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**THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF INTERACTION
WITH AUTHORITY BY MEMBERS OF A FRINGE
GROUP (GANG) IN
NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY**

AN INTERPRETIVE DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

A thesis
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ABSTRACT

This descriptive interpretive study examines the lived experience of interaction with authority by a fringe group (gangs) in New Zealand society. Using the qualitative methodology of Heideggerian Hermeneutic Analysis, the texts from five interviews are analyzed, interpreted and presented. The participants are asked to tell us what has been significant for them as they experience living in the world.

Analysis reveals interpretive phenomenological meanings of motivations, actions, strategies and understandings of their responses to interaction with authority. Extensive findings emerge from their stories in the form of five common themes, two relational themes and a constitutive pattern. The five themes include various forms of dominance, violence, betrayal, submission and manifestation of authority. The two relational themes are epitomized by the way in which members of this group are both 'standing in the shadow' and 'standing in the light' of our New Zealand society when they interact with authority. The constitutive pattern found in their stories reveals the need for 'Creating Places' that keep open a future of possibilities for gangs in our society.

The experience of gang interaction with authority is embedded in networks of relationships based in the Gang, the family, the community and the culture of our society and uncovers not only how gangs interact with authority, but how authority interacts with gangs. Their stories reveal everyday events that are recognizable, intelligible and tell us not only how gangs organize their everyday world but what it means for them to profoundly *be* in the world. Understanding this has the effect of creating a place for gangs that is open to possibilities not only for themselves but for society in general.

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GLOSSARY

This glossary provides explication of words, illustrations and materials not explained in the text.

Apriori knowledge

Knowledge absolutely independent of all experience.

Dasein

This is a Heideggerian term which refers to that entity or aspect of our humanness which is capable of wondering about its own existence and enquiring into its own Being (Van Manen, 1990, p176).

Lived Experience (*Erlebnis*)

Refers to the totality and infinitude of human existence.

Whanau

The extended family group (Orsman,^{+Orsman.} 1994, p312).

The Gang

Is the pseudonym that has been designated for the group from which the participants were drawn.

Throughout this thesis original poems, illustrations and emblems of a fringe group are presented. Their inclusion is intended to broaden the boundaries of language, making this fringe group more visible and knowable to the reader. They express the reality of 'being' for members of the group and reveal how they view not only themselves but also others within that reality. They are drawn from a private, undated, unpublished source that was made available to me for the purpose of this study and are presented here unaltered except for the poem on the following page which has an original illustration superimposed behind it. It is my intention that they be seen as their 'voice' uncensored and without explanation.

On Da 13th Day God Created

When God created da human race

**He sat back down
With a screwed-up face
So off out of his pocket
He pulled US dogs
Then gave US a name
The mongrel mob**

**He gave US patches
And leather so clean
Said 'here boys,
go make these mean'**

**He gave US weapons
The chain, gun and bat
Da humans all scarper
When they see US attack**

**He gave US wheels
The mighty V-eights
We run over arseholes
From morn till late**

**He gave US bents
and boots that click
Things we do what
Just make you sick**

**He gave US shacks
Pad's we call home
Then gave US some fox
The dreaded dog**

**He gave US booze
And herb to smok
Then some twot
For US to poke**

INTRODUCTION

Ko ratau ano to ratau waha korero

- Let them speak for themselves - *Maori Proverb*



C.S. Lewis (1945), illustrates in the following analogy how it is possible to view from a number of perspectives, experiences encountered in everyday living.

I was standing today in the dark toolshed. The sun was shining outside and through the crack at the top of the door there came a sunbeam. From where I stood that beam of light, with specks of dust floating in it, was the most striking thing in the place. Everything else was almost pitch black. I was seeing the beam, not seeing things by it. Then I moved, so that the beam fell on my eyes. Instantly the whole picture vanished. I saw the toolshed and (above all) no beam. Instead I saw, framed in the irregular cranny at the top of the door, green leaves moving on the branches of a tree outside and beyond that, ninety-odd million miles away, the sun (Lewis, 1945, p50).

While looking *along* the 'beam' and looking *at* the beam are very different experiences, what emerges in this analogy is that together these perspectives provide a more accurate account of what is the true or valid experience of the same phenomenon.

If you take Lewis' analogy and apply it to perspective positions in research, what will be illuminated in this instance is that there is a great deal of research into the effect of interactions of gang members with authority from the point of view of the authority, or representatives of it. There are also studies that identify the 'cost' of this phenomenon to the wider society and studies that focus on the effects of interaction on the members of such groups, in other words, we are very proficient at looking *at* Lewis' beam. But there has been little research undertaken to find out what the

phenomenon of interaction with authority has been like for members of this fringe group. This study is an opportunity for us to encounter the other perspective, to look *along* the beam. It provides a platform from which you will hear in a coherent and valid manner, the experience of gang interaction with authority and will provide valuable subjective understanding of gang members in our society that will contribute to balancing our objective knowledge of them.

While there is a wealth of knowledge concerning the understanding of beliefs, biases, assumptions, presuppositions and theories in literature about the nature of interaction with authority of fringe groups, there is little literature that brings us closer to understanding the nature of this interaction itself. This study is also intended to contribute to our understanding of the nature of the interactions of gangs with authority and how this is experienced by their members.

Through this study, the participants are provided with an opportunity to locate themselves within our history, to become subjects in the construction of their own identities. It permits them the opportunity not merely to speak but to engage critically in the re-living of their experience of interaction with authority. Their 'coming to voice' obliges us to examine the practices of control, imposition, coercion and use of power in our community by various authorities and the various ways in which gangs are implicated. It provides a stage on which this fringe group can disclose the important ideologies of their lived experience and how these constitute their own identities. The historical context and substance of their social and cultural forms are revealed in diverse and multiple ways and what emerges is a sense of meaning, purpose and pride in their identity as members of a fringe group.

The research looks at the nature of the lived experience of interaction with authority, for gang members in New Zealand society, and uses the

descriptive interpretive methodology of Heideggerian Hermeneutic Analysis (HHA) that has a human science perspective. It focuses on the meaning of this lived experience for this fringe group by exploring and making visible what they experience in the interactions they undergo with authority.

Through uncovering common meanings embedded in their lived experience, a textual expression emerges of its essence that is at once a reflective re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful to them. It provides a perspective that is different from the studies of Gangs in the past which have largely followed the rational empirical school of thought. This perspective has typically attempted to answer causal questions in order to explain negative consequences of interactions and have tended to decontextualise and objectify their views providing us with a limited grasp of the range of common and idiosyncratic interpretations of gangs in the flow of human experience.

This study then is about people who act purposefully in the world by creating objects of meaning that are expressions of how humans exist in the world.

It explicates the understanding of the human phenomena of the lived structures of meaning and is objectified in language and beliefs about authority and interaction by a fringe group.

The question is asked of them- *What is the way that a gang member experiences the world?* Their answers to this question illustrate that they know their world and to know their world is to profoundly *be* and to *be* is to attach themselves to their world. They express clearly in their stories that which is most essential to *being* for them.

Through interpretive phenomenology, the study of everyday aspects of their world gives all of us new access and understanding of gangs in society and by looking at this phenomenon via a study of the particular it becomes in

turn an episode to totality where,

we both *are* a world and *have* a world (Diekelmann, 1991, p49).

Besides being complicated, reality in my experience is usually odd. It is not neat, not obvious, not what you would expect and usually something you would not have guessed. If the problem of understanding reality is not simple then the answer is not going to be simple either.

The main tool used in this study of the reality of a lived experience is Language in its verbal, nonverbal and textual manifestations. Through language, a person re-lives an experience, and in speaking it, a person goes back to the event in which word functions and brings it to light. It is through this tool that the experiences of a self interpreting individual, will be understood. Martin Heidegger (1962), considered that a person was a self interpreting individual who possessed a background that was made up of cultural, social and historical contexts handed down to them in language and cultural practices. For Heidegger,

to seek to understand the human experience means we must participate in dialogue which is a linguistic experience (Diekelmann, 1987, p7).

This tool is used by people to grasp the meaning of and convey meaning to others. As with any tool, language has many disorienting aspects to it and one of the most confusing is the popular assumption that whatever is imaginative is by its very nature false or nonexistent. What people fail to perceive is that there are some aspects of reality that can be conveyed in no other way, inasmuch as reality transcends the most abstract language. What a properly focused imagination reveals is a higher integrative level of understanding that leads the perceptive mind closer to a supra verbal recognition of reality. This understanding draws on the mind's innate capabilities of recognizing truth when presented with it. It is a real medium of communicating information whether that information be false or true, and an important means by which higher truths can be communicated.

This study then, endeavours to give shape and meaning to a body of research information through making visible contexts that pattern and shape the many kinds of activities that influence individuals. It identifies a fringe group in New Zealand society whose members share common patterned set of value orientations, language, dress and customs which contrast and, at times, conflict with the wider society. It asks them to tell their stories of interaction with authority from their perspective, not ours and permits us to look with them *along* their experience.

This is the problem with the Mob, people can't seem to pick up the essence of what a Mobster is and they're forever trying to define it from the outside looking in. I'd like to see someone show another side of the Mob (Payne,1990, p33).

This tension between perspectives of viewing gangs is addressed in this research by the respectful methodology of Heideggerian Hermeneutic Analysis (HHA) which seeks not to know what they are all about, but to reveal the ontological meanings embedded in their living a life, what it means for them to be.

LITERATURE REVIEW



INTRODUCTION

The study of the literature in this review presents an extensive study of five points that were drawn from the research question.

What is the lived experience of a fringe group in New Zealand society when they interact with authority?

The focal points arising from this question fall naturally into: the nature of community; the nature of groups (in particular, gangs); the nature of interaction; the nature of authority and the nature of research in relation to the question under study. Although each of these points will be attended to separately it will be recognized that they cannot in fact be viewed in isolation from each other since they are inherently interrelated.

There has been no attempt in this review to be all inclusive in searching out relevant literature, nor is there an undertaking to start from the chronicles of ancient wisdom and work spreading forward to contemporary literature.

The sources of literature that have been examined include both New Zealand and international texts that are relevant to the areas of study.

Reports from formal sources, both academic and non-academic as well from the media (the press, radio and television) have also been included. Another very important source that was made accessible to me has been a collection of unpublished writings by members of a New Zealand gang.

THE NATURE OF COMMUNITY

It is a question of identity and whether I am really I and whether you are you.

Can this be community, composed of the most peculiar I and more peculiar you?

(Maguire, 1980, p22).

INTRODUCTION

A useful definition of community is to describe it as a social group in which members share common interests, values and attitudes within a shared environment (Idour, 1994, p11).

It would be nice if we could argue that community is a basic unit with which people identify and from which they gain a sense of security and belonging, but attractive though this thought is, contemporary literature indicates that this is not so for many people in today's societies as all too often they exhibit symptoms of alienation, frustration and loneliness. It will be evident in this study that this has in fact been the case for each of the participants as they relate their lived experience of interaction with authority.

We can say with confidence that communities have always existed and will continue to do so because essentially people are social creatures who have needs to associate and belong with other significant and generalized others. Community not only is a basic requirement for existence in our world but it also forms the social bond that unites people to each other. Ian Maddocks (1980), tells in his writing of the evolution of community that,

the human genotype is given most 'naturally' to life in small intimate communities, held together by kinship and custom. Yet we find ourselves grouping more and more into larger and larger conurbations (Maddocks, 1980, p405).

He goes on to consider positive and negative aspects of this development in the thinking on community.

We accept that the city has allowed the greatest flowering of human ingenuity and

achievement. The common way of describing the problem of living in cities is to say 'we have lost our sense of community' (Maddocks, et. al.).

Doxiadis (1966), likens the changing urban communities to an ocean which has both continuous movement and continuous change. He describes the structure of cities as chaotic,

The causes of every change are so many, [they] work in so many directions and at so many speeds that the whole structure is at present understood with great difficulty and is certainly not controlled in any way (Doxiadis, 1966, p 47).

Perhaps we can all see evidence of a disrupted coherence which previous societies prior to the industrial revolution appeared to not experience.

Nevertheless, we are all ultimately members of families, neighbourhoods, occupational organisations, reference groups and nations and, inevitably, must interact with people who may share our affiliations and with people who share none of them.

DEFINING COMMUNITY

The concept of community has yet to be satisfactorily defined. It seems that the more one attempts to define it, the more elusive it becomes. Perhaps a good starting point would be to look at the work of some of sociology's founding thinkers and establish what they understood community to mean. Tocqueville, Comte, Tonnies, Le Play, Marx and Durkheim all identified various elements of community. The perspectives of these definition are considered by Bell and Newby (1971), to consist of,

what the particular writer believed it ought to consist of ... this amorphous quality allowed an endless array of social thinkers to unite in their praise of community... there was frequently a pervading posture of nostalgia - of praising the past to blame the present - and the two themes combined when present 'society' was criticized with reference to past community (Bell and Newby, 1977, p 22).

People living together create a social attachment to a particular locality and

this has historically been the link between place and community (space and time). In our modern society location in 'space' is more changeable and aligned to an individual's point of view. The effect of this flexible perspective is a shift in perception of that which socially binds a person while being physically free and this has resulted in a choice of alternatives of community for people. Scherer (1972), calls these alternative structures 'communities'. It is important to note that the shift in focus from community as a tangible locale, to a more intangible attachment to a conceptual fellowship, expresses an important change in perception of community. If community in modern society is not based on space and time, but on an acceptability into a flexible stratum, then emergence of groups like Neighbourhood Support, designed to empower localities with a sense of communal security, and phenomena like the diversity of membership in communities like gangs is comprehensible. This 'modern' perception of community offers a better choice of answers to questions like, 'Who am I? And, where do I belong?' that differ considerably from the answers of the past. But in establishing that definitions of community are found not so much in an historical linkage but in a bond of commonality it is also important not to disregard the ties of history that bind us culturally and contextually.

When Emile Durkheim, in his considerable writings on modern social organisation defines community he expresses it as being composed of a multitude of different groups, organisations subcultures and associations. He provides a perspective that adequately addresses various models of social arrangements but his hypothesis seems insufficient when he comes to define the actual nature of these groups.

Poplin (1972), develops Durkheim's perspective on community further by considering that it differs from other units of social organisation in that it has a firm territorial base which provides an organizational pattern through

which people meet their needs in a local area. He also considers that,

communities consist of people in interaction with other people (Poplin, 1972, p26).

Here Poplin provides thoughtful insight into the nature of community as a dynamic of interaction which results in the formation of a sense of community. His definition however is flawed by assuming that people do in fact interact with each other in their respective local areas and that their need for community is able to be met there. He does however provide a valuable differentiation between moral communities and mass societies.

<u>Moral Communities</u>	<u>Mass Societies</u>
Identification: Members of moral communities have a deep sense of belonging to a significant meaningful group.	Alienation: Members of mass societies have a deep sense of being 'cut off' from meaningful group association.
Moral Unity: Members of moral communities have a sense of pursuing common goals and feel a oneness with other community groups.	Fragmentation: Members of mass societies pursue divergent goals and feel no sense of oneness with members of mass society.
Moral Involvement : Members of moral communities are submerged in various groups and participate in them.	Disengagement: Members of mass societies have no meaningful group memberships and feel no compulsion to participate in collective activities
Wholeness: Members of moral communities regard each other as whole persons who are of intrinsic significance and worth.	Segmentation: Members of mass societies regard each other as means to ends and assign no intrinsic worth or significance to the individual.

Table 1 *Source* Poplin (1972)

Mass society can be defined as a form of community, yet it differs markedly

in nature from a moral community as Poplin clearly points out.

Community has many different connotations. It can be used as a synonym for social units such as minority groups or subcultures. It has been adopted by humanists to define moral, or spiritual phenomenon such as a quest for unity and involvement with other human beings. And it is used as a generic term to refer to organisational concepts like towns. Goode (1966), suggests that professions themselves constitute a community in which members share an identity, agree upon role definitions, speak a common language, share common values, assume some permanent membership status and understand the social boundaries within which they operate. You are left to speculate about those who do not have a profession. It is also startling to discover that your profession determines your identity as a person. However, his findings are consistent with those of Ainsworth and Pease (1987), who observe that,

admission into an occupation like police work will involve a great deal of socialisation into that particular subculture (Ainsworth and Pease, 1987, p64).

They see this socialisation leading to a person as being recognised less and less as a person as their 'professionhood' develops but, essentially, acceptability involves,

the pressure to be seen to be active, brave, resourceful (devious) and straight speaking. People who do not conform may well be pressured to change their behaviour or they may become ostracised from the main stream group (Ainsworth and Pease, 1987, p66).

This deterministic stance has some merit and perhaps these shared elements are observable in certain professions but where these theories are faulty is in addressing those who have no 'profession' as such. They also fail in attempting to fit the dynamic of individual personality into the static perception of conforming into professions.

It is evident that it is extremely difficult to be precise when defining community because inevitably the definition will emerge as untidy,

confusing and difficult but perhaps the breadth of the nature of community may be summed up by Scherer when he says,

at its best community provides meaning and purpose to life but at its worst community can be a source of tyranny and inhumanity (Scherer, 1972, p xii).

Overall, what can be said of the concept of 'community' is that it signifies some sense of belonging through variables of place, space and time. It must also be viewed as possessing an incessantly changing dynamic that will continually elude definition.

THE EMERGENCE OF THEORIES OF COMMUNITY

The Theory Oriented Period, or Speculative Theories, emanated from the theories of sociologists and social psychologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is usually considered that they established the modern social sciences study of community. Tarde (1903), Le Bon (1896), studied mobs and crowds and Simmel (1950), Cooley (1902), Mead (1935), Ross (1908) complimented this with the study of social interaction. They investigated broad theoretical issues like:

What are the basic human instincts?

How important are these instincts in human behaviour?

These theories were founded in speculative thought and personal experience and were not empirical, nor were they based on systematic observation.

Compte (1853), incorporated empiricism into this discipline during the logical positivism period. He stressed the acquisition and interpretation of empirical data by using experiments and direct observational methods which he adapted from paradigms and methodologies of the physical sciences. By the 1930's empirically based studies had broadened to include real life environs like mass movements, prejudice, gangs and delinquency.

The locus of study of community then moved to 'group dynamics' and Kurt Lewin. His approach combined theoretically based ideas, socially

significant problems and pioneering methodology. New techniques for devising experimental groups of appropriate combinations emerged after the second world war along with methods that measured interpersonal feelings. This development diversified the field and by the 1950's and 60's there was a vast collection of facts but little progress in developing specific theories and this resulted in serious limitations for group research through lack of integration of knowledge.

As a consequence group research was in danger of drowning in an ocean of fragmented evidence (McGrath. 1984, p22).

To address the problem of diversification researchers in the late 1960's early 70's changed the Lewin emphasis from groups with Festinger (1957), focusing on individuals, and Bass (1960) and Fielder (1967), who studied larger groups such as organisations.

It is always comfortable to look with consternation at historical research from our position in time and wonder at the thinking of the theoreticians. It must be remembered that given the tools that they possessed and the newness of the area of study, they were remarkable in pioneering their science. There are, however, several aspects that need to be considered in the development of perspectives in the study of community. Probably the most important is a natural shift toward extremes in the perspectives of research. It would appear that, with the exception of Lewin and his early group dynamic movement, research has been dominated by the empirical end of the polarity. Another extreme that is apparent is that experience forms the central influence of social behaviour, how a person was nurtured became the focus and there was little research that considered the nature of innate characteristics. There was some attempt to address this imbalance with the intermittent challenges by some Freudian scholars who stressed the importance of innate unconscious motives. Challenges also came from the human science discipline into which Heidegger fits. Heidegger (1962),

focused on the nature of a continual creating and re-creating of communities through a public 'environment' of Being-with-one-another. Overall, however, there has been an almost total dominance of the nurture perspective which has resulted in a legacy of imbalance in the development of theories that look at the nature of community and the composition of it.

THE NATURE OF COMMUNITY: A NEW ZEALAND PERSPECTIVE

From a global perspective one can see that there are commonalities across all cultures. The works of Toffler and Meads provide extensive evidence of this. However, there are elements which are unique to the New Zealand community. It is interesting to examine the words in the first verse of the national anthem,

God of nations at thy feet, in the bonds of love we meet

Hear our voices we entreat, God defend our free land

Guard Pacific's triple star, from the bonds of strife and war

Make her praises heard afar, God defend New Zealand (Thomas Bracken) .

What is revealed in a brief analysis is a ^u pacific nation that acknowledges its Christian heritage of love and longs to be heard by God and the rest of the world. Careful to conserve freedom and love, the overriding concern is the need for protection from any enemy of the three islands 'stars' that constitutes its form. The national anthem is of course eurocentric, and reflects the settlers who immigrated here but what is glaringly conspicuous by its absence is the contribution of the Maori inhabitants to the New Zealand community. This lopsided tension remains in our community even today. It is recognised that an important part of New Zealand's history has been the merging of two cultures in less than two hundred years. Maori and European bring two very different perspectives of community to a society which was seen until recently as monocultural. Although we now purport to be a bicultural society, New Zealand is being recognised as increasingly

multicultural. The people of New Zealand not only possess rich cultural diversity, they also live in rural and urban settlements, and accommodate middle, working and upper classes. Unfortunately, like all other countries in the world, New Zealand is not immune from social ills, conflicts and problems. Domestic violence, the many faces of abuse, soaring crime rates, high unemployment and suicide rates, all drain the nation's health, justice and welfare resources and the heart and wellbeing of its people. Although a small (3.5 million people) country, over the last hundred years New Zealand society has seen over 1100% increase in reported offences, indicating that social changes have had a negative effect on society and that values have been transformed.

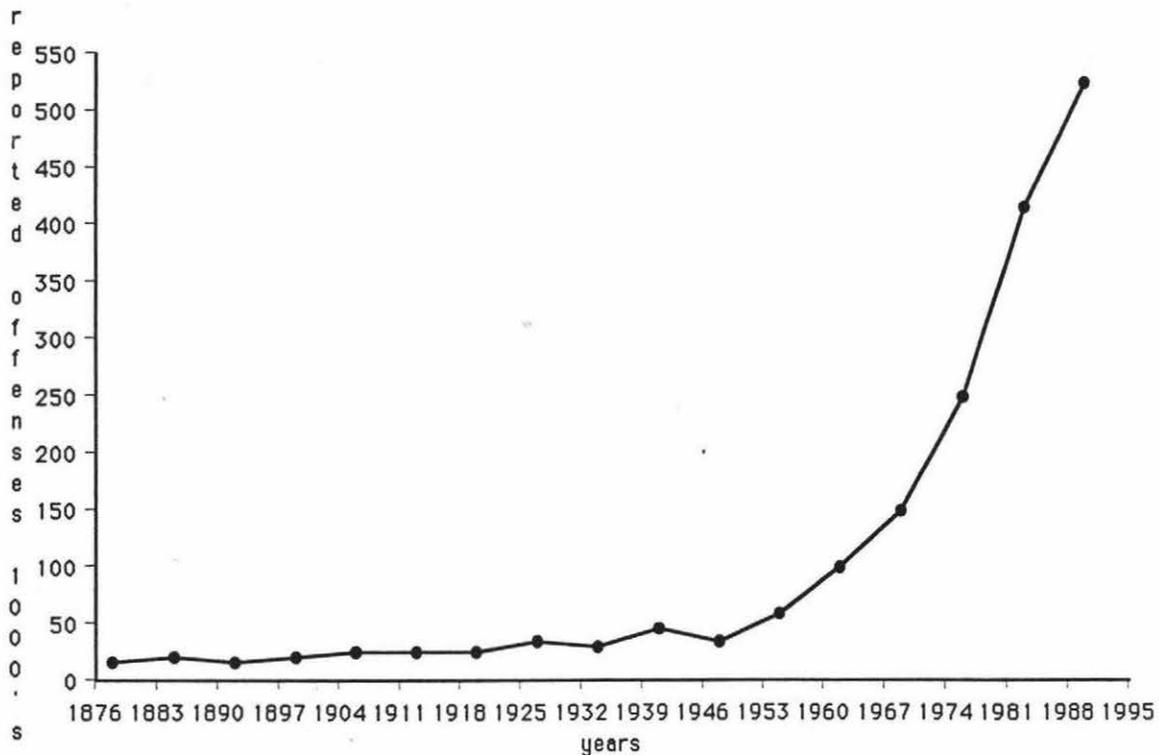


Figure 1 - Total reported offences 1878 to 1991. Graph supplied by John Jamieson, former Commissioner of Police, showing number of offences reported to the N.Z. Police since records were first kept in 1878. (Date of publishing unknown.)

It is interesting to note that the extraordinary increase in offending began in the late 1950's. It was around this time that numerous changes in the New

Zealand way of life occurred. Population growth rate and an urban drift led to large urban satellite housing areas. This was associated with an increased population mobility and growing alienation from traditional forms of community. This period also saw the growth of various civil rights groups, protest movements and demonstrations, often anti-establishment, anti-authority and tending to identify the 'Police' as the visible symbol of establishment and authority. The Review (1980), found,

a major problem area in interaction with the public is incompatibility between publicly imposed standards (reflected in the law) and socially acceptable private standards (for example juvenile drinking in the home) which results in the questioning of police actions, (enforcing underage drinking laws) (Review, 1980, p2).

Identifying these change factors, interesting though they may be, diverges somewhat from the focus of this review, however, one of the factors that do relate to the study is the social development of gangs. Toch (1965), suggested that the emergence of social movements arises because persons join in an effort to solve a problem created for them by recurring social deficiencies.

The situation is social isolation, the problem is loneliness, the solution is companionship (Toch, 1965, p693).

His theory aligns itself to Cohen's theory of subcultures

behaviour is problem solving, whenever people act as they do, they do so in response to some problem or set of problems (Short, 1968, p11).

Both Toch and Cohen present theories that trace possible causes and purposes for the emergence of social movements, yet they fall short in explaining why the consequences of these social changes affected a small group in an anti-social manner while the majority of the populations reacted in a more positive way. Doubtless this reflected, amongst other things, the measure to which they felt themselves to be a part of the wider community. New Zealand during this period in history provided situations that were ripe

for the emergence of gangs and these aggressive groups caught the attention of the press and the sensational coverage of incidences contributed to their image. In the Values Today Report (1989), New Zealanders identified and ranked their seven most serious social problems.

It provides a good profile of the main concerns that society has for itself.

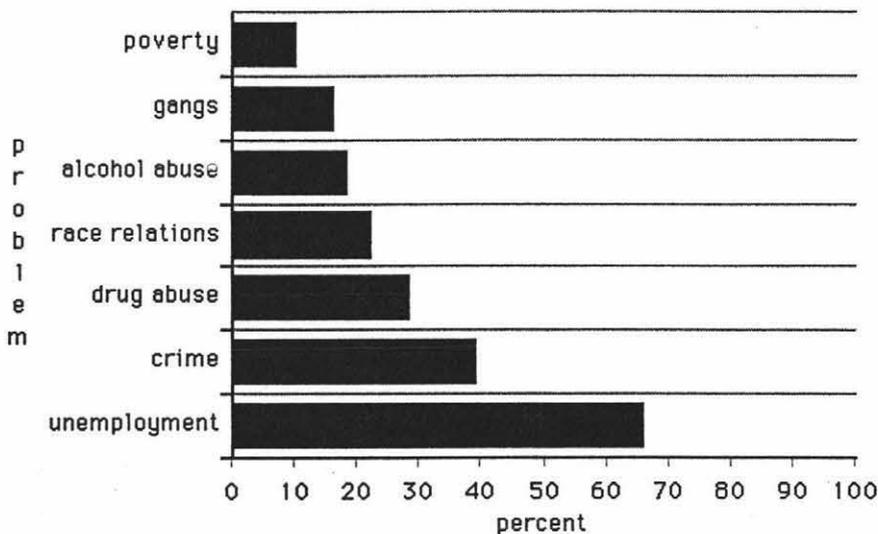


Figure 2. - Importance of social problems: % ranking first or second. Source- New Zealand Values Today (1989).

GANGS WITHIN COMMUNITY

As is observable in the above graph, gangs are ranked sixth as a major concern for New Zealanders. Kelsy and Young (1981), in their Report considered that the media tended to concentrate disproportionately on the violent activities of some gangs or gang members as though gang membership were the only cause. They put forward the view that many of these individuals would have pursued these kinds of activities whether or not they had been members of gangs. It would be reasonable to agree with Kelsy and Young when they suggest that the Press plays a determining role in how society views fringe groups like gangs, and it is unfortunate that this tendency toward negative imaging has provided an inaccurate portrayal of gangs in our society. Emery (1973), raises concerns that the Press have biased the wider New Zealand community, toward gangs, particularly

Maori gangs by presenting them negatively.

I feel the type of publicity given to Maori offenders has a blanket effect on all Maoris. The stereotype that some people have of the Maori is that they are fat, lazy indulgent and easily drawn towards crime (Emery, 1973, p2).

Although Emery generalises by linking Maoris with gang membership, he does make a reasonable point when he expresses the stereotype that the gang community have as a result of unbalanced publicity.

In an interview on a Radio N.Z. programme, *The Renegades* (1985), the commentator identifies four common emotions that he observes within 'Gangs' in New Zealand. Ego, greed (the same as normal people), fear (persecution, harassment, loneliness) and love (of one another, being together, sharing and simple things) he comments,

I would say, when you see Gangs around they reflect attitudes of society, ask any children in New Zealand what Maori groups do you know? They'll say Black Power, Mongrel Mob. The support of Gangs by the community is practically nil (Interviewer, 1985).

From the perspective of the wider 'society' the nature of the community of gangs is negative. Studies have shown that, generally, for gang members the education experience and interaction with the education authorities is a negative one. What results is a rejection of attitudes, goals, values and role models presented by that authority and ensures them a place on the fringe of society. The nature of the gang community is violent and aggressive with a large part of gang violence committed as a group and inflicted mainly on other gangs. Police have found that gangs often travel well stocked with weapons. Gangs appear to be almost entirely constituted from the lower socioeconomic section of society, almost universally males, they tend to emerge in urban areas and are commonly made up of members who come from homes where general family breakdown and alienation have occurred. Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1970), presents considerations that address a purpose for

the need for this aggression:

widespread throughout the world is the glorification of aggression, whether in sagas or heroes or in the form of symbolic aggressive animals. Scars acquired in fighting are displayed with pride and amongst men. Aggression leads to the territorial fencing-off of groups within groups to the formation of social hierarchies or ranking orders (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1970, p71-72).

COMMUNITY WITHIN GANGS

The most accurate way for communicating the meaning of community for gangs is to let them speak for themselves. The following section uses excerpts from Payne's (1990) book, 'Staunch', and quotes from a collection of unpublished writings by members of a New Zealand gang. The passion and commitment to the gang is evident in the way in which the members express their feelings.

I got right into them. I used to listen to the way they talk. It was just something you can't get anywhere else you got to get it with the brothers... the feeling's stronger with the brothers because one day you might lose your bro there in a battle or something. So I'd give everything I've got to our chapter. I'll do anything for them, anything (Payne, 1990, p138).

Becoming an 'insider' is not something to be taken lightly. An indication of the depth of commitments to the gang can be seen in the following:

We don't want massive numbers. It's better to have a small crew that's staunch, that's tight, that you can trust. A small crew is better and in a way stronger than a large crew. History has spoken for itself in that department. The mob must always keep their principles, make it hard for anyone to join because if you do, you're not coming along for the ride. You're not coming along because that's what you want to do for the next 10 years and then decide you want to do something else or slow down and get married. You can do all those things within the mob; it's like a family. (Payne, 1990, p24).

The emotional needs that are met by the gang are expressed by one member who was asked what would happen if they were separated from the gang for a period of time.

It would hurt me being away from them. If anything it would be a test for me but I don't need that test. I've already dedicated my life to it (Payne, 1990, p143).

There's a closeness, something you can't get anywhere else (Payne, 1990, p31).

Nurture and care form an important element in gangs

They come out of there (jail) and their brains have been pickled. But we don't toss them out. If you toss them out, where are they going to go next? We are the bottom of the heap, the end of the road (Payne, 1990, p35).

The meaning of life for a gang member is expressed as a reality that transcends familial relationships and formulates their ethical and moral values.

Because of the lifestyle I've chosen it's hard for me to open up to the missus and kids, but when we're alone in the house together, somewhere secure I really open up to her and the kids, 'cause we know we're safe eh? Secure.

Interviewer- The same kind of security you get from the gang?

Yes, but that's not a feeling, that's a reality. You know they're always going to be there (Payne, 1990, p145).

If you don't care about anything outside the Mob then you don't have no guilty feelings or anything (Payne, 1990, p19).

Gangs respond to the wider community's interaction with them vehemently. There is an element of 'untouchableness' which pervades the sense of community, a sense;

Tho they lock us in a cell,
try to make us think its hell
Give us a number instead of a name,
imprison our feet in ball and chain
Try 2 break us day by day,

try 2 tame our evil ways

But they'll be trying, till our times up

Cause we're true mungies, staunch as fuck (Gang Writings, 1960-1980).

Yeah tho these dogs walk thru my valley of death they fear no evil

Cause they're the meanest son-of-a-bitches in da valley (Gang Writings, 1960-1980).

COMMENTARY

The nature of community within gangs in New Zealand, as in other countries in the world, is expressed in the intense commitment they have to each other. It takes the form of a religious fervour in the expression of its ideology. The gang community meets the total needs of the individual. It makes their concerns their own and cares for them, rejecting all that is alien they establish the community as an elite society which sacrifices their all for their members, passionately promising a 'reality' of never being forsaken. The nature of community in gangs involves a tactile commitment which is focused on tangible proof of a belief in the gang lifestyle. There is a high level of contextualisation and the necessary norms and behaviour are learned by *being* in the community. This produces people who make a deliberate choice in the way they live their life.

In identifying the uniqueness of the New Zealand community it has to be recognised that there are many other aspects which have not been considered. The effects of our colonialism, the influence of other cultures, the position New Zealand holds in the world and the way that this exerts influence on our community. The gang community, aggressive and violent by nature, contributes to New Zealand society many essential threads that contribute to our brilliantly coloured tapestry of living.

THE NATURE OF FRINGE GROUPS

E mohiotia ana a waho kei roto hei aha.

One cannot know from the outside what is contained within,
unless one can see inside (Riley, 1990, Number 55-1).

INTRODUCTION

Mabry and Barnes (1980), provide a reasonable definition of a 'group', fringe or otherwise, when they identify it as,

a network of people who have intentionally invested part of their personal decision making power in the authority of a larger social unit in pursuit of mutually desired but separately unobtainable goals (Mabry and Barnes, 1980, p4).

They identify the essential elements that make a group, a group:

intentionality of the participants:

accommodation of more than one person;

interdependence of members;

commonality of purpose, and the need for communication.

Information about groups comes from very different perspectives. These perspectives naturally reflect the basic assumptions of the disciplines they are drawn from. The dominant perspectives in the study of groups are found in the fields of sociology, psychology, geography and anthropology. What is significant about the information from these areas is that although there is very little overlap between them, there is a vast amount of repetition when viewed collectively. The difference between a 'group' and a 'fringe group' lies not in the nature of the group *per se* but in the behavioural interaction within the group and with other groups. Behaviour in a fringe group is determined in some way to be extreme by the wider community and this depends on the perspective of both the insiders and the outsiders of the group.

GROUPS AND FRINGE GROUPS IN NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY

New Zealand, like many countries in the world, permits its citizens the freedom of choice of association. The existence of groups is sanctioned and people in New Zealand, as in any society in the world, have formed many formal and informal groups. Access into groups usually includes declarations of loyalty, initiation processes and group socialisation. These small groups exist in relative freedom within the boundaries of the law, and are an expression of their preferred lifestyle. Belonging to a group involves the principle of conformity and the degree of conformity seems to depend on the status of the individual. Two elements that are important in conforming are the goals of the group and the degree of an individual's identification with them. There are studies that show that conformity is not always the coercive force that people commonly assume it to be and many social benefits occur such as: companionship, a sense of belonging, a role and a sense of achievement. By being willing to conform people discover a sense of identity in belonging to the group. Murphy (1977), writes of group membership in the following way.

Each member is more likely to go along with the group actions even when he does not whole heartedly agree with them if the group is organised to achieve an end that is compatible with his own ideals (Murphy, 1977, p30).

It is hard however, to imagine that people consider fully their own ulterior motives, relinquish their individuality, willingly become disempowered, identify areas of conflict that will arise and yet be able to reconcile the discrepancies with themselves while remaining an integral part of the group. The nature of groups is often a reflection of the societal status of the individual members. Status plays an important role in the development of personality and will most likely dictate many of the options and choices that constitute lifestyle. Melvin Kohns (1977), found that

people who are considered low in the social scale consistently feel they have

little control over their lives (Murphy, 1977, p27).

Most groups do not display overtly violent behaviour or acts of intimidation and it is this behaviour that has set apart in our society the Gangs as fringe groups. In understanding how people become 'fringe', Ritchie and Ritchie (1993), established that when individuals act outside of the institutional framework of a society;

they may do so in ways that are broadly acceptable, in which case we regard them as creative people or loners, and their actions may have the effect of bringing about change within the institutions themselves. But there are others who by acting outside the framework come to be labelled criminal or delinquent (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1993, p71).

Within New Zealand society the educational, social, medical and justice systems claim to sustain our basic values. This makes the nature of these institutions moral by definition. Ritchie and Ritchie (1993), identify tensions between the ideology and the practice of these important organisations:

institutions themselves have been shaped by layers of history and do not always do what their charters say they should. Like individuals, institutions have hidden agendas because neither their structures nor their statements of intent are entirely rational (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1993, p71).

The tensions created by these inconsistencies in theory and practice is only one of the determining factors of the nature of a fringe group. Other determinants include personal experience and history of violence which predisposes a person to deal with conflict by forceful means, an important finding by Ritchie and Ritchie (1993), which recognised the impact of contradictions on the formation of fringe groups,

The conflict between overt rejection and covert acceptance of force and violence, in controlling behaviours, places enormous strains on those least able to resolve the dilemma... for example those who are economically, educationally or intellectually

disadvantaged... groups may respond to frustration and strain in their dealings with our institutions by recourse to violent solutions (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1993, p72).

THE GANG PHENOMENON IN SOCIETIES

The phenomenon of gangs as a form of human association and a social problem is both ancient and contemporary. Probably no generation has been without them. Picturesque and often dramatic names establish the public identity of gangs as new ones form and old ones change, usually dissolving into anonymity. There is no consensus in literature on a definition of a 'gang' or 'gang member' or 'gang activity' and delinquent behaviour is in part created by those who police it and define it as criminal. Robert Merton and Walter Miller express two fundamentally opposing viewpoints which focus on the nature of gangs. Merton argues that a society with an open class system which indoctrinates all groups with high aspirations for 'success' but denies equal opportunity for achievement of these aspirations, creates anomie among the disadvantaged.

Anomie is the breakdown of regulatory norms which may result in individual adaptation such as resorting to criminal means (innovation) and drug use (retreatism) (Cohen, 1990, p7-21).

Spoonley, Pearson and Shirley (1982), found that 'strain' theories like anomie could be relevant to New Zealand society as possible explanations of the high rates of Maori and Pacific Islander criminal offending.

Although Merton's theory was developed in the North American context there seem to be good grounds for applying the theory in New Zealand where socially disadvantaged groups... are over represented in official crime statistics (Spoonley, Pearson and Shirley, 1982, p333).

Cohen (1990), follows the Merton tradition by attempting to account for a 'delinquent subculture' in terms of status problems, these problems are linked to the discrepancy between culture, goals and institutionalised means.

The nature of this subculture arises by the fact that youngsters who are similarly disadvantaged join together to reject middle class criteria of status. Relative position in the social order is a major contributing factor to the delinquent solutions chosen (Cohen, 1990, p7-21).

Walter Miller (1966), however argues that it is the lower class culture which has a long established distinctively patterned tradition and an integrity of its own which exerts the most direct influence on gang delinquency.

Gangs form as the result of an absolute position in the social order rather than a position relative to others in the universal and competitive system of goals and their means of achievement. Miller also found that socialisation in female based households creates identity problems that are worked out on the street with the gang (Miller, 1966, p91).

Cohen then, views gang formation as being caused by reaction against the standard of middle class society. While Miller views gang formation as being caused by behaviour and standards that are defined by a person's 'community'.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960), developed Merton's theory, and found that.

When legitimate avenues of opportunity are blocked, delinquent subcultures of different types emerge according to the pattern of illegitimate opportunities available (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p20).

These theories of gangs all view values as an important link in a causal chain of delinquency. They are seemingly in agreement as to what they mean by 'values' yet they fail to agree with each other in the identification of the assumptions underlying these values. The controversial behaviour of gangs cannot be explained by stating that belonging to the lower class or that being disadvantaged is relative to others higher in the social order. Nor can it be claimed that these are the most important factors in gang problems. Have they considered causal variables within gangs, community and larger social systems, or variations in individual abilities, motivations, values and

personality characteristics as possible factors?

What does seem fair to say is perhaps reality lies somewhere between the extreme positions taken by Merton and Miller.

Whyte (1955), provides an alternative perspective with his social disability theory. In it he recognises that an individual has their own characteristic way of interacting with others and that a normal person learns to adjust within certain limits, to changes, frequency and type of interaction with others. This flexibility can be developed only through experiencing a wide variety of situations which requires adjustment to different patterns of interaction.

The more limited the individual's experience the more rigid his manner of interacting and the more difficult his adjustment (Whyte, 1955, p256).

He views gang activities as occurring from day to day in a remarkably fixed pattern with the individual interacting in a stable and fixed manner during continual group activity. He considered that the nature of this pattern was paramount to the gang member's wellbeing. Whyte (1955), also accounts for the apparent paradoxes in gang allegiance to competing value systems.

Their coping ethic simply confirms that value systems do not apply consistently to all situations or to all roles with different situations and different roles requiring different values and different behaviour patterns (Whyte, 1955, p256).

The relation between values and behaviour is further complicated by a time perspective and here Whyte (1955), provides a helpful way of understanding this relation by conceptualising gang life as a career phase. As with most career phases one is expected to grow into the next successive stage whereas society expects a gang member to grow out of this career phase.

GANG RESEARCH

There have been three major forms of research into gangs in society. The oldest and probably most common method of collecting data about gang

members is through 'direct observation'. In the studies of Thrasher (1927), Spergel (1964), Miller (1966), Klein (1971), Moore (1978), Hagedorn (1988), Vigil (1988), and Taylor (1990), there is consistently shown through this methodology, a relation between gang membership and criminal involvement.

Another form of research by Cohen (1969), Klien, Gordon and Maxson (1986) and Maxson and Klien (1990) uses official data to compare gang and non-gang membership involvement to show that gang members have the higher rate of delinquency in society.

The third type of research by Short and Stodtbeck (1975), Tracy (1979), Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986) and Fagan (1989,1990) use 'survey research' techniques and finds that gang members report higher rates of criminal involvement than non-gang members.

Although there is tremendous consistency in these findings, they should not be taken to mean that gangs are an homogeneous entity. Some gangs are more violent than others, some are more instrumental, others more involved in drugs. Although this variation exists across gangs there is a virtually universal phenomenon that gang members are much more heavily involved in delinquency than non gang members.

There are different types of gang members and in the gang literature of Yablonsky (1962), he distinguishes between leaders and regular members. Similarly, Klein (1971), distinguishes between core and fringe members, the former being characterised as having higher levels of commitment to and participation in the gang than the latter (Klein, 1971, p70-76).

According to sociologists, the strength of a member's loyalty to the gang usually relates to the degree that they are involved with the gang.

there are three types of membership, those who are most involved make up the nucleus of the gang, the core members and the leaders. These are the people whose lives revolve around the gang and its activities, they seem only to associate with

other gang members. They are usually the most violent, the most interested in revenge against rival gangs and the most intent on perpetuating the gangs image or reputation. Less involved with the gang are the marginal fringe members (Gardener, 1983, p10).

In addition to this distinction between gang members, studies show that they differ in respect to the permanency of their gang involvement; some members are transient, joining a gang for relatively brief periods of time and other are more stable, remaining in the gang over a longer period of time. In a recent study of gangs in the United States of America, researchers found that,

nationally the majority of gang members are young males, ranging from as young as 10 to over 30 years of age (Chesney-Lind, Rockhill, Marker and Reyes, 1994, p204).

There is some disagreement about whether involvement in criminality should be a formal part of the definition of gangs. Writings by Cloward and Ohlin (1960), place gangs in the subculture theories,

The criminal subculture prescribes disciplined and utilitarian forms of theft, the conflict subculture prescribes the instrumental use of violence, the retreatist subculture prescribes participation in illicit consummatory experiences (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p20).

Spergel (1964), also links gangs with delinquency by identifying the principal criterion currently used to define a 'gang' as the groups participation in illegal activity. He perceives gangs to clearly denote groups that have some deviant or criminal orientation and considers that once the gang has become an important vehicle for status achievement, the elaboration of symbols and activities enhances status possibilities within the gang. In contrast, Thrasher (1927), believed that gangs represented the spontaneous effort of people to create a society for themselves when none adequate to their needs existed and research data by Short and Strodtbeck (1965), suggests that none of the gangs they studied could properly

characterise a criminal subculture. They found that,

various criminal activities may characterise *cliques* of conflict gangs (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965, p98).

Their data from a large white street group suggested that 'criminal cliques' may develop within such groups.

What gangs do present us with is an endless variety of configurations that relate to the physical, social, environmental, characteristics of each member, their traditions, style of leadership, modus operandus, interests and status in the community and in doing so quite rightly defy definition. Klein (1971), proffers a reasonable definition of a gang as,

a denotable group who are: a) are generally perceived as a district aggregation by others in their neighbourhoods and nationally b) recognise themselves as a denotable group within a group, with a group name (Klein, 1971, p1427).

Most experts agree that teenagers who are joining gangs are seeking a sense of caring and mutual support and not necessarily a voyage into delinquency. Even when family life is intolerable the need for young people to form identities separate from their parents and the need to gain the approval of their companions has always been among the strongest motivations for joining youth gangs,

a gang can provide a teenager with friendship, shared experiences, feelings of togetherness and belonging they also fill many young people's needs for heroes or strong role models (Gardner, 1983, p9).

THE NZ GANG SCENE

During the 1950's New Zealanders witnessed the emergence of the teddy-boy cult and along with it 'bodgies' (unruly, uncouth young men) and 'widgies' (female 'bodgies'). They were the forerunners of the gangs that emerged in the late 1960's and early 1970's. These gangs adopted such names as Storm Troopers, Head Hunters, Black Power and Mongrel Mob.

They were termed 'ethnic gangs' by the authorities and New Zealand society saw during this period the establishment of gang work-cooperatives and mass gang conventions. New Zealand gangs have developed principally in the main urban centres and have a history of violence, unlawful behaviour and conflict, sometimes resulting in murder. They vary in form from structured cohesively organised hierarchical gangs that have a strong set of internal rules, to looser affiliations identified by similar dress codes. Cult gangs are inclined to follow musical trends and do not usually live together as a group. Gang characteristics ebb and flow as members join, move away or spend time in prison. One constant feature of New Zealand gangs has been the emphasising of territoriality and the defending of home territory. According to the Report of the Committee on Gangs (1981) New Zealand Gangs were identified as either: Bikie gangs made up of mostly European, skilled manual workers interested in motorbikes, with one notable exception being a Polynesian gang called Highway 61; or Ethnic gangs made up mostly of Maori and Polynesian members; or other gangs which include Punk Rocker, Skin Heads and Bootboys. Police estimated that by 1986 gang membership was 4000. The organisation in gangs is discussed in the Report (1981), they are often led by highly intelligent people with little formal education. New Zealand gangs have an astute underdog's perspective of society and are perfectly efficient in taking advantage of what the system allows. There is generally a leadership elite, a number of lay members and a number of hangers-on. Some gangs such as Black Power have developed a national body and meet regularly for conventions and the election of a national leadership. Headquarters or crash pads provide communal living facilities and the 'castling'¹ of dwellings is

¹ Castling- If the interaction with society is generally violent, conflicting and negative then the reaction of the gang would be to build a fortress and live in that, interacting infrequently with the community they live in. A type of enforced isolation. (This phenomenon was described in an interview in 1994 with Detective Alan Maghie. Gang Intelligence Section. Organised Crime Squad of the New Zealand Police.)

the result of either the need for protection against other gangs or as a reaction to complaints by neighbours or both these causes. The more established gangs incorporate married couples and their children into their structure as well as girlfriends. There are ritualised initiation ceremonies and evidence suggests that this involves some criminal offending for prospective members. Demand for total allegiance to the gang means that it is often difficult for members to leave.

Inter-gang and intra-gang aggression and violence is the chief mechanism used for group maintenance and since toughness is aligned with social status for gang members violence and aggression are seldom absent (Report, 1981, p9).

Gang identity is reinforced by wearing particular clothing and 'patches'. Territoriality has two purposes, it is used as a mechanism for directing aggression against other groups and also as a way to artificially create dispute. Sometimes inter-gang aggression can be sourced to family feuds or personal animosity between gang leaders.

The Report (1981), also identifies the role of gangs in New Zealand society.

Gangs provide: status and respect for society's failure; security through conformity; identity and an alternative status system through which achievement is possible; power over others, which gives the status of manhood to gang members; companionship, protection and a shared identity which fulfils strong emotional needs of gang members (Report, 1981, p11).

Ritchie and Ritchie (1993), also agree with these findings,

The aim of gangs is not to wage war on society even though one might gain that impression from the media. The major purpose of gangs is to provide affiliation and support for their own members. They are a substitute for family for individuals whose own families are unsatisfactory, unsupportive or simply non-existent. Many gang members already have extensive police records before they join. The gang is often their first positive humanising social experience (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1993, p54).

Gangs are developing naturally in New Zealand's social structure and they will continue to do so since they arise from a particular set of social and economic conditions. Most New Zealanders do not object to the existence of gangs but what they do object to is gang violence.

THE GANG

The Gang began in the early 1960's with a group of white (pakeha) teenagers that belonged to a small gang.

[*The Gang*] received their name from an inadvertent comment by a disgusted Judge who said, when sentencing some of the original members for a particularly vicious crime, 'you're nothing but a bunch of ...'s (Payne, 1991, p37).

In a private interview (1993) a president of a chapter identified *The Gang's* origins, from his unique perspective of being inside the gang.

It started in the 1970's, and it spread from within. They went to jail and came out into their own towns and started a similar thing to what they were involved with in another town. It developed in a certain era, the feelings we had for developing this group were happening everywhere else, to all sorts of people who wanted to be members of a group. Whatever name, whatever common thing that bonded them to it- motor bikes whatever- it's what makes a whole section of a community want to split off from the norm and do something (Private interview 1993).

The Gang provides for the expression of warriorism and serves an important communal purpose of providing security in the harsh realities of city life.

There is no known single national governing body and although attempts have been made to create one these have been resisted. Only males are accepted into membership and are drawn from any ethnic background, and they carry out acts of intimidation such as rape, bashings, mugging's or whatever as a means of being untouchable or intimidating people to keep their distance (Payne, 1991, p37).

In the Report (1981), there were more than 400 members of *The Gang* based

in centres throughout New Zealand. *The Gang* is termed by outsiders as an ethnic gang but from their perspective it is multi-cultural, 'whanau' oriented and reflects the dominant Maori culture.

If there were a different dominant culture, then the group, theoretically, would reflect that culture. There is a curious mix of ironic symbolism in *The Gang*, in the use of symbols and emblems. The German greeting 'seig heil', swastikas and flags in their dwellings, symbolize for them Nazi staunchness, while conveniently ignoring the ethnic cleansing stance of the Nazis. *The Gang* identifies itself as 'whanau' oriented yet women and children are excluded from membership.

There appears to be some conflict in opinion as to whether *The Gang* is a small town rural phenomena or the result of urban drift. The majority of patched members are now in their late 30's and 40's. According to one member, the gang has developed their own hand signals, colours (black and red) and code of ethics, and changed slowly over the years.

We began as a family of brothers you might say, because we were all similar ages, that's still a family - then it developed in time into a wider group, the women came along and the kids started coming. We've now grown up together, we have gone through a natural progression over the years, we are made up of all the make-up of a family - the eldest down to the baby we've all got a common cause which is each other, that's what family is (Anon, 1993).

The nature of *The Gang* lies in the interaction of its members. This is essentially the centrepiece of the gang's structure and is a reflection of the members' own traits, characteristics, beliefs and habits. This interaction involves some members who may be strong or weak, introverted or extroverted, wise or foolish, young or old, skilled or clumsy. These are but some of the 'properties' that influence the nature of their interaction both within the gang and as they interact with the wider society. The pattern of relations between the members of the gang is also determined by how long

they have known each other, the leadership and how long they have belonged to the group along with the physical and social environment in which the group is placed. The importance of standing together cements a strong bond between them, for the participants this is essential to the meaning of being a gang member and emerges strongly in their stories. There are certain feelings that gang members have that are quite different from those they experience as individuals. For example, when society holds the gang as a whole, accountable for the demeanour of its members or when the behaviour of individuals are credited to their relationships within the gang and not to the unique characteristics of the member themselves, the behaviour is said to be characteristic of the gang.

It is somehow nonsensical to attempt to identify a group nature as an entity, because the nature actually resides *in* and is felt *by* each member who in turn contributes their 'properties' to the ever changing and developing dynamic of the group. People do however align themselves to meaningful 'others' and in this process become what Heidegger (1962), calls *authentically* bound together,

which makes possible the right kind of objectivity [die rechte Sachlichkeit] which frees the Other in his freedom for himself (Heidegger, 1962, p159).

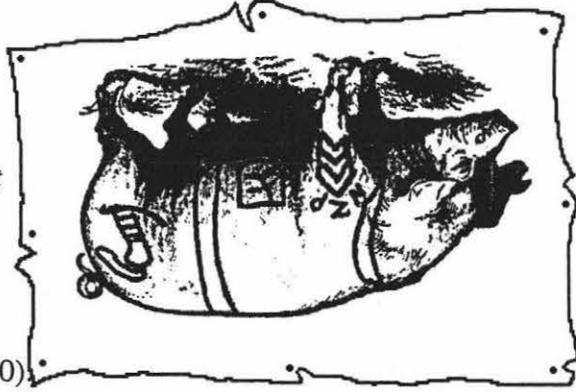
Despite the abundance of theoretical knowledge of groups there are several areas that remain virtually untouched by research. There appears to be a scarcity of theories that address how fringe groups reflect the culture in which they are embedded or how fringe groups influence the culture in return. There is also a lack of research into the important area of what people experience as actually happening to them in the group and how these experiences are framed. The phenomenon of framing experiences substantially affects 'reality' in the world of interactions. In making sense of events we use as a frame a 'world'. Leonard (1994) identifies this world as the meaningful set of relationships, practices and language that we have by virtue of

being born into a culture. It sets up a world that both articulates and makes things show up for us (Leonard, 1994, p46).

Framing experience becomes as important as the reality of the experience itself and how we identify what it means to be individuals, to be members of a groups, to be members of a nation and ultimately to be members of the human race.

THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY

Hey -Pigshit-
I have the right to remain silent
I do not have to answer any questions
Anything I say can and will be used against
me in a court of law
So I'm not going tell you a
Fuck'n thing
So go suck yourself
 From Unpublished Gang Writings (1960-90)



DEFINING AUTHORITY

Raz (1990), identifies three central uses of authority when discussing a definition of it:

Authority may mean having permission, or having the right to rule, or being an expert who can vouch for the reliability of information (Raz, 1990, p2).

In democratic societies many people are puzzled by the idea that one person should have a right to rule another. After all, in a democracy people have the right to decide their own actions, they either rule themselves or elect those to whom they give the power to make such decisions. Consequently, by taking this position they must also concede these same rights to everyone else. The distinction between democracy and anarchy becomes blurred at this point and although it would be interesting to pursue this discussion further it is probably preferable to move on to identifying the multifaceted nature of authority. Authority not only has a multiplicity of meanings but it also embraces a variety of types, all of which are more or less related in some way.

Weber (1978), provides an important perspective in his identification of different authority systems with different grounds of legitimacy. His legal rational set up, accepts the belief in patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority to issue commands. This differs from his perception of traditional authority which believes in the sanctity of traditions

and sanctions the status of those exercising authority under them (for example a medieval Baron). Finally his natural authority believes in the authority of the exemplary character of an individual, a special sort of person not 'put' in authority but possessing attributes that permit their recognition as authority. Generally in literature two distinct forms of authority are identified. One pertains to beliefs or knowledge which is called 'epistemic' authority; the other relates to decisions or actions which are referred to as 'moral' authority.

Epistemic authority is used to indicate a person as being an authority such as when we say, 'they are an authority on Heidegger' which usually means that the rational thing to do, if one is not an authority in the subject, is to defer to the beliefs or 'authority' of those who are.

Moral authority is concerned with know how or what to do rather than knowledge of facts and we speak of a person having this form of authority when we say, 'they have the authority to perform marriages.' People can also speak with authority whether or not they are authority.

Throughout this study, authority will be taken to mean a 'moral' authority since this includes the authorities identified by the participants in their answers to the research question. It is this type of authority that may have the responsibility or right not only to decide what another is to do or not to do, but in some cases actually act for the other as well, for example a parent/child relationship or an officer of an organisation. Moral authority means to have an office or position constituted by certain responsibilities and rights that involve making decisions that obligate certain others to accept and to comply with them.

What is common to each of these definitions is that authority is either a relation or a relational quality attributed to a person or office or document or set of rules and is triadic in structure, that is authority is vested *in* rulers, it is acknowledged *by* subjects or citizens, it is directed *toward* definite goals or

values. The nature of the relationship that constitutes authority is extremely volatile and where the balance between the triad is disturbed authority vanishes and is replaced by despotism, anarchy or apathy.

Authority defined as this triadic nature is conditional when it is exercised by one person over another.

It is possible to install certain individuals or groups in power and to supply them with sufficient force to suppress opposition. But this does not constitute them as authorities, nor does it enable them to direct a process of social reform. To fill this role they must be accepted by the people who are to be subject to them (Jenkins, 1976, p37).

Max Weber accounted for Authority as *Herrschaft* or domination, he was specifically interested in the authoritarian power of command as against domination by being in a position of monopoly. Weber made the distinction of domination clear by establishing that domination as authoritarian power of command was,

As if the rules had made the content of the command maxim of their conduct for its very own sake (Weber, 1978, p943).

He developed this concept further by ruling out domination as a position of monopoly as not being true authority.

The merely external fact of the order being obeyed is not sufficient to signify domination in our sense (Weber, 1978, p946).

Luke (1990), reveals problems with Weber's perspective by pointing out that Weber never properly explores authority from 'below',

At all events the Weberian approach while offering an illuminating classification of authority claims, succeeds in identifying relations by only taking into account (*one*) perspective (Luke, 1990, p207).

This is a valid criticism of Weber who presents his hypothesis from the perspective of prevailing rationales for obedience usually made by those in command.

Friedman (1973), in his writings provides a concept that identifies two tiers of authority.

Firstly, that special and distinctive kind of dependence on the will or judgement of another. And secondly, the recognition and acceptance of certain criteria for designating who is to possess this kind of influence (Friedman, 1973, p131-134).

While Luke (1990), viewed Friedman's theory as an improvement on Weber because this perspective included both 'sides', he still finds that there are areas which are still problematic in both of these theories,

persons 'in authority' may sometimes be properly said to have it even if those subject to it fail to endorse it, as parents and teachers know well (Luke, 1990, p209).

Raz (1985), offers a theory of authority which avoids the problems of the previous two accounts. In his Critical Justification Theory of authority he starts from the basic premise that authority has the ability to change reasons for action, that is, authority is a kind of normative power in which a participant gives up their right to act on their own judgement on the balance of reasons. He considered that only if the authority is legitimate are such exclusionary reasons are valid. He defined the actions of legitimate authority as,

all authoritative directive should be based ... on reasons which already independently apply to the subjects of the directives and are relevant to their action in the circumstances covered by the directive (Raz, 1985, p14).

Raz speaks of the authorities or of people being in authority when their right to command and to make decisions and pronouncements is determined by established rules of procedure. He establishes authority as a legitimised form of power with its own internal authority system that brings conformity through force. There is strong support by Raz for identifying the triadic nature of authority but he presents a theory which has a utopian perspective of society which would work perfectly if all parties fulfilled their requirements. However, this study will provide strong

evidence that a displacement of rights occurs when a legitimate authority acts within their normative powers, having said that, this section presents a view of authority that rejects the notion that all forms of authority are expressions of unwarranted power and oppression.

THE NATURE OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF AUTHORITY IN NEW ZEALAND

Law Enforcement as Authority

Police in New Zealand bear the overpowering burden for both law enforcement and crime prevention. They are not just the front line but frequently the only line of protection in our society against those who would unlawfully infringe on the right of others. It is probable that our police are not any more violent than other police forces in the world and most New Zealanders appreciate not having to arm our general police personnel.

Ritchie and Ritchie (1990), identify a fundamental defect in New Zealand's Police service. The institutional framework of policing is historically designed for enforcement of the law and punishment of criminals, not for prevention of crime. They state,

the police are not psychologists or sociologists or social planners. It is an institution that is part of a mechanism for social control in a society which is more concerned with punishing the offender than with seeking to eliminate the causes of offending (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1990, p78).

It must be noted that over recent years there have been foundational changes in the structure of the New Zealand Police which has enabled the focus of Policing to move from providing enforcement and public control, to developing a sense of community, co operation, partnership and crime prevention between the police and society. The introduction of Community Policing, and programmes like DARE (Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation Education), YES (Youth Education Scheme) Keep Yourself Safe (against

sexual abuse) Neighbourhood Watch and 'Blue Light Discos' have positively enhanced the public's perception of police. The introduction of an undergraduate diploma at Massey University in 1980 has also provided an important opportunity for the police to improve their professional reputation in society. Overall, however, it remains a relatively exclusive institution which continues to reject calls by the public for an external accountability system. Despite the slow changes in the New Zealand Police institution, they are still perceived to be primarily involved in enforcement of law. This role ascribed by society implies that we expect the police to be involved in a morality play, forming a thin blue line to protect civilised society from anarchy, an impossibly heavy burden for any institution to carry.

Education as Authority

Historically New Zealand's education institution has been based on the British system brought to New Zealand by the colonisers. It was a paternalistic, authoritarian system which focused on competitiveness in striving for excellence. The outcome of this led to a pedagogy that effectively empowered teachers, disempowered students and alienated parents. Over recent years our education institution set out to restructure the old system that was based on factual learning and has moved toward to a conceptual learning base. We now have in place an environment, especially in the primary and intermediate schools, where competition, ridicule, shame and punishment are reduced and a nurturing atmosphere provides a place where the developmental needs of children can be better met. Teachers are now trained to recognise and correct tendencies to dominate their students. Freire (1968/70), provides guidance in this area with his focus on 'teachers as learners'. This provides a perspective central to deconstructing the power relationships between students and teachers. The work of Diekelmann (1991), recognises this position also, for her, knowing the student is central

to the practise of teaching,

The change in the teacher's relationships with students also changed from a [Heideggerian] 'leaping in' position of helping students, to one of 'leaping ahead' (Diekelmann, 1991, p51).

Pupils in this new system have the opportunity to view teachers more as partners/facilitators in their educational development which is now controlled by the student, parent and educator rather than just the teacher. It will be evident that this present day system was not in place when the participants in this study were in the educational system, their views of teacher as authority differ markedly from what is now in place in our institutions. However, it must be pointed out that some levels of education are still in the process of change especially in the secondary and tertiary areas of education, where the traditional role of teacher as authority remains. Teachers are placed in authority by the community because they have qualified as authority and are recognised as such.

Health as Authority

Scientific medicine is the dominant perspective of health care in New Zealand. It is this perspective that determines our thinking about ill health, our right to the access of treatment and governs the deployment of medical resources. The structure of New Zealand's medical institutions encourage behaviours that are learned through processes of secondary socialisation during training. These behaviours tend to sustain the autocratic structures that have been set in place by themselves and accepted by society in general. Health professionals, particularly Doctors tend to maintain roles that provide rewards and satisfaction which in turn reinforce the structures. Ritchie and Ritchie (1990), observed that

Much as one might put one's effort into changing the behaviour of a particular doctor, the structure of the institution works against it (Ritchie and Ritchie 1990 p72).

Many of the problems of the modern health sector today can be traced to the dominance of the scientific orientation and the traditional hierarchy of the medical occupations. However, the Nursing profession has led the way to reforms in our health institutions in various ways. By raising the awareness of culturally safe practices in medicine they have actively encouraged and established rapport with patients, addressed assumptions and methods of communication that have been historically established between patient and health professional and they have actively and safely demythologised the practice of medicine. It has not been easy for them to implement changes in a health system which has been shaped to meet the needs of the affluent middle class but what is now observable in the wider community is that ordinary people are more willing to maintain control and make informed decisions concerning their own health care. They prefer to be given information from which they will then choose what is appropriate for them in their way of living.

Family as Authority

Generally a family provides a person with an arena where they can speak personally and directly to and exert influence over other members in the family in ways that usually occur in no other social group. The age differences in families are usually large and membership is not optional. Roles are assigned within the family on the basis of fixed status rather than competence or interest. Family is society's most private institution with private knowledge of its members' history. This has the effect of engendering vulnerability which is unmatched anywhere else in society. New Zealand expresses in its society both a nuclear family authority structure and an extended family authority structure. At the risk of generalising, the European or pakeha culture tends to be aligned with the nuclear family which is characterised by contact between close kin, mainly

parents, siblings and their children, while the Maori culture tends toward the extended family which is characterised by a traditional society which consists of membership to kin groups through male and female lines. This provides 'authority' with a unique set of problems, problem solving strategies and ways of viewing the world. These differences in family authority structures are partially accommodated by the institutional authorities. For example, in the New Zealand Justice system there are in place facilities like, Family group conferences, Maori Wardens, Treaty Tribunals, Provision of Interpreters at court and interpretation of important public documents into Maori and English. This accommodation to recognise and address the different perceptions of 'family as authority' can also be seen in other authority structures in society. What is perhaps important here is that for most of the participants in the study, as for many New Zealanders, there was cultural confusion and conflict between these two styles of family management.

THE NATURE OF INTERACTION

There is nothing so moving - not even acts of love or hate, as the discovery that one is not alone (Ardey, 1967, p111).

DEFINING INTERACTION

Intangible abstractions like 'interaction' are difficult to define. An idea of the superficial expression of it can be found in a dictionary:

Interact: to act on or in close relationship with each other (Collins English Dictionary, 1991, p804).

However, a more helpful position for determining the nature of interaction can be found in the works of Aristotle, he considered that,

interaction between two factors requires a precedent community of nature between the factors (Fell, 1979, p 401).

The effects of this phenomenon and the defining of it can be seen clearly when we observe ourselves interacting with others. It is an interesting fact that although we can see other people obviously being influenced by their fellow human beings, we like to imagine our own actions as relatively free from the influence of others. With the rare exception of a hermit or a castaway we are all social creatures and from birth we are surrounded by other people through whom we learn behaviour that is appropriate within our environment. Our socialisation ensures that we learn a whole set of socially appropriate actions and our sense of belonging involves socialisation into a particular culture. This ongoing process involves individuals and how they interact in their environment during their lifetime. People in societies like to find answers as to why people interact in a particular manner, particularly when the interaction is costly to themselves and future generations. There appears to be two contrasting perspectives in literature on the topic of interaction. One has an individualistic focus while

the other a circumstantial focus.

THE INDIVIDUALISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Personal attributes and actions of the individual are related to character, motivation and impulse which become causal factors in interaction.

Generally, people consider certain types of behaviour as intrinsically irrefutable and unmistakably moral and correct, while other types of behaviour are seen as immoral and incorrect. In reality though moral convictions are far more complex.

Motivational theories are addressed in the work of Tajfel (1978), when he establishes that people consider some individuals as belonging to the in-group and others to the out-group and that interaction is determined accordingly. This distinction makes it possible to view more negatively those who do not belong to the in-group and the way a person interacts with them is determined from this perceptive. Rokeach (1969), extends this thought in his Belief Congruence Theory when he discusses his observation that members of the out-group are judged more negatively not on account of the colour of their skin but due to psychological characteristics they possess.

Insofar as psychological processes are involved, belief is more important than ethnic or racial membership as a determinant of social discrimination (Rokeach, 1969, p135).

In the more recent Expectancy Violation Theory of Jussim, Coleman and Lerch (Vrij, 1993), they consider that individuals have certain expectations regarding specific categories of people. Generally white individuals will attribute negative characteristics to blacks and positive ones to fellow whites. If a person deviates from these expectations the response is a more extreme assessment in the direction of deviation. People with positive characteristics or similar beliefs, who display 'white' nonverbal behaviour, will then be judged more positively irrespective of colour. Individual

attributes are an important factor in the nature of the interaction that will occur.

Petee, Trudie, Milner and Welch (1994), examine how the level of social integration within a community affects the relationship between the threat of informal sanctioning and a variety of deviant behaviours. Alongside their findings, they found that the work of Geerken and Grove indicated individuals immersed in highly integrated conventional communities are less likely to engage in aberrant behaviour. They hypothesise that the level of social integration within a community is related inversely to levels of deviance that individual members display, although the impact of social integration is not limited to its direct negative effect on deviant behaviour. They consider that social circumstances are conducive to the formation of aberrant behaviour. However closer examinations reveals the narrowness and shallowness of empirical support for this theory. Devoy (1986), put forward that,

many longitudinal studies indicate that many of those whose personal attributes or family situations are similar to those of offenders, do not in fact offend, and many of those who do offend do not display these characteristics (Devoy, 1986, p253).

Society creates sub cultures within itself and acceptability into these groups involves obeisance of the 'norms' for that group. These norms are appropriate mechanisms for defining the group's perception of their role within the wider society and problems in interaction arise when the 'norms' of one particular group offend or conflict with the 'norms' of another creating often a negative interaction. Not all such conflicts are negative however and the process of interaction may bring about constructive elements. Gustfield (1975), considers that the interaction of conflict with other groups provides an experience from which the group develops a sense of themselves as belonging together.

We are left with a number of problems with this perspective of interaction.

Character, motivation and impulse all interrelate in these theories but they do tend to exclude the social settings of individuals and the historical influences that determine the nature of interaction for individuals.

THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL PERSPECTIVE

This perspective focuses on the situational and interactional influences of behaviour. It suggests that social, economic and political forces can shape situational and interactional settings. Although we may think of ourselves as fairly independent and able to resist pressure from other people, research in social psychology has repeatedly demonstrated just how easily we can be influenced by others. Early experiments by Solomon Asch and Muzafer Sherif showed how group pressures can affect our judgements even though we may be unaware of this effect. Their research developed further when Asch (1952), established that individuals were willing to disbelieve their own perceptual systems in favour of group opinion, and Milgram (1963), found that individuals were willing to go against societal norms. Aronson and Mills (1959), found that individuals were willing to undergo embarrassment and Festinger (1950), found that individuals were willing to endure the threat of physical punishment, in order to behave in ways they believed were acceptable to the group. The obvious applicability of this phenomenon is that membership in a group must be important to the individual and a determinant of how they interact with others. The work of Asch (1952), also shows that groups of only three or four are almost as effective as inducing compliance as a bigger group. He demonstrates the power of groups as agents of social learning and how much leverage they can exert on the behaviour of any individual member through producing conformity and altering and controlling behaviour. He also found that the presence of large numbers of people often seems to weaken restraints against engaging in compulsive or antisocial behaviour. He referred to this

interactive tendency as deindividualisation.

Psychologists explain that we maintain personal and social standards of behaviour through tuning into or being aware of our own feelings, this develops a form of private self awareness. Deindividualisation occurs when this self awareness is interrupted by certain environmental conditions which include anonymity, a high level of arousal, close group unity and a focus on external events and goals and it is under these conditions that self awareness is sharply reduced and the individual's whole perception and experience is altered. The deindividuated state means that the individual is less likely to think rationally or to consider long term consequences. There is also a reduction in the usual concern over how others will evaluate his or her behaviour. The end result of this interaction may produce behaviour ranging from the unusual or annoying to the violent and destructive. Sociologists, Gill and Maynard (1995), write in defence of the circumstantial perspective of interaction by establishing,

rather than considering deviant behaviour to be a property of the individual, labelling theorists argue that officially recognised deviance is enacted through a social process and have addressed how social structural factors promote or inhibit labelling and the consequences of this (Gill and Maynard, 1995, p11).

For them the major contribution of labelling theory is the recognition that labels are social constructions. It must also be recognised that a persistent and pervasive vagueness in defining labelling has meant that little is known of the actual process.

The circumstantial perspective of theories of interaction also focus on social forces and it was during the 1960's that social interactionalism developed which centred on interactionalism and the formation of the self. These theories found that self evaluations and role perceptions are determined largely by the way people are responded to by others.

Identity and future behaviour are moulded in response to the reactions of others to

previous conduct. As people develop these patterns become internalised as personality. Rejected by respectable society as an outsider, the individual may then become absorbed by this role. The outsider discards his/her previous identity and embarks on a deviant career (Becker, 1966, p25-39).

Newbold (1991), in his Modern Deviance Theory also recognised the importance of social forces in interaction, he puts forward the view that a relativistic stance of morality is not absolute but depends largely on the society which creates it.

Assumptions are that crime is a social creation and a consequence of normal human behaviour, the incidence of deviance in New Zealand increases and decreases in response to social conditions. The types of activity we call legitimate and illegitimate are divided by a fine and shifting line which is designated by forces beyond our control (Newbold, 1992, p19).

One way to understand the interaction of deviance is to study the dynamics of the individuals involved. Newbold (1992,) identifies interaction of three variables: isolation, powerlessness and dissatisfaction which in turn elicit frustration. It is these variables that explain the phenomenon of deviance. His findings are consistent with those of the frustration aggression theory which indicates a relationship between isolation and extremism which is further accentuated by personal alienation of the individual. Isolated people are more likely to feel cut off from the larger society and to feel an inability to control events.

Some political forces that contribute to interaction theories can be identified in the Conflict Theory of Interaction, where alienation for Marx had its roots in the exploitation of the worker and was a social evil.

Under the new revisionist Marxist theory, alienation is construed not in terms of the exploitation of man as the producer, but rather in terms of his manipulation as a consumer under capitalism man is forced to consume in greater and greater quantities commodities he does not really need (Mackie, 1985, p214).

For Fromm (1962), Marx's theory of alienation leads to radical attacks on existing social structures. Marx's focus on conflict endows interaction with a negativity that is undeserved and unbalanced.

Marby and Barnes (1980), identified a form of interaction when they found that authority (police) sometimes bring dissidents together to discuss an issue, but in reality they are attempting to modify behaviours by providing a safety valve for building pressures. The ulterior motives involved in this form of interaction on the part of authority could be viewed as not only unethical but have the potential to manipulate and disempower the groups involved. Although Baron and Byrne (1984), suggest that through our understanding of the processes of interaction it is possible to suggest techniques for countering some of its effects the assumption that the effects merit 'countering' and just who will be involved in this process of making things comfortable is not identified.

We are left with a number of problems with this perspective of interaction. They do focus on the social, political and economic settings of individuals and groups and provide reasonable explanations of the factors involved. But they do tend to exclude the historical, cultural and individual responsibilities that are an integral part of the interaction process. Allen, Benner and Diekelmann (1986), establish that an underlying assumption of Heideggerian phenomenology is,

to be human is to be-in-the-world, to participate in cultural, social and historical contexts (Allen, Benner and Diekelmann, 1986, p28).

His view propounds that it is the context or background meaning that is central to understanding what is meaningful or significant for an individual and or group. People cannot be separated from a past or the present or the future when attempting to understand how a lifeworld is lived.

THE NATURE OF RESEARCH

*The road goes ever on and on down from the door where it begins
 Now far ahead the road has gone and I must follow if I can
 Pursuing it with weary feet until it joins some larger way
 Where many paths and errands meet and whither then?
 I cannot say (Tolkien, 1992, p48).*

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE'S OF RESEARCH

The human race has moved from the Aristotelian thought that, starting from what is inadequately known, a person can learn to know what is intrinsically intelligible by using what is known to guide them. Although this perspective is still a useful approach to knowledge acquisition, a more recent position of inquiry interprets the concept of 'truth' more as emerging from challenging, formulating hypotheses and overthrowing old thoughts rather than from guiding or orienting oneself by what is familiar.

Snow (1959), distinguished between what he called the 'two cultures' of scientific and humanistic interpretation of research. Broadly speaking quantitative or scientific methodology produces one kind of knowledge and qualitative or humanistic methods, another. Quantitative methodology became established in the time of Sir Francis Bacon in the seventeenth century when the objectivity of science was based on the possibility of constant repeatable experience which was thought to guarantee the intersubjectivity of the findings. Qualitative or humanistic methods were recognised as a legitimate science when Husserl developed his humanistic analysis of the 'life world' and by doing so

he was addressing the monopoly of the experience gained within the objective 'world of science' (Bleicher, 1980, p113).

The traditional definition of objective science refers to things external to the

mind and distinguished from the consciousness of the subject, while the traditional definition of subjective science refers to things pertaining to the mind or consciousness arising from within and belonging only to the individual. While each discipline has limitations they are both important because of their complementary nature and the ability of one perspective to lessen the errors of distorted interpretation of some other perspective. It would be a huge voluminous undertaking to present both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in this review, and while it is acknowledged that quantitative research is an essential constituent in the subject of research, the nature of qualitative research will take precedence in this section because of the methodological approach of the thesis.

THE NATURE OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Although it was Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), in the sixteenth century who first idealised man's environment it was his contemporary, Rene Descartes (1596-1650), who founded modern ontological dualism. Descartes believed that the human mind and spirit could suspend inherited beliefs, through a process of methodical self discipline, producing eventually an independent being that has the ability to separate the natures of the mind and body and serve as an impartial judge of reality and truth. Descartes also sought to separate experiences to reach a purely non relative or absolute foundation by identifying that which is immediately present to the mind in the form of non-sensory intuition, ego, or metaphysical knowledge. His philosophy guided many minds through to the late nineteenth century when Husserl founded Phenomenology in the 1920's. Husserl's premise was that the life world is displaced by an interpretation of it that tends to conceal the very world that is being interpreted.

For Thevenaz (1962), the two central themes of phenomenology address 'consciousness' and 'world'. It provides a radical description of how we as

human subjects experience the world in acts of consciousness. It is a dynamic conception of reality because it focuses on consciousness. In phenomenology, consciousness is expressed as revealing,

not the cognito alone but consciousness-of-the-world. consciousness constituting the meaning of the world (Thevenaz, 1962, p47).

By looking at the question, *how do we experience in our subjectivity that which we experience?*, an understanding is gained of how we perceive reality in acts of consciousness. As phenomenology developed, a dualism presented us with a dilemma in the bifurcation of phenomenological and intellectual intuition. It was from these two branches that various important qualitative methodologies of research emerged. One was an objective, total immersion, empty reflection (silence) position developed by Heidegger (1962), and Hegel (1812-1816), and the other a subjective, total freedom stance developed by Sartres(1943), and Kiekegaard (1843). Alongside the important field of phenomenology, the discipline of hermeneutics was also developing.

Hermeneutics holds central importance in the study of theology, philosophy and literary interpretation. It is the study of understanding texts. Classical hermeneutic theory was aligned with theological interpretation and more recently theological and non theological branches have developed from Bultmann's 'new' hermeneutic theory. Bultmann developed methods that were used in Biblical exegesis by removing their transcendental focus. He proposed that by using natural reasoning to find truths 'hidden' in texts, an historical understanding could be grasped and the 'spirit' (geist) could be translated into terms that were relevant to enlightened rational man. Scholars from the theological and non theological disciplines continued to develop techniques of grammatical refinement and historical contexts.

Hermeneutics is now concerned with not only the interpretation of texts but also with communication, whether written or oral, verbal or non-verbal such

as symbols or symbolic acts. It was thought that understanding texts could be produced by the mechanical application of purely scientific principles but theorists grew dissatisfied with applying rules for interpretation of texts. They raised far more fundamental questions about the very nature of language, meaning, communication and understanding which resulted in an examination of the whole interpretive process. In doing so they raised issues about the philosophy of language, theories of meaning, literary theory and semiotics,

the subject (text) is not seen as a supplementary tool for ensuring the 'correct' interpretation, but as a profound reflection on the very basis and purpose of interpretation and how we decide what would count in the first place as 'correct' interpretation. Indeed whether we should speak of an interpretation as 'correct', 'productive', 'valid' or 'reasonable' remains still a hermeneutic question

(Ferguson, Wright and Pack, 1988, p293).

Fredrich Schleiermacher's work (Anon.1988), heralded the beginning of a new era for hermeneutic study. In his Romanticist tradition, the goal of the interpreter was to reach 'behind' the text, to the mind of its author, and ultimately to the creative experience which called the text into being. The text was seen as the objectification of this creative human experience and the interpretation of it involved both linguistic and psychological processes. At the linguistic level, the scientific considerations of grammar and vocabulary had a part to play but at a deeper level, the interpreter sought to enter into psychological rapport with the author creating an existential hermeneutical 'bridge' or 'lived experience' (*Erlebnis*). Interpretation became a tracing back of the process of composition in which you moved back from the text to the experience which produced it.

Heideggerian interpretive phenomenology combines the two philosophical disciplines of the phenomenology of Husserl and the ontological hermeneutic writings rooted in Bultmannian theory to find a starting point

for his fundamental existential philosophy. Whereas Husserl traced all phenomenon back to human consciousness or transcendental subjectivity, Heidegger held that 'being' is a still more fundamental matter than human consciousness and human knowledge, he remained with the interpretation of phenomenon in relation to their essence as hermeneutic:

his phenomenology still precedes from a given *dasein* (Husserl's *Lebenswelt*¹) for the determination of the meaning of existence (Bleicher, 1980, p220).

Aristotle established that man is a living being that has *logos*. Language in the form of *logos* is not something like reason but has a deeper sense. It is not a power given to language by its user but a power which language gives to the user by being 'seized' by what is being named. This lets something be seen as something by making visible that which appears to be an ontological manifesting of the thing itself.

Heideggerian phenomenology assumes that everyday interpretations of lived experience and the issues connected with them are different from the study of 'objects' studied in the natural sciences.

Allen, Benner and Diekelmann (1986), identify a 'background' to a person that is handed down in the form of language and cultural practises. This background enables a person to bring pre understanding to the process of self interpretation of phenomenon. Knowledge for Heidegger is ontological,

Meaning is shared and handed down culturally through language, skills and practices and is directly perceived by the individual. Experience is always already interpreted- it is never perceived as a sense data to be interpreted by a subject... The individual is not capable of being a passive receiver of non interpreted stimuli... anything that is perceived is already meaningful owing to the active nature of perception (Allen, Benner and Diekelmann, 1986, p29 & 32).

People utilise concrete memories and perception of similarities with dissimilarities from past event to interpret experience.

¹ *Lebenswelt* is constituted in the multiple acts of inter subjective consciousness. The significance of inter subjectivity and the way in which it is realized as experience is central to Husserl's phenomenology.

CONCLUSION

The literature in this review discussed five points that were drawn from the research question.

What is the lived experience of a fringe group in New Zealand society when they interact with authority?

The focal points that were explored were, the nature of community; the nature of groups (in particular gangs); the nature of interaction; the nature of authority and the nature of research.

The nature of community examined the importance of community to the human race and the need for people to interact with each other and identified the trend in modern urban society toward alienation, frustration and loneliness which indicated that the meaning of community is more than people living in close proximity to each other. The literature also provided a useful differentiation between moral community with mass society.

Actually defining community proved problematic because of the many connotations associated with it. The theory oriented period of sociology provided what is generally considered to be the modern social science focus of research into community. These theories however tended toward extremes in the perspectives of empiricism and experience or how a person was nurtured, and have resulted in an imbalance of theories on community. The New Zealand contribution to research on community introduces the unique Maori/pakeha dynamic of community and what New Zealanders view as the common problems in their society. An important concern that emerged was the impact of how the mass media presented these problems to us and the imbalance of knowledge about groups particularly gangs that society has as a result. The ideologies of gangs and how they view themselves was expressed in a section using their own literature and what

emerged was a very clear and deep sense of commitment to one another. There was provision of a 'place' where their emotional needs were met and they were provided with mutual nurture, development and care in such a way that vehemently excluded input from the wider society.

The study of fringe groups had a wider perspective base than that of authority. Sociology, psychology, geography and anthropology were the main contributing disciplines in this field. Elements of extremism, isolationism and elitism generally identify a group as fringe. How the group is perceived, usually by outsiders, is the main determinant of whether a group is fringe or merely a small group. This review focused in particular on the gang phenomenon in society and the literature tended to come from either direct observation, comparative gang/non gang delinquency rates and from survey research methodologies. Literature about the organisation of gangs and membership construction provided insight into this particular fringe group from an outsider's perspective. New Zealand's contribution to this phenomenon was traced chronologically and background information about the gang which most of the participants in this study were members was also considered.

The nature of interaction explored the individualistic and circumstantial perspectives of literature. The individualistic perspective identified motivation and impulse as causal factors in interaction while in the circumstantial perspective identified situational and interactional factors as influencing behaviour and ultimately, interaction with others. Perhaps the most important findings in this section of the review are studies by Becker (1966), who found that people when they consider their role in society, have a perception of themselves that is determined by how others have responded and continue to respond to them. Each of the participants in the study has from childhood established a variety of interaction patterns and among the most influential of these are, rejection, isolation, frustration and

powerlessness which have become internalised and have moulded their identities both within their family and later in interaction with authority in general.

The nature of authority distinguished between two distinct forms found in literature. 'Epistemic' authority which relates to beliefs or knowledge about a particular subject and 'moral' authority which relates to decisions or actions taken as a result of being in a position of responsibility. The triadic nature of authority, given *to* a person, acknowledged *by* others, directed *toward* a purpose, establishes the need for a careful balance between each of the factors to avoid a breakdown in the structure of society. New Zealand has its own unique forms of authority which was briefly overviewed in the sections, law enforcement, education, health, and family, as authority. The information was intended to give a short background to these areas of authority in our society and to provide a framework from which the reader could view the participants both historically and currently.

While it is recognised that there are many other areas of authority not covered in this review these particular forms emerged as being of more relevance to the study.

The nature of research identifies the need for two kinds of knowledge in research methodology, quantitative techniques are used to investigate so called 'scientific' data based on the possibility of repeatable experiences, while qualitative techniques are used to investigate so called 'humanistic' analysis based on lifeworld. Foucault (1966), argues that objective science has for too long gone unquestioned and the infiltration of the concepts of this perspective have had a tremendous input not only on sociopolitical practices, but on the way people actually constitute themselves. In accordance with this concern, the nature of qualitative research was focused on and theories of ontology, phenomenology and hermeneutics were discussed in order to present a study that compliments objective or

quantitative research.

The information in this review provides a broad base of information for the reader that not so much answers the research question but provides a background with which they can better view and understand the dynamics of the research method used, what is meant by community, who is perceived as authority and what happens when people meet and interact with people as they live.

METHODOLOGY

The map appears to us more real than the land

(Auden, 1962, p30).



INTRODUCTION

At various times in our lives we often become acutely aware that we are human, distinct from everything and everyone else. It is often during these existential moments that we ask ourselves *What does it mean to be human?* The Cartesian view is that we are at the most basic level, minds located in bodies. This is often the way in which people think of themselves when they step back and reflect on their being human and what becomes observable from this perspective is the antithesis between mind and matter (body). Martin Heidegger (1962), approached this question from quite a different angle. He described being human as a *happening*, a life story unfolding between life and death to create a perception of existence that is historical or temporal in nature. He considered that what a person is 'doing' at any one moment could be regarded as *action* because it could be observed in the wider context of a life story. For example, writing these lines in my thesis can be seen as an *action* which relates to my past (academic, career, social) and to my future (the outcome of this thesis). This present *action* is rooted in the meaningful context of the past and directed toward some future state of being. My being who I am, is nothing other than what unfolds in the course of my life.

Heidegger provided one of the most significant modern attempts to define the meaning of life. He considered that his ontological philosophy was a dialogue between Being (Sein¹) and being (Seiendes²). By constituting phenomenological, hermeneutical and semiotic oriented concepts he

¹ Sein- (Being) sources, ground and power

² Seiendes- (being) concrete forms of existence

developed an interpretive phenomenologic approach known as Heideggerian Hermeneutical Analysis (HHA). Using phenomenology to describe how people orient themselves to a lived experience and hermeneutics to describe how people interpret the texts of life the semiotic orientation provided the practical or linguistic approach to the methods of phenomenology and hermeneutics. The vehicle of HHA is language, and it is through language that we are looking at what some might perceive as the 'human essence' or, the distinctive qualities of the mind which are, as far as we know, unique to humans. The normal use of language is a creative activity and we may never know what makes it possible for people to use language as an instrument for free expression of thought and feeling or what qualities are involved in the creative acts of a mind, but having mastered language it is possible to understand an indefinite number of expressions familiar or unfamiliar through the use of analogies. The participants have provided us with many rich analogies of their experience of living in our world.

Heidegger considers that language is a medium of Being, not a consequence of it, or an instrument of its expression. In the naming of a thing seen, all of its structures, natural, perceptual, conceptual or practical are one, so that the thing is seen as a whole as a thought. The naming of this expression, serves as an expression of the thing itself. In Heideggerian theory, this naming begins in our lives when we are children. For Heidegger (1962), the world forms itself around a young child as they encounter language. The child does not perceive things as they are prior to the coming into language, nor does the child create the language in which things come to be what they are. The child listens to words and learns what these words speak of. When in a dawning comprehension the child 'gets the idea' of what is being looked at and what is being named, the thing itself shows itself as what it is. It is perceived intuitively and in this realisation or disclosing of the thing, its true nature emerges, the name holds it together in one experience, and makes

visible or discloses existence. Caudill and Weinstein's (1967), study of Japanese and American babies found that by the age of 4 months, human beings were already interpreting themselves in the light of their background. Child rearing practices embodied meanings and interpretations that were handed down through language and culture, for example, Japanese babies were seen as an independent creature that must be civilised and made dependent, while American babies were viewed as dependent creatures that must be made independent.

HHA is a human science approach that is rooted in both philosophical and reflective disciplines that encourage an attentive awareness to details and uncovers the significance of seemingly trivial dimensions of our everyday lives through the medium of language.

THE CONTEXT OF HEIDEGGERIAN HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS THEORY

HEIDEGGER'S PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of Heidegger opened up a dimension of experience more fundamental than founding a method for inquiry of knowledge about Being. In doing so he established language as the transcendental basis of his philosophy. Language was the vehicle for a person's ultimate certainty which unveiled the 'Being' of being, when a person opened themselves up to the meaning dwelling in historic existence.

'In language', says Heidegger, 'as a way things have been expressed or spoken out, there is hidden a way in which the understanding has been interpreted' (Linge, 1976, p xxxv).

The view of a person in Heideggerian philosophy comes from Heidegger's shift of emphasis from (Cartesian) epistemological concerns such as; how we know what we know, what counts as knowledge and what is the criteria

for evaluating truth. Heidegger centred on issues like the relation of the knower to the known, what does it mean to be a person and how is the world intelligible. The first essential aspect of a person is the relationship of their Being to the world. Heidegger established that 'world' was the meaningful set of relationships, practises and language that we have by virtue of being born into a culture. It is *apriori*³ knowledge given in our cultural and linguistic practices and in our history and sets up a world that both articulates and makes things show up for us, providing us with a vocabulary or kinds of metaphors one uses to name things into being. Dreyfus (1987), writes:

World is both constituted by and is constitutive of the self (Dreyfus, 1987, p274).

Heidegger's 'being' or personal identity, can be defined as *Dasein*, an ability-to-be, which is realized through concrete possibilities that have been made available in a cultural context. He identified three structural elements that make up the meaning of *Dasein*. Firstly, *Dasein* is 'understanding', it provides roles, lifestyles and personal relationships that give context to life. Secondly, *Dasein* is 'discursive', the activities that we engage in are articulating the world and interacting with occurrences that are interpreted in our public language. Thirdly, *Dasein* is 'thrown' into situations that are culturally and historically contextualised, these situations already have established relationships to the community in which you live.

Understanding of *Dasein* can be arrived at through an interpretive effort. He establishes a web of functional relationships in which things are encountered in their interdependent functions and their relevance to what we are doing. Dreyfus (1987), also identifies the Heideggerian thought that the world of everydayness is not an aggregate of present-at-hand occurrences or things that just occur, but he places them in a holistic context of relations that are ready-to-hand. When *Dasein* identifies things as significant they are

³ *Apriori* knowledge- knowledge which is absolutely independent of all experience.

'clearing' or 'lighting' as they stand forth *as* something.

Heidegger (1927), in his treatise *Time and Being*, attempted to deal with a Philosophy of pre-reflective human experience of the life world and *Dasein* was directly engaged in its world rather than reflecting on it. This means that the life world is disclosed by *Dasein* not as a realm of neutral things or objects, but as a projected self in *Dasein's* own realm of possibilities. It has its essence in its existence which is not a created existence.

The writings of Heidegger reflect his consistent effort to define the meaning of being, in a way that is not distorted by objectifying the categories of western metaphysics. Further, his interpretation of the everyday understanding of being develops an ever deepening dialogue with the history of metaphysical thinking. Diekelmann (1992), expresses Being-in-the-world as dwelling, a moving into a nearness with what is near us.

Expressions of life are understood via a lived experience in which the self understanding of the interpreter and the pre-understanding of the object are brought to bear in the process of cognition.

Heidegger describes how cognition is made up from a purely subjective position. He identified the existence of Other, or, my attempts at self awareness lead to my being aware of the Other as self and as self-for-me. My external self is also a self-for-Other. Because my selfhood is not a fixed thing it emerges and manifests itself in the presence of the Other the social Other who is ambiguously both object and subject for the acting self or ego. Heidegger's philosophy then is about how to convey the common philosophical engagements of everyday realities of people. It is through looking at the explication and phenomenological description of the human *dasein* in its temporality and historicity by using an interpretive form of interpretation, providing an analytic orientation to everyday life that will unveil the lived experience of a person's lifeworld whose horizons are shaped by their place in history.

HEIDEGGER'S METHODOLOGY

With the philosophic framework of HHA being phenomenological (descriptive) and hermeneutical (interpretive), the central methodological assumptions and characteristics of a person's general orientation to life, their view of knowledge, and their sense of what it means to be human provides the foundation of the method of analysis. HHA is a respectful method of analysis that is able to reveal social, psychological and spiritual factors that affect people in our society. It is suitable in that it allows them to tell their story in their own way. It considers the uniqueness of their experience along with the universality of the meanings of interaction with authority, in the lived experience of a particular phenomenon. HHA holds that our foundational mode of existing is interpretation and understanding manifested by the human desire to make sense (meaning) of an aspect of life. HHA attempts to construct a full interpretive description of some aspect of the lifeworld yet recognises that complete reduction and full or final description are unattainable.

The HHA Methodology as adapted by Diekelmann, Allen and Tanner (1989), has seven stages of analysis.

- Stage One: The full sets of interviews are examined by a designated research team to provide an overall understanding of the texts. They examine the entire set of interviews.
- Stage Two: The text of each interview is then summarised by each team member, possible themes are identified, and a dialogue among members regarding analysis and textual evidence follows. Weekly sessions are held where the team formally reads their written interpretations to the rest of the team. This is followed by respective analysis by the other members. Evidence that is embodied within the text is examined, identified and confirmed or disconfirmed. Group consensus is the ultimate goal.

- Stage Three: After further independent analysis, each team member's analysis is compared with the investigator's for similarities and differences. Consensual validation and additional insight is then identified and discrepancies are clarified by referring back to the text. A two to four page synopsis of the text is abstracted from the analysis of the entire team.
 - Stage Four: The purpose of this stage is to identify relational themes, arising out of the common meanings, which cut across all texts. This is done by reading and rereading the material generated in these previous stages to see if common or contradictory meanings are present in various texts. Thematic analysis produces themes that will be evident in all the texts and are then presented using excerpts. What is sought at this stage is a particular meaning or pattern that can be recognised. Extensive documentation is needed for the reader to participate in the validation.
 - Stage Five: In this stage of analysis constitutive pattern/s emerge. Constitutive patterns are present in all texts and express the relationships among the relational themes. These patterns are the highest level of hermeneutical analysis.
 - Stage Six: Validating the analysis with persons not on the research team but familiar with the content area and/or research method. Validation of relational themes and constitutive pattern are also sought from a subset of the interview participants.
 - Stage Seven: In this final stage the thesis is prepared using sufficient excerpts from the interview to allow the reader to validate the findings.
- These multiple stages allow contradictions, conflicts and inconsistencies to become evident through reappraisals and comparisons. Multiple interpretation throughout also serves as bias control, exposing unsubstantiated meanings of the situation. This provides a major strength of the method.

Heidegger appeared preoccupied with the distant past and the distant future. In his treatise 'What is called thinking' (1968), he found thought to be the ultimate determinant praxis.

His methodology reveals these thoughts as elements, motifs, formula which occur frequently in the text. He considers that themes are a state of being, which refer to an attentiveness and deep interest in an aspect of life. They are a desire to make sense of an experience through ordering and controlling information. Heidegger calls this fundamental theme, the interpretation of *Dasein* and it is his ontology of *Dasein* that leads into the science of the interpretation. The task of understanding an event occurs when you speak about the event itself through the medium of textual analysis. HHA lets things become manifest as what they are without forcing categories on them. This means the reversal of the usual stance of interpretation that one is accustomed to in research. It is not we who point things out but rather things that show themselves to us. This is not to suggest some sort of primitive animism, but it is important to recognise that in HHA the very essence of true understanding is that of being led by the power of the thing to make itself visible. Martin Heidegger (1962), established that interpretation was not grounded in human consciousness and categories but in the manifestness of the thing encountered, the reality of what comes to meet us. HHA finds a kind of access in the fact that one has with their existence, along *with* it, a certain understanding of what fullness of being is. It is not a fixed understanding but historically formed accumulated in the very existence of encountering phenomena.

HHA studies the role of cultural practises, skills and meanings, the role of the situation and the role of the body in addition to beliefs, values and intentions.

Everyday understanding, meanings, practices, relational concerns and skilled activities are the focus of HHA (Allen, Benner and Diekelmann, 1986 , p30).

For Heidegger, the individual is not capable of being a passive receiver of

non interpreted stimuli. The thing that is perceived is already meaningful owing to the active nature of perception.

A person can have direct access to situations because of concrete memories and perception of similarities with dissimilarities from past events (Allen, Benner and Diekelmann, 1986, p 32).

HHA methodology attends to the explanation of implicit meanings in textual analysis by allowing the text and transitions in thinking that occur when questioning and interpreting texts, to be part of shaping the study.

In doing so the role of language in all its richness and use, becomes one of the most important assumptions of Heideggerian methodology.

In short we are in the presence of incomprehensibility in its most striking form (Abel, 1885, p289).

Understanding this complicated process of associations turns our battling with a torrential confusion of words with their multiplicity of meanings into a way of making sense of living a life and understanding what it means to Be. It is interesting to note that Language has the strange striking characteristic of not having entities that are perceptible at the outset and yet not permitting us to doubt that they exist and that their functioning constitutes it.

THE CONTEXT OF HEIDEGGERIAN HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS PRACTICE

The complex base of the philosophy and methodology of HHA becomes less abstract when it is seen as a practice of living as it relates to the participants, the researcher, the research team, the reader, the interviews and the text. Using the abstract as background understanding, the outworking of this methodology reveals an equally complex relationship between the various parts that contribute to the whole understanding of the methodology.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The participants resembled each other in various ways. They were asked the same question, they came from the same type of fringe group in our society, they were interested in being part of the study, they all had their own unique stories to tell. The resemblance was not so much a uniformity of trying to explain structures, processes or functions of human capacities in the same ways but was a resemblance that comes from sharing 'understanding' of what it means to experience the same phenomenon.

The participants were drawn from a New Zealand gang and consisted of either 'patched'⁴ members, or people who were either partners or family members of a particular gang. Five participants were contacted individually, informed verbally, and in writing about the study (see Appendix 1) and invited to take part. There were four male and one female participants. An appointment was arranged that was convenient to both the researcher and each participant and the research question was considered (see Appendix 2). The participants were informed of their rights (see Appendix 3) both verbally and in writing and an opportunity was given for them to consent in their own manner to participating in the study. The participants told their experiences through anecdotes that carried within themselves a keen sense of the point. A tape recorded interview from 50-120 minutes discussed the research question which asked them for their stories of interaction with authority.

THE RESEARCHER

As the researcher I was required to approach each participant and their stories with openness and as much awareness of my preconceptions as possible so that these could be challenged by the text. I both influenced and was influenced by the text and as such became an integral part of the textual

⁴ A patched member is one who is a full member of a gang having earned he is entitled to wear a patch.

analysis. I initially identified a social phenomenon that I wished to consider and approached the understanding of it with respect. This stance was of paramount importance to the study as it avoided judgments of what was true or false and significant or trivial about the given social condition. It was from this perspective that I was able to relate how gangs interaction with authority was experienced by the participants. Through directing my attention to the primacy of their lived experience I was able, through reliving with them their many experiences of interaction with authority, to understand the phenomena from the interior rather than treating the experience as an inert thing to be understood from the outside. This form of analysis provided me with an attitude that was freed from the restrictions of more conventional ways of seeing things. My aim was not to place myself within the actual experience but to widen my own experience so that the Other could be integrated. We both, the participant and the researcher, experienced a kind of fusing through language during the re-living of their experience of interaction. We created a space or horizon where there was a hermeneutic experience. My role as a researcher was to understand the lifeworld of the participants and their experience and by cultivating an attitude of 'connecting' to an Other, it was possible to retain a hermeneutic alertness that allowed me to constantly step back and reflect on the meaning of the experiences expressed. I became a participant-observer not by being part of the actual experience but by participating in the reliving of that experience.

My focus was with the context of the texts, not with my opinion as such.

Beicher (1980), clarifies this focus when he says:

The interpreter is embedded in a context of tradition which cannot be regarded as the sharing of basic and supportive prejudices. It would be presumptive to imagine that the whole range of prejudices which make possible and guide understanding, can be brought to awareness and be employed at will, outside the process of understanding it

remains impossible to even separate misleading from productive prejudices. The filtering out of the 'legitimate' prejudices occurs in the dialectic between otherness and familiarity, between object and tradition, that is initiated by the temporal distance: it not only lets those prejudices that are of a particular and limited nature die away but causes those that bring about genuine understanding to emerge clearly as such (Bleicher, 1980, p111-282).

Both the researcher and the text contained their own horizons. I was aware initially of a distance between the text and my own horizon and this awareness led through the process of understanding to a new comprehensive horizon which transcended the initial questions and prejudices. The fusion of these horizons occurred through the medium of language and it is by drawing the reader into the question through language, that you will not help but wonder about the nature of the experience of a gang interaction with authority. The openness of both text and interpreter constituted a structural element in this fusion of horizons which occurred when in the understanding of the question posed by the text we have already posed the question to ourselves and have therefore opened up possibilities of meaning.

I complied with and became accountable to the principles set out in the ethical code developed by Massey University (1990), in the following ways.

Informed Consent

- Of participants, a comprehensive explanation sufficient to make clear the nature and purpose of the study was given to all participants in a language that was appropriate to them.
- The right of ongoing consent was assured so that the participant could withdraw at any point of the proceedings.
- The time span of the study, and the researcher's expectation of them was explained.
- Informed consent was obtained from each participant. In view of the requirements of the sixth stage of analysis (consensual validation by

participants), the consent form explicitly asked for permission to recontact them, not only for clarification of material if necessary but also to recruit them for assistance with data analysis.

Confidentiality (see appendix 4)

- Each participant had their privacy and confidentiality protected, and received information about the outcome in an appropriate form.
- Tapes were erased at conclusion of the study and were safely stored with the researcher throughout the investigation. Access to the tapes was only given to the supervisor and the researcher.
- Anonymity. Each participant was known by a self selected pseudonym, and each transcript was studied to ensure there was nothing that might lead to disclosure of identity.
- Interviews took place at a time and place that were mutually acceptable to both the participant and the researcher. Consent was sought for the right to use interview data in publication associated with the research.

Minimising of Harm

- The right to self determination, there was no form of coercion, constraint or undue persuasion.
- The right to participate or not, rested with the participant.
- Sensitivity to any indication of increased self awareness with an element of stress was important, and time was built into all sessions to allow participants to share any concerns that arose as a result of reliving their experiences.
- The minimum age in this study was 18 years, there was no maximum age.

THE RESEARCH TEAM

The team of four academics met regularly over a period of three months to engage in joint reflection on the texts. They were drawn from a network of

people with HHA, social science and plant science backgrounds who had been willing to be committed to the study. The team also had input from an international HHA expert and four other consultants who contributed their expertise to specific areas of the texts. The entire team contributed to a deepening understanding by the team members of the texts. Using dialogue, questions and consensual interpretation to share viewpoints an opportunity was provided for a valuable 'seeing between' or, the seeing of that which is neither only *you* nor only/ but is rather *ours*. It was this learning about each other that permitted understanding of the text. The team dialogue was respectful, open, responsible and implied a willingness to learn by each member. Sometimes the meetings involved a 'meaningful silence' of listening and thinking. At times there was a silence of 'I know how he/she feels that happens to me too' or a silence of 'how different from my own experience this is'. The meetings affected everyone involved, and this effect often continued long after the team separated through recall and reflection. When processing the interpretations of the entire team I treated their understanding as data to be examined in the revealing of the social phenomena under consideration.

THE READER

You as the reader have by virtue of being-in-the-world, a perpetual lens through which you view knowledge and experience. This lens reflects your own understanding of the usual relationship between theory and practise, between reason and intuition. This study of interaction with authority includes your own interaction with this text of the thesis. This interaction is complex and is dependent on your own personal knowledge of the subject areas. There will be times where the participants' experiences cannot be interpreted by you unless you have a similar fund of knowledge to theirs, when this occurs you may be able view what you see through the similarities

and dissimilarities of your own experiences of interaction with authority order to comprehend what is being revealed. To enhance this process I have provided you with extensive documentation so that you can participate in the validation of the texts.

THE INTERVIEWS

After informed consent was obtained, the participants were asked the research question:

What has it been like for you when on any occasion and for any reason, you have interacted with authority?

Each participant was interviewed by the researcher for no longer than 120 minutes, using a Panasonic micro cassette tape recorder Model No. RN-120A. The interviews varied in location, from school rooms to kitchens, for some interviews children were present, for others, people and animals wandered in and out of the room, while for others there was just the participant and researcher. Each participant determined the location that was convenient for them and appropriate for the interviewer. The purpose of using a conversational interview was to find a suitable means for exploring and gathering experiential narrative material which would serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomena. The interview was unstructured and open ended and the research question was designed to draw out experiences that have meaning for the participant.

HHA perceives interviewing as conversation or dialogue, a joint reflection on a given phenomenon that alters the understanding of both the interviewer and the interviewee. This moves beyond the individually unique understanding of each participant to the universal shared phenomena of the experience.

THE TEXT

Each interview was transcribed, including interruptions, silences and sniffs and um's. The following considerations of each text and their contexts were reflected on before being interpreted: some people claim that a text takes on a life and meaning of its own which may be discovered by those who explore it, others interpret a text in terms of its meaning within the culture in which it was created, others contend that a text holds valid new meanings for each succeeding generation of people or other cultures who read it, while still others hold that we should lay aside our own cultural and personal preconceptions to uncover the intrinsic meaning of the text and others consider that the meaning of the text may be seen as what ever we read into it. How does meaning come from the text? The process of understanding the texts became for me a puzzling paradox. In order to read what was said, it was necessary for me to bring my 'understanding' to what was said, yet understanding came from reading the text. This dialectical process of interpretation became complex and involved an understanding of the meaning of the text while at the same time necessitated an attitude which made the text meaningful.

When dialogue is read we engage a kind of 'inner ear', which becomes inseparable from the aural, it is within this context that an event is meaningful and explanation becomes contextual. In bringing the text to understanding, it moved through the process of being unknown, to being made knowable. The interpretation became a 'voice' that was heard and it is through this hearing that we come to understand. Textual understanding became both epistemological and ontological, encompassing what we understand of our being-in-the-world. The data from the transcribed interviews was analysed using the steps refined by Diekelmann (1988), of HHA as described on page 67.

CONCLUSION

While there is no argument that traditional science has accomplished astonishing results in the past two centuries Heideggerian phenomenologists argue that traditional science is itself a theory screen that restrict our ability to understand human agency. The intentionality of these sciences in human action is shaped by concerns, purposes, goals and commitments which limit our imaginative ability to question and further limits the answers we can generate from those questions that we do manage to pose. Heidegger provides a philosophy that is compelling and insightful and is,

beyond our willing and doing (Beicher, 1980, p155).

LIMITATIONS OF HEIDEGGER

As with any research, it is important to discuss the limitations of the method used in the analysis. Heidegger contends that Being in the world has no dimension beyond the ontological. Equating people exclusively with an ontological structure tends to be restrictive, in that those who are ontologically revealed are conscious of this state of being, only to the extent that they are able to comprehend themselves as being 'other' than what is a political social and economic being. If this 'other' is historical and describes doings, creations and achievements, it is essentially descriptive by nature and in being so can be considered to describe a person not ontologically but historically. Heideggerian philosophy fails to consider a person within both an ontological and a practical framework and critics like Gruenler (1984), suggest that the Heideggerian notion of 'language' that mysteriously speaks on its own without reference to the intentionality of the speaker, limits the interpretation of meaning in what is said.

The ontological nature of being is concerned with one aspects of a person's lifeworld and the areas of political, economic and social experience must

also be determinants that reveal the ontological nature of existence.

There are also textual limitations associated with HHA, when in the writing of the interview, it transforms a spoken form of communication to a written one, alienating the language from its living (spoken) power. Gestures, tone of voice and facial expressions are absent and this results in a kind of self-estrangement in which oral words become visual images and the 'hearing' of the words becomes the visual process of reading.

Because HHA seeks to broaden how rationality is thought of, the redefining of the meaning of concepts like objectivity and subjectivity will pose problems for individuals who maintain more traditional views of research. However, establishing these limitations strengthens the unique perspective that HHA bring to research and provides us with important and valuable insights that can be gained in no other type of research.

DATA ANALYSIS - THE JOURNEY

*Ah the turning away from the pale downtrodden
and the words they say which we won't understand
Don't accept it was happening it's just a case of other's suffering
Only you'll find that you're joining in the turning away*

(Gilmour, 1986/70).



BACKGROUND

The hermeneutic analysis of the data used Heideggerian phenomenology to identify relational themes and constitutive patterns that were embedded in the stories of the participants. It involved examining the texts of interviews with five people involved in gangs. I asked them to tell me how they experienced the world, I then looked for salient meanings that were either implicit or explicit in the participant's perception of interaction with authority. My interest in this particular question and this specific group arose from a small research project that I undertook two years ago to investigate what a gang member did when they were sick, who they turned to first when they attempted to solve their health 'problem', what happened when they did encounter a health professional, and why they appeared to prefer their own alternative health care management to that of our health system. A major factor for gang members when they met authority was that they appeared to displace their 'rights'. It was apparent in the project that with some authority, particularly the Police, they were well versed as to their rights, the stories that emerged of interaction with any authority, indicated that there was a rich source of useful information to be discovered by delving deeper into their experiences. What ultimately emerged from this earlier study was the need to establish just what did happen when they met and interacted with authority.

From the outset of the research for this thesis, I was aware that my presence

may have made the participants apprehensive, they may have placed me in a 'position of authority' and told me what they thought I wanted to hear. Being aware of these things, I was careful that we were both careful to create a place for them to tell their stories. We both sort clarification through dialogue of unclear aspects of the research. I did not get the impression that the participants were apprehensive at all but I consider that the mere fact that I was who I was, limited them in the telling of their stories. For instance, there was a difference in our vocabularies, also in the highly contextual situations that they told me of and this meant there was a need at times for them to explain to me the significance of what was said.

SHARING EXPERIENCES

Using various 'contacts' people were invited to participate in the study and five emerged to tell me their incredible stories. They were stories that made me laugh, made me cry and filled me at times with dismay. In them I saw a mirror held before me in which was reflected society's treatment of people who are different.

My experience of the interviews are briefly recounted in the following section. They are in random order and are intended to give the reader an insight into the interview experience and the ensuing analysis of the texts for the participant, the interpreter and the research team.

The study's only woman participant sat on the porch of an old house in the South Island while dogs and children played around us. As I sat quietly and recorded her story, I found it difficult at times to remain in a 'wisely passive' place that is required in Heideggerian interviewing. She was one of the bravest women I have ever met. Her story was devastating for me to hear and I struggled with this. While her life seemed devoid of power and control it was at the same time, strangely full of it. She had an uncanny

ability to know what was the right thing to do, the right way to act, the right way to speak. She seemed unafraid of who she was yet was fearful of changing the abusive situation she was in. What she wanted was for someone to know who she was and had approached me and asked if she could tell her story. 'My story is important too,' she said. I didn't disagree with her. During the interview I watched many emotions struggle for supremacy within her, all striving to get out at once: relief, fear, outrage, pride, anger, terror, nostalgia, power and hopelessness all punctuated her stories.

Another interview occurred in the evening at a friend's house. All others had been shunted away and I was left with a rather fearsome looking, tattooed faced, black clothed man. He sat on a white plastic chair under the eaves of a patio and lit up his 'roll your owns', sucked deeply, smiled at the roof and said, 'Right! let's go then.' I sat in the doorway of the ranch sliders and held the recorder out before me. He talked and blinked and sucked at his cigarette and spoke very fast. I had difficulty asking questions as I couldn't get a word in. He expounded his many theories of life yet he seemed strangely to set himself apart from them. His theories were for everyone else, not him, he was different, he stood apart from everyone else. I admired his courage which appeared to give him a direction to go in since his recent release from prison. When he had finished his story he looked at me darkly and said, 'This is my story! It's mine! I'm the only one who has lived this! I'm the only one that can say what it was like for me!' I nodded in total agreement and he seemed satisfied somehow.

The next interview was held in a school room. The participant was writing a letter when I walked in. He sat tall, his long hair framed his intelligent face but his eyes were deep pools of sadness. He blinked, looked at me intensely and began his story. This gang member was pensive and very rarely took his eyes off me. At times I would look directly into his eyes and he would

return the stare. We seemed to engage in wordless communication. Then he would look away. Or I would. We seemed to take turns. He quite often lifted his left tattooed arm and flicked his hair. He gave the distinct impression of power and leadership. His voice had a sense of total confidence, he seemed to know where he was taking the subject of the interview. It was obvious that he had thought deeply about the interview question. I was amazed at his candid honesty and became aware of my strangeness to him as he revealed his familiarity to me. I wished that I could show him something of my own familiarity so that I would not be such a stranger to him. When I left him he stood up and towered over me, and said, 'I'll look forward to hearing from you, to reading my story.' 'It's important to me that my story is heard. You can do it for me. I'm content with that.' As I left the building I was aware that we had shared the last couple of hours together, as two people looking at one object. The result of this experience left us quiet in its presence.

The interview I had with the next participant was sabotaged by a faulty tape. We had actually begun the interview and were interrupted after 15 minutes. I had struggled during this time with his apparent inability to verbalise and it was not until I realised that he had never done this much talking all at once before that I stopped struggling. He was known as the 'strong, silent one'. I had the distinct feeling of a deep hostility toward everyone. When we were interrupted I checked the tape and found that it had jammed. I talked with him and said, 'Look, I'm sorry, I'm not going to be able to include you in the study I have to leave tomorrow.' He offered to do another interview the next morning. In spite of his apparent reticence to communicate he was actually intensely owning the study. By the following day, he had obviously spent more time thinking about the subject and when we sat down at a dining room table he was ready to trust me more. We spent the next three quarters of an hour avoiding each other's eyes. Jeffrey brooded over the table, over

the room. His brows were drawn down over his acutely suspicious eyes. When he relaxed he forgot himself and talked strongly. When he periodically remembered who I was you could almost 'smell' the violence on him, his movements were violent, his language was violent, even his silences were violent. He coiled himself up tight as a spring. He ended our interview abruptly by sucking in his breath. He stood up, leaned over me and stated, 'Right, that's it!' And he was off. No time for unwinding, from the intense memories he had just shared with me.

The last interview occurred sitting at a kitchen table. People wandered in and out but that did not perturb the participant. It felt for me a highly public arena but he was happy with that so I resigned myself to it. This participant was pakeha, late twenties and handsome. Tall, powerful, quick to understand and very articulate. His face expressed what his hands said. He moved precisely and carefully through his experiences of interaction. Some of his memories gave him pain and he expressed this by frowning and rolling his eyes and becoming sad as he talked of them. I spent 15 to 20 minutes after the interview, talking about the experience of reliving these memories. He wanted to talk more as more memories came back. As I left I remember he asked me, 'What next, for you?' I told him what would happen to the interview and how it would be analysed. He said, 'no, what happens after the study is finished?' I said, 'maybe I could look at what happens when authority interacts with a fringe group'. He laughed loudly and said, 'yeah! I'd like to read that'. We parted friends.

THE TEXT EMERGES

As I transcribed each of the interviews, reliving the actual experience of the interview again and again, I recalled as I typed, the settings of each interview and heard on the tape, often for the first time, the rain on the

window, the clock ticking, cars in the street, the sound of birds or children, or bells and telephones. I thought it odd that I didn't remember hearing these things while we were recording. Yet there they were in the background of the tape. At other times I felt quite helpless when I knew that the words on the screen of the computer didn't in any way express the recorded moment fully.

There was also a struggle for me with the 'otherness' of the names chosen by the participants. The name seemed to make them something other than who they really were. It gave them an identity that was unreal, yet I was supposed to be dealing with reality. It appeared to be such a strange twisting of the intimacy of memory, all in the name of making the participant 'anonymous'. Each interview was carefully summarized and a short paragraph of my perception of the interview was written. Using the original text and the summary, a thematic analysis was prepared and the paragraph describing the interview was used to provide a 'background' to the situation for the research team.

EMERGING MEANINGS

The full sets of interviews were examined by the research team and they provided me with an overall understanding of the text by identifying and discussing possible themes. Weekly sessions were held to do this and during this time I would read my written interpretation of the themes and provide excerpts from the text to support my findings. Similar analyses and evidence was provided by the other team members. Dialogue between us clarified the analyses and our evidence provided by the text. Each team member's contribution was compared with the researcher's for similarities and differences. Consensual validation occurred and five themes emerged from this stage. The time spent in dialogue with the research team reminded

me not only of the solitary nature of research but also the companionship of it. It allowed me to step back from the position I had assumed of 'guardian of the texts' and permitted me to observe the deeper meanings in the texts. I identified relational themes that emerged from the common meanings that were embedded in and cut across all the texts. This was done by reading and rereading, by studying and thinking on all of the material generated in the earlier stages of the analysis. These thematic analyses were presented through excerpts from the interviews. I looked for a particular recognisable meaning or pattern in the relational themes and have provided extensive examples of this pattern from the texts to enable the reader to participate in the validation of it. A constitutive pattern emerged which was present in all texts and expressed relationship among the common themes,

The findings were then validated with a person not on the research team but familiar with the content area and/or research method. Validation of the relational themes and constitutive pattern was also sought from a subset of the interview participants.

The multiple stages of interpretation provided both a means for bias control and an opportunity to expose conflicts and inconsistencies in the findings by allowing for reappraisals and comparisons by the researcher and members of the team. It was a process that involved moving from parts of the text, to the whole, and back to the parts again to ensure that the interpretations were grounded and focused.

This study unveiled not the difference between falsehood and truth, fact and fiction, it unveiled the experience of real events in the lives of gang members. Their stories initially appeared to me as vast and vague and as they became more familiar they gathered and grew to be understandable. In a sense, they became for me compact, smaller and finally took on the peculiar ontological perspective of being timeless in that each participant

told a story that was firmly established in the past, relived in a present and yet somehow becomes for them and us a key to understanding the future. This ontological experience was for me like watching something come gradually into focus.

For Heidegger (1927/1962), Being in the world is ontological. Being conscious of this state is difficult for people whose understanding of their potential for being may be 'unrealized'. Their comprehension of what it means to ontologically be, was possible only to the extent that they were able to comprehend themselves as being 'other' than a political social and economic being. Most may have been aware of their historical and cultural background but connecting meanings to them took on a practical explication rather than an ontological one. Expecting them to be able to ontologically identify what it meant for them to interact with authority was unrealistic yet the exercise of telling their stories generated knowledge for them of their living a life. It was difficult for me to place the participants in a context other than the one we both created for the interview. I can only assume that great deal of meaning was lost to me and inevitably to you as the reader because of this. However, the method of HHA does not attempt to address the situational context of Being and admits that complete reduction and full final description are unattainable. Transforming the interview from their spoken form with all the accompanying gestures, tone of voice, facial expressions and meaningful silences, into a written form introduced a new dynamic to understanding the lived experience of interaction with authority. In spite of these comments, HHA is an appropriate form of analysis that respects and edifies the personal insights of people. It also attends to the seemingly trivial dimensions of life and provides insight into meanings at a depth and richness not usually seen in research.

FINDINGS



You can step outside of one experience only by stepping inside another
 (Lewis, 1945, p54).

Analysis of the data in this study used Heideggerian phenomenology to reveal themes, relational themes and constitutive patterns that described the lived experience of interaction with authority on the lives of gang members. Heidegger (1927/1962), holds the view that people are self interpreting beings who undergo continual redefining during the course of living-a-life. One aspect of our humanness is that things matter to us. We care about them and are defined by these concerns. We are always involved in the world concernfully, and are engaged in events and situations and in doing so we both constitute and are constituted by them. Understanding what it means to live-a-life can be found in this essence of being constituted by and constituting our world.

Attempts to grasp the 'essence of language' have always taken their orientation from one or another of these items... of 'expression', of symbolic form, of communication as 'assertion', of the 'making-known' of experiences, of the 'patterning of life' (Heidegger, 1985, p236).

It appears to me that the most suitable way to understand the nature of the lived experienced of interaction with authority by gangs, is through attempting to unlock the meanings embedded in language.

Using Heidegger as a kind of 'conceptual locksmith' it is possible to enter this fringe group's world, although once through the door, one may find that the way is winding and strewn with obstacles, around which it will be necessary to pass to find meaning. Finding your way in their world entails being willing to suspend how you look at the world so that their world can

reveal itself to us. It involves consciously making room for their stories in our lives and treading quietly with our responses, mindful that it is rare for outsiders to be given the opportunity to enter the intimate world of people who live on the fringe. Authority was identified by the participants across the spectrum of intimate family and gang members to formal authorities like Police, Judges, Wardens, Teachers and others. I have not attempted to separate the interactions with the various authorities because the nature of interaction with authority was consistent between them.

What emerged across the texts, were five common themes in each story.

THEMES

The themes that emerged were used to organize the texts and tended to be implicated in the meaning dimensions of each other. The five themes that were embedded in the experiences of each of the participants are described as a sense in which they were able to give a kind of shape to the shapeless, a concept identified by Van Manen (1990). The accounts of various forms of dominance, betrayal, violence, submission and manifestation, are revealed and relate what has been significant and meaningful for the participants, and express what is the essence or core of the phenomenon of interaction with authority.

The nature of dominance by authority appeared in various forms.

It was recognised by the participants as an unacceptable interaction when it was seen as synonymous with being placed in positions of powerlessness.

Either in the form of being treated as a child or seeing authority in that light.

The one thing about prison that I hated the most was that they treated you like children, I can handle the separation from people. I can handle the incarceration. I can handle all that, that was easy. I could not handle being treated like a child by a

person who was not much older than myself, you know, it just made you feel real degraded, real degraded eh. I hated being treated like a child.

When I was young, cops would come on heavy and tough they used to beat me up. My mother continued to treat me as a child and like I said, I hated that. Even when I was in jail I hated being treated like a child.

I had this one kid [cop] at the back of my head with a gun and it was actually shakin like that [demonstrates] and I was scared man, because I was thinking, 'this kid's gonna blow me head off,' And I'm trying to tell this kid, [cop] 'man, no, mull it out, cool out man, ...' and then he was still shakin in here. I just looked at cops as children. To me they were kids.

The participants also identified forms of acceptable dominance.

Acceptability involved not only a clear set of expectations that were necessary for interaction to occur, but it was important that both sides have a reciprocal understanding of their respective roles in society.

(Gang President) would teach us how to be members of the [gang] Teach us what was important, how to do thing, how to go about it.

Doctors. I just thought of them, they've got a job and their job was to heal and that was that.

He was the teacher, I was the student. I'd ask him questions, he'd answer my questions and that was that. I would never try and form any other thing,

Where dominance induced a displacement of rights of the participants there occurred a resignation to the imposition of power of the authority

An then when he was born they... m.. forced me to name my son after their son, I had no say, his family told me 'no', he said 'no', everyone said 'no'. It was all taken away from me.

They've [police] got power ta say... jist... ya know... it doesn't matter what you say, I'll lock you up... ya know... that sort of power... ya know... But if you don't give a fuck well it doesn't really matter then, ya know.

Betrayal of faith in authority emerged in the texts as a strong sense of being 'trespassed against'. Hypocritical behaviour on the part of authority formed a stark reality of the nature untrustworthiness of authority for the participants.

To tell you the truth, I hated Police, because of what they had done to me, you know, just bullies and, degrading stuff like that. Their job was **not** to lie, their job, was **not** to be bullies, their job is **not** to um, disregard the law, they are s'posed to uphold it more than what we are, you know, and they never did.

And I knew they were cops and I looked at them and I thought to myself, 'man, you cats are liars, you're throwing people in jail for getting stoned, and you're doing it yourself. You know, so it's a real contradiction eh, what they're meant to be, in some cases, they are not as bad, but they can be as bad as criminals.

Betrayal by authority became evident to the participant as a probability of being unfairly or unjustly treated both in the actual interaction and in future ones.

But what really struck me was the Judge said, 'Now, there are two conflicting cases here, two conflicting stories. I have to take the Police over the other.' So therefore, from that day on the whole system was against me, because they called me a liar.

Being betrayed by authority developed for the participants a sense of remoteness in their life and of being at odds with the world. This remoteness enabled them to contain their memories of betrayal and attacks on their personhood, while still retaining a sense of dignity.

When you are being told you're an offence to society, you're bad, nothing you do is right you get someone like that [Judge] telling ya, you know, it just makes you, shucks, I don't like them, eh.,

Violence experienced by the participants was expressed as physical, emotional, sexual and psychological when they interacted with authority.

Sometimes all four of these aspects were evident and at other times one or two or three of them were visible as interaction.

the next thing about em, you know, four, five carloads cops turn up, and they just **beat** us up... they really beat us up to the heck eh.

I been involved in shootings... when your brother stands beside you and someone's trying to kill you... you know that bond is real tight.

He [partner] don't let me outta his sight and I can't talk freely. If he ever hears his name mentioned, when that visitor goes he'll just hit me up, knock me around... his power is his fists.

Like if I don't give him [partner] sex, that's it, I'm in shit street all day. So I don't bother, I refuse to, but even though I, I don't want to give it, he forces it on me. And that really hurts.

Ah, my father used to beat me up until I was about 14 and then I attacked him. So that stopped right then, because, then he knew that he could not do that any more.

Submission to authority was expressed in two perspectives, a willingness to accede and a form of reluctant willingness. While submission to authority inside the gang was usually willingly complied with, it was considered,

In terms of comparing it with police authorisation [authority] or whatever, it just seemed more acceptable, the things that the gang handed out, than like what the police handed out, we just sort of seemed to accept that more and that was ok.

There was also a recognition by the participant of the need to unlearn what they identified as unhealthy interactive habits and learn acceptable ones.

Doing this provided a place of acceptability for the participants in the eyes of authority in society and in their own selves.

There was two teachers there who wanted to understand maybe, where it was that I was coming from **and in the end they saw me**, that I was in trouble, they even wanted to know why, you know, what was happening.

Because, I didn't really settle into the justice system, or into the prison system very

good, um I went on charges quite a lot was in trouble quite a lot, they wanted to find out, what, what was happening with me. [*points to his head*] So they sent me along to see a Psychologist. He was quite a key factor for me, helping me through my days in prison. And I guess that that was a a good encounter of, of um an authority

Unwilling compliance took the form of a psychological and physical manipulation by authority which left the participant powerless to control their situation.

When we were all locked up in our cells an then... come in... unlock the door with their dogs an all the officers are in um riot gears an they just... pull ya outa ya cell... Put the dog in there, turn everything upside down... strip search ya... an put ya back in ya cell. It jist makes me pissed off at them... it makes me think who, who, who do they think they are.. jist makes us wanna get them... worser... ya know..

Seven days pound was um cell confinement, um no mattress ah...between seven and um half past four in the day. One book, one hours exercise and when you finish that after seven days, no visits then you went onto what was called op's off privileges, where you forfeited the right to have a full two hour visit when someone came to see you. Ah you'd only have half an hour visit.

What appeared as, or was, a manifestation of authority emerged as an extensive theme of interaction, these were categorised by the participants in different ways but when examined were essentially the same.

There was a willing deference to the authority of brotherhood of the gang.

They were closer to me than the woman, if the woman, sorta, didn't fit, then I would get rid of the woman. Because, they were, they were more to me than anything.

In the interaction with authority there could be a dichotomy between what had an appearance of lives devoid of power and control, and lives that were strangely full of it.

He [partner] goes 'if you don't get into bed I'm gonna treat you like shit'. And I just

turned around and said, 'Well you always do anyway, so what's the point. You're not getting it your way to make you happy, and make me feel small.'

When I meet up with authority the psychological means I use is 'Mizer thank you please can I have this' instead of saying 'please can I do this' because it makes you feel down or something, puts you down onto another level so you give him the answer please and thank you straight away instead of waiting till the end.

Authority that was brought to appearance as existential 'windows' usually at a turning point in their lives as they sought meaning in their experience.

Started freaking me out, eh. you know, and then, um I started thinking, that um, if there's a God, God can fix this up, God can make something of it. And that's when I started thinking those thoughts, but um, it didn't help any, you know, you know, it didn't change anything. I think the reason why I've never felt that feeling before is because it was meant for that one purpose. Just to snap me out of it real dramatically, eh, and that's what it did. For that month, the whole thing was just replayed in my head and all these other thoughts came back to me.

There was a flash. I jist seen my whole life go. But it wasn't that bad eh it was ya know... at that time I felt pretty out of it. Thought I was even goin ta jail for years. But ah it wasn't either. When I got sentenced it seemed like a long time but it wasn't either. Jist for that second, ya know...ya see all ya memories come back, ya know. Ya memories ya memories they jist go flashin by ya, an ya know, an ya know ,ya goin ta jail for a long time. That sort of a flash.

Authority sometimes had an appearance of powerlessness during interaction.

I think about [police] taking him away from me and making me happy. Like I know if I have him up on a assault charge, they can only hold him for so long and he'll be out and I'll be back, but in a worser situation... you know... so... so I'm really lost... The things I learned from the brothers, they jist had this way of talkin that jist pulled ya away.... they were jist onto it... had the push ... they jist tell the screws what ta do, they jist walk round oh, ya know... suss out different things , ya know... as if they were they were over runnin the show.... not the screws themselves... but ya now.... it

come from them... they jist learned the toss... so they can do jail ... no danger.

RELATIONAL THEMES

Two relational themes run through this study which cut across all the texts. Relating the nature of dominance, betrayal, violence, submission and manifestation to the relational themes involves identifying their fundamental thematic structures. What appears to pervade the lifeworlds of all the participants are relational themes that have been culturally and historically determined so that when they meet authority they reveal a sense of lostness or strangeness, the themes both reveal and conceal something about the participants. The past, present and future have the effect of leaving traces on their being and impressions are gained by the participants that become either confirmed or negated during interaction.

The relational themes are epitomised in the experience of the participants as 'Standing-in-the-shadows' and 'Standing-in-the-light.'

Standing-in-the-shadows is revealed as a paradox of mask or the hiding of the self from yourself and/or an 'other'. It is seen also as a sense of making visible 'invisibleness' or a bringing to appearance the effects of isolationism. Standing-in-the-light is revealed as playing-the-Game-of-life, or the grasping of possibilities, and also as uncovering the meanings in language.

STANDING-IN-THE-SHADOWS : THE PARADOX OF MASK

In William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Prospero's closing speech is delivered with the sense of the actor removing his mask as an artist. The illusion has ended and reality is left for us to determine for ourselves.

And now my charms are all o'erthrown

And what strength I have's mine own

Which is most faint: now 'tis true

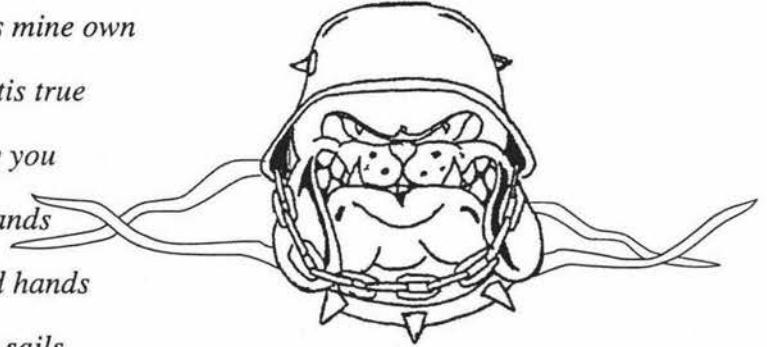
I must be here confined by you

But release me from my bands

With the help of your good hands

Gentle breath of yours my sails

must fill, or else my project fails.



The Tempest Act V Epilogue.

There is a story too about someone who had to wear a mask, a mask which made them look nicer than they really were. They had to wear it for years and when the mask was taken off they found that their face had grown to fit it. What had begun as a disguise had become a reality. An inversion of this story may occur when a person wears a mask that is not in fact 'nicer' than they really are, and as the mask enables them to engage in behaviour that is more in keeping with the mask than what they are naturally within themselves, they encounter what Heidegger (1962), calls, a freedom which wills itself as freedom, but is in fact a Being-which-is-not-what-it-is and which-is-what-it-is-not and which chooses being what-it-is-not. What is uncovered here however is that what begins as a disguise for the participants does not change what is beneath.

When I went to prison, um... I sort of had this, because I was a member of the gang and that I had to have the big I sort of um the macho type thing and sort of like look the part but um... but the first night I went to prison, I cried, you know, I just bawled my eyes out in there.

When I went to prison, my grandparents died and they [parents] didn't get me out to the funeral and that's when I um put these barriers and walls up. And when I put those barriers and walls up they couldn't get close to me. When I got out then no one told me what to do.

Masking closes participants off to the fullness embedded in their lived experiences, interfering with their ability to realize their potential and distinguish reality.

I love my father heaps and heaps you know, I think of him all the time but I just can't stand to being with him... I don't know the reason why, but... I can only last for about five, ten minutes then I got to go.

STANDING-IN-THE-SHADOWS: MAKING-VISIBLE-INVISIBLNESS-OR BRINGING-TO APPEARANCE THE EFFECTS OF ISOLATIONISM.

Being human involves establishing relationships that may be good or bad, or both. In this process of people becoming familiar to each other, warts, blemishes, stutters, slowly become unnoticed and somehow 'fade' becoming somehow or less than they were. It is not until we are reminded, maybe by someone else, perhaps by seeing the same trait in another person, or by the person acting in an 'uncharacteristic' way, that they become totally 'visible' to us. Each of the participants in the study have experienced this process of becoming slowly insignificant or 'invisible' to significant others in their lives. Their identity was not so much a matter of individuality but of a deprivation of connectedness, through which both the self and the other were mutually defined. While the study did not explore how this happened it did identify that the result of becoming invisible to others impacted on how a person interacted with authority. Being thrust into 'visibleness' to authority, by doing something or being someone, had the effect of putting up yet another mask and increasing yet further their pervading sense of invisibleness. To survive in this world of remoteness each participant turned away from their early foundation of authority, their family, and further distancing from authority grew with them as they developed as a person.

I had a problem with my family, certain things happened in my life between me and my parents that made me feel that I was just a burden to them and that they

were better off if I wasn't around.

So I lived my life thinking that I was a burden, you know and therefore I couldn't give a stuff about them, because that's how I think they honestly thought about me.

I thought my father had no more authority over me, you know. No one's got authority over me. I just got totally reckless.

The consequence of being isolated was a slow shift in visibility in their horizons and their future became devoid of possibilities. The uncertain future with its double standards in behaviour of authority and absence of trust became confusing and fearful for them.

Now what happened with my mother that just really, shocked me, really shocked me, that I would actually hit my mother, it just blew me away.

They say, 'you should get the Police', No I won't, because I do not trust them. Ah, and then the next thing is to get a lawyer, and I won't, because lawyers have lied, and the next thing is to go up against a Judge, and I'm scared because I have no faith in Judges.

The problem is people labelled them like that, they act like that and then that's why there are those who don't belong.

With formal authority seen as examples of authority to be mistrusted, feared and put aside, it was still necessary, once accepted in the gang, for members to struggle with being visible to each other.

That's the only thing I ever wanted, (to join a gang) that's the only thing I ever dreamed about, that was my **only** vision was jist ta have, put those colours on my back, tattoo it in there even, become part of it. That's the only dream I had, it's jist in the blood eh... There was some there that weren't, ya know... they were jist eggs, they didn't like ya so they jist smashed ya over all the time... Ya jist had ta fire up against them... ya know.

Being invisible in the family was seen as an intense longing to be 'gifted' a place where you matter, where you can be much more than an offender, the one who fails visibly to live-a-life.

In society, invisibility is seen as being placed in a dry empty 'desert' allocated for gang members to live in.

What society says is and um we cannot rehabilitate them.

They're the ones who are looked at as... always doing illegal activities. Um gun smuggling or having wars, fire arms or anything to do with drugs. Um they're in the papers, they're assaulting people, um intimidation um manipulation, things like that, but when you really get to know them they're just the same as the basic individual that you see out in society. The problem is people labelled them like that, they act like that, they don't know how to approach them. There are a lot of gang members who have got 'mokos' and tattoos all over their faces, insignias, when you really talk to them you'll find out their attitude and their personality is different to how they look.

The participants learned that the lifestyle they had chosen brought them into an intimacy of nakedness both physically and emotionally with authority. Authority expected them to 'grin and bear' the consequences of their mutual interactions. This hidden violence was a process of humiliation and disempowerment by authority which in turn reinforced their invisibleness.

The police, growing up in the younger years, I had a couple of strip searches in the, in the prison cells, the only thing with the strip search was um not just the taking off of clothes ... but then um... they go through your clothes... but then um... quite often I had to turn around... do a three sixty, sometimes they used to make you squat... those were quite ah... humiliating sorts of ah experiences, when you had to do things like that in front of two or three officers you know and there's just sort of you...

Teacher told me, he wanted to speak to me about it...and he and he he didn't ask me if I had done it, he said that I had done it... I told him that it wasn't me, and he tried to drag me off to the office, and I wouldn't go, he started then to let go of my clothes and started dragging me by my hair, and I told him to let go of me and he wouldn't and so, then I just, I just lost it and I ended up punching him, and um, and he landed on the ground and I just ran home, I just left school straight away and I ran home... it

was really ugly, this was one time in my life where where I was you know innocent, I hadn't spoken or callen on any names, sure they asked my side of it but it [decision] was already reached before, I just felt, I, I felt humiliated at the final meeting because they they spoke down to me, they didn't talk to me, they spoke down to me and I just, I just broke into tears and I ran out of the room.

I um found it quite hard to to go to [prison] and be told when I was going to eat, told when I was going to get up. I was relying upon the prison officers to open the door to let me go to the toilet, um... you know everything had to be... I had to ask, I had to ask. I felt I got a lot harder toward [authority] social workers, police, headmasters, and teachers, to me I just put them all on the same level. The one common denominator that I saw that they all had was they were white, that was the one thing that just sort of stuck out.

Standing-in-the-shadows, suggests that when interaction with authority occurs for this groups, what-appears-to-be-is-not-what-is. Masks are put in place that cover invisibleness and reflect not what is necessarily real, but what is called-into-being-as-appropriate for interaction.

STANDING-IN-THE-LIGHT: GAME-AND-THE-WAY-OF-BEING

Heidegger (1927/1962), describes the encountering of others as that *Dasein* which is in each case one's own. For him, others do not mean 'everyone else but me' or, 'those over against whom the I stands out'. But are rather those from whom one does not distinguish oneself. A being-there-too or being-present-at-hand. Being with an 'other' provides a place that either leaps in and dominates or leaps ahead and liberates the other, you stand in the 'light' or stand in the 'shadow', you become wholly visible to the other or invisible to them. When the participants encounter this world of 'others' what emerges for them is a kind of Game that must be played. They recognise

that this Game does not exist primarily for the players but for the viewers and has its being not in the consciousness or actions of the players but draws consciousness and action into its own realm as a self defining movement of being into which they enter.

Being Spectators

The participants were caught up in a special kind of game as spectators who observed the overpowering events of the game, and strove to understand what the meaning of the games was. While most participants played the game from the sidelines, you gain the distinct impression that when they were more involved in it they had a sense of playing on an uneven playing field,

I couldn't figure out how one person could have assaulted fifteen people, when it was he who had the bruises to show for it. But I let it go ...ah well, you know.

I was to confront them any way and any how I could. And try and get away with it.

But it never really succeeded. I wasn't very good at it because, um I only clicked on later on how to play it.

In prison the game was played between wardens and prisoners and was voluntary, if you didn't play, however, you were penalised and this resulted in a sense of injustice.

They'd tell me to do something and I would tell them you know 'you go fucking do it.' It was only because, I just didn't wanna um... play the game... where they ruled the roost... basically they told you what to do and you did it. And um... if you didn't do it well then you weren't playing their game. And so therefore it resulted in um... you were... being put on charges.

It just reinforced that it was, you know this was their place, this was their game and they had ev... they just had it all, you know. And I had no say at all about it.

The Game was autonomous and seeable by both the participants and authority. Palmer (1969), refers to this reality as *die Sache selbst*, the way

things are, the 'truth of being' transfused 'into an image of a truth of being' and outworked as events. It transmits the overpowering reality of what is intended, and is played with a holy kind of seriousness.

Um, some are better at playing it than others, um, I wasn't very good at it because, um I only clicked on later on how to play it. But earlier on in my teens right up till my early twenties I didn't know how to play my game very well.

My game was always to fight in a team, you know. Only over the years I learned that there are other ways to play the game.

Participating in the Game

Within the gang they learned to play and understand a game with unwritten rules, these appeared to be highly contextualised and confusing.

Not hitting back you were meant to show respect to them. But then by hitting back, it in a sense, sort of showed more respect because you were like, standing up...and so like although he told you to do something, you says 'no', and then he started hitting you, umm... by not hitting him back then you were meant to show that respect but umm especially throughout the prospectors, if you got into him, well then um, there was more respect... I know that sounds sort of a bit funny but it's just the way it was.

The Games of One-up-man-ship emerged as a cunning psychological war where: if you win (you have put one over), and if you lose (oh well! that's life). Playing this game necessitated what was sometimes an irksome outward change in behaviour for the participants. However, the spin off reaped pleasing benefits and this engendered a feeling of participating in a game and of scoring points.

I learned that I had to watch what I said to them. So I couldn't jist go an say 'ah fuck you, ya pig,' I began ta say it in another way. Some way that I could get smart at him, but that he couldn't charge me for it it was within the, the rules... their rules. They couldn't do anything about it after awhile... an I was within the law.... so it was a bit, a hard case eh... That's how, ya know, it took me a few times to get outta the

pound, ya know ta come up with the right things ta say ta them... It was the real laugh but ah ... an they gave me the power, an they gave me the fun and they didn't have ta write anything on my charges saying that I'd been a bad boy or anything like that... so I had it sweet after that.

[Teacher] we'd jist all get smart at 'em at different times ya know and he'd jist get pissed off an pissed off and pissed off and pissed off till he couldn't handle it no more and then he'd jist move on. Ya know, so we got a teacher we like.

Disillusionment in the game was revealed as the realisation that imposition by authority in any form resulted in a sense of uselessness and pointlessness but... jail's nothin.... It's jist a separate world....ya do everthin out here a hard, and... do what ya want in there... what's that though... that's not ... apart from that.... it's just a waste of time... Jail's a realer world than this world will ever be, but it's jist... ya miss out on a few times, a few years for ya crime..

They jist come, make up rules that they never exist jist because they know you don't know the rules. But that's when they make up little... little rules of their own, say 'how this fella doesn't know this section, we'll jist slap them all on him all the time..'. Well where's that section, that doesn't even apply, they got the rules memorised.

STANDING-IN-THE-LIGHT : UNCOVERING THE MEANING OF LANGUAGE

The Living Colours of Language

Language expresses identity and is integral to the development of identity. It is the primary means by which we gather, communicate meaning and information. It is essential for living in society

Reading, writing, listening and speaking are closely inter-related. Growth in any one of these four modes of language is dependent upon and leads to development in each of the other (R7 Language and Arts, 1982, p11).

The first and most important use of language is to communicate with others and verbal communication is central to learning. Words empower us, they enable us to define reality or create it. Through the telling our experiences

or the listening to others, we enlarge our lives. Talking and listening are two sides to the act of communication.

The Secret Colours

Language brought to appearance unutterable secrets that were embedded in interaction with authority and with this appearance, a complex ambiguity enabled the participants to unravel what was for them incoherent. This was seen in their ability to become disconnected from the normalcy of living and normalise the abnormal.

Well all my uncles were molesting me. Not in a harmful way but they used to make me strip all my clothes down and they'd do their thing, but that went on for years... And I tried to tell my parents about that (voice trembles) but they didn't really listen. Have you ever seen that movie Beauty and the Beast? That ... that, that, that fella that lives underground because of his look... I looked that... exactly like that the next day.

The Colour of Illiteracy: A variation of language

For one participant, illiteracy provided a deafening clamour of frustration. It was apparent that life experiences had interfered with his processes of learning to live-a-life in the personal and community world into which he was born and these occurred quite early.

That's the first thing I learned when I was when I went ta school I 'spose was gang. His story emerges from a non verbal or 'clamour' of hostility, hatred, distrust, fear, alienation, avoidance, and repugnance. These are initially thrust into one's awareness as you look *at* Jeffrey's story, but when you let the shout of an inarticulate tongue die down, and look *along* it you see revealed the frustration of having the resource of a few or inappropriate words to tell his stories. The tension for a person embedded this position of 'I'm in here and I can't get out' creates an inexpressible violence to himself and leads to him become more enclosed in a bitter self. Although he invests constantly into his insatiable world of language he finds that the reward is a frustration of sense making of communication. He does insist that you stop

and hear him, as he talks with the language of illiteracy's eloquence of silence.

Locked-in-Memory: A circle of alienation

His illiteracy is revealed as experiences of being rejected or not being valued and he cloaks them in a fierce remoteness. As he traces the 'violence' of his school days we find that 'authority' contributed to his alienation by punishing him indirectly through withdrawal of privilege, praise and emotional warmth,

[Teachers] they already had their students, ya know. They jist threw all of us in one classroom... ya know... they already had their students that they wanted ta turn out so they didn't really care about what we done... we could jist sit there an draw pictures all day if we wanted ta... ya know.

Sue- How did that make you feel?

Choice. I rather be doing that than rackin my brain over something I didn't understand... ya know... I didn't care ... that was alright.... that was easy... jist sit there and draw all day or ya know... do what ever ya wanted ta do... go out an play rugby out the back... stay there all day.

Sue- Did you ever feel you weren't as good as the others or...

If they [teachers] wanted ta do that, well we had a different path I had a different path. What I wanted ta be was ta be ah in a gang, ya know, so that's that's in my vision... they had their visions... ya know... my vision was, was there for me ... yeah
But if you don't give a fuck well it doesn't really matter then, ya know.

What is revealed here is what each of the participants expressed in their stories. A desire to be seen as individual, to belong, to matter to others, and so usurp the sense of purposelessness of their unrealised potential.

The Language of Paradox: A further variation of language

We see from the story of another participant the importance of language as he relates to us his way of being in the world. In a similar manner to Jourdain's Paradox (1913), we find that there is no irrefutable way in which

one can say, 'This is the person that I find revealed in this story'.

Jourdain's Paradox

The statement on the other side of this card is true.

The statement on the other side of this card is false.

LIFT

Neither of these statements taken separately is problematic. It is only when they are taken together a paradox is created. When the second sentence is framed by the first, we suddenly find that the first is framed by the second. We must embrace the art of balancing opposites in such a way that they do not cancel each other out.

A Living Paradox.

As I attempted to understand what it has been like for one participant to interact with authority as a gang member, I became tangled in strange loops and jumbled hierarchies that existed between various explicit statements. It was easy to make the mistake of looking *at* what is said, instead of looking *along* it at what emerges. Taken together each of these statements reveal a rich paradox of the lived experience of interaction, taken separately we stumble into contradictions. In the manner of Jourdain's paradox, the following eight excerpts are intended to enable you to consider this for yourself:

[authority within the gangs] you got one designated leader which sets that example to you, tells you what to do and you gotta do it exactly what he says and at the same time that leader looks after you.

LIFT

Ah, no one's gonna dominate me...even when they see me in the gangs...they even that the gangs weren't telling me what to do, I was with the gang, I had president who was higher than me, but I, I, I, not out of disrespect, I wasn't listening, it's just that I couldn't listen.

well, I, I, I, was going to prison for ah, all sorts of crimes, you can name it I've done it . I'm not saying I'm proud of it, I'm saying that I've done it, you know, at the same time I'm learning to cope with it, as in being out here, and getting rid of that sort of way of thinking.

LIFT

The thing is I've overtaken the whole lot of them [family] in the sense I've mastered more crime and I've done more crime and my history's worse than them. I've done more years in prison than them at the same time. I've got all the qualifications they haven't,

It's just that only just recently just in the, I've been out three months now, just recently, two and a half months ago, I'd forgiven my whole family, um seventeen years I've been locked up in prison,

LIFT

I felt like an outcast, I've writ a letter to my parents and no one else has ever done that in my family, and I disowned the whole lot of them... I told them that they're not my parents.

No matter who the person is, you must respect them, and that's why I say, I show common courtesy to all those who work for the law,

LIFT

I just hit back and that's exactly what I did .and it got to the stage where about ten or fifteen [police] had to stop me ... they restrained me...took me to the Police station and wanted to carry it on, but by this time I was black and blue, big thick lips, puffed up eyes, bleeding nose, knocked up.

He tells his story of encountering heroic paradoxes that ask us to see both as his reality.

Standing-in-the-light for the participant revealed an involvement of being spectators and participators in a Game where they were visible to others. It also uncovered meanings of language that involved not only secrets but how illiteracy and paradoxes express eloquently the cacophony of language that clamours for our attention but frustrates us by dying away into silence when we attend to it.

CONSTITUTIVE PATTERN

CREATING PLACES: KEEPING OPEN A FUTURE OF POSSIBILITIES

Each of the participants express a desire and ability to grasp their own

possibilities for being within the context of their own lifeworld.

But because of all my, um all my incidences with authority, I do not trust Police, I do not trust lawyers and I have no faith in Judges. So therefore, you know, I think I've had it.

Their stories uncovered numerous incidents which distanced them further and further from authority in their experience of interaction. What is revealed is that they are searching for people and places to give meaning to their experience of living a life. There is especially a longing to be visible and matter to others. Often the meaning of their 'lived experience' of living-a-life is hidden from them and appears to close them up, as the windows-of-opportunity or the possibilities that have the potential to enhance their way of being, remain obscure or elude them.

Going Into The Future Backwards

As the participants present to us their perceptions of themselves they revealed something that was very important and significant to them, they asked us to look-deep-along-at-me-not-just-at-acts-I-do.

And that's basically why I'm doing things like I am now because of the qualifications that I've got, um. **Sometimes, you know it seem to me that it's one big act.** But then again why I say that is because I've got my acting certificate for acting.

Creating a future that is open to possibilities for this fringe group requires that we 'leap-ahead' to create a place for them that is free from preconceptions. These possibilities involve what Heidegger (1962), calls to-ing and fro-ing by those involved so that a place can be continually created by and for them. Their world involves a process of building and re building of their identity backwards from the present, to the past, often unaware of the significance of some the 'building' materials.

I just sometimes feel that maybe, um in the eyes of the people who are listening, that I'm exaggerating, or I'm making it up. But at the same time to me it's not make

believe, it's actually real, it's reality ...

Being open to future possibilities involved for the participants not so much rebelling or conflicting violently with authority but in being able to live-their-life the way they prefer, consciously choosing, not stumbling upon a way-of-living. The need to make connections for the future, is particularly revealed in Rebecca's story. The hidden connections of invisible threads, when in a major point in her dialogue, she tells us something that may be interpreted as a key to all her future relationships, though in the telling of it no apparent connection is made.

Ah... I can remember when I was ten and my uncle tried to get into [molest] me but when he died, I just saw relief.

Her impulse toward freedom or relief, in death, is made visible by this key which seeks not so much self destruction but relief from the hopeless web-of-entanglement of her life.

I just feel like killing the whole hurt, ending it all like um... we went drinking one night and he [partner] just kept putting me down, pushing me here and there and it got so extreme that I, I ended up just jumping out of the car when it was moving, cause it (voice trembles) too extreme for me. And when he saw me lying there on the ground hurt,(voice trembles) all he could say was 'Nah, take that, you gonna do it again?' 'Go on get your arse back in that car'. He just made me feel like more shit, more hurt.

She comes to recognise that instead of embarking on this destructive journey of escape from 'authority' she can find a different route that will enable her to regain some power over what is happening in her life.

An I ain't never gonna do that again (sniff) pack up my gears and move my boys again and he's never gonna see me.

Creating a future that is open to possibilities entails looking along the experience of interaction with authority to reveal a dichotomy of being. By setting their own course in relationships and associations the failure to connect and relate various experiences to one another reduces. One of the

more startling incidences in the interviews that related to the future was the realisation that being visible or unmasked in the sense of becoming a father startled the participant into finding that not only was he going to be found by a child, but he was also to become authority to be interacted with.

This girl I was living with at the time... she got pregnant, eh, and then, um those thoughts, um you know, 'I'm gonna be a dad, what sort of a dad can I be?' started freaking me out, eh. You know.

Realising that the future is a *happening*, that his life unfolds as a result of his actions and brings consequences that are observable in the wider context of living a life, creates for him opportunities that have the potential to open or close off his future emerges from his stories..

The findings of the interviews reveal various experiences of interaction with authority that are viewed together as themes of violence, dominance, betrayal, submission and manifestation. They are linked into the relational themes of Standing in the Shadows, with the ensuing masking and invisibility of people, and Standing in the Light, where people become visible in the sense of playing a game, and in the uncovering the meanings embedded in language. Then finally as the constitutive pattern which expresses the importance of creating a future that is open to possibilities for people within our society. The findings, when examined together express what is the essence or core of the phenomenon of interaction with authority for this fringe group.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The mob philosophy is - give it or we'll take it (Payne, 1990, p33).



DISCUSSION

Our society consists of not only the insiders who 'fit' but also those who dwell on the fringe, who are somehow not quite acceptable in some way. 'Insiders' generally pay fringe dwellers little heed until interaction of some kind occurs between them. Quite often the 'insiders' find that they are surprised or startled by the fringe dwellers, they become what Lewis (1945), alludes to as 'a dream strayed into daylight', the outsiders are suddenly visible, suddenly knowable, suddenly realisable.

If we consider as Maddocks (1980), does, that community is necessary for existence and for forming social bonds with each other, and we are aware from the participant's stories that gangs do not find in our society, security and a sense of belonging, then we must recognize that their need for community will be met in isolation from the rest of society, within an alternative community. There in their isolation they will develop a deep sense of belonging, be able to 'participate', be valued by significant others in the group and form attachments to a moral albeit anomic community.

It is important to consider the part that society plays in the formation of gangs. The most frequent consideration of gangs made by society is that they are different and it is this theme of difference, whatever the differences are represented to be, that is useful to society. Any natural feature or interaction which can be attributed to this difference is used to confine them within the boundaries of a gang 'nature'. So that when a fringe group like a gang becomes visible to society, particularly when there is conflict which is usually violent, the natural reaction of society is to close off to them, contain

them away from the 'norm' and close off their future to possibilities.

Does conflict occur because the future is closed off to possibilities for them by society or do they, by rejecting a contradictory society, close off their own future? Perhaps an answer can be found by considering, like Lewis (1945), that in looking *at* and looking *along* a phenomenon that together these two perspectives provide the more accurate account.

Interaction with authority involved not only experiencing interaction at a precise fixable moment in time, but the phenomenon continued in their lives each time they connected the experience with their present experience of living a life and ultimately it will continue to determine in some way their future interaction.

A central feature of their stories revealed a paradoxical view of living in society, and what should also be remembered is that inherent in gangs is a wide range of emotions, thoughts and actions that the members themselves experience as contradictory. It is important to emphasize that the contradictory aspects of gang life have both experiential and reflective elements to them. These contradictions occur in both what a gang member experiences as actually happening to them in society and how these experiences are thought about or framed. The issue of framing versus the reality of the experience itself, is important. It is from this perspective base that reality is interpreted. Garfinkel (1967), found that there were practical methods of reasoning used by people to sort and assign meaning to everyday experiences. He established that people attach meaning to their respective experiences by repeatedly engaging in categorizing a thing or event as real. He observed that they then reclassify their earlier categorization in the light of the more recent categories. In other words, they engage and re-engage in using their historical experience as much as they are beset by it. What HHA uncovers is the experience of gang interaction with authority, the way in which it has been framed or categorized and re categorized by the

participants and reveals how they live their life in our society.

As the participants relived their stories they not only allowed the extraction and comparison of various influences in their lived experience of interaction with authority to emerge, but the experience had at times therapeutic value for them as well. The recognition that their stories were important and of value empowered the participants to give value and credence to themselves as they described their encounters. Comparing this with other research techniques that strictly guide what information is elicited and therefore what information has value, resulted in a study with unique benefits and insights for society.

Their narratives provided a reservoir of shared cultural and historical meanings that related to a personal commitment to their community. In our rationalist western society with its fierce defence of individualism and rights to be, there is often a struggle to find commonality. These stories are audible voices that are not usually heard. There is a tendency for the 'insider' to speak for them, creating a future that is not always open to possibilities.

The participants in the study were asked to bring to the research question a reflective self awareness which was in a sense unaware of itself. It was through bringing this awareness to the research that we are permitted to see people in gangs as a group of people who differ from everyone else. We, as everyone else, have an idea of what a gang member is, but it is a different matter to come to a reflective understanding of them. Their stories permitted us to engage in reflective understanding of their experience of living-a-life and identified the cultural and historical factors that were involved. Understanding the meaning or essence of their experiences of interaction with authority is not a simple matter and it is through reflecting on the themes, the linking of the relational themes and the constitutive pattern that understanding and explication emerge of what it is like for them

to interact with authority.

The deep sense of 'self' and 'other' that was encountered by the participants as they told their stories was often a profoundly moving experience which involved not so much 'making' something happen but 'encountering' it. The experience was brought into their 'being' and continually constitutes who they are and how they interact. For each participant, the telling of their experience was periodically silenced by a stillness of reflecting on their experience. It was a silence that they appeared to use to find meaning or significance. Relating the findings to a subset of gang members provided not only confirmation of what was found in the study but resulted in an interesting reflection on their part of the possible purposes for being invisible. The subset considered that at times it was necessary to retreat into the shroud of invisibility in order to become visible. It was from their invisibility that they learned how to play the game, to take stock of where they were, to analyse changes to rules, to 'get what they wanted'.

Although this concept did not emerge in the original texts of the research, they agreed that they used their status of standing-in-the-shadows as much as they used their standing-in-the-light when they interacted with authority. I found this concept to be startlingly perceptive of how some gang members interpret their lifeworlds and provides evidence of the paradoxes and dichotomies been mentioned in the findings.

IMPLICATIONS

Through discovering and understanding the meanings embedded in the experience of the participants, their practical lifeworld was made visible as stories that were important to them and us. By reliving what was held in their memory they either, reconfirmed the meanings embedded in it, added to the understanding of their experiences, or they took the opportunity to

look at something that was painful in their lives. Diekelmann (1987), observes that this is a positive process and my observations confirm her findings.

And that's the only way we can advance or expand -- is to be exposed and then do something about that exposure, in some way (Diekelmann, 1987, p25)

It is through this process of making visible our expectations of each other that our shared ways of behaving reveal us to each other. Dieklemann (1991), describes Teachers as Learners and Learners as Teachers and in doing so expresses the limits and boundaries of our humanness. It is these limits and boundaries that enable us to empower and care for each other. Gang interaction with authority is an area fraught with cultural, and historical misunderstandings and has the potential for perpetuating harmful isolation practices as our society struggles with the need to preserve the rights of personhood alongside the rights of being a community. Understanding fringe group interaction with authority must involve providing a place for them where they can safely remove the 'mask' and become visible to authority. A place where they can stand-in-the-light and contribute without confusion to the Game-of-Life and continually link the meanings of language to their living a life of paradox. Separating, alienating, dislocating, regarding fringe groups like gangs with indifference admits a failure of the 'we' in society.

In C.S. Lewis' book, *Till We Have Faces*, the main character provides the reader with a view of life from behind a veil which she uses to cover her 'ugliness'. Nobody is permitted to see her face and the result is, her real face is eventually forgotten, even by herself. It is not until the end that we, through her eyes, see her face and find that her veil has been concealing the terrible truth of a woman of great beauty and worth.

We too may be startled to look into the real faces of gang members and find people of great value and worth and beauty.

As you have read this thesis you may have come to realise that many of the dilemmas and experiences that have been articulated in it are similar not only to each other, but you may also have recognized elements of your own interactions with authority. Embedded in our stories and theirs are shared understandings of how we approach and participate in this phenomenon. We have seen the impact of authority on the participant's lives as they encounter common every day problems. Perhaps their stories enable us to identify the desire of the human race for fusion, rather than isolation and separation.

We have a choice to consider this research in the light of what Heidegger (1927), calls 'the tradition of disinterested knowledge' or we can consider it an exercise in learning and reciprocity.

Heidegger (1927), established that understanding is the power to grasp one's own possibilities for being within the context of one's own lifeworld. It is not a special capacity or gift for feeling into the situation of another person nor is it the power to grasp the meaning of some expression of life on a deeper level. It is not something to be possessed but a mode or constituent element of being-in-the-world. Understanding identity is not a matter of individuality but of connectedness in which both self and 'other' exist as members of a community.

The power of recognizing the self in the other makes both historian and man into constructors of community (Chambers,1994, p34,35).

Stories are important to understanding reality, they are the oldest form of building a history and culture. Storytelling is the medium by which knowledge, skill, roles and values are transferred from one generation to the next. Particular stories call us to accountability, particularly stories of conflict, oppression and exclusion, they reveal an expression of marginality at the level of everyday life through oppositional and transformative consciousness. These accounts of interaction with authority enable gangs to

claim and make their own histories using their speaking voices not ours. They also open windows for authority, creating a 'clearing' of understanding that can be used to connect to the life world of fringe groups in society, permitting them to be and have a world that is less isolation and closed to a future of possibilities.

CONCLUSION

The study brings to light important processes and interactions that deserve more specific attention by our authority institutions and by those who plan and establish policies for social services in our society.

It also reveals the importance of creating a future that is open to possibilities for gangs and by implication any fringe group.

By uncovering a gang member's lived experience of interaction with authority and what they have found to be meaningful, a deeper understanding and affirmation of the self may be realised with benefits for both the gang members and authorities. Services by authorities may become more appropriate, more acceptable, more accessible and display a deeper appreciation of the needs of those who access them. Resulting in fruitful interactions for all concerned .

APPENDIX 1

This letter follows on from initial personal contact with participant.

Dear...

I am writing this letter to give you some information about the study that I talked to you about.

In a recent interview on the T.V.N.Z. 'Fraser' show, Harry Tam replied to a question about how gangs are viewed by the public, he said...

'there is a general perception that gang (prospects) are involved in negative things. That's simply not true and as long as the media conveys just one side of it, it becomes truth. There are some positive things that happen, it's important that the public are made aware of that.'

It seems to me that Harry's reply about people needing to be made aware of not just the negative things about gangs is important.

The research that I am doing (and you if you should choose to be part of it) is a chance for you to tell of your experience in any way that you wish. It is being done under the supervision of Massey University and is part of a Master's Thesis.

We (you and I) will be looking at what you experience when you interact with authority. I will not be 'checking' your experience to see if it matches the authority's version, they are not even part of the study. I am only interested in how it was for you.

The research will be limited to people who are part of and have a link with *The Gang*

There will be no more than 10 people taking part and you will all be answering the same question. Each person's answer will be recorded and studied and you and I may need to discuss your answers at a later date so that you can correct anything that I have not understood properly. To protect your identity your real name will not be used in this study and I will need you to think of a name (or number) that you would like to be known as. You and I will be the only people who will know who you are.

If you would like to be part of this study please would you read and sign both the consent forms that are with this letter. One consent form is for you to keep the other is for me. (There is a stamped addressed envelope for you to send me my copy in.)

Please feel free to ask me to explain anything that I have not made clear about this study. I look forward to hearing from you shortly.

Yours

Sue Manley

APPENDIX 2

*This letter acknowledges the participants agreement to be part of the study.
It was sent with the Consent Form (Appendix 3).*

Dear...

Thanks for agreeing to be part of this study.

This letter is also to let you know that your interview with me will be at ——(place) —— on the
————— at ——(time)

(If you can't make it please ring me collect at my home 06-358 9574 or at Massey University:
Development Studies- 06- 356 9099. extension 8801)

I am interested in finding out as much as possible about your experience with authority and the
question that we will discuss is,

***What has it been like for you when on any occasion and for any reason, you have interacted
with authority?***

The reason I am asking this question is to find out the kinds of things that you feel or experience
when you meet with authority. Anything about your experiences that have meaning for you, how
it has been for you, what it feels like for you, stories that you have of things that have happened
to you or maybe concerns that you have as a result of interaction with authority.

Your thoughts on this experience are important and valuable to me.

Yours

Sue Manley.

APPENDIX 3

Consent Form

I agree to be part of a private interview and to say what it is like or what happens to me when I interact with authority. I have read the letter telling me about the study and agree:

1. That the interview will take place where and when I want.
2. That the interview will be from 60- 90 minutes and it is all right to tape record it.
3. That the tape will be kept locked up by the researcher until after the study and then it will be destroyed.
4. That my name and any other information that will identify me will not be used in the study.
5. That the written version of the interview will be seen only by the research associates.
6. That my signature means that I agree to information from the interview being used in publishing research articles, books, teaching materials and talks.
7. That I am willing to advise the researcher about the meaning of something she doesn't understand in the interview.
8. That I can contact the researcher if I want to know anything about the study.
9. That I can stop being in the study at any time.
10. That a brief account of the research will be sent to me when the study is finished.

Name _____

Signed _____ Date _____

APPENDIX 4

The Human Ethics Committee of Massey University and the scholarly method for studying human subjects required me to preserve anonymity of the participants and the gang involved. It should be noted here that it was not the desire of all of the participants to be anonymous and this resulted in an ethical dilemma for the researcher. Bearing in mind that the findings of the study show a tendency for fringe groups like gangs to become in various ways 'invisible' when they interact with authority, this study provided them with an opportunity to be made known or visible to us, and to willingly remove their masks. Ironically, I have had to comply with the requirements of an 'authority' and have imposed invisibility on them, yet again.

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