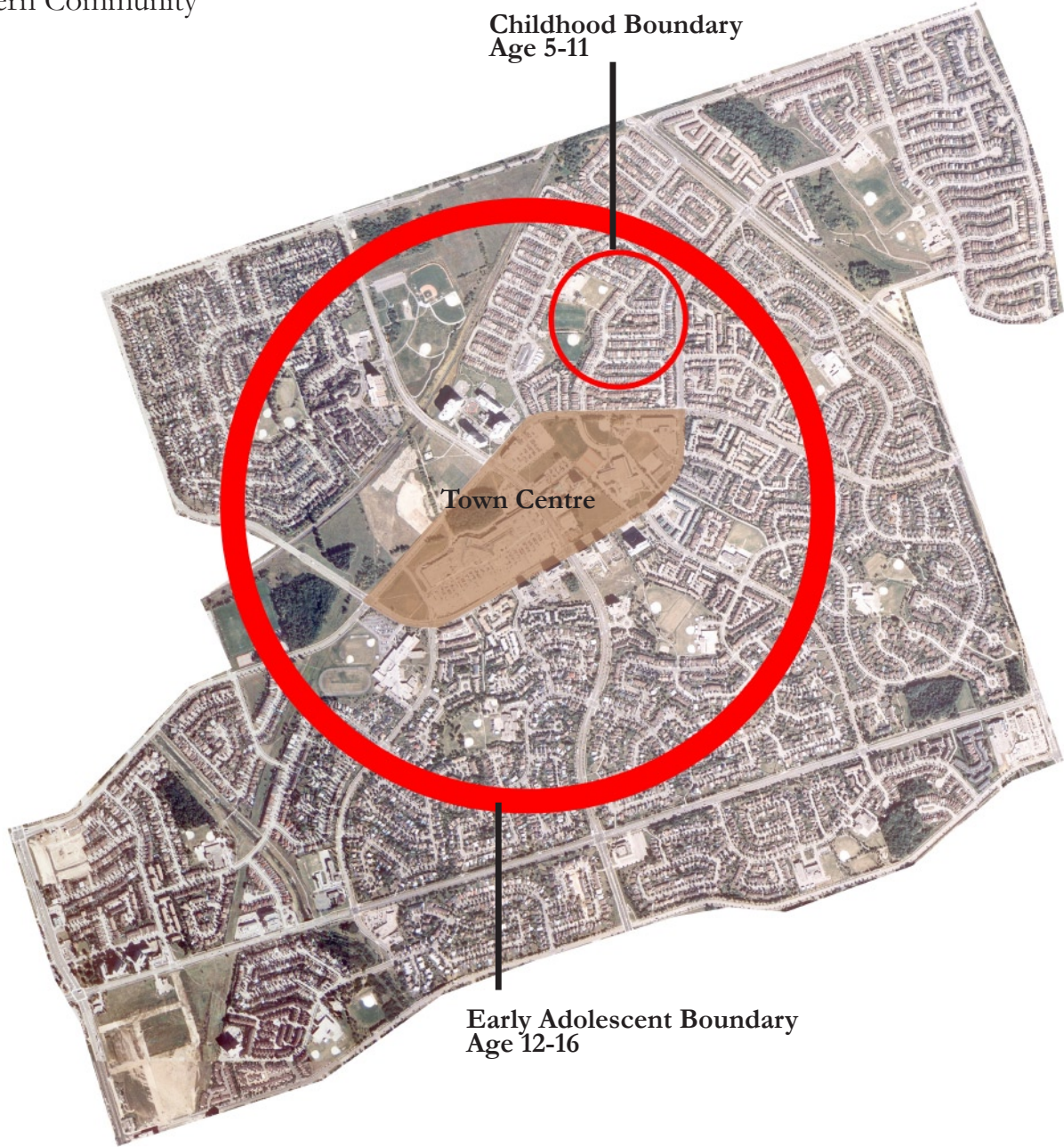


Above: **1.5** Context map of Toronto, showing my family's move from the west end of downtown Toronto to the East end Suburban development of Malvern.

Scarborough Timeline:

- 1746 - 1815 Early European Settlement
- 1815 - 1861 Immigration and Settlement
- 1861 - 1910 The Rural Township
- 1911 - 1945 Suburban Development and Population Growth
- 1945 - 1971 Suburban Explosion (Baby Boomers and Immigrants)
- 1971 - Present Multicultural City





Above: 1.6 Malvern Community with my childhood and early adolescent boundaries.

Right: 1.7 Conceptual Plan for Malvern Community with town centre located at the centre of the development.





1.8 Montrose Streetscape



1.9 Suburban streetscape of my new home in Malvern



1.10 Suburban streetscape of my new home in Malvern

The most influential people to my siblings and I were the elderly couple that lived in the ground level unit of the townhouse we lived in. They were my sisters God parents, the three of us called them Papou Christos and Yiayia Christina. In Greek the terms Papou and Yiayia mean Grandfather and Grandmother, and although they were not our grandparents, the titles we gave them showed how much we respected them. They were our teachers and spiritual guides; they told us many stories and tales which instilled our maturing minds with values and morals. Traditionally in the Greek culture it is the responsibility of God parents to take on this spiritual role, but they were so much more, their wisdom was passed on beyond my sister and family, it extended into the community of neighbours. We showed them much admiration for sharing their wisdom and experiences with us. They, and many people like them were the reason the sense of community in this area was so strong, but ultimately my father felt it was time to leave, and so we entered a new chapter in our lives, onwards to suburbia, a place called Malvern.

Upon arriving in Malvern, my fragile mind began to mature and was at the point where I was able to grasp and retain more memories. I was immediately aware of the differences between the place I came from and the place that would become my future home. The density of the suburban street paled in comparison to my former downtown home, where my friends and I would play, on the streets, sidewalks and front porches. The Malvern streetscape felt open and lifeless, the familiar massive tree canopies from downtown were no longer there; instead they were replaced by insignificant specimens spread far apart from each other parallel to the street. The locus of the suburban street felt lifeless, but this wasteland would eventually fill up with life.

The suburban streetscape became my cosmos, a place where I would take part in new adventures with new found friends. It did not take long for me to make these new friends, the first of which was named Nick, a Greek-Cypriot boy from down the street. It was easy to spot his family in this diverse area, and to our surprise they were also Greek. Because of a shared heritage and identity our families became close very quickly. The rest of my friends came from many different ethnic backgrounds, East Indian, West Indian, African-Canadian and Asian. Although these cultures were unfamiliar to me, the xenophobic character found in my cultural background did not affect me. This was the advantage of being a child, skin colour and ethnicity did not matter. We all identified each other as children, we all existed in a naïve and dreamlike world, the universal link was play.



1.11 Journey to School



1.12 Catwalk leading to school yard

The elementary school I attended was called Mary Shadd Public School, only a five minute walk from my home. Every weekday I would walk down the street and through a catwalk which led to a large open green space. This was the playground of my school, spatially defined by the backyards of houses on the north side and east side. On the south side parallel to the playground ran a path which emerged from the catwalk. The path led to the west side of the enclosure, contained by a large 2 storey elongated building clad with brown brick, this was my elementary school.

The daily journey and ritual to school was a significant part of life for me; it is where I learned the fundamentals necessary to function in the secular society we live in today. Within the walls of the school dwelled my teachers, responsible for teaching and socialising the young members of the community. I thought highly of these teachers and believed in everything they taught me. Looking back, their teachings still have an impact on the person I am today. I remember story time, where my grade one teacher, Mrs. Watson would read to us as we sat on the carpet in front of her rocking chair. My classmates and I would sit tense with anticipation, waiting to see what would happen next in the story. The narratives she read us were quite calculated by the curriculum; however as children we were only concerned with the characters and places in the stories.

As I graduated through each grade the curriculum became more complex and the obstacles and tests were more difficult. We no longer only listened to tales or stories anymore. We learned about the real world; in History class we learned about the native peoples of Canada, in Math class we learned to add, subtract, multiply and divide, in English class we learned creative writing skills, in Science class we learned how the natural world works, and in Art class we learned to creatively express ourselves. Many of us favoured Music class and Phys Ed; they gave us the opportunity to expel the abundant energy that comes with the territory of being a child. Recess was also a ritual for us, it is where we learned to socialise with each other and it is where friendships and bonds were made.

1.13 School yard of Mary Shadd Public School



Toronto Star - April 20th, 2004

2 men shot, nearby schools locked down

“Students in the troubled Malvern area were ordered to remain inside their schools yesterday after two men were shot at a nearby townhouse...

Police asked that neighbourhood schools be locked down and that students be kept inside for the remainder of the day... The Malvern area has been overwhelmed with gang violence recently. In the past year, there have been five gun-related deaths...

Last week, a woman was in bed at 11 p.m. when a bullet tore through the bedroom wall of her house on Empringham Dr.

Mayor David Miller has said the area needs special community and police intervention. Extra police officers have been assigned to the area to combat the drug, gun and gang violence...

Governor-General Adrienne Clarkson listened to the concerns of students at Lester B. Pearson Collegiate when she met with them in early April.”

Toronto Star - December 31st, 1992

Youths ‘carjack’ dad, boy, 12 outside Scarborough arena

“Police are hunting four youths responsible for what is believed to be Metro’s first case of carjacking.

The youths terrorized a man and his 12-year old son at 10:45 in the parking lot of the Malvern Recreational Centre on Sewell’s Rd in the Neilson Rd-. Mclevin Ave area of Scarborough

One pointed a double-barrelled shotgun in the father’s face...”

In my childhood my world was quite small, the landscape consisted of my home, front yard, street, suburban block and the school on the outer fringes. Anything beyond this was accessed by the automobile under the watchful eye of my Father. At the very young age I was at that time my urges to be adventurous were often thwarted by my protective mother, and the only escape beyond was the automobile. The frustration I was experiencing felt unjustified; my naïve mind did not understand the concept of danger. As I matured the boogie-man and monsters my mother told me about were no longer scary, nor did they make sense to me. Even when walking to school I was under the supervision of my older siblings, they were my guides and protectors. But what was I being protected from? Who would harm me and why?

My first introduction to the dangers in my environment was an incident which occurred while I was in the second grade. During a regular school day afternoon, teachers were told to keep all the students in the classrooms. Recess time had come and gone, our routine had been broken so we knew something was wrong. Eventually we were sent home to find out in the news just how severe the situation was. One of the older students, from the eighth grade, was found in possession of a hand gun. The young male dumped the gun in the waste basket of the boy’s washroom, later to be found by the school janitor. This was a serious matter and of concern to everybody, but strangely enough many of the other students and I could not grasp how serious this was. In our world, the only danger which immediately affected us was on the playground in the form of the school yard bullies, out to establish schoolyard dominance. This was the extent of danger, and in most cases when violence was involved it was broken up by the teacher who was on duty during recess.

As the years went by in my elementary school career, a few more incidents occurred. I began to understand the outside threats and ramifications that came with living in Malvern. The world I knew became smaller and the borders began moving outwards into the greater Malvern area. I was aware of more incidents. The home of my best friend Nick was broken into, he arrived home while this was taking place but luckily the assailants fled without harming him. On several occasions neighbouring schools had to be shut down because there were reports of gunmen being sought after by the police. These events became common place, we were used to them. But even at this point the realities of the adult world were still foreign to me. My mind was still maturing and there was still a separation between me and the potential for danger in the adult world.

My grade eight graduation came quickly and it was time to move on to high school, one step closer to the inevitability of becoming an adult. The threshold crossing into high school from elementary school was a big one. It meant that I was venturing into a much larger cosmos. I was no longer a part of the dreamlike world of childhood. I was now an adolescent teenager, struggling to discover his identity and place in the world. This was the next step in the individuation process of becoming an adult, and in many respects the most crucial.



1.14 Nick's House down the street



1.15 My highschool Lester B. Pearson Collegiate Institute



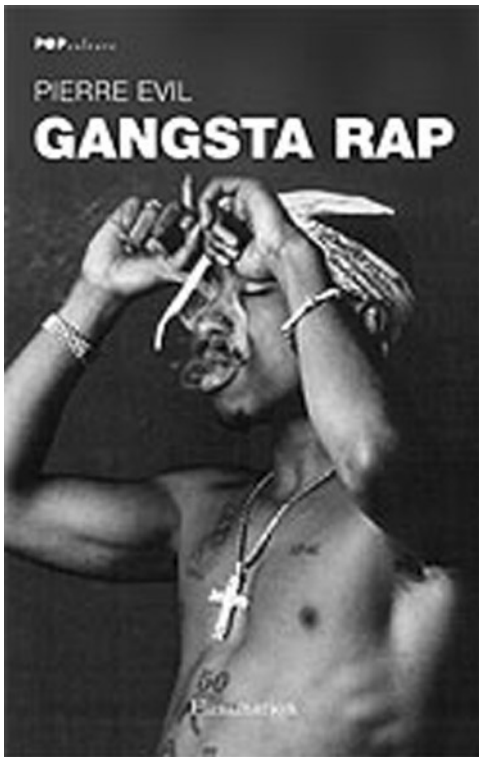
1.16 Triumphant ramp leading up to the daily ritual of high school life

The ego of my childhood was on the verge of death, ready to be reborn into adolescents, addressing new roles, new responsibilities and new environments.

High school in Malvern was very different from elementary school. The journey to school was now a twenty minute walk to Lester B. Pearson Collegiate Institute; I had crossed yet another threshold. There was an added layer of complexity to my relationship with the outer world that came with this new territory. The powerful force of Puberty brought me closer to being an adult. It dramatically changed who I was physically and psychologically, but I was still in a state of limbo, not yet an adult and no longer a child, having characteristics of both. Instinctually I felt I needed to prove myself, much more so than my grade school life. The opposite sex was a more important part of my life and my personal image also became critical. My peers and I began to obsess over music and the clothing we wore. The artists we listened to, watched in the theatres, and on television became our heroes and role models. It was in this fashion that groups of friends were formed, based on common interests and tastes.

Being a 'minor niner', as they liked to call us entry level junior students, my search for the right group of friends resulted in not belonging to any specific clique. I would 'hang' around my elementary school friends and the new people I met in my classes. Because I was a minority among minorities, there was no pressure for me to exclusively join a specific group. This trend was very common among Black, Asian, East and West Indian, Sri Lankan and even the few White Canadian students, all finding comfort in their own respective ethnic groups. As time progressed, I eventually began spending most of time with a group of friends which all came from different ethnic backgrounds. We were the token multi cultural group.

Generally speaking, the majority of the students at my school followed American-style urban music and culture. Rap, Hip-Hop and Reggae music was most common at the school dances, and if any other type of music was played it would be quickly changed back to the norm by request. My friends and I enjoyed more alternative music, in addition to what the other students listened to as we were exceptions. It was no surprise to me that Rap, Hip Hop and Reggae would be the mainstream choice at Pearson; many of the images and symbols seen on television and in the media complimented the socioeconomic status and identity for many of the students. They could relate to their heroes based on nationality and the types of places they came from. Interestingly enough there came a point where these symbols transcended specific culture, it became cross cultural. Black teenagers were no longer the only ones who listened to urban music. It became a socioeconomic banner for a middle and lower middle class suburban community. Now the Indian, Sri Lankan, Asians and even the White teenagers religiously followed the messages of these artists.



1.17 Tupac Shakur - A famous rapper from the East coast gunned down by his west coast rivals

Toronto Star - February 06th, 2000

Spectator shot at talent show in school gym

“A spectator at a community talent show was shot twice in a Scarborough high school auditorium last night

Dwayne Williams, 20, was shot in the back and leg, said Detective Al Look...

The shooting took place just before 9:30 at Lester B. Pearson Collegiate Institute, on Tapscott Rd, near Markham Rd. and Sheppard Ave. E.

About 300 panicked people, who had been watching singers and dancers on stage, scrambled out of the gymnasium after hearing the gunshots, police said...

The victim was found by a paid-duty officer in a men’s washroom on the main floor near the auditorium...Police said the man refused to co-operate with officers...

Earlier forms of urban music generally portrayed positive images and messages with respects to transcending their position in the hierarchy of society and in the name of self improvement. By the time high school came around, ‘urban culture’ emerged on the mainstream scene. Interestingly enough, the messages and symbols started to change; more emphasis was placed on materialistic values, clothing, jewellery and expensive cars. I observed that more emphasis was placed on being a rebellious thug, using violence as a means of showing dominance. There was also a very misogynistic tone towards the portrayal of women, but nonetheless this was accepted. The police were also negatively portrayed, they were symbolic for keeping the poor down, and working for ‘the man’, they were not to be trusted. For the young followers, aggression was the answer to solve all problems; this was the platform on which many teenagers placed their identities. In a sense, these individuals did not identify themselves as a part of the community, they identified themselves as an alienated group and this became a very dangerous situation to be in.

My observations of teen violence in high school were similar to grade school, but on a larger scale as a result of the energy brought on by puberty. In some cases, the violent incidents were expected and in other cases socially unacceptable for any civilised society. I recall the not uncommon high school fist fights, in most cases between males and occasionally between females. Some fights occurred in the school hallways, others just outside and the more serious ones took place at the nearby Malvern mall. The impetus for many of these fights involved some type of competitive behaviour, whether it was social differences i.e. racism, competition over a potential boyfriend or girlfriend or in some cases simply to prove their worth as dominant individuals in the school community.

The more serious incidents I specifically remember were for the same reasons, but in this case weapons were used. I recall an Asian classmate talking about a fight between his friends and a gang of Tamil teenagers. Machetes were used in this fight and he was slashed on the shin, resulting in the need for multiple stitches. Another incident, occurred while I was in art class, we were told over the P.A. system to stay in our classrooms until further notice. Later on we found out that one of the students in the school had been assaulted with a knife, just down the hall close to the school entrance. Lester B. Pearson began to develop a reputation which it would find difficult to remove. Although these incidents and others like it were in the limelight, many of the students from Pearson including myself would eventually move on to greater things.



1.18 NWA - The Pioneer's of California Gangsta Rap



1.19 Above the Law - A gangsta rap group from the 90's



1.20 Mr. Scarface - Father of Southern Thug Rap from the early 90's based in the 'ghetto' of Houston

As I progressed through high school into my senior year, I validated my identity as a young adult through academics. I always had it in my mind that University was the only option for me and I knew I wanted to be an Architect. This was my call to adventure, I knew the obstacles would be great, but there was no other alternative. The next major chapter in my life towards adulthood came after high school graduation, once I was accepted to the University of Waterloo, my cosmos and limits became yet again even larger. This was a far cry from the suburban block from my childhood.

After my departure from Malvern to live and study in the Waterloo region I began to observe Malvern from an outsider's point of view, although my Mother and siblings continued to live there. The life of a University campus was very different from the life of a Malvern high school student. I soon became completely absorbed by my studies; I would only hear the occasional stories of teenaged violence in the newspapers and through word of mouth. I had new priorities as a young independent adult, life in Malvern slowly dissolved into my memories.

In my second year of University, I had almost forgotten the reality of violence and aggression in Malvern until I was forcibly reminded one summer Friday afternoon. The incident occurred during my travel home from Waterloo to visit my family in Scarborough. While commuting home, I ran into a former Grocery store workmate, the two of us sat at the back of a bus bound for Malvern from the Scarborough town centre subway terminal. As we chatted I noticed a young man probably around the age of 17 staring at me. As I described my experiences at University, the young black man turned to my friend and said, 'hey, tell your friend to shut up.' We decided to ignore him until it reached the point where he became more aggressive and persistent with his demands. I decided to try talking to him to see what his 'problem' was, hoping to diffuse the situation. It eventually led to his argument that I was a white person who controlled his life and kept his people down. My friend who was Pilipino, in a somewhat neutral position, decided he would step in and at this point a pushing match began. It was fortunate for all of us that the situation did not become worse than it was. In the end the bus driver demanded that we stop and by this time our stop had arrived.

It has been 7 years since my departure from Malvern, separated from its social growth and evolution. As many people will attest the teen violence issue in Malvern has not improved but has actually become much worse. Gang and drug activity has increased and more guns and knives are being used to commit violent and aggressive crimes.

2

The Human Animal

“Re-reading Lorenz made me realise why sensible people tended to throw up their hands in horror: to deny there was such a thing as human nature, and to insist that everything must be learnt. ‘Genetic determinism’, they felt, threatened every liberal, human and democratic impulse to which the West still clung. They recognised, too, that you couldn’t pick and choose with instincts: you had to take the lot. You couldn’t allow Venus into the Pantheon and bolt the door on Mars. And once you took on ‘fighting’, ‘territorial behaviour’ and ‘rank order’, you were back in the soup of nineteenth-century reaction.”²

Bruce Chatwin - The Songlines

Teen gangs did not invent violence

“LAST WEEK about 400 adults crowded the auditorium of Malvern Collegiate to talk about street gangs. Five police officers, four politicians, a couple of youth workers, and a retired school superintendent gave lengthy advice. Young people themselves were notably absent from the panel...

The sense of the evening was signalled early. MPP Marion Bryden spoke briefly about the importance of community programs as alternatives to hanging around the street. City councillor Tom Jakobek, scenting the spirit of the crowd, scoffed; he called for “more firepower” for the police and, to thunderous applause, revision of the Young Offenders Act.

Gord Rasbach, police expert on youth gangs, also reflected frustration with the Act, particularly its age-level limitations. Young people know the rules change at age 18, and children under 12 can't be charged; some of them count on that.

Rasbach pointed out, however, that while street assaults involving youths were up two-thirds in January and February over the same period a year ago, such incidents declined to “normal” levels in March and April. “There hasn't been a good swarming in a while,” he said. As for more firepower, Rasbach said it wouldn't matter if young people were sentenced to three or 10 years, the problem of gangs, an old one in Toronto, would still be there.

Like any of us, young people have a need to belong. But traditional institutions don't appeal. Former Youth Commissioner, Ken Dryden, pointed out three years ago that 40 per cent of Grade 9 students have disappeared from the system by the end of Grade 12. Sixteen- and 17-year-olds, offered only part-time, low-paying jobs are less likely to be employed than young people a year or two older.

Well-off youths often have no sense their success-driven parents are interested in them, or even know much about them. Young people growing up poor, shaped by years of not being able to afford junk food, hockey equipment, or the class trip to Greece, become slowly enraged.

...continued on next page

Origins of Aggression

aggression (ˌæɡrɪˈʃən) *n.*

1. Hostile or violent behaviour or attitudes.

violence (ˈvaɪələns) *n.*

1. Behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill.

The narrative in the first chapter of the thesis has set the stage for the evaluation of adolescent violence and rites of passage in a contemporary suburban context. The suburban community known as Malvern is the testing ground for the investigation, however it is necessary to first examine the universal motivating forces behind human aggression before putting this evaluation in the context of Malvern. The primary focus involves an exploration into the value of the instinctive paradigm of aggression found in both humans and animals. This will be followed by the separation of human and animals with respect to the strategies used to train and control the instincts, including aggression, during the socialisation process.

The significance behind aggression can be found in the origins of the aggressive drive inherent to both humans and animals. It is an instinct we cannot suppress, ignore or deny, whether we call ourselves socialised animals or the superior species on the planet, the aggression drive is something which is within all of us, an attribute inherited from our prehistoric ancestors and still affecting us today. If it is mankind's desire to remain civil towards one another, it is important to understand the nature of the beast that is aggression. To comprehend this innate drive, we must begin by asking two very significant questions; what are the origins of human aggression and what is aggression good for?

According to Konrad Lorenz, the father of Ethology, modern man has lost touch with the natural primal forces within, and this is ultimately one of man's greatest flaws. He states that,

“All too willingly man sees himself as the center of the universe, as something not belonging to the rest of nature but standing apart as a different and higher being. Many people cling to this error and remain deaf to the wisest command ever given by a sage, the famous ‘Know thyself’.”³

Lorenz argues that we as humans can no longer deny Darwin's recognition of the fact that we have a common origin with animals or deny Freud's assertion that we are still driven by the same instincts as our pre-human ancestors.⁴ His study of animal behaviour within their natural habitats has led to the discovery that all animals, including humans, have inherited ‘blocks’ or ‘paradigms’ of instinctive behaviour in their genes.⁵ Having knowledge of these instincts inherited from our animal ancestors, calls for humankind to have a new found respect for the function of reason and moral responsibility which first dawned on man at the inception of his existence. Provided we do not arrogantly or

continued...

No wonder, said Rob Tucker, of the Council for Mind Abuse, that alienated kids gather together and find pleasure frustrating adults, and inflicting pain. The only climate they know is one where ideals of violence are lived out - millionaire hockey stars slug opponents when they lose, low-level flyers drop bombs on Innu land in Labrador, faceless franchise chains squeeze out neighbourhood stores on Queen Street East.

OTHER METHODS

Violence, selfishness and cruelty are not inventions of street gangs. They are marks of a culture that has been created by us all. Young people are not alien beings; they are shadows we have left behind. We'd better learn to talk with them, said Metro Councilor Paul Christie; eventually, we'll all be in their hands.

The Young Offenders Act's philosophy is to hold young people accountable for their behaviour in ways appropriate to their age. Judges are encouraged to use other methods than sending them to jail. But those methods - restitution, public service, victim reconciliation - depend on community-provided structures. In the absence of those structures in Ontario, more 16- and 17 year-olds were jailed in 1988 than five years ago; they served an average of 132 days, nearly twice the average for adult offenders. Streets are not made safer by putting young

Toronto Star - February 10th, 1992

Police probe teen's shooting

"Metro police are investigating the shooting of a teen who underwent surgery for a bullet hole in his stomach at Scarborough Centenary Hospital early today.

The victim, who was in stable condition, told police he was shot by robbers who stole his money and jewellery. But later told his mother the 12:30 am shooting occurred as the victim and some friends were sitting in a car near the Malvern Town Centre on Tapscott Rd., playing with a gun when it went off, striking the teen in the stomach, police said."

blindly deny the existence of these instinctive paradigms, we may have the power to control them.

So what is aggression good for, if at all? Aggression is in no way detrimental to a species, animal or human, but on the contrary is essential for its preservation. Within his research, Lorenz identified aggression as having two important purposes. The first involves the instinct in animals and man to seek and fight, though not necessarily to kill a rival of their own kind. In animals specifically, the purpose of this attribute is to ensure the equitable distribution of a species over its habitat, and that the genes of the 'fittest' are passed to the next generation. It is important to note that in most cases the species-preserving function of the rival fight or selection of the stronger is fulfilled without the loss or even wounding of one of the individuals.⁶

The second purpose of aggression comes in a more advanced form and is called Intra-specific aggression. Intra-specific aggression can be defined as aggressive behaviour within a species and is generally found in more evolved vertebrates. Lorenz saw intra-specific aggression as a critical instinct in the development of personal bonds between members of the same species. The personal bond or individual friendship is found only in animals with highly developed intra-specific aggression; in fact, this bond is greater, the more aggressive the particular species is.⁷

These findings indicate that aggression does in fact have a positive purpose; however we must be warned that this must not raise false hopes about the present situation of mankind. Instinctive behaviour mechanisms can be thrown completely out of balance by small, apparently insignificant changes of environmental conditions.⁸ The significance of this contention is that fighting behaviour is not a reaction but a 'drive' or appetite, which like the drives of hunger or sex, would build up and demand expression either on to the 'natural' object, or, if none," is, "available, on to a scapegoat".⁹ In effect, if contemporary society sees aggression as only a reaction to external factors rather than a drive from within, the ability to control it will be greatly hindered.

In the present day and age we must not hesitate to criticize modern man's view on aggression as reactionary rather than instinctual. Lorenz believes that,

"The completely erroneous view that animal and human behaviour is predominantly reactive and that, even if it contains any innate elements at all, it can be altered, to an unlimited extent, by learning, comes from a radical misunderstanding of certain democratic principles: it is utterly at variance with these principles to admit that human beings are not born equal and that not all have equal chances of becoming ideal citizens."¹⁰

This argument is telling of modern man's understanding of aggression and what can be done to mediate it. Prior to having the ability to control aggression, it must first be seen as an instinctual drive rather than a

Toronto Star - February 20th, 2004

Teen hurt in Malvern drive-by shooting

“A 16-year-old boy was wounded by gunfire near a Scarborough school yesterday, in what police described as a mid-afternoon drive-by shooting on a quiet residential street...

Teachers who heard the shots quickly ushered some 75 remaining students back into the building and ‘locked down’ the school until police declared the area safe...

The shooting in Malvern occurred a day after Mayor David Miller announced his community safety plan to combat guns and crime in three Toronto areas, including that neighbourhood in north Scarborough...

Detective Scott Whitmore said Investigators haven’t established a motive for the shooting which took place outside the family’s semi-detached home on Horseley Hill Dr., in the Markham Rd. and Finch Ave. E area.

He couldn’t verify whether the youth had been targeted. ‘I mean, 10 rounds at one person, you’d think that they may know each other’...

Toronto Star - February 04th, 2004

‘Our children carry guns like we used to carry bubblegum’

Gunshot victim, 21, mourned Pastor decries culture of violence

He was 21, the victim of a Jan. 25 shooting in the residential neighbourhood where he grew up...

No one could make any sense of what happened to the ‘good, kind kid’ two Sunday nights ago as he walked from his Malvern home to his friend’s house...

While few mentioned the circumstances of his tragic death, Pastor Orim Meikle delivered a fiery sermon that called on the community to use the death as a spark for change...

‘Our children carry guns like we used to carry bubblegum... Our children are made to feel and to believe that to be tough, especially in our black culture, somehow creates manhood and virility within you. Most of our children spend half their lives in jail... We’re not working together as a community to eradicate violence. Things have got to change... we’re going to kill ourselves, we’re committing genocide in our own culture...

simple response to the external environment.

As a drive, aggression can be just as destructive as it is constructive. This concept is based on the tendency of spontaneity found in all instinctual drives. It was Freud who first pointed out the essential spontaneity of instincts, including that of aggression. He showed that the lack of social contact, and above all deprivation of it were among the factors strongly predisposing to facilitate aggression.¹¹ A common misconception in our contemporary culture is that children would grow up better adapted to their social environment and less aggressive if they were spared of all frustrations and indulged in as many ways as possible. This ignorant strategy does not address the spontaneous tendencies of the aggression drive and in places such as Malvern, where the average citizen does not have an equal chance of becoming an ideal citizen, the community is placed in a very difficult social predicament.

To address the danger behind aggression’s spontaneity it is necessary to mediate it rather than suppress it. A comparative study of man and animal shows that there are differences in the way the spontaneity of aggression is dealt with, specifically in the area of the inhibition of aggression. The writer and anthropologist, Bruce Chatwin, identified that, “unlike man, wild animals seldom fought to the death. Rather, they would ‘ritualise’ their squabbles in displays of tooth, plumage, scratch-marks, or vocal calls. The intruder – would recognise these ‘Keep Out’ signs and withdraw without a scene.”¹² With respect to human beings this is not necessarily the case. Our ability to ritualise our ‘squabbles,’ in order to avoid senseless death, has somehow been superseded by our unique psychological condition. Unlike animals, humans lack the instinctive inhibitions preventing them from murdering each other. Chatwin states that,

“Humanity’s fatal flaw, or fall was to have developed ‘artificial weapons’ instead of natural ones. As a species, we thus lacked the instinctive inhibitions which prevented the ‘professional carnivores’ from murdering their fellows.”¹³

This characteristic is apparent in the social condition found in the Malvern community. Weapons such as guns have become popular among adolescents and in moments of tension, the spontaneous reaction is to use them against one another.

Knowledge of aggressions existence as a drive and primarily a species preserving instinct allows us to recognize the danger in its spontaneity. This gives hope to the present state of our contemporary culture and its ability to find solutions to dealing with adolescent aggression. However, to continue to assume that the problem could be eliminated based on the removal of reaction eliciting factors would only maintain the downward spiral of youth violence as seen in the Malvern community. This argument brings forth the next question we must ask in order to investigate human aggression. Are human beings in fact different from animals, and if so what strategies may be used when dealing with intra-specific aggression?

Man killed in daylight shooting

- Trio sought after slaying outside Toronto home

“Three suspects are wanted in the slaying of a Scarborough man gunned down yesterday as he backed into the driveway of his home...

Neighbours watched as the armed trio ran from the Wickson Trail home, near Neilson Rd. and Sheppard Ave. E, at about 2:30 p.m....

Three shots were fired into the moving car, through the windshield and driver's side of the vehicle, then two or three more at the victim as he tumbled out of the car on to the front lawn...

‘I’m still shaking,’ said one neighbour, who heard five or six shots and went out to see three men, all in their 20’s, fleeing north on Neilson Rd. after the execution-style slaying...

A group of Teens that gathered on the street along with dozens of residents claimed it was common knowledge the victim had been involved in a fight at the nearby Malvern Town Centre on Wednesday afternoon, the day before the slaying”

Ritualising Aggression

It has been determined that animals and humans have built within them a universal drive known as aggression. This instinct, in principle, is not detrimental to life but on the contrary is necessary as a facilitator of it. However, intra-specific aggression among animals and humans is not simple by any means, it has multiple layers of complexity and unless it is understood, controlled and guided, the very thing that facilitates social interaction and behaviour may be the one to ultimately destroy it.

The use of Ritual as a strategy to control and mediate aggression is universal among human and socially evolved animals. An investigation into the strategies that both animals and humans use to control and mediate the spontaneity of intra-specific aggression will show the value of ritual as a mediator of aggression. Among its roles, ritual is a form of communication. It serves as a mediator of aggression by forming social bonds between individuals. According to Lorenz,

“It is in their character of independent motivating factors that rituals transcend their original function of communication and become able to perform their equally important secondary tasks of controlling aggression and of forming the bond between certain individuals.”¹⁴

What Lorenz has described is an advanced form of ritual identified as phylogenetic ritualization, an intermediary instinct which communicates to animals of the same species to not harm each other. This behaviour can be found in the social structures of both man and animals and has great significance to the survival of a given species. The way in which this phenomenon functions is similar to that of an instinct. It has the ability to lay down inviolable laws of social behaviour similar to the way that a civilized man obeys his sacred customs.¹⁵ In effect, through communication it induces a mutual understanding between members of the same species, and thus supersedes the instinct to seriously harm a member of the same species.

The other function of ritual is to control aggression by creating outlets for the aggression drive. The way in which this works is inherent in its ability to present alternative outlets for aggression diverting it into harmless channels. This is a form of conditioning which introduces safer alternatives to redirect aggressive energy. According to Lorenz,

“This is important...because it is particularly the drives that have arisen by ritualization which are so often called upon, in this parliament, to oppose aggression, to divert into harmless channels, and to inhibit those of its actions that are injurious to the survival of the species.”¹⁶

Ritualised fighting among animals is reminiscent to human sport and



2.1 Male Kangaroos chivalrously fight for dominance within their social group.

has a similar aim. To witness such an event gives the impression of chivalry or sporting fairness. The significance behind this behaviour is the important function of the rival fight, namely to ascertain which partner is stronger, without hurting the weaker.¹⁷

So what exactly is a ritual and how does it work with respect to diverting aggression? In scientific terms ritual involves some type of exaggerated physical movement which evolved from an original prototype. According to Lorenz,

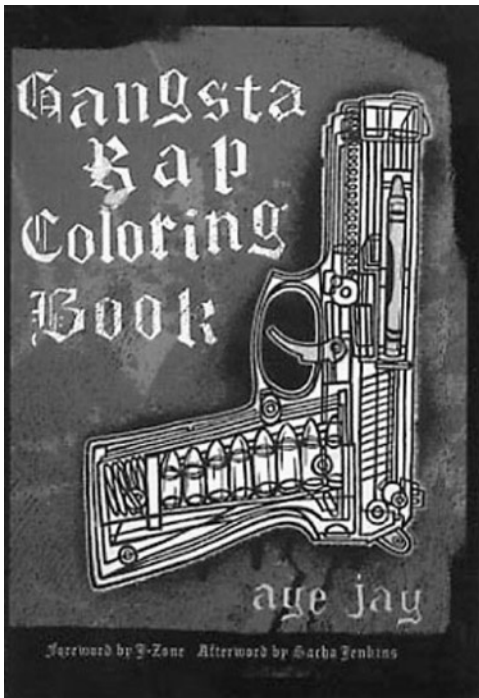
“Rhythmical repetition of the same movement is so characteristic of very many rituals, both instinctive and cultural, that it is hardly necessary to describe examples. The communicative effect of ritualized movements is further increased, in both cases, by exaggerating all those elements which, in the unritualized prototype, produce visual or auditory stimulation while those of its parts that are originally effective in some other, mechanical way are greatly reduced or completely eliminated.”¹⁸

As opposed to depriving the subject of its ability to express its aggression, the ritual introduces an alternative movement to discharge the energy created by the aggression drive.

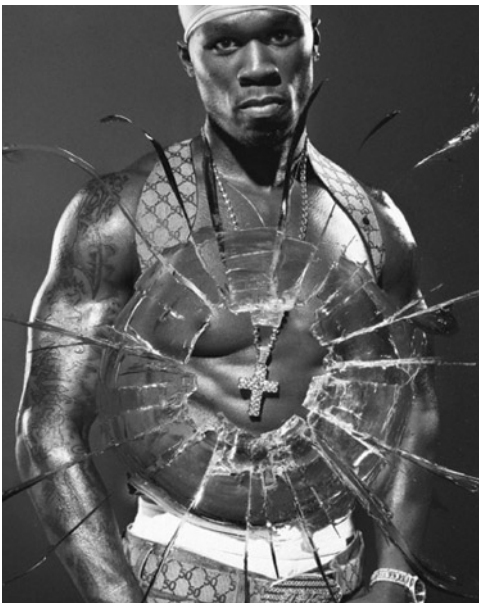
Given this understanding of aggression as a drive and the use of ritualization to control it, it is necessary to determine what the role of ritual for contemporary society is and more specifically how can it help the Malvern community? In 1955, Lorenz wrote a paper, ‘On the Killing of Members of the Same Species.’ He introduced the idea that ‘evil’ or violent actions towards each other are the result of insufficient outlets for the aggression drive. In the paper he states that,

“Human psychologists, particularly psychoanalysts, should test the theory – that present-day civilized man suffers from insufficient discharge of his aggressive drive. It is more than probable that the evil effects of the human aggressive drives, explained by Sigmund Freud as the results of a special death wish, simply derive from the fact that in prehistoric times intra-specific selection bred into man a measure of aggression drive for which in the social order of today he finds no adequate outlet.”¹⁹

This statement has great implications for the adolescent violence found in Malvern, namely why we have lost control and the inhibitions to prevent the injuring and murdering of our fellow citizens. To answer this question it is necessary to investigate what separates humanity from the rest of the animal world with respect to socialising their young.



2.2 Gangsta Rap Colouring Book - Described as a 'juxtaposition of the outlaw image of the rapper with the child like innocence of a colouring book'



2.3 Rapper 50 Cent - the bullet hole in the glass is symbolic for his survival after being shot during a drive by shooting during his drug dealing days.

Separation of Humanity and the Animal world

*"The large human brain, with its capacity for unforeseen experience and unprecedented thought, and the long human infancy which, is longer far than that of any other species, have endowed our race with a capacity for learning that greatly exceeds that of any other creature, and with a danger thereby of disorientation. One of the chief concerns of the ritual lore of primitive and developed human groups, therefore, has always been that of guiding the child to the adult state."*²⁰

Joseph Campbell - Creative Mythology

The question which must be asked at this stage is what separates humans and animals with respect to the strategies used to ritualize aggression? The key to this separation is rooted in the socialisation process of the adolescent, and the complexity of the human condition as a conscious being. As humans, our self awareness gives us the ability to transcend the primal instinctive behaviour and phylogenetic ritualization which our animal ancestors relied on to socialise their offspring into mature adults. Instead, we must now socialise our young with a higher form of ritualization, a system based on cultural symbols.

It is with the term culture that we may make the separation between humanity and the animal world. Among animals, symbols are not transmitted by tradition from generation to generation. There are only minor examples where animals have shown the ability to teach and learn through tradition, but this ability is limited to very simple things. What this indicates is that within the social structure of animals there is no means of communication and no learned rituals are handed down by tradition, in effect animals have no culture.²¹

With respect to humankind, the unique abilities of communication and learning brought about very significant changes to early man's existence and ultimately the need for higher forms of ritual, particularly in the area of dealing with aggression. Mankind's response to these new abilities involved a new form of ritual based on culture. According to Lorenz,

*"Norms of social behaviour developed by cultural ritualization play at least as important a part in the context of human society as instinctive motivation and the control exerted by responsible morality. Even at the earliest dawn of culture, when the invention of tools was just beginning to upset the equilibrium of phylogenetically evolved patterns of social behaviour, man's newborn responsibility must have found strong aid in cultural ritualization."*²²

With this new capacity for higher thought and self awareness, the use of cultural ritual during the socialization process of the young was called upon as a response to this new psychological condition.

Based on this assertion on the socialization of the young, it can be said that cultural rites of passage were the next evolution in socialis-

Toronto Star - October 1st, 2001

Police look for trouble with Project Safe Streets Special patrol tackles gangs

“It’s Friday night and once again, the teen is talking to detectives. Most of the officers in the area don’t have to ask his name they know him and his connections with the AK Kannan gang...”

The officers who chased the teen last Friday were part of Project Safe Streets, a team of more than a dozen detectives operating out of Scarborough’s 42 Division. They say their task force which hits the streets to track suspicious youths has made a difference.

Many residents of crime plagued neighbourhoods agree. Still violence involving these youths continues.

In September alone, there were at least six shootings involving rival gangs in 42 Division, which takes in most of the old city of Scarborough.

Just Saturday afternoon, a man was shot dead in an area the task force patrols. Seargent Steve Peconi visited that very spot the night before.

Peconi started last Friday night’s patrol just after 7 p.m. Standing by a walkway running under Tapscott Rd., beside the Malvern Mall, he said: ‘this is a trouble area. Residents are afraid to walk under here because there are usually six or seven guys just hanging out, ready to hassle those coming from the mall.’

The words are prophetic. Less than 24 hours later, Osvaldo Ahummada, 21, was gunned down just metres from where Peconi stood.”

ing adolescent human beings. The traditions and rites which developed provided the necessary communication needed for the adolescents to learn how to survive within the context of their given environmental and social conditions.

Given the investigation into youth violence, it is important to note that at the stage of adolescence these cultural rites must be utilized to mediate the aggressive drive. Adolescence is the transition stage when the young individual is changing from a child to an adult, learning from its elders about the outer world and how to mediate the primal instincts within. For this to occur, the individual must be exposed to suitable cultural rituals and symbols. Involvement in rituals such as this brings forth a form of communication presenting to the adolescent behaviour appropriate to the given environment and social situation. In effect, the use of culturally based ritual becomes a symbolic form of communication to the young in order to mediate the aggression drive. One aspect trains the instincts by providing an outlet for aggression and the other helps create a bond between the individual and the rest of the community through mutual understanding.

The significance of the symbolism behind cultural ritual is its ability to deal with the psychological aspects of the adolescent. The adolescent’s faithfulness towards the symbol becomes crucial to the proper functioning of the ritual. Lorenz believes that, “Our fidelity to the symbol implies fidelity to everything it signifies, and this depends on the warmth of our affection that reveals to us the value of our cultural heritage.”²³ But what if there is no warmth or affection towards the symbols, or even worse what if there are no symbols at all? To answer these questions it is necessary to determine what the consequences are of failing to provide the adolescents with appropriate culture based rituals.

2.4 Walkway running under Tapscott Rd.



Toronto Star - May12th, 2001

Caught in the crossfire of Toronto's gang wars Gang-related homicides last year

"Jeffrey Williams, 23, was executed in a car where he sat with three friends in a Scarborough plaza. It was part of an ongoing war between Blood and Crip sets the Malvern and the Get Mad Crews..."

Those who died all but one in their late teens or early 20's were killed over drugs, infighting, back talking, dissing, mistaken identity, power struggles or simply gang codes..."

Today's gangs are generally divided along ethnic lines, although some like Scarborough's 18 Buddhas, an Asian gang that now has white and black members are becoming interracial..."

Toronto Star - May 13th, 2004

Mafia movies influence gang

"Malvern Crew leaders are fascinated with Mafia films, cramming their shelves with videos like the Godfather, Scarface and Goodfellas, police sources say..."

Inspired by the lifestyles of Mafia bosses, the Scarborough street gang has evolved from drug deals and robberies to credit card fraud and making counterfeit money, say several police officers who spent years investigating the gang..."

The movies have so influenced the Malvern Crew and other Scarborough gangs that one of the most popular street names for local gangsters is Scarface, inspired by the 1983 film starring Al Pacino as a brutal character who builds empires in Miami's violent drug trade, the officer said.

The business evolution of the street gangs was depicted in the music video 'Poppin' Them Things,' by rapper 50 cent and G unit the officer said.

In the video, 50 cent is shown in a room facing established crime bosses from the Mafia and biker gangs. They are pressuring him to get back down to the streets. But when the room suddenly overflows with 50 cent's men, the crime bosses realize that street gangs are now a force to be reckoned with.

'Some of the gang leaders really relate to that,' he said. '50 Cent is telling the Mafia, 'We are the here now. We are on the scene and we're not going away.'"

Continued on next page...

Alienating the Youth: Consequences of having a deficiency of Culture based Rituals

The adolescent stage of life can be described as the child's entry into a new psychological and physical threshold. This threshold condition is the youth's search for identity and place in the world around him. According to writer and psychologist Anad Paranjpe, the adolescent is in a state of social ambiguity, "learning to deal with new and unfamiliar instincts and responsibilities in terms of movement in 'life space' which, at that stage, widens in its geographic and social dimensions as well as in terms of a broadened time perspective." ²⁴ It is at this critical time that cultural ritual must be introduced to guide the individual on the journey towards adulthood. If this does not take place, there will be a deficiency of cultural symbols leading to misdirection; in some cases complete aimlessness, and in others the adoption of inferior symbolic substitutes. An example of this predicament is the violent rites and initiations found in the teen gangs of Malvern.

With respect to the normal rites and rituals which are introduced to the adolescent, despite judgement of them, it can be said that they fulfill the current needs of the social body when socialising the young into the given system. Lorenz states that,

"All this applies unrestrictedly to the 'solidified,' that is to say institutionalized, system of social norms and rites which function very much like a supporting skeleton in human cultures." ²⁵

However, it is important to note that environments and social situations change, and being a temporal phenomenon it is only natural for the cultures and symbols to also change. There is a natural tendency in human beings to seek more suitable lifestyles addressing the changes in their social and physical environment. This can be identified as a built in mechanism in the growth of human cultures providing for graduated change. The period in which this mechanism is most active is during adolescents. According to Lorenz,

"During and shortly after puberty human beings have an indubitable tendency to loosen their allegiance to all traditional rites and social norms of their culture, allowing conceptual thought to cast doubt on their value and to look around for new and perhaps more worthy ideals." ²⁶

The role of introducing more worthy ideals is a task inherited by the artist, poet and shaman as will be shown in the next chapter. However this behaviour which is within all humans may lead to a disturbance within a stable social structure. This is where controlling the aggression drive is problematic, when the adolescents mistrust the current cultural norm and institutionalized system.

When the institution is not trusted, poorer symbolic substitutes may be found by the adolescent, leading to multiple opportunities for

Continued...

The Malverns operate in Scarborough between Markham Rd. and Meadowvale Rd., up to Sheppard Ave in the north, the officer said. In Scarborough, the most vicious gang fights are between the Malverns and their rivals, the Galloways, who control the Kingston Rd.-Lawrence Ave E. area...

'There is a battle going on between the two gangs,' the officer said. It has been going on for about five years. I've heard a couple of reasons, either a drug ripoff or a stabbing at a party... There is a strict no-dating policy between the two gangs... if a Malvern girl is seeing a Galloway guy, they stop it. It's not allowed. They shot at a guy for that a while back,' he said.

Even gangs aren't immune to internal dissent. There are jealousies between the leaders and the younger 'soldiers', mostly teenagers, who are required to prove themselves by doing street crimes, the officer said...

'A lot of kids take the videos from rappers like 50 cent to heart. They want it fast and they want it now. But there is a lot of jealousy within the gangs. They see the leader driving a nice Lexus, wearing the clothes. They're thinking, 'Here I am doing all the work, working really hard. Why don't I have that...?'

'They want it all now. They see the videos with the cars, the jewellery, they want all that... It's no surprise then, that teenagers are taking a piece of the drug trade for themselves - especially at high school.'



2.5 Rapper 50 Cent - Image representing wealth as power

the young individual to be led astray. This is identified as a time period for new object fixation and explains the formation of delinquent gangs and the adoption of uncivilized behaviour as seen in the gangs of Scarborough such as the Malvern Crew and The Galloway Boys.

According to Lorenz,

"There probably is, at that time of life, a definite sensitive period for a new object-fixation, much as in the case of the object-fixation found in animals and called imprinting. If at that critical time of life old ideals prove fallacious under critical scrutiny and new ones fail to appear, the result is complete aimlessness, the utter boredom which characterizes the young delinquent."²⁷

Another possibility of misguidance is that of the fanatic who is well versed in the influence of impressionable young members of a society. In this case the clever demagogue finds it easy to guide their object-fixation in a direction suiting his personal aims. In both cases, at the post pubertal age some human beings seem to be driven by an overpowering urge to follow a cause and failing to find a worthy one may become fixated on astonishingly inferior substitutes.

This argument stresses just how important it is for a given social structure to not alienate its youth. If its current institutions do not address any deficiencies, the young will surely find their own way. Lorenz states that,

"In our time, one has plenty of unwelcome opportunity to observe the consequences which even a partial deficiency of cultural tradition has on social behaviour. The human beings thus affected range from young people advocating necessary if dangerous abrogation's of customs that have become obsolete, through angry young men and rebellious gangs of juveniles, to the appearance of a certain well-defined type of juvenile delinquent which is the same all over the world. Blind to all values, these unfortunates are the victims of infinite boredom."²⁸











What Lorenz has described is an event which is common among many communities around the world, including the case in question, the Malvern community. Given the investigation into the role of community and the cultural strategies used to control adolescent aggression, it is necessary to question the ability of Malvern and its institutions to deal with the psychological and physical aspects of adolescent aggression, namely what are the Rites of Passage within Malvern?

3

Rites of Passage

Gang-related homicides last year: First six victims below killed within a six-block area of Etobicoke

Innocent students shot by mi

									
LLOYD DEAN, 22 Flowers man where Dean was shot Aug. 29 outside 1827 Martin Grove Rd. Dean was shot in the same area April 6. Both had City connections.	KURIER GIBART, 18 Shot April 23 while standing beside a member of the Cityps.	MARI OTHMAN, 17 Shot April 23 while standing beside a member of the Cityps.	TYRONE KING, 23 King and Palmer were shot together in a Jamesstown Crm. parking lot. Police say both men had City connections.	CYRUS PALMER, 35 Shot April 23. Either standing on doorway of his Etobicoke home.	SHELDON BARELY, 18 Shot April 23. Either standing on doorway of his Etobicoke home.	QUAN CSAN LIU, 42 Shot Christmas Eve leaving a chik. Member of Yee Cheung gang.	JEFFREY WILLIAMS, 23 Shot reportedly Dec. 23 at an east Scarborough pizza store dumped at a hospital. Alleged member of Gaf Squad.	DESHREZAN SELWAMAMA, 17 Belly shot Dec. 29 while sitting in a white Honda Civic in a K high-rise parking lot. They were randomly targeted because he/she, a car damaged by the 48th Stps, a not of the YV.	SIREENHI SIRTAN

3.1 Teenagers murdered as a result of gang violence.

The Responsibility of the Community

Rites of Passage *n. pl.*

1. A ritual or ceremony signifying an event in a person's life indicative of a transition from one stage to another, as from adolescence to adulthood.

It has been determined that the consequences are great if the appropriate cultural rituals and symbols are not provided for the adolescent members of a society. The result is a cultural system which does not contain sufficient rituals and symbols to address the current psychological or physical needs of the adolescent's internal aggressive drive. The previous investigation consisted of a scientific approach introducing the use of ritual as an outlet for the aggressive drive. However, at this point it is necessary look at the role of ritual as a mediator from another perspective; we must enter the world of the adolescent psyche and the universal process of individuation. It will be shown that during this process, rituals based within the context of local myth and landscape play a significant role in the rites of passage of individuals towards adulthood. This will lay the ground work in the evaluation of contemporary society's ability to deal with adolescent aggression and to introduce a strategy that will help control this powerful instinct. The primary case in this evaluation, Malvern, will provide the evaluation with a structure, becoming a personification of the theory. Its ability to address the universal issues which come with socialising the young will be tested and it will be determined if it's social structure and built institutions provide valid cultural guidance, experiences and spaces to successfully become adult members of the community. The departure point in this evaluation is to define the universal aspects and needs of the adolescent, and the role a community must play to accommodate the adolescent during the socialisation and individuation process.

It can be said that adolescence is a critical time with respect to the process of individuation; it is the threshold condition between childhood and adulthood, the child's search for identity. According to Anad Paranjpe, "adolescence is a phase of life when many individuals actively search for their place in the world around them."²⁹ His study of a child's search for identity introduces the complexity behind the threshold an adolescent must cross to enter adulthood. For a young person this journey is a heavy burden, one which requires great heroics to meet the challenge of becoming an adult.

It is the role of the community to guide the individual on their journey into the adult social realm. Two aspects must be addressed with respect to this responsibility, the first is of a social nature and the second is of a geographical nature. The first speculation comes from sociologist Kingsley Davis' theory on the learning of status roles. Each individual begins with the role of a dependant infant in a family, and gradually over time learns a range of kinship roles like that of son, brother or sister, and as an adult, occupies various given and chosen

Toronto Star - May 5th, 1989

Stay Alert in public to avoid being a victim

“Anyone can be in the wrong place at the wrong time, but there are ways to avoid being the object of a “swarming”, says Metro police Constable Gord Rasbach...

* In subways or malls, watch for eye contact being made from one cluster of youths to another. They may be on opposite sides of the tracks or a distance away in the malls, but their routine is down so pat, they don't need any verbal signals to start a swarm.

Toronto Star - July 28th, 1991

Stabbed teen won't identify his attacker

“A 16-year old Scarborough youth who suffered serious stab wounds and a collapsed lung in a fight with a rival gang member is refusing to co-operate to catch his attacker police say...

Detectives are hunting for a 19 - year old man, who lives in the Finch Ave - Neilson Rd. area, after the victim was stabbed twice early yesterday in a dispute outside Malvern community centre...

status-roles within the social system.³⁰

The roles which are introduced give direction in the process of individuation and the social organization provides guidance for the transition into each role. This transition is possible if the social structure addresses the following roles within the social group: (1) making a growing person a productive member of society's economic organisation through occupational placement; (2) giving the individual a reproductive role in terms of marriage which results in the creation of a new family; (3) granting authority in terms of being a member of the society's political system: (4) granting a period free from adult responsibility so as to be able to acquire the technology of his culture.³¹

The second speculation comes from psychologist Kurt Lewin and is of a geographic nature. This theory involves social issues relative to the geographic dimensions of the adolescent. The psychological aspects of the adolescent's transition in terms of movement in 'life space' widens in its geographic and social dimensions as time progresses. In this case the adolescent is required to move from the group of children to a more or less unknown position in the adult group, which psychologically, is like moving into an unstructured region. In effect, the adolescents find themselves in a social 'no man's land' between childhood and adulthood.³² The idea of an adolescent existing in this social 'no man's land' suggests the necessity to provide the 'places', which address the predicament of existing in a transitional phase until adulthood has been reached.

The strategies used for adolescent socialisation are a function of the cultural character of the group and the landscape they inhabit. This is where the universal principles are given a social and geographical context, a concept analogous to Paranjpe's assertion that every person has a different personality or identity but behind this character the universal principles are the same. He states that the,

“Principles that govern the internal of the personality or of identity formation follow the same universal principles, the products of these processes can be unique in certain aspects in the same way in which each fingerprint is absolutely unique even though it is a product of universal biological processes.”³³

It is within the scope of these two scales that the Malvern community will be evaluated, at the scale of the community as a social collective and at the scale of the individual as a unique part within the community. The matter which will be addressed is if Malvern provides its adolescents with the appropriate rites of passage to meet the social and physical needs inherent to the process of individuation and the training of the instincts.

Evaluation of Malvern's Rites of Passage and Ability to Address Adolescent Aggression

To begin the evaluation, it is necessary to identify Malvern's social structure and distinguish the cultural strategies it uses to socialize the adolescent members of its community. Malvern's strategy of socializing the young is based on a traditional model commonly used by contemporary western society, a system which relies heavily on the institutionalisation of all aspects in the socialisation of the young. The methods and symbols employed within the curriculum of this system and these institutions are consciously very calculated by the governing forces of the community. The primary institutions where socialization occurs are preschools, elementary schools and high schools.

The development of the child begins with the use of narratives in preschool. This is a timeless teaching method based on intuitive learning and is a scheme of socialisation used by many cultures from the past and present. According to Paranjpe, "the child's growing capacity for imagination and interest in the world of fantasy is nurtured by nursery tales and bedtime stories. In most cultures, such stories depict the hero and the villain, thereby communicating to the child the basic values of his culture." In effect, the learning of these roles and ideals becomes a cumulative process that begins at the preschool age, and enables the maturing child to find his place in the post-adolescent world of work and social values.³⁴



3.2 No Loitering sign at rear entrance of the Malvern Mall

Once the child enters elementary school, new elements are introduced to address the changing psychological and physical needs as it matures. This is the time that the model of the classroom is implemented, and the social methods of cooperation and competition are introduced. The classroom functions as a social system in which the child must learn to be a part of. Within the classroom the child learns two basic modes of group interaction – cooperation and competition. Cooperation is the key to the harmonious functioning of the group and of the entire social system for that matter. Competition, on the other hand, is important of the survival of the individual in this group. The twin processes of cooperation and competition are necessary for the adequate growth and functioning of the personality.³⁵ This aspect of socialisation prepares the young individual for their entry into western society's secular political system based on democracy and capitalism.

In addition to the classroom model, the child is introduced to academics which are complementary to the cultural system the individual will become an adult in. According to Paranjpe,

“The child's next major task in psychological development begins with schooling when the child is expected to learn more of the culturally established ways of dealing with the physical and social environment. In the technologically primitive societies this learning may take place informally in activities such as joining the parents or other adults in food-getting, farming, hunting, fishing, and the like. In most societies, however, learning is formal and takes place in educational institutions. The length of the period of schooling increases as the society becomes more technologically advanced.”³⁶

In the case of Malvern and much of the western world, schooling extends into secondary school education, and possibly even further into post-secondary institutions such as universities and colleges. This is a prolonged state of adolescents where adult status is not reached until the individual has graduated from these institutions and becomes independent. Although this takes a great amount of time it is necessary given the technologically advanced level of the modern western world.

It is difficult to assume that these institutions are the be all and end all of solutions to the great responsibility given to society in the rites of passage of their adolescents. As stated previously by Lorenz, “human beings are not born equal and that not all have equal chances of becoming ideal citizens.”³⁷ Lorenz's assertion describes many communities throughout the western world, including Malvern, where the citizens do not have equal opportunity of becoming ideal citizens. This is reflected in the socioeconomic status of many of the residents of the Malvern community as immigrants which have yet to establish themselves financially or socially within the new system. Their children are brought up in universally grounded institutional systems which do not provide compatible symbols, rituals or role models, ultimately leading to the problem of youth alienation common to many of these communities.

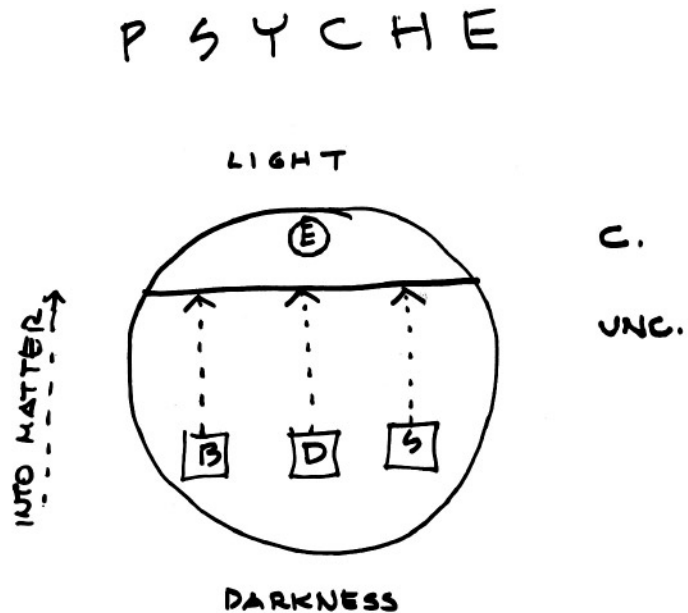
As a result of this cultural deficiency, it is evident in Malvern that the youth feel alienated. The local public institutions are undesirable places and the no loitering signs found in the local Malvern mall are telling of the attitude the private institutions have towards the adolescent member of the community. In effect, the adolescents condition of been in a psychological 'no mans land' is also reflected in the outer world of the Malvern teen.

As indicated in the previous investigation, the consequences are great if the adolescents of a community are alienated. It is in this situation the adolescent looks to inferior substitutes to fulfill their needs for individuation and to expel the drives from within. When this occurs at the post pubertal age, it is inherent that some individuals may be driven by an overpowering urge to adopt a cause and failing to find a worthy one may become fixated on astonishingly inferior substitutes. The youth of Malvern are proof of this assertion and as a result of this dissention; the ties with the rest of the community are severed. Consequently this separation has led to the predicted teenaged gang activity, violence, aggression and crime inherent to youth alienation.

In essence, it can be said that the Malvern community has failed to address a significant component in their rites of passage for many of their adolescent males. This is not to say that the current institutions do not work or should change, the problem lies in the fact that there are no institutions in place which deal with being a lower to middle class suburbanite male teen. The current institutions do not facilitate the rituals necessary to create an outlet for the aggression drive inherent to the male adolescent condition. As a consequence, the individuals lose interest in the system and thus it is left up to the adolescents to follow incompatible cultural symbols which come from abroad, or even worse, symbols or rituals which are created by the teens themselves.

The Adolescent Psyche and the Shadow of Malvern's Teens

3.3 Psyche Diagram - E (Ego), B (Body), D (Dream World), S (Shadow). C stands for Consciousness and U stands for the Unconscious.



Malvern's inability to control adolescent aggression identifies the need to understand the nature of this drive from within the adolescents psyche. The fundamental problem concerns what psychologists would call the shadow aspect of the psyche; the part which if ignored may envelop the individual's entire self leading to uncontrolled aggressive behavior. In a civilized society this behavior is viewed to be human evil which many anthropologists believe is a result of curbing our animal aggression, choosing culture over nature and losing contact with our primitive wildness.³⁸ According to Ken Wilber contemporary culture's problem is that it only focuses on the conscious side of our psyches, as opposed to our ancient ancestors whom were in tune with all aspects of being human, both unconscious and conscious. He states that,

“In ancient times, human beings acknowledged the many dimensions of the shadow – the personal, collective, family, and biological. On the lintel pieces of the now-destroyed temple of Apollo at Delphi, which was built into the side of Mount Parnassus by the Greeks of the classical period, the temple priests set into stone two famous inscriptions, precepts that still hold great meaning for us today. The first of these, ‘Know thyself,’ applies broadly to our task. Know all of yourself, the priest of the god of light advised, which could be translated, know especially the dark side.”³⁹

The shadow is just one part of the human Psyche, to understand its role we must understand the relationship it has with its counterparts. It is believed by modern psychologists that the human psyche is composed of two parts, the unconscious half and the conscious half, and within the sphere of these two halves dwell certain aspects of the human

condition. Contained within the unconscious side there exist three elements, the body, the shadow and the dream world and within the conscious side dwells the human ego. Both unconscious and conscious together form an entire individual, all elements playing a supporting role in the individual's life functions.

With respect to the ego, it believes it controls everything, including the shadow, but it is apparent that this is not the case. Joseph Campbell states that,

“Consciousness thinks its running the shop. But it's a secondary organ of a total human being, and it must not put itself in control. It must submit and serve the humanity of the body. When it does put itself in control, you get a man like Darth Vader in Star Wars, the man who goes over to the consciously intentional side.”⁴⁰

The reference to the character Darth Vader alludes to modern man believing that everything can be controlled by rational and conscious thought, there is no problem that science and technology can not solve. However, the conscious mind does not control the entire being, and to think that the ego can supersede the primal instincts found within the unconscious is dangerous as we have seen from Lorenz's argument on the consequences of suppressing or ignoring the aggressive drive.

The other component of the human condition which we cannot ignore given our cause is the body. The body exists as both a part of the psyche and a part of the physical world. It is the element of the individual which bridges his psychological condition to the physical world. According to Judith Harris,

“To neglect the body is to neglect half of our world. It is to neglect from whence we come, the prima materia. It disregards our connection to earth, to matter, to the world of nature and to the feminine.”⁴¹

Based on Jungian analysis, it is generally acknowledged that there is a body-psyche connection, the body often has a 'mind' of its own and needs to be treated accordingly.⁴² Because this connection is significant to the individual as a whole, it is necessary to work on both the body and the psyche simultaneously. In effect, as the body naturally matures in the outer world, so must the mind and psyche in the inner world. The body itself becomes the element which bridges the rest of the psyche to its physical world and through ritual experience this simultaneous transformation is possible.

Myth based Ritual and Initiation Experiences

With respect to the facilitation of the physiological and psychological maturation process, it is important to note the relationship between the physical world of the body and the archetypal world of the psyche. Both play a significant role in the ritual initiations found in the rites of passage of many cultures, grounded in their respective cultural myth and symbols. To ignore either would create an imbalance, having a detrimental affect to the adolescent's physiological and psychological wellbeing.

The archetypal world is just as important as the instinctual drives of the body. Jung believes that both aspects are needed for transformation the psyche must include the entire spectrum, from instinct to archetype.⁴³ Based on Jungian interpretation, the archetypes present themselves as ideas and images, like everything else that becomes a content of the consciousness.⁴⁴ Jung defines archetypes as, "systems of readiness for action, and at the same time images and emotions. They are inherited with the brain structure."⁴⁵ The meanings behind the symbols and forms of the archetypes depend on the conscious interpretations of the given culture within their specific context, and this is where the significance of the archetype lies, in the role it plays in myth based cultural symbols.

Cultural myth is the catalyst for the rituals found in the rites of passage of a given social body. The myths are identified as symbolic manifestations of the inherent archetypes found in the human psyche, and the creation of these myths is a function of the cultural condition and environment of the given group. Each myth becomes a manifestation of the archetype transforming into recognizable symbolic forms, facilitating the myth based rituals which cultures use to mediate the individuation process. In effect, the myth becomes the inspiration behind the ritual and provides the given society with the symbolic aids necessary to facilitate their rites of passage.

Joseph Campbell states that, "a ritual is the enactment of a myth. By participating in a ritual, you are participating in a myth."⁴⁶ What this means is that the marriage between the myth and the ritual creates the rite of passage and it is with the experience of the ritual that myth is able to perform its function. The experiences that myths provide are significant to the growth and maturation process. Experience helps the individual discover the mystery of the self, and with the aid of myth as a guide, the search becomes easier. Campbell believes that thinking in mythological terms is a necessity, he states that,

"It's important to live life with the experience, and therefore the knowledge, of its mystery and of your own mystery. This gives life a new radiance, a new harmony, a new splendour. Thinking in mythological terms helps to put you into accord the inevitables of this vale of tears. You learn to recognize the positive values in what appear to be the negative moments and aspects of your life. The big question is whether you are going to be able to say a hearty yes

to your adventure...the adventure of being a hero-the adventure of being alive.”⁴⁷

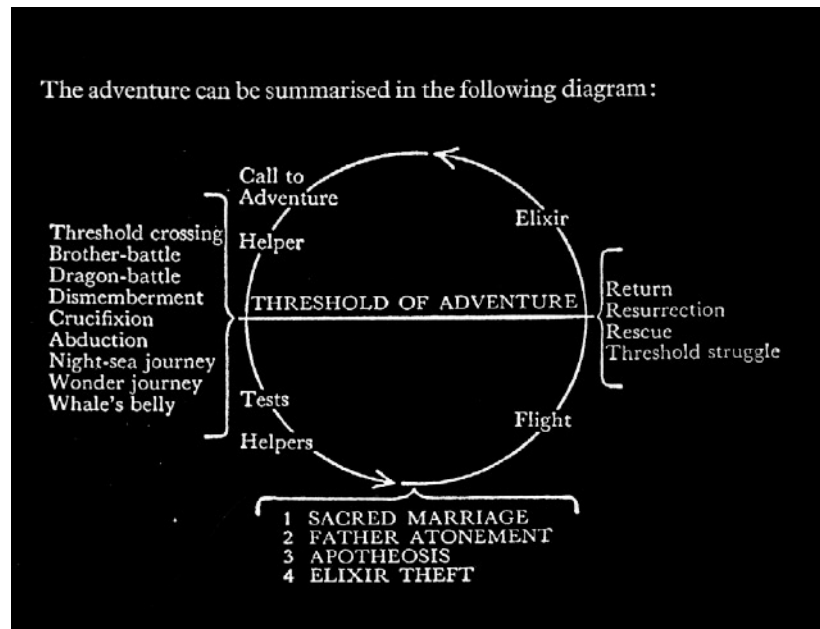
Myth based rites are utilized by most cultures, providing the individuals within the given society with the opportunities and experiences to become a part of the social collective should they choose to take this standard path. In his book *The Hero with a thousand faces*, Campbell states that,

“The multitude of men and women choose less adventurous way of the comparatively unconscious civic and ritual routines. But these seekers, too, are saved – by virtue of the inherited symbolic aids of society, the rites of passage, the grace-yielding sacraments, given to mankind of old by the redeemers and handed down through millenniums.”⁴⁸

For many, myth based tradition becomes the guiding force of their experiences, although this is a less adventurous route, the experiences necessary to fulfill the need to find their place in the world are presented.

The Heroic journey

3.4 Joseph Campbell’s diagram of the archetypal heroic adventure: a separation, initiation and return.



The significance of myth as a catalyst for the rites of passage can be seen in what Joseph Campbell identifies as the archetypal heroic figure. The journey of the heroic figure is symbolically analogous to the journey the child must take to reach adulthood. The primary function of the heroic figure is to introduce the myth which addresses the current or future condition of the given environment and context. Campbell states that,

3.5 Right: Article on Toronto Gangs., explaining a symbol origination from the California Penal Code representing Murder.

“Essentially, it might be said there is but one archetypal mythic hero whose life has been replicated in many lands by many, many people. A legendary hero is usually the founder of something—the founder of a new age, the founder of a new religion, the founder of a new city, the founder of a new way of life. In order to found something new one has to leave the old and go in quest of the seed idea, a germinal idea that will have the potentiality of bringing forth that new thing.”⁴⁹

With respect to adolescence, the heroic figure provides the cultural symbols needed to facilitate the transformation of the adolescent psyche. It becomes the guide as the child passes through the threshold of life’s obstacles, ultimately reaching the realm of the adult world. The idea behind these symbols is that if you can find an obstacle in the real world there is a mythological counterpart for that particular threshold problem.

The psychological development of changing from a child to an adult is universally a heroic task. The universal aspect of this path can be described as what Joseph Campbell would call the nuclear unit of the monomyth. He states that,

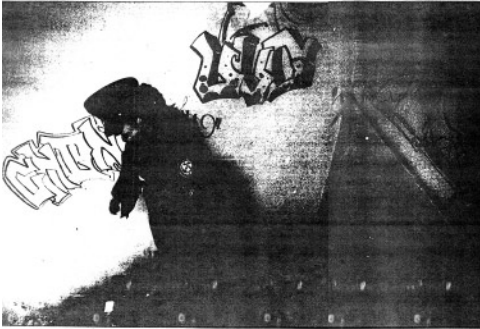
“The standard path of the mythological adventure of the hero is a magnification of the formula represented in rites of passage: separation-initiation-return: which may be named the nuclear unit of the monomyth.”⁵⁰

The magnification of the heroic journey is grounded in the myths of local context and culture and is reflected in cultural rites of passage. The adolescent is taken to an isolated sacred site, is ritually initiated, and returns to the community as a mature adult.

This idea of separation, initiation and return, is significant to the psychological transformation of the adolescent and is found within the definition of the hero figure. According to Campbell,

“A hero is someone who has given his or her life to something bigger than oneself... There are two types of deed. One is the physical deed, in which the hero performs a courageous act in battle or saves a life. The other kind is the spiritual deed, in which the hero learns to experience the supernormal range of human spiritual life and then comes back with a message. The usual hero adventure begins with someone from whom something has been taken away, or feels there’s something lacking in the normal experiences available or permitted to the members of society. This person then takes off on a series of adventures beyond the ordinary, either to recover what has been lost or to discover some life-giving elixir. It’s usually a cycle, a going and a returning.”⁵¹

The structure of the heroic adventure can be seen in the puberty or initiation rituals of early tribal societies, through which a child is required



Gangs 'untouchable'

VOLATILE BUILDING: Constable Sherri Acciaroli stands a distance away from a northern Etobicoke high-rise she regularly patrols. Police, who say they have had beer bottles and garbage thrown at them from the balconies, park their cruisers out of reach of projectiles. Below, her 28 Division partner, Constable Jodi Mitchell, enters an 18th-floor hallway. The number marking the floor has been doctored to read 187 — California penal code for murder and gang slang for death threats, especially toward police.

to give up its childhood and become an adult. This is a fundamental psychological transformation that everyone has to undergo and is the basic motif of the universal hero's journey—leaving one condition and finding the source of life to bring you forth into a mature condition.⁵²

The rituals of primitive initiation ceremonies are all mythologically grounded and have to do with killing the infantile ego and bringing forth an adult.⁵³ This rebirth of the child's ego is significant to the cause of mediating the shadow and allows for the development of a more complete individual. An individual who understands his role in his society, has the ability to control the shadow aspect, and is connected to the environment he inhabits.

The Guide: The function of Myth and Rites of Passage

In the evaluation of Malvern's ability to provide their adolescent's with the appropriate rites of passage it was shown that the onus was placed on the community to guide the juvenile into an adult state. At this stage it is required to view this role in mythological terms, namely the responsibility the elders of the community have in initiating the adolescents into adulthood. The threshold places previously discussed will now be referred to as consecrated landscapes and the rituals will now be seen as initiations. It will be shown that the initiations the adolescents take part in provide a path to discover their social roles and responsibilities within their given community and also help train and mediate the instincts, most importantly the aggression drive.

Initiation ceremonies must be grounded in local mythology to compliment the interests of the group and the adolescent within the social body, to do otherwise would run the risk of alienating the youth. According to Campbell,

“The instincts are to be governed by and matured in the interests both of group and of the individual, and traditionally it has been the prime function of mythology to serve this social psychological end. The individual is adapted to his group and the group to its environment, with a sense thereby of gratitude for the miracle of life. And that I would call the function of the Mythology of the Village Compound: the training of the instincts and inculcation of sentiments.”⁵⁴

The most significant aspect of initiation and ritual practices is to maintain the interest of the young and to keep close contact with them acknowledging their needs and concerns. This is the reason why the responsibility of the elders is great with respect to providing the appropriate initiation rituals and consecrated landscapes for the rites to take place in. The key to the elder-initiate bond is the necessity to understand the character of the youth, the community as a whole and the environment they live in.

Context: The Mythogenetic Zone

“Anthropologists influenced by psychoanalytical ideas have also regarded childhood experiences as being important for the formation of adult personality and have explored the nature of child rearing practices as a key to understanding culture and personality in many societies. A great variety of initiation ceremonies that declare, through elaborate rituals, the passage of an adolescent into adulthood have been studied by anthropologists like John Whiting. Such studies have pointed out that the cultural aspects of adolescence vary greatly from one part of the world to another, and their findings suggest that cultural factors may be important determinants of the growth of personality during adolescence.”⁵⁵

Anad Paranjpe – In Search of Identity

Although the process of individuation is universal, the myths and rituals which facilitate it are not. It is within the unique character of the local culture and landscape that the rites of passage must be based upon. This ensures that appropriate cultural symbols are used to address the maturation process of the adolescent, rather than using external symbols, which may be unfit and thus detrimental to the adolescents search for identity. In the book *Primitive Mythology*, Joseph Campbell identifies this local character as the mythogenetic zone. He states that the ‘mythogenetic zone’ designates “any geographical area in which such a language of mythic symbols and related rites can be shown to have sprung into being.”⁵⁶

The mythogenetic zone is a particular place and time, shared by all or most of a largely homogenous community, and furthermore becomes the catalyst for the creation of the rituals and rites which the adolescents will be introduced to. In traditional systems, myths and rites originated in the mythogenetic zone of a specific time period, however once the condition in those places changed the particular symbols and codes of that time period lost their force. Campbell believes that in the modern day world we cannot look to communities to create such codes anymore, instead we must look to the individual. He states that,

“All such codes are today in dissolution; and, given the miscellaneous composition of our present social bodies and the fact, furthermore, that in our world there exist no more closed horizons within the bounds of which an enclave of shared experience might become established, we can no longer look to communities for the generation of myth... The mythogenetic zone today is the individual in contact with his own interior life, communicating through his art with those ‘out there.’”⁵⁷

However, this assumption is not entirely true, it can be said that in the modern world there are many community based mythogenetic zones from which myths arise, myths unique to specific groups within a given

context. An example of this would be the gangster culture originating in the ghettos of south central L.A. and Harlem in New York. This culture has gone as far as to influence many mainstream art forms, including music and art, passing the cultural symbols on to many places around the world, including the Malvern community. This precedent begs the question, who interprets what the local myths are and who communicates the myths to the community?

In primitive cultures it is the shamans who introduce the myths necessary to survive in the given environment. A shaman is viewed as a gifted person who sees beyond the physical world and discovers the myths and rites of the social body are. Campbell states that,

“There was an allowance made for a certain type of deviant, the visionary, the shaman: the one who had died and come back to life, the one who had met and talked with spirit powers, the one whose great dreams and vivid hallucinations told effectively of forces deeper and more essential than the normally visible surface of things. And it was in fact, from the insights of just these strangely gifted ones that the myths and rites of the primitive communities were in largest part derived. They were the first finders and exposers of those inner realities that are recognized today as of the psyche.”⁵⁸

The rites and cultural symbols introduced by the shaman were specific to the geographical and social context they lived in. The significance behind this great task was to ensure the practical needs of the people to survive in their environment and also to provide the symbols necessary for psychological growth. Campbell states that,

“Hence the myths and rites of which they[Shaman’s] were the masters, served not only the outward (supposed) function of influencing nature, causing game to appear, illness to abate, foes to fall, and friends to flourish, but also the inward (actual) work of touching and awakening the deep strata and springs of the human imagination; so that the practical needs of living in a certain specific geographical environment – in the arctic, tropics, desert, grassy plains, on a mountain peak or on a coral isle – should be fulfilled, as it were, in play: all the world and its features, and the deeds of man within it, being rendered luminous by participation in the plot and fabulous setting of a grandiose theatre piece.”⁵⁹

The shamans of the primitive tribes served there purposes well, but in an advanced contemporary society Shamans are no longer the myth makers. It is the artist who now communicates myth for today. However, according to Campbell the artist must understand mythology and humanity and shouldn’t simply be a sociologist with a program for you.⁶⁰ The artists of today are found within the mass media powerhouse the multitudes of people in contemporary society follow and base their lives on. This entertainment and consumption based system includes artists such as musicians, movie makers, writers, poets, actors from television and cinema, and so on.

With respect to Malvern, the influential artists today do not respond to the environment, instead they introduce myths which originate from other places and it is understood that this is a major problem. The myths of today are incompatible to the given context, ultimately having disastrous influences. This is apparent in the American gang lifestyle portrayed in movies and television. In effect, it is up to the local artists to address the situation based on the environment and their ability to respond to social change. According to Campbell this is also true for some individuals who follow outdated mythological systems. He states that,

“The people respond to the environment, you see. But now we have a tradition that doesn’t respond to the environment-it comes from somewhere else, from the first millennium B.C. It has not assimilated the qualities of our modern culture and the new things that are possible and the new vision of our universe...Myth must be kept alive. The people who can keep it alive are artists of one kind or another. The function of the artist is the mythologization of the environment and the world.”⁶¹

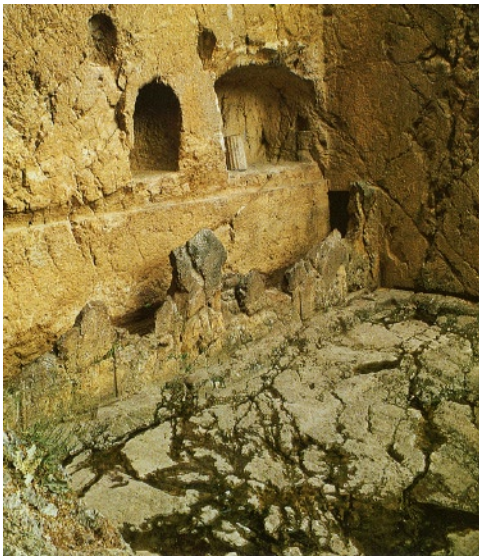
In essence, the artists of contemporary culture must provide the social collective with myths grounded within the local context of the environment they live in.

3.6 50 Cent - The latest addition to the Gangsta Rap music scene.





3.7 Ancient Greek Vaulted Cistern



3.8 Sacred Spring at Delphi

Consecrated and Sacred Landscapes

So what is the significance of the environment, and what role does it play with respect to the creation of myth and rites of passage? The genius locus of the local landscape is the place where the symbols of myth are rooted. It is the place which is shared by the collective of individuals providing them with the setting to participate in their life changing experiences. According to Campbell,

“The sanctification of the local landscape is a fundamental function of mythology...The landscape the dwelling place becomes an icon, a holy picture. Wherever you are, you are related to the cosmic order.”⁶²

In effect the sanctified landscape is the source for the myth and the place in which life is experienced.

Myth based rituals and rites of passage are seen as the experiences which take place within consecrated landscapes. The rituals are charged by the landscapes character and its symbolic significance as a place sanctified by the people inhabiting it.

Campbell believes that there is great value to a place such as this. He states that,

“One should find the symbol in the landscape itself of the energies of the life there. That’s what all early traditions do. They sanctify their own landscape.”⁶³

It is common among many cultures around the world to consecrate an object or a place as a holy site. This is a significant practice in showing the relationship the culture has with its surroundings and what it values most. Robert Browning, a professor of classics at the University of London believes that the ancient Greeks consecrated sites and landscape which were directly linked to the fundamental elements of human necessity. In a country that lacked an abundant supply of water, springs such as “the sacred spring at Delphi became a place of cult worship from very early times. It was dedicated at first to Ge, the goddess of earth, and later to Apollo. The Pythia, the high priestess of Apollo, purified herself here before delivering the oracle’s replies to questions put to it by suppliants from all over the Greek world and beyond. Here too anyone who came to Delphi to worship was ritually cleansed.”⁶⁴ Natives in North America also consecrated the landscape and even the animals that inhabited the land. The myths created commonly involved a consecration of the animal they hunted or the land they planted seeds on. In both cases sustenance was the primary source of myth and consecration.

The physical act of consecrating an object or place involves setting it within some type of dimension. In the *Power of Myth* Campbell makes reference to the Indian practice of consecrating a rock by drawing a red circle turning the rock into the centre of meditation. He goes on to describe the theoretical consecration of a simple watch,

“Usually you think of things in practical terms, but you could think of anything in terms of its mystery. For example, this is a watch, but it is also a thing in being. You could put it down, draw a ring around it, and regard it in that dimension. That is the point of what is called consecration...The watch becomes the centre for a meditation; it is the still point in the turning world... This watch is now the centre of the universe.”⁶⁵

The symbolic significance of a consecrated place allows for the creation and facilitation of the rites of passage rituals. Its genius locus provides the physical spaces necessary for the creative incubation period of the individuation process. According to Campbell, it is important for everybody to have a sacred space. He states that,

“This is an absolute necessity for anybody today. You must have a room, or a certain hour or so a day, where you don’t know who your friends are, you don’t know what you owe anybody, you don’t know what anybody owes to you. This is the place where you can simply experience and bring forth what you are and what you might be.”⁶⁶

This concept is reminiscent to the heroic journey, the nuclear unit of the monomyth. The consecrated landscape gives a context and form to this universal archetype. Creating a place of separation, where individual initiations and ritual experiences may occur, towards the rebirth of the ego and the training of the instincts.



3.9 Landscape of Australian Outback



3.10 Ancient Greek ruin -
 'Every Hill has associations with myth or legend, so it is impossible to look at the Landscape untroubled by the past. This is the Citadel of Argos, once a mighty city'

-Robert Browning - The Greek World

Precedent Intro: Context

Two effective examples of understanding the universal heroic journey and the role of rites of passage are the ancient Greeks, and the Aboriginals of Australia. Within the context of these social groups, the roles of myth, ritual and consecrated landscapes are quite evident. The Aboriginal mythological system revolves around a form of communication called the Songlines. It is through this system that rites of passage and initiation rituals are rooted. The ancient Greek system was also myth based however in the form of competitive and ritualistic festivals, providing the experiences necessary to integrate their young in to their unique social condition and geographical context.

The significance of these case studies is seen among the similarities found in the two cultures, namely the emergence of myth based system from the landscapes they evolved in, and the use of this myth as a form of communication and rites of passage.

The first notable similarity is the character of their mythogenetic zones. Both groups developed within harsh environments, scarce of life sustaining resources such as water. This type of environment required the communication and cooperation of many, to do otherwise would have put many lives at risk.

According to Chatwin there are, "Striking similarities to Ancient Greeks and Aboriginals with respects to harsh environments and need to rely on a myth based system to work with neighbouring tribes. Greeks had Zeus' law of hospitality, Aboriginals had Songlines. Both were a means of developing relationships with neighbours who had different commodities."⁶⁷

In this predicament myth is relied upon as a form of communication among the groups involved; in the case of aboriginals, neighboring tribes and in the case of the Greeks, neighbouring city-states.

The other similarity inherent to these cultures is illustrated in the function of their myth based social system. Namely the utilization of myth and the sacred landscape as a socialization tool for the young. The given social structures accommodated all aspects of the individuation process, (i.e. the nuclear unit of the monomyth; separation, initiation and return). The ritual myth based experiences provided by the elders prepared and conditioned the young psychologically and physically for their roles as adults within their given context.

Certain aspects of these cultures will be investigated based on their value to the greater investigation of youth alienation and adolescent aggression. The Aboriginal precedent will show a fully developed system of rites of passage, where the elders of the community take full responsibility in the passage of the adolescent into adulthood. The value of the Greek precedent is found in their religious festivals, the ritualisation of competition and aggression in a 'civilized' context.

Australian Aboriginals: Tribal Context



3.11 Pond in Australian outback

Above Right: 3.12 Aboriginal Rock Painting
The designs are used ceremony to pass on myth from generation to generation



The social structure of the Aboriginal Australians is composed of nomadic tribes spread out over the entire continent, connected by a network of myths called the Songlines. The Aboriginals have an earthbound philosophy, they believe that, the earth gave life to a man, it gave him his food, language and intelligence; and the earth ultimately took him back when he died. “The country in which the individual came from was considered a sacred icon, to wound the earth... is to wound yourself, and if others wound the earth, they are wounding you. The land should be left untouched: as it was in the Dreamtime when the Ancestors sang the world into existence.”⁶⁸

The nomadic life of the Aboriginals does not mean they are wanderers or have no sense of land ownership, rather the land is composed of an interlocking network of ‘lines’ or ‘ways through’. All the words for ‘country’ in their language are the same as the words for line.⁶⁹ The lifestyle and myths which evolved out of this system emerged from the harsh environment they live in. Chatwin explains that,

“Most of the Outback Australia was arid scrub or desert where rainfall was always patchy and where one year of plenty might be followed by seven years of lean. To move in such a landscape was survival: to stay in the same place suicide. The definition of a man’s ‘own country’ was ‘the place in which I do not have to ask’. Yet to feel ‘at home’ in that country depended on being able to leave it.”⁷⁰



3.13-3.14 Nambung Desert, Western Australia
‘Dreamtime Landscape of a dreamtime era’
These Limestone pinnacles exist in the Desert buried and re-exposed by the shifting sands.



The area an individual comes from is considered to be inherited by him; this is described as a stretch of his ancestor’s song and the stretch of the country over which the song passed. His verses are his title deeds to territory, he could lend them to others, or could borrow other verses in return, but the only restriction he can not sell the songs or get rid of them.⁷¹



3.15 Landscape of Australian Outback



3.16 An aboriginal rock drawing of a mythological snake, its legend explained by the tribal leader Djinbanada.



3.17 Birds eye view of Purnululu in western Australia

The myth based symbols found in the Songlines are the primary sources from which the aboriginal adolescents are individuated. The young males are stolen from the safety of their mother and home during the threshold that is adolescents and taken to sacred isolated sites for several weeks. This separation is the beginning of the most important journey they will ever take; they will leave as children and return as men. During this period they must endure several initiation ceremonies involving circumcisions, scarifications and bloodletting. The process prepares the males psychologically and physically for the roles and responsibilities they will have as adults. In addition to these ceremonies, the young ones are introduced to the myths of the Songlines, their own totemic ancestors and the creation myths. This gives them a context in which they will base their identities and the journeys they will take on their walkabouts.

The Aboriginal Creation myth can be described as a musical score, everything in the country, even rocks and creeks have either been sung or will be sung into existence. “One could see the Songlines as a, “spaghetti of Iliad’s and Odysseys, writhing this way and that, in which every ‘episode’ readable in terms of geology.”⁷² Chatwin states that,

“Aboriginal Creation myths tell of the legendary totemic beings who had wandered over the continent in the Dreamtime, singing out the name of everything that crossed their path – birds, animals, plants, rocks, waterholes – and so singing the world into existence.”⁷³

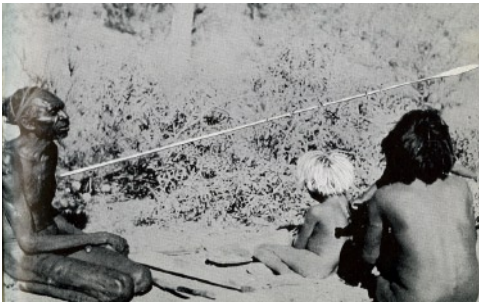
The geological features are a labyrinth of invisible pathways which meander all over Australia, to non Aboriginals they are known as ‘Dreaming – tracks’, to the Aboriginals they are known as the ‘Footprints of the Ancestors’ or the ‘Ways of the Law.’

The significance of the Dreaming tracks is rooted in the origins of the totemic ancestors and of learning the geography of the landscape for the practicality of surviving during walkabout journeys. The creation aspect of this can be compared to western culture’s first chapters of the bible. In Genesis, God first created the ‘living things’ and then fashioned Father Adam from clay. In Australia, the Ancestors created themselves from clay, hundreds and thousand of them, one for each totemic species. Each totemic ancestor is unique to a specific tribe. An example of this would be the Wallaby clan. According to Chatwin,

“When an Aboriginal tells you, ‘I have a Wallaby Dreaming,’ he means, ‘My totem is a Wallaby. I am a member of the Wallaby clan...Every Wallaby man believed he descended from a universal Wallaby Father, who was the ancestor of all other Wallaby Men and of all living wallabies. Wallabies, therefore, were his brothers. To kill one for food for was both fratricide and cannibalism.”⁷⁴



3.18 Isolated area surrounded by mulga trees and salt bushes



3.19 Elder Aboriginal and young males
They Sleep under the bushes and in it keep all there possessions; spears, boomerangs, digging sticks and food bowls



3.20 Aboriginal woman sketches a dreamtime story in the sand

The geographical aspect of this phenomenon is grounded in the Songline of each totemic tribe's region. The belief is that each totemic ancestor, while traveling through the country, was thought to have scattered "a trail of words and musical notes along the line of his footprints, and these Dreaming-tracks lay over the land as 'ways' of communication between the most far-flung tribes,"⁷⁵ each song was a map and direction finder.

The idea behind the communication between different tribes was to communicate through the melodic structure of the song. Although direct word based communication was only possible with immediate neighbouring tribes, it was possible to communicate with far away tribes through the melody of the Songline. Even though the words used are foreign, one could listen to the melodic structure and he would "find himself in sync and be able to sing his own words over the 'nonsense.'"⁷⁶ By listening in their order of succession, an expert song could even count how many times a hero crossed a river, or scaled a ridge – and be able to calculate where and how far along a Songline he was.⁷⁷

The symbolic aspect of the Songlines with relationship to creating spatial and geographical elements in the mind is similar to Frances Yates's book on constructing memory palaces as done by classical orators from Cicero and earlier. This was done by fastening sections of their speech on to imaginary architectural features and then, after working their way round every architrave and pillar, could memorise colossal lengths of speech. The features were known as loci or 'places'. But in Australia the loci were not a mental construction, but had existed forever, as events of the Dreamtime.⁷⁸ It is believed by aboriginals that songs were given to the young based on the location they were conceived on. The first kick of the baby passes through the earth, and the totem of that child is based on the landscape where he is drawn up the woman's toe into her body. The specific song he inherits is the one he is in charge of and later in life he goes on a journey to learn new songs and to find a mate in another tribe and bring her back to his totemic tribe.⁷⁹

Songlines are first introduced to the children by their mothers in the form of sketch drawings drawn in the sand. The sand drawings are 'open versions' of real drawings representing real ancestors, which are meant to be only done at secret ceremonies and must only be seen by initiates. Either way, it is through the 'sketches' that the young learn to orient themselves to their land, its mythology and resources.

⁸⁰ These stories of the Aboriginal mothers illustrate the wanderings of the dreamtime heroes.

When the child reaches puberty, the time comes for him to become initiated into adulthood by the elders of his tribe. The anthropologist Jens Bjerre is one of the few non-Australian Aboriginals to have witnessed this secretive event. He states that,



3.21 Aborigine circumcision initiation - 'the boy has been removed from his childhood, and his body has been scarified'

Joseph Campbell - *The Power of Myth*



3.22 The strongest men in the tribe pour their blood over the boys to give them strength for the hardships to come' - Jens Bjerre

Below: **3.23** Aboriginal Elder holding spear



"The initiation ceremonies, which often last several weeks, mark the change from happy, carefree childhood to disciplined manhood, from irresponsibility to responsibility, from ignorance to knowledge. It is a drastic change for the boy who goes through it; he enters a completely new world of spells and incantations from which he learns his basic tribal lessons: how the world was created, the history of the tribe, the religion and ethics of his people. He undergoes painful inflictions, the memory of which teaches him not to forget what he has learned."⁸¹

The ceremony takes place in secret, at a Dreaming site far from the eyes of strangers. The initiation ceremonies are staged as a symbolic battle in which the young man proves his virility and 'fitness' for marriage. The first important event in his passage from childhood to manhood is the circumcision. This is done with the child baring his sexual organs to the 'haws of a bloodthirsty ogre', where the knife of the circumsciser is a substitute for the carnivore's fang. It is believed that if a child delays this initiation he runs the risk of being stranded in a lifeless, asexual limbo and to avoid it altogether is almost unheard of.⁸²

Another initiation ceremony which takes place involves the bloodletting of the biggest and strongest initiators. In this ceremony they cut a big vein in their arms with a pointed flint and spurt it over the novitiates so that it runs in stripes down their bodies. To Aboriginals blood is the source of strength, and by drenching the adolescents with mature blood, the men are giving them the fortitude to endure the rites of manhood. This is followed by the decoration of the participants with black charcoal and white ashes, and the performance of a vivid animalistic dance.⁸³

The final major ritual involves the piercing of a hole through the sex organ of the adolescent. This is done near the organ's base and once the incision is complete, a splint is inserted at either end to keep the aperture from growing again. According to Bjerre, the idea behind this operation was to ensure sperm was ejected through this little hole, high up in the sex organ, instead of the normal channel. It was only when the male blocked the two holes that the fluids went out along the normal channel. This can be seen as one of the first forms of effective birth control, where based on the harsh environment and scarce resources the population and family sizes had to be kept down. Having a small family was especially important during long treks while on low levels of sustenance.⁸⁴

Once the adolescent has been initiated, he returns from the sacred initiation site as an adult of the tribe. At this point he must take on the new roles and responsibilities including marriage and tribal duties. The separation and ritual experiences he had to endure prepared him psychologically and physically for his new life as an adult.

Ancient Greece: City-State Context

“Very much like a boy galloping with all his might as a mustang down the street, where he would have gone bored and weary at a walk, so primitive man, from the first we know of him, through his myths and rites turned every aspect of his work into a festival. These gave to everything a meaning not there in any practical, economic sense, but only as play, to the grave and constant roles of which the young were introduced and trained by the elders of their world.”⁸⁵

Joseph Campbell – The Hero with a Thousand Faces

3.24 Assos on Cephalonia - An Ionian Island displaying the character of the Greek Landscape.



The social structure of the Ancient Greek culture was composed of a series of City-States spread out over the entire region, all independent in character, but sharing a common religious and cultural identity within the known world. The main concerns among the Greek City-States were war, plague, bad harvests and earthquakes. ⁸⁶ It was these tough living conditions which created the Mythological world of the Greek Gods, Heroic figures and epic narratives so significant to the survival of the Ancient Greeks and the implementation of their rites of passage.

In the 5th century BC Herodotus was recorded as saying that ‘Hellas and poverty are foster sisters’, this statement invokes a continuous theme of Greek history: “the natural poverty of the land has acted as a spur to the enterprise of its inhabitants.”⁸⁷ In a similar fashion to



3.25 ‘Greek holy places still having a strange, almost mystical, appeal, deriving as much from the landscape itself as from the man-made setting’
Robert Browning - *The Greek World*



3.26 Achilles and Ajax resting from battle engaged in a game of dice



3.27 Boreus - A personification of the North Wind

the Aboriginals, Greek culture and myth was spawned from the harsh environment they lived in; it was the land, the sea and the communities that shaped the Greek character and way of life. The beauty of Greece has always distracted the attention of outsiders from the difficulties the Greeks faced in living off the land. The geographical character of Greece consists of the Mediterranean Sea which penetrates the mountainous rocky mainland. In the ancient times the Sea was an essential source of food and a means of communication, yet it was not abundant in fish and the treacherous winds made navigation difficult. The land was also difficult to live off of, the hot dry summers, the extensive mountain ranges, and the thin soil that barely cloaks most of the rocky terrain and the scarcity of rivers all impeded agriculture.⁸⁸

In order to survive in this environment, the Greeks called upon myth as an aid to communicate and to maintain a social structure which accommodated this given situation. The origins of the myths were grounded by the forces of their environments; any element significant to their survival was consecrated; the wind, the water springs in the mountains, the sea, and earth. These forces were personified and worshipped; examples of this include Aeolus the god of wind, Demeter the goddess of corn and harvests, Dionysus the God of Wine, and Poseidon the god of the Sea. One of the most significant Gods was Zeus. Zeus was the symbol for hospitality, and given the harsh environment it is obvious why this would be an important value system to have in a country of travellers. Fear of angering the Gods was one of the primary motivations for worshipping them. In effect, honouring the Gods placed fortune in your favour, ensuring prosperity in ones daily life. This was achieved in many ways, through ritual sacrifices, religious festivals in dedication to the Gods, and the erection of great temples to honour them.

It was in the form of Narratives that Greeks learned their myths and were introduced to their rites of passage. This phenomenon began during the age of the heroes, when the Greeks believed that their culture had its beginnings around the time of the Bronze Age. This was, “the age of Crete and Mycenae, of the warriors and heroes immortalised in the Homeric epics and the great cycles of tragedy: Oedipus, Achilles, Odysseus, and Agamemnon.”⁸⁹ The laws and values of the land were introduced through the heroes in these stories. For example Zeus’s law of hospitality broken by the suitors of Odysseus’s wife; and as a consequence of their wickedness and abuse of the hospitality given to them they were punished by death.

With respect to the rites of passage of the young, there is a separation of formal ritual initiation integrating the young Greek citizen into society as adults. In contrast to the Aboriginals, the ancient Greeks existed in a more complex hierarchical society, as opposed to the homogenous social structure of the Aboriginal tribe. Thus the possibility of initiation was difficult in a ritualistic sense. This phenomenon can be explained through Ken Dowden’s Interpretation of rites of passage and initiation in Ancient Greece. He states that,



3.28 Demeter the Goddess of Corn and Harvest



3.29 Dionysus the god of wine

“The terms rite of passage and initiation may have a clear and demonstrable value in the analysis of rituals in tribal societies, but have they, somewhere in transition to the description of literature, lost meaning and focus? Thus in the Montpellier collection the following (in roughly chronological order) are supposed to display initiatory characteristics: Paris in the Iliad and various other aspects of the Iliad; Telemachus – and the suitors – in the Odyssey; Hesiod’s Works and Days and Theogeny; Sophocles’ Philoktetes; Teiresias in Euripides’ Bacchae; Herakles in the Hercules Furens of Euripides; certain plays of Aristophanes; Camilla in Virgil’s Aeneid and the Aeneid tout court; Pythagorus in Ovid’s Metamorphoses; Longus’ Daphnis and Chloe; Antonius Diogenes’ Wonders beyond Thule, Grail literature; the Occitan Roman de Jauffre; Shakespeare’s Henry IV – parts one and two; Sigsimond in Calderon’s Life is a Dream; Westerns; and Roger Caillois’s Le Rocher de Sisyphe. If all these, then what is not initiatory?”⁹⁰

In this study Ken Dowden questions the degradation of the ritual of initiation as a result of introducing narratives or literary works. He believes that at one extreme, myth is a Greek cultural possession and is a traditional story about Agamemnon and Herakles. He argues that myths such as these display the characteristic motifs and movement of rites of passage, specifically of initiation. His assertion in the case of the Ancient Greeks is that such myths, as a matter of historical fact, had gone hand-in-hand with actual rites of passage which, however, had largely died out by classical times.⁹¹ This critical analysis of the relationship between ritual and mythological narrative is quite valid to the literal sense of losing connection between ritual and myth, but his assertion that it is lost altogether can be disputed.

The heroes and heroines found in the stories of the many Greek narratives, including the classical periods reflect the heroic journey defined by Joseph Campbell. In most cases there is a physical separation from the normal community (separation); the hero wanders to a distant and marginal landscape on an adventure where life changing experiences occur (initiation), and ultimately returns to the community in a more mature transformed state (return). In essence the hero(ine) corresponding to the initiated should be at the age of transition from advanced childhood to adulthood. A girl should therefore be marriageable but not yet married as in the cases of Iphigeneia, Io, The Proitids, Daphne, Kallisto, the Danaids, and numerous others. Men on the other hand do not proceed directly from childhood to marriage, but have an extra stage, that of the unmarried warrior thus the appropriate stage for a mythic initiand male is either becoming a warrior or exhibiting prowess.⁹² Examples of this would be Achilles, Leukippos and Caeneus.

The significance of the heroic warrior found in Ancient Greek myth is grounded in the continuous threat of war in the real world and with this comes the need to introduce a rite which prepares the Greek citizen for this inevitable occurrence. According to Michael Poliakoff war was a daily occurrence in the Ancient world. He states that,



3.30 Herakles kills the centaur Nessus



3.31 Battle of the Gods and Giants: this classical sculpture celebrates the victory of the Greek Pergamenes over the Gauls. 'a familiar theme of civilization versus barbarism erupts with a new violence'

Below: 3.32 'Olympian Gods demanded public animal sacrifices whose prescribed rituals were the framework for civic religion. Robert Browning



"Warfare was an inescapable reality of the ancient world, and it exercised profound influence on civic and political life; it is impossible to understand antiquity in general, to say nothing of its day-to-day concerns. The stakes were often exceedingly high: war, as Thucydides wrote (3.83), was in all respects a harsh master."⁹³

War was prevalent within the quarrelling Greek city-states in addition to the outside threat of barbarian (non-Greek) invasions, so much so that it was personified into the Greek God Ares. This explains the glorification of violence found in the heroic narratives and the acts of violence in the civic games of the local and national religious festivals. The response to this predicament was a mythological system complimented by ritualistic system of athletic events, where the individual could become the hero and in practical terms the citizen would learn the skills which would be useful in the event of a battle.

The existence of the athletic and competitive festival disputes Ken Dowden's belief that there is a separation of ritual in the rites found within the narratives of Greek myth. The religious competitive festivals were in fact complimentary of the rites of passage found in the myths. Similar to the stories of the games, events and trials seen in the epics of the Odyssey and the Iliad, the athletic festivals provided the setting for these rites to be carried through. The games took place on sacred sites away from civic life (separation), the various combat sport events and training were indicative of the battles in the narratives, however without the loss of life as someone has to lose each bout (initiation), followed by the return to community life (return). It was expected that all adolescent male citizens take part in these events, and prove themselves in the various combat sports which were available to all citizens. An example of this is the ephebes, because sport was an important part of military training, the state provided eighteen-year-olds in training for military service and citizenship with various trainers at public expense.⁹⁴

The places in which these events occurred were at local and national religious festivals where through individual athletic competition, a boy could earn the name of a man. According to Poliakoff, the brilliant Greek poet Pindar composed songs in honour of those who won at the great games. This gave modern society insights into the aspirations and values of the ancient Greek society.⁹⁵ Pindar's poetry articulated the value of victory with respect to it being a characteristic of manhood. One example of this is a poem dedicated to a young man named Ariston who won a national pankration event.

"I am the talk of all Asia, I Ariston,
 Who took the olive crown in pankration.
 Whom Hellas called a man, seeing how in boyhood's flower
 I held in my hands manhood's power.
 My crown lay not in kind fortune's hazard, but in fight
 Without pause, I won of Olympia and Zeus the prize.
 Of seven boys, alone I had no rest.
 But always paired, others of the crown I bereft.



3.33. Odysseus from the epic tale the Odyssey



3.34 The Hoplites: Fighting men of the Greek Army which utilized the phalanx.

Below: 3.35 Hoplite's bronze helmet



So now I make glad my sire Eireinaios
And with immortal garlands my land Ephesos.”

In effect, through ritualised, or in the case of Greeks, institutionalised competition, rituals were provided for the young males to achieve a ritualistic and symbolic connection resembling the battles and victories of the heroes found in their myths.

With respect to the high value Greeks placed on athletic competitiveness, there are four significant characteristics to this form of ritual unique to the Greeks. The first is that athletic sports were taken very seriously, athletic achievement brought honour and status as seen in Greek literature.⁹⁶ The second was that winning was important, and at times overwhelmingly important. In smaller events second and third place mattered but in larger games first place was the only option, it brought honour and status to the individual and the place he came from whereas the adolescent males who lost were considered disgraceful upon returning to their mother. Victories were proudly recorded and the ambition behind a win even surpassed the Olympic Games. In some cases multiple events had to be won, these competitors were considered the ‘successor to Heracles.’⁹⁷ The third characteristic was that all events were completely individual competitions. There were a few exceptions to this rule, but the victors of these team events did not gain the same prestige. The fourth significant aspect is that Greek society took remarkable steps toward making participation in the upper echelon of athletic competition accessible to all, citizens at any social status could take part, slaves included.

It is quite easy to judge the Greeks on the great value they placed on victory. However in pursuit of seeking victory, even if the individual never wins a competition, much is gained both psychologically and physically with respect to the growth of the adolescent. With exception to the Spartans, who had formal military training, the Greeks believed in this system:

“as Solon the lawgiver explains the higher purposes of sport, chief among them military: [We train the youth in sport] not only for the sake of the contests so that they may be able to take the prizes – since few indeed out of all of them achieve those ends – but to obtain something greater for the whole city and for the youth themselves. For a certain other contest lies before all the good citizens, and its crown is not a pine or olive celery, but a crown which holds together in itself the felicity of mankind – that is to say, freedom for each person individually and for the state in general, and wealth and glory... These are the things [sc. Athletics], O Anacharis, in which we train our youths, thinking them to be good guardians for our city and that we will live in freedom through them, conquering our enemies if they should attack, and instilling fear into our neighbours, to the extent that most of them cower before us and pay us tribute.”⁹⁸

In contrast to Solon's view on athletics, some states like Sparta and early Rome chose to keep their citizens in perpetual readiness for war;



3.36 A Statue from the classical period of an ancient Greek pugilist



3.37 Brutality of war represented in this scene from the Iliad Book 16 rendered by a Greek sculptor

Below: 3.38 Ares the Greek God of War

Below right: 3.39 The Military Phalanx

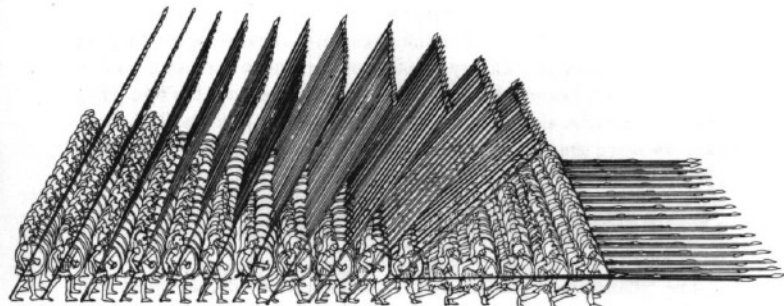


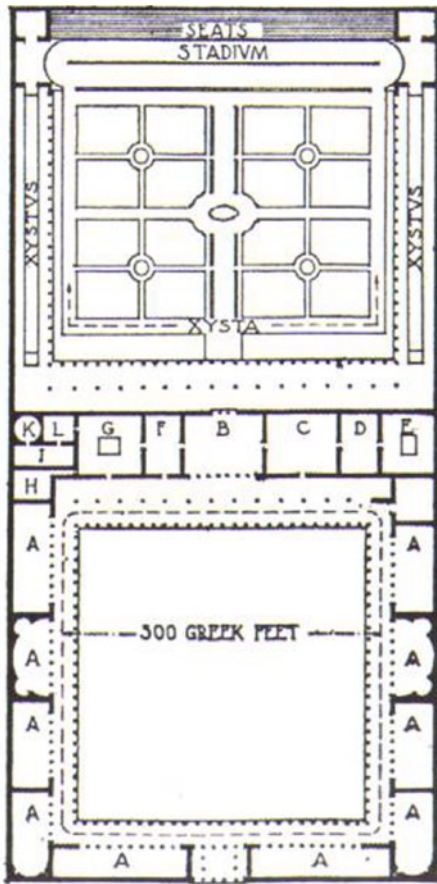
the others city-states such as Athens, relied to a large degree on the consciousness of the citizenry to be physically and emotionally ready for immediate muster.⁹⁹

In the later period of the Ancient Greeks, it is believed that the introduction of more formal military training brought about a new function for combat sport in Athletic festivals. This comes with the introduction of the battle tactic known as the phalanx, utilized shortly after Homers time. It is assumed that once the Phalanx was introduced to conventional battle it became very difficult for an individual to excel in war the way Achilles and Ajax had done. According to Poliakoff, it was at this point that the era of heroic single combat yielded to the tightly organized and unified Phalanx.¹⁰⁰

In some respects the games represented the displacement of certain military impulses as opposed to training for them, the athlete, unlike the general, was most welcome to boast about himself and his monuments.¹⁰¹ This focus on victory and monuments would explain the wide spread popularity of the national Hellenic games such as the Ancient Olympics and the games at Nemea. It is with this point we must look to the phenomenon of the Greek cultures ritualization of violence and aggression in the form of Combat sport. This aspect of Greek culture is of particular interest given the contextual investigation of myth, ritual and consecrated landscapes. The previous analysis showed the connection of Greek mythology and the rites of passage rituals, to continue the investigation, it is necessary to examine the relationship of the sacred landscape and the rituals taking place within it.

Combat sport in ancient Greece consisted of two features, the competitive events of the religious athletic festivals and the training leading up to the events. With respect to setting, all Greek competitions took place in outdoor stadiums, but training on the other hand took place indoors in the palaestra.¹⁰² In both these cases, preparing for and taking part in these exercises were very ritualistic in character; whether it was the grand entry of the athletes through the arched tunnel of the Olympic stadium or the preparation practices for the vigorous athletic training in the palaestra.





3.40 Diagram of the Palaestra



3.41 3D rendering axial view of the Palaestra at Miletus

Below: 3.42 Ruins of the Gymnasium at Miletus



The palaestra is defined as a public facility for training and practice in athletics. Although other activities took place in the palaestra, it was first and foremost a place for the practice of combat sport.¹⁰³ In some cases it was part of a larger building called a gymnasium which contained a covered running track and playing fields. The core of the palaestra was the wrestling room, which consisted of an area of softened sand (skamma) and another area covered with mud. It also had a number of small rooms where the athletes prepared for the exercises.

Since Greek athletics from the eighth century on were done in the nude, the athlete first entered the apoduterion, which translates to ‘undressing room’.¹⁰⁴ The significance of this room was greater than that of a mere locker room, it had a ritualistic character with respect to physical preparation for the training and also a social significance with respect to teaching the young. Poliakoff states that,

“Vases show that some general physical preparations – oiling and after, the sports, use of the strigil might take place there, but the wide benches also provided a place for relaxation and discussion. When Socrates met with the youth of Athens in the palaestra, it was often this room that hosted their conversations. A room called the aleipterion in later times maintained the correct temperature for the application of oil, and the palaestra had storage room for the oil (elaethesium).”

Presiding over the palaestra was a statue of Hermes, he was the mythological inventor of wrestling and a general patron of sport; in some stories he is the sire of Palaestra, the personified goddess of wrestling. Statues of Apollo and Herakles were also common in the palaestra and gymnasium, Herakles being particularly popular because he himself underwent heavy labours”¹⁰⁵

Beyond the training of the athlete came the Athletic competitions themselves. There is no parallel in the rest of the ancient world for the massive Greek system, “the victors’ monuments are the most eloquent testimony to the proliferation of festivals.”¹⁰⁶ The venues for the events were outdoor stadiums carved within the landscape of sacred sites, among the temples dedicated to the Gods. With respect to the scale of the competitions they could be as small as community events or in the case of the Olympian, Isthmian, Nemean, or Pythian games, the scale of a nation.

The national competitions were considered the most significant in Ancient Greek culture, to win at these games gave the highest honour to the athlete and his city-state. The actual games themselves were consecrated in honour of a God. An example of this is the Pythian games. Waldo Sweet states that the,

“Next to the Olympic Games in reputation were the Pythian games, held at the sacred oracle in Delphi, in central Greece. Founded (or reorganized) in 582 BC, they were held in the third year after each Olympics. The games were in memory of the Python, a snake deity



3.43 Statue of the Hermes: Mythological inventor of wrestling and patron of Sport

Right: 3.44 Plan of Olympia, Altis, Hellenistic period

Below: 3.45 Statue of Ares God of War

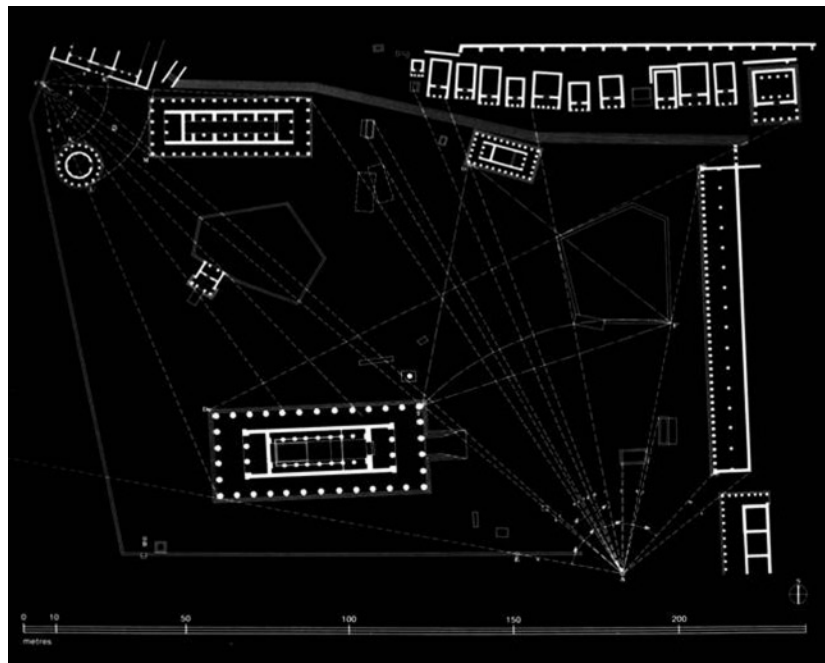


killed by the god Apollo, to whom the games were consecrated. The crown was made of laurel leaves. The stadium, in a dramatic site, is well preserved, but because it was built on a mountainside it could hold only 7000 spectators”¹⁰⁷

Another example is the games at Nemea, believed to have been founded by Heracles. One important characteristic of this site was the vaulted tunnel leading to the stadium similar to the tunnel found in Olympia.¹⁰⁸ This tunnel contained graffiti etched by the athletes, and provided a very ceremonial entry into the stadium.

The most prominent of games was the Olympic games, sacred to Zeus, during the classical period its stadium held up to 40 000 spectators.¹⁰⁹ In addition to the stadium, the sacred site of Olympia contained sacred temples and a series of Palaestras. On the prize table at Olympia stood statue of the personification of contest, Agon, right next to the statue of Ares, god of war. This juxtaposition showed the connection between war and sport.¹¹⁰

According to Poliakoff, sport and athletics can be defined as “activity in which a person physically competes against another in a contest with established regulations and procedures, with the immediate object of succeeding in that contest under criteria in everyday life (warfare, of course, being included as a part of everyday life in antiquity).”¹¹¹ The three main forms of combat sport at the athletic festivals were boxing, wrestling and pankration, all having to do with unarmed fighting tactics. Depending on the event, the level of violence varied, but in all three the violence which took place was controlled by a given set of rules and a referee to ensure that these rules were followed in a fair and honourable manner.





3.46 A fragment of a Greek wrestling manual intended for sale to the general public



3.47 Bronze statue of a wrestler applying a side body lock



3.48 Image of wrestler using a flying mare to throw the opponent

Although the combat events were controlled by rules and referees the games were still considered to be extremely violent, (even in the setting of a culture accustomed to warfare), however for the Greeks there was a great distinction between civic violence and sport violence. The Greeks abhorred and strictly punished violence in civic life. A man found guilty of assault (hybris) commonly faced a serious lawsuit, it was even possible to summon a jury which had the power to impose any sentence it deemed appropriate, including the death penalty.¹¹² The reason for this was that violence against another citizen was not only considered to be a wrong against the victim but also against the city. The court orators and philosophers recognized that hybris referred to the arrogant state of mind that seeks to dishonour another person, what one scholar called ‘self-indulgent egotism’, as far as they were concerned there was no room for violence in a democracy.¹¹³

Each Combat sport had a special significance to Greek culture and identity. Wrestling was considered to be more of a sport of craft and cunning, whereas the reputation and image of the victor’s monuments of boxers and pankratiasts tended to give more credit to power and toughness. All three sports had no weight classes, but they did have a division according to age.¹¹⁴ Young men could prove themselves among their peers, and in some cases they would enter more than one age group and compete against the older adolescents.

Wrestling

Wrestling appealed greatly to the Ancient Greeks so much so that in their early history they developed special facilities for the practice of this sport. Although it is not considered a gentle sport, compared to its counterparts it was substantially less violent and injurious. Hellenic society expected that an accomplished and educated man would practice and enjoy wrestling as an adult. It encouraged wide participation; it tested an array of martial virtues which the Greeks valued: “cunning, boldness, courage, self reliance, and perseverance.”¹¹⁵ The main idea of this sport was to pit one man against another in a close struggle that maximized the role of skill and science.

The connection of wrestling to Greek myth and literature was strong. There was known to be a manual sold to the public and readily available for those who wanted to learn wrestling, this was used to create a standardized and widely known palaestra vocabulary, which explains how Greek authors could meaningfully use complicated wrestling terminology in literary imagery. The precise athletic imagery in Greek literature showed that the general public understood wrestling well, there were even books with systematic drill of different tactics (add image from book).¹¹⁶ An example of the cross over from wrestling terminology to the epic narratives can be seen in the Iliad, where Odysseus and Ajax compete during the funeral games for Patroclus. “In Iliad 23.730-31 Odysseus combines the waist lock with leg trip, lifting the massive Ajax and using a trip to finish his attack.”¹¹⁷



3.49 Detail of bronze boxer statue, showing 'sharp gloves'

Boxing

Boxing was considered to be one of the most violent of the Greek combat sports. It was said that a 'boxer's victory is gained in blood,' as seen on an inscription of the first century B.C.E. Trauma has always been an essential part of Boxing, and the Greeks quite accurately viewed it as the most physically punishing and damaging of all athletic contests. It was notorious for having disfiguring effects, one of which is known as cauliflower ears.¹¹⁸ Given the reality of these injuries, it was rare for the Greeks to praise the pugilist's appearance; however mention of the form or beauty of the athlete was rather common, even in the case of boxers.¹¹⁹

To say victory in ancient boxing depended on brutality alone would be a great exaggeration; this sport required a high degree of skill and strategy in addition to courage and fortitude.¹²⁰ This was a form of fist-fighting but with a complex set of rules and technique. The two founding fathers of boxing, Ionian's Onomastos the rule giver and Pythagoras the technician introduced techniques which became standard. It is believed that Ionians were accused of effeminacy, but they showed that boxing was not just about brute force but also the triumph of skill and intelligence.¹²¹

Greek boxers rarely boxed with bare hands, they had thongs and padded gloves with metal inside. It could be assumed that the gloves were to minimize the damage to the opponent however this was not the case. They were generally worn for the comfort of the man wearing them, protecting the wrists from strain and the fingers from fracture.

In Homer's epic tale the Iliad, during the games at the funeral of Patroklos, the boxer's wear typical Greek boxing thongs. This is another example of how combat sport was an integral part of Greek literature and epic narrative.¹²² Even the Greek Gods took part in these competitions in the myths. There is a story that records the first Olympic festival in Greek Mythology where Apollo the God of boxing, who also excels in music and art, defeats the God of War Ares. This is telling of the importance of skill over brutality.¹²³

3.50 The signal to surrender in both boxing and pankration was an upraised hand.





3.51 Pankratiast tripping opponent



3.52 The official signals a foul with his rod

Pankration

Pankration is a combat sport which introduced a combination of boxing, kicking, wrestling throws, strangle holds, and pressure locks. The word in Greek means ‘complete strength’ or ‘complete victory’. One unique rule in Pankration was that the fight continued until someone submitted or was unable to continue the fight, in some cases a fight could go on until nightfall.¹²⁴ Although the Greeks gave pankration a mythological origin, it did not reflect history as it was one of the last athletic events which appeared in the ancient Olympics, beginning with the men’s contest in the 33rd Olympiad (648 B.C.E.) followed by the boy’s competitions in the 145th (200 B.C.E.). According to Poliakoff, as archaic Greek society developed, the need for expression in violent sport increased, and pankration was the response to the need of a total contest that neither boxing nor wrestling could.¹²⁵ Similar to the other combat events pankration appears in the many of the Greek myths, including the story about Heracles fighting a barbarian ogre Antaios in a bout of pankration clearing the world of evil.¹²⁶ Pankration also appeared in the terminology of daily life as a philosopher compares the hazards of being a busy man to that of pankration stance of having a partially opened hand ready for a punch or a grab depending on the situation.¹²⁷

One of the great contradictions of Greek culture is the contrast between their civil lives and sporting lives. This questions what the value of the combat sports were, given their intense violent and agonistic character in contrast to the civil behaviour expected in the daily life of the ancient Greeks. The Greeks highly honoured and rewarded this expression of violent competition however by virtue of this behaviour does this not seem contradictory and even dangerous in a society that desires cooperation and civility? We have seen that the rites of passage of the Ancient Greeks were rooted in their myths and the need to be a distinguished hero proved valuable in times of war, however it was not only the enemies outside the walls that were a threat to civic wellbeing. According to Poliakoff,

“No Greek had to be reminded of the spectre of internal revolution (stasis), and a particularly fruitful way of viewing the agon, one which I will take here, is an expression of the polis’s desire to give its citizens, particularly the traditionally ambitious nobility, sage and beneficial outlets for impulses toward self-assertion which could otherwise tear apart the fabric of civic harmony.”¹²⁸

In effect, this very system which institutionalized competition and violence not only did so for its protection against its outside threats, but also provided an outlet within the city-state, for the individual who valued physical strength and prowess in competition at all levels.

The competition and training of sport introduced to the Ancient Greek adolescent became a valuable rite to be integrated in their given society. Similar to the Aborigines, the Greeks understood



3.53 Ancient Greek Stadium



3.54 Excavated Stadium at Nemea

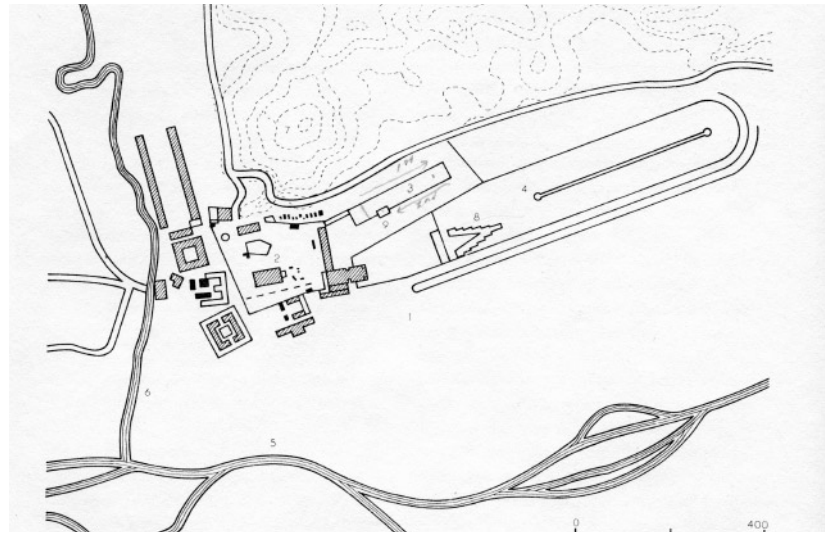
3.55 Right: Overall site plan of Olympia including the stadium to the right and the sacred temple grounds in the middle

human nature, the internal drives which governed the individual and the need to train them both physiologically and psychologically. The Greek philosophical schools found the training and self-sacrifice of the athletes to be extremely interesting and of great value. Plato concluded that if athletes could make sacrifices of physical gratification (abstinence) for the sake of victory, youth could develop more self-control and strength of character. Even, “the succeeding Stoic and Cynic schools made the athlete’s training and contest, with particular attention to the gruelling combat events, into an extensive metaphor for the good man’s struggle to live properly.”¹²⁹ The athletes who were honoured and the heroes who inspired them displayed this character.

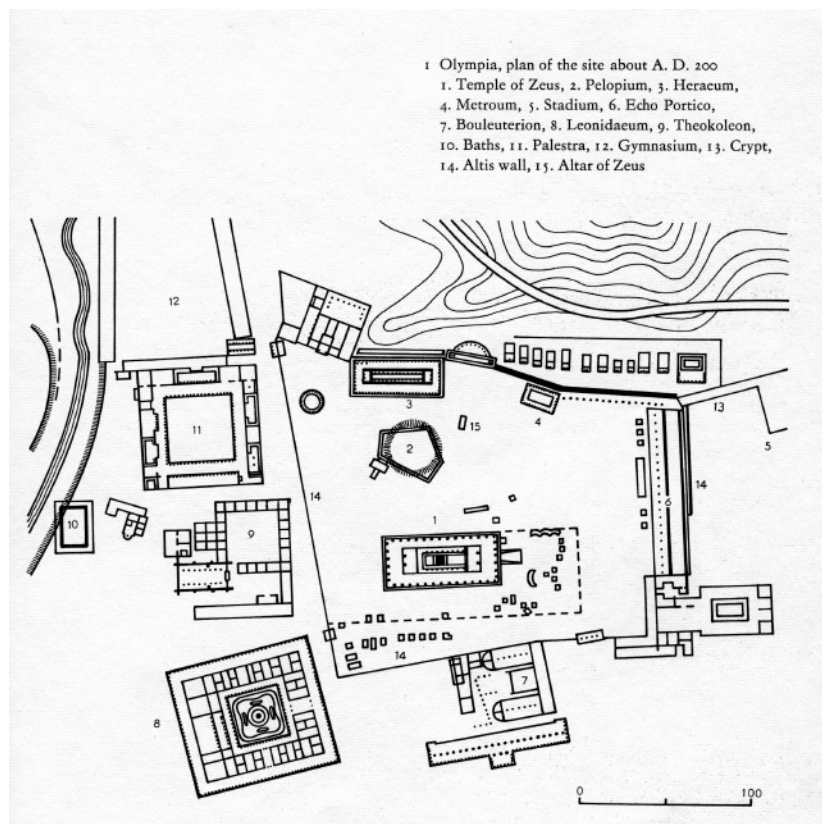
“In the inscription honouring the pankratiast Kallikrates, his guild represents his life in terms of the famous story of Herakles at the crossroads, a story known to every Greek schoolboy. There the young Herakles has to choose between the soft road of pleasure and the hard road of virtue: Kallikrates, like Herakles, chose the latter.”

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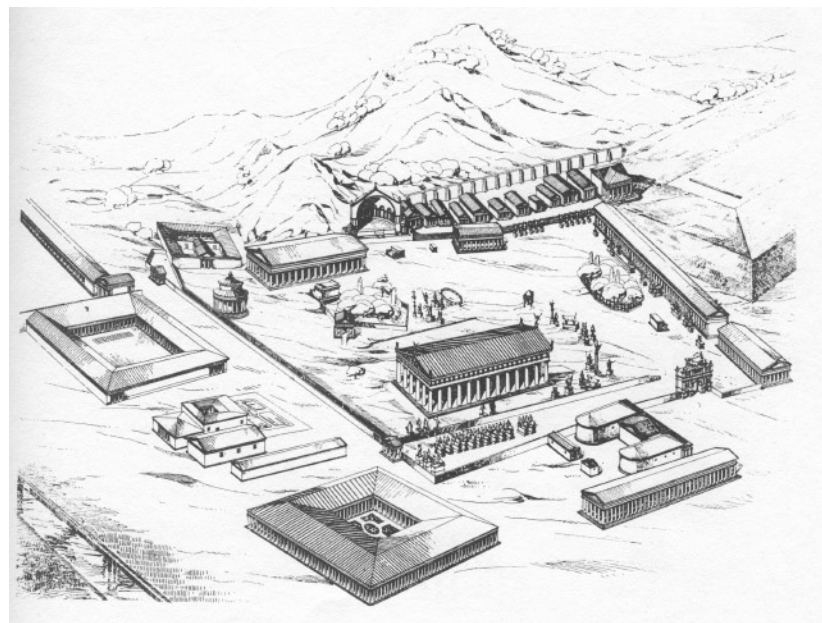
This inscription also described his character stating that, ‘among all men throughout the world because of the perfect wisdom that was the object of his dedicated effort...He took care of his soul.’ The monument of another athlete reads ‘Aurelius Achilles, who took up the training of his body and was most noble in contest and most pious in his manner of living and conduct, to such a point that he blended as much virtue of soul as of body.’¹³¹



3.56 Olympia plan of the site about 200 A.D. Included on the grounds is the temple of Zeus, the Palaestra, Gymnasium and the Altar of Zeus among other buildings added by the Romans



3.57 Olympia, view of the reconstruction





3.58 Tunnel leading to Stadium at Nemea. Athletes entered the stadium through this tunnel dug into the embankment. Graffiti etched into the stone by athletes can still be read on the walls



3.59 View of Nemea site from ruined temple



3.60 Entrance to Olympia stadium

An evaluation of Combat Sport in Ancient Greece

The Ancient Greeks were not the only ones to be aware of sport and training serving as an outlet for the aggressive drive, or in their particular situation the 'heroic' drive. Konrad Lorenz points out that the ancient Greeks were familiar with the conception of catharsis, of purifying discharge. Psychoanalysis has shown very convincingly that many patterns of altogether laudable behaviour derive their impulses from the 'sublimation' of aggressive or sexual drives.¹³² He believes that sport had its origin in highly ritualized but still seriously hostile fighting and defines it as a specifically human form of non hostile combat, governed by the strictest of cultural developed rules.¹³³ The main purpose of sport lies in the cathartic discharge of aggressive urge. It educates the young to a conscious and responsible control of his fighting behaviour and in addition to this has educational value of the restrictions imposed by the demands for fairness and chivalry which must be respected even in the-face of the strongest aggression-eliciting stimuli.¹³⁴

As in the case of the Olympics, the effectiveness of ritual in the form of sport goes beyond the individual and the community; it can work at the scale of the world. Lorenz believes that, "the most important function of sport lies in furnishing a healthy safety valve for the most indispensable and, at the same time, most dangerous form of aggression, the collective militant enthusiasm."¹³⁵ The Olympic Games are an example of the few occasions when one nation can play the national anthem without arousing hostility against another. This is the result of the sportsman's dedication to the universal character and ideals inherent to sport, that of chivalry and fair play.¹³⁶ In addition to its role as an outlet for militant enthusiasm, sporting contest between nations has another effect that counters the danger of war, namely to promote personal acquaintance between people of different nations which would ultimately unite parties who otherwise would have nothing in common.

¹³⁷

Within their given contexts, the Ancient Greeks and the Aborigines of Australia potently illustrate rites of passage rituals which address and mediate the universal instincts found in the adolescent members of their societies. The aboriginal initiation rituals symbolically introduce to the young their roles and responsibilities as adults of their nomadic tribes and the cultural myth based symbols imprint a frame of reference for their identities and place in the world. In a similar fashion, the Ancient Greek narratives provide the young with a frame of reference for their identities within the city states they live in and the ritualised athletic festivals created a forum from which inborn aggression could be mediated and expelled in a chivalrous manner. In effect, the socialisation of the young into adults in both cases are accommodated at multiple scales, at the scale of the community, the scale of the landscape built or natural, and at the scale of the individual psychologically and physically.

4

Toronto Star - May 14th, 2004

Gun violence costs us billions; [ONT Edition]

“Two hearty cheers for Project Impact, a carefully planned raid on the notorious Malvern gang that resulted in 65 arrests and the laying of more than 500 charges. This gang takedown involved two out of the three levels of government, namely the city and the province, and much co-operation from the local community that was sick of being terrorized.

Conspicuous by its absence is the federal government. Local and provincial officials must deal with the complex social issues of what drives young people into gangs - poverty, racism, lack of opportunity - but only the federal government can have a lasting impact on diminishing the destructive reach of these gangs.

To do this our national leaders must table the toughest anti- handgun laws this side of the Atlantic. Like the law now in place in the United Kingdom, legislation must allow for easy confiscation of any handgun since there will no longer be a distinction between “legal” and “illegal” handguns. This will shut down the problem of stolen “legal” guns and the unfortunate consequences when lawful gun owners lose their sanity.

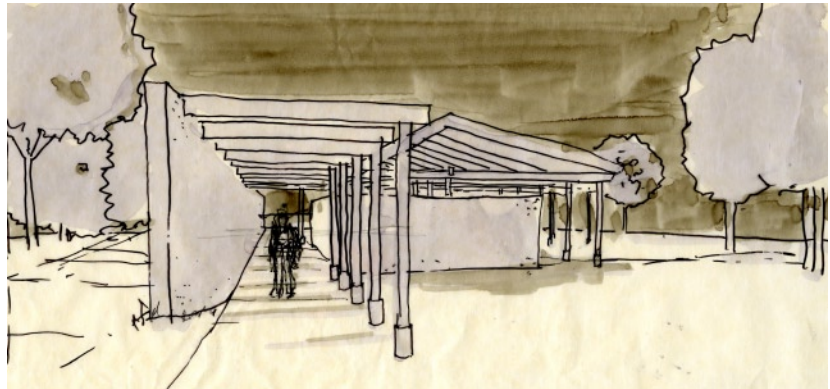
If we restrict our efforts to going after felons, potential felons and gang hangers-on, what we do is send more young people to jails, which are breeding grounds for HIV, TB and hardened criminality. Just the other day a man lost his life in Toronto over a dispute about \$10 worth of tickets to enter a nightclub. What should have been a dust-up turned into a slaying because the two angry young men returned to exact their revenge with handguns.

Gun-related violence costs Canadians an estimated \$6 billion to \$9 billion a year. This represents a major health-care as well as a criminal justice issue. Why are the leaders of all the national parties such cowards? Why won't they provide something like an urban safety act - the complete ban on handguns that our communities richly deserve?”

Intervention

“In our present world we have such family rites as well, and as long as it is this psychological, educative function that they serve, as rites of passage, fostering the young to a maturity fit for this day and age, there can be little quarrel either with them or with those by whom they are administered. However, the world today is not as it was in the Palaeolithic ages, when the roving family hordes of mankind were rare and scattered companies on this earth, foraging as newcomers in a perilous environment of beasts. Nature was then very hard; society, therefore, too. Youngsters found to be intractable were simply wiped away. Conformity in the narrowest sense was an absolute necessity.”¹³⁸

Joseph Campbell - Creative Mythology



Board's teen drop-in program dropped due to poor attendance and high costs

“A teen drop-in program operated by the Scarborough Board of Education is being scrapped this summer because of poor attendance and unjustified cost.

Last year, the \$78,000 Scarborough Total Opportunity Program - the only one of its kind in Metro - operated at nine high schools for six weeks. The idea was to draw students off the streets and out of pinball parlours and encourage them to participate in sports activities and games under program staff. But most trustees now feel the board cannot afford to spend tax dollars on leisure activities.

‘It’s time for the board to look at how it should spend its educational dollars,’ says board vice-chairman Dianne Williams. ‘There may be some value in having a drop-in kind of centre, but I don’t think the board can afford to pay \$78,000, or \$48,000.’

The \$48,000 is how much board staff recommended be spent to operate the program at only five centres this summer as a way of cutting back costs. However, the education committee last week decided to drop the program altogether.

Only if the city’s recreation and parks department wants to pick it up will the program be continued.

Says committee vice-chairman Gail Brewer: ‘I’d rather see \$48,000 go to kids who are having severe learning problems in school.’

Trustees are also concerned that although 3,575 teens registered in the program last summer, total attendance was only 19,952 over the 30-day period. Williams points out attendance would have been closer to 100,000 if the teens had gone every day.

One of the trustees to support the program, Ruth Haehnal, says she was hoping the board would continue the program at least until it learned whether the recreation department wanted to take it over.

‘I represent the Malvern area and we do not have vast quantities of things to do in the area,’ she says.

The program appears to be a good way of keeping kids off the streets and out of school, she says.”

Malvern: Suburban Context

Living in a modern Suburban community, the adolescent teens of Malvern are given the choice of conformity to the system they are born in or the choice of alienating themselves from the greater collective. It has been shown that the current institutions do not address the physical and psychological needs of the adolescent teen and as a consequence the attraction towards non-conformist behaviour through alienation, boredom, distrust and angst is the result. Malvern can no longer look to its current institutions and foreign based cultural symbols to mediate the serious problem of youth aggression. To address these issues, an intervention is required; a place which is de-institutionalized, a place which responds to the current social and physical needs of the suburban teenager, and a place which provides opportunity for guidance.

The final chapter of this thesis is a speculative intervention within the core of the Malvern community. The intent of this project is to reconcile the alienated youth of Malvern with the rest of the community, looking to the mythogenic zone of Malvern’s local suburban landscape, urban artefacts and places of cultural significance as sources of inspiration. Two scales will be introduced in this project, the first of which deals with the scale of the town centre, creating a narrative of local festivals, civic spaces, civil spaces, and spaces for ritualised aggression. The second scale is the scale of the adolescent teen. This scale introduces the consecration of Malvern’s landscape, namely the creation of spaces for the ritualization of aggression and for community rites and guidance. The language which is utilized in the creation of these spaces is that of separation, enclosure, threshold and path, with respect to both programmed and suggestively programmed spaces.

Scale of the Town Centre: Analysis

The planning of Malvern is based on the clustering of its residential suburban fabric. Each of these clusters create and define spaces in which elementary school yards, public parks and in some cases open green spaces are situated. The public and private schools within these spaces are the institutions used to socialise the pre-adolescents living in each residential cluster. This system of socialisation is appropriate given the child's geographical and social boundaries.

At a larger scale, the clusters themselves become the units which define the enclosure creating the town centre of Malvern. The town centre contains a series of public benefit programming including the Malvern mall, medical buildings, places of worship, senior's homes, and the Malvern recreational centre, library and outdoor sports fields. On the fringes of the town centre are the two major public and private institutions which are used to socialise the adolescents of Malvern. The public institution Lester B. Pearson Collegiate institute is located on the west end of the town centre and the separate school Mother Theresa Catholic Secondary school is located on the east end. Given the modest size of Malvern and the proximity of the town centre to the residents, in addition to vehicular access, pedestrian access is common among the residents, particularly in the case of the high school students.

The majority of the institutions within the town centre do not serve the adolescent members of the community and in some cases even alienate them. Recreational facilities advertised for public use, such as the baseball diamond and tennis courts are controlled access and the indoor facilities such as hockey rinks are geared towards private rental. The Malvern mall exists as a private institution serving consumers and this is a place where teenagers are least welcomed. However, as artefacts the recreational centre and especially the mall become attractors in which loitering adolescents gravitate towards.

These spaces and thresholds are the mythogenic zones of the Malvern adolescents. The places in and around these two artefacts provide for an opportunity to redefine the function of the town centre and the role it may play in mediating adolescent aggression. An analysis of the site introduces a series of opportunities given the social connection the teens have with the artefacts and the unique geographical character of the landscape. This can be defined as the mythogenic zone of Malvern and its relationship to the adolescent members of the community.



Mythogenic Zone: Diagram 1

Institutions and Community Buildings

1. Malvern Mall
2. Malvern Recreational Centre/Library
3. Lester B. Pearson Collegiate institute
4. Mother Theresa Catholic Secondary school
5. Place of Worship
6. Place of Worship
7. Place of Worship Residence
8. Senior's Residence
9. Senior's Residence
10. Medical Centre
11. Professional Medical Centre
12. Daycare Centre
13. Women's Shelter

- Schools and Playgrounds
- Open Green Spaces
- Public Parks





Places of Significance

1. Malvern Mall

The lower level plaza at the rear of the mall is a common location for teen loitering, particularly at the mac's convenient store. There are also a variety of stores along this strip including an international grocery shop and a specialty barber shop.



The rear entrance of the mall is a generally concealed area located among the truck loading area servicing the various stores within the mall. This area is common for loitering due to its secluded nature.



Loitering is also common in the mall food court and constantly monitored by mall security guards.



Because of its commercial nature, the McDonald's in the mall is a popular place to loiter including the outside entrance.



2. Malvern Recreational Centre

The Interior lounge area of the Recreational centre is a common place to loiter and is somewhat more accepting of loitering teens.

The outside entrances are also spaces which attract loitering.



This is an example of controlled access for the outdoor facilities at the recreation centre.





Identified Geographical Mythogenic Zones

1-3. Public Park: These spaces and fields require a more inviting presence within the town centre.

4. Sloped Green field: This field is used as a path by pedestrians from the mall and east end of the town centre. This is a Potential threshold between the mall and recreational centre playing fields.

5. Green field: The green field is located adjacent to the rear entrance of the Malvern mall by the plaza area. It is used by pedestrians entering the mall from the North side and may serve as a potential threshold space.

6. Forest: A small forest at the rear of the mall designated as a major green space. The forest conceals a large portion of the rear loading area of the mall. It is a potential area for enclosed ritualised spaces.

7. Green Field and Grove: An enclosed field off the fringes of the Forest towards the west loading area at the rear of the mall. The field is a Potential extension of the forest and is part of a threshold to the rear mall entrance entering the food court..

8. Mound: The mound is used by pedestrians to enter the mall from the west end. It becomes a potential threshold for the west end of the town centre towards the mall.

9. Parking Lot: The Immense Parking lot is a host to an annual car show, and also an annual summer carnival. There is the possibility for a more accommodating environment for these festivals.

10. Rear Plaza: This is a common area for loitering, and thus may be a potential area for an adolescent civic space and plaza.

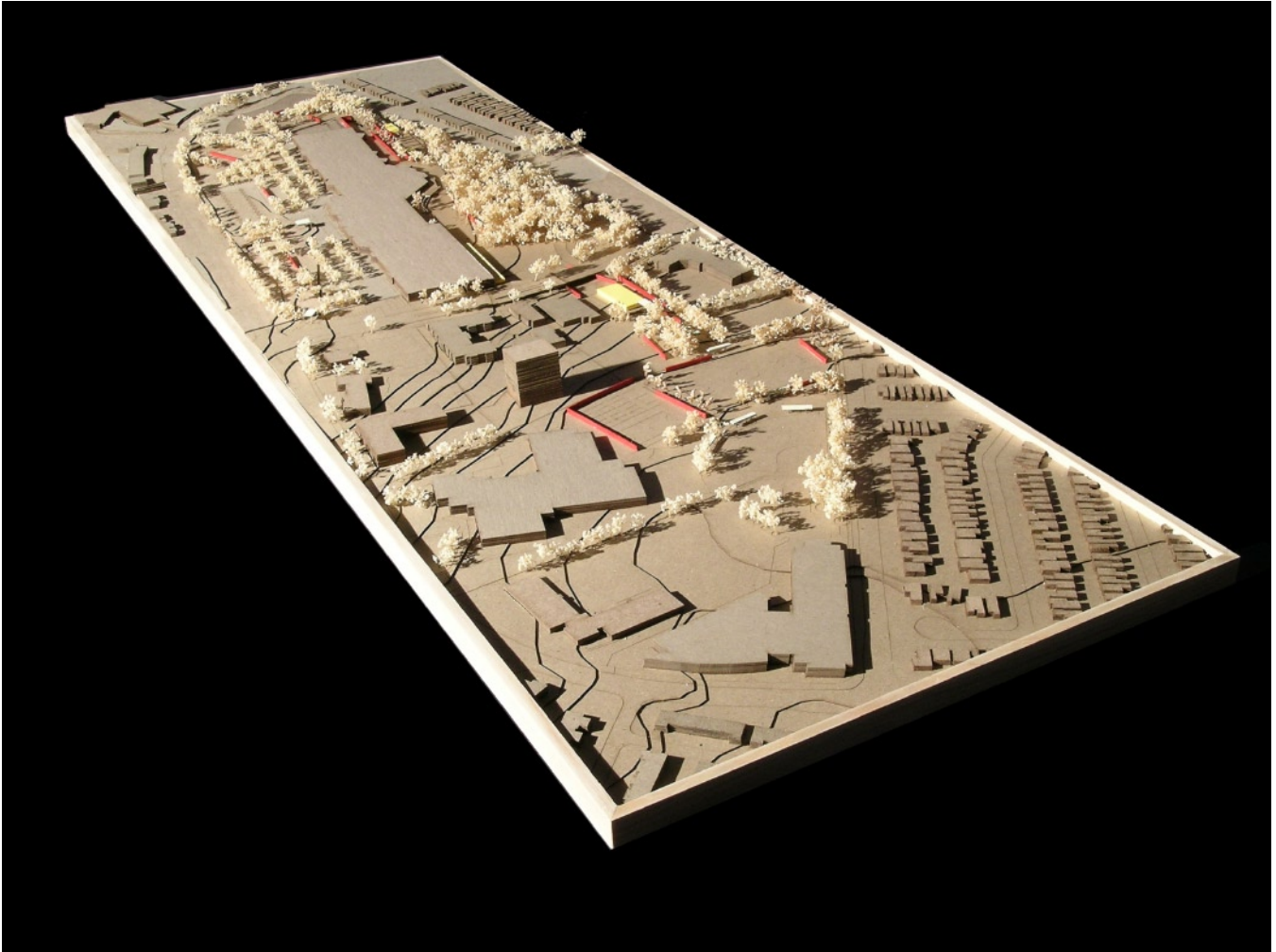
Mythogenic Zone: Diagram 3

The Mythogenic zones identified in this diagram set the stage for the proposed design intervention. Each zone has a unique relationship to the town centre with respect to geographical and adolescent social characteristics.



- Vehicular Traffic
- Truck Access

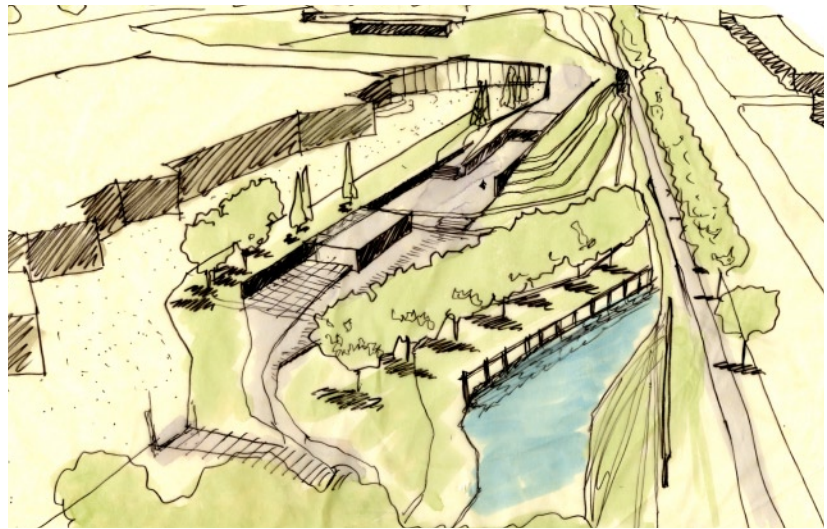
Scale of the Town Centre: Design Intervention

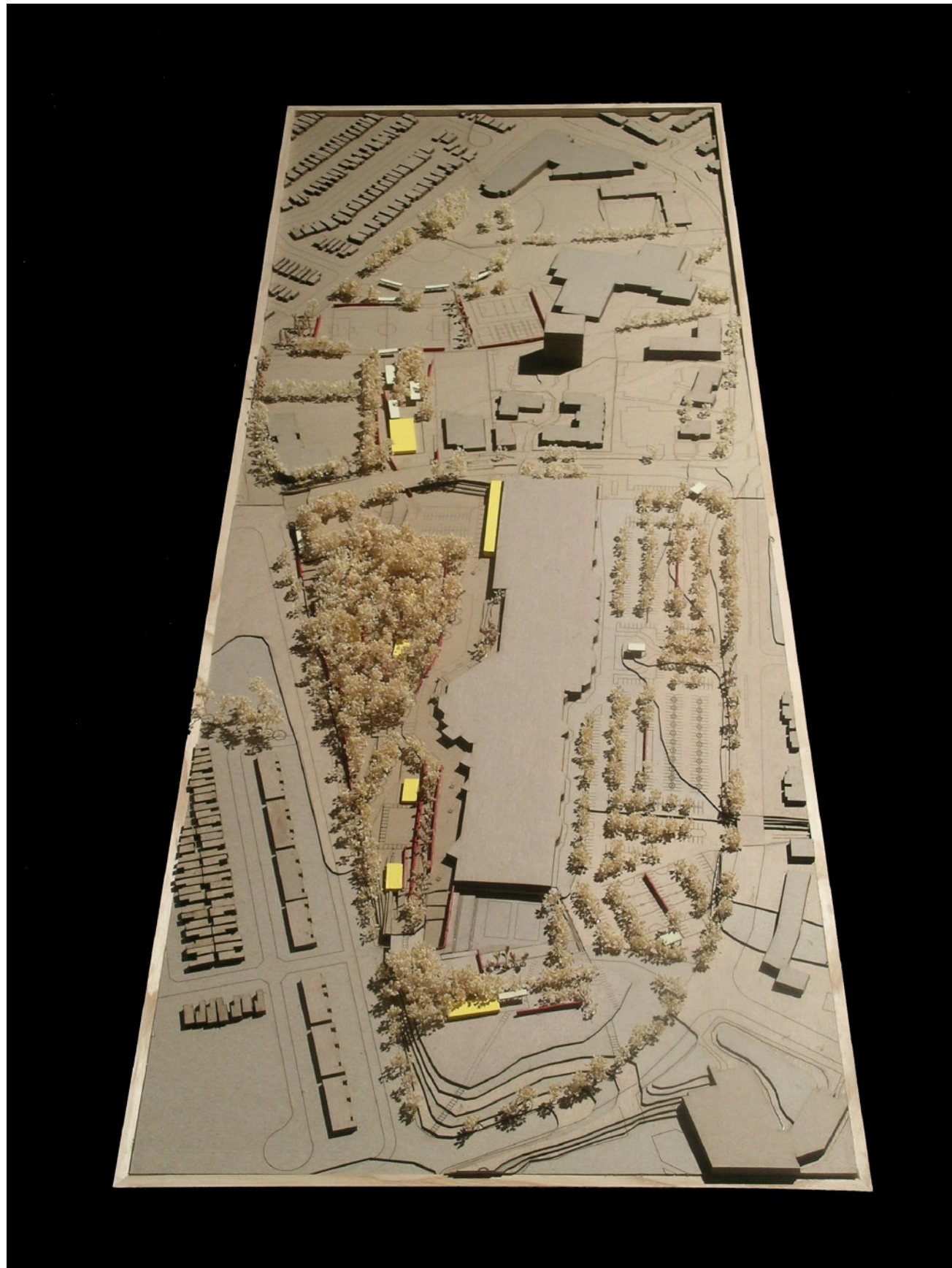


4.4 Intervention Massing Model

Scale of the Town Centre: Design Intervention

Based on the previous analysis of Malvern's adolescent social character, in relation to the geographic characteristics of the town centre, six zones have been identified. These zones present a series of opportunities for a design intervention which will redefine the function of the Malvern town centre creating a place for the Malvern teen. This place will help to mediate adolescent aggression through self guided competitive recreational sport activities, community festival activities, and the introduction of a place for the ritualisation of aggression and training of the instincts.





4.5 Massing Model Images of Mythogenic Zones

Scale of the Town Centre: Schematic Program



1. Existing Recreational Park: A series of new elements are introduced to the existing landscape. The primary features include low walls, bleachers and covered pavilions.



2. Competitive Indoor Arena and Terraced Outdoor Arena: The addition of an indoor arena and a series of outdoor terraced arenas creates a gateway to the existing recreational facilities. The competitive arenas serve as a place to showcase skills learned during the ritualised training within the proposed consecrated forest.



3. Adolescent Civic Space and Plaza: This is the hub of the entire composition. The plaza is reprogrammed to accommodate the adolescent teen becoming a civic space for guidance and place of ownership. The existing stores and shops are relocated to the inside of the mall and are replaced with program more appropriate to adolescent teen issues. The open unprogrammed space provides a forum for various activities.



4. Consecrated Forest: This is the consecrated place in which the ritualisation of aggression occurs. The general buildings contain large open spaces within providing for versatility and change of program over time. Surrounding these buildings are outdoor training spaces and places for individual reflection.

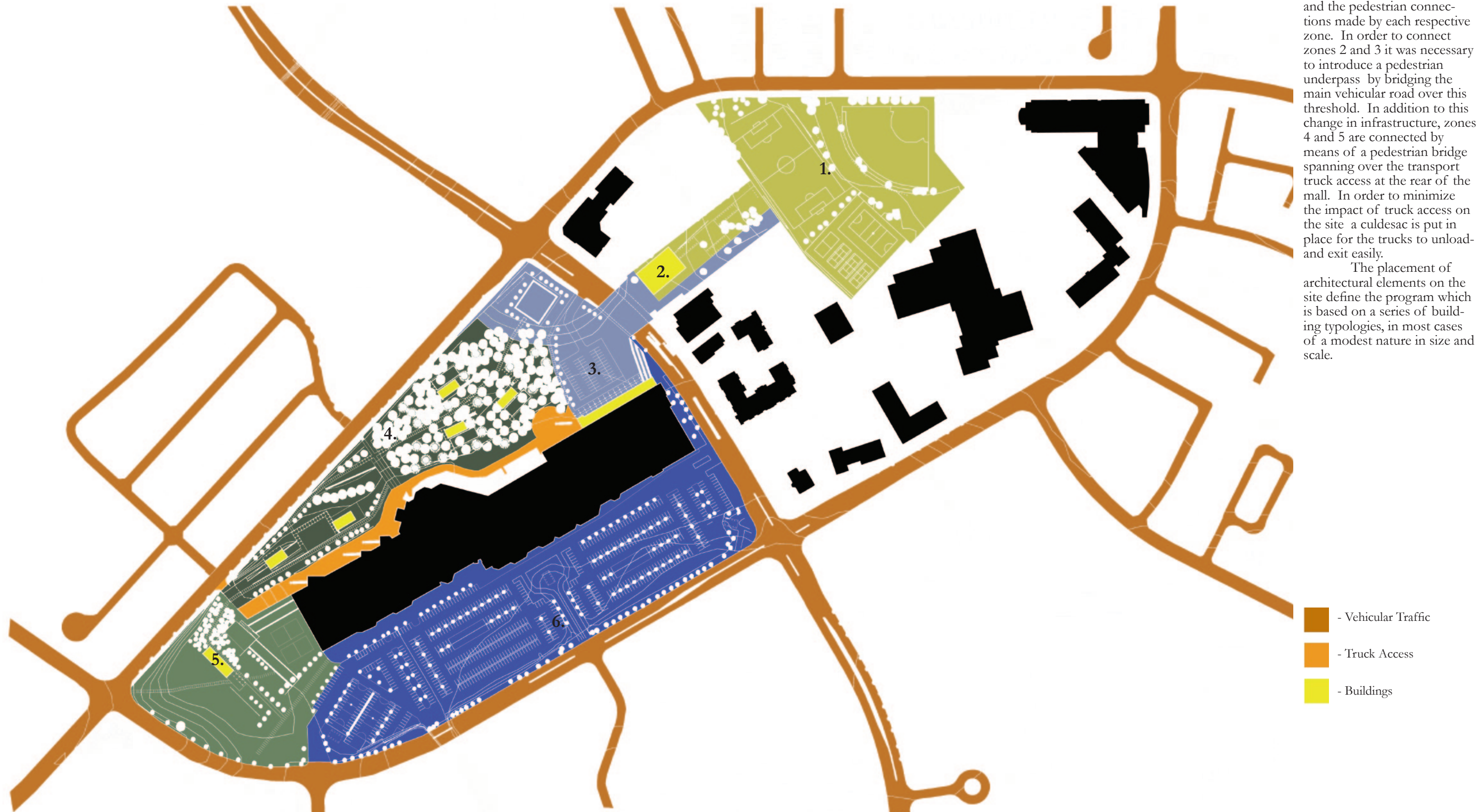


5. Mound: The mound is the threshold for the West end of the Town centre. The primary program is a Youth library which serves as a gateway to an enclosed outdoor theatre and place for pick-up basketball.



6. Asphalt Arena for pick up Games and Local Festivals: The Asphalt arena is the existing Mall Parking lot and is modified to better accommodate the annual custom car show on the east end of the parking lot and the annual carnival taking place on the central parking area. The west end parking area serves as both parking and an after hours place for pick up street hockey.

Scale of the Town Centre: Schematic Diagram 1:



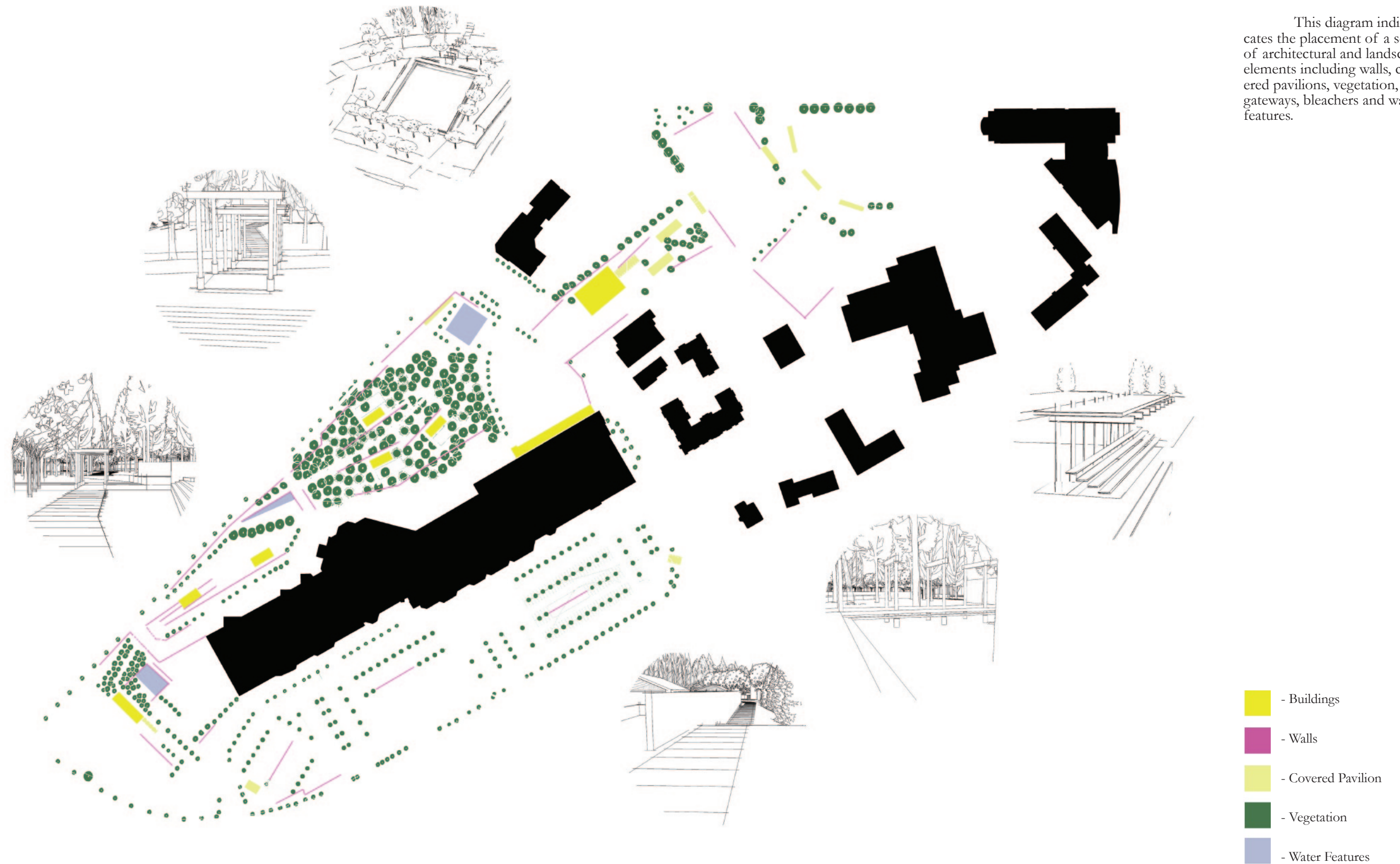
The departure point in the intervention is the modification of vehicular traffic and the pedestrian connections made by each respective zone. In order to connect zones 2 and 3 it was necessary to introduce a pedestrian underpass by bridging the main vehicular road over this threshold. In addition to this change in infrastructure, zones 4 and 5 are connected by means of a pedestrian bridge spanning over the transport truck access at the rear of the mall. In order to minimize the impact of truck access on the site a culdesac is put in place for the trucks to unload and exit easily.

The placement of architectural elements on the site define the program which is based on a series of building typologies, in most cases of a modest nature in size and scale.

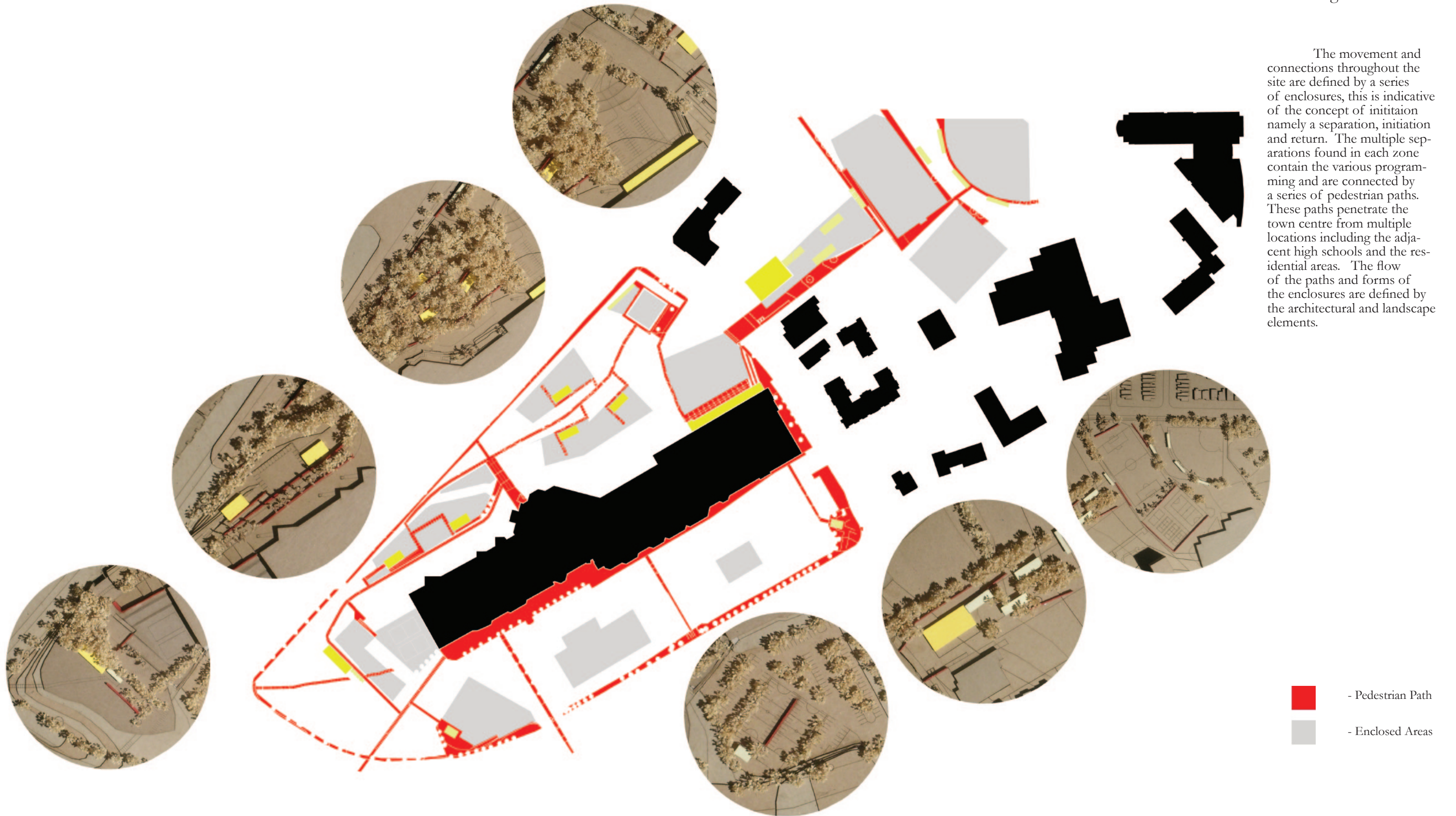
- Vehicular Traffic
- Truck Access
- Buildings

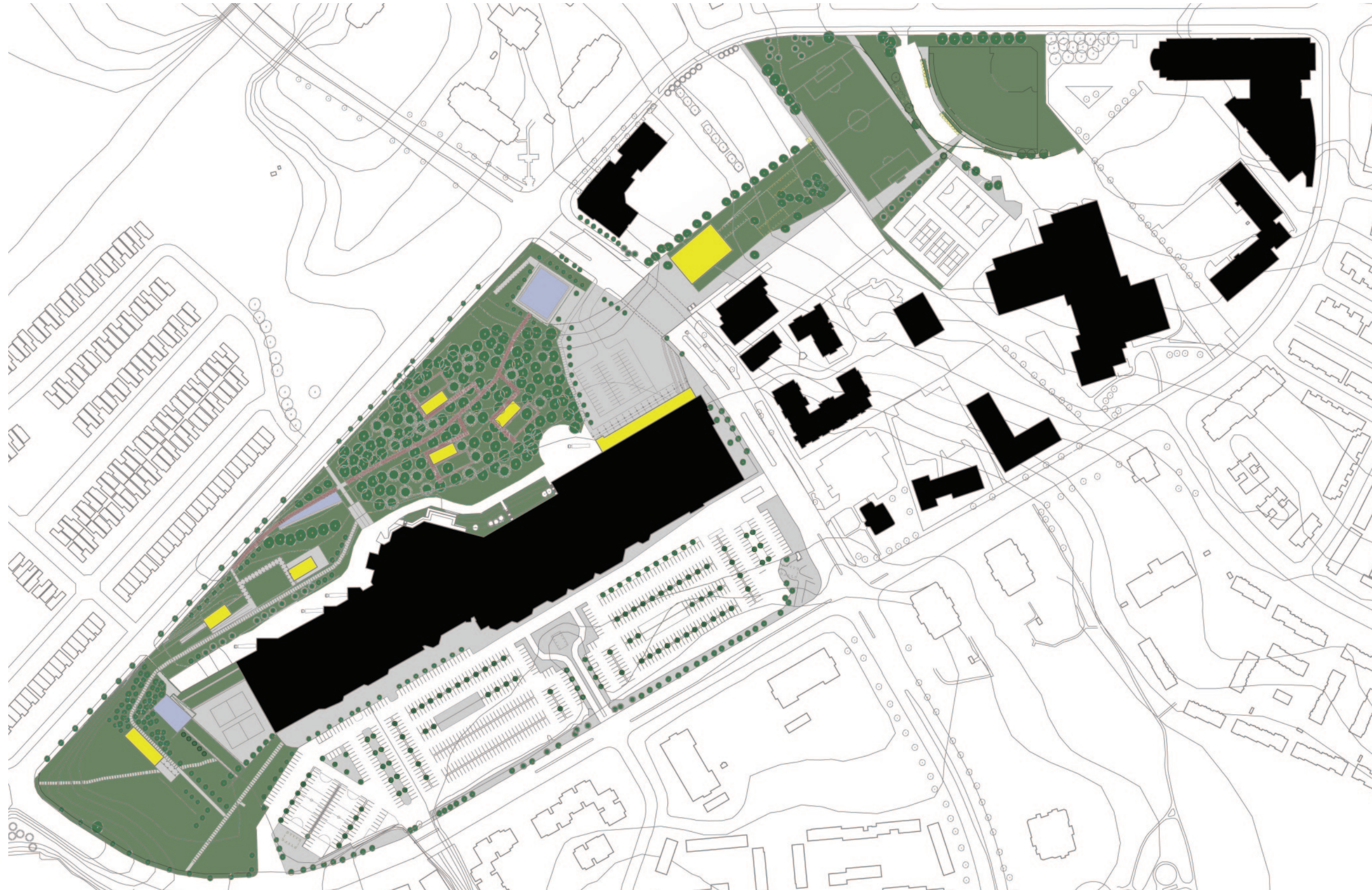
Scale of the Town Centre: Schematic Diagram 2

This diagram indicates the placement of a series of architectural and landscape elements including walls, covered pavilions, vegetation, gateways, bleachers and water features.



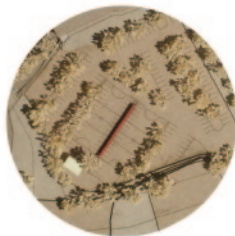
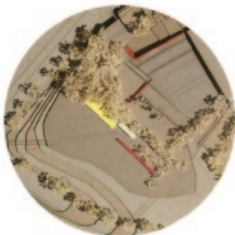
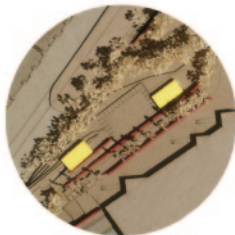
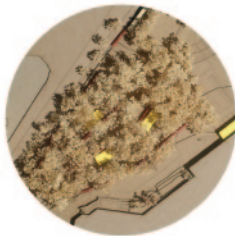
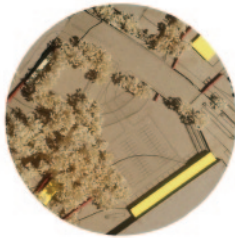
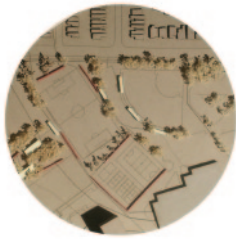
The movement and connections throughout the site are defined by a series of enclosures, this is indicative of the concept of initiation namely a separation, initiation and return. The multiple separations found in each zone contain the various programming and are connected by a series of pedestrian paths. These paths penetrate the town centre from multiple locations including the adjacent high schools and the residential areas. The flow of the paths and forms of the enclosures are defined by the architectural and landscape elements.





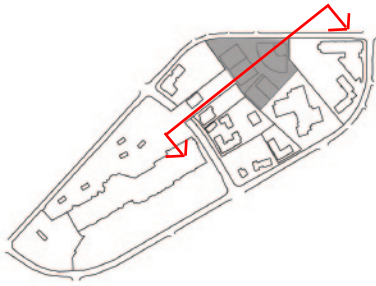
This final schematic diagram shows the composition as a whole. At this stage it is necessary to introduce the intervention at a more intimate scale, the scale of the adolescent. Each zone will be shown in detail with respect to programming and the character of the places created by the intervention,

Scale of the Adolescent

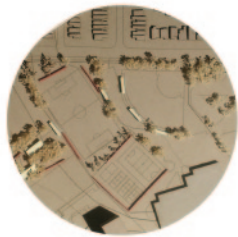


4.10 Scale of the Adolescent Context Images

Recreational Park



4.11 Recreational Park



Program

Outdoor Recreational Facilities

1. Baseball Diamond
2. Soccer Field
3. Tennis, Volleyball and Roller Hockey Arena

Recreational Park

The first identified Mythogenic Zone is the existing Recreational park. In this intervention a series of enclosures are created using elements such as walls, canopies, bleachers and paths.

The entrance and threshold of the park from the North end of the site is defined by a stone path and framed by a covered bleacher looking on to the existing soccer field. Adjacent to the soccer field is the existing baseball diamond and car park which serves both the soccer and baseball events. At this end an additional path is framed leading to the Recreational centre.

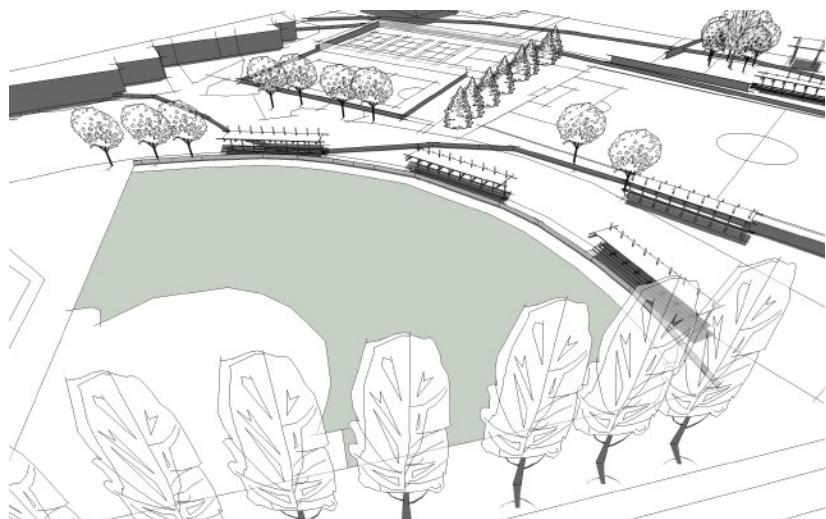
The intervention introduces three additional covered bleachers defining an enclosure around the baseball diamond. The existing tall chainlinked fenced is removed and a lower more inviting barrier is put in its place.

A similar concept is introduced to the existing tennis courts, Volleyball and roller hockey arena. With exception to the tennis courts, the chain link fence is replaced with low walled elements to create a more inviting atmosphere.

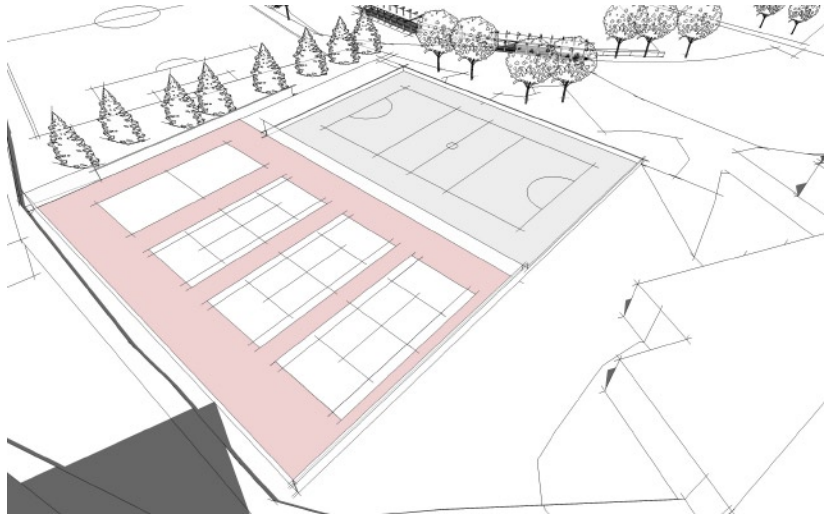
The primary concepts in this mythogenic zone is that of movement through the site, places of rest, competition and spectatorship. The competitive sport spaces are ideal for community sporting events and pickup games.



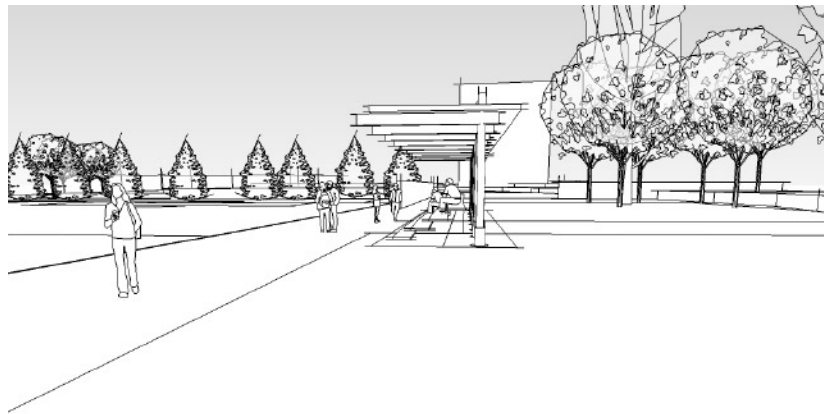
4.12 Soccer Field birds Eye View



4.13 Baseball Diamond birds eye view



4.14 Tennis Courts, Volleyball Court and Roller Hockey Arena birds eye view



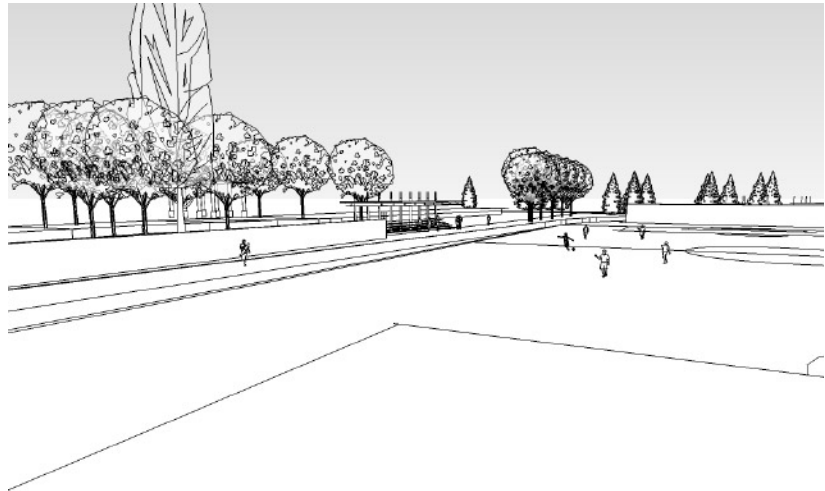
4.15 Threshold entrance from the north end of the park.



4.16 Recreational Park Site Plan: 1:1000



4.17 Covered bleachers looking on to the baseball diamond.



4.18 Threshold View from the North end of baseball diamond

4.19 Site Section Enlarged



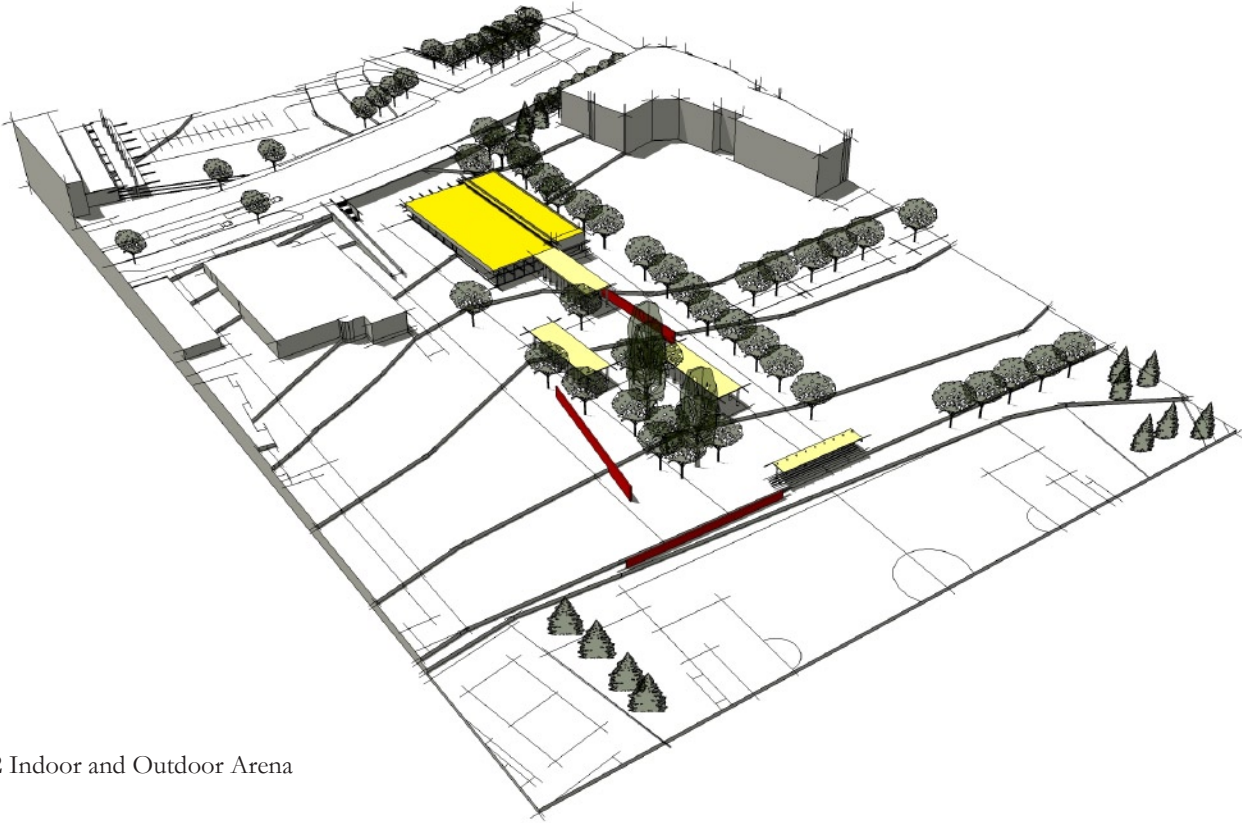
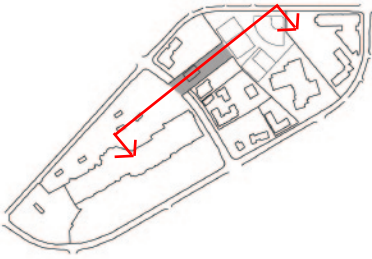


4.20 Pickup soccer game at the rec centre.

4.21 Site Section



Indoor and Outdoor Arena



4.22 Indoor and Outdoor Arena



Program

Competitive Indoor Arena and Outdoor Terraced Arena: Martial Arts, Wrestling and Boxing

Indoor Arena

1. Arena Space Seating (Cap. 300)
2. Public Washrooms
3. Storage
4. Change Room/Showers
5. Warm Up Room
6. Lobby

Outdoor Arena

1. 3 Terraced Covered Grounds

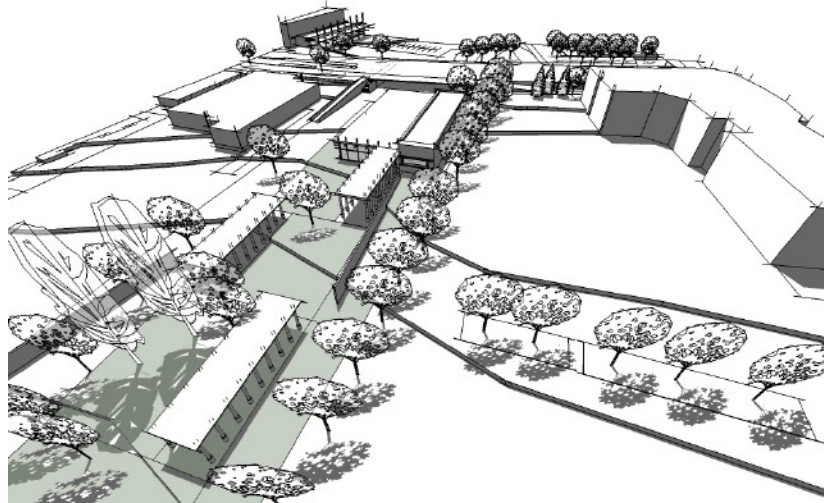
Indoor and Outdoor Arena

The second identified mythogenic zone is the introduction of an Indoor and Outdoor Arena. The Arena's landscape is the threshold connection between the existing recreational activities and the rest of the composition.

The connection to the existing recreational facilities is created by three terraced outdoor arena's covered by large canopies. The outdoor arena enclosure is created by the back end of the soccer bleachers, low concrete walls on the north and south ends of the arena site, and the rear facade of the indoor arena completes the enclosure on the west end.

The primary function of the arena is to display the competitive skills learned during adolescent training, however in a community based setting. The events presented in this arena include boxing, karate, tae-kwan-do, judo and wrestling. This provides a social connection between the adolescent athletes and their adult spectator counterparts.

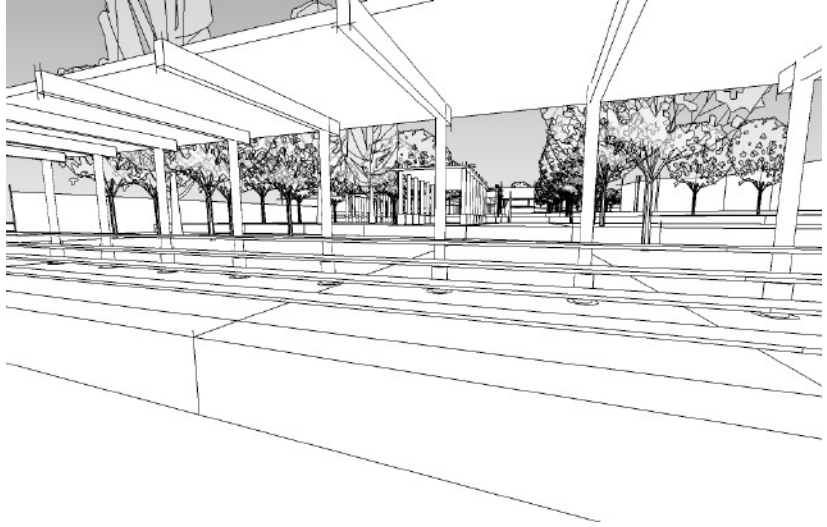
The indoor arena is used during all seasons and accommodates 300 spectators. The solid portion of the building is a container and within are preparation spaces for the competition. A framed opening is created from this space into the arena which itself is transparent from one end of the building to the other. This creates a visible threshold from the east end of the site to the north end towards the next intervention, the plaza.



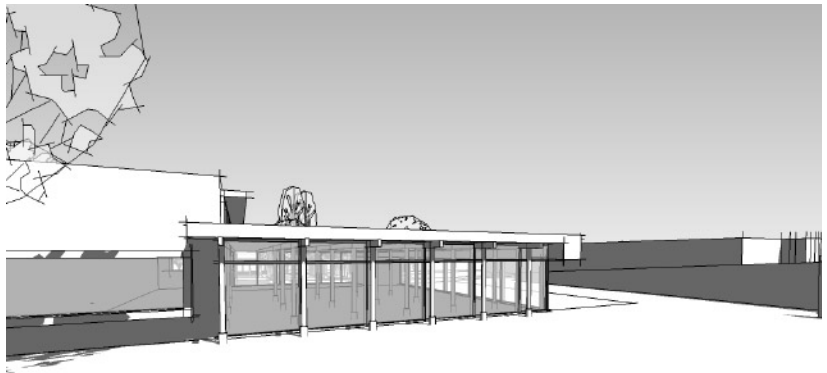
4.23 Indoor and Outdoor Arena birds eye view



4.24 Indoor Arena from Street Level



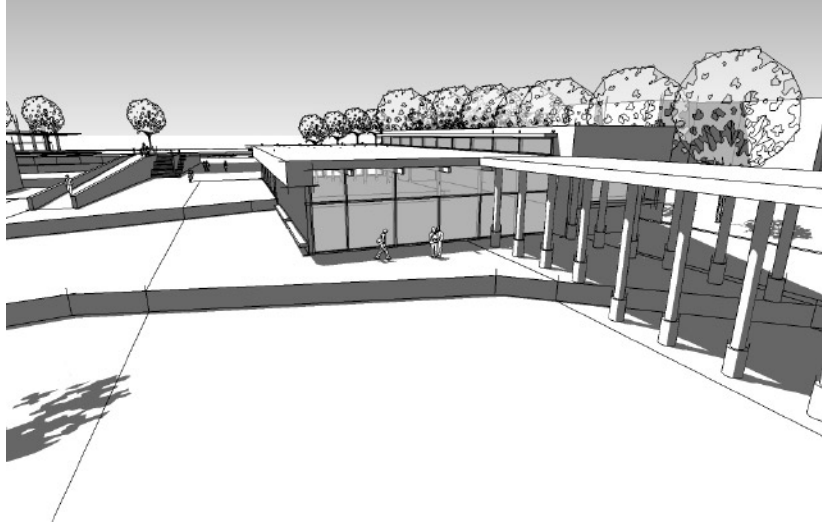
4.25 View from the soccer field bleachers looking west towards the terraced arena space.



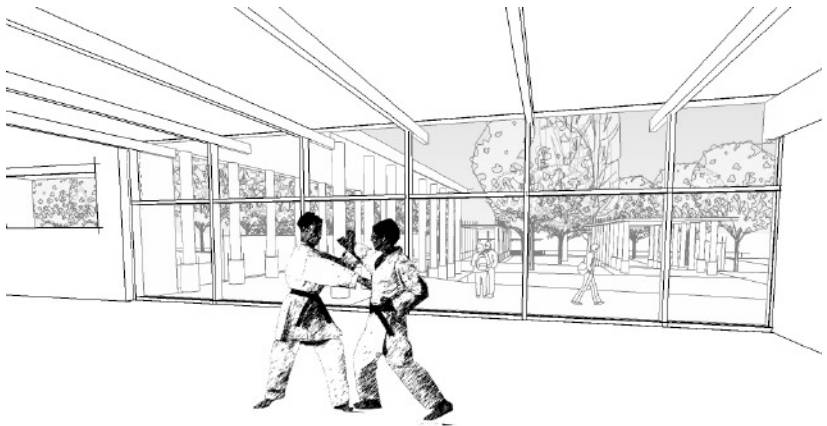
4.26 Front entrance of the indoor arena.



4.27 Indoor and Outdoor Arena Site Plan: 1:1000

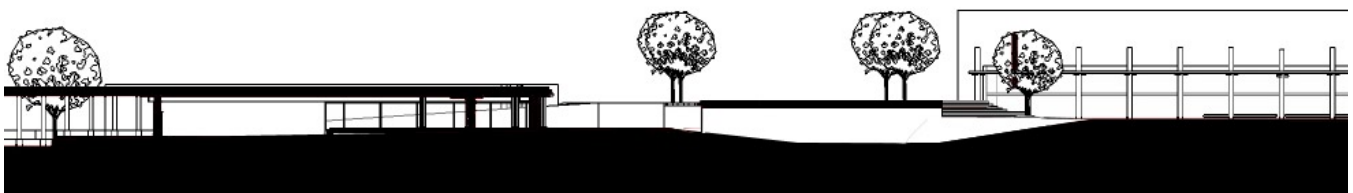


4.28 Rear entrance of Indoor Arena and visible threshold from the Recreational Park to the Plaza



4.29 Competitive event within the Arena.

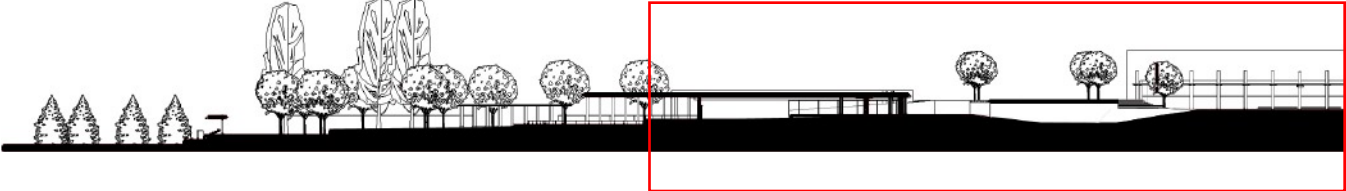
4.30 Site Section Enlarged



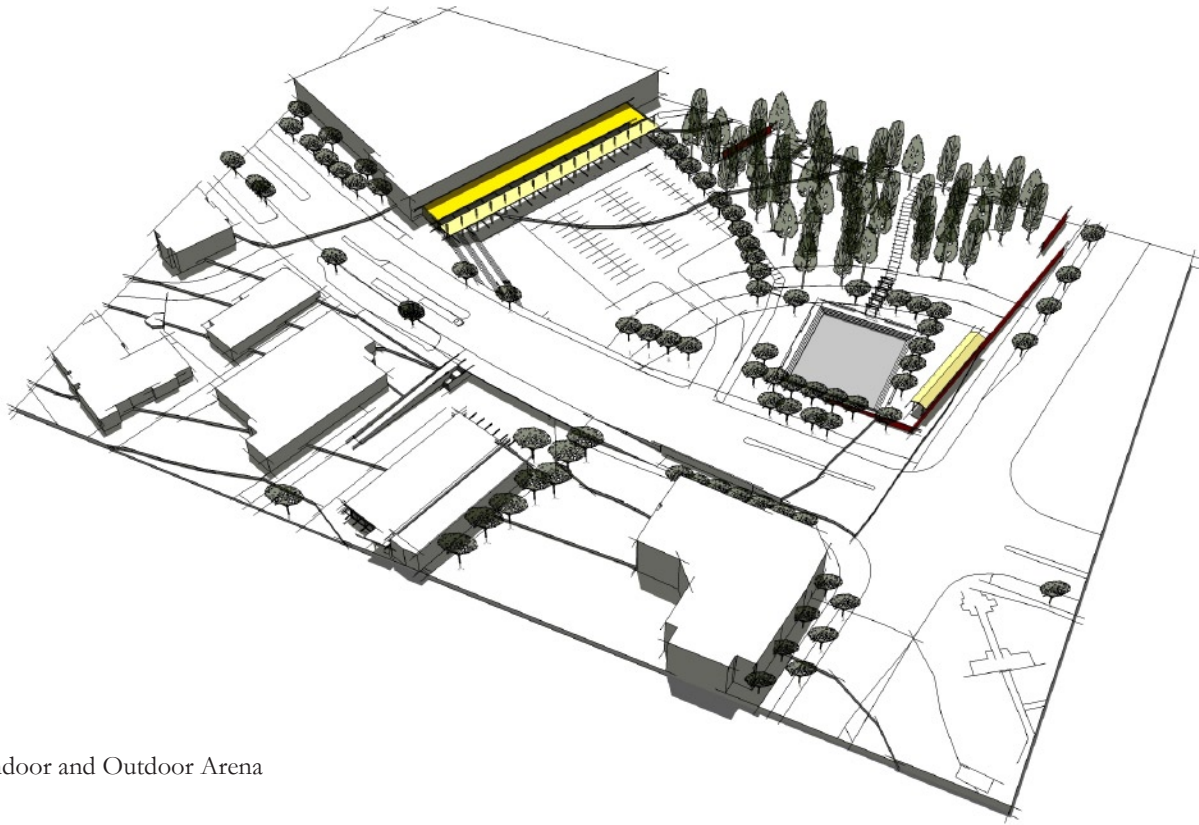
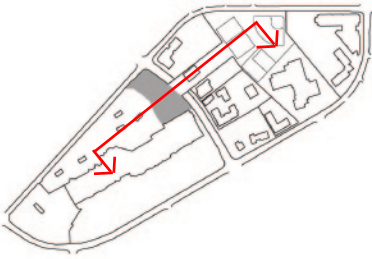


4.31 Front entrance of the Indoor arena framed by the automobile overpass

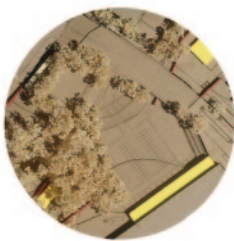
4.32 Site Section



Civic Space and Plaza



4.33 Indoor and Outdoor Arena



Program

Adolescent Civic Space and Plaza

Plaza Shops and Stores

1. Programme Administration
Office and Counselling Services
2. Auto Garage and Custom Body Work
3. Martial Arts Equipment Store
4. General Fitness Club

Outdoor Pavilion and Plaza

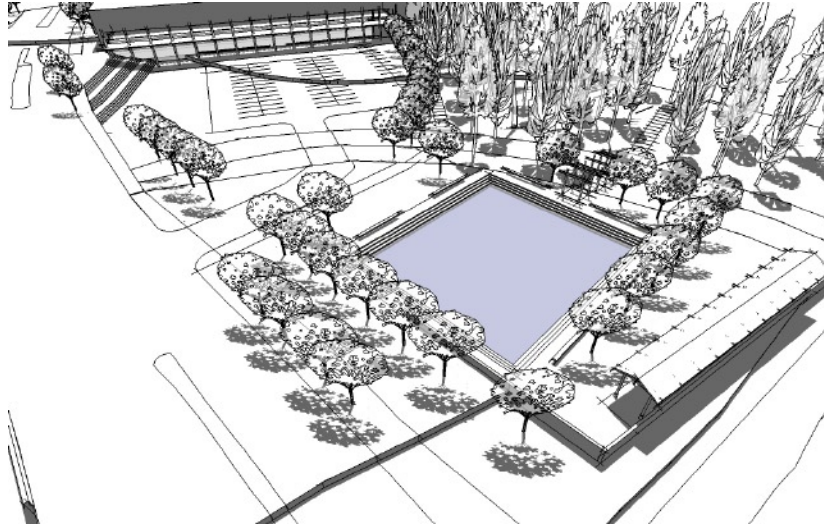
1. Reflecting Pool and Seasonal Skating Rink
2. Covered Pavilion

Civic Space and Plaza

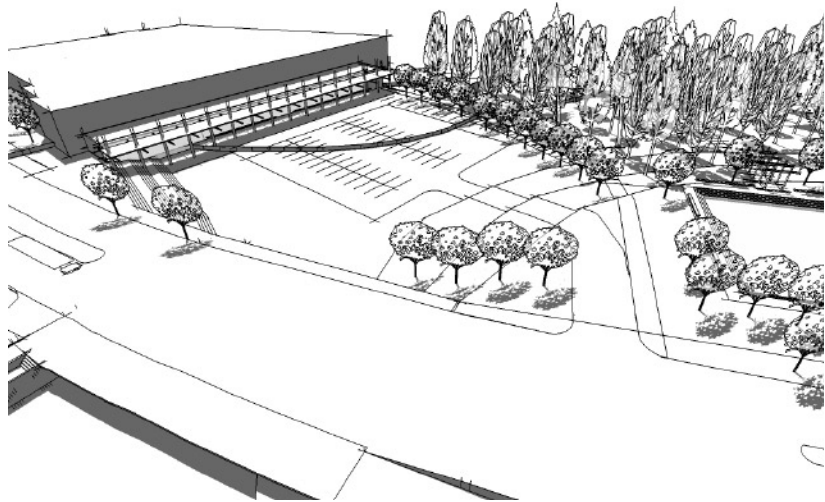
The third identified mythogenic zone is the introduction of an adolescent plaza and civic space. This separation is created by the elevation of the main Neilson road. A threshold from the arena site is framed by this underpass, spilling into the unprogrammed surface. A series of grade changes suggest opportunities for activities such as skate boarding, bmx biking and inline skating.

The existing stores and shops on the back end of the mall are relocated within the mall and replaced with programme geared towards adolescent interests and issues. This programme includes an Auto garage/custom body shop, martial arts equipment store, and general fitness club. In addition to these shops are the site administration and counselling services. The primary administrative representatives include a police officer, a local politician, a guidance councillor, and a site administrator. These are the liaisons for each respective community group. The location of this office is placed out of view of the main plaza, however is available to all adolescents of the community.

On the North end of plaza is a raised civic space enclosed by a series of trees, a wall on the north end with a covered pavilion, and on the west end of the enclosure an existing forest. During the winter season the reflecting pool is converted into a skating rink where ice hockey pickup games may be played and general skating activities. The other function of this space is its role as a threshold and address to the martial arts, wrestling and boxing training facilities within the consecrated forest.



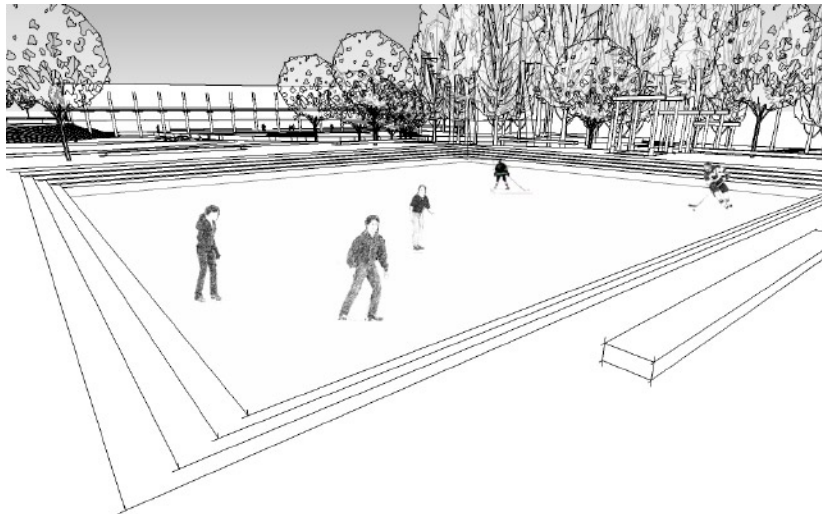
4.34 Reflecting Pool and adjacent Pavilion birds eye view



4.35 Plaza Space birds eye view



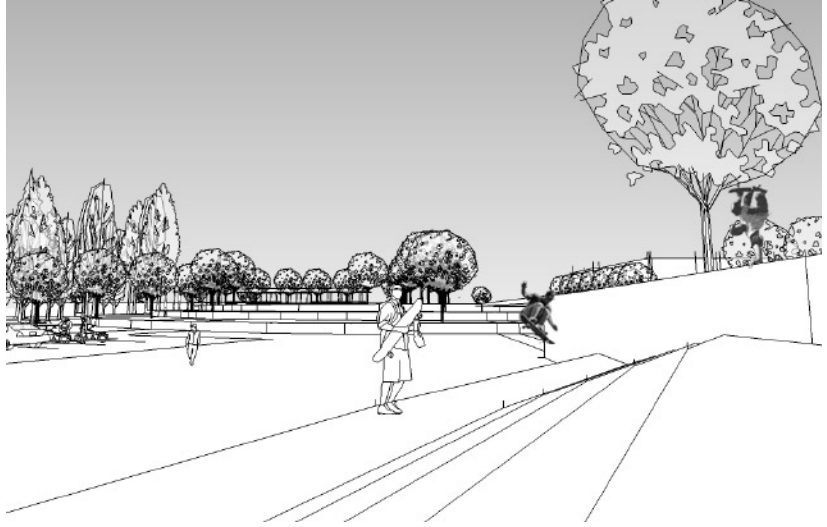
4.36 View along plaza facade.



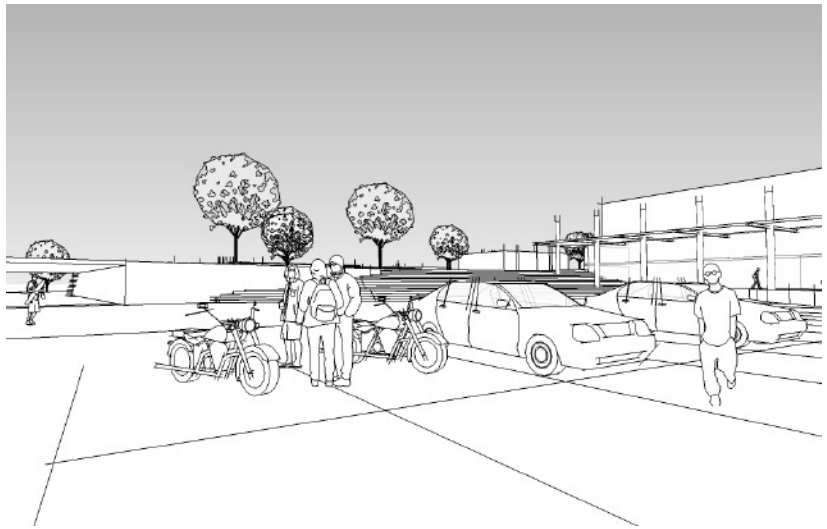
4.37 Seasonal skating rink adjacent to the main plaza.



4.38 Civic Space and Plaza Site Plan: 1:1000

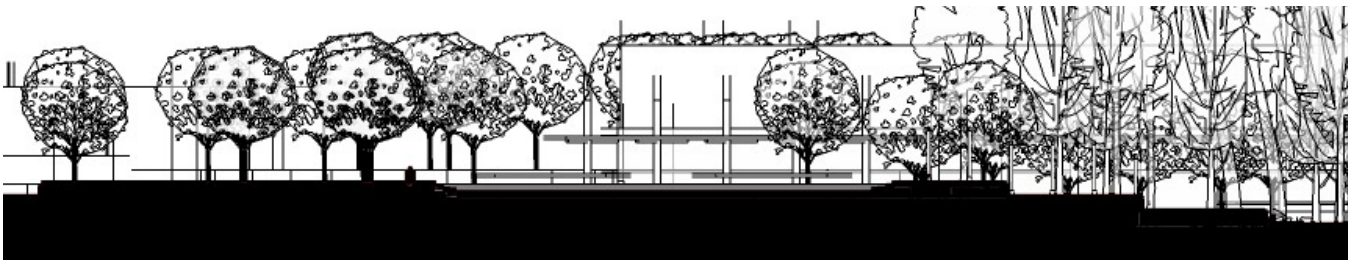


4.39 Stairs leading down to the Plaza from the Street Level



4.40 Parking Area for Plaza

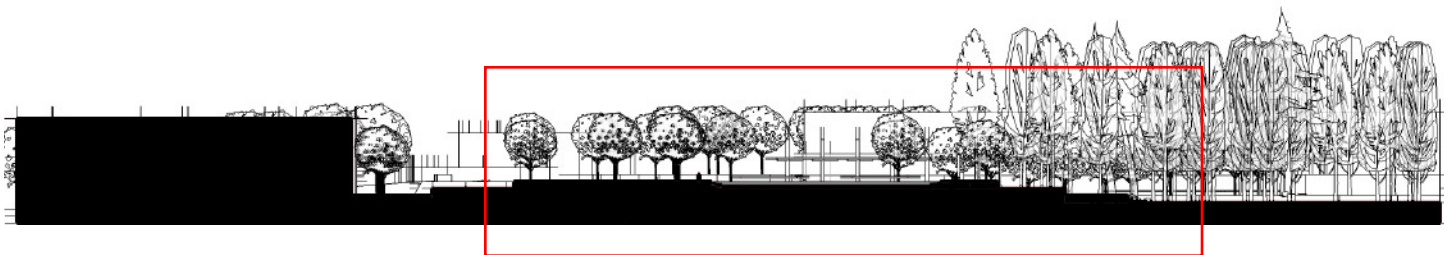
4.41 Site Section Enlarged



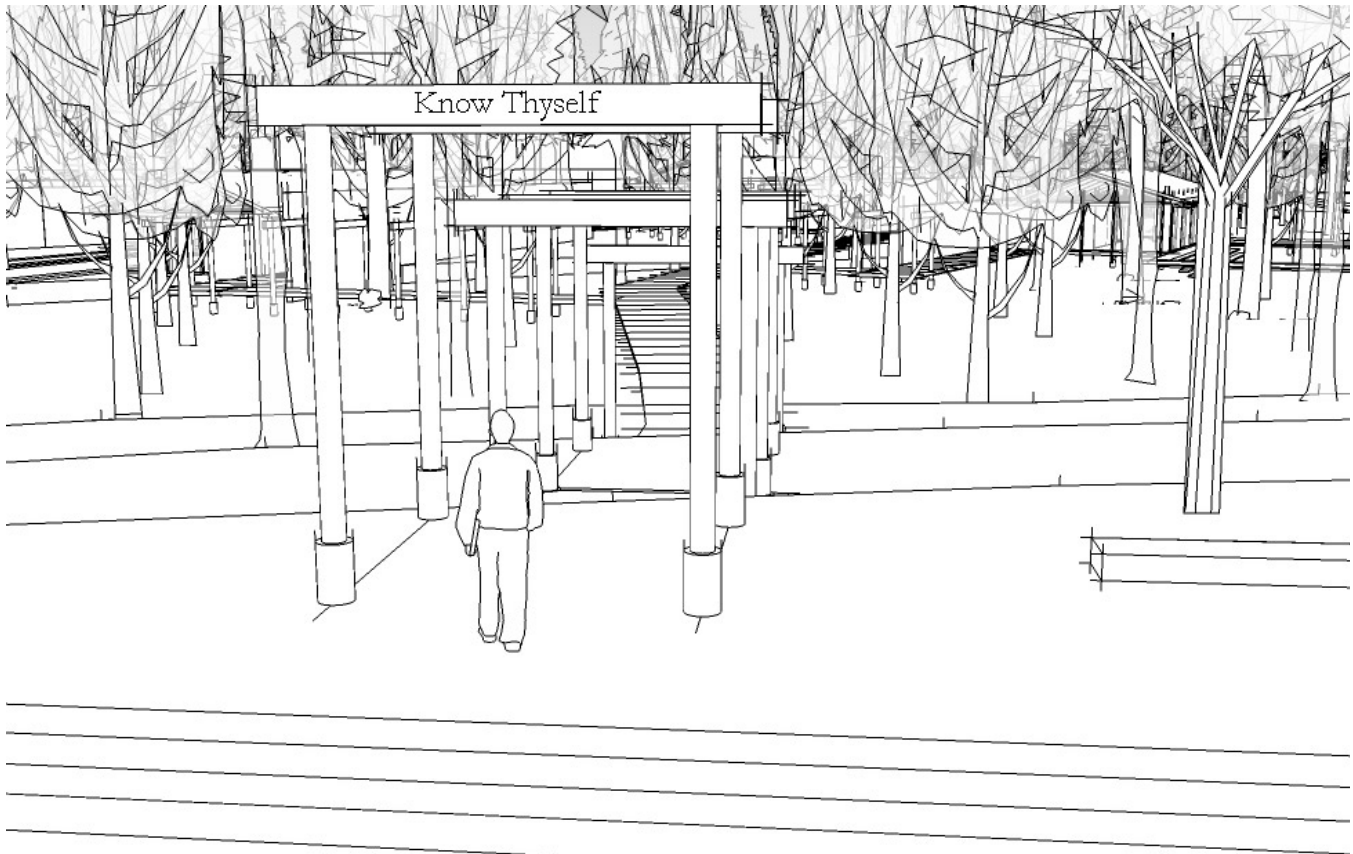


4.42 Plaza Parking lot

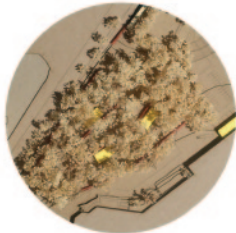
4.43 Site Section



Ritualised Aggression

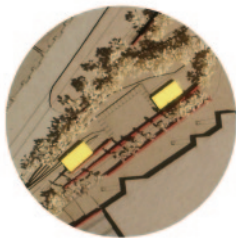


Program



Ritualised Aggression: Martial Arts, Boxing and Wrestling Training Spaces

1. Martial Arts: Judo Pavilion
2. Martial Arts: Karate Pavilion
3. Martial Arts: Tae-Kwan-Do Pavilion
4. Wrestling Pavilion
5. Boxing Pavilion

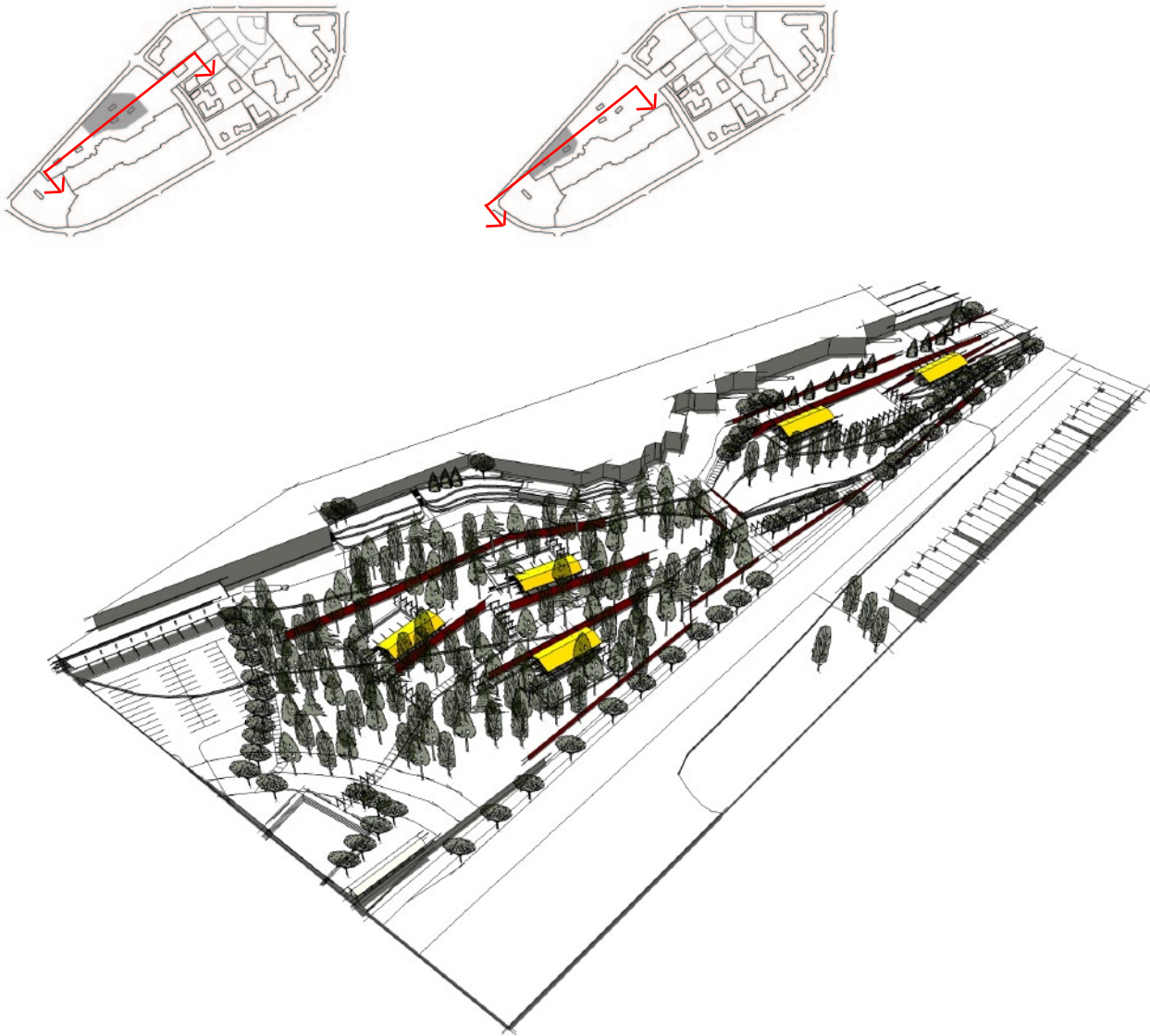


All Buildings contain an Open Studio, Storage, Change Room, Lockers and Benches, Showers and Washrooms. The Boxing Studio contains a practice ring.

Outdoor Spaces:

1. Martial Arts Buildings are accompanied by an Outdoor training space within the Forest. These spaces are also used for meditation and reflection.
2. The Boxing Studio and Wrestling Studio share a palaestra type outdoor training space.

4.44 Above: Entrance threshold to the consecrated forest



4.45 Consecrated Forest

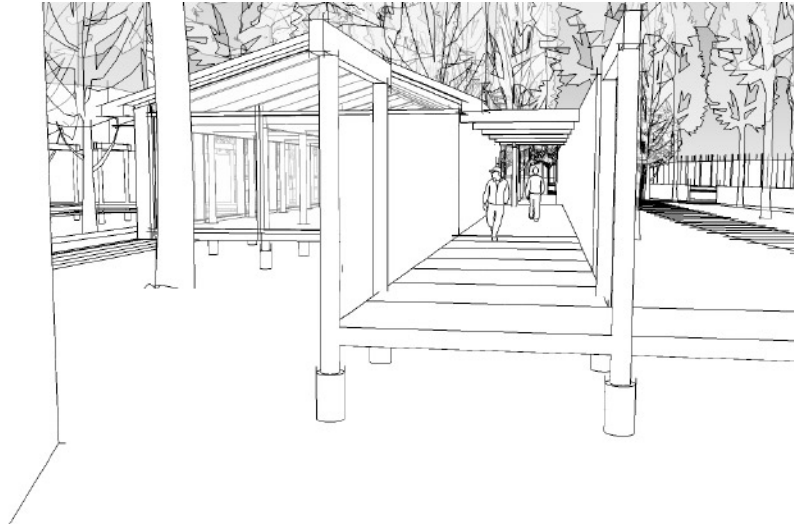
Consecrated Forest: Martial Arts Pavilions

The Fourth identified mythogenic zone is the consecrated forest. The buildings introduced are located within the forest, creating a greater degree of separation in comparison to the other zones. This separation is the most crucial with respect to the focus of the thesis. It is where the primal instinct of adolescent aggression is ritualised and where the training of the instincts through the mind and body takes place. It becomes a forum for elder and adolescent communication creating a place for guidance and initiation towards adulthood.

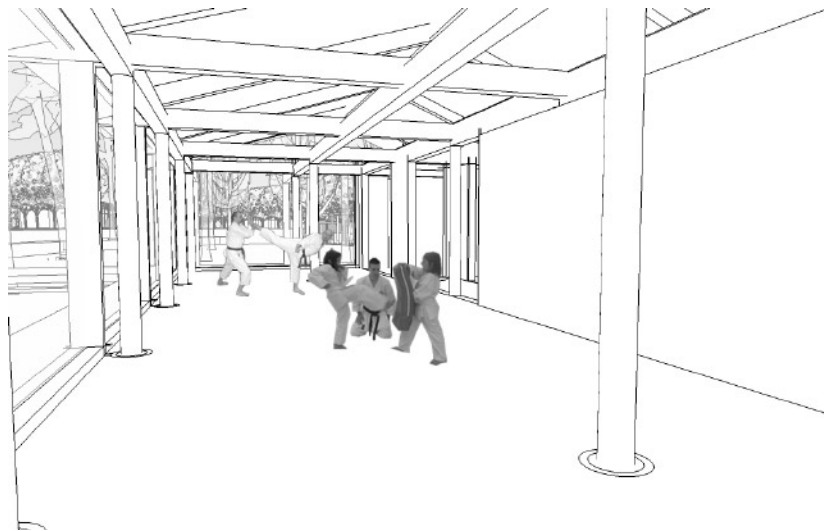
The entrance of the forest is entered by means of an elevated wood path. The entry point is marked by a series of gateway elements, the first of which is marked with the expression 'know thyself.' The main path within the forest is separated from each respective training pavilion by a series of walls. Access to the Martial arts pavilions occur at a series of points off of the main path and are also marked by gateways.

Each Martial arts Pavilion provides interior and exterior spaces for training. The interior contains an open studio for exercises and education. The exterior space is adjacent to the pavilion within the woods and is defined by an elevated walkway. It is accessed by descending down a set of stairs off the studio space of the pavilion. This outdoor space is also used for training in addition to its function as a place for meditation and individual reflection.

The procession of entry into each pavilion and preparation becomes a ritual in itself. The entry begins with the enclosed walkway towards the main entrance. This is followed by entry into the main vestibule. The vestibule provides access to both the prep/change room and the main studio space. Once prepared, the change room is opened off into the main studio space by means of a large sliding door spilling into the studio space.



4.46 Entrance walkway to martial arts pavilion

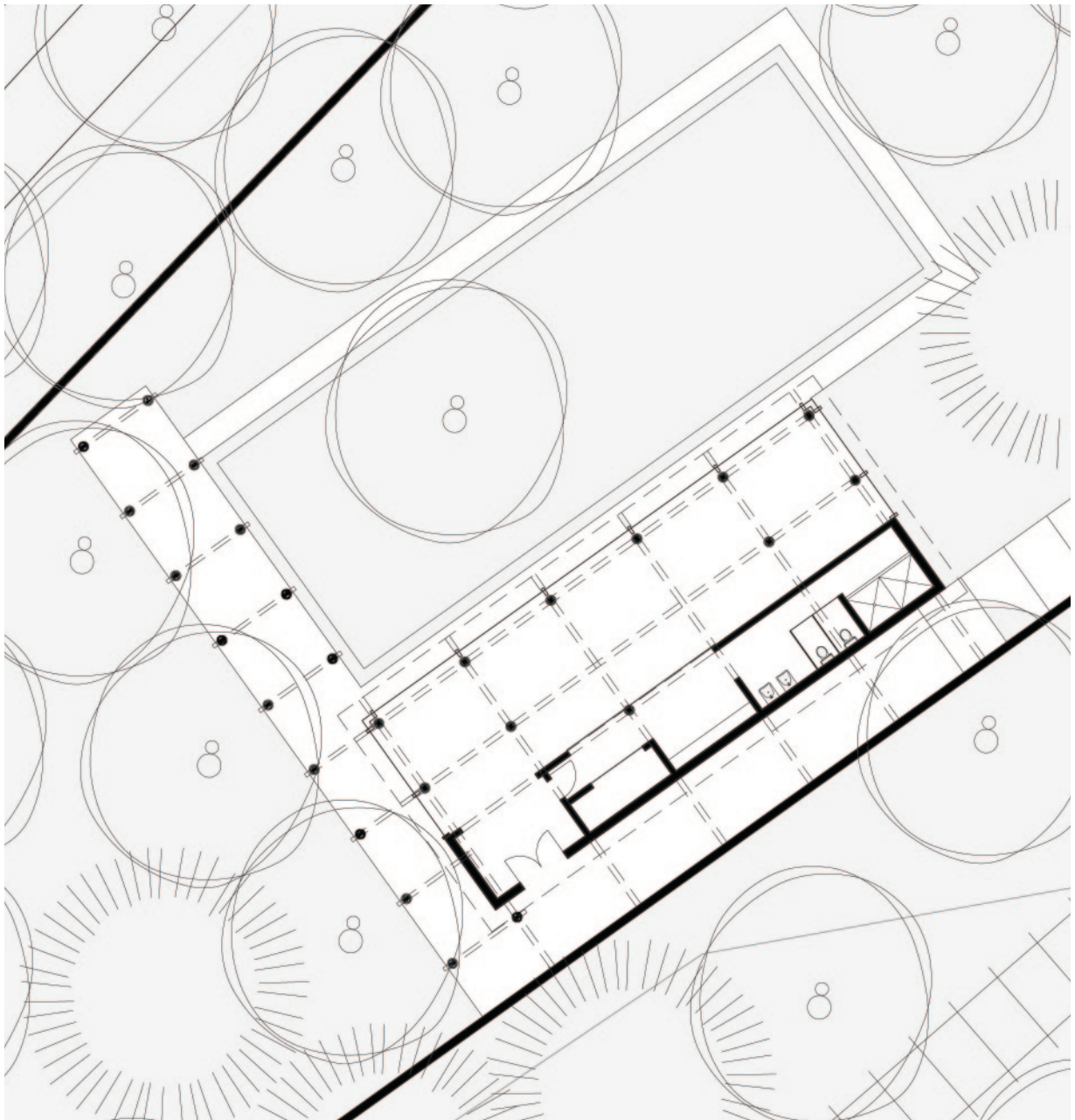


4.47 Indoor Karate training Studio



4.48 Consecrated Forest: Martial Arts Site Plan : 1:1000

Entry into Martial Arts Pavilion



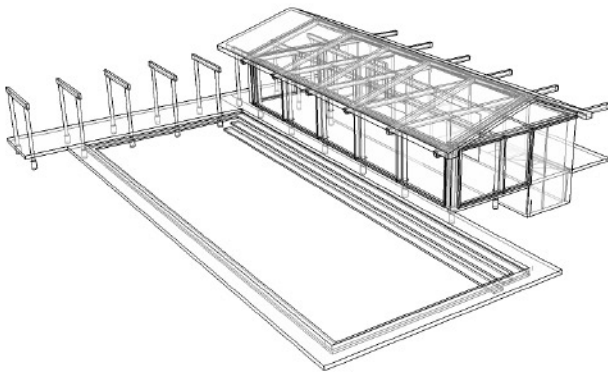
4.49 Martial Arts Pavilion Floor Plan : 1:250

4.50 Site Section Enlarged



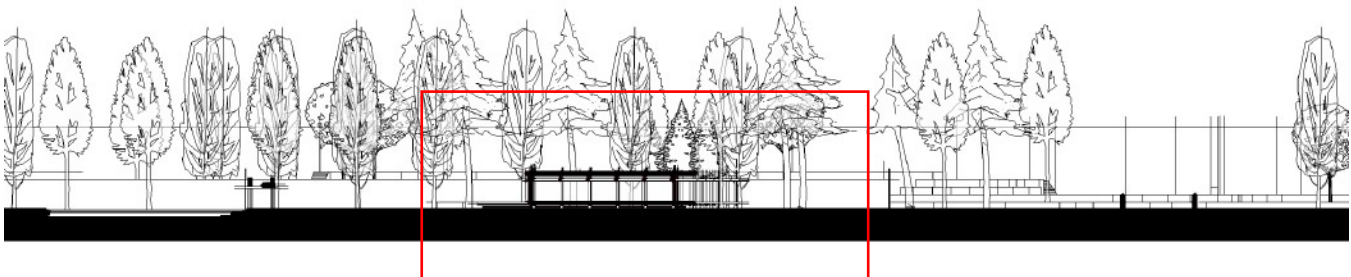


4.51 Outdoor training space at Karate pavilion



4.52 Structural diagram of a martial arts pavilion

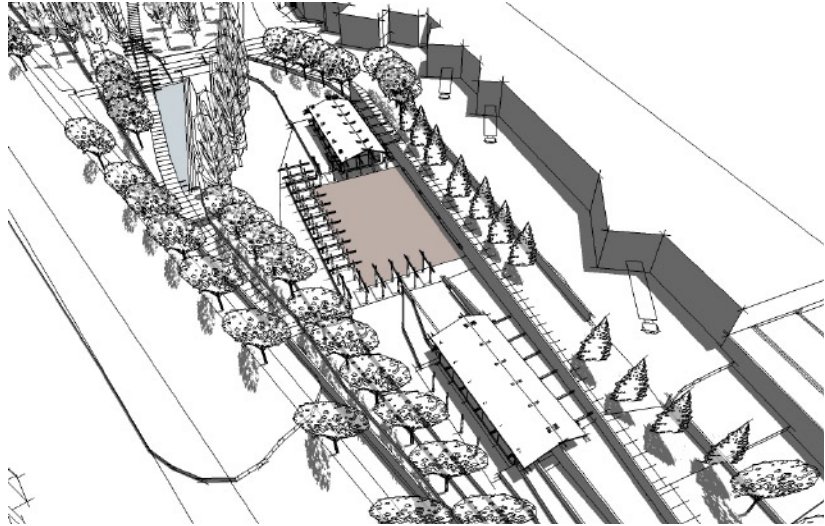
4.53 Site Section



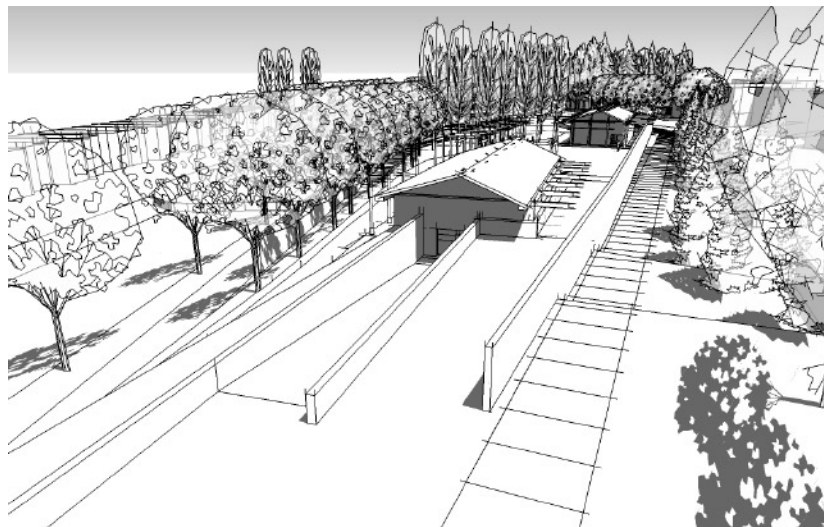
Consecrated Forest: Wrestling and Boxing Pavilions

The main path passing through the consecrated forest introduces an extension of this mythogenic zone. At this point there exists a significant threshold. It is where a stone ramped path intersects perpendicular to the wooden forest path providing access to the back entrance of the mall from the north end of the site. Two modes of access to the wrestling and boxing pavilions occur here including the threshold along a reflecting pool marked by gateways and a continuation of the wooden path. This wooden path leads to the main outdoor palaestra serving both the wrestling and boxing pavilions. The enclosure is defined by a series of gates to the north and east, a wall on the south side and the wrestling pavilion facade on the east side. The overall training ground is separated by a series of trees and wall elements. The other entry point into the training outdoor space is off of the back entrance of the mall. It is here that access is available to the mall, the wrestling pavilion or a walkway along the back of the mall towards the mound.

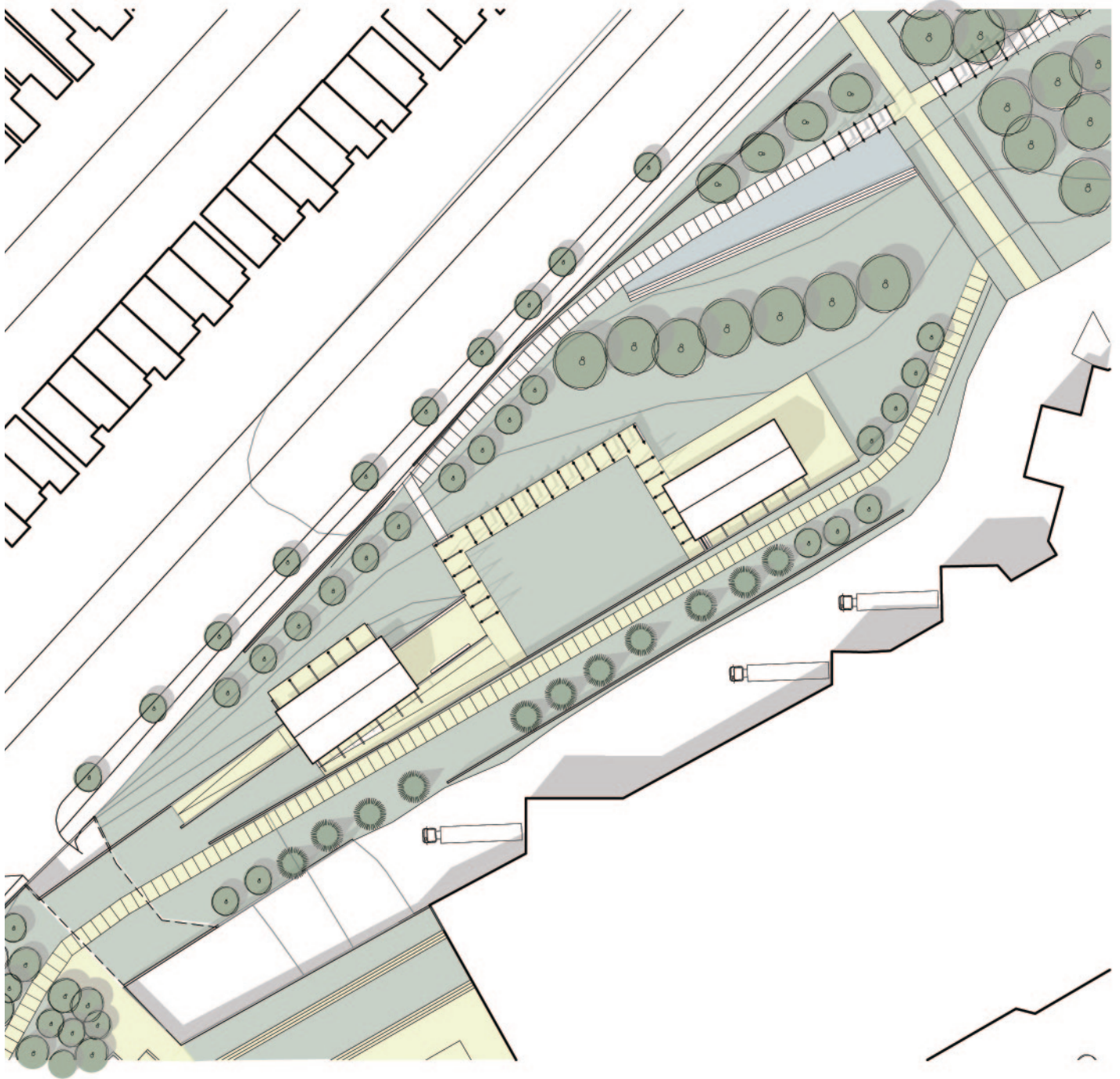
In a similar fashion to the martial arts training, the boxing and wrestling pavilions also become places for the mediation of aggression and training of the instincts. The building typology is similar and this is reflected in the organization of the floor plan, with exception to the placement of a boxing ring within the boxing pavilion, given the nature of the sport.



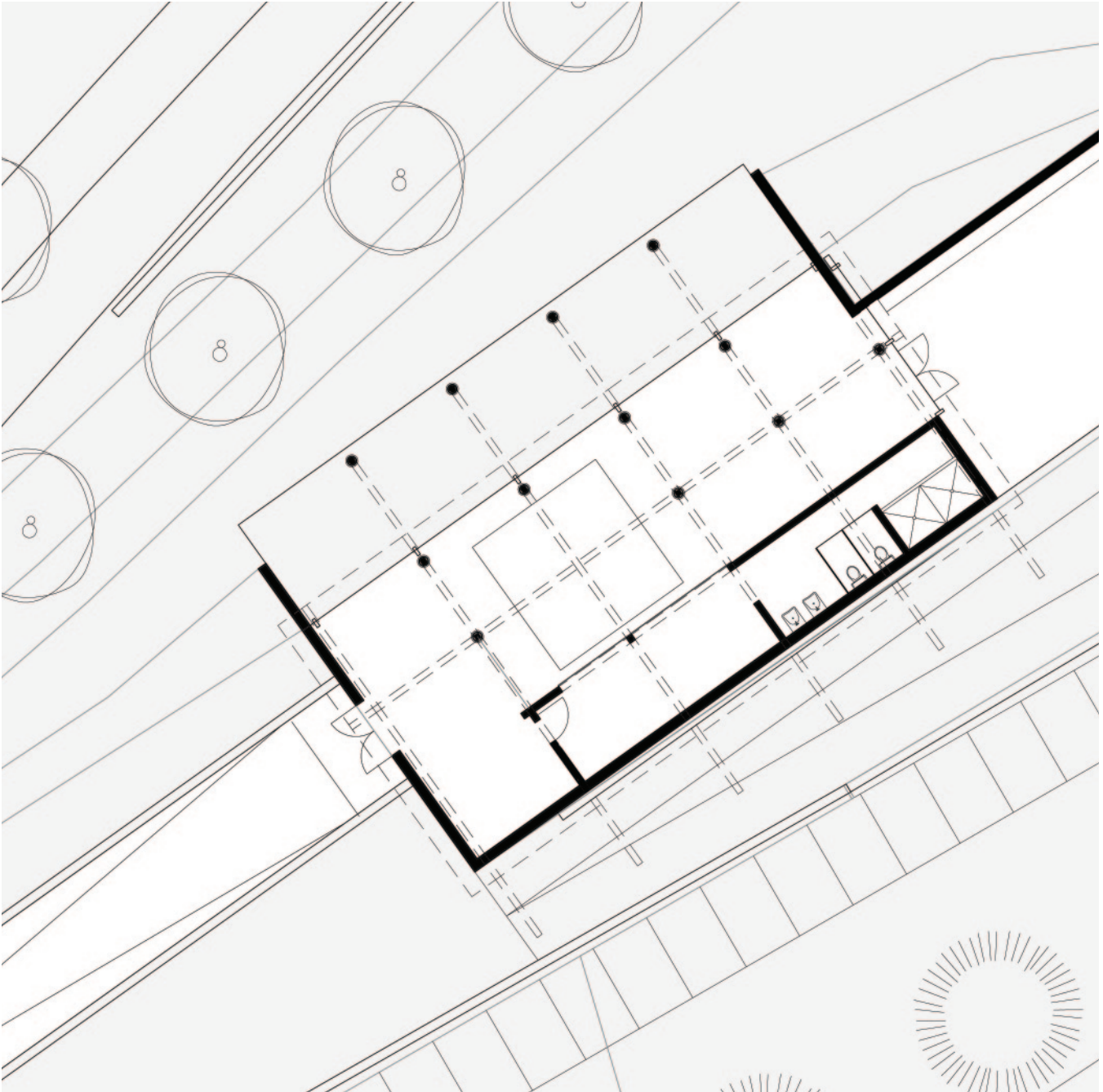
4.54 Boxing and Wrestling Pavilions birds eye view



4.55 Ramped entrance to the Boxing Pavilion birds eye view



4.56 Consecrated Forest: Wrestling and Boxing Site Plan : 1:1000



4.57 Boxing Pavilion Floor Plan : 1:250

4.58 Site Section Enlarged

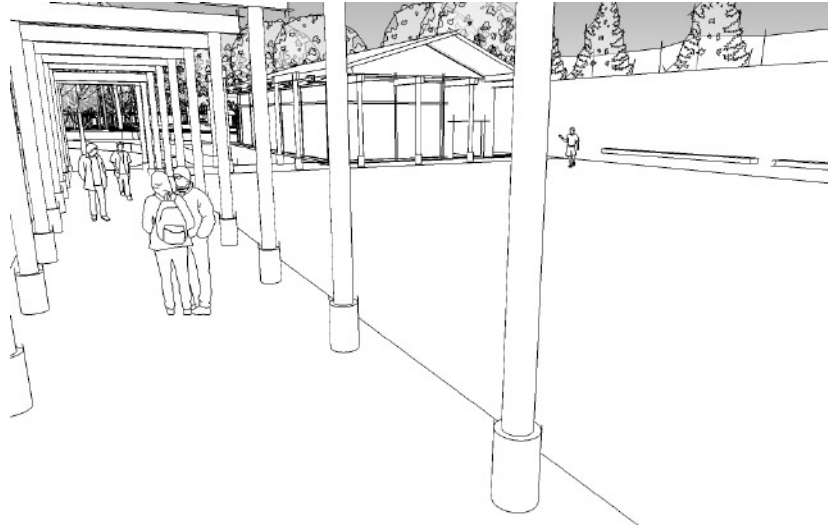




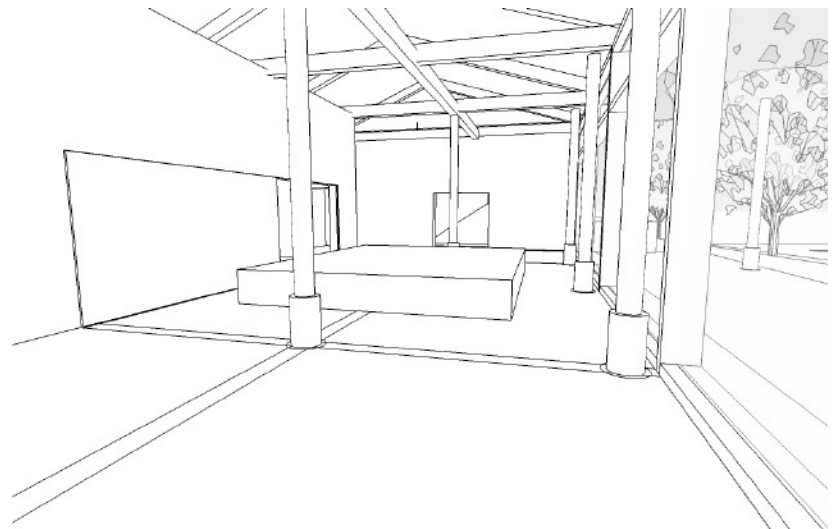
4.59 Training bout in the palaestra

4.60 Site Section

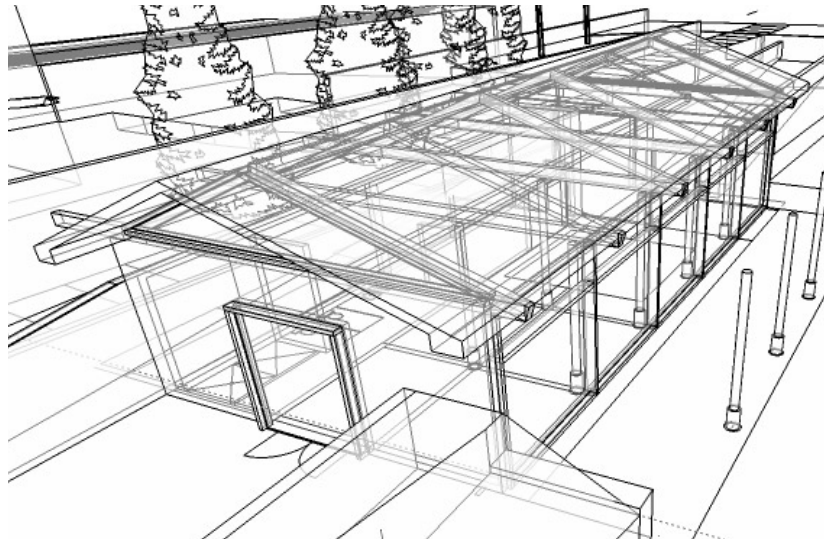




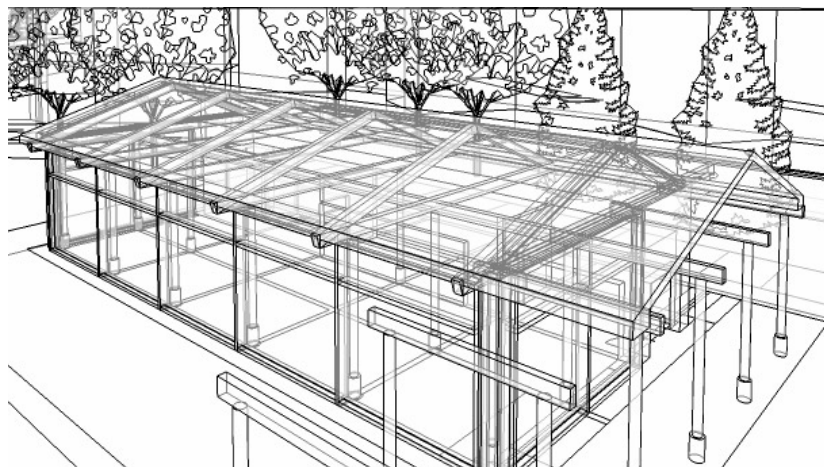
4.61 View into outdoor palaestra space. Gateways provide a space to socialise in addition to their spatial separation function.



4.62 Boxing studio with training ring at the centre.

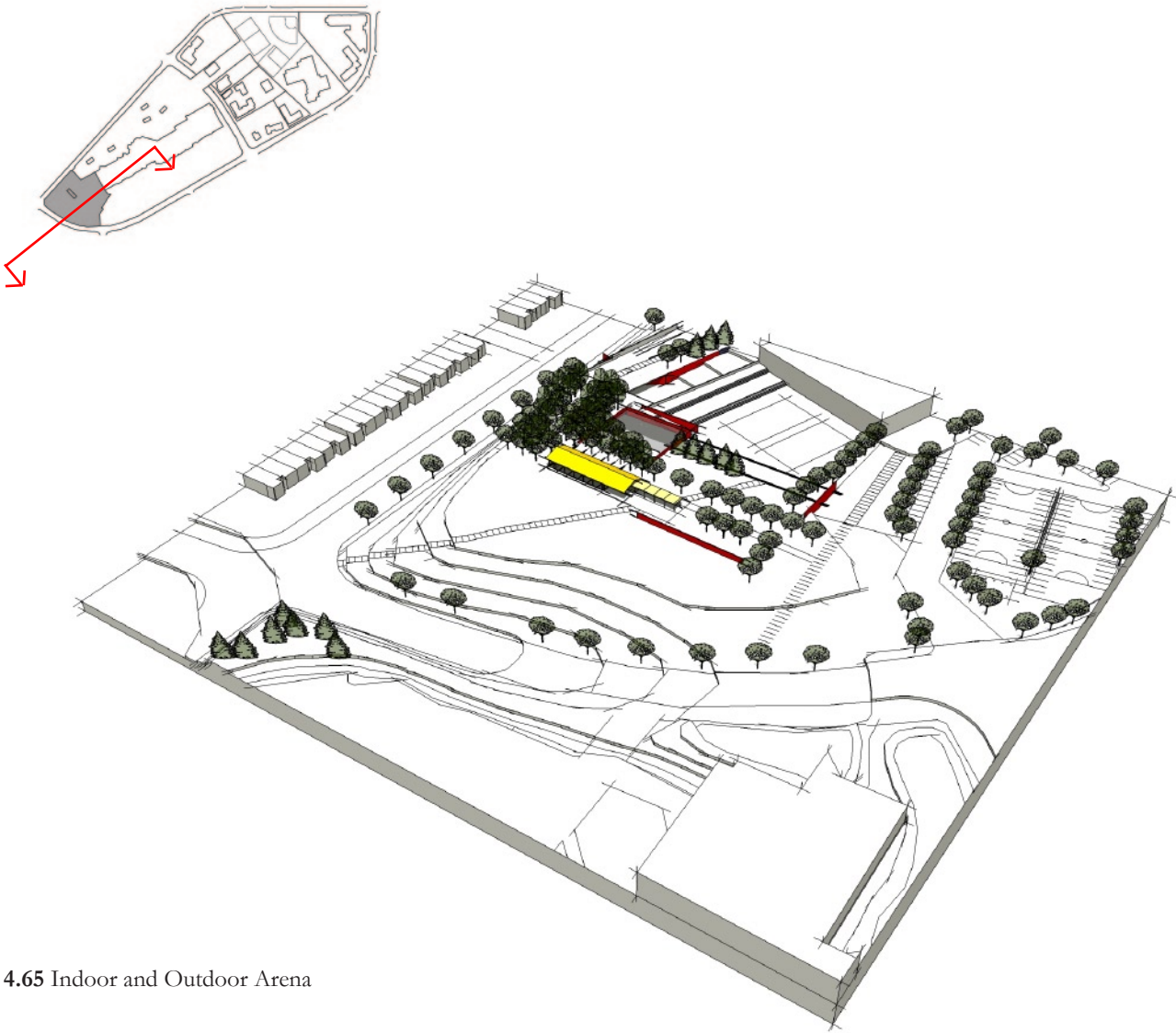


4.63 Structural diagram of the Boxing Pavilion.

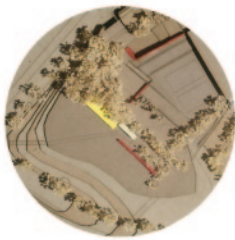


4.64 Structural diagram of the Wrestling Pavilion.

The Mound



4.65 Indoor and Outdoor Arena



Program

Library and Covered Pavilion

1. Indoor Reading Area
2. Book and Music Shelves
3. Display Space for Local Heroes

Outdoor Reflecting Pool and Stepped Courtyard

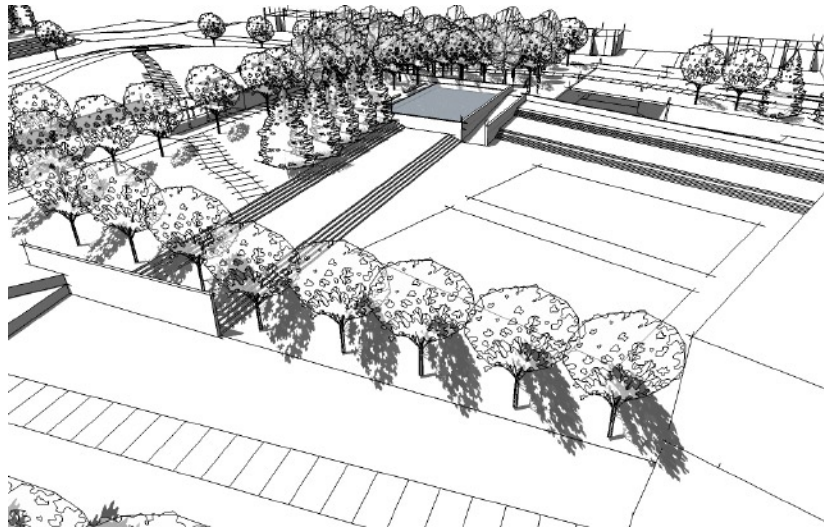
1. Outdoor Theatre
2. Basketball Pickup Court

The fifth identified mythogenic zone is the mound located on the west end of the town centre. This mound is the western threshold for the site and also provides access to the boxing pavilion. The connection is bridged by a pedestrian bridge overpass, above the truck access point to the rear of the mall.

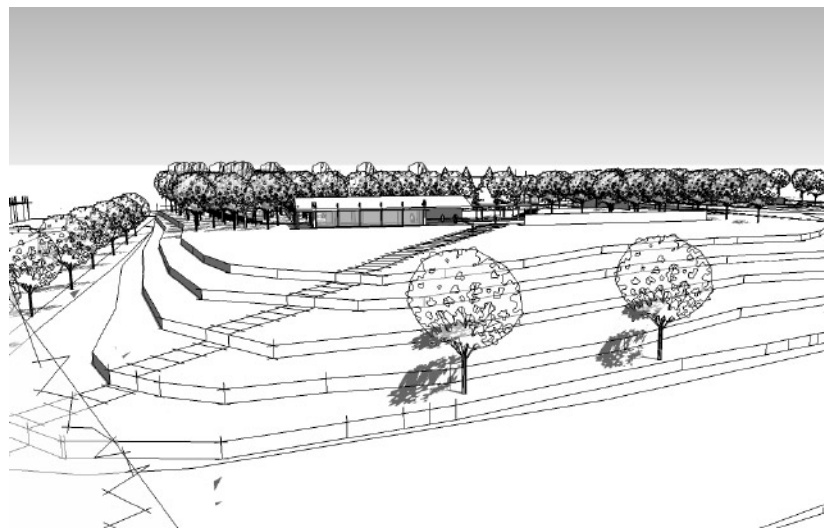
The stone path ascends to the top of the mound reaching a library pavilion. The library serves both as a gate to the mall and also functions as a youth resource library with a music collection, indoor and outdoor reading area, a collection of books and modest gallery dedicated to local heroes.

The east facade of the library forms part of stepped courtyard. This is defined by a small grove of trees on the north side, the blank facade of the mall on the west side, and a row of trees along the main path to the public face of the mall. This space is accessed through the mall and also along a ramp adjacent to the tree grove. The space theatre may serve public events in addition to local pickup basketball games.

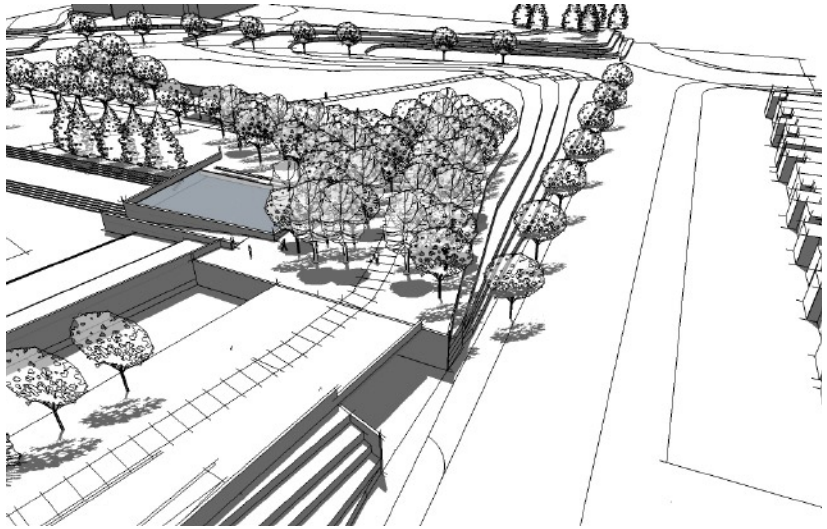
The outdoor reading area is an extension of the grove and a threshold defined by a reflecting pool and covered seating area. This is an example of another enclosed place for social interaction and self reflection.



4.66 Reflecting Pool and Stepped Courtyard birds eye view



4.67 Threshold Path from the West end of the Town Centre birds eye view



4.68 Bridge Spanning from the Consecrated Forest to the Mound overpassing the Mall Truck Access birds eye view



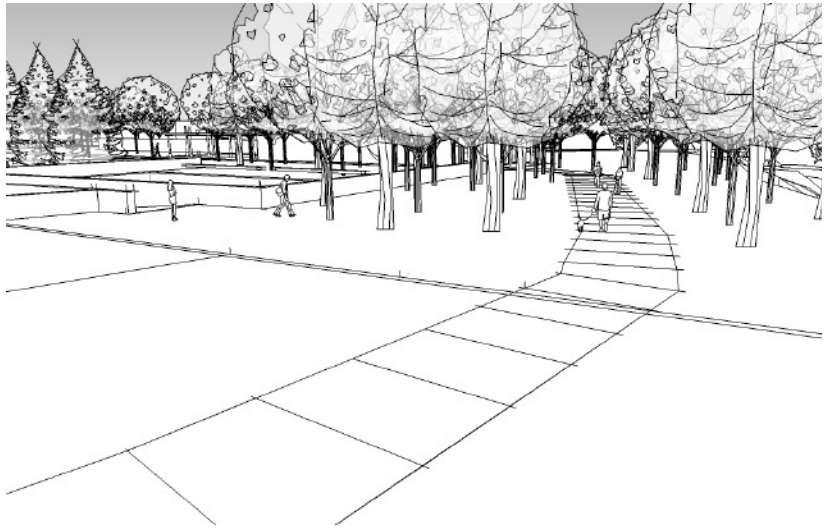
4.69 Walkway heading towards the Malvern mall from the west end of the site.



4.70 The Mound Site Plan: 1:1000

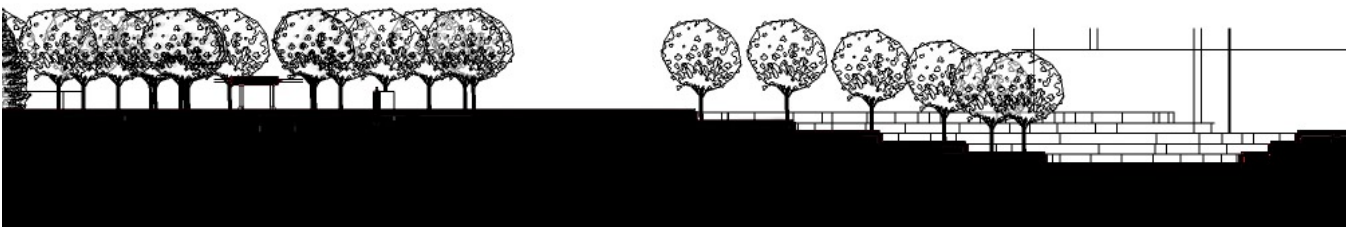


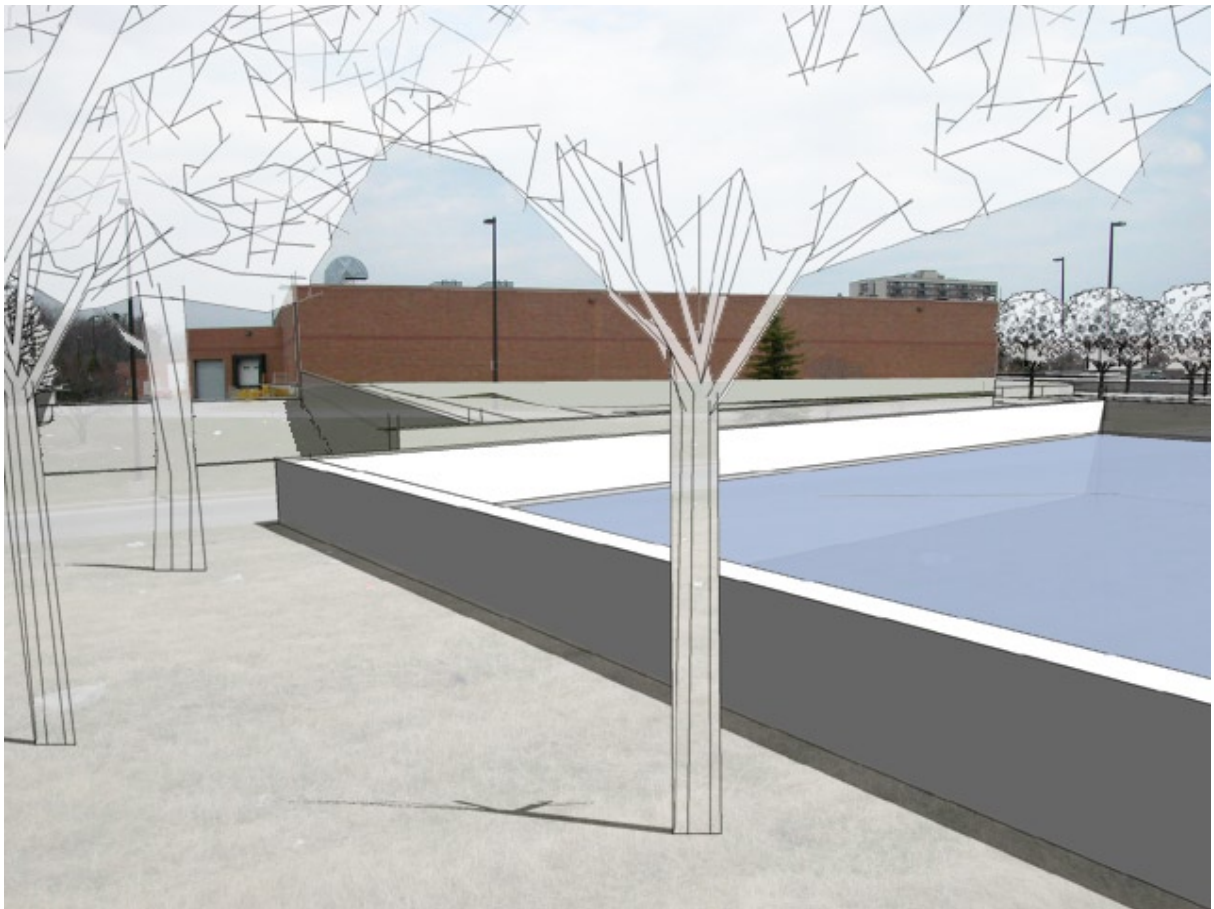
4.71 Path along the Edge of the Courtyard Space



4.72 Path leading from Consecrated Forest to the Mound

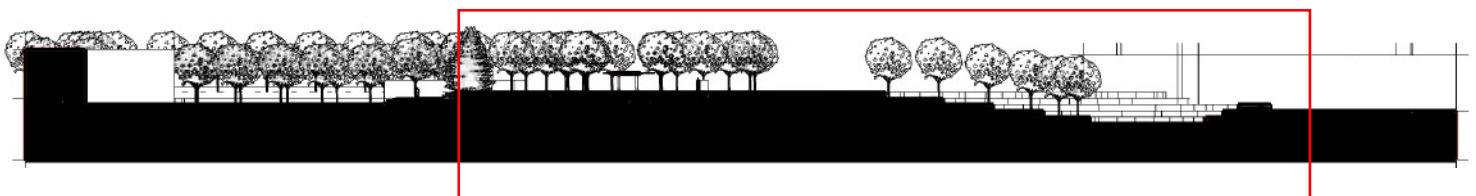
4.73 Site Section Enlarged



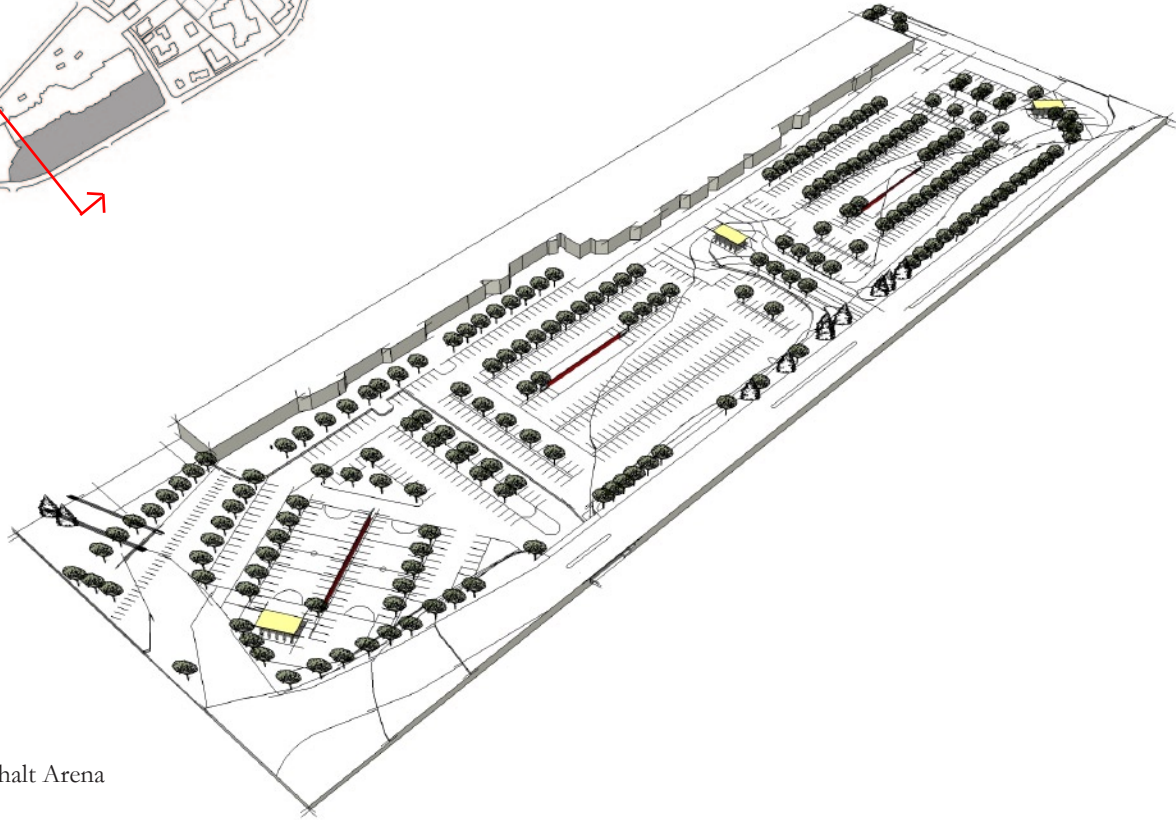
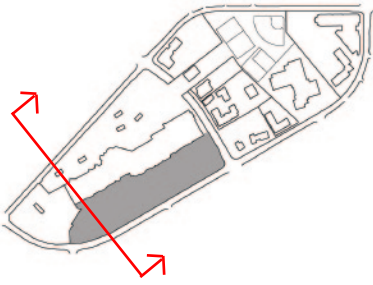


4.74 View to the theatre from the library reflecting pool

4.75 Site Section

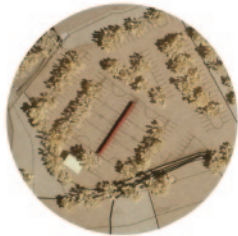


Asphalt Arena



4.76 Asphalt Arena

Program



Parking Lot

1. Pickup Street Hockey
2. Annual Carnival
3. Annual Car Show

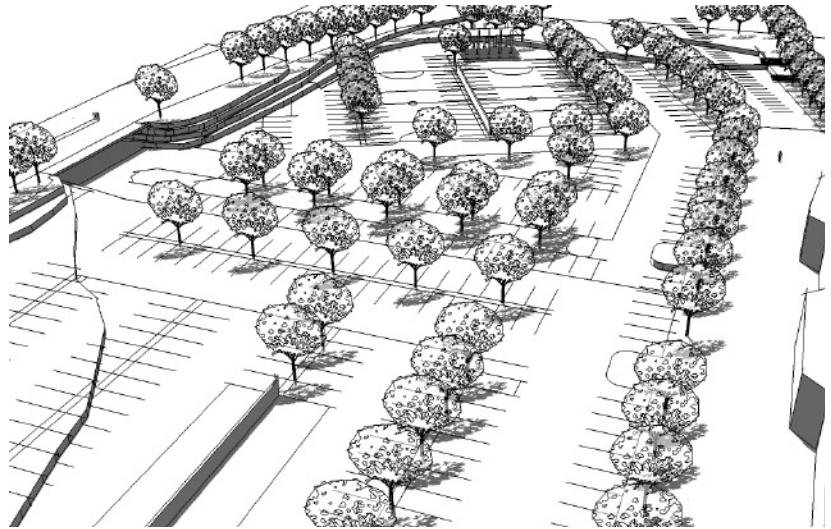
Asphalt Arena

The sixth identified mythogenic zone is the main mall parking lot. This immense area of parking space exists as a large expanse of unprogrammed space given that only half of the parking lot is full at any particular time during the year. The intervention introduces the use of three covered pavilions, three walls, and a series of enclosures defined by the planting of trees.

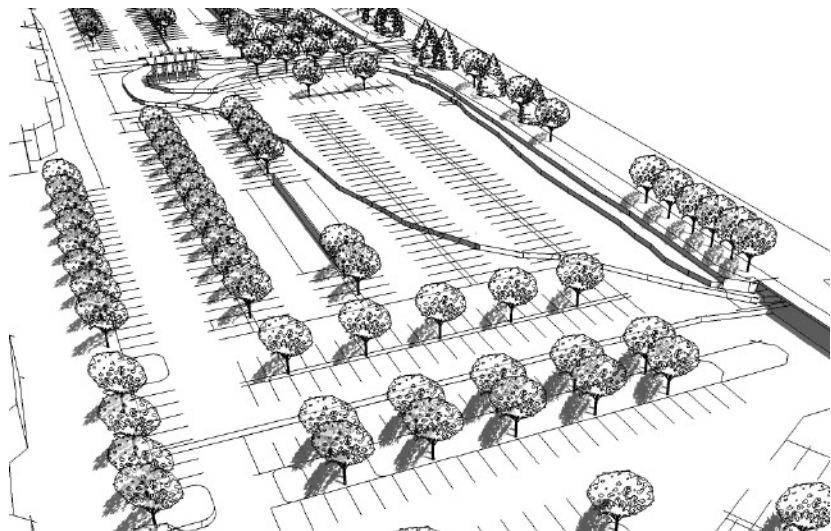
The first enclosure on the west end of the lot serves as parking during the day and street hockey during off hours. The use of coloured lines exist as artefacts indicating the boundaries for the street hockey game. The Covered pavilion provides a place for shelter and a place to put belongings.

The central enclosure serves as an the annual carnival space, during the summer season. The central wall is the base point for setting up tents and displays.

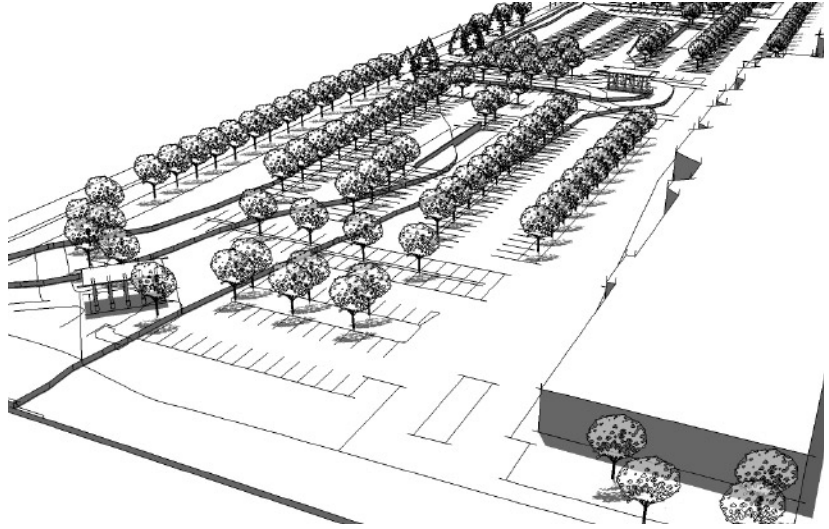
The enclosure on the east end of the site provides a place to display custom and unique automobiles during the annual car show. The elements in this space work in a similar fashion to the elements placed for the carnival.



4.77 Pickup Street Hockey Space birds eye view



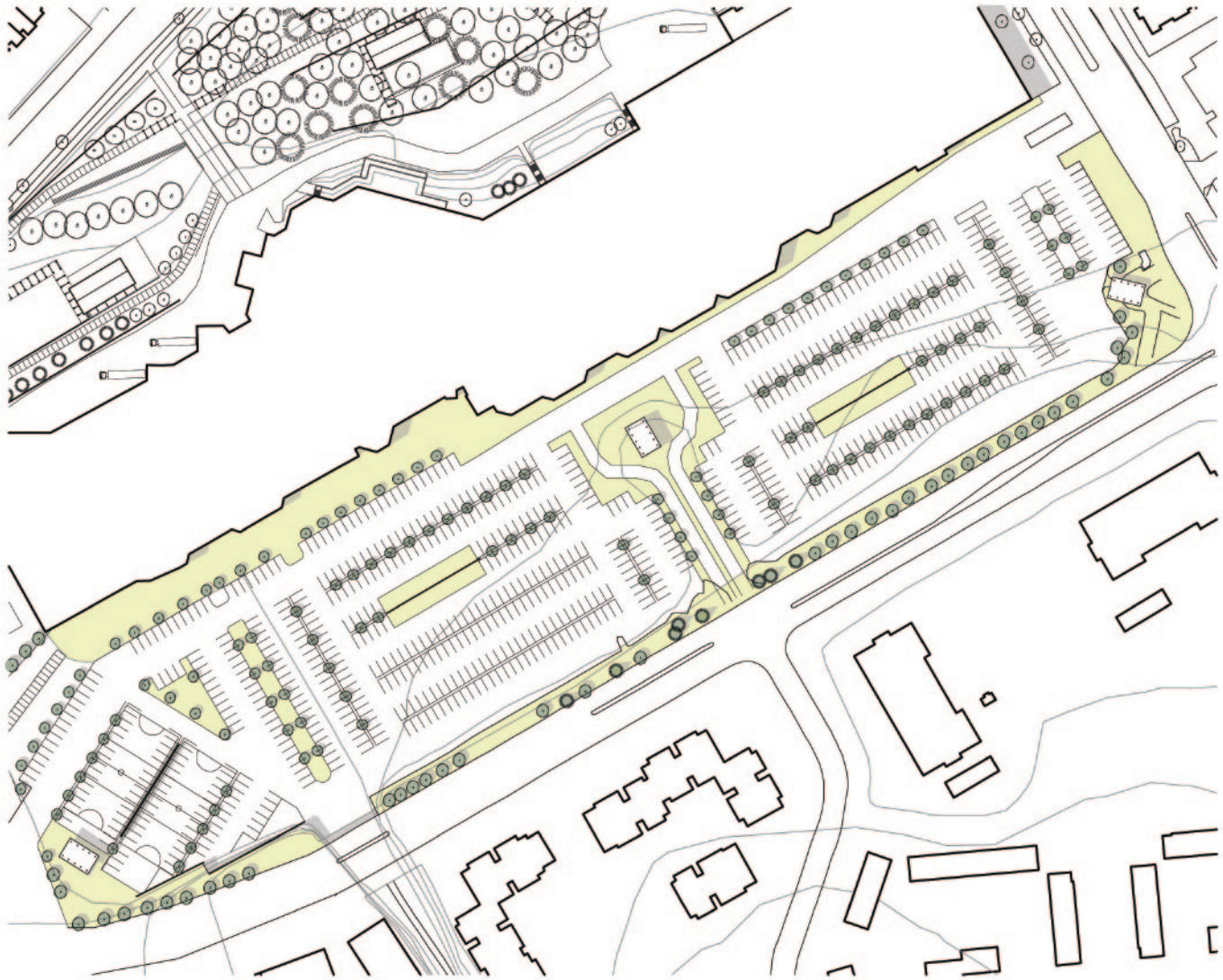
4.78 Annual Carnival Space birds eye view



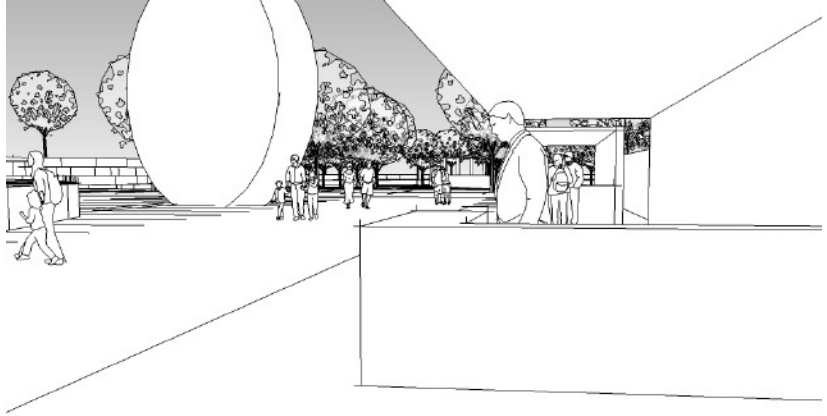
4.79 Above Right: Annual Car Show Space birds eye view



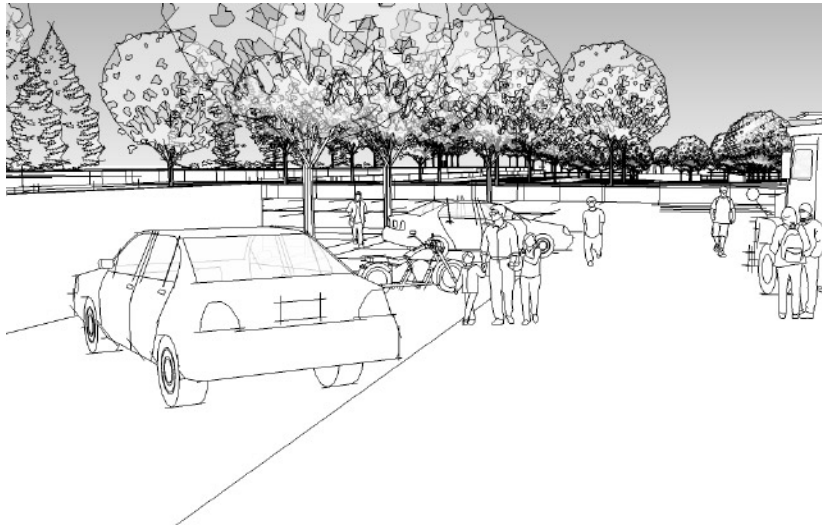
4.80 After hours street hockey game



4.81 Asphalt Arena Site Plan 1:1000

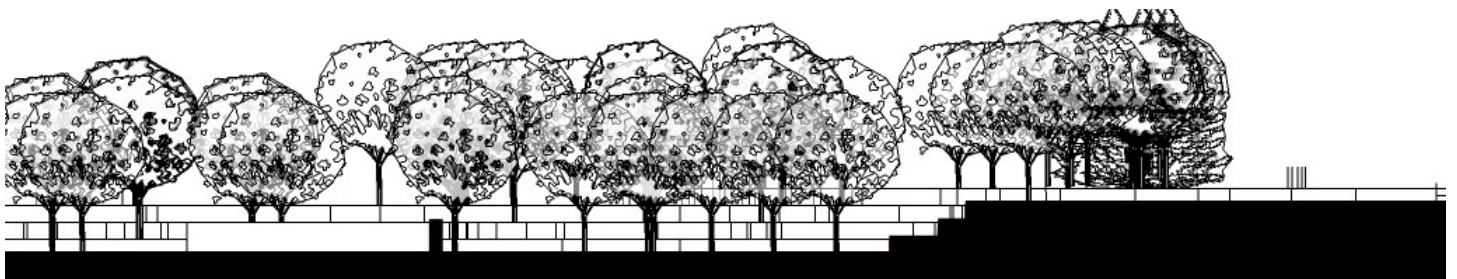


4.82 Annual Carnival Space



4.83 Annual Car Show

4.84 Site Section Enlarged





4.85 A pickup game of roller hockey in the Malvern mall parking lot.

4.86 Site Section



Conclusion

The speculative intervention introduced proposes the integration of a series of building and landscape elements to the Malvern Town Centre. Based on the geographical, social and architectural mythogenic zones identified at the heart of Malvern, a series of festival and recreational ritual spaces are created. From these separations a new myth for Malvern is created, one which focuses on adolescent participation, ritualised aggression, and festival grounded in local cultural symbols.

The suppression and denial of the aggression instinct can no longer be seen as a solution to Malvern's growing youth violence problem. One can only hope that the current institutions look to an alternative solution in order to deal with adolescent aggression. To do this they must first admit and realise that humans are aggressive by nature, and this characteristic must be seen as something which must be mediated rather than dangerously denied.

Based on my personal connection to Malvern, as seen in my autobiography, my role as a local artist is shown through the proposed intervention bringing forth a possible solution to the on-going problem of adolescent aggression and violence found in Malvern. The introduction of this speculative intervention displays the possibilities which may be created when we look to the unique physical and social locus of a community. In effect, this mode of thought can ultimately be seen as a precedent for the integration of interventions addressing the inevitable social and physical evolution of all communities within their given contexts and densities.

*'In the stories, the adventure that the hero is ready for is the one he gets. The adventure is symbolically a manifestation of his character. Even the landscape and the conditions of the environment match his readiness.'*¹³⁹

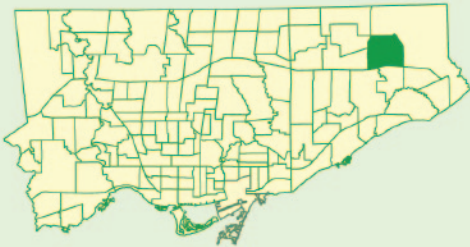
Joseph Campbell - The Power of Myth

Appendix a

Malvern Statistics



Keymap

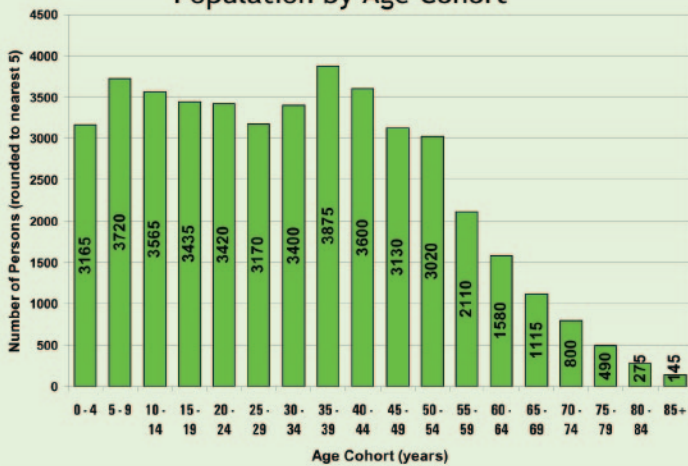


How does this neighbourhood differ from the rest of Toronto?

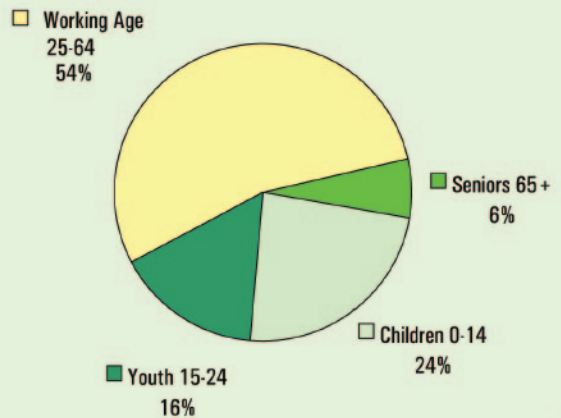
% of Children (0-4): HIGHER*
 % of Children (5-14): HIGHER*
 % of Youth (15-24): HIGHER*
 % of Seniors (65+): LOWER**
 Dependency Ratio: LOWER (43.2%)
 Total Population Change: HIGHER*

One star represents differences of 20% to <50% and two stars, 50% or more. Dependency ratio is the number of children and seniors as a percentage of the working population (15-64).

Population by Age Cohort



Population by Age Group



2001

Malvern Social Profile #1 - Age and Gender Neighbourhoods

Age Group	1996		2001		% Change 1996-2001	Toronto 2001	
	Number	%	Number	%		Number	%
Total Population	41,900	100	44,025	100	5.1	2,481,560	100
Children 0-14	10,300	24.6	10,450	23.7	1.5	433,645	17.5
Youth 15-24	6,820	16.3	6,855	15.6	0.5	308,660	12.4
Working Age 25-64	22,585	53.9	23,885	54.3	5.8	1,401,495	56.5
Seniors 65+	2,220	5.3	2,825	6.4	27.3	337,830	13.6
Total - Males	20,485	48.9	21,275	48.3	3.9	1,196,560	48.2
M 0 - 4 years	1,785	4.3	1,605	3.6	-10.1	73,420	3
M 5 - 9 years	1,780	4.2	1,930	4.4	8.4	77,110	3.1
M 10 - 14 years	1,755	4.2	1,825	4.1	4	72,380	2.9
M 15 - 19 years	1,755	4.2	1,810	4.1	3.1	73,610	3
M 20 - 24 years	1,710	4.1	1,700	3.9	-0.6	80,820	3.3
M 25 - 29 years	1,590	3.8	1,500	3.4	-5.7	94,190	3.8
M 30 - 34 years	1,775	4.2	1,550	3.5	-12.7	105,560	4.3
M 35 - 39 years	1,805	4.3	1,800	4.1	-0.3	113,240	4.6
M 40 - 44 years	1,565	3.7	1,740	4	11.2	99,925	4
M 45 - 49 years	1,495	3.6	1,425	3.2	-4.7	85,160	3.4
M 50 - 54 years	1,075	2.6	1,425	3.2	32.6	75,570	3
M 55 - 59 years	795	1.9	990	2.2	24.5	55,825	2.2
M 60 - 64 years	590	1.4	740	1.7	25.4	47,555	1.9
M 65 - 69 years	435	1	530	1.2	21.8	44,735	1.8
M 70 - 74 years	275	0.7	350	0.8	27.3	39,685	1.6
M 75 - 79 years	165	0.4	220	0.5	33.3	30,010	1.2
M 80 - 84 years	75	0.2	115	0.3	53.3	16,810	0.7
M 85 years and over	20	0	45	0.1	125	11,115	0.4
Total - Females	21,430	51.1	22,750	51.7	6.2	1,285,000	51.8
F 0 - 4 years	1,700	4.1	1,560	3.5	-8.2	69,985	2.8
F 5 - 9 years	1,665	4	1,790	4.1	7.5	72,485	2.9
F 10 - 14 years	1,615	3.9	1,740	4	7.7	68,265	2.8
F 15 - 19 years	1,665	4	1,625	3.7	-2.4	69,790	2.8
F 20 - 24 years	1,690	4	1,720	3.9	1.8	84,440	3.4
F 25 - 29 years	1,745	4.2	1,670	3.8	-4.3	102,305	4.1
F 30 - 34 years	2,080	5	1,850	4.2	-11.1	111,025	4.5
F 35 - 39 years	1,920	4.6	2,075	4.7	8.1	112,965	4.6
F 40 - 44 years	1,730	4.1	1,860	4.2	7.5	103,805	4.2
F 45 - 49 years	1,700	4.1	1,705	3.9	0.3	93,170	3.8
F 50 - 54 years	1,185	2.8	1,595	3.6	34.6	83,470	3.4
F 55 - 59 years	885	2.1	1,120	2.5	26.6	62,180	2.5
F 60 - 64 years	650	1.6	840	1.9	29.2	55,550	2.2
F 65 - 69 years	500	1.2	585	1.3	17	51,735	2.1
F 70 - 74 years	375	0.9	450	1	20	49,120	2
F 75 - 79 years	220	0.5	270	0.6	22.7	43,085	1.7
F 80 - 84 years	110	0.3	160	0.4	45.5	26,550	1.1
F 85 years and over	45	0.1	100	0.2	122.2	24,985	1

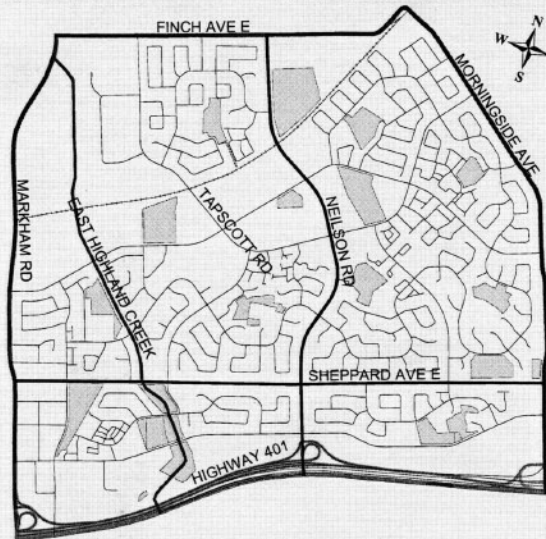
These profiles were developed to help government and community agencies with their local planning, by providing socio-economic data at a meaningful geographic area. Not all people define "neighbourhoods" the same way. For the purposes of statistical reporting however, these neighbourhoods were defined based on Statistics Canada census tracts. Census tracts include several city blocks and have on average about 4,000 people. Most service agencies have service areas that are defined by main streets, former municipal boundaries, or natural boundaries such as rivers. These service areas include several census tracts. It is not uncommon for service areas of community agencies to overlap. Choices about neighbourhood boundaries were made to make the data in the profiles useful to as many users as possible, and are not intended to be statements or judgements about where a neighbourhood starts or ends. The boundaries for these neighbourhoods were developed using the following criteria:

- 1) originally based on a Urban Development Services Residential Communities map, based on planning areas in former municipalities, and existing Public Health neighbourhood planning areas;
- 2) no neighbourhood be comprised of a single census tract;
- 3) minimum neighbourhood population of at least 7,000-10,000;
- 4) where census tracts were combined to meet criteria 2 or 3 above, they were joined with the most similar adjacent area according to % of the population living in low income households;
- 5) respecting existing boundaries such as service boundaries of community agencies, natural boundaries (rivers), and man-made boundaries (streets, highways, etc.);
- 6) maintaining neighbourhood areas small enough for service organizations to combine them to fit within their service area; and
- 7) the final number of neighbourhood areas be "manageable" for the purposes of data presentation and reporting.

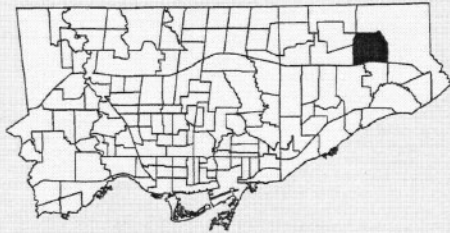
Prepared by the Social Policy Analysis & Research Unit, with assistance from Toronto Public Health.

 **TORONTO** Community & Neighbourhood Services

Source: Statistics Canada, Land Information Toronto
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Date of Publication: January 2003
Contact: spar@city.toronto.on.ca



Keymap

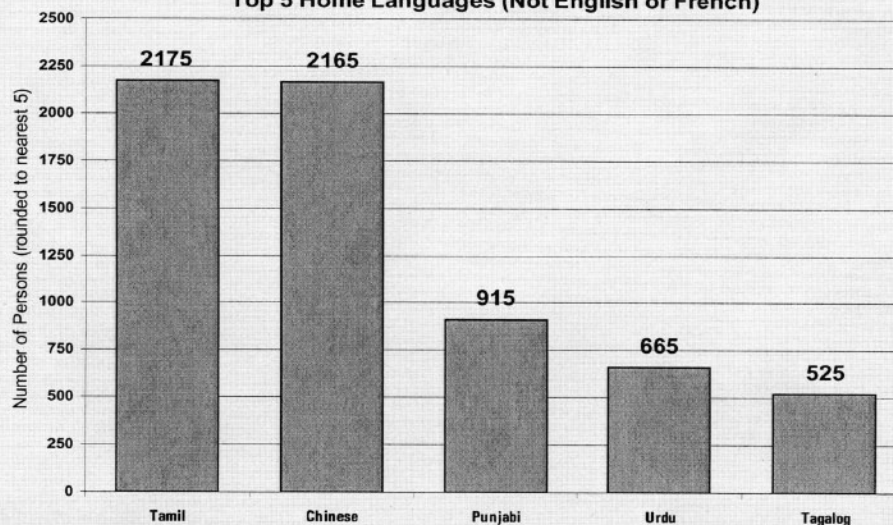


Comparison to All of Toronto

% Immigrants	Higher *
% Recent Immigrants	Lower
% Aboriginal Origin	Lower *
% Canadian Citizenship	Same
% Non-Official Home Language	Same
% No Knowledge of Official Languages	Lower *
% Visible Minority	Higher **

Single Responses only. *One star represents differences of 20% to <50% and two stars, 50% or more.

Top 5 Home Languages (Not English or French)

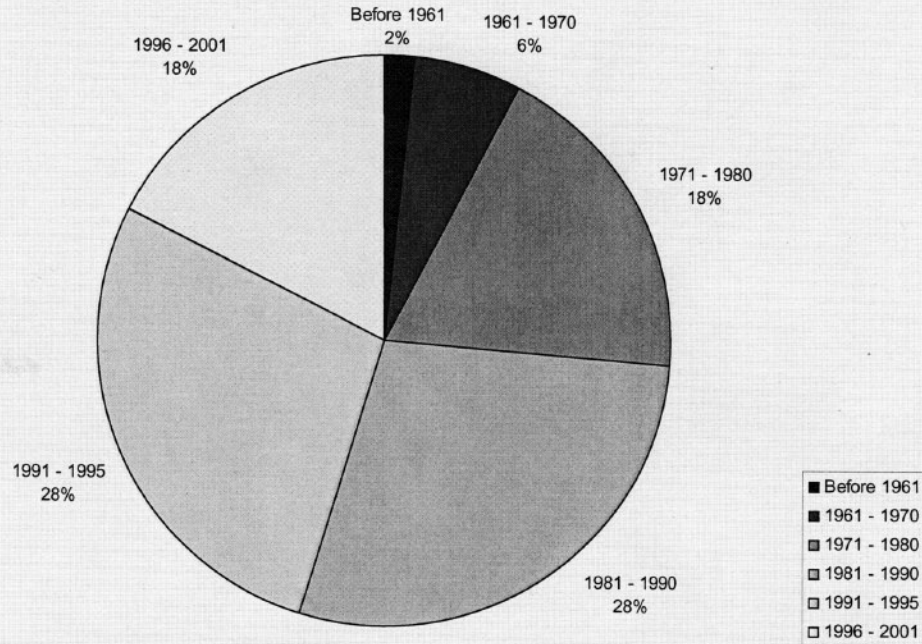


Prepared by the Social Policy Analysis & Research Unit, with assistance from Toronto Public Health.

TORONTO Community & Neighbourhood Services

Source: Statistics Canada, Land Information Toronto
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 Date of Publication: May 2003
 Contact: spar@city.toronto.on.ca

Period of Immigration



Top 10 Recent Immigrants 1996	
Group	Number
Sri Lanka	1,800
India	910
Philippines	820
Hong Kong	725
Jamaica	610
China	460
Guyana	330
Trinidad And Tobago	290
Pakistan	225
Iran	105

Top 10 Recent Immigrants 2001	
Group	Number
India	1,255
Sri Lanka	945
Pakistan	440
Philippines	365
China	335
Guyana	330
Jamaica	310
Afghanistan	150
Trinidad And Tobago	120
Hong Kong	70

Recent immigrants refers to persons who immigrated to Canada within the 5 years prior to each Census year. Please note that the individual 'places of birth' are not always comparable with previous Census years.

Social Profile #2 - Neighbourhoods Immigration, Ethnicity, Language

2001 Home Language Top 10		
	Number	%
Total Pop. by Home Language	43,955	100
English	24,785	56.39
French	45	0.1
Not English or French	8,185	18.62
Tamil	2,175	4.95
Chinese	2165	4.93
Punjabi	915	2.08
Urdu	665	1.51
Tagalog	525	1.19
Gujarati	415	0.94
Persian (Farsi)	275	0.63
Hindi	135	0.31
Italian	85	0.19
Vietnamese	75	0.17
Multiple Languages	10,955	24.92

Home language refers to the language spoken most often or on a regular basis at home. Please note that the individual home languages do not always match those used in previous census years.

Top 10 Ethnic Origins (Ancestry)			
Ethnic Origin	Single Response	Multiple Response	Total Responses
East Indian	7,225	1,900	9,120
Jamaican	3,805	1,080	4,870
Canadian	2,190	2,620	4,805
Chinese	3,830	670	4,505
Filipino	3,645	445	4,090
English	1,125	2,355	3,460
Sri Lankan	1,970	690	2,655
Scottish	240	1,630	1,860
Irish	210	1,540	1,745
West Indian	900	555	1,440

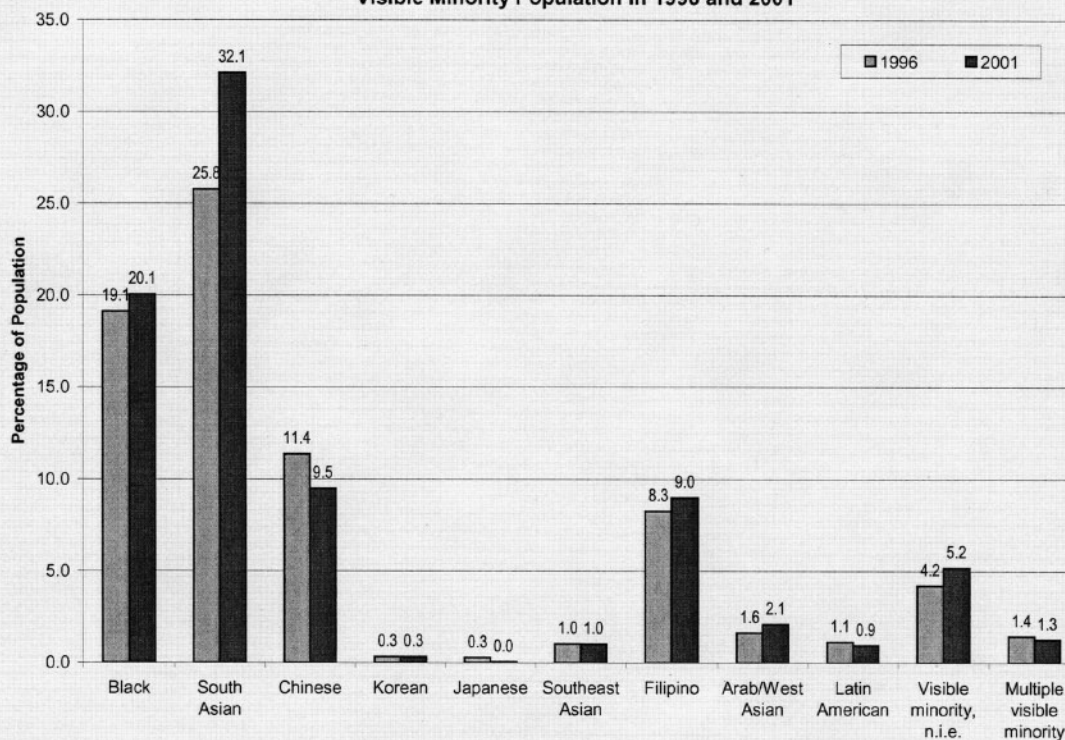
Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent's ancestors self-identified. The category 'Total Population (single and multiple origins)' indicates both those that reported only one origin and those that reported multiple origins. Therefore respondents with multiple origins are counted more than once and are included in each origin they reported.

Social Profile #2 - Neighbourhoods Immigration, Ethnicity, Language

Neighbourhood 132 Category	1996		2001	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total Pop. by Knowledge of Official Languages	41,885		43,950	
Neither English nor French	1,950	4.7	1,770	4
Total Pop. Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal	41,890		43,960	
Aboriginal Population/Identity*	125	0.3	100	0.23
Total Pop. by Visible Minority Designation	41,890		43,960	
Visible Minority	31,285	74.7	35,865	81.6
Total Population by Citizenship	41,885		43,960	
Canadian Citizenship	33,460	79.9	36,900	83.9
Total Population by Immigrant Status	41,885		43,960	
Immigrants	24,780	59.2	27,110	61.7
Recent Immigrants	7,355	17.6	4,760	10.8
Non-Permanent Residents	715	1.7	500	1.1

*Counts for the Aboriginal population are more affected than most by incomplete enumeration. Non-Permanent Residents refers to people and their family members from another country who have employment authorization, a student authorization, a Minister's permit, or who are refugee claimants.

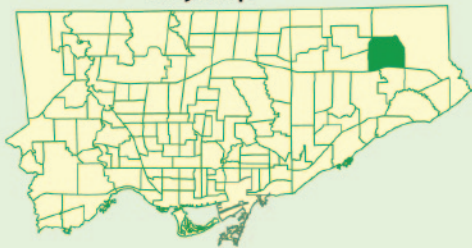
Visible Minority Population in 1996 and 2001



Note: Visible minority n.i.e. refers to visible minority persons Not Included Elsewhere.

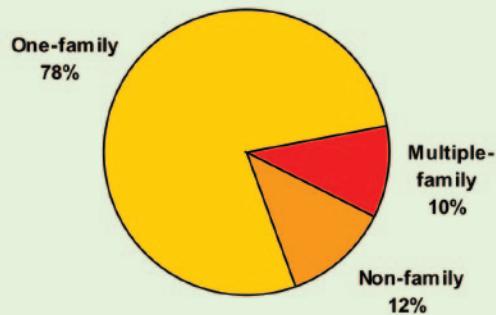


Keymap



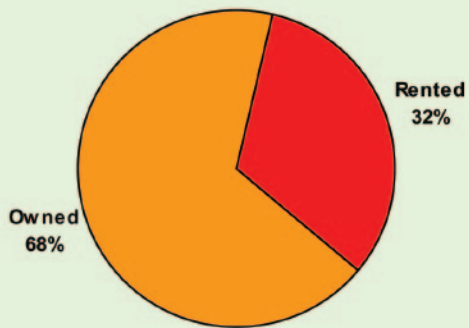
Neighbourhood Change at a Glance: 1996-2001	Num Chg	% Chg
Households	+710	+6.3
Tenant Households	-515	-11.7
Non-Family Households	+10	+0.7
Median Household Income	+\$8,465	+17.1
Households with \$30,000 or less	-450	-15.3
Households with \$100,000 or more	+1,025	+117.1
Families	+920	+8.4
Families with low income	-335	-13.9
Persons	+2,175	+5.2
Persons with low income	-1,335	-13.1

Households by Type, 2001
Malvern



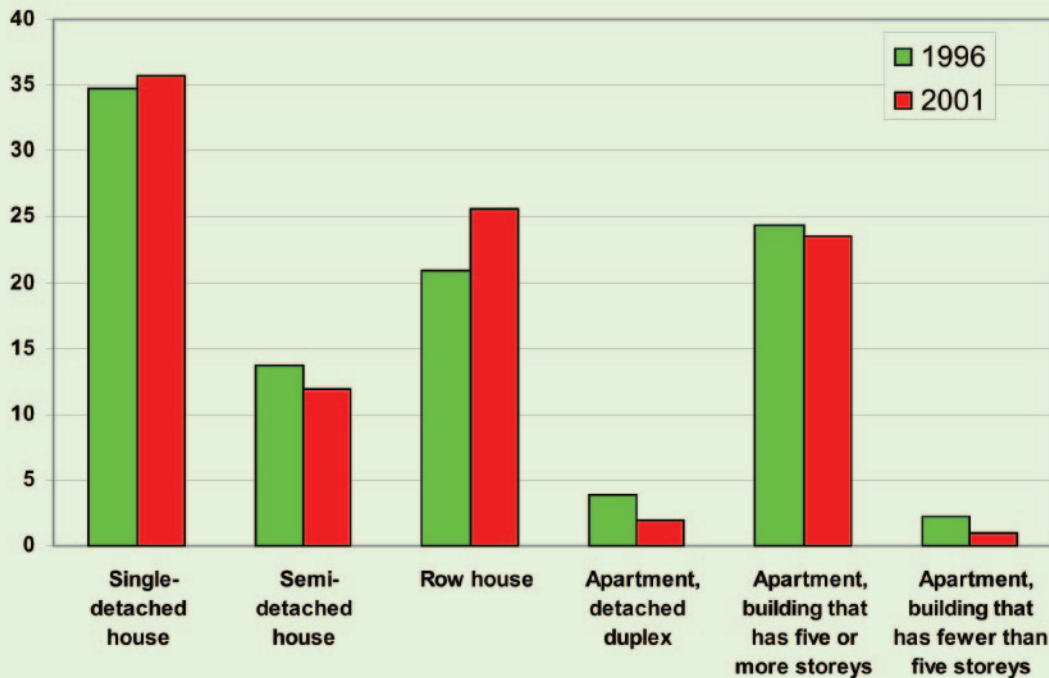
HOUSING Indicator	1996		2001	
	Number	%	Number	%
Private households by type	11,280	100.0	11,985	100.0
One-family	8,850	78.5	9,340	77.9
Multiple-family	1,025	9.1	1,230	10.3
Non-family	1,410	12.5	1,420	11.8

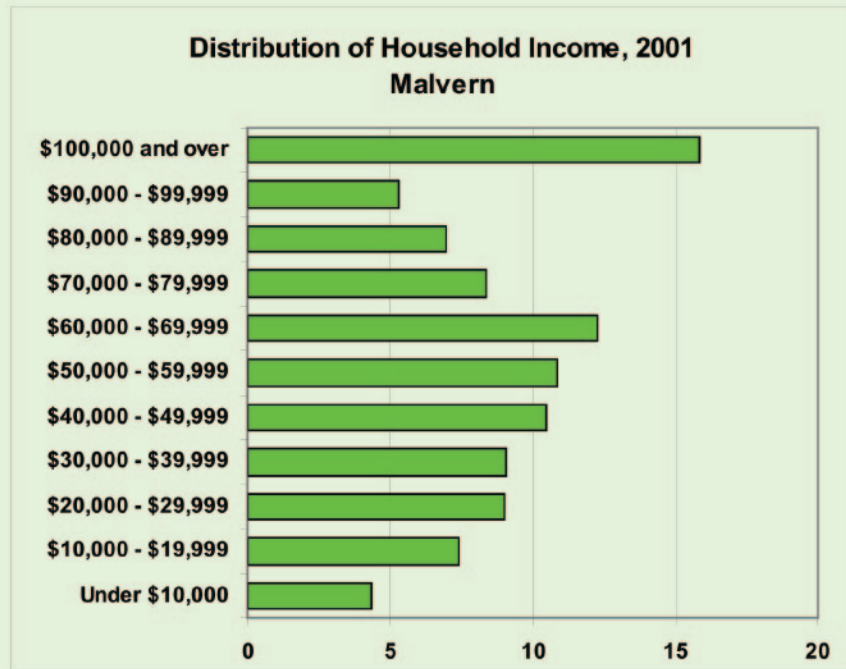
**Households by Tenure, 2001
Malvern**



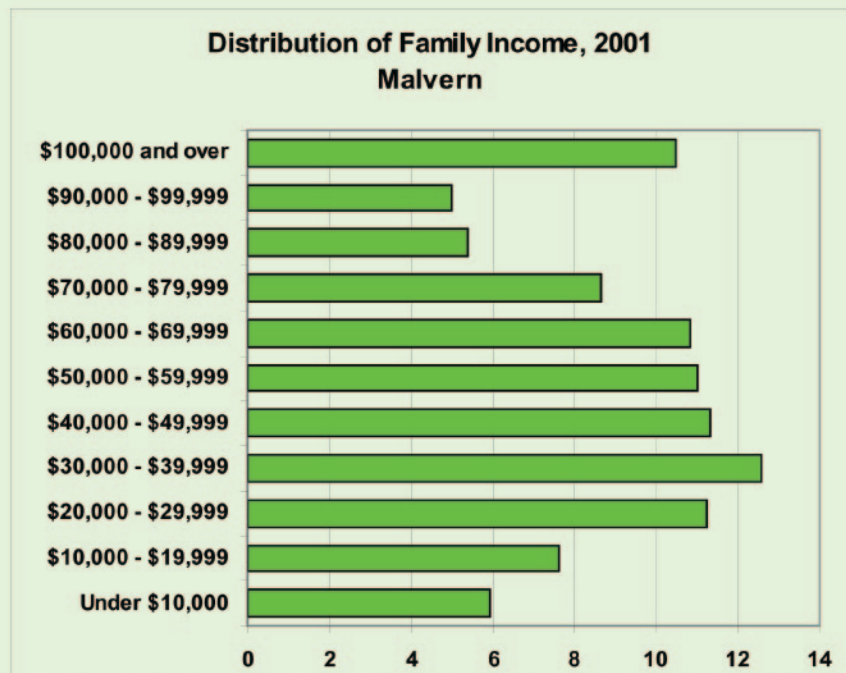
HOUSING Indicator	1996		2001	
	Number	%	Number	%
Occupied private dwellings (20% sample data)	11,295	100.0	11,985	100.0
Owned	6,880	60.9	8,105	67.6
Rented	4,405	39.0	3,890	32.5
Occupied private dwellings by structure type	11,295	100.0	11,990	100.0
Single-detached house	3,920	34.7	4,285	35.8
Semi-detached house	1,555	13.8	1,430	11.9
Row house	2,360	20.9	3,075	25.7
Apartment, detached duplex	445	3.9	230	1.9
Apartment, building that has five or more storeys	2,745	24.3	2,815	23.5
Apartment, building that has fewer than five storeys	250	2.2	110	0.9
Other single-attached house	20	0.2	45	0.4
Movable dwelling	0	0.0	0	0.0

**% Dwelling Units by Housing Type, 2001
Malvern**





Household: Refers to a person or a group of persons (other than foreign residents), who occupy the same dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada. It may consist of a family group (census family) with or without other non-family persons, of two or more families sharing a dwelling, of a group of unrelated persons, or of one person living alone. Household members who are temporarily absent on Census Day (e.g. temporary residents elsewhere) are considered as part of their usual household. For census purposes, every person is a member of one and only one household.



Census Family: Refers to a married couple (with or without children of either or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children of either or both partners) or a lone parent of any marital status, with at least one child living in the same dwelling. A couple living common-law may be of opposite or same sex. 'Children' in a census family include grandchildren living with their grandparent(s) but with no parents present.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME	1996		2001	
	Number	%	Number	%
Private households by income	11,285	100.0	11,995	100.0
Under \$10,000	755	6.7	525	4.4
\$10,000 - \$19,999	1,160	10.3	890	7.4
\$20,000 - \$29,999	1,030	9.1	1,080	9.0
\$30,000 - \$39,999	1,420	12.6	1,090	9.1
\$40,000 - \$49,999	1,225	10.9	1,260	10.5
\$50,000 - \$59,999	1,335	11.8	1,305	10.9
\$60,000 - \$69,999	1,270	11.3	1,470	12.3
\$70,000 - \$79,999	1,085	9.6	1,005	8.4
\$80,000 - \$89,999	610	5.4	835	7.0
\$90,000 - \$99,999	495	4.4	635	5.3
\$100,000 and over	875	7.8	1,900	15.8
Average household income - \$	52,548		63,282	
Median household income - \$	49,609		58,074	

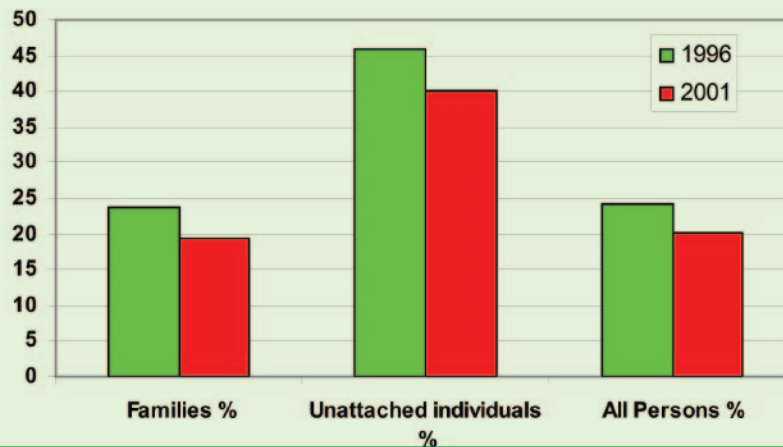
FAMILY INCOME	1996		2001	
	Number	%	Number	%
Census families by income	11,010	100.0	11,930	100.0
Under \$10,000	1,010	9.2	710	6.0
\$10,000 - \$19,999	1,245	11.3	910	7.6
\$20,000 - \$29,999	1,190	10.8	1,340	11.2
\$30,000 - \$39,999	1,415	12.9	1,500	12.6
\$40,000 - \$49,999	1,355	12.3	1,350	11.3
\$50,000 - \$59,999	1,335	12.1	1,315	11.0
\$60,000 - \$69,999	1,160	10.5	1,290	10.8
\$70,000 - \$79,999	940	8.5	1,030	8.6
\$80,000 - \$89,999	520	4.7	645	5.4
\$90,000 - \$99,999	335	3.0	595	5.0
\$100,000 and over	495	4.5	1,250	10.5
Average family income - \$	46,912		56,046	
Median family income - \$	44,614		51,155	

Household: Refers to a person or a group of persons (other than foreign residents), who occupy the same dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada. It may consist of a family group (census family) with or without other non-family persons, of two or more families sharing a dwelling, of a group of unrelated persons, or of one person living alone. Household members who are temporarily absent on Census Day (e.g. temporary residents elsewhere) are considered as part of their usual household. For census purposes, every person is a member of one and only one household.

Census Family: Refers to a married couple (with or without children of either or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children of either or both partners) or a lone parent of any marital status, with at least one child living in the same dwelling. A couple living common-law may be of opposite or same sex. 'Children' in a census family include grandchildren living with their grandparent(s) but with no parents present.

POVERTY	1996	2001	% Chg
Economic families by low income status	10,170	10,735	5.6
Low income	2,410	2,075	-13.9
Other	7,735	8,675	12.2
Families %	24	19	-18.4
Unattached individuals by low income status	2,100	2,215	5.5
Low income	965	885	-8.3
Other	1,125	1,330	18.2
Unattached individuals %	46	40	-13.1
Persons in private households by low income status	41,745	43,920	5.2
Low income	10,165	8,830	-13.1
Other	31,585	35,080	11.1
All Persons %	24	20	-17.4

**Incidence of Low Income, 2001
Malvern**



Appendix b

Speak Up: Toronto youth talk about safety in their community



SPEAK UP:

Toronto youth talk about safety
in their community.



SPEAK UP:

**Toronto youth talk about safety
in their community (2002)**



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A. Context of the Project

Community safety is a major concern for Toronto residents and an important factor affecting their quality of life. In 2000, City Council approved its strategic plan in which community safety is a high priority in making Toronto livable and appealing for all citizens. The City of Toronto is one of a number of stakeholders promoting a safer city for youth. The City works closely with many community partners and depends on the collaboration of school boards, police and other levels of government.

Statistics cited in the Toronto Police Environmental Scan Update for 2001 indicate that most crime categories continue to decline in Toronto. Overall, youth crime has decreased considerably from levels in the early 1990s. However, the youth charge rate for violent crime remains 40% higher than 10 years ago and youth gang activity is also on the rise.

In 2001, youth comprised 13% of the total city population and included 140,675 persons aged 15–19 and 165,145 persons aged 20–24. From 1996–2001, the number of 15–19 year olds and 20–24 year olds in the city increased by 7.1% and 1.4% respectively. The 2001 Toronto Youth Profile reported that youth experience significant amounts of

victimization. Safety remains an important issue for youth, one that is also reflected by the community at large.

In response to a number of dramatic crimes involving youth, Mayor Mel Lastman brought forward the Strategy to Promote a Safer Toronto for Youth in May 2002. The strategy was developed in collaboration with the City's Task Force on Community Safety and has resulted in a co-ordinated and holistic approach to addressing youth safety issues.

In early 2002, the City received a commitment of \$5.1 million from Ontario Works to fund a number of initiatives. Some of this money supports programs undertaken by the Youth Safety Subcommittee (YSS) and the Youth Gang Work Group of the Community Safety Task Force. These committees include members of the community, youth, council members, and City staff in the planning and implementing of programs designed to foster youth safety. The City has designed and developed many safety initiatives to promote improved collaboration and youth engagement. The Youth Safety Survey Project is one initiative in support of the Mayor's strategy to promote a safer Toronto for youth.



B. Project Goals

The Youth Safety Survey Project was developed by the YSS in response to the need expressed by members for more representative and grounded input from youth for committee deliberations and decisions. In addition to gathering data about youth perceptions and experience, the project endeavoured to stimulate discussion and encourage youth to become more involved in addressing community safety concerns. More immediately, the project offered youth an opportunity to have some input into City decision-making by providing information that will be used for improving existing youth programs and for planning more effective approaches to promote community safety.

The plan of the Youth Safety Survey Project was to:

- Include youth concerns, perspectives and participation on youth safety issues in the work of the Youth Safety Subcommittee,

- Engage a diverse cross-representation of youth in high-risk areas to contribute their collective ideas about how to improve their communities,
- Increase awareness among youth in four high-need areas regarding safety issues, and
- Provide the Youth Safety Subcommittee with options to address youth safety and community safety needs.

A small project-working group supported the Youth Safety Survey Project. The group included members of the YSS and staff from Economic Development, Parks and Tourism, the Community Safety Program and the Social Development and Administration Division of the Community and Neighbourhood Services Department. As well, the project employed two youth—one in the role of co-ordinator and the other to provide outreach support. The project also benefited from comments by members of the City of Toronto's Youth Safety Subcommittee.

C. Research Methodology

The Youth Safety Survey Project was designed to increase youth engagement in four “at-risk” communities across the city, and to acquire key information about their personal experience of community safety. The YSS recommended that the survey be conducted in some of the communities identified by the Building Hope Coalition's community consultations in the fall of 2001. The communities included were Malvern, Regent Park, Jane-Finch and Parkdale.

The project used a community-based survey and focus groups to engage youth. The survey questionnaire asked youth how

safe they feel, what factors impact their personal safety and what can be done to improve youth safety. Focus groups explored the same issues and allowed youth to tell their stories in their own words.

1. The Survey Questionnaire

The survey questionnaire was designed in collaboration with City staff from departments with youth mandates and was similar to one used in an earlier study by the Rexdale Community Health Centre.

The Youth Safety Survey asked youth to:

- (1) Express the degree to which they feel safe in the community where they live;
- (2) Identify factors that impact on their personal safety;
- (3) Indicate their awareness and use of youth-related programs and services;
- (4) Comment on the roles of key community stakeholders; and
- (5) Suggest things to do to make communities safer.

Respondents were also asked to identify a number of personal characteristics including gender, age, ethnic identification, educational and employment status.

2. Data Collection

While the survey primarily targeted the four communities identified as “at risk,” information was also collected from youth in a number of youth programs and on the street elsewhere in the city. This approach enabled the project to reach a more diverse cross-section of Toronto youth. Data collection was undertaken by youth workers from the City of Toronto Parks and Recreation Department, who distributed the questionnaire and conducted interviews with youth between June and October 2002.

Youth were interviewed in community centres, shopping malls, youth drop-in centres, schools, and community-based youth organizations in various parts of the communities. In addition to the target communities, the survey was completed by youth from Toronto Response for Youth (TRY), members of the Toronto Youth Cabinet and a small number of downtown street youth. In total, 1,254 surveys were completed and returned for analysis.

3. Focus Groups

To engage youth in discussion about community safety, focus groups were held at various locations in the targeted communities. The focus groups were two-hour sessions facilitated by two youth hired by the City. In addition to those in the targeted communities, focus groups were also conducted with youth at the Toronto Youth Cabinet (TYC), the Toronto Response for Youth (TRY Program), Leave Out Violence (LOVE) and at an immigration settlement organization. As much as possible, groups were organized to reflect youth diversity and to ensure the inclusion of more marginal youth. In total, 171 youth participated in 15 groups.

Focus groups were designed in collaboration with City staff from departments with youth mandates. The discussion was guided by the same questions used in the survey, with a focus on perceptions of personal and community safety, desensitization to violence and risk-taking behaviour, factors impacting on personal safety, youth engagement and the lack of positive opportunities for youth. (For a summary of focus discussions see Appendix A).

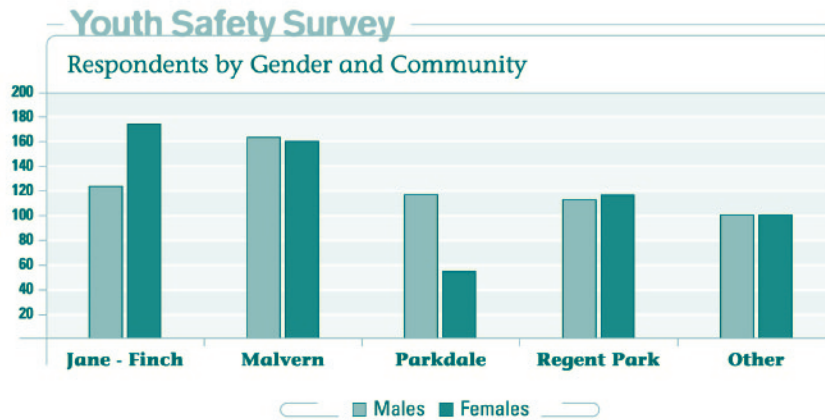
D. Survey Results

1. Profile of Respondents

Respondents represent a good cross-section of youth. They include a balance of males and females, as well as an appropriate mix of ethno-cultural and racial identities. While respondents are predominantly between 14–19 years of age, attending school and living at home, the perceptions of older youth are also

reflected to some degree. Respondents included 618 males and 606 females. Of the 1,254 total respondents, 26.9% were from Malvern, 24.1% from Jane-Finch, 18.7% from Regent Park, 13.9% from Parkdale and 16.7% responded to the survey at locations elsewhere in the City.

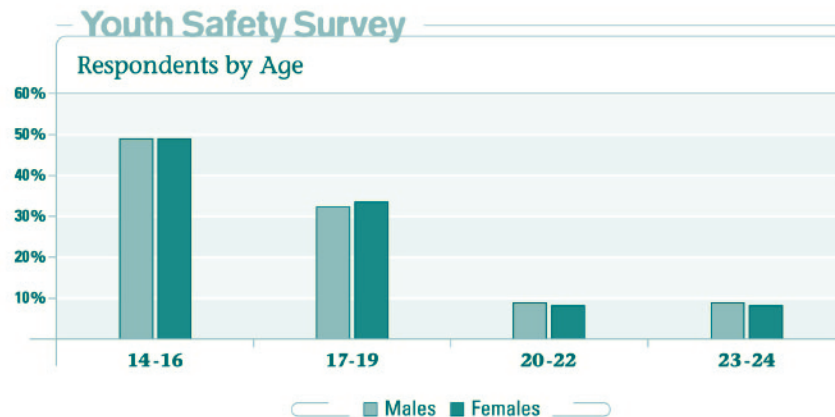
Figure 1:



While the survey aimed to reach youth of all ages, respondents were heavily weighted to those under 20. In this regard, 83.2% of respondents were 14 to 19 years of age. Only

16.8% of the respondents were between 20 and 24 years of age. Survey results, therefore, are substantially more reflective of the perceptions of younger youth.

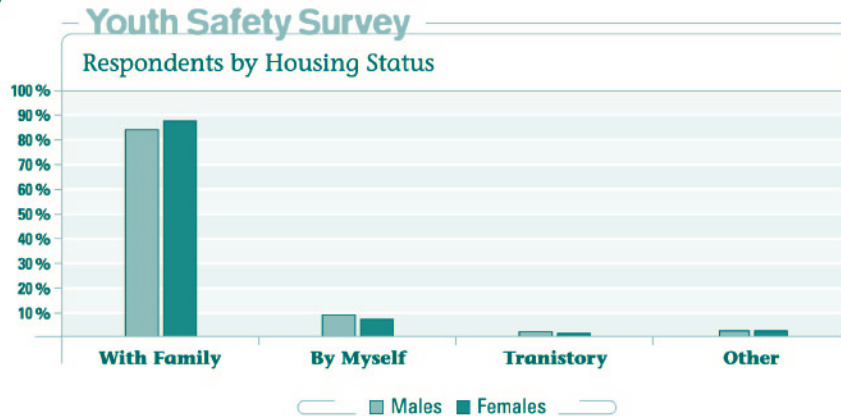
Figure 2:



For the most part youth lived at home with one or two parents and siblings. Since the survey did not define families, a small number may be living with grandparents, in a foster

family or in another familial situation. Among respondents, 86.2% lived with family, 9% lived on their own and 2% had no stable housing.

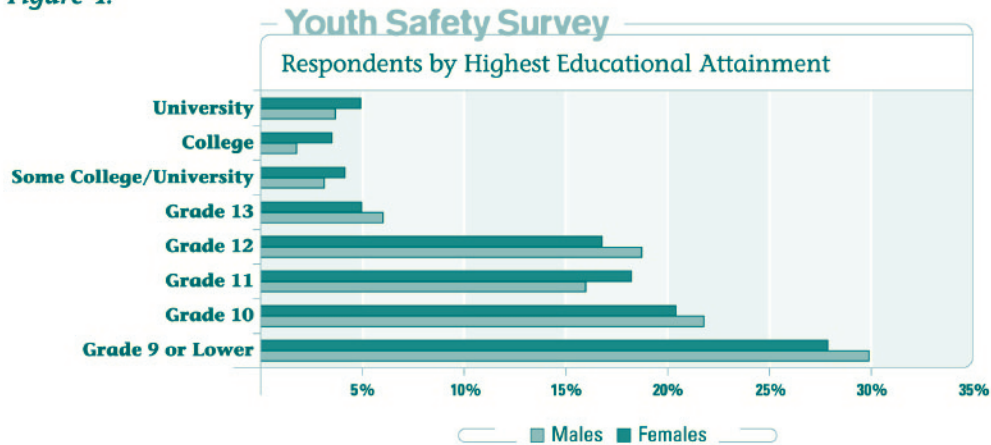
Figure 3:



Of the 1,045 youth who responded to the question of school status, 91.2% said they were attending school full-time, while 8.8% attended part-time. Given the predominance of younger youth, an overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that they still attend

high school. When asked about their highest level of educational attainment, 84% of respondents were in grade 9–12, 5% in OAC and 11% were attending or had completed post-secondary programs.

Figure 4:



A majority of survey respondents were not yet in the labour force. Of the 890 youth who responded to the question regarding employment status, 50.3% were not employed,

36.1% were employed part-time, and 13.6% were employed full-time. This reflects both the age of respondents and the fact that most were attending school full-time.

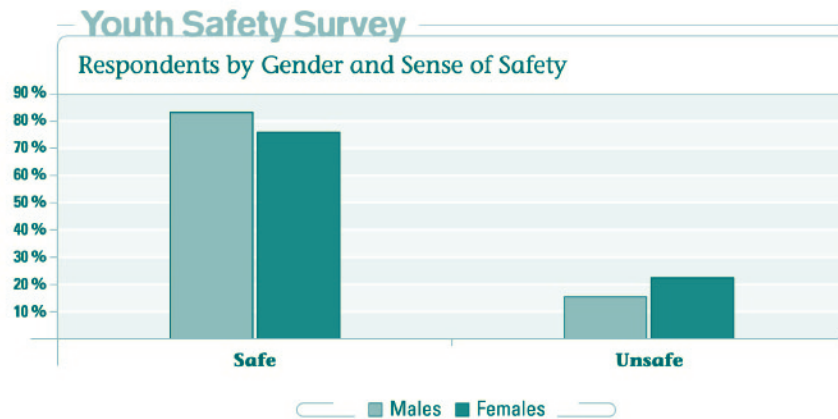
2. How safe do youth feel?

“You have to be confident and aware to be safe, to not look vulnerable you have to have a sense of security, we shouldn’t need to carry a gun to feel safe...”

As a way of gauging how safe youth feel in their communities, respondents were asked to rate their experience on a four-point scale from “very safe” to “very unsafe.” For the purposes of analysis, results have been

regrouped into two categories. Those who expressed feeling “very and somewhat safe” are classed as safe and those who expressed feeling “somewhat and very unsafe” are classed as unsafe.

Figure 5:



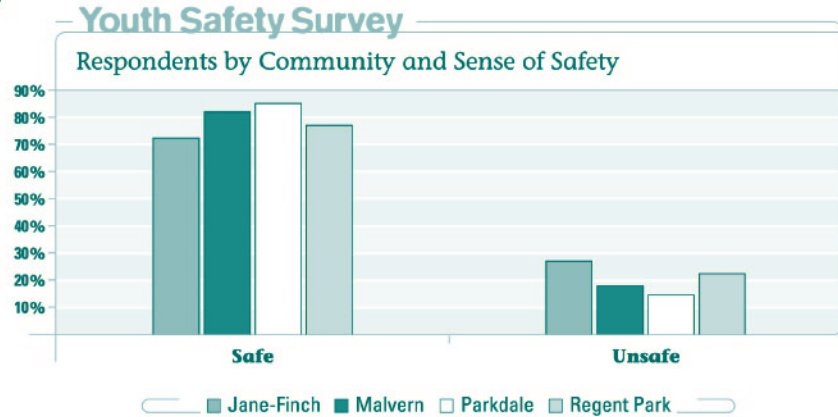
Despite recent dramatic instances of youth-related violence and the general perception of more prevalent risk in the communities surveyed, 79.8% of total respondents said they felt safe. Of the others, 14.5% perceived themselves as somewhat unsafe, while 5.7% felt very unsafe.

The degree to which youth perceive themselves as safe or unsafe is influenced by many factors and varies by gender, location, and family status. Differences in perception of safety were evident among survey respondents as a higher proportion of women than men indicated

feeling unsafe. In this regard, 22.7% of female respondents and 16.4% of male respondents said they felt unsafe.

Variation in youth perception of safety was also evident across communities. While a majority of youth in each of the targeted communities reported feeling safe, the proportion of unsafe respondents was somewhat higher among youth from Jane-Finch and Regent Park. In these communities, 27.5% and 23.5% of respondents, respectively, said they felt unsafe.

Figure 6:



3. Factors impacting on youth safety

a) Rating key risks

There are many factors that affect perceptions of personal and community safety. To get a sense of the degree to which particular factors affect feelings of safety among youth, respondents were asked to rate nine themes. The themes were chosen in consultation with the Youth Safety Survey working group and reflect activities that have an obvious and direct impact on individual experience.

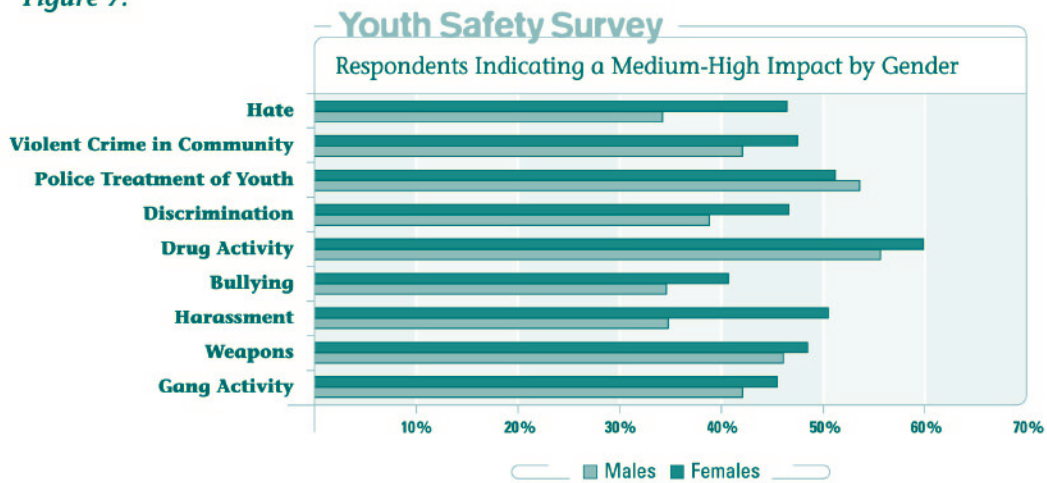
They include:

- gang activity
- weapons
- harassment
- bullying
- drug activity
- discrimination
- police treatment of youth
- violent crime
- hate.

Respondents were asked to rate the factors on a scale from one to four, from low impact to high impact. For the purpose of the analysis, the medium-high impact responses are reported. This helps to better illustrate the weight respondents gave to various factors.

Respondents were split on the relative impact of the factors on their sense of safety. While many respondents indicated little or no impact, each of the factors, at the same time, had a medium to high impact on a substantial percentage of other respondents. Some factors are clearly emphasized as more significant than others, especially when considered across communities and by gender. Those respondents who identified themselves as feeling unsafe rated all factors significantly higher than those who felt safe.

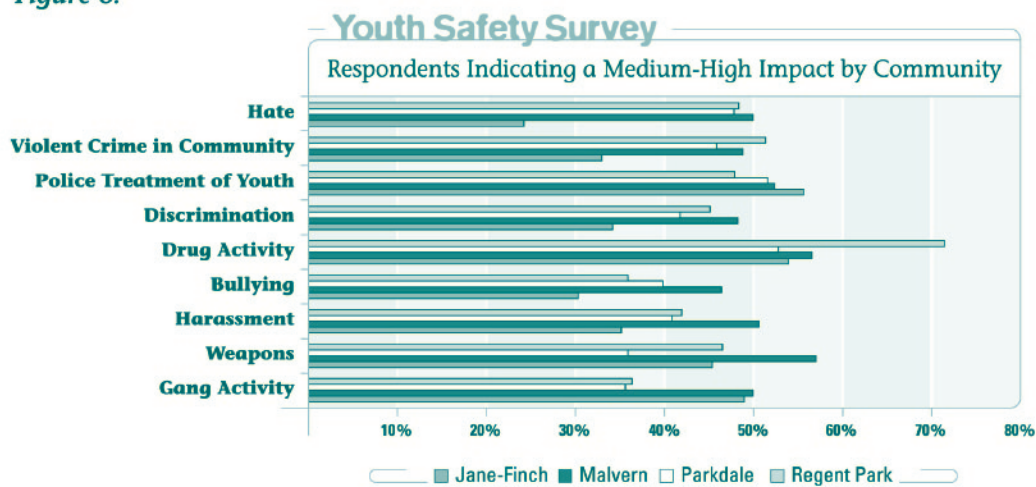
Figure 7:



The proportion of respondents perceiving a medium-high impact for a factor ranged from a low of 38.1% for bullying to a high of 57.8% for drug activity. Both males and females gave greater weight to drug activity and its affect on personal and community safety than other factors. Across communities, concern about

drug activity stands out as a prime concern in Regent Park, where 71.4% of respondents said it had a medium-high impact on their safety. In the other communities, drug activity had a medium-high impact for slightly more than half of respondents.

Figure 8:



Another factor that a majority of respondents rated as having a relatively strong impact was police treatment of youth. While their response to other survey questions noted a preference for more policing in their communities, many respondents also indicated distrust for police and the perception that their behaviour is a threat. This reflects the more widely held perception among youth, especially those of colour, that police actions are based on racial and other stereotypes. Among respondents, negative perceptions of police were slightly more prevalent among males than females. In this regard, 54.4% of males and 51.1% of females reported police treatment of youth as a factor with a medium-high impact on their personal safety.

While female respondents tended to rate all factors other than police treatment of youth slightly higher than males, their concern about acts of harassment, discrimination and hate was significantly stronger. On a daily basis, women are more vulnerable to both

physical and sexual harassment or assault than men, and their greater emphasis on these factors is consistent with this experience. In the case of harassment, for example, one-half of females, but only one-third of males rated it as having medium-high impact on their safety.

Communities differed to some degree on how much particular factors impact one's safety as well. While there was consensus on the relative significance of both drug activity and police treatment of youth, respondents from different communities gave more weight to some factors over others. Differences included:

- greater concern about gang activity in Jane-Finch and Malvern;
- greater concern about harassment and weapons in Malvern;
- heightened concern about drug activity in Regent Park.

b) Other factors impacting on safety

“The fact that they are around, people go crazy on drugs...”

Respondents were also asked in an open-ended question about issues affecting their personal safety. As before, drug activity surfaced as a prime concern, followed by discrimination/harassment, gang activity

and weapons. Female respondents made more comments about physical, emotional and sexual safety than males. Males, on the other hand, focused on issues of drug activity, police issues, weapons and theft.

Table 1.

Youth Safety Survey

Top Five Factors Affecting Safety				
All Respondents	Males	Females	Felt Unsafe	Felt Safe
Drug Activity	Drug Activity	Physical Assault	Drug Activity	Drug Activity
Discrimination/ Harassment	Police	Discrimination/ Harassment	Discrimination/ Harassment	Theft
Gang Activity	Weapons Use	Drug Activity	Strangers/Persons	Weapons Use
Theft	Theft	Sexual/ Gender Issues	Prostitution	Discrimination/ Harassment
Weapons Use	Discrimination/ Harassment	Gang Activity	More Lighting	Gang Activity

Among respondents who said they felt unsafe, a larger percentage of their comments cited actual street circumstances. Although drug activity was still their number one concern, unsafe respondents pointed more often to

strangers, prostitution and street lighting as significant issues. Table 1 shows the top five issues identified by respondents by gender and safety status.

4. Awareness and use of youth services

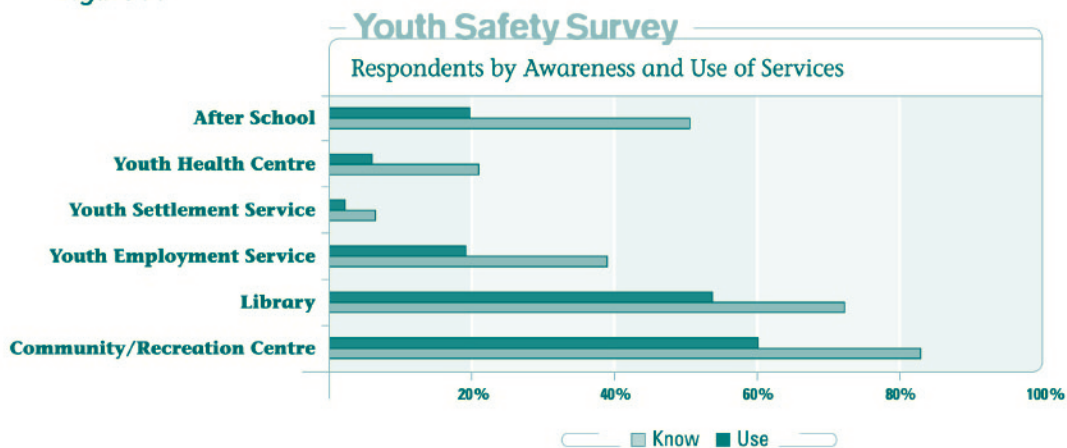
“...more programs which are open and for youth, where young people collectively decide what to do...”

The City of Toronto provides a range of youth services including libraries, recreation programs and a variety employment programs for at-risk youth. The City also funds community-based agencies that offer a wide range of programs, as well as a secure place to meet and play. The survey included two related questions about community services. Respondents were asked to indicate their familiarity with a range of services in their community and whether they use them. The list of services included: community/recreation centres, libraries, youth employment

services, youth settlement services, youth health centres and after-school programs.

Awareness of the six services ranged from a high of 84.4% for community/recreation centres to a low of 8.6% for settlement services. Libraries ranked second with 72% of respondents indicating knowledge of them. Respondents were substantially less familiar with other services, although half knew about after-school programs, 39% about youth employment services and 21% about health programs.

Figure 9:



Use of programs and services follow the same pattern, with community/recreation centres and libraries being used most widely. In this regard, 60.5% respondents reported using community/recreation centres, while 53.3% said they used libraries. Less than 20% of respondents reported using each of the other services. The relatively low awareness and use of particular community services reported by respondents poses a challenge to program providers to find effective ways to promote youth participation.

Among respondents, male and female use of services varied as a larger proportion of males reported using community/recreation centres,

and more females reported using libraries. In this regard, 64.7% of males but only 56.1% of females said they use community/recreation centres. For libraries, the situation is reversed with 57.8% of females and 48.5% of males using the service.

Across communities, a smaller percentage of respondents in Jane-Finch reported using community/recreation centres than those in other communities. Use of libraries, meanwhile, was lower among respondents in both Jane-Finch and Regent Park.

5. What should be done to improve community safety

“Give people a chance and more resources for success, there’s a lack of opportunity so people resort to crime...”

The survey included a number of questions about what should be done to address youth concerns about community safety. Respondents were to be asked to suggest specific issues and initiatives, as well as to comment on the respective roles of parents, teachers, community leaders, police, residents and youth in achieving safer communities.

The most frequently occurring responses dealt with policing followed closely by those pointing to particular community safety risks or programs to address them. Taken together, policing and safety risk comments accounted for more than half of all responses. Among other responses, 15% mentioned community development and leadership, 12% pointed to ways to better engage youth and 7% related to the maintenance of physical space, including

lighting, cleaner streets, safer access to public transportation and space where youth can freely “hang out.” Table 2 shows the top things respondents said should be done to address community safety.

The need for a greater police presence in the community was the single largest issue mentioned by respondents, accounting for one in five responses. Smaller numbers focussed on police-community relations, more effective policing approaches and the need for crime to be reported. While comments referring to police acknowledge the important role they play in community safety, many respondents also conveyed an expectation that policing be conducted with respect for youth and in co-operation with the community.

Table 2.

Youth Safety Survey

Top Ten Things That Can Be Done to Make the Community Safer	
1. More police	6. More community participation
2. Eliminate drugs	7. Eliminate gangs
3. More youth engagement	8. Eliminate hate and discrimination
4. Community programs	9. More lighting
5. Neighborhood Watch	10. More respectful policing

Approximately one in four responses mentioned specific community safety risks or programs to address them. Respondents call for initiatives to eliminate drugs, gangs, hate crimes, and discrimination. Some responses specifically pointed to the need for programs like Neighbourhood Watch and Block Parents. Others called for more funding for safety programs and initiatives.

Community development issues most frequently mentioned by respondents included the need for increased participation in community programs, greater youth and resident engagement in civic affairs, more

effective community leadership, co-operation with other neighbourhoods and promoting increased community safety awareness.

About 10% of responses were related to issues of youth engagement and civic involvement. Respondents suggested an enlarged role for youth in the planning and design of programs and more opportunities for youth to develop leadership skills. Specific leadership comments focussed on the need for community and political leaders to demonstrate integrity and to be more effective in representing the needs and diversity of communities.

6. The role of stakeholders in making communities safe

Everyone has a role to play in promoting safer communities. Respondents were asked to give their view on the role of parents, teachers, residents, police, community/political leaders and youth in creating safer

communities. In analyzing responses, the results were grouped in broader themes and issues. The following presents a general overview of what the youth said.

a) The Role of Parents

“For young people everything starts with family and what you get at home...”

Youth rely on parents for many things including care, protection, and advice. In the context of community safety, respondents describe the primary role of parents as the monitoring and protection of youth. One out of three comments by respondents mentioned this role in one way

or another; an additional 15% of comments focussed on parental responsibility for teaching right and wrong. A comparable number also cited the need for parents to promote discussion around safety issues and provide active guidance to youth on how to manage issues of personal safety.

Table 3.

Youth Safety Survey

What Parents Can Do to Make the Community Safer
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Monitor and protect youth 2. Teach right and wrong 3. Offer guidance 4. Promote discussion around safety 5. Offer education, personal development and life skills

A number of responses called on parents to be more active in supporting youth and a few expressed the importance of discipline. Most frequently responses on this theme suggested that parents should know where their children are, who they are with and be more interested

in their daily lives. A few supported the use of curfews as a means of control. Others said that parents should be more effective role models for youth and encourage them to stay in school.

b) The Role of Teachers

“Teachers need to care, kids should feel accepted...”

Youth look to teachers for education and guidance. In the context of promoting safety, the largest number of responses identified the predominant role of teachers as “to educate and teach.” Comments of this type made up 30% of all responses.

More specifically, respondents prescribed for teachers a similar role to that of parents – calling on them to be more involved in the lives of young people. Some mentioned the need for teachers to be more approachable and more available outside the classroom and more aware of what their students are doing after school.

Table 4.

Youth Safety Survey

What Teachers Can Do to Make the Community Safer
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To educate and teach 2. Promote discussion around safety 3. Offer guidance 4. Promote youth engagement 5. Teach right and wrong

Other comments touched on the need for teachers to provide guidance, encourage youth involvement in school safety, teach right and wrong and to promote discussion about community safety in school.

A higher percentage of males specifically noted the role of teachers in educating youth about right and wrong. Females, meanwhile, were more likely to focus on youth engagement, teaching life skills and the monitoring or protection of youth.

c) The Role of Residents

“Fear can come from living in a community that has no sense of ‘community’...”

Toronto residents confront safety issues on a daily basis. They understand the workings of their communities and their participation in addressing problems is a key element in building safe communities. The survey asked youth to identify the role of residents in promoting a safer community.

Respondents expected residents to be more engaged and more aware when it comes to community safety. Comments about engagement and awareness accounted for more than one-half of all responses.

Table 5.

Youth Safety Survey

What Residents Can Do to Make the Community Safer
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. More community involvement 2. Increased community safety awareness 3. Promote neighbourhood watch programs 4. Report crime to police 5. Monitor and protect youth

Respondents identified a need for more organized community events designed to foster and encourage a stronger sense of community. They also recognized the importance of knowing your neighbours as a positive factor in community safety. Some specifically mentioned the need for residents to be more aware of unsafe or suspicious activities, the presence of strangers in their community and be more willing to report these issues to the police. Overall, respondents believe that residents should be more engaged in the

monitoring and protection of young people within the community.

A smaller number of comments referred to more community support for specific community safety initiatives such as Neighbourhood Watch and Block Parents. Generally speaking, male respondents in their comments about the role of residents tended to give greater emphasis to involvement in community decision-making. Females, on the other hand, gave more emphasis to community safety programs.

d) The Role of Community Leaders

“Politicians need to see what we are going through in the raw, they need to come down to the streets...”

Youth expect effective leadership from both community and political leaders. The largest group of responses concerning the role of community/political leaders conveys that need for leadership to be effective. In this regard, one out of four comments makes this point and males and females tended to agree.

Leadership for respondents include a number of aspects. Among these were openness to the opinions of youth and effectiveness in creating more opportunities for youth involvement in solving problems. Others said that good leaders should be ethical, honest and deliver on their promises.

Table 6.

Youth Safety Survey

What Community Leaders Can Do to Make the Community Safer
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Offer effective leadership 2. More community involvement 3. Promote youth engagement 4. Promoting community programs 5. Funding of safety initiatives

A number of comments identified the need for community leaders and politicians to be more accessible and available. Some respondents said that political leaders should visit neighbourhoods to see for themselves what

is actually going on. Others mentioned the need for leaders to collaborate more effectively with stakeholders and with others to ensure the availability of community safety resources and programs.

e) The Role of Police

“Each police district should get involved with the community.”

Youth understand that police have a critical and direct role to play in maintaining community safety. To be more effective, police must rely on the co-operation of community members including youth.

Interestingly, 51% of male responses and 42% of female responses consistently identified the same roles for police in making the community a safer place.

Table 7.

Youth Safety Survey

What Police Can Do to Make the Community Safer
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Serve and protect/law enforcement 2. Promote more respectful policing 3. More police 4. Increase co-operation between community and police 5. Help maintain safety

Comments regarding policing were consistent across all youth segments. The greatest expectation of police was “to serve and protect.” Beyond that, respondents called for more respectful policing, and a stronger police presence in their communities. Other comments touched on improving personal contact between police and residents, ways to foster a greater sense of security and encouraging people to report crime.

Some respondents stressed the need for police to be viewed as “part of” the community. They mentioned the development of recreational and educational programs that are designed to build relationships between young people and the police. These programs should be distinct from the more conventional youth safety initiatives and should offer a diverse range of activities.

f) The Role of Youth

*“I feel like I’m in charge of my environment,
familiar with my environment and all the people.”*

The survey asked respondents to identify their role in promoting community safety and to describe some things they could do

to contribute. The following table outlines the top five responses to this question.

Table 8.

Youth Safety Survey

What Youth Can Do to Make the Community Safer
1. Youth engagement 2. More community involvement 3. Participate in more community programs 4. Be responsible citizens/”stay out of trouble” 5. Eliminate drugs

Respondents felt they have an important role to play in improving their personal and community safety. They stressed the importance of youth involvement in making their communities safer, and cited the need to participate in the design of programs and safety initiatives.

Engagement in school, the community, the political process and society as a whole, some said, is a way to reduce feelings of exclusion and promote effective youth engagement. Respondents placed strong value on working together with other stakeholders to develop approaches that include youth as integral partners in building safe communities.

E. Conclusion

The Youth Safety Survey Project reflects the experience of a cross-section of youth from the four communities targeted for the study. Overall, 1,254 survey respondents and 171 focus group participants provided their opinions, concerns and thoughts. The project offered an excellent opportunity to actively engage youth about issues of community safety and encourage their ongoing participation.

Survey results revealed similarities and differences between youth perceptions of safety across communities. Not surprisingly, the experiences of males and females vary somewhat. For the most part, survey and focus group participants were between the ages 14-19, living at home and attending full-time school.

Despite real and present safety risks in the four communities, a strong majority of respondents felt safe. It appears that youth have developed coping strategies to increase their own day-to-day sense of personal safety. Some respondents also exhibited a degree of desensitization to safety risks. This is reflected by the comments of a 14 year old from Regent Park who, in minimizing the threat of gang activity and guns in her neighbourhood, said "...those doing the shooting are mindful of children and try to make sure that no one else is around."

Drug activity was the risk factor with the strongest impact on perceptions of personal and community safety. "Drug activity" was also emphasized in focus group discussions, with some participants pointing to its link with other risks such as gang activity, weapons and violence. According to respondents there needs to be closer attention paid to drug usage and dealing.

Police treatment of youth was the second most frequently cited factor affecting perceptions of safety. Concern focused on the negative attitudes of police toward young people, especially black males. Despite this, respondents agreed that increased police presence in communities is needed. There were a number of constructive

suggestions from focus group participants about how relations could be improved between youth and police, including training for officers on more effective interaction with youth. Although there is work to be done to improve relations between youth and police, respondents remain hopeful and reliant on police to ensure community safety.

While a majority of respondents reported using community/recreation centres and library services, significantly fewer were aware of or had used any of the other listed services. Regent Park and Jane-Finch included a slightly higher proportion of respondents who said that they felt unsafe. At the same time, respondents from these communities used community/recreation centres and library services less frequently than those from either Parkdale or Malvern. While respondents simply may not have needed them, the relatively low level of awareness about some programs suggests that agencies may need to find more effective ways to reach out to youth.

Respondents offered a variety of thoughtful suggestions about the respective roles of community stakeholders. They call for more support and guidance from teachers and parents, referring in particular to the need for more direction and information on how to be safer in their community.

Survey respondents and focus group participants believe they have an important role to play in assisting police, teachers and community leaders to better understand the needs of youth. Although their comments were sometimes critical, respondents expressed clear expectations and a strong interest to work with others to promote community safety. The Youth Safety Survey Project marks an important step in engaging them in the effort.

This report is produced by the Youth Safety Sub-committee of the City of Toronto Community Safety Task Force. For more information, call 416-392-8574 or e-mail: tshered@toronto.ca

Appendix A: Summary of Focus Group Discussions

One hundred and seventy-one individuals participated in 15 focus groups as part of the Youth Safety Survey Project. The focus groups were two-hour sessions and were held at various locations in the four communities.

Focus group discussion was guided by the same questions as in the survey, with a focus on the perceptions of personal and community safety, the desensitization to violence and risk-taking behaviour, factors impacting on personal safety, issues of youth engagement and the lack of positive opportunities for youth. The following is a brief summary of the highlights from focus group discussions.

1) Methodology

Fifteen focus groups were conducted between June and October 2002. In total 89 females and 82 males participated. While the age of the participants ranged from 13 to 25, high school youth were most predominant.

Focus groups were conducted at schools, shelters, and community centers, as well as with youth groups in Regent Park, Malvern and Jane-Finch. Other groups with young mothers, homeless youth, participants of a youth anti-violence program and a City-sponsored leadership program were held at variety of locations outside of the target communities. Overall, groups reflected the City's diversity, as youth from a range of ethno-racial backgrounds participated.

Focus groups were held in the following locations:

- Black Creek Community Health Centre: Teen Mom's and Teen Anti-Violence Groups
- Humber Summit Middle School
- Jarvis Collegiate Institute
- Catch da Flava/Regent Park Focus
- Community Neighbourhood House, Regent Park
- John Innis Community Recreation Centre
- Malvern Community Recreation Centre
- Toronto Youth Cabinet
- Toronto Response for Youth (TRY)
- Leave Out Violence
- National AfriCan Integration Family Services
- Youth Skills Zone
- Youthlink
- Eva's Place North York.

2) How safe do youth feel?

Focus group participants, for the most part, described themselves as generally feeling safe. However, many youth acknowledged that unsafe activities do occur in their communities. A number of participants described growing up around drugs, weapons, violence and crime. As result of this experience, some youth have become somewhat desensitized to crime and violence and the impact this may have on their sense of safety. Other youth participants describe coping mechanisms or personal strategies they use to manage their safety, including learning to avoid unsafe areas and activities within their community.

A young male participant from Regent Park said, "as residents we know where to go and where not to go to avoid issues, we know our boundaries...we wouldn't go to Jane and Finch." Focus group participants also talked about areas within Regent Park they avoid because they know these are areas where drug activity occurs and they feel unsafe.

One female high school student spoke about the mentality of being safe, "you have to be confident and aware to be safe, to not look vulnerable you have to have a sense of security, we shouldn't need to carry a gun to feel safe."

3) How engaged are youth?

Many youth feel alienated, pessimistic and somewhat hopeless about their position in society and their ability to create change with issues affecting them. Generally, youth participants viewed society, media and the government as institutions that exclude youth and youth culture. Some participants perceive society more negatively, saying things such as "society sucks, it's unfriendly and there is no sense of community."

Other participants expressed a lack of concern about what is going on around them and explained that this attitude resulted from feelings of exclusion. In this regard, participants made comments such as, "[society is] one sided, against youth." Some youth express negative views of the media and blame them for depicting young people in stereotypical ways. One youth participant said that the media "portrays us as flat—only portrays certain characteristics, superficial images or young people as trouble makers." A strong sense of

alienation was apparent in their views of government as well. Many youth participants characterized government as “a bunch of old guys,” who are “out for the rich, only the rich.” Youth talked about the need for government and political leaders to visit communities and see for themselves what is going on. Some youth did feel that the “government worked to their advantage, but complained that youth were seldom included in the political process.”

4) What factors impact on their sense of safety?

a) Feeling Safe at Home

A number of participants said that they felt most safe at home, describing it as their “personal castle.” At home walls, locks and other people—including parents, siblings and security guards, protect young people at home. All of these factors contribute positively to their sense of personal safety.

A further theme expressed by a number of youth participants was the “fear that comes from living in a community that has no real sense of ‘community’.” Some participants noted the importance of knowing your neighbours, as a positive factor in creating a sense of community safety. One female participant from Jane-Finch spoke about feeling safe in her neighbourhood because of its strong sense of community, “most people know each other and are willing to help each other.”

Young people in each of the four communities spoke about the issue of “turf.” They spoke about feeling safe within their communities and agreed that outsiders would likely feel unsafe in their communities. A Regent Park youth in his early twenties said, “the media always perpetuates or exaggerates turf wars between Regent Park and Jane and Finch.” Youth participants explained that it’s not about being territorial; it’s more about looking out for your own community and being aware of outsiders who may threaten the sense of community safety.

b) Drugs

Drug activity is the most prominent issue among youth when talking about safety. Youth reported that “drugs are openly available and they feel that nothing is being done about them.” Young people feel threatened by the potential violent behaviour

of people addicted to drugs. One youth participant felt unsafe due to “the fact that they are around, people go crazy on drugs.”

Young people did state that drugs do not make them feel unsafe, but they do link drugs to other safety issues. Young people feel there needs to be closer attention paid to drug usage and dealing. A homeless youth said the police “need to go after dealers rather than users.”

When talking about drug users another young male participant said, “don’t lock them up, [we need to] deal with their dependence as a society.” Youth participants agree that drugs need to be less available and young people should not turn to drugs as a solution to problems.

c) School Safety

Many youth participants identified bullying and discrimination as having a negative impact on their sense of personal safety. Young people stated that, “school is where the problems start, there’s always someone out to get you, some people are just ignorant and they don’t like themselves.” One youth participant expressed that, “you’re always being judged, and you always got to watch your back.”

Youth explained that they naturally form their own groups of friends to create a sense of belonging, support and comfort. Youth reported that their membership in such groups could offer some protection from discrimination, bullying and violence. Youth participants explained that these groups of youth should be distinguished from more organized youth gangs who are involved in criminal activity.

Young people stated that weapons were common in all communities; however, most youth did not find this factor threatening. It appears that young people simply accept weapons as a part of their life experience.

d) Gangs

When asked about gang activity, the general response of most focus group participants was negative. One young person stated that, “the word (gang) always sounds wrong.” On the whole, young people define gangs as a group of people who hang out and are involved in criminal activity. However, they differentiate between groups of people, such as friends who have grown up together, from those groups who

are more organized and involved in criminal activity. Youth participants did express some concern that when they hang out with friends, police or others could wrongly identify them as gangs.

It is interesting to note that in the Malvern and Regent Park focus groups there was some consensus among young people that more notorious gangs were not an issue in their communities. However, some youth participants explained that “in the West End they’re all about the Bloods and Crips—they’re on a different trip, they’re crazy.”

A young male participant from Regent Park said, “we see them (gangs) around doing drugs, they talk to us, hassle and joke with us because we’re young, but they don’t bother us. They don’t pressure us to join because they know why we won’t join.” Some focus group participants spoke about the things that keep them away from gangs such as, “a home,” “an education” and that “Regent Park has a lot of fun things to do.”

Many youth participants did not view weapons or violent crime as having a negative impact on their sense of personal safety. When discussing the recent gun violence and murders in Regent Park, a 14 year-old male focus group participant explained that, “[the gunshots he hears do not make him feel unsafe because] shooters are not random, each bullet has a name.” He went on to say that those doing the shooting are mindful of children and try to make sure that no one else is around.

e) Police

Some focus group participants expressed a negative attitude toward the police, but agree that police have an essential role in promoting community safety. Participants also describe experiences of police harassment, especially young male participants, who stated that police often “target you for no reason.”

Some participants perceive the police as behaving in racist and discriminatory ways. Young people believe they are targeted because of their appearance, how they dress or where they hang out. Participants also identified some misconceptions about youth and youth culture that have negatively impacted on police-youth relations. For example, some worried that if they have any involvement with the police, it will be recorded negatively and that this negative information would affect any future interactions.

Youth participants expressed further concern that the police appear to regularly patrol the community, but do not respond when there is a real problem. One participant stated, “a lot of crime in Regent Park doesn’t get attended to.” Another said, “they have never been there when I needed them, but I always see them in the neighbourhood.”

5) What young people feel should be done about youth safety

Youth focus group participants identified a number of issues that impact on their sense of personal safety. Youth participants offered many suggestions on how to reduce the impact of these issues on their sense of personal safety.

Some youth participants suggested the need to “eliminate guns and weapons,” “decrease rent, offering more affordable housing,” “create cleaner neighborhoods – make it nicer,” “stay away, hang out with safe people,” “provide more positive role models” and “legalize marijuana, there’s too much sneaking around.”

Youth participants clearly identified the need for systemic change in order to promote safer communities. Youth participants recognized a need to “give people a chance and more resources for success, there’s a lack of opportunity so people resort to crime.” Some focus group members stated that they have no alternatives, they feel frustrated and bored. Youth participants believe they are not engaged or given many opportunities to participate fully in society.

Some participants believe that young people are often raised in environments where they are segregated from the rest of society. A result, many youth are not exposed to other realities or ways of living. Youth participants believe that there needs to be more awareness of what is going on outside of their communities, in order to develop a better sense of community safety. One youth participant emphasized the need to “engage people to see what’s going on outside the community, we’re all sheltered.”

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One youth stated that, “If people were interested in education they would be less violent.” Another youth participant stated that, “Teachers need to care, kids should feel accepted, like they’re in power.” Youth participants in the Regent Park focus group asked for more reading and writing programs and more opportunity to practice for the Grade 10 literacy tests.

Youth participants described that they are not always aware of the different youth programs funded by the government, “the government pays for programs but they don’t advertise or do not want people to know.” Overall, focus group participants expressed a desire to learn more about what programs are available for them.

Youth participants expressed a need for more job opportunities, so they can earn money rather than resort to theft or drug dealing. Youth participants believe that there are not enough opportunities available for younger youth, in the areas that they are interested in or feel will offer them quality experience.

Some youth focus group participants identified affordable housing as an important factor in their sense of personal safety. Youth participants explain that people need to be comfortable where they live and be able to afford housing, as well as food and other basic needs.

One young male participant recommended, “structural changes...so there is real debate around [the root] issues in society.” One homeless youth participant stated that, “politicians need to see what we are going through in the raw, they need to come down to the streets.” Many young people felt disconnected from the political system and recommend that the government invest in initiatives that continue to promote youth engagement.

Overall, youth participants were very interested in issues of youth safety and would offer a valuable contribution to the development and implementation of any City of Toronto program.

Appendix B:

A: Survey Questionnaire

Outreach Worker:		Location:			
1. How old are you?	14-16 <input type="checkbox"/>	17-19 <input type="checkbox"/>	20-22 <input type="checkbox"/>	23-24 <input type="checkbox"/>	
2. Gender:	Male <input type="checkbox"/>	Female <input type="checkbox"/>	Trans <input type="checkbox"/>	Other: <input type="checkbox"/>	
3. What is the closest main intersection to where you live?					
4. Which of the following describes your housing situation:					
Living with family <input type="checkbox"/>		Living by myself <input type="checkbox"/>			
Transitory <input type="checkbox"/>		Other <input type="checkbox"/> _____ (please describe)			
5. What is your current school/employment situation?					
Attending school:	Part time <input type="checkbox"/>	Full time <input type="checkbox"/>			
Employed:	Part time <input type="checkbox"/>	Full time <input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployed <input type="checkbox"/>		
Other <input type="checkbox"/>	_____				
(please describe)					
6. What is the last grade you completed:					
9 or lower <input type="checkbox"/>	10 <input type="checkbox"/>	11 <input type="checkbox"/>	12 <input type="checkbox"/>	13 <input type="checkbox"/>	
College <input type="checkbox"/>	University <input type="checkbox"/>	Some College or University <input type="checkbox"/>			
Other <input type="checkbox"/>	_____				
(please describe)					
7. How safe do you feel in the community where you live?					
Very safe <input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat safe <input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat unsafe <input type="checkbox"/>	Very unsafe <input type="checkbox"/>		
8. There are many factors that negatively affect a person's sense of personal safety. Using the following scale of 1-4, rate each of the factors below with regard to how much it impacts on how safe you feel in your community.					
	1 = no impact at all 2 = little impact 3 = medium impact 4 = high impact				
Gang Activity	1	2	3	4	
Weapons	1	2	3	4	
Harassment	1	2	3	4	
Bullying	1	2	3	4	
Drug Activity	1	2	3	4	
Discrimination	1	2	3	4	
Hate	1	2	3	4	
Police treatment of youth	1	2	3	4	
Death or injury to youth due to violent crime in your community	1	2	3	4	

9. What other factors (issues) can you think of that affect your sense of personal safety?

10. Which of the following “youth friendly” services can be found in your community

(please check all that apply)

- a. Community/Recreation Centre b. Library c. Youth Employment Service
d. Youth Settlement Service e. Youth Health Centre f. After School Program
g. Other _____
(please name)

11. Which of the above services do you use (check all that apply)

- a. b. c. d. e. f.

12. People often identify with particular ethnic, racial, social, and religious groups.

Which groups do you most closely identify with (e.g. black, queer, muslim, somalian, etc.)

(please list as many that apply)

A:

B:

C:

D:

13. Name some things that can be done to make your community safer:

14. What is the role of the following in making your community safer?

Parents:

Teachers:

Community Leaders and Politicians:

Residents in general:

Police:

15. What would you do to make your community safer?

16. Any other comments:

B: Codes For Analysis

1. Maintenance of physical space

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--|------------|
| 1. more lighting | 4. garbage | 7. traffic |
| 2. cleaner streets | 5. TTC, getting home at night | 8. fire |
| 3. safe spaces to hang out | 6. people (<i>crazy people, people you don't know</i>) | |

2. Street activity

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. drug activity | 4. theft | 7. prostitution |
| 2. gang activity | 5. influences of alcohol | 8. child abuse |
| 3. weapons use/violence | 6. physical assault | 9. homelessness |

3. Discrimination and Harassment

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. racial | 4. sexual/gender | 7. peer pressure |
| 2. sexual orientation | 5. religion | |
| 3. ethnicity | 6. turf/territory | |

4. Community development and engagement

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1. more community involvement/
increased participation | 4. civic engagement | 8. level of income (<i>low
income community</i>) |
| 2. community programs
and events | 5. effective leadership | 9. work related |
| 3. community awareness | 6. cooperation with other
neighborhoods | |
| | 7. parental involvement | |

5. Community safety initiatives and issues

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. neighbourhood watches | 4. funding of safety programs | 7. eliminate hate and
discrimination |
| 2. Block Parent Program | 5. eliminate drugs | 8. eliminate gangs |
| 3. help maintain safety | 6. eliminate weapons and violence | |

6. Police

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. cooperation between
community and police | 3. more respectful policing | 6. serve and protect,
law enforcement |
| 2. report crimes to police | 4. more security | 7. harsher on young offenders |
| | 5. less security | |

7. Education, Personal Development and Life Skills

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1. teaching right and wrong | 4. promote discussion/raise
awareness around safety | 7. responsible citizenship
(<i>stay away from trouble</i>) |
| 2. guidance | 5. act as role models | 8. safer schools |
| 3. encourage young people to
stay in school | 6. educate and teach | |

8. Provide necessities

- | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. health and security | 4. employment opportunities | 7. decriminalize marijuana |
| 2. shelter and food | 5. address and eliminate poverty | 8. stay home |
| 3. monitor and protect youth | 6. affordable housing | |

9. Youth engagement (Leadership development, civic participation, youth programs)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. lack of parenting | 3. media | 5. move to another
community |
| 2. lack of discipline | 4. uniforms | |

10. Other

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Councillors

Councillor Chris Korwin-Kuczynski
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Councillor Brad Duguid
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Departments and Committees

Community and Neighbourhood Services

Community Safety Task Force

**Economic Development,
Culture and Tourism**

Toronto Public Health

Youth Safety Sub-Committee

*Special thanks to the young people
who participated in the Survey and
Focus Group sessions.*

Appendix c

Young Indigenous Males, Custody and the Rites of Passage



No. 204
**Young Indigenous Males,
 Custody and the Rites of
 Passage**

Emma Ogilvie and Allan Van Zyl

Almost 20 years ago, David Biles (1983) included a reference to the use of imprisonment as a substitute manhood ceremony in his report on Grootte Eylandt prisoners. Despite the provocative nature of this suggestion, no detailed study of this claim has been undertaken to date.

This paper examines the concept of incarceration as an alternative "rite of passage" for young Indigenous males. The paper draws upon research currently being conducted in the Northern Territory and while the findings can only be considered as preliminary, they nevertheless suggest that the concept of incarceration as a rite of passage needs to be substantially re-configured. While imprisonment can certainly serve as a testing ground for young Indigenous men, it does not replace traditional rites of passage in remote communities, and needs to be recognised as a phase in criminal trajectories characterised by a lack of access to basic social resources.

Adam Graycar
 Director

The role imprisonment plays for young Indigenous males in remote communities has come to be the subject of some controversy, with many social commentators arguing that imprisonment may be serving as an alternate initiation process for some young Indigenous males. This paper provides a first step in clarifying some of the critical issues addressing these understandings of rites of passage and incarceration for future researchers and policy-makers. It is critical to note here, however, that there are a range of factors that impact upon the experience of young Indigenous men in remote communities which are too complex to do justice to in a single paper (see Cunneen 1999; Beresford & Omaji 1996). Instead, this paper will examine both anthropological and criminological concepts of rites of passage in relation to young Indigenous males' experiences of incarceration in the Northern Territory.

Background

The over-representation of Indigenous people in Australian prisons and detention centres is well documented (see Cunneen & McDonald 1997), with the Indigenous prison population growing faster than the non-Indigenous prison population (Carcach, Grant & Conroy 1999) and the over-representation of Indigenous juveniles being more extreme than that of adults (Lincoln & Wilson 2000).

Within the Northern Territory, Indigenous males form the single largest group of detained/imprisoned persons (over 63 per cent). Given that Indigenous people make up 28 per cent of the

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Northern Territory population, this is an over-representation ratio of approximately 2.5 to 1. Because of the high number of Indigenous persons in the Territory population, this *ratio* is actually one of Australia's lowest, but as a proportion of all those incarcerated, the figures are of real concern. Partly because of the magnitude of this over-representation in Australia, the role incarceration plays for young Indigenous males in remote communities has increasingly attracted attention. The notion that incarceration is serving as an initiation process for young males has assumed something of the status of a received wisdom. This is despite the absence of any very rigorous empirical support for the concept beyond the reference to imprisonment as a substitute manhood ceremony by David Biles in his 1983 report on Groote Eylandt prisoners. Nevertheless, across the Northern Territory and in those other jurisdictions where traditional customary systems exist, many of those who work with Indigenous people continue to make reference to this perception (Van Zyl 2001).

For example, Michael Gilroy (in Biles 1983) reports that young Aboriginal offenders:

...boast about their imprisonment and with bravado talk about the "free jet trip". Their only criticism of Fannie Bay [Darwin's former prison] appears to be the lack of grog but "there is good tucker and easy work" and many of their mates are there. In letters to their brothers and mates, they exhort them to "get to Fannie Bay" as "it's a real good place there" ...these days there are no thorough initiation ceremonies which herald manhood. It appears that young people themselves have chosen an alternative initiation—going to gaol. (Gilroy 1976, pp. 124–5)

Most recently, the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, in a speech in 2000 to the NT's Council of Churches, remarked:

As we know, there are some communities where going to prison has become almost a "rite of passage" and a source of pride and achievement. Many

Aboriginal parents believe the Don Dale Centre [Darwin's juvenile detention centre], with its furnishings and fittings, is too opulent. Some youngsters look forward to going there. For such young people, a community-based solution may be a far more effective deterrent. (Burke 2000)

Similarly, the *Northern Territory News* on 6 January 2001 featured a two-page article on Wadeye (Port Keats) that described a recent juvenile court appearance by a youth from the community. The defence lawyer from the North Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service (NAALAS) admitted to the court that the youth said he wanted to go to the detention centre. The newspaper reported that the magistrate, in response, had said:

...knowing what I do of you from the past I fear that if I do not send you to Don Dale for Christmas you will go out and commit more offences until you get what you want. A number of your friends are going to Don Dale and you obviously want to go there too. (Watt 2001, pp. 20–1)

The concept of incarceration as a rite of passage or voluntary exercise is not, however, without its critics.

In response to Gilroy, McGill (1976) contended that the suggestion that custody had replaced initiation was:

...not true. Whilst it is correct that a type of hero worship of ex-prisoners does exist amongst the young boys, this does not mean imprisonment in Fannie Bay has replaced tribal initiation. Tribal initiation still exists, although on Groote Eylandt it has always been less vigorous and more informal than on the mainland. (McGill 1976, p. 127)

While the situation may have altered since McGill rejected the prison-as-a-rite-of-passage thesis, the argument that incarceration might involve a "positive" element of *choice* certainly runs counter to the very substantial literature focusing upon Indigenous incarceration. The clear thrust of this literature is that incarceration is particularly and uniformly damaging for

Indigenous inmates (Cunneen & McDonald 1997).

This paper takes up the original issues discussed by Biles, and examines the conditions currently facing young Indigenous men in the Northern Territory. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to understand exactly what is meant by the term "rite of passage".

Rites of Passage

Anthropologists have long emphasised the centrality of rites of passage in pre-industrial societies because of the way in which they allow members of society to progress through transitional life phases through the use of rituals and ceremonies. The concept of "rite of passage" was first articulated by Van Gennep in 1929 as part of an attempt to clarify the ritualised practices and ceremonies that cultures develop in order to formalise the leaving of one life phase and the entering of another (Van Gennep 1960). Van Gennep outlined three criteria that characterise a rite of passage:

- the spiritual/symbolic needs of the participants are addressed through engaging in a ritual or ceremony which allows for a "new" construction of self;
- "*communitas*" is formed through the witnessing of the event by significant others in the community; and
- the ritual incorporates conditions which may challenge the participant physically and relate to moral/cultural teachings intellectually—these conditions are presented as a test of character development and ability to pass through to the next life phase (Van Gennep 1960).

While other studies have identified similar criteria, the recognition of such social practices has not been confined to anthropology. Sociologists have also acknowledged the mechanisms that alleviate the tensions associated with transitional phases and major changes in industrial societies (see Teather 1999).

There is, then, a wide range of life stages that might conceivably be categorised as constituting a form of initiation ceremony, or rite of passage. In first-world cultures there are ever fewer ceremonial rites of passage but, nevertheless, certain events (such as 18th birthdays, first jobs, first cars, first sexual encounters, religious or cultural rituals or leaving home) are generally recognised as signalling important milestones in an individual's movement from childhood to adulthood. These events serve to reposition individuals relative to others and make clear the changing nature of their status and obligations. Importantly, however, not all such milestones are seamlessly consistent with community norms and State laws. Certain adolescent criminal activities, such as drug use and gang involvement, are also recognised as providing effective rites of passage for at least some children, particularly the disadvantaged or marginalised, despite their ostensible incompatibility with the dominant norms of the day (see Huff 1990; Soriano & De La Rosa 1990).

Together with becoming an "adult", criminality may also be seen as a "tool" for the development and maintenance of a particular expression of masculinity. For example, Katz argues that when men commit an armed robbery, they are "doing" masculinity. Criminal acts are given as:

...a way of elaborating, perhaps celebrating, distinctively male forms of action and ways of being, such as collective drinking and gambling on street corners, interpersonal physical challenges and moral tests, cocky posturing and arrogant claims to back up "tough" fronts. (Katz 1988, p. 247)

Engaging in criminal behaviours with like-minded peers can readily incorporate aspects that closely resemble the criteria first identified by Van Gennep. Some criminal activities may challenge, teach and ultimately result in the construction of a new sense of

self-identity that is acknowledged, accepted and respected by significant others. Given this, it is not surprising that some are prepared to readily countenance the idea that incarceration has come to serve as a replacement for traditional rites of passage. What, then, is currently occurring in the Northern Territory?

Methodology

The data presented in this paper are taken from a series of interviews being conducted for a larger research exercise (see Van Zyl 2001). Interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders over a period of six months. The purpose of these contacts was to develop a preliminary picture of "manhood issues". This process included talking with incarcerated juveniles and adults, custodial staff and judicial officials. This preliminary work was aimed at identifying the background factors related to the imprisonment of these interviewees. About 25 per cent of the sentenced 18–25-year-old Indigenous men in custody (and a similar percentage of juvenile detainees) at the time of the interviews participated in the research (n=35). These respondents were drawn from a total of 12 separate communities.

Findings

What is particularly interesting about the preliminary findings is how consistent they are with other research on marginalised young people (irrespective of jurisdictional or situational context). This is particularly the case with respect to motivations for offending, which appear to predominantly involve fun, peer group alliances and lack of access to other infrastructure (see Lynch & Ogilvie 1999; Ogilvie & Lynch 2001). What is particularly important is that it does not appear that detention itself is a "replacement" rite of passage but, rather, that detention is one aspect of criminal trajectories that are themselves "learning experiences". Detention is thus not a replacement rite of passage,

but rather *another venue* for the construction of identity, as are schools, leisure groups and more general (and "loose") peer interactions.

Adolescent Life in the Remote Northern Territory

What then might the role of detention be for young Indigenous males in these remote communities? In addressing this issue, we need to first understand the context in which custody *may* appear an appealing alternative to the status quo.

When questioned about a "typical day" in the community, respondents reported that it often "really starts" after a late night roaming the community or watching movies. Smoking gunja (marijuana) can often commence quite early in the day (frequently in the company of "mates"). These young people see the days as being marked by boredom or lack of any challenge, and characterised by activities that rarely involve parents or other adult family members.

Of those adolescents in custody within the Northern Territory, the offences for which they are convicted are predominantly property related, and the offending behaviours are typically engaged in with peers. In particular, criminality is embarked upon for "fun" and "adventure". The adolescents interviewed from Territory communities described such activities as car theft (including the stealing of an ambulance) as constituting a welcome break from routine. The theft of a vehicle was considered an adventure, allowing for a demonstration of skill. This was coupled with the experience of excitement and the rush involved in challenging the authorities.

There are, however, important differences with respect to urban and remote communities' experience of criminality and the associated interactions with police. In a remote rural community, the adolescents know they will be caught. They drive a stolen

vehicle around the community for fun until it runs out of fuel, crashes or breaks down. Unless there is a specific life threatening reason, police often will not pursue the offenders because they know “who they are” and “where they will go”. When the additional factor of “honesty” is included in the equation (with many young people readily admitting to offences once the “adventure is over”) it becomes obvious why police clear-up rates in remote Indigenous communities are claimed to be approaching 100 per cent—against urban rates of around 15 per cent for most property-related offences (NAALAS 2000).

It is suggested that for many of these young adolescents from remote communities a criminal record is of little consequence. Even with an unblemished record, the likelihood of a government job is slim, and what employment is available is all too often a temporary Community Development Employment Project (CDEP). A criminal conviction is thus reasonably accurately seen as presenting no real impediment to either future earning capacity or relationship development. Significantly, there is also no real stigma within these small communities attached to having been convicted of a crime. Because the “world” of these adolescents rarely extends beyond the community boundary or the nearest town, the limited negative implications in terms of employment, shame, peer rejection and so on that do exist are largely irrelevant. When ambitions are limited by a (quite realistic) sense that opportunities are highly constrained, it should not be surprising that alternatives to recreational crime are not seriously considered. While driving a Formula One race car may be a *wish* expressed by many of these young men, there is nevertheless a sober appreciation that such an outcome is not actually attainable and so is an irrelevance.

The central theme to emerge in the interviews about life in

custody was that detention provided access to resources that were unavailable within the original communities. The importance of this fact is central in terms of addressing adolescent criminality. For example, school in detention was described as more interesting and rewarding than the “outside” alternative because of its broadness, its focus upon basic individual literacy and numeracy needs, the sporting opportunities and the increased access to outside information such as documentaries and movies. The work within the detention centre was considered hard but rewarding, because it offered a chance to acquire useful new trade skills that the adolescents saw as potentially leading to a “better” future.

There is a crucially important point to be aware of here. While detention may be signalling a new level of maturation, in a manner that is *analogous* to the way entering high school may work for middle class adolescents, there is a vital difference that needs to be recognised. The interviews point to detention being seen by the young people as an opportunity for a *different experience* from that available in the remote communities. This is a critical point because, while there may be issues of status associated with incarceration, the adolescent criminality in the Northern Territory is primarily born out of boredom, resulting from marginalisation and lack of access to resources (see Beresford & Omaji 1996); detention provides an opportunity to experience something new. The attractions of detention (such as the plane ride, the variety of activities, the mates, the enhanced range of food, fun and the opportunity to be stronger and smarter) are therefore seen by some as compelling.

Future Directions

The importance of this in terms of future policies is decisive. If we are content to entertain the idea that detention is a rite of passage that young men in Indigenous

communities actually want as part of becoming a man, we are making assumptions about decision-making by young Indigenous men that excuse us of any responsibility for Indigenous over-representation in our prisons. If, on the other hand, we are prepared to consider that detention may be attractive simply because it represents a desperately needed change in routine for marginalised and disadvantaged young people, we are forced to confront policy development issues that we know will prove “taxing” in every sense of the word.

At present, the popular media (and therefore the public) are reluctant to recognise the demonstrable fact that the number of adolescents in detention is small and that, as a group, they do not represent a major risk to public safety. Over 85 per cent of juveniles appearing in Australian courts will not re-offend to the degree that detention or future adult imprisonment will prove necessary (Carcach & Leverett 1999). However, it is also the case that young people who have experienced detention are much more likely to experience imprisonment in adulthood.

The juvenile detainees interviewed saw their experience as an adventure bringing strength and companionship. This experience unavoidably and inevitably sets the individual apart from those who have not experienced detention and makes “equals” of only those who have shared the experience of incarceration. In this sense, incarceration may well constitute a kind of growing up experience, but the hidden costs of this experience are high for both the young people and the wider community.

If an individual’s most defining experience of growing up is primarily about custody, then it would seem unlikely that such an experience will equip young males for lives outside criminal sub-cultures. In addition, if some individuals are relatively

at ease with the world of prison because “they have been brought up with family members in prison. It holds no fear for them. It’s meeting up with family” (interview in Beresford & Omaji 1996, p. 117), then arguments about the deterrent effect of detention are questionable and, by corollary, the expenditure involved in incarceration needs to be reconsidered with reference to facilitating less destructive modes of growing up.

Taking these factors into consideration, there is a range of research and policy issues that might usefully be addressed. If our working hypothesis is that incarceration has become a *sort of* rite of passage providing for new constructions of self-identity through *communitas*, then there is a need to seriously grapple with how we can satisfy the need for more than boredom and marginalisation. As a first step we need to ascertain whether the elements of character development being associated with imprisonment actually are an extension of traditional rites of passage for Indigenous youth. The Territory interviews give us good reason to believe that what is really happening is that incarceration is being used as a tool by those in marginalised positions to provide themselves with impoverished versions of what is taken for granted by those in more advantaged situations. This is a quite different phenomenon to that of traditional rites of passage.

Research

In terms of research, we need much better information about the *experience* of both criminality and custody for young people living in remote Australian communities, not only in the Northern Territory but also in Western Australia, Queensland and other parts of Australia. We cannot content ourselves with uncritically reiterating the speculative notions of decades past (even if they do possess a superficial plausibility). While it is important to remember that the

majority of young people do *not* become offenders, issues such as background, socioeconomic status, family violence, community and family dysfunction, drug or alcohol use and the breakdown of traditional social controls are all factors we know to be implicated in propelling young people towards periods of incarceration. We should not shirk our responsibility to improve our understanding of how these factors converge in ways that disproportionately disadvantage Indigenous Australians. There are three key questions that need to be addressed:

- *Why is it that some young people never engage in serious criminality?*
If we are to understand whether, why and how detention may serve as a facilitator of a particular form of Indigenous masculinity, we need to understand it in relation to other identities which do *not* rely upon incarceration. For example, what are the factors that impact upon young Indigenous men engaging in law-abiding, socially conformist trajectories? Research of this nature will have critical policy implications in terms of developing frameworks that provide supportive rather than alienating environments.
- *Why is it that most of those who do get into trouble desist from crime and do not reoffend?*
While research into recidivism is longstanding, we still have only limited research into desistance. Given that adolescent incarceration is commonly recognised as a contributor to adult criminality, research investigating what may stymie criminal careers (before incarceration becomes necessary) has enormous future policy potential.
- *What differentiates relatively law-abiding communities from those characterised by wide-spread social disorganisation?*
Thus far, all research into youth crime suggests that a large proportion of criminality is born out of contexts characterised by violence,

boredom and lack of access to social resources. If young people are engaging in crime for the “rush”, the provision of services which provide alternative venues by which to achieve such challenges is critical.

Policy

In terms of policy, we need to construct *real* partnerships between government and communities. It has already been demonstrated that community initiatives which address community concerns tend to have more success than top-down government responses (Memmott et al. 2001). Partnerships must be community-driven, accountable and linked to financial and other benefits for the community in a manner that may provide basic social resources and opportunities currently unavailable to many remote communities.

The level of social disorder in many of these communities is so great that no single or group of solutions exists. Real and accountable partnerships that empower communities to focus on the root causes of their multiple disadvantages will be necessary. In particular, these must address community and family responsibility, recreation opportunities, alcohol abuse, education and learning, and welfare dependency.

Conclusion

The issue of whether or not imprisonment or detention is positive or negative, or equivalent or different to traditional rites of passage, is in the final analysis nonsensical. Indigenous rites of passage are phenomena in and of themselves, which may grow, change or remain constant according to their historical, social and cultural context. These rites are not readily transferable to alternative institutions that have been developed for quite different purposes.

The fact that diverse social processes have some characteristics in common does not mean they are the same or equivalent. While

it has to be conceded that it is not altogether unreasonable to suggest that incarceration serves some functions, roles and rationales *similar* to those of a rite of passage, it is essential that we position this observation within the appropriate social context. The message contained in the Territory interviews is that while detention incorporates some voluntary dimensions associated with a desire to publicly mark the progression into adulthood, this element of voluntarism is the product of a marginalised environment that severely limits the possibilities for choice. Importantly, these consequences or corollaries of marginalisation are not exclusive to the Northern Territory. All Australian jurisdictions face these same problems to a greater or lesser degree. In confronting the question of how best to address Indigenous adolescent offending, there is a need to use the provocative insight of Biles in the early 1980s as a springboard to creative solutions to hitherto intractable problems—not as a pseudo-explanation that absolves us of any need to do the necessary research, develop the necessary policies and sponsor the necessary interventions.

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