

THE 'EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES':

THE ROLE OF THE WESTERN AUSTRALIAN PRESS AND STATE GOVERNMENT IN SELLING THE STORY OF THE NORTHBRIDGE CURFEW

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONS TO MEDIA PROFESSIONALS

Reporters

Reporters from *The West Australian* and *The Sunday Times* who wrote articles about Northbridge and/or the curfew were asked the following questions:

1. Can you describe how you would typically go about getting a story?
2. How did the organisational culture impact upon your work at *The West Australian/ The Sunday Times*?
3. How would you describe *The West Australian's/ The Sunday Times'* culture and values?
4. Please describe your day-to-day interactions with the Government Media Office while working at *The West Australian/ The Sunday Times*.
5. How did departmental and Ministerial media offices impact upon your work?
6. What do you believe are the key challenges facing journalists in reporting on indigenous affairs?
7. What impact, if any, have the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommendations to media had on the way you are required to report on indigenous affairs?

8. What challenges did the Northbridge report pose for you as a journalist?
9. What were your objectives when writing the attached story/ies? (reporter's individual story/ies)
10. Were there any editorial influences in the decision on what line to take?
11. Were there any government influences?
12. Would you like to make any other comments regarding State Government/media relations and reporting on the curfew policy?

Editors

The former editors of *The West Australian* and current editor of *The Sunday Times* were asked the following questions:

1. How would you describe your role and objectives as editor of *The West Australian/The Sunday Times*?
2. Does *The West Australian/ The Sunday Times* have an ideological position and, if so, how would you describe it?
3. What role do you believe *The West Australian/The Sunday Times* should play in the community?
4. How do/did you judge success?
5. How would you describe the influence of public opinion on news content?
6. What interaction do/did you have with government sources and what impact, if any, did this have on your news agenda?

7. How would you assess the Government Media Office's performance in promoting its agenda in *The West Australian/The Sunday Times*?
8. How would you assess your performance in promoting your agenda within government?
9. How do/did you choose the content and angle of your editorial opinion pieces?
10. What do you believe are the key challenges in reporting on indigenous affairs?
11. What impact, if any, did the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommendations to media have on your organisation?
12. Were reporters given any specific protocols to guide them in their dealings with indigenous people and their treatment of indigenous issues?
13. The *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002) highlighted that there were many factors to be considered in addressing community safety in the precinct. Why did *The West Australian/The Sunday Times* focus on the issue of indigenous youth?
14. Would you like to make any other comments regarding State Government/media relations and the reporting on Northbridge and the curfew policy?

Other

The political reporter with ABC News who participated in this study was asked the following questions:

1. Looking at the various influences on reporting, how would you describe the way in which organisational culture and values impact on journalists?
2. Does 'public opinion' exert an influence on reporting? If so, how?
3. Does government exert an influence on reporting? If so, how?
4. How would you assess the Government Media Office's performance in promoting its agenda among the media?
5. How would you assess the media's performance in promoting its agenda within government?
6. What impact, if any, have the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommendations to media had on the reporting of indigenous affairs?
7. The *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002) highlighted that there were many factors to be considered in addressing community safety in the precinct. Why do you think the media focused on the question of indigenous youth?
8. What journalistic challenges do complex issues such as Northbridge pose?
9. How would you describe your interactions with the Government Media Office (including departmental and Ministerial offices)?

10. Would you like to make any other comments regarding State Government/media relations and the reporting of the curfew policy?

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Government media advisers

Government media advisers were asked the following questions:

1. What do you consider to be the primary responsibilities and objectives of a government media adviser?
2. How do you go about promoting your Minister's agenda to the media?
3. How does your perception of public opinion impact upon your approach?
4. What are the main challenges you face in promoting your Minister's agenda to the media?
5. What was the broad political context in which the Northbridge curfew policy was developed?
6. What role did you play in developing and implementing the accompanying media strategy and what did it entail?
7. How would you assess the ensuing media coverage of the curfew policy?
8. The *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002) highlighted that there were many factors to be considered in addressing community safety in the precinct. Why did the State Government focus on the issue of indigenous youth?

Senior official, Government Media Office (GMO)

The senior official at the GMO who participated in this study was asked the following questions:

1. How would you describe the mission of the GMO?
2. What are the main qualities you look for in a government media adviser?
3. How do you promote your agenda to media?
4. What are the main challenges the GMO faces in promoting the government agenda to media?
5. How sensitive is government to public opinion and how does this impact upon government policy?
6. What was the broad political context in which the Northbridge curfew was developed?
7. How did you develop the accompanying media strategy and what did it entail?
8. How would you assess the print media's coverage of the curfew policy?
9. The *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002) highlighted that there were many factors to be considered in addressing community safety in the precinct. Why did government focus on the issue of indigenous youth?

Senior official, Office of Crime Prevention (OCP)

The senior official at the OCP who participated in this study was asked the following questions:

1. The *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002) highlighted that there were many factors to be considered in addressing community safety in the precinct. Why did the Government focus on the issue of indigenous youth?
2. How was the curfew policy developed?
3. What was your role in developing the media strategy to accompany the curfew policy and what did it entail?
4. How would you assess the media coverage of the curfew policy?
5. What other policies have been introduced to address the issues raised in the Northbridge report?

Author, *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report

The author of the *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report was asked the following questions:

1. What did you think of the media's coverage of your report?
2. What contacts did you have with the media regarding your report?
3. How would you assess the Government's response to the recommendations in your report?

4. What was your involvement in the development of the curfew policy?
5. How would you assess this policy?
6. What did you think of the media's coverage of the curfew policy?

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONS TO KEY INDIVIDUALS WORKING WITH INDIGENOUS YOUTH IN NORTHBRIDGE

State Manager, Mission Australia (MA)

The State Manager of MA was asked the following questions:

1. What are the role and objectives of Mission Australia?
2. What was your involvement in the development of the
Northbridge: Shaping the Future report (March 2002) and its
recommendations?
3. The Northbridge report stressed the need to support welfare
organisations with ongoing funding. Has this been secured?
4. What are the main issues you deal with as part of your work in
Northbridge?
5. How would you assess the Government's response to the report's
recommendations?
6. What was your involvement in the development of the curfew
policy?
7. How has the curfew policy assisted your operations?
8. What did you think of the media coverage of the Northbridge
report and the curfew policy?

Chief Executive Officer, Nyoongar Patrol

The Chief Executive Officer of the Nyoongar Patrol was asked the following questions:

1. What are the role and objectives of the Nyoongar Patrol?
2. What was your involvement in the development of the *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002) and its recommendations?
3. The Northbridge report stressed the need to support the Nyoongar Patrol with ongoing funding. Has this been secured?
4. What are the main issues you deal with as part of your work in Northbridge?
5. How would you assess the Government's response to the report's recommendations?
6. What was your involvement in the development of the curfew policy?
7. How has the curfew policy assisted your operations?
8. What did you think of the media coverage of the Northbridge report and the curfew policy?

**Research Fellow, Crime Research Centre, the University of
Western Australia (UWA)**

The Research Fellow with the Crime Research Centre at UWA was asked the following questions:

1. What was your involvement in the development of the *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (March 2002)?
2. What did you think of the media's coverage of the report?
3. How would you assess the Government's response to the report's recommendations?
4. Were you involved in the development of the curfew policy?
5. How would you assess this policy?
6. What did you think of the media's coverage of the curfew policy?

APPENDIX 4

THE ROYAL COMMISSION INTO ABORIGINAL DEATHS IN CUSTODY RECOMMENDATIONS TO MEDIA (1991)

The Royal Commissioner investigating underlying issues relevant to Aboriginal deaths in custody in WA considered the media to play an important role in the reproduction of non-indigenous Australians' views about indigenous people. Commissioner Dodson found that: "By the mid-1980s, incidents of crime and disorder involving Aboriginal people had become extremely 'newsworthy' warranting sensational treatment, almost as though the perceived political and economic threat of Aboriginal land rights had enabled a corresponding media agenda presenting Aboriginal people as a threat to law and order" (Dodson 1991). The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991, Vol. 4) made the following recommendations to media:

Recommendation 205

That

- a) Aboriginal media organisations should receive adequate funding where necessary in recognition of the importance of their function;
- b) All media organisations should be encouraged to develop codes and policies relating to the presentation of Aboriginal issues,
 - the establishment of monitoring bodies, and
 - the putting into place of training and employment programs for Aboriginal employees in all classifications.

Recommendation 206

That the media industry and media unions be requested to consider the establishment of and support for an annual award or awards for excellence in Aboriginal affairs reporting to be judged by a panel of media, union and Aboriginal representatives.

Recommendation 207

That institutions providing journalism courses be requested to:

- a) Ensure that courses contain a significant component relating to Aboriginal affairs, thereby reflecting the social context in which journalists work, and,
- b) Consider, in consultation with the media industry and media unions, the creation of specific units of study dedicated to Aboriginal affairs and the reporting thereof.

Recommendation 208

That in view of the fact that many Aboriginal people throughout Australia express disappointment in the portrayal of Aboriginal people by the media, the media industry and media unions should encourage formal and informal contact with Aboriginal organisations, including Aboriginal media organisations where available. The purpose of such contact should be the creation, on all sides, of a better understanding of issues relating to the media treatment of Aboriginal affairs.

APPENDIX 5

THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY'S *NATIONAL INQUIRY INTO RACIST VIOLENCE* RECOMMENDATIONS TO MEDIA (1991)

The *National Inquiry into Racist Violence* also presented a series of recommendations to media regarding the coverage of indigenous and other minority ethnic communities (1991, 395-397), as follows:

46. That the media strive for more balance in the reporting of race related issues and avoid sensationalist coverage of these issues.
47. That the media avoid the unwarranted introduction of race or ethnicity into a story, and particularly the unnecessary use of ethnic-specific labels in reporting on suspected or convicted criminals.
48. That media organisations establish clear policies or guidelines for the reporting of incidents of racist violence which encourage sensitivity to the potential impact of such reporting.
49. That the media use of the term 'Muslim', as in 'Muslim extremists' or 'Muslim fanatics', be avoided unless it actually refers to people who are most accurately identified by their religion.
50. That ethnic-specific labels be avoided wherever possible, particularly in headlines and that, where such labels are a necessary part of the story, they be as accurate and as specific as possible.
51. That when reporting on Islamic belief and practice, particularly on controversial issues like calls for a *jihad* (holy war), authoritative leaders of representative groups be consulted.
52. That Arab and Muslim organisations take a more active role in informing the media of community issues and concerns and ensuring that media outlets are aware of representative groups and appropriate spokespersons to be consulted when required.

53. That the HREOC and other anti-discrimination bodies provide regular opportunities for consultation and exchange of views between the media and leaders of Arab and Muslim organisations.
54. That any proposal to modify or abolish the powers and processes of the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal take into account the need to retain an effective avenue for the handling of complaints of racism and racial vilification in the media.
55. That the Press Council develop standards for reporting issues relating to race and ethnicity which are based on those adopted by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal for the electronic media.
56. That the Ethics Committee of the Australian Journalists Association develop a detailed Code of Practice for journalists reporting issues relating to race and ethnicity and ensure observance of that Code by members of the Association.
57. That the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission establish community-based training programs to ensure that people from Aboriginal and ethnic communities can acquire skills to help them to proceed with complaints about what they perceive to be racist or unfair reporting and to have a greater input into media agendas.
58. That funding be provided to enable community groups representing people of non-English speaking background to monitor and respond effectively to media reporting on race related issues.
59. That media organisations develop and implement policies to encourage the recruitment and advancement of Aboriginal and non-English speaking journalists within the industry.
60. That the training of journalists at tertiary institutions include education in and awareness of cultural and inter-racial issues and that people of Aboriginal and non-English speaking background be involved in the development and teaching of such curricula.
61. That awareness of cultural and inter-racial issues be included in the training of cadet journalists.

62. That, where possible, media organisations allocate journalists to specialised rounds covering Aboriginal and ethnic affairs.

APPENDIX 6

MILESTONE 1 – SETTING THE SCENE (JANUARY 2002)

This section provides, in tabular form, the findings of my framing analysis of the WA press coverage of the *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report and related articles which were published in January 2002. These articles are listed in Table 2, reproduced from Chapter 4, where I discuss my key findings.

Table 2: Milestone 1 Press Articles

Date	Page	Journalist/s	Headline/s
8/1/02	1	Ben Harvey/Peta Rasdien	<i>Crime Hot Spot: Police vow action on Northbridge thugs;</i>
	8	Ben Harvey/Peta Rasdien	<i>Nightlife area loses shine as fears rise;</i>
	8	Ben Harvey	<i>Northbridge a victim of rising tide of violence</i>
9/1/02	10	Ben Harvey/Kate Gauntlett	<i>Aboriginal link to late unrest: Northbridge at breaking point, says ATSIC;</i>
	10	Ben Harvey/Peta Rasdien	<i>Competitors leap to profit from problems</i>
10/1/02	11	Ben Harvey	<i>Traders' camera for Northbridge</i>
10/1//02	14	Editorial	<i>Aboriginal families must help</i>
15/1/02	14	Andre Malan	<i>Aborigines need society stake</i>

DATA FINDINGS

Table 7: Milestone 1 Data Findings (A)

Headline	<i>Crime Hot Spot</i>	<i>Nightlife area loses shine as fears rise</i>	<i>Northbridge a victim of rising tide of violence</i>	<i>Aboriginal link to late unrest</i>
Sub-head or stand first	Police vow action on Northbridge thugs	A report on the future of Northbridge has divided opinion	-	Northbridge at breaking point, says ATSIIC
Dominant story frame	Escalating crime in Northbridge and proposed police crackdown	Crime overwhelming Northbridge	Escalating violence and fear	Aboriginal people are responsible
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Crime/violence in Northbridge escalating; alleged 30 per cent drop in business	Report divides opinion: represents a start in the right direction versus presents few tangible recommendations and fails to address real issue of Aboriginal troublemakers	More crimes being committed against fewer people	Children aged seven or eight out at night on their own; family dysfunction in Aboriginal community; inexperienced police officers
What caused the problem	Young Aborigines cause much of the trouble	Aboriginal trouble makers	46 per cent of people charged are Aboriginal	Aboriginal young people and their parents
Moral evaluation	Tough action needed to bring offenders into line	Report may be avoiding the key issue (Aboriginal troublemakers)	Rampant crime is causing dramatic drop in business	Young people should be at home with responsible parents; lead source cited in penultimate paragraph says young people have the same right to access public space

Course of action recommended	More arrests; tougher penalties/harsher punishment; round up unaccompanied juveniles; detain them up to four hours; drive them home in buses; counsel their families (police); culturally appropriate strategies (ATSIC); long-term solutions (A/Premier)	More tangible recommendations; take the bull by the horns and address the real issue (young Aborigines); ensure follow up to the report	Police need to win the war on crime	ATSIC plan to address the issue; address family dysfunction; provide medical services in the country; more experienced police; low tolerance approach to policing
Lead source	Police (Supt McCagh)	Northbridge traders (indirect)	Northbridge report	Mission Australia
Secondary source	Robert Smales (business representative); Bert Tudori, Perth City Councillor; ATSIC (not an individual); Eric Ripper, A/Premier	Bert Tudori, Perth City Councillor; Vincent Tan, Perth City Councillor	Business owners (indirect)	Eric Wynne, ATSIC; police; Robert Smales (business)
Indigenous source	ATSIC as an organisation	No	No	Yes
Information excluded	The majority of the report's findings; all of the report's recommendations	34 of the 35 recommendations and 37 of the 45 "key immediate actions"	70 of the 80 pages in the report not devoted to crime statistics	Young people's right to be in Northbridge; indigenous links to the precinct; the profile of those charged for crime as opposed to antisocial behaviour

Questions not asked	Why did the police wait until the report was leaked to announce its proposed crackdown (when it had the crime statistics to hand well before that time)?	Why did the City of Perth oppose five of the recommendations/key actions, including the proposed study into perceptions of Northbridge	What is the profile of the 54 per cent of people charged for offences in Northbridge?	What age are the young people responsible for antisocial behaviour?
Language	Crime hot spot; police vow action; aggressive police plan; get tough approach; pushed to the brink; tougher penalties; harsher punishment; clean up troubled nightlife area; crackdown; crime ... blown out; sex crimes; bashings of police; round up unaccompanied juveniles; culturally appropriate strategies	The trouble with Aborigines; (Northbridge) would flourish; deteriorating; decline; public concerns about safety; weak daytime economy; tired and run down; take the bull by the horns	You have the greatest chance of being bashed; your chances of being assaulted increase dramatically if...; dramatic drop in (business); sex crimes; (Aboriginal people) massively over-represented	(Northbridge) at breaking point; huge problem; nonsense to suggest problem could be solved quickly; rounding up unaccompanied juveniles; stop the rot; low tolerance approach to policing
Labels	Northbridge thugs; lawless groups of Aborigines; violent night clubbers	Aboriginal trouble-makers	War on crime	Young Aborigines; trouble-makers; family dysfunction
Images	Articled linked to cartoon (inside paper), which features dark-	Graphic headlined "Mean Streets", comprises pie chart indicating assaults	-	Photograph of Supt Alan McCagh and Eric Wynne (ATSIC) standing to right and

	skinned men fighting and throwing bottles on the streets of Northbridge one weekend night. Two onlookers hide in an alley, one a traditionally dressed Muslim man says to the other: "We made a mistake, mullah... give me downtown Kabul and a kalashnikov any day!"	by weekday against backdrop collage illustrating police at work in Northbridge. Also includes a table, bar chart and line graph all indicating incidence of offences over previous decade		left respectively behind Robert Smales, chairman of Safer Northbridge. Supt McCagh and Mr Smales have their arms crossed in front of themselves and look stern, while Mr Wynne has his arms behind his back and is smiling at the camera
Reference to race	Four times (in 17-paragraph article)	Three times (in 14-paragraph article)	Twice (in 12-paragraph article)	Five times (in 17-paragraph) article plus once in headline and again in photo caption
Reference to age	-	-	-	Seven or eight
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Police refer to crime; councillor to antisocial behaviour	Antisocial behaviour only (Cr Tudori)	Crime only	Antisocial behaviour only
Definition of Northbridge	Nightlife area but Government committed to attracting families back	Referred to twice as nightlife area	-	-

Table 8: Milestone 1 Data Findings (B)

Headline	<i>Competitors leap to profit from problems</i>	<i>Traders' camera for Northbridge</i>	<i>Aboriginal families must help</i>	<i>Aborigines need society stake</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	Business owners say they are tired of holiday violence	-	-
Dominant frame	Northbridge problems are good news for Perth's other nightlife areas	Traders are being left to fend for themselves in "cleaning up" Northbridge	Aboriginal families are responsible for creating – and solving – the problems	The stigma of being Aboriginal and the consequences of social exclusion
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Northbridge is not safe; other areas are safer	Traders not being supported by the authorities	Groups of young Aborigines are causing the problems while their families turn a blind eye	It's too easy to judge on basis of race, particularly when the statistics support such judgements
What caused the problem	Safety concerns in Northbridge; ethnic gangs and unruly youths (Australian Hotels' Association)	Authorities, bureaucratic/legal red tape; Supt "pointed the finger at young Aborigines"	Report "put the spotlight firmly on those responsible for much of the bad behaviour"	Cycle of disadvantage and social exclusion
Moral evaluation	Fremantle and Subiaco better places to be	The authorities are soft on crime; red tape unnecessary	Aboriginal families are failing their children	The whole community has a responsibility
Course of action recommended	More police	More police and more support from authorities	Aboriginal families must help	We as a community need to help break the cycle
Lead source	Mayor of Fremantle	Restaurateurs in Northbridge	Claims to be the report, but in fact traders	A "public-spirited" neighbour
Secondary source	President, Subiaco	Robert Smales,	Draws on figures	-

	Business Association; Head of the Australian Hotels' Association	Chairman, Safer WA Northbridge; Garry Hunt, Chief Executive, Perth City Council	from Mission Australia; quotes from ATSIIC; police; traders	
Indigenous source	No	No	ATSIIC	-
Information excluded	The unique attractions of Northbridge	The 54 per cent of people who perpetrate crime who are not Aboriginal	The report's findings. These are used as the basis of the editorial but the 'facts' are those derived from interviews, primarily with the traders	-
Questions not asked	Why is there more crime in Northbridge and during what periods?	What is the purpose of the legal requirement regarding camera footage?	What did the report actually say?	-
Language	Alternative nightlife areas are rubbing their hands with glee; Fremantle safe; safer	Clean up Northbridge; traders fed up; people 'flood into' Northbridge; sex crimes at a 10-year high; bashings of police ... increased four-fold; the tough talking cop	Growing fears; antisocial behaviour on the rise; problems have reached breaking point; families are failing their children; rounding up unaccompanied juveniles; rising crime rates and increasingly violent behaviour; feel confident that there is at least a blueprint to tackle the future	Demoralising ... to routinely attract such suspicion; trying to make a life for yourself in spite of the obstacles; you must feel like giving up; embrace the outlaw role; throw the book at them; alienate them; break the cycle of disadvantage and give them a stake in the community
Labels	Ethnic gangs and	Antisocial behaviour	Social ills;	One of the most

	unruly youths; another Northbridge	by young Aborigines and violence by drunken night clubbers	groups of young Aborigines; a place many fear to visit; family dysfunction	intractable social problems facing our community
Images	-	-	-	Collage of various pictures of the police 'fighting crime' plus a mailbox
Reference to race	No	Twice in nine- paragraph article	Five times plus headline in 15-para editorial	-
Reference to age	-	-	As young as seven	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Crime (although the diners in Subiaco, for example, would be escaping antisocial behaviour)	Antisocial behaviour and "violence"	Both terms are used and confused throughout the editorial	Concerns both but the distinction is not relevant here
Definition of Northbridge	Referred to as nightlife area but also talks about families going to Fremantle instead	Mentions night clubbers but leads with concerns of restaurateurs	Talks about people, "particularly families", no longer visiting the area	N/a

APPENDIX 7

MILESTONE 2 – TESTING THE WATERS (APRIL 2003)

This section provides, in tabular form, the findings of my framing analysis of the WA press coverage of the proposal to introduce a curfew in Northbridge. All the articles were published in April 2003 and are listed in Table 3, reproduced from Chapter 5, where I discuss my key findings.

Table 3: Milestone 2 Press Articles

Date	Newspaper	Page	Journalist/s	Headline/s
15/4/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	1	Steve Pennells	<i>Children face ban from city streets</i>
16/4/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	6 & 7	Kate Gauntlett, Charlie Wilson-Clark Kate Gauntlett, Charlie Wilson-Clark Kate Gauntlett, Charlie Wilson-Clark Steve Pennells Charlie-Wilson Clark Kate Gauntlett, Charlie Wilson-Clark Kate Gauntlett, Charlie Wilson-Clark	<i>Child curfew bid branded offensive political stunt;</i> <i>Dreamer reaches out to help Perth's youth;</i> <i>History of Northbridge curfews;</i> <i>Barnett opposes Gallop's plan;</i> <i>Traders back clamp plans;</i> <i>Nyoongar girls just want to have fun;</i> <i>Rural MPs demand action</i>
16/4/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	24	Editorial	<i>Curfew plan lacks substance</i>
20/4/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	8	Grahame Armstrong Tim Ayling	<i>Police say curfew is unworkable;</i> <i>Mixed reception on the streets</i>
20/4/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	32	Colleen Egan	<i>Curfew a racial cop-out</i>
22/4/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	11	Charlie Wilson-Clark Kate Gauntlett	<i>Curfew plan earns State racism tag;</i> <i>Parental sanctions 'could be the key'</i>

DATA FINDINGS

Table 9: Milestone 2 Data Findings (A)

Headline	<i>Children face ban from city streets</i>	<i>Child curfew bid branded offensive political stunt</i>	<i>Dreamer reaches out to help Perth's youth</i>	<i>History of Northbridge curfews</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	Strong opposition greeted Premier Geoff Gallop's push to keep juveniles off Northbridge's streets at night	-	-
Dominant story frame	Protection of young people; protection of businesses/visitors to Northbridge (secondary)	Curfew a stunt	Young people of WA can be inspirational	History of infringement of Aboriginal rights
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Large number of unaccompanied juveniles who are a nuisance to others and a risk to themselves	Proposal is not well considered	-	Similar proposals mooted or introduced in the past
What caused the problem	The fact that they are unaccompanied	The Premier and those who developed the plan	-	Unaccompanied juveniles
Moral evaluation	These young people need to be at home, in their own suburbs; Government "prepared to tackle the difficult issues"	Contravening the rights of young people, especially Aboriginal young people; political posturing	Efforts to help young people are rewarded	Proposal taking WA back to discriminatory laws of 100 years ago
Course of action recommended	Take them off the streets after dark;	Drop the plan (implied)	-	Learn from history (implied)

	hold them until they are collected by parents or guardians or when “alternative welfare arrangements” are made			
Lead source	Government media adviser	Youth groups and Aboriginal leaders	Sandra Spadanuda, youth worker	Newspaper archives
Secondary Source	“Civil rights and welfare groups”	Heads of Mission Australia; Nyoongar Patrol; ATSIC Perth Nyoongar; Aboriginal Legal Service; Australian Council for Civil Liberties; WA Police Union; Juvenile Justice Network; Youth Affairs Council of WA; Executive officer, Deaths in Custody Watch committee; Bert Tudori, Perth City Councillor; spokesman for WA Police Service; spokesman for Dr Gallop	-	-
Indigenous source	-	ATSIC, Nyoongar Patrol, ALS, Deaths in Custody Watch Committee	-	-

Information excluded	The fact there was no consultation; what changes the curfew plan will introduce	-	-	-
Questions not asked	Why target under 18s to address crime when Northbridge report had stated majority of offenders aged over 18? What's new here? Who called for a curfew before? Why were these calls strongly criticised? What will the other parts of the broader package for Northbridge entail? Why is DCD not being involved?	Why call the plan a "curfew"?	-	-
Language	Banned; defy restrictions; taken off the streets and held; radical move; prepared to tackle difficult issues head on; crackdown	Offensive political stunt; cheap political stunt; (proposal) condemned; impractical; crackdown; could cause irreparable damage; (Native Welfare mentality) alive and kicking; very rude shock; springs from an attitude of anger and exclusion;	Young people of WA are an inspiration; endless dreams about how to make the world a better place; efforts recognised; social welfare concerns	Rounding up unaccompanied juveniles; restricted access

		removing children; score law and order points; law and order posturing for law and order's sake; alienate youth; police angry; ignored research; neither practical nor ethical; extremely disappointed; misguided policy		
Labels	Curfew; crime and child welfare; children; juveniles; kids; vulnerable juveniles	Child curfew bid; juveniles; youths; children; young people	Youth; young people; dreamer	Curfew; unaccompanied juveniles; children; Assignment Family Values
Images	Head shot of the Premier. Caption: <i>Dr Gallop: Curfew plan to keep vulnerable juveniles safe</i>	-	-	Graphic of old headlines re "Operation Sweep" above picture of group of young people. Inset of text of Section 138b, CWA
Reference to Race	400 of 454 juveniles picked up were Aboriginal; suburbs listed also indicate background	Plan said to be targeted at Aboriginal children	-	It is understood that the children referred to are indigenous. Also reference to <i>Aborigines Act 1905</i>
Reference to age	Six	Under age 10	-	-

Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Curfew is said to address “crime and child welfare”, but Premier talks about antisocial behaviour	Antisocial behaviour only	-	Antisocial behaviour only (reference to “misbehaving”)
Definition of Northbridge	Popular nightclub and restaurant precinct	-	-	-
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	Claims (incorrectly) City of Perth, Dept of Justice, welfare groups and Aboriginal groups were consulted (no mention of DCD)	Through the use of wide range of sources makes clear no consultation occurred	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	No	Implies that the work is already being done	-	-
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	States Government will use the CWA powers as legislative base to enforce curfew	Yes	-	-
Reference to lack of additional resources	Says “many details are yet to be finalised”	-	-	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	-	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	Says curfew does not take into account the diverse needs of children of different ages and different backgrounds	-	-

Table 10: Milestone 2 Data Findings (B)

Headline	<i>Barnett opposes Gallop's plan</i>	<i>Traders back clamp plans</i>	<i>Nyoongar girls just want to have fun</i>	<i>Rural MPs demand action</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	-	-	-
Dominant story frame	Crime in Northbridge and failure of curfew plan to address it	Business supports curfew	Northbridge is about harmless fun for young Aboriginal girls	Metro/region divide
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Curfew not "an effective long-term solution"	Unruly and disruptive youth; groups intimidate	If they can't go to Northbridge, they will just go elsewhere; Government is not investing in Aboriginal youth	Curfew plan is not extended to the regions
What caused the problem	Not enough police; limited to Northbridge only; limited to adults	Failure to behave appropriately; gathering in large groups	Lack of alternatives for youth; failure of Government to invest in Aboriginal youth	Premier who is focused on metro only
Moral evaluation	Need to address lawlessness and unruly behaviour	Young people do not know how to behave appropriately	Government just moving the problem elsewhere	Courts soft on young offenders; Government 'doesn't care'
Course of action recommended	"Big boost" in police resources; inner-city school	Ban them	Invest in youth, provide alternative activities, eg 'hip-hops' should be held every weekend	Extend curfew to regions; more detentions
Lead source	Colin Barnett, Leader of the Opposition	Bill (sic) Smales, restaurateur	Winmar and Mourish teenage sisters	Larry Graham, Independent MLA for the Pilbara
Secondary source	Dr Geoff Gallop, Premier	Vivienne George, Chairperson, Safer	Gordon Cole, chairman, ATSIC	Matt Birney, Member for Kalgoorlie and

		Northbridge; Peter Natrass, Lord Mayor of Perth; Vincent Tan, councillor and president, Northbridge Business and Community Association	Perth Nyoongar	Shadow Police Minister
Indigenous source	No	No	Yes	No
Information excluded	That the curfew is not proposing anything new	How the curfew will make a difference; the rights of young people to gather in groups	-	How the curfew would make a difference in the regions
Questions not asked	What is the purpose of the inner-city school? What does the rest of the “curfew package” entail?	Why are the Nyoongar Patrol and police not enough?	Do they think they behave inappropriately?	How do they respond to the widespread criticisms about the plan?
Language	Unacceptable behaviour; unruly behaviour; lawlessness; media blitz to sell his solution; make people feel safer	Clamp plans; rid the troubled area of unruly and disruptive youth; adult experiences; they might not be doing anything wrong but they are intimidating if there is a group of them; we welcome all people so long as they obey the law and the rules of	Nyoongar girls just want to have fun; police pick on the shorter kids; invest in Aboriginal youth rather than target them; young Aboriginal people are at a loose end and falling into the poverty trap	Crying out ... to do something about lawlessness; all country WA gets is talk; they don't respect their parents, they don't respect the police

		acceptable social behaviour; behave appropriately		
Labels	-	Unruly and disruptive youth	Aboriginal teenagers	Unruly juveniles
Images	-	-	Four young girls out together. Caption: <i>Regular visitors: Aboriginal teenagers, Niketa Mourish, 15, left, Maxine Winmar, 16, Lynette Winmar, 17, and Coral Mourish, 14, hang out in Northbridge because they want to have fun</i>	-
Reference to race	No	No	Yes	No
Reference to age	No	No	No	No
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	All about antisocial behaviour	All about antisocial behaviour	-	Refers to “lawlessness” and “unruly juveniles”
Definition of Northbridge	No	Adults only; “all welcome if behave appropriately”	No	No
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-	Vivienne George said “she was confident there would have been widespread consultation”	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	No	No	Girls say “they are always being stopped and questioned anyway”	No

States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	No	No	No	No
Reference to lack of additional resources	Colin Barnett's comments imply that there are none	Mayor says it will need extra resources to be successful	N/a	No
States that young people may be there just to have fun	No	No	Yes	No
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	No	No	They are "desperate" for more activities. Hip-hops are "a favourite" but held only once every school holidays	No

Table 11: Milestone 2 Data Findings (C)

Headline	<i>Curfew plan lacks substance</i>	<i>Police say curfew is unworkable</i>	<i>Mixed reception on the streets</i>	<i>Curfew a racial cop-out</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	-	-	-
Dominant story frame	Curfew fails to deliver “practical benefits”	Lack of police to enforce curfew policy	Mixed response of Nyoongar teenage girls	Racist nature of curfew proposal; failure to address underlying causes
Definition of problem (what’s newsworthy)	The curfew is discriminating against all young people and “making youth an offence”	The policy cannot work without hundreds more police officers	Many of the older kids there to have fun, but younger ones at risk need to be protected	Proposal is simply moving problem elsewhere where the juveniles will be at greater risk
What caused the problem	The plan has been drawn up “on the run”	Policy ill-conceived, badly thought out	A perceived rather than actual threat	People want to be able to eat <i>al fresco</i> and not be bothered by juveniles
Moral evaluation	Philosophical objection to a policy that bans all young people; curfew will cause hostility and a sense of alienation among young people	Policy not needed because most “kids” there to have fun and police use existing laws to apprehend those at risk	Only appropriate to remove young children at risk	Curfew will mean that most vulnerable people in our society “will be out of sight, out of mind”; “the diners and drinkers and gangsters and drug-runners” won’t “have to look at the damaged children our city produces”
Course of action recommended	Government needs to give “more substance” to plan	More police	Remove the blanket ban; make more room on the pavements	Should focus on providing appropriate care to the real “hard cases”
Lead source	-	Mike Dean, President, WA Police	Nyoongar teenage girls	Waitresses in Northbridge (indirect)

		Union		
Secondary source	-	Colin Barnett, Leader of the Opposition; Geoff Gallop	Nyoongar Patrol	Geoff Gallop (indirect)
Indigenous source	-	No	Yes	Yes (indirect)
Information excluded	That the plan would target indigenous youth	That the plan will not mean new laws	Why these teenagers have been stopped by police	No new policy in reality; proposed “broader package”
Questions not asked	What is actually new in the plan?	What new laws do you think are being introduced? Why are you calling for more police if you think “most” of the young people are there to have fun?	Why do you think people may think you don’t behave appropriately? Find you intimidating?	What will the “curfew package” entail in the way of follow up?
Language	Seductively simple political solutions; if juveniles muck up in Northbridge, then ban them too; proposal ill-advised; concocted on the run; hostility and sense of alienation among young people; youth would be made an offence	Curfew is unworkable; impossible to enforce; a dilemma; police in a terrible position; remove under 18s from the streets; ill-conceived; made without proper consultation with police; policy on-the-run; round children up; find somewhere to leave them; a public relations announcement ... (not) a well-thought-	Commuters tut and cluck their disapproval; off limits; ridiculous; stupid; (Nyoongar Patrol) pounds the beat in Northbridge, looking out for Aboriginal kids; a good idea – keeps kids off the streets; (Tara) conceded she’d have been better off not being allowed into area (when aged 15); curfew had merit	Too frightened to keep the doors open; groups of kids have rampaged through their dining room, wrecking table settings and damaging property; too risky to walk unaccompanied; let them make trouble somewhere in the suburbs instead; roam the streets; collared by the cops; an emotional Premier; the pretty, blue-eyed girl had been abused and assaulted;

		<p>out approach to a serious law problem; young children ... vulnerable, a nuisance to others and a risk to themselves; Government will not tolerate; hundreds of children on the streets every night</p>		<p>that depressing community; angry and hurt; spoil your Saturday night and attack your dinner table settings; abuse their small bodies; this scourge in their young lives; wagged school, wandered the streets, sniffed paint and got into trouble with the police; hung around in what you would call a gang; some of those kids have now joined Susan in death; they inhale noxious fumes to blur the memories their young minds have already accumulated; out of sight, out of mind</p>
Labels	<p>Certain young people; juveniles; children who are potentially in danger versus youths who are potentially a danger or nuisance to others</p>	<p>Young children</p>	<p>Scores of children between 12 and 17, mostly of Aboriginal descent; basically good kids; troublemakers; unruly older children or young adults not part of the usual "mob"</p>	<p>Young troublemakers; the city's most popular hang- out joint; juveniles; children; kids; youngsters; real hard cases;</p>

				<p>core troublemakers; one of those Aboriginal girls who nobody could control; an electorally popular move; notorious elder Robert Bropho; her well-meaning, teetotalling grandmother; the diners, drinkers, gangsters and drug- runners; the damaged children our city produces; the most vulnerable people in our society</p>
Images	No	<p>One of a group of four indigenous young people – two boys, two girls – taken from behind; with only the side of one boy’s face visible. Caption <i>Target age: Under- 18s in Northbridge.</i> Another shows the back of a woman’s head and shoulders in street. Caption <i>On the beat: Barbara, a Nyoongar Patrol mediator in James St</i></p>	The images displayed beside the preceding story relate to this article	No

Reference to race	Argues against discrimination only on basis of age	No, but accompanying image shows issue about Aboriginal youth	Yes	Argues curfew is a racist policy, targeted at Aboriginal young people
Reference to age	Six	Under 16; 10, 11, 12 and 13	Between 12 and 17	Customers a quarter of our age
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Used interchangeably; repeats the Premier's reference to "youths who are potentially a danger or nuisance to others"	Used interchangeably; young children engaged in anti-social behaviour; curfew gives "impression the Government was doing something about crime"	Neither mentioned but antisocial implied with reference to problems with "side walk tables"	Implies both. Talks about waitress being too frightened to walk unaccompanied, about damage to property, etc. Also says some of the kids "unsociable and violent"
Definition of Northbridge	-	-	-	The nightclubs and peep shows of Northbridge
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	Developed "without enough thought or consultation"	Developed "without proper consultation with police"	-	Policy made "so quickly and with such little consultation"
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	States that there are the same provisions regards protecting children at risk, but implies there is something new in the policy	Police use the existing laws every night and have done for a "number of years", mostly to remove very young children from the streets	Police have always had the power to move kids on or detain them if they were committing an offence or at risk of harm	No
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947(CWA)</i>	Notes it would be "hard to see how a curfew would change this element of police responsibility"	States that laws already exist under the CWA which allow police to remove children and take them home	States that police already have the powers	No

Reference to lack of additional resources	-	Yes – says more police are needed	-	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	Implied with reference to “Perth’s premier entertainment area”	“Most kids there to have fun”	“Basically good kids” who come to the area to have fun; “we’re not doing any harm, we’re just hanging out”	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	-	-	Dr Gallop has not devised a thoughtful strategy to entertain teenagers in the suburbs

Table 12: Milestone 2 Data Findings (D)

Headline	<i>Curfew plan earns State racism tag</i>	<i>Parental sanctions ‘could be the key’</i>
Sub-head or stand first	Government denies Aboriginal children are the target	-
Dominant story frame	Institutionalised racism	Parental responsibility
Definition of problem (what’s newsworthy)	Policy further disadvantages Aboriginal children; “only a small proportion” of the people targeted commit crime	Parents are letting their children go to Northbridge “unaccompanied”
What caused the problem	No thought has been given to why the juveniles are in Northbridge; historically government is racist	Failure to call parents to account
Moral evaluation	Plan is racist; objective to target behaviour, not race	Neglectful parents are letting their children fall prey to predators
Course of action recommended	Recognise that the children need a refuge; help them rather than target them	Fine the parents for neglect
Lead source	Professor Gavin Mooney, Curtin University	Kevin Moran, former police officer

Secondary source	Geoff Gallop, Premier	George Davies, veteran youth worker
Indigenous source	Farley Garlett, ATSIC South-West commissioner	No
Information excluded	The significance of the Premier's admission that indigenous people had not been consulted	Reasons why the young people go to Northbridge unaccompanied
Questions not asked	Why are other organisations not asked to fill in the same sort of acquittals as Aboriginal people? What's the value of the Statement of Commitment?	Do you think the young people are necessarily safer with their parents?
Language	A very difficult, sensitive situation; a trend of racist policies which further disadvantaged WA Aboriginals; children roaming the streets; they need a refuge; inequities; criticism is nonsense; serious about issues of family violence and child abuse in Aboriginal communities; something as serious as a curfew	Police clean-up; mixed with the disorderly, dishonest, drug users and pushers were the innocents abroad from the suburbs, all being drawn into a dangerous culture of booze, drugs and aggression
Labels	Government "institutionally racist"; these children; juveniles	Unaccompanied juveniles; unaccompanied children in moral or physical danger; juvenile curfew; youths with welfare concerns; innocents abroad
Images	No	Moran leaning on his desk top with press cuttings re the previous curfew. Caption: <i>A solution: Retired policeman Kevin Moran, who headed Operation Sweep in 1994, says a curfew could be made to work</i>

Reference to race	Says curfew is one more in a trend of racist policies; it is clear the plan ... is targeting Aboriginal children	No, but "Operation Sweep" known to target Aboriginal juveniles
Reference to age	-	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Antisocial behaviour and crime	Implies crime when refers to "dangerous culture of booze, drugs and aggression"
Definition of Northbridge	-	Implies for adults
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	States there had been no consultation with Aboriginal organisations	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	No	Refers to "Assignment Family Values" which is still in place today
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	No	Yes. States police have for long time had the power under the CWA to return unaccompanied children in moral or physical danger to their parents
Reference to lack of additional resources	-	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	-

APPENDIX 8

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON THE NORTHBRIDGE CURFEW

In Chapters 5 and 7, I make reference to various Parliamentary debates which help to provide the context for the State Government/WA press discourse under way at the time. This section provides the full transcripts of each of the debates to which I refer. I have accessed these from Hansard, which is available on the State Parliament's website.

Chapter 5

Dorothy Dix

Legislative Assembly (Questions without Notice)

15 April 2003

626. Mr J.N. HYDE to the Premier:

Will the Premier confirm media reports that the Government is planning to introduce a curfew for juveniles in Northbridge?

Dr G.I. GALLOP replied:

The Office of Crime Prevention, in consultation with other government agencies, is developing a formal policy framework for a curfew to apply to unaccompanied juveniles in Northbridge. Operational details such as the hours that will apply and some other aspects of this policy are yet to be finalised. However, it will be in place by the middle of this year. The development of this policy follows a police crackdown in January, February and March this year. This resulted in 454 juveniles being apprehended in Northbridge, of which 404 were young Aboriginal children, two-thirds were girls, the majority were aged from 13 to 15 and the youngest was six years of age.

The report to the Government also indicates that 20 per cent of those juveniles were under the influence of alcohol when they were apprehended. Under the policy that the Government is formulating, police and Department for Community Development officers will use existing powers under section 138B of the Child Welfare Act to remove from the streets unaccompanied children and keep them at the Juvenile Aid Group premises or another suitable location until parents or guardians are able to collect them or arrangements can be made to

take them home. This policy will specifically target large groups of juveniles who are looking for trouble and are engaged in antisocial behaviour. If introduced, it will be part of a broader crime prevention strategy for Northbridge, which will take into account planning issues as well as lighting and other aspects. The police will need to retain some discretion in instances in which older teenagers may have legitimate reasons to be out at night, such as being on their way home from the movies or theatres. This is not a panacea for Northbridge. However, there is no doubt that it will help deal with the problems that have existed in Northbridge for some time, which have caused major difficulties for businesses and residents and undermined the amenity of that area.

Importantly, the Government is interested in the welfare of those children. Not only are those children a menace to the rest of the community, but also they put themselves in vulnerable and risky situations. The Government intends to do something about that. It will not tolerate large numbers of unsupervised juveniles roaming the streets of Northbridge, making a nuisance of themselves, harassing the public and putting themselves at risk. The Government's willingness to tackle the problem of child abuse in Western Australia indicates where it is coming from on issues such as this. It does not shy away from these problems. It does not sweep these problems under the carpet; it does something about them. We look forward to working with the local community and with representatives of Aboriginal communities in Western Australia to make sure that the interests of these young people are properly protected. Like many Western Australians, I am appalled by statistics that indicate that children as young as six are on the streets, unsupervised, and at risk in the Northbridge area. The Government intends to take a stand and to do something about it. The time has come for it to take action. The Government has initiated major consultation with the City of Perth. Excellent programs are running on the streets and some excellent non-government organisations are working in that area. However, we need to go further to make sure that the interests of those young people are protected and that the safety of the community is properly enhanced. Yet again, there is a big difference between the Government and the Opposition. The Opposition sweeps things under the carpet. The Government confronts issues and deals with them.

Chapter 5

Question from Leader of the Opposition

Legislative Assembly (Questions without Notice)
16 April 2003

639. Mr C.J. BARNETT to the Premier:

I refer the Premier to his comments on ABC radio yesterday morning in relation to his plan to impose a curfew on juveniles in Northbridge. The

Premier said that this matter has been consulted widely with the work (sic) the Government has been doing in Northbridge - so, the Government has consulted widely in the area on the issue.

(1) Can the Premier confirm reports in *The West Australian* today that Mission Australia WA was not consulted, the Perth City Council was not consulted, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission was not consulted, the Juvenile Justice Network was not consulted, the Youth Affairs Council was not consulted and the Noongar Patrol was not consulted?

(2) Will the Premier admit that he has not consulted widely, if at all, and that he has therefore misled the people of Western Australia?

Dr G.I. GALLOP replied:

(1)-(2) One thing is certain: I did not consult the Liberal Party because it is a bit behind the times on this important issue. First, widespread discussion has taken place for some years on a curfew in Northbridge. It has been raised on numerous occasions by local businesses, and discussed in the context of the work the Government has been doing with the City of Perth to improve the amenity of the area. More specifically, the possibility of a curfew was raised at a meeting on 7 March 2003 involving the police; the Department of Justice; the Office of Racing, Gaming and Liquor; the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission; the City of Perth and the Noongar Patrol, convened by the Department of Premier and Cabinet. The meeting was called to canvass the broader issue of public order in Northbridge and to consider options to improve public safety and security.

The general issue had been canvassed. I was made aware of some work carried out by the police in January, February and March this year indicating a serious problem. Excellent work is being carried out by the Noongar Patrol, Mission Australia and the juvenile aid group in the Police Service on this question. Despite all the excellent work, we still have a problem. I make no apologies for the fact I took leadership on the issue. I took leadership on a simple point, Leader of the Opposition: is it appropriate to have six-year-old children on the streets in Northbridge unsupervised? Is it desirable to have young children aged 10 to 13 on the streets of Northbridge unsupervised? I have made it clear that my Government will not tolerate that situation. The Government will introduce a new policy on that area to enable us to deal with the problem.

It is interesting that the Opposition is not united on this point. The Leader of the Opposition is opposed to the curfew, but the member for Kalgoorlie is very keen on it. Division has already arisen in the ranks of the Opposition on this question. This proposal has emerged from the Department of Premier and Cabinet, which reports to me as the minister responsible for crime prevention. I make no apologies for taking leadership on an issue that relates to the welfare and interests of the children of this State. As we have taken leadership on child sex

abuse in Aboriginal communities, so we will take leadership on vulnerable and at-risk children on the streets of Northbridge.

Chapter 7

Dorothy Dix 1

Legislative Assembly (Questions without Notice)

16 October 2003

1178. Mr J.N. HYDE to the Premier:

I am aware of community concern about the number of unaccompanied young people on the streets of Northbridge in my electorate at night. Can the Premier assure the House of the Government's continued commitment to the current curfew policy and the actions necessary for long-term solutions to what is a serious community problem?

Dr G.I. GALLOP replied:

I agree with the member for Perth that we have a serious community problem. The situation presented to me was that youngsters - some aged seven and eight years - were on the streets of Northbridge late at night and early in the morning, at risk and causing a nuisance to the community. I have seen the video tapes that the Police Service has of what has been going on in Northbridge late at night and early in the morning; it is not a pleasant picture. For anyone to say to me that those youngsters are not at risk in that situation -

Mr C.J. Barnett: Who said that?

Dr G.I. GALLOP: Lots of people are implying that and lots of people are saying that these youngsters have a right to be there. However, I do not share that view and I will do all I can to make sure that those youngsters are taken out of that at-risk situation and put on the right path in life. That is the responsibility of my Government and we will do it.

The summer months are coming and we can expect that Northbridge might be an attraction for an increasing number of youngsters. I say this to the people of Western Australia, particularly those who live and work in Northbridge and those who visit that area: the Government will not resile from its commitment to make sure that these young people are protected and the amenity of that area is improved. This policy will remain in place until the safety of those children is secured, they are put on the right path in life and the right amenity is achieved for those who live and work in Northbridge and those who visit the area. The Government will not resile from the policy. Those who criticise the policy are sending the message to the community that it is okay for those youngsters to be there. In effect, they are encouraging some of those youngsters to go to the streets of Northbridge. That is unacceptable and I urge all community leaders in Western Australia not

to criticise this policy but to join with us in bringing about an improvement in the life conditions of those youngsters.

This is not a policy that has been developed in isolation. The Government is taking other initiatives to reunite these youngsters with their families and to work with their families. The Government acknowledges that it will not be easy. There is pressure on our system as a result of those youngsters going to Northbridge. There is pressure on the backups. There is pressure on the follow-up. There is pressure from the dysfunction of many families in our community. However, this Government will not sweep these issues under the carpet. We will confront these issues. I remain in contact with the Northbridge community and am talking to the community about how this issue is going. I am taking advice on how the follow-up and other mechanisms in the policy can be refined and developed so that we do not have an ongoing problem in this area. We will not resile from this policy. I say to the critics: get real and join us in putting these kids on a better path in life, rather than encourage them to go onto the streets late at night and early in the morning, thereby putting themselves at risk and creating a nuisance for the wider community.

Chapter 7

Dorothy Dix 2

Legislative Assembly (Questions without Notice)
21 October 2003

1196. Mr J.N. HYDE to the Premier:

Although the overwhelming majority of Northbridge people support the Government's policy on the Northbridge curfew, some people have expressed concerns about whether it is a good concept. Can the Premier please confirm his position on this matter?

Dr G.I. GALLOP replied:

I will say three things about the Government's position on the Northbridge curfew. Firstly, the Government remains committed to and intends to follow through with the Northbridge curfew in the interests of both children in Western Australia and the people who live and work in the Northbridge area and those who visit it. Secondly, the Government believes that it is wrong for underage children to be unsupervised in an adult entertainment zone. Indeed, I have been most distressed when I have heard senior people in our community say that it is okay for youngsters to be in such a place.

Mr C.J. Barnett: Who said that?

Dr G.I. GALLOP: Thirdly, the Government will not provide -

Mr C.J. Barnett: They have not actually said that.

Dr G.I. GALLOP: They have said that.

(Several members interjected.)

The SPEAKER: Order, members!

Dr G.I. GALLOP: Thirdly, the Government will not provide facilities for young people to access entertainment in Northbridge. I ask the Leader of the Opposition this: if someone says that there should be entertainment facilities for young people in Northbridge, are they not saying that it is okay for young people to be there? We have a problem in our community and there are two ways to address it. We can either confront bad behaviour or acquiesce to it. The Government will confront bad behaviour in the interests of the people who live and work in Northbridge and those who visit that area. That will also be in the interests of the people who are engaged in bad behaviour. Those people are heading towards a future that will lead to their self-destruction. I do not want to see that happen.

What is interesting about this issue is the attitude of the Opposition to it. It has three different positions on this issue. Blanket opposition to the curfew was expressed yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition. The second position is represented by the member for Murdoch, who has argued that the curfew is not really necessary because some sort of utopia might emerge and there would be no need for it. The third position, of course, is that of the member for Kalgoorlie, who agrees with the curfew. The Leader of the Opposition has one position on this issue, the member for Kalgoorlie another, and the member for Murdoch a third. It is interesting that the position these members take depends on whom they are talking to at the time. The Liberal Party will say and do anything to try to win a vote. That is what this comes down to. When the member for Murdoch addresses youth organisations he gives one impression, when the member for Kalgoorlie grandstands in his electorate he has another position, and when the Leader of the Opposition is asked, he has a third position.

We should get serious about our young people and make sure that they are given a future. If we encourage young people to go unsupervised to that area late at night or early in the morning, they will be on a path to self-destruction. The Government will not tolerate that. It will intervene to bring about a better future for those young people. The Government will stand up for young people. It has already done so through the inquiry into child abuse and domestic violence in Aboriginal communities, the homelessness strategy and the Northbridge curfew. The Government has the interests of young people at heart. It is about time that the Opposition supported the Government, rather than put out a range of positions according to whom its members are speaking at the time.

(Several members interjected.)

APPENDIX 9

This section provides the media statement issued by the Office of the Premier on 26 June 2003. The statement was accessed from the Premier's website (<http://www.wa.gov.au>).

Premier unveils Northbridge curfew policy

Pre-teenage children who are not under the immediate care of a parent or responsible adult will not be allowed on the streets of Northbridge after dark under a curfew policy unveiled today by Premier Geoff Gallop.

A 10pm restriction will also apply for unsupervised children aged 13 to 15.

The Premier said a hard-line approach would also be adopted for all young people under the age of 18 who engaged in anti-social behaviour in Northbridge or who were under the influence of alcohol or other drugs.

Dr Gallop said the policy was developed in response to a growing problem of young, unsupervised and often vulnerable children roaming the streets of Perth's main adult entertainment district at night.

A three-month crackdown earlier this year resulted in police removing 454 juveniles from Northbridge streets – 65 per cent were girls.

"This is about protecting children who, quite frankly, should not be wandering the streets at night," the Premier said.

"It is also about protecting the rights of people to go about their business in Northbridge without being harassed by gangs of juveniles.

"In many cases they are engaging in aggressive and offensive behaviour making them not only a nuisance to others but a risk to themselves.

"Many are under the influence of alcohol or other drugs and in obvious physical and moral danger".

The Premier said the policy would apply every evening from Saturday night onwards and be enforced by police officers and DCD officers using existing powers under the Child Welfare Act.

Four additional youth workers have been appointed to work with the Police Service's Juvenile Aid Group, the Noongar Patrol and Mission Australia's On Track service, which will care for any children apprehended by police.

Dr Gallop said children considered to be at low risk of moral and physical danger would be advised to leave the area and make their way home. Children misbehaving or considered to be at medium to high risk would be removed from the streets, assessed and linked to a safe place or safe people.

Children who were offending were liable to face police action and be dealt with in accordance with the law.

The Premier said the Government had consulted widely since first flagging the policy but he accepted that some people would still be uncomfortable with the concept of a youth curfew.

“What I will not accept, however, is the view expressed by some that Northbridge is a safer place for some of these kids rather than their homes or other alternatives,” he said.

“This is an irresponsible and defeatist view.

“No Government could or should accept that Northbridge at night is a safe venue for any unsupervised young child, regardless of their circumstances.

“This policy recognises that fact and proposes to deal with the problem in a tough but sensitive way.

“It also recognises that some of these children come from dysfunctional families who, in many instances, are themselves in need of support.

“We want to work with these children and their families to build better and safer futures”.

The Premier said the Government had allocated unprecedented resources towards new and existing programs to address family dysfunction, as well as other underlying causes of social disadvantage, particularly in the indigenous community.

This included about \$4.5 million a year towards the Strong Families and Indigenous Families programs and a new Health Department initiative to provide multi systemic therapy for children exhibiting extreme risk taking behaviour.

The Government was also keen to work with the City of Perth and other stakeholders to develop new initiatives to improve the safety and amenity of Northbridge.

It was also looking to create alternative activities for young people across the metropolitan area.

“The curfew is not a ‘stand alone’ policy but part of a broader, more comprehensive strategy to make Northbridge safer for all users,” Dr Gallop said.

“At the same time, the Government has demonstrated its commitment to tackle the underlying problems that result in young children being on the streets at night”.

APPENDIX 10

MILESTONE 3 – CURFEW INTRODUCED IN NORTHBRIDGE (JUNE 2003)

This section provides, in tabular form, the findings of my framing analysis of the WA press coverage arising from the introduction of the curfew policy in Northbridge in June 2003. These articles are listed in Table 4, reproduced from Chapter 6 where I discuss my key findings.

Table 4: Milestone 3 Press Articles

Date	Newspaper	Page	Journalist/s	Headline/s
27/6/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	6	Kate Gauntlett, Pamela Magill	<i>Children banned under new curfew; Changes bring a mixed reaction</i>
28/6/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	5	Kate Gauntlett	<i>Tough love or a hard time?; Curfew won't work, says former street kid</i>
29/6/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	1	Nick Taylor/ Dave Franklin	<i>Curfew bites</i>
30/6/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	9	Jerry Pratley, Pamela Magill, Steve Butler	<i>Curfew success claimed; All quiet on Northbridge front line</i>
1/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	14	Editorial	<i>Youth curfew is only the start</i>
6/7/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	39	Grahame Armstrong	<i>Don't fall for curfew stunt</i>
6/7/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	55	Editorial	<i>Curfew for juveniles worth a try</i>
7/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	8	Cian Manton, Steve Pennells	<i>ALP Left turns on curfew</i>
9/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	5	Steve Pennells	<i>Gallop's curfew a winner</i>
11/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	20	Steve Pennells	<i>Cynic or swim in sea of spin</i>
13/7/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	13	Jim Kelly	<i>Traders smile as curfew bites</i>
19/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	18	Editorial	<i>Girls show up double standard</i>
21/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	11	Kate Gauntlett, Cian Manton	<i>Curfew to face legal challenge</i>
22/7/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	11	Kate Gauntlett	<i>Curfew tit-for-tat continues</i>

DATA FINDINGS

Table 13: Milestone 3 Data Findings (A)

Headline	<i>Children banned under new curfew</i>	<i>Changes bring a mixed reaction</i>	<i>Tough love or a hard time?</i>	<i>Curfew won't work, says former street kid</i>
Sub-head or stand first	Gallop details restrictions on youngsters	-	Northbridge battles to shake the popular nightspot's reputation for trouble; critics have dubbed the proposal racist, redneck, shallow and anti-youth (pull-quote)	-
Dominant story frame	Announcement of new restrictions; criticism of key players	Curfew meets with very different responses	Suggestion that the policy is being cruel to Aboriginal youth to be kind (competing frame rejects this)	Curfew will not stop young people going to Northbridge
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	The Government has announced new policy that has been widely criticised	"A draconian legal response" versus "long overdue"	Northbridge's "reputation for trouble"; inappropriate policy response; fails to address trouble from over-18s	"Kids have always played games with the police and they always will ... curfew would simply raise the stakes"
What caused the problem	Concerns about juveniles engaging in anti-social behaviour or under the influence of alcohol and other drugs	Lack of consultation (youth); lack of welfare support (police)	"Many people" blame Aboriginal youth; ill-considered policy	"Young people drawn to Northbridge and one of their favourite pastimes is playing games with the police"; "many ... were happy to play

				up because they enjoyed spending time at children's detention centres"
Moral evaluation	Family dysfunction and disadvantage, particularly in the indigenous community, causing this behaviour	"A cheap shot targeting the most vulnerable members of our community" versus "it's very holistic. It looks at other issues like underlying family dysfunction"	Adult entertainment district "not safe" for children; policy "racist, redneck, shallow and anti-youth"	Petty crime, fighting and alcohol are just part of a Northbridge night out; friends' experiences ... made her concerned about ... taking children out of Northbridge and home to abusive environments
Course of action recommended	Curfew supported by programs to address family dysfunction and disadvantage	Curfew is the appropriate response versus it will create more problems than it will solve	Curfew as part of a wider package to deal with "Northbridge issues"; "Government should invest in Aboriginal young people"	Juvenile caution system should be overhauled to provide sufficient incentives to stop young people reoffending
Lead source	Media statement	Midge Turnbull, Youth Affairs Council of WA	Northbridge traders	Delphine Jamet, former "street kid"
Secondary source	"Nyoongar Patrol, police and Opposition"; Colin Barnett, Leader of the Opposition; Anne Russell-Brown, Mission Australia; Tony Costa, Mayor of Subiaco;	Vivienne George, chairwoman, Safer Northbridge; Mike Dean, President, Police Union	Media statement; "the Opposition, some Aboriginal and youth services and police"; Maria McAttackney, Chief Executive Officer, Nyoongar Patrol; Gordon Cole,	No

	Supt Chris Dawson		chairman, ATSI Perth Nyoongar; Rachel Pemberton, Cinema Paradiso; Anne Russell-Brown, Mission Australia	
Indigenous source	Nyoongar Patrol (indirect)	No	Yes	Yes
Information excluded	On-Track and the youth workers are funded by the Commonwealth Government	Youth workers funded by Commonwealth; what the curfew will actually do that is different	Youth workers funded by Commonwealth	The fact that only young people “misbehaving” or at risk are not allowed in Northbridge (within stated time limits)
Questions not asked	Who has the Government consulted since flagging the proposal? What alternative activities are being proposed? How will the policy provide better amenity, safety and security?	In what way are young people the most vulnerable in the community? In what way will the curfew address crime in Northbridge? Why has the Police Union changed opinion? How will the police powers be different?	How valid is the precinct’s “reputation for trouble”? What alternative activities are being created? Where? Is Northbridge as unsafe for a 17-year-old as for a six-year-old?	Do you think this is appropriate behaviour? Why do you go around in big groups? Do you think all young people are being excluded, regardless of their behaviour?
Language	Restrictions; crackdown	Hard core of 15 children; outraged; Government “treating welfare and social issues with a draconian legal response”; long overdue;	Battling ... escalating anti-social behaviour; banned; must be off the streets; singled out; misbehaving; turning people away;	Curfew would simply raise the stakes; no way they’re going to get everyone out; petty crime, fighting and alcohol part and parcel of life in Northbridge; there is a kind of

		very holistic; children left lying around city police stations on benches all night	reinvigorate a deteriorating Northbridge	popularity status when people fight
Labels	Children; Youngsters; new curfew; a stunt	The new rules; children; juveniles; the most vulnerable members of our community; a cheap shot; family dysfunction	Northbridge residents, traders and patrons; racist, redneck, shallow and anti- youth; a cheap political stunt; a catchy label to repackage existing policy	Young people; kids; children; a Northbridge night out
Images	A young boy in beanie and tracksuit looking over the balcony at the Premier's doorstep in Northbridge. Caption: <i>Curfew launch: A youth looks down as Geoff Gallop addresses a press conference to announce the Government policy for a youth curfew in Northbridge</i>	No	No	Jamet leaning on a bicycle. Caption: <i>Nights to remember: Delphine Jamet says petty crime, fighting and alcohol are just part of a Northbridge night out</i>
Reference to race	Curfew policy to include "new programs to address family dysfunctions and underlying	No	"Many people blame Aboriginal youth"; "what Aboriginal young people really needed were more	Implied because it is all about Delphine and her friends

	causes of disadvantage, particularly in the indigenous community”		activities and places to go to”; “Government should be investing in Aboriginal young people”	
Reference to age	-	-	-	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Both	-	Focus on antisocial behaviour: “Spitting, fighting, petty thieving, begging for cigarettes and alcohol, and intimidating, threatening behaviour”	“Petty crime, fighting and alcohol”; “some nights ...so violent and everyone goes around fighting”
Definition of Northbridge	Talks about “other entertainment areas”	-	The popular nightspot; the adult entertainment district	The entertainment precinct
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	No mention (particularly significant given the Government’s claim that it had consulted widely)	“Many groups still unhappy about the lack of consultation”	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	New policy “simply formalised informal arrangements in operation for years”	No	Dr Gallop has used the word “curfew” as a catchy label to repackage what is already going on in Northbridge and has been for years; informal guidelines in line with Dr Gallop’s age rules “in place for years”	See below

States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	-	-	Implied	Implied – Jamet tells how she ran away from police in the past when they tried to apprehend her under the CWA
Reference to lack of additional resources	States that there are no extra police to administer the policy; notes that four extra youth workers have been appointed	Refers to the four additional youth workers	“The only difference is the addition of four youth workers to ensure better follow-up on underlying social issues”	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	Aboriginal youth ... enjoy hanging out there	The “fun” described is antisocial
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	No (particularly significant given the Government’s claim it would be looking into this)	-	What Aboriginal young people really needed were more activities and places to go to	-

Table 14: Milestone 3 Data Findings (B)

Headline	<i>Curfew bites</i>	<i>Curfew success claimed</i>	<i>All quiet on Northbridge front line</i>	<i>Youth curfew is only the start</i>
Sub-head or stand first	First children removed from Northbridge streets by police	Eight juveniles picked up as Premier shrugs off criticism; “We are keen to make sure we put these people on a path that involves hope rather than despair” (Pull-quote)	-	-
Dominant story frame	Crackdown on children in Northbridge as an apparent result of the “new curfew laws”	Crackdown on youngsters in Northbridge as a result of curfew; Government’s tough but morally superior approach	Curfew passes by unnoticed	Curfew needs to do more than just take children off the streets
Definition of problem (what’s newsworthy)	Children are not safe in Northbridge at night; policy represents a blanket approach	Amenity of Northbridge and young people need to be protected; police are being given baby-sitting duties	Curfew is a non-event	Curfew is tackling the result of the problem instead of the cause
What caused the problem	Large numbers of children visit the precinct; policy not discerning	Kids on a path of despair; engaging in antisocial behaviour, damaging amenity; not enough police; parents not fulfilling duty of care (implied)	“Hardly any children around”; lack of information to police	Many young people feel safer on the streets than they do at home; cycle of family dysfunction resulting in neglect, abuse and poverty

Moral evaluation	Government is “trying to do something”; “parents have the right to decide whether their kids are responsible (enough) to be out”	Not appropriate for youngsters (under 16) to be on the streets after dark. ... It is an adult entertainment area; police resources being wasted to do job of welfare workers; “term curfew is quite inappropriate”; police have a duty of care ... parents too.	“Unfair”	“A simplistic reaction to a problem that goes far deeper than complaints from Northbridge patrons and business proprietors about the antisocial behaviour of some young people”
Course of action recommended	“Provide children with a safe haven”; “policy should look at who juveniles are and what they are doing”	“Put these kids on the right path for their futures ... that involves hope rather than despair”; “reunite” them with their families or other alternative – but off the streets; more police; parents to respect their duty of care	Provide police with more information on the curfew; “children over 12 should be left to go to Northbridge”	More extensive intervention; need to break the cycle of disadvantage; use curfew to identify young people who are at risk
Lead source	Police spokesman	Premier, Dr Geoff Gallop	Police (indirect)	Premier’s announcement regarding curfew success
Secondary source	Mike Dean, president, Police Union; Anne Russell-Brown, Mission Australia	Police spokesman (who declined to comment); Chris Dawson, Central Metropolitan District Supt;	Two Aboriginal girls (both aged 15)	Northbridge patrons and business owners; Mission Australia

		Colin Barnett, Leader of the Opposition		
Indigenous source	No	No	Yes	No
Information excluded	Why these two girls were picked up and where they were taken to; how police numbers compare to other nights; whether police were exercising their powers under the CWA previously and if not, why not; youth workers Commonwealth-funded	What happened to the young people when reunited with their families; fact that the number of apprehensions was relatively small; the criticism of the policy by people working on the ground (as opposed to the Leader of the Opposition)	The operation unrelated to the curfew that required the presence of 40 extra police in Northbridge	What the “wider package” involves; the fact that there is no legal base to the “new regulations” banning children after dark
Questions not asked	Are children being provided with a safe haven now? What are the “new curfew laws”? Why is the curfew controversial? If it’s no different from any other night, why the fanfare? Why are the police not allowed to talk to media?	Was the “reunion of youngsters” with their families endorsed by welfare workers? Who has said it is appropriate for children to be out alone after dark? How does the curfew policy change current police operations under the CWA?	What information were the police waiting for about the curfew to enable them to enforce it? Under what laws other than the CWA would children be picked up? Why do you come to Northbridge? Do you believe you behave appropriately?	What is being done to follow up on the cases (as announced in the media statement)?
Language	Curfew bites; new curfew laws; children removed from streets;	Premier “shrugs off criticism”; children banned ...; have to be off the	“Nothing to show for” curfew; hardly any children on the streets;	Precipitant (sic); youth-inspired lawlessness; policy on the run,

	wet, bleak wintry streets; banned; must be out of the area; picked up; round up; blanket approach; first police action	streets; taken off the streets; picked up; no doubt curfew was a success; reunited with their family; we've copped some criticism but we don't resile ... ; police efforts to clean up the problem in Northbridge	it's sucks; it's so unfair	badly thought out and short on detail; a simplistic reaction to a problem that goes far deeper; Premier Geoff Gallop's fanfare; banned; off the streets; Dr Gallop's grandstanding
Labels	Children; young girls; young people; controversial curfew	These people; youngsters; juveniles; kids; controversial scheme; a stunt	Northbridge front line; youth curfew; police curfew; children	Youth curfew; a politically-inspired re-statement; Government under fire; young people; children; unaccompanied juveniles
Images	A very large photograph of two young girls being escorted into a police caged van by three police officers. Caption: <i>Round up: Police officers detain children in Northbridge last night under the new curfew laws</i>	Main image across three columns shows two seemingly very tall police officers with two small Aboriginal children strolling along the station platform beside them, hands in pockets. Caption: <i>Duty of care: Officers escort two youths back to their guardian, who was</i>	See accompanying article	No

		<i>at the other end of Perth station. Also two column-width photographs. First image shows three police officers talking to two young people (seen from behind, wearing beanies); the bottom photograph is of a patrol car following two mounted policemen. Caption: On the beat: Police talk to two children in Northbridge, above, as others patrol the area on horseback, below</i>		
Reference to race	No – but photograph shows the girls are indigenous	No – but photograph shows the boys are indigenous	No – but clear from their surnames that the girls are indigenous	Refers to the fact that 400 (of 454) juveniles picked up were Aboriginal
Reference to age	“Looked to be aged about 12”	Under the age of 16	“Children under 12 did not go to Northbridge very often”	No
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	-	-	-	Makes a clear distinction between the two. “Curfew does little to address concerns about the level of crime in the area. Mission Australia figures

				show that 80 per cent of such crime is committed by adults”
Definition of Northbridge	Popular entertainment precinct	An adult entertainment area	Entertainment precinct	Northbridge is not the place for such young people late at night
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	No mention – but clear policy did not have Mission Australia’s support	-	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	No – talks about “the first police action to be taken under the controversial new curfew” and refers to the “new curfew laws”	Refers to “the new Northbridge youth curfew”; “there is no curfew”	No - suggests it is a new policy but does not say what	Unequivocally: “a politically-inspired re-statement” of the work that has been done by police and welfare agencies in Northbridge for many years”
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	No mention – but police spokesman said “it’s no different from any other night”	Not explicitly but Central Metropolitan District Supt Chris Dawson said that police “would continue to do as they always did.” He said police operated under the CWA and “were compelled to act” if they saw a child at risk.	States that children picked up were apprehended under existing CWA, but suggests there is some other law now in force but that was not applied that night	States “police already had the power under the CWA to detain young people they believed to be at risk. The curfew brought no change to those powers and responsibilities”
Reference to lack of additional resources	Four new youth workers	Implies that there were more police on the beat that weekend but	States there were 40 extra police on the beat in Northbridge “in an operation	Mentions four more youth workers employed but not enough “to inspire

		ongoing police presence “a matter for Police Commissioner”; four new youth officers	unrelated to the curfew”	confidence”
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	“Older children (than 12) go to enjoy themselves”	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	-	-	-

Table 15: Milestone 3 Data Findings (C)

Headline	<i>Don't fall for curfew stunt</i>	<i>Curfew for juveniles worth a try</i>	<i>ALP Left turns on curfew</i>	<i>Gallop's curfew a winner</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	-	Premier warns of despair under banner of freedom	All-sides support for Northbridge youth bans
Dominant story frame	Curfew nothing more than rhetoric; populist politics	Need to support Premier's efforts to deal with a tragic social problem	Premier criticised from within his own ranks; Dr Gallop takes moral high ground	Curfew a very successful vote winner
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	The curfew is more about winning votes than solving a social problem; there is no policy; it's all about pictures sweeping children from the streets and the Premier pounding the pavement after dark to get a close-up look at the problem	Errant children; wandering juveniles attracted to the bright lights and then "sucked into substance abuse and crime"; they "don't care" about rules and regulations	Curfew is a stunt; treating young people as criminals; have to deal with bad and offensive behaviour	"Most" considered Northbridge more dangerous than other parts of the city and many believed the curfew would make the area safer
What caused the problem	Wanting to win votes; need to change perception that Government obsessed with such issues as drug reform and abolishing discrimination against gays;	Parents not taking responsibility for their children	Wish to appeal to media; family dysfunction and disadvantage	Curfew "struck a chord with voters"

	pitch to be seen to care about families and be tough on law and order			
Moral evaluation	Might be popular, but also cynical; there's a big difference between trying and doing. Like the difference between substance and style; Dr Gallop's underlying and genuine intention is to protect children and there's nothing wrong with that. But governments don't announce anything without one eye to the next election; Government getting Mission Australia to do "its dirty work"	Vulnerable children should not be in Northbridge at night; Government's attempt to deal with issue is to be applauded	Young people being treated as criminals - could alienate them; Labor Government should "be above" such a cynical spin; We don't resile from our efforts to deal with unsupervised young people. ... As every parent knows, sometimes you have to be tough to be fair	It is not clear whether the support for the curfew is related to that perceived improvement in safety or a belief that the youngsters on the streets after dark should be taken home for their own safety
Course of action recommended	Don't buy it (curfew rhetoric)	Government and welfare workers need to address other questions; some parents need to be educated in how to look after their children; tougher laws may be required; critics should stand	More resources for indigenous and community groups; youth activities and safe areas; protocols for police and social workers; be tough to be fair; provide a comprehensive response to a	A "strong perception" that the curfew will bring substantial benefits to the community

		back for a few months and see how the curfew works out	complex problem	
Lead source	Insider knowledge arising from columnist's former position as Premier's media adviser	14-year-old girl in James St	Robert Corr, delegate, Metal Workers Union	Westpoll
Secondary source	Mission Australia	Premier's announcement	Dr Geoff Gallop	Pollster Keith Patterson
Indigenous source	No	The 14-year-old girl?	No	No
Information excluded	Doesn't mention the fact that the "few people" complaining about the curfew are Aboriginal and their votes don't matter; in other words the inherently racist nature of the policy	That there is no new policy to enforce; the small number of apprehensions involved; the reasons why the curfew has been branded a stunt	What the protocols for police and social workers would involve; follow up regarding development and implementation of these protocols and the recommendation for more resources	The other groups who were not consulted re the curfew; the other people who said it was racist; the other groups and people who opposed it; only 54% thought curfew would make Northbridge safer (as opposed to almost 80% who supported curfew)
Questions not asked	-	Are vulnerable people inevitably sucked into substance abuse and crime? Who are the vulnerable children and why? What happens to them when "reunited" with their families? Why did	Why is curfew attributed only to Premier? What does the broader strategy to deal with youth and programs to address family dysfunction and underlying causes of disadvantage	How did figures compare for Liberal/Labor voters on issue? Why are Liberals more likely to believe that the curfew would make Northbridge safer for visitors? What "community"

		one go to a hostel?	involve? What youth activities and safe places have been established? What happened to the children “taken home”/left at hostel?	will benefit from curfew?
Language	Shrewd politics; populist politics in its purest form; Premier’s dirty work; Labor’s pitch to middle-class families; a double-barrelled message to voters; all about image; The Northbridge curfew is old. It has been dressed up and sold as a new policy	Didn’t care about the curfew; Juveniles ... reunited with their family; negativity; bright lights ... a magnet; the magic of the bright lights; sucked into substance abuse	Haphazard; atrocious; law and order rhetoric; banned; off the streets; legitimising despair under banner of freedom; we don’t resile from our efforts; taken home; left at a hostel	Controversial decision; banned; off the streets; offensive behaviour; Premier ... struck a chord with voters; branded racist by Aboriginal organisations
Labels	Curfew stunt; the curfew rhetoric; children; vote winners	Northbridge’s wandering juveniles; errant children; vulnerable children; tragic social problem; controversial Northbridge curfew	Premier Geoff Gallop’s Northbridge youth curfew; children; young people; a cynical spin	Gallop’s curfew; A winner; Northbridge youth bans; children; young people; youngsters; Perth’s troublespots
Images	No	No	Small image of the Premier focused at the top table on reading Conference papers. Caption: <i>Dr</i>	Table with Westpoll’s findings in relation to the three questions

			<i>Gallop: Used his conference speech to attack curfew critics</i>	
Reference to Race	No	No – but it is understood given the previous coverage with pictures of indigenous children	Most of the children picked up were Aboriginal; more resources for indigenous and community groups	Reference to Aboriginal organisations
Reference to age	-	Some under 11	-	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Distinguishes between the two when he says that the 18- to 35-year-olds spilling out into the streets after nightclubs have closed are the biggest problem (and they are responsible for crime, not anti-social behaviour)	Confuses the two: “vulnerable children are sucked into substance abuse and crime”	Premier refers to “bad and offensive behaviour” – implies antisocial	Talks about safety – suggesting crime rather than antisocial behaviour; states that the curfew is about children who are at risk or who are misbehaving, engaging in offensive behaviour, affected by drugs or alcohol, soliciting or begging
Definition of Northbridge	-	Implies it’s for adults	-	Talks about people going there “for a meal or other evening entertainment” that is, families
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-	-	Lack of involvement of community groups “atrocious”	Only mentions youth groups who complained about not being consulted

States that curfew is existing policy with another name	Unequivocally. He cites one youth worker saying, “It’s no different to what we’ve been doing for the past four years”. Also, “The Northbridge curfew is old. It has been dressed up and sold as a new policy”.	Implies there is a new policy that needs to be enforced	No – refers to “the new policy” (see below)	No mention – implies that it is new
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	States that police already have the power under the CWA to remove unsupervised children from the streets	-	Yes. States that police have had the powers to remove at-risk children from the streets under the CWA for several years and have used those powers	-
Reference to lack of additional resources	Confirms no new resources (having pointed out that the youth workers are paid by the Commonwealth)	Mentions only that “over time” the curfew will result in a further drain on police and welfare officers	Conference called for more resources for indigenous and community groups	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	-	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	-	Praised Government’s commitment to providing “youth activities around the metropolitan area”	-

Table 16: Milestone 3 Data Findings (D)

Headline	<i>Cynic or swim in sea of spin</i>	<i>Traders smile as curfew bites</i>	<i>Girls show up double standard</i>	<i>Curfew to face legal challenge</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	-	-	Youth groups find voluntary support among lawyers
Dominant story frame	Gallop Government's growing reputation for style over substance	Northbridge business feels benefits of crackdown	Contradiction in government policy relating to young people's rights	Criticism of curfew takes on new, significant legal twist
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Dr Gallop bemoans "deep-seated suspicion" that greets any new government announcement, but this so-called sea of cynicism is not without cause	Fewer teenagers and less trouble in Northbridge; atmosphere on the streets has improved noticeably; challenge for police and welfare groups to stop juveniles repeatedly returning to Northbridge	While 15-year-olds have rights in one area of their lives, they are denied them in another; parents not able to make their own decisions in relation to their children	Groups to complain to HREOC and EOC that curfew discriminates on basis of age and race, and breaches the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
What caused the problem	Spin; stunts such as the curfew, a policy that had been in place unofficially for years dressed up into a new vote-winning initiative; re-announcements and re-launches	Curfew succeeds in taking "uncontrolled teenagers" off the streets; hard core of juveniles; some probably want to come into Northbridge just to bait the system	Government's mixed messages	Young people being "moved on" while going about their daily business such as leaving TAFE or changing trains at Perth station; one boy allegedly stopped while walking a dog in Leederville
Moral evaluation	Dr Gallop is a "pretty honest guy"; he wears his integrity	Juveniles "uncontrolled"; Northbridge is an	The Government has been less interested in what happens to	Policy discriminates on basis of age and race;

	<p>like a badge of honour; curfew “a handy distraction from the debate on cannabis law reform”; implies that it is other people responsible for the spin and points to government spending on PR, including the DPC’s \$2.36m the previous year</p>	<p>adult area and kids shouldn’t be there</p>	<p>the young people it has banned from Northbridge; it seems that as long as they are no longer visible the Government is content that its policy is working; many would argue the decision should be taken by the parents</p>	<p>some lawyers have “a real issue” with this curfew; the curfew applies equally to children from all races and was introduced because of welfare concerns</p>
<p>Course of action recommended</p>	<p>A sea of cynicism is a necessary defence against an endless river of spin</p>	<p>Take the juveniles off the streets and send them home</p>	<p>If 15-year-olds are able to make a decision about ... where to live, then equally they should have the right to decide whether to visit Northbridge. ... But if the Government believes they should be at home ... then parents should have the right to decide where their children live</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Lead source</p>	<p>Draws on his own experience dealing with government communications</p>	<p>Bob Smales, owner, Valentino Café and chairman, Northbridge Business Improvement Group</p>	<p>Case of runaway girls from New South Wales and Queensland</p>	<p>Midge Turnbull, executive officer, Youth Affairs Council of WA</p>

Secondary source	-	Vincent Tan, Perth City Councillor and president, Northbridge Business Association; Acting Supt John Gillespie	State Government; "parents" (both indirect)	Eric Ripper A/Premier; John Brogden, NSW Opposition Leader
Indigenous source	-	No	-	No
Information excluded	-	Number of apprehensions might reflect the number of police 'on the beat' or the increased pressure on them to apprehend given the curfew's political imperative	The race of the two girls, which could be critical to the argument	-
Questions not asked	-	How does situation compare to same time last year (ie winter)? Why did Smales change view re families/adults in Northbridge? What about the curfew's welfare objective? What happens after they are "picked off" the street and sent home? If the police already had powers, what is new that is making the traders smile?	Would the double standard still apply if the runaway girls were indigenous?	-
Language	Deep-seated	Curfew bites;	Mixed messages;	Will mount a legal

	<p>suspicion that seems to greet any new government announcement or policy; Premier bemoaned its existence; tactic worked like a treat; curfew was dressed up into a new vote-winning initiative; beautifully crafted headline grabber; reinforced Dr Gallop's green credentials; fired its best shots; a paranoid belief</p>	<p>traders smile; happy as a pig in mud; detained and sent home; taken off Northbridge streets; picked off the streets; ringleaders; bait the system</p>	<p>an expensive search; caused their parents considerable anguish; the Gallop Government's grandstanding over the Northbridge curfew; plenty of criticism</p>	<p>challenge to the Northbridge curfew; how people's lives have been affected by the curfew; move (young people) on; take off the streets; some lawyers have ... a real issue with this curfew and are willing to help us out; areas of high youth crime and anti-social behaviour; juvenile crime and antisocial activities; strain on resources; welfare concerns</p>
Labels	<p>Sea of cynicism; river of spin; sea of spin; accomplished headline grabber; re-announcements and re-launches; a handy distraction; stunts</p>	<p>The crackdown; young people; unsupervised children and youths; uncontrolled teenagers; juveniles; hard core</p>	<p>Difficult and vulnerable teenagers; an intriguing double standard; a curious position; a cynical exercise in populism; committed parents</p>	<p>Young people; children; unsupervised children; one high-profile barrister</p>
Images	<p>An unflattering head shot of the Premier, with a caption that reads <i>Dr Gallop: Becoming an accomplished headline grabber</i></p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>

Reference to Race	-	No	No	About 90 per cent of children apprehended by police under the CWA are Aboriginal
Reference to age	-	-	-	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	-	Focus on antisocial behaviour; business owners have long complained that uncontrolled teenagers were responsible for much of the antisocial behaviour that had tarnished Northbridge's reputation	Government claims curfew a tough approach to dealing with young troublemakers after complaints from Northbridge traders and patrons about harassment and antisocial behaviour	Text re New South Wales proposal confuses the two. Refers to "areas of high youth crime and antisocial behaviour"; also proposal responds to "problems of juvenile crime and antisocial activities"
Definition of Northbridge	-	Smales expected the curfew would encourage families to return, but Tan said that "Northbridge is an adult entertainment area at night and these kids shouldn't be there"	-	-
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-	-	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	Curfew "a policy that had been in place unofficially for years"	No	No	-

States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	Mentions “same old provisions for taking youths off the streets”	States that police have been using the same powers of the CWA to remove at-risk children and youths from Northbridge “for years”	States that police already had the power under the CWA to take from the streets any children they judged to be at risk	-
Reference to lack of additional resources	States “no new funding, no new police officers”	-	-	States that since curfew introduced, youth agencies have reported a strain on their resources because more young people are being detained
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	No	-	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	No	-	-

Table 17: Milestone 3 Data Findings (E)

Headline	<i>Curfew tit-for-tat continues</i>
Sub-head or stand first	Youth Affairs Council to go to human rights bodies
Dominant story frame	New legal twist in series of criticisms against curfew
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Groups to complain to HREOC and EOC that curfew discriminates on basis of age and race and breaches the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
What caused the problem	Wrongful apprehensions/detentions
Moral Evaluation	Policy discriminates on basis of age and race; youth groups should be concentrating on providing services
Course of action recommended	Parents of detained children urged to seek legal advice; youth groups should focus on providing services
Lead source	State Government figures
Secondary Source	Youth Affairs Council of WA; Paul Delphin, Deaths in Custody Watch Committee, Cheryl Vernon, manager, Youth Legal Service
Indigenous source	Yes
Information excluded	-
Questions not asked	-
Language	Picked up; statistics proved policy was racist; urging parents to seek legal advice; wrongfully detained
Labels	Curfew tit-for-tat; racist policy; unsupervised children; youths; detained children; human rights watchdogs
Images	No
Reference to Race	About 84 per cent – or 134 – of the 159 youths apprehended were Aboriginal
Reference to age	One aged seven;

	the youngest was aged seven and the oldest 17. Forty-three were aged 15, 34 were aged 14, 28 were 16 and 26 were 13
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	-
Definition of Northbridge	-
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	“Some police” have told <i>The West Australian</i> that they do not believe anything has changed under the curfew policy; when introduced it was criticised by some ...“as being a media stunt to dress up existing policy”
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	Police have for years been apprehending children they consider at risk, using their powers under the CWA
Reference to lack of additional resources	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-

APPENDIX 11

State Government Northbridge Strategy: Young People in Northbridge Policy. Report to the ALP State Conference. Office of Crime Prevention (Government of Western Australia 2003).

This section provides key extracts from the report by the OCP to the ALP State Conference on 5 and 6 July 2003, as follows:

- The Government is pleased with the way the curfew policy is working so far, but it will be some time before proper judgements can be made. This is a difficult and complex problem, but the Government is determined to address the behaviours of these young people and committed to addressing the underlying causes of the problem (5).
- The ban on unsupervised juveniles in Northbridge ... was aimed at addressing crime and child welfare issues; it was part of a broader plan to arrest the economic and social decline of Northbridge. It came after nearly 18 months of effort showed the numbers of unaccompanied children and young people in Northbridge late at night appeared to be worsening (1).
- Since these announcements the Government has worked to develop the Policy and to develop a package of short and long-term support measures. This has included extensive consultation with the Government and non-government agencies, ATSIC, youth organisations, the business community and residents of Northbridge (1).
- ATSIC representatives have made comment on the Policy, but ATSIC's endorsement of the curfew was not sort (sic) (4).
- The Government is ensuring that all agencies directly involved with children and young people, including DIA, DCD, WAPS, the Department of Education and the Department of Justice are meeting their responsibilities in relation to the application of the Policy (5).
- The Policy does not target race, it targets behaviour and it targets kids who, by virtue of their age and behaviour, are a nuisance to others and a risk to themselves (5).

- It is a fact that the majority of unsupervised children on the streets of Northbridge at night are Aboriginal. This has never been disputed. Of the 919 children apprehended in the first six months of the year, 794 – or 86 percent – were Aboriginal children and 69 percent were girls (5).
- The success of the Policy will be judged by the number of unsupervised children and young people on the streets of Northbridge at night, not by the number of children apprehended by police (5).

APPENDIX 12

MILESTONE 4: CURFEW IN CRISIS? (OCTOBER 2003)

This section provides, in tabular form, the findings of my framing analysis of the WA press coverage arising from a round of criticism of the curfew that was triggered by Children’s Court Judge Kate O’Brien.

All the articles were published in October 2003. These articles are listed in Table 5, reproduced from Chapter 7 where I discuss my key findings.

Table 5: Milestone 4 Press Articles

Date	Newspaper	Page	Journalist/s	Headline/s
3/10/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	1	Pamela Magill	<i>Gallop blasts critical judge</i>
4/10/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	11	Pamela Magill	<i>City-wide plan to negate curfew</i>
19/10/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	7	Jim Kelly	<i>Children defy curfew</i>
20/10/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	11	Torrance Mendez	<i>Northbridge curfew to stay: Gallop</i>
21/10/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	5	Cian Manton/ Pamela Magill	<i>Gallop blasts curfew critics</i>
22/10/03	<i>The West Australian</i>	16	Editorial	<i>Northbridge’s curfew is not the problem</i>
26/10/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	27	Nick Taylor	<i>Courts ‘unfair on young Aborigines’</i>
26/10/03	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	65	Editorial	<i>Back Gallop in stand over curfew</i>

DATA FINDINGS

Table 18: Milestone 4 Data Findings (A)

Headline	<i>Gallop blasts critical judge</i>	<i>City-wide plan to negate curfew</i>	<i>Children defy curfew</i>	<i>Northbridge curfew to stay: Gallop</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	-	Young hordes descend on Northbridge	Calls for juvenile entertainment firmly rejected
Dominant story frame	Premier defends curfew	Opposition proposes alternative strategy across the metropolitan area that would negate need for curfew	Lawlessness of unaccompanied juveniles in Northbridge continues unabated	Premier rejects criticism of curfew
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Curfew is the legally and morally right thing to do; curfew does not seem to have a legislative backing; taking young people off the streets is not enough to protect them	Curfew has only targeted a time and a place; no legislative backing; fall in numbers of young people referred	More than 20 children caught almost every weekend, despite intensive follow-up; curfew attracting children to Northbridge to play cat-and-mouse with police; number of unsupervised youths about the same as it was before the curfew was enforced; sheer numbers making proper follow up of every case impossible	Premier "will not budge" in face of criticism that the curfew has not made a difference; not enough police; young people crying out for entertainment; curfew inciting sense of rebellion
What caused the problem	Children out alone at night; social and welfare	Limited to Northbridge and particular times only;	A simplistic approach to dealing with the situation;	"Other people" saying OK for kids to be in Northbridge;

	issues run much deeper than children being out at night	not preventive	prohibition; “kids are going to keep coming here, curfew or not”	no alternative activities; insufficient resources allocated to policy; racist policy
Moral evaluation	It’s both the legally right thing to do and the morally right thing to do; “I’m sure it was well motivated”; (children out alone at night) must send a message that their carers may not be living up to their responsibilities	Police previously not “discerning” in who they picked up; no going back on the issue	Heavy workload taking its toll on patrol members; the last thing you want to say to some of these kids is “no”, because they will do exactly what you say they can’t; Government “would never accept” it was in the best interests of children to be exposed to an adult entertainment area...(result) not unexpected when a section of the community continue to oppose the curfew	“Other people” leading to mixed messages; a battle; young people need alternatives; racist policy that is inspiring sense of rebellion
Course of action recommended	To reunite (young people) with their families and deal with any problems they may have; early intervention is needed; families have a vital role to play	A broader strategy, covering all popular nightspots, that would negate need for curfew; focus on support for young people and parents in their households; “no going back”	Urgent review of the policy and the resources allocated to it; there needs to be a different approach to the way we deal with the huge number of kids we are seeing; we want everyone in the wider community, including the	The Government will not compromise in saying that they should not be there; more resources; need to reform and see how we can deal with issues a lot better; provide entertainment for young people

			Aboriginal community, to say to these kids it is not OK to be in Northbridge at night	
Lead source	Geoff Gallop	Mike Board, Opposition youth spokesman	Maria McAtackney, CEO, Nyoongar Patrol,	Geoff Gallop
Secondary source	Judge Kate O'Brien, Children's Court; Mission Australia figures	Anne Russell-Brown, MA; Premier Geoff Gallop	Welfare officer (unnamed); Premier Geoff Gallop	Maria McAtackney, CEO, Nyoongar Patrol; Anne Russell-Brown, MA; Matt Birney, Opposition police spokesman
Indigenous source	No	No	Maria McAtackney	Yes
Information excluded	Why the judge is "controversial"; why the curfew's legislative base may be in question	Opposition divided on curfew; significance of the debriefing for follow-up care; curfew declared success less than 12 hours after it was introduced	Barnett's question in Parliament to Premier regarding identity of those alleged to condone young children out alone at night; figures reflect increase in police activity and lack of additional resources to deal with increase, not in numbers going to Northbridge	The curfew's aim to address the children's welfare; Colin Barnett does not support the curfew; Premier's prior undertaking to create alternative activities for young people; strain on Patrol resulting from increased police activity and Government's failure to allocate additional resources, rather than an increasing number visiting the precinct

Questions not asked	Why does the article lead with the Premier? What do the figures relate to? What does the drop in figures mean?	What does the proposed strategy involve? How would it make curfew redundant? Why is Board not more hopeful of success?	Who said it was in the best interests of children to be out alone at night? Why did the Premier single out the Aboriginal community? What happens after the children are picked up?	What “other people” say that it’s all right for children to be in Northbridge? Why is the Premier rejecting calls for entertainment, especially when he undertook to create “alternative activities”? Does the Government no longer want to attract families?
Language	Blast; fundamentally disagreed; curfew bound to fail; curfew will peter out; doesn’t seem to have legislative backing; I’m sure it was well motivated; children reunited with their families	We would have a much stronger and wider program that would hopefully eventually ...; likely to peter out; police were being more discerning; there will be no going back on the issue	Young hordes descend on Northbridge; children defy curfew; deter children; returning to the streets in large numbers; children caught; sheer number; wandering Northbridge; play cat-and-mouse with the police; boy bolted; heavy workload taking its toll; so exhausted; huge number of kids; in the best interests of children; not going to take a backward step;	Curfew to stay; refused to budge; new criticism; had not made a difference; clearing under-15s from Northbridge after 10pm; Government has battle on its hands; will not be reversed in the face of claims it had not made a difference; keep Northbridge free of troublesome juveniles; causing concern; mixed messages; absolutely no way...; overrun by new arrivals; inciting a sense of

			some kids ... totally out of control; turn these kids around	rebellion; take children off the streets
Labels	Controversial Children's Court judge; children; young people	The controversial Northbridge curfew; children; young people	Young hordes; children; young people, some of primary school age; young curfew breakers; unsupervised youths; the controversial curfew; troublesome children; prohibition; a simplistic approach	The controversial Northbridge curfew; troublesome juveniles; kids; children; youngsters; young people; a hard core; racist
Images	No	No	Photo, four-column width, of two young people being escorted by two police officers into a caged van. Caption: <i>Caught out: Police apprehend two youngsters in Northbridge on Friday night</i>	No
Reference to race	No	No	361 (of 441) were Aboriginal; an Aboriginal boy managed to evade eight officers; we want everyone in the community, including the Aboriginal	Curfew "racist because clearly aimed at indigenous young people"

			community, to say it's not OK...	
Reference to age	As young as eight or nine	-	Some of primary school age; as young as 12 out on the streets; youngest just seven	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	-	No mention – just talks about “similar problems” in other popular nightspots	-	No mention, but reference to “troublesome juveniles” suggests antisocial behaviour
Definition of Northbridge	Adult entertainment area	All popular nightspots	The entertainment district	An adult entertainment zone
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-	-	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	No	No	No – and does not make connection when states that “Nyoongar Patrol has been dealing with young people in Northbridge for years”	-
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	No	No	No	Mission Australia states there was “already sufficient support to take children off the streets without the need for a curfew”
Reference to lack of additional resources	No	No	No – and does not make connection when Nyoongar Patrol calls for urgent	No mention – even though the strain on resources is key issue in this article

			review and resources allocated to the curfew or when Premier says “extra welfare staff would be assigned to follow-up troublesome children if necessary”	
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	No – but say they play “cat-and-mouse with police”	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	-	-	-	-

Table 19: Milestone 4 Data Findings (B)

Headline	<i>Gallop blasts curfew critics</i>	<i>Northbridge's curfew is not the problem</i>	<i>Courts 'unfair on young Aborigines'</i>	<i>Back Gallop in stand over curfew</i>
Sub-head or stand first	Aboriginal leaders accused of leading their children down wrong path	-	-	-
Dominant story frame	Premier rejects criticism of curfew from Aboriginal leaders who are leading "their children" down the wrong path	Aboriginal families, not the curfew, are the problem	Headline may dismiss claim that court system disadvantages Aboriginal people; article presents competing frame: ALS' view and WA Attorney General's on customary laws and problems with current system	Support Gallop for standing firm in face of criticism
Definition of problem (what's newsworthy)	Aboriginal and community leaders are undermining the curfew by encouraging children into the entertainment district; curfew has done nothing to help Aboriginal people overcome the huge injustices we suffer in this day and age; curfew does not empower Aboriginal people or help them	Children – some of them up to no good – who roam the area at night without responsible adult supervision ... putting themselves and possibly others in danger; Aboriginal leaders such as Dennis Eggington turning to resounding rhetoric and philosophising rather than focusing on developing a solution	Existing juvenile justice options had proved to be ineffective for Aboriginal children ... and do nothing to reduce their level of future offending; curfew has increased the powers and contacts of police and Aboriginal youth	Numbers of children in Northbridge suggest simply that the curfew policy has hit a more difficult period; criticism of curfew misguided

	to take responsibility for their actions; nothing for young people to do			
What caused the problem	They are sending the wrong message to young people; an ill-thought out political move; punitive policy, aimed at Aboriginal people and sets back reconciliation; outdated policy; failure to provide alternative activities	Deficiency of care and supervision, that is, parents not assuming their responsibilities; Aboriginal leaders blaming history and what they call the huge injustices they suffer	Failure to acknowledge cultural differences and the long-standing disadvantages suffered by most Aboriginal offenders	Some time down the track “things” were bound to get more difficult; possibly insufficient numbers of police; people who say it’s OK for children to be in Northbridge; parents not taking responsibility
Moral evaluation	(Aboriginal leaders) are sending a very, very bad signal out and it’s making it harder for the Government to do what it should on behalf of the community; that culture in Northbridge sends them exactly down the opposite path; Northbridge would be intolerable without the curfew; a disgusting, punitive policy; people misbehave when they have nothing to do	It is hard to believe that critics of the curfew could argue seriously that unsupervised children, some of whom are not even in their teens, have some sort of right to be in an adult entertainment precinct late at night; until (Aboriginal families come up with solutions), the curfew remains necessary for their protection and that of others	They may be with older siblings or relatives and would be in far greater danger making their way home on their own than remaining with their family; once again there is a policy which at the very least indirectly discriminates in its effects upon Aboriginal youth; Aboriginal young people feel that they are constantly watched and picked on by police for behaviour or lack of behaviour which	All members of the community, including the Aboriginal community, should be saying to these children it is not OK to be in Northbridge at night; the curfew has hit that (difficult) time, but that doesn’t mean the idea should be declared a failure and the Government forced back to the drawing board; why aren’t their parents looking after them – do their parents need help or

			would go unnoticed if they were not Aboriginal	education so they are better able to control their children? surely, it has achieved some measure of success if it has turned a few wild children around...; early evidence from the streets was that Northbridge was a much more pleasant place to be in
Course of action recommended	Start to consider the point of view of the victims – the people that live in this area, the people that work in this area, the people that visit this area; don't blame community leaders; be man enough or strong enough to say, "we might be wrong"; provide a youth space; instead of battling young people, Dr Gallop should look at working with them	Curfew necessary for their protection and that of others; Aboriginal leaders to put their minds to finding ways to overcome the problem and confront some hard questions	Like many other jurisdictions in Australia, introduce an Aboriginal court for juveniles in WA, not only in regional locations but also in the metropolitan area; everyone is aware of the problem of the number of Aborigines in trouble with the law, over-representation in prison and the need to tackle the issues in different ways	Government needs to make sure that the police have sufficient resources to enforce the curfew; Government should look widely at the issue. They need to know, for example, why these children are on the streets; why aren't their parents looking after them? Do the parents need help or education so they can look after them?
Lead source	Geoff Gallop	Dennis Eggington (indirect)	Debra Rose, Deputy CEO, ALS (WA)	Premier (indirect)

Secondary source	Dennis Eggington, chief executive, ALS; Farley Garlett, ATSIC south-west commissioner; Midge Turnbull, executive officer, Youth Affairs Council	Premier (indirect and unacknowledged)	Jim McGinty, Attorney General	Nyoongar patrol (indirect)
Indigenous source	Yes – ALS and ATSIC	Yes – indirect ALS	Yes	Indirect (but misrepresents what Patrol had said)
Information excluded	The only “Aboriginal leaders” quoted in latest round of criticism against the curfew were the Nyoongar Patrol; ALS had been quoted only once, seven months earlier; numerous, non-Aboriginal sources had criticised the curfew; Government undertook to create alternative activities for young people and is now reneging on this promise; Premier said curfew also to protect children’s welfare, but children no longer seen to be victims, only the people who visit, live and work in	Eggington is one of a majority of interested parties who have criticised the curfew, including <i>The West Australian</i> ; no-one has argued that children should be in Northbridge alone at night; no-one has argued about who has responsibility for these children; the police already had the powers to remove children at risk; the vast majority of crimes are committed by 18-35 year olds; normal cultural practice for Aboriginal people to gather in groups; ALS has only been quoted twice in the last seven months;	-	The number of children apprehended can simply reflect police activity; agencies have not been given extra resources to deal with additional number of apprehensions and provide necessary follow-up; criticisms of the curfew are not new; the “policy” is encountering problems that were not visible before because the curfew had been declared a success in winter; the Nyoongar Patrol never said it was OK for children to be out alone in Northbridge; their concern related to not having

	<p>Northbridge; none of the sources who have talked about rights of young people to be in Northbridge was Aboriginal</p>	<p>neither has any other party been consulted or asked to assist in developing solution; Government undertook to introduce programs addressing family dysfunction but has not; ATSIC and others worked with Government to address issue of indigenous youth but pre-empted by curfew; Government ignored the recommendations of its own Northbridge report, to which ATSIC and others had input; no-one is simply blaming "history or the authorities"</p>		<p>sufficient resources to deal with the increased number of apprehensions; issue of police resourcing raised repeatedly by Police Union and Leader of the Opposition; police are not responsible for follow up work; no evidence provided to show how a "few wild children" were "turned around"; it does not say by whose standards and for whom Northbridge has become a "much more pleasant place to be"</p>
<p>Questions not asked</p>	<p>Why are you blaming Aboriginal leaders for problems arising from the Government's failure to provide agencies with the resources to deal with the increased police activity? Who has encouraged children to visit Northbridge</p>	-	-	-

	and how have they done this? Why are you reneging on your promise to create alternative activities for young people? Do you no longer consider children to be victims?			
Language	Premier defiant; blasts critics; take these kids off the streets; yet another round of criticism; leading children down the wrong path; undermining the curfew; sending a very, very bad signal; a tremendous future; punitive; sets back reconciliation; nothing to help Aboriginal people overcome the huge injustices we suffer in this day and age; “be man enough or strong enough to”; instead of battling young people; a wise investment; intolerable	Children roam the area; wandering the streets at night; up to no good; curfew a justifiable response and partial solution to the problem; it is hard to believe that critics ...; a deficiency of care and of supervision; children left to their own devices are unprotected and in moral danger; children putting themselves and possibly others in danger; no amount of philosophising; punitive; sets back reconciliation; what he calls the huge injustices they	Courts “unfair”; juvenile justice options had proven to be ineffective; striking need for such a court in Perth; a series of severe and discriminatory laws and policies; it is time that the Government recognised that ...; rounding up our children, taking them off the streets, locking them up ...; in reality further entrenches them within criminal justice system; the history between Aboriginal people and the police has always been strained; many Aboriginal young people feel that they are	Hardly surprising that a number ... appear to be defying ...; it is not OK to be in Northbridge at night; turn a few wild children around; do we declare the whole idea a failure and force the Government back to the drawing board? pleasing to see Premier Geoff Gallop standing firm in the face of criticism; it’s no good expecting desperately understaffed police stations to ...; obvious education issues involved; Northbridge a much more pleasant place to be in; an extended period of serious

		suffer; resounding rhetoric; regrettably, the police have cause regularly to take an interest in their activities ...; put their minds to finding ways ...; confront some hard questions	constantly watched and picked on by police	enforcement
Labels	Curfew critics; their children; young people; kids; Aboriginal leaders; community leaders; ill-thought out political move; a disgusting policy; outdated	Unsupervised children; a disgusting policy	Aboriginal children; Aboriginal juveniles; Aboriginal offenders	Young people; these children; the controversial Northbridge curfew
Images	Head and shoulders of a “defiant” Premier in full voice	No	No	No
Reference to race	Aboriginal leaders accused of leading their children down wrong path; Premier “only ever heard criticism from the ALS”; young Aboriginal people have a tremendous future in WA but ...; policy aimed at	Consistent protests against the curfew by the Aboriginal Legal Service, in particular, have turned this into an Aboriginal issue – though it applies to all children. If this is, as Mr Eggington insists, an Aboriginal problem, then it is reasonable to expect	All about need to address particular situation of Aboriginal juveniles; since curfew introduced in June, 86 per cent of those picked up were Aboriginal	Everyone in the community, including the Aboriginal community

	Aboriginal people	that he and other Aboriginal leaders might put their minds to finding ways to overcome it		
Reference to age	-	Unsupervised children, some of whom are not even in their teens	-	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	Midge Turnbull refers to people misbehaving, suggesting anti-social behaviour	Refers to both: “children, especially in groups, sometimes commit crimes, disrupt businesses and so on”	-	-
Definition of Northbridge	The entertainment district	An adult entertainment precinct	-	Suggests adult – “it is not OK for these children to be in Northbridge at night”
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-	No – particularly significant omission given it condemns Aboriginal leaders for failing to assist in developing solutions	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	-	-	States there is a difference in provisions (see below)	Clearly believes it is a new policy that is simply encountering problems with enforcement
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	-	States that the curfew enables children at risk to be removed, ignoring fact that the police	The curfew is broader than other provisions because it allows police to hold children in a station	-

		already had these powers	rather than being required to return them home	
Reference to lack of additional resources	Premier says the resources needed to implement the curfew were being monitored and would be increased if needed	-	-	States that if police need more resources they should be given them
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	-	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	Premier dismissed calls for the Government to help establish youth activities or events in Northbridge; there is absolutely no reason for not providing a youth space. If they did, some of the problems would be addressed. People misbehave when they have nothing to do. Give them something productive to do and it would be a wise investment	-	-	-

APPENDIX 13

MILESTONE 5: CURFEW CONSOLIDATED (JANUARY 2004)

This section provides, in tabular form, the findings of my framing analysis of the WA press coverage arising from the State Government declaring the curfew a success, six months after its introduction, despite the fact its figures show that the curfew has failed to deter a “hard-core” group of young people from visiting Northbridge. All the articles were published in January 2004. These articles are listed in Table 6, reproduced from Chapter 8 where I discuss my key findings.

Table 6: Milestone 5 Press Articles

Date	Newspaper	Page	Journalist/s	Headline/s
9/1/04	<i>The West Australian</i>	10	Cian Manton	<i>Problem youths in sights</i>
11/1/04	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	7	Grahame Armstrong/Jesse Riseborough	<i>Curfew is doing its job, says Gallop</i>
11/1/04	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	59	Editorial	<i>Pat on back for Gallop crime fight</i>

DATA FINDINGS

Table 20: Milestone 5 Data Findings

Headline	<i>Problem youths in sights</i>	<i>Curfew is doing its job, says Gallop</i>	<i>Pat on back for Gallop crime fight</i>
Sub-head or stand first	-	-	-
Dominant story frame	Government intervention programs to address “repeat visitors” to Northbridge; starting to have an impact	Curfew a success	Commend Premier for his record in fighting crime
Definition of problem (what’s newsworthy)	Hard-core group of youth being caught repeatedly breaking the Northbridge curfew; 22 children picked up between five and nine times over six months	Fewer children and less aggressive behaviour; majority of children “caught up” by the curfew have not come back; 22 children identified as chronic offenders	An impressive law and order record
What caused the problem	The intervention programs take time to have an impact: “The Department for Community Development expected the numbers in the group to drop off as the programs took effect”	Government policy to ban children from the area; families of “repeat” offenders failing in parenting skills	Labor Government has introduced toughest laws in country on organised crime; has introduced legislation to regulate and control prostitution; a consistent approach to law and order (that has included) Northbridge curfew and a proposal for the parents of troubled children to attend classes

Moral evaluation	Programs proving successful; one youth who had been picked up nine times between July and October was back at school and had not been back in Northbridge	Premier felt safe; families of truant, troublesome or criminal children must be forced to attend parenting classes; not appropriate for young children to be in the area; no future for children in Northbridge; good for business and good for the people that live and work in Northbridge	The State Government should be commended; we should give credit where it's due; parents are not taking responsibility for their children; Labor has outpointed its political opponents on law and order
Course of action recommended	Intervention programs now starting to work; various agencies, including Community Development, police, Mission Australia, the Nyoongar Patrol and the Department of Justice working collaboratively with the young people and their families to deal with issues ranging from truancy to family dysfunction	Continue to take children home to their parents or make adequate provision for them; keep working with those problem kids ... and their families to try to turn them around; give courts power to issue Parental Responsibility Orders; punish those who refuse to attend parenting classes	Force mums and dads ... to take responsibility for their children's behaviour; win the war against crime; constant vigilance
Lead source	Sue Ozich, Acting Executive Director, DCD	Premier Geoff Gallop	Recent government initiatives on crime
Secondary source	No	No	-
Indigenous source	No	No	-
Information excluded	When the intervention programs were introduced; the significance of the	No alternative views provided; curfew was declared a success less	That 71 per cent of crime in Northbridge is committed by people aged

	various agencies working together to address family dysfunction etc; the significance of the alternative activities in the suburbs	than 12 hours after it was first implemented; Mission Australia and Nyoongar Patrol had repeatedly raised concerns about need for follow up with families; some children do not have safe homes to go to; Government's contradictory position re Northbridge for adults or families; that simply punishing parents is likely to be no more successful than stopping chronic offenders from re-offending	18-35 years of age
Questions not asked	Why is only one example given to demonstrate the program's success? Why were intervention programs not introduced with the curfew as promised? Why were alternative activities not created in Northbridge? Why is the Premier not commenting on this issue?	How often does the Premier go to Northbridge? Does he think his experience would be typical of all visitors? Why did the Government not introduce intervention programs six months ago as promised? Why did it not adopt the recommendations of the Northbridge report two years earlier, which included such issues as lighting?	-
Language	In sights; caught repeatedly breaking the curfew; picked up; issues ranging from truancy to family dysfunction	Caught in the curfew; caught up by the curfew; picked up; felt safe; to turn them around; good for business; general indication is ...	Pat on back; people tired of governments and politicians talking big; they want real action; impressive law and order record;

		<p>things much better; not appropriate; keen to work with their families; taken home to their parents; no way he would lift the curfew; curfew going to stay; forced to attend home-making classes; parents who refuse to attend would be punished; a significant success rate; no future for children in Northbridge</p>	<p>give credit where it's due; the State Government should be commended; toughest laws in the country; consistent approach to law and order; forcing mums and dads to take responsibility; latest initiative to make our streets safer; tough laws; Labor has outpointed its political opponents on law and order; winning the law and order battle; winning the war on crime</p>
Labels	<p>Problem youths; hard-core group of youths; young people; children; the controversial youth policy; repeat visitors</p>	<p>Girls of high-school age; primary school age; children; youngsters; chronic offenders; those problem kids and their families; truant, troublesome or criminal</p>	<p>Troubled children; mums and dads</p>
Images	<p>Head shot of a reflective-looking Dr Gallop</p>	<p>Two pictures. The first is of a group of smiling Aboriginal young people, with one beaming girl shaking hands with the Premier. Caption: <i>Night life: Premier Geoff Gallop, on walkabout in Northbridge, meets youngsters with the</i></p>	<p>No</p>

		<i>Nyoongar Patrol in James St. The second picture is of the Premier walking with three well-built men (who are clearly security guards) outside club X. Caption: On patrol: Dr Gallop checks how the curfew is working</i>	
Reference to race	No	A total of 624 (out of 700) were Aborigines	No
Reference to age	-	Girls of “high-school age” have been in the majority among children ... 481 of them were aged 13 to 15. A further 85 were of primary school age, including a seven-year-old	-
Reference to antisocial behaviour or crime	-	Two types of offence confused in reference to “truant, troublesome or criminal” children. The Premier also talks about there being “less aggressive behaviour”	Lists curfew as part of Government’s fight against crime
Definition of Northbridge	-	An adult entertainment precinct	-
Reference to lack of consultation on curfew	-	-	-
States that curfew is existing policy with another name	-	-	-
States that powers already exist under the <i>Child Welfare Act 1947 (CWA)</i>	-	-	-

Reference to lack of additional resources	-	-	-
States that young people may be there just to have fun	-	-	-
Reference to need for alternative activities for young people	Talks about making sure young people are aware of safe activities and entertainment in their local areas	-	-

APPENDIX 14

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Interviewees

With the exception of the various editors of *The West Australian* (three held the position during the period under review), all the titles given were current at the time of the publication of the *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report (January 2002).

Media professionals

The West Australian

- Former Editor (A)
- Former Editor (B)
- Former Acting Editor
- State Political Editor
- Columnist (A)
- Columnist (B)
- Reporter (A) who covered social affairs, among others
- Reporter (B) who covered social affairs, among others
- Reporter (C) who covered indigenous affairs, among others
- A police reporter
- General News Reporter

The Sunday Times

- Editor
- A senior political reporter
- Columnist
- A police reporter
- General News Reporter (A)
- General News Reporter (B)

ABC News

- A senior political reporter

Government media advisers

- Senior official, Government Media Office
- Senior government media adviser
- Media adviser to the Minister for Police

Other government officials

- Minister
- Senior official, Office of Crime Prevention
- Senior official, media department, WA Police Service
- Author of the *Northbridge: Shaping the Future* report

Key individuals working with indigenous youth in Northbridge

- State Manager, Mission Australia
- Chief Executive Officer, Nyoongar Patrol
- Research Fellow, Crime Research Centre, the University of Western Australia