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TACKLING YOUTH GANG ISSUES ON CAMPUS – A CASE STUDY

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Summary: Youth gang crime is a topical and pervasive issue in contemporary Scotland. It is normally considered to be an urban street problem and seldom is the phenomenon framed in an educational context. This practice note discusses how one of Scotland's longest serving campus officers dealt with youth gang issues on campus at a Secondary School in West Central Scotland. In the first part of the note, we provide some theoretical underpinnings to explain the importance of this policing approach. In the second part we present a case study which describes the effectiveness of some very practical policing strategies and why they proved to be so. Part three identifies key factors and draws conclusions.

PART 1 – THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

This practice note is particularly useful because it reports on the highly topical issue of the campus officer which is important because the extant literature on campus officers has generally concentrated upon the American experience (See for example the studies of Heinsler, Kleinmann and Stenross, 1990; Leitner and Sedlacek, 1976; Jackson, 2002). In such studies, the campus officers referred to are sworn police officers recruited into police departments but are managed by the institutions themselves. These institutions may be schools, colleges, or universities. In the American model, such Campus officers perform the same role as regular police officers but also have a security role within their institutions. They will often have to police youth crime and deal with gang related issues. To date there has been little empirical research in Scotland into the role of campus officers where they and their counterparts, School Liaison Officers (SLO) as they are sometimes known, are now well established. Mack (1963) reported on the forerunner of the campus officer role in Scotland, the police juvenile liaison scheme, albeit noting that it was a more desk-based approach than the current role. In the Scottish or British model the role performed by the individual police officers differs considerably from force to force. However, as Black *et al.* (2010) report there is a 'view amongst most educational staff, campus officers and stakeholders that the main purpose of a campus officer was to improve relationships between young people and the police' (op cit:2). In Grampian Police the School Liaison Officers are predominantly classroom based and act as teachers, albeit there is a campus officer at one School in Aberdeen and another school where the village police station is part of the community school. As a general rule, the SLOs in Grampian, as specialist officers, seek to educate youth into becoming better citizens. What makes this particular study of importance is that it discusses the Strathclyde Police campus officer as a proactive form of community policing integrated into the wider Community Policing Model. This innovation coincided with the rise of the new community schools movement (Sammons, Power, Elliot, Robertson, 2003).

This practice note adds to the growing literature on campus officers in a British context and to the published studies by Hopkins, Hewstone and Hantzi (1992); Hopkins (1994); Jackson (2002); Brown (2006) and Black *et al.* (2010). Brown (2006) has stressed that academically little attention has been paid to understanding the actual role of school police officers although Black *et al.* have gone some way to addressing this in their recent evaluation of campus officers in Scotland. What is special about this practice note is that it counters the claims of Hopkins, Hewstone and Hantzi (1992) who argued that the influence of SLO is minimal over time because the kids can differentiate between the liberal attitudes of campus officers and the tough attitude of street cops. Also, there is little evidence in the narrative that the young people regarded the officer in this case study as being atypical: indeed, the Strathclyde campus officers are more typical of street officers and thus according to Hopkins (1994) they are less likely to be discriminated against by pupils as being somehow qualitatively other.

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From an academic perspective, this practice note could equally be situated in the literatures of community policing and police intelligence. It illustrates a hard edge to community policing, which stops short of the 'Zero-Tolerance' approach (Dennis and Bratton, 1997). There is an element of Early Intervention work in this study (See also the work of Farrington and Welsh, 2007; Smith, 2010). The pragmatic and proactive form of community policing described above is one of the reasons it proved successful. Introducing a campus officer into the school system initially led to a clash of cultures and to suspicion and apprehension on both sides. However, the officer was able to act professionally and interject with the necessary 'outsider perspective'.

Methodology
The case study which follows was developed from a long-serving campus officer's personal reflection on the experiences of taking on and defining the role. We, the authors, then worked with the officer to help narrate these experiences. In Part 2 below the campus officer narrates their personal story. In line with good practice we have taken care to anonymise both the school and the officer involved (Davies *et al*., 2011).

PART 2 – THE CASE STUDY

The Problem to be Resolved
Gang fighting and violence was becoming increasingly problematic for two Secondary Schools in west central Scotland particularly in the morning prior to school starting, the mid-morning break, lunch time, and after school. It was a very real problem that not only affected the school but also the community and the local police. It was taking lots of police resources to police the area – they were throwing everything at it: support units, cars, bicycles, beat patrols, etc. to little or no effect. Every day the kids came out of school, started fighting, and ran away when the police arrived – basically they [the school pupils] were having a field day! Something had to be done – but what?

The Resolution
On return from annual leave, I was called into my Superintendent's office along with a colleague and we were told that we were being sent to become campus officers at these schools. Personally, I had no idea why we were selected but we were told it was on our policing/community skills and the ability to work with young people. At that time, I believed that I had pulled the short straw because there was no manual; there was no training; and to add to that I was informed that I was going to the school which had the local reputation of being the worse of the two. It was mayhem, and added to that for ideological reasons the incumbent Head Teacher did not even want a campus officer.

My remit was to:-

- Enhance the profile of the police;
- Positively improve the school and surrounding area; and
- To arrest/lock up only where it was absolutely necessary.

The fact that there was no manual, no formal training, and no real support from the school caused me some initial apprehension. There was no introduction to the school. I turned up on the first day the kids were back following the Easter School Holidays and was greeted at the door by the Head Teacher who introduced himself to me and remarked that he did not want me there. The Head felt it was bad for the image of the school and informed me that I was only there for a 4 week pilot period. I was initially apprehensive about starting work at the school.

Starting work in the school
Two things happened, which quickly changed my pessimistic view. One, the staff did not share the view of the Head Teacher and indeed were supportive of a campus officer being appointed to their school. It transpired that they had not been consulted on whether or not they wanted a campus officer. They did! Consequently, it was easier to work with the school than I had first anticipated. Secondly, as an outsider I was able to identify a couple of changes in how the school was controlled that had visible effects quite quickly.

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One decision that I made early on was what groups to work with and I decided to focus on the 1st and 2nd years as the 4th year pupils were due to be leaving in a couple of months and anything that I did with them in the short time available was unlikely to have any lasting effect on their gang and anti-social behaviour. Furthermore, the majority of pupils in the 3rd Year would leave school the following year and my perception was that anything I could do to address the challenges faced would have to be a long term project and therefore focusing on the lower year groups was most likely to have a lasting effect.

Some rules of engagement within the school also had to be set. My role was not that of guard but one of engagement with young people to raise the profile of the police and encourage/educate young people so that they would make different/more positive choices about their lifestyles. Enforcement was only to be used where absolutely necessary.

Furthermore, if the role of campus officer was to be successful and make a difference, I needed to work as part of a team with the staff and not as a lone agent. I was fortunate in gaining the support of senior members of staff who were willing to share inside knowledge of pupils who were 'trouble makers', 'ring leaders' and also who were the pals (or lieutenants) of these individuals. This enabled the development of a greater understanding of the local gangs and how they operated/worked. As part of the team my role was that of enforcer where necessary; I would, where appropriate, arrest and charge pupils. My role was also to act as a witness in any formal process that might arise; that process would (most likely) be with the Children's Panel because of the age of the pupils, as opposed to the more formal Scottish Criminal Justice System.

Initial Perceptions

In the first few days my initial perception was that there was little disruption in the classes – discipline in relation to teaching was generally very good. Where the problems emerged in the school day was in the breaks between classes, mid-morning and at lunch time when fights were common. One of the main issues was gang fighting.

My first observation was that there was no formal surveillance or control of the corridors. To address this staff were encouraged to take on the role of observing and controlling behaviour at key points in the corridors which quietened down the disturbances within the school. Another main source of trouble was break times – mid-morning and lunch time – when pupils were leaving the school and causing all sorts of problems outside the school and in the local shops. With the support of the staff the playground was patrolled and pupils kept within the school. At lunch time this also allowed the possibility of promoting better health through healthy school lunches – rather than chips from one of the local shops! Furthermore, there was an understanding that diet and violence are linked and the kids were buying masses of Red Bull which the shops had on sale. Consequently, when they were allowed to leave the school during break times they were returning to school climbing the walls in the afternoon. I arranged with shops to stop promotion of the drink during the day and also asked them to restrict tobacco sales to periods outwith break times and ten minutes before the start of school.

Outside there were a number of issues to be addressed. Firstly, identifying gang leaders and keeping a close eye on them reduced the level of gang fights in the playground. Using intelligence from other pupils to make 'scapegoats' of gang leaders by arresting them for bringing knives/weapons into the school also had an effect. Identifying the leaders was easy in that they were obvious alpha males within the groups. They were given no chances and the school assisted by reporting any discipline infringement. Parents called the school telling of knife carrying as reported by their kids. Within 4 months I caught three gang leaders with weapons in school. All were arrested, and after initial difficulty with the Education Department they were permanently excluded from the school. We argued that witnesses within school would be at risk if they remained on the school roll. Trying to protect the remainder of the school from knife carriers after they were caught had been a problem for a couple of years due to the Education Authority policy on non-exclusion. The School was under huge pressure to keep kids on the roll at any cost. The turning point occurred when a child was stabbed at a neighbouring School by a pupil who had previously been caught with a knife but not expelled from the school. Around that time the Director of Education changed - as did the policy, although schools still were reluctant to officially exclude pupils to keep their exclusion figures down. This was a problem when a serious incident occurred, because there was no official record of previous problems with these individuals to show that their erratic or bad behaviour was sustained and not just a one-off event. The following sections elaborate on how the issues identified were addressed in the school and community setting.

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Increasing/Improving the Intelligence Flow

There was clearly a need to increase and improve the flow of intelligence. With the support of the informal school intelligence system on the gangs and key individuals we were able to develop a fuller picture of the problem. The key individuals in the pupil populations became more visible: 90 problem individuals were identified out of a school population of 700. This intelligence enabled me to identify links with/ membership of 11 local gangs. For example, gang tags was one way of linking individuals and their behaviour to particular groups/gangs – their tags were everywhere on walls in the community and on their bags and jotters in school. Linking the tags to individuals was relatively easy as most kids wrote their own names and it was simple enough to check the tags on their school books, bags and the local graffiti. I was also able to check social networking sites; one gang tag would link with hundreds of others. This was the beginning of the intelligence work that has led to the massive reduction in gang activity in the whole area. It was also one of the catalysts for the formation of a Gangs Task Force and effective enforcement strategies, such as dispersal zones using ASB legislation. Some kids had more unusual tags, nicknames. I spoke with PE staff and arranged to take part in some lessons: the boys always used the tag names during sport and so names were put to faces.

I also discovered that the CCTV cameras in the school could be revolved 360 degrees, which is unusual, but proved to be very useful. I started going into the school in the evenings and sitting in with the janitors with the cameras turned in the opposite direction from their normal position and focused instead on a known area where much of the local gang fighting took place. I could then identify pupils involved in the gang fighting, which gangs they belonged to and the weapons they were using. These observations identified a core group of 15/20 youths. There had been incidents of gang fighting in and around the school for years; however the area, having many exit points, was difficult to police. Identifying times was easy enough and so by picking up the action on camera I was able to call for officers to attend, which dispersed the kids. I could then sit and systematically identify all the participants and more importantly raise Crime Reports and intelligence entries. I also made a point of showing certain kids how good the cameras were. I even had non-pupils in during in-service days so that they would realise the scope of the cameras. The gang fighting fell off almost immediately.

In one of the first cases to go to court there were 20 young people all claiming their innocence. Their lawyers were shown the tapes and told that the individuals had been identified by a campus officer (me): all changed their pleas and pled guilty. Producing reports for this kind of activity is time-consuming but no different to any other police report: due to the number of accused and/or offenders, detailing evidence for the Children's Reporter and Procurator Fiscal can take at least a couple of days. A failing of the system was that, while for any adults reported I was able to request a bail condition that they cannot approach the area, no such considerations are allowed for juvenile offenders and so they can keep returning to their gang territories. This was also a problem for assaults within the school. The kids who were brave enough to report attacks would then find the offender back in the same classroom or year group within a few days. Needless to say, reporting of assaults and bullying was low and those that did report often ended up being forced to leave the school.

Developing Trust

The need to develop trust was addressed by my being in and around the school; this in turn led to a familiarity which helped reduce the barriers between the pupils and the police. Becoming involved with them through various Personal and Social Education (PSE) programmes (under the Citizenship & Law Project, Child Exploitation & Online Protection (CEOP) and Think U Know) that were running in the school led to a closer relationship - trust might be too strong - but at least to a willingness to engage and share information with me as a person and not as the policeman. The CEOP sessions with all year groups concerning child abuse were very rewarding. The content was fantastic and regularly updated by CEOP. The kids engaged really quickly. Perhaps they realised that this was a very real danger and that a police officer delivering the sessions added weight and showed that we were taking the matter seriously. It also gave me respect because my IT knowledge was shown to be considerably higher than that of most of the pupils and teachers. I was also able to show that I could use social networking sites; I indicated that I would be running sessions for parents and teachers to improve their knowledge levels. I ended up giving inputs to all my primary and nursery schools, as well as secondary parents' evenings and staff development days.

My involvement in classes was through talks on drugs misuse and on violence and disorder. The former, under the Just say no campaign, used a video on heroin, which explained what it was, where it came from etc., and the latter included, under the Knife City Project, talks on knife misuse. I would surmise that the split between proactive policing within the schools and educational inputs was about 50/50. This varied throughout the year, due to weather conditions, exams and the school timetable.

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Within 6mths/1year of beginning to work with the staff things within the school were a lot better and that change has been sustained. Information began to flow as pupils began to report other pupils who were causing trouble. This intelligence was handled and disseminated to all the community teams and the Gangs Task Force. Parents were informed of their children's allegiances and associates. I was initially asked by school management not to tell teaching staff about gang involvements. This policy changed with the arrival of a new Head Teacher after the first year and we began to make genuine breakthroughs.

Breaking Through

For example, one of the main gang leaders showed me his web site! He was a clever boy but always in trouble and one of the key individuals that I was keeping an eye on. He had obvious leadership skills, was articulate, organised and could produce reasoned arguments. He was also a very good liar. He showed real academic promise at primary and 1st year secondary. His family background was typical of a child likely to move into criminality. At the time he was very amiable and proud of his IT skills. He went on to commit a number of extremely serious violent crimes. His web site was a lucky find. It was invaluable, particularly as it was also linked to a number of other gang sites in and around Glasgow. On these sites were gang names, the geography of the gang areas, pictures of members and weapons they used along with other useful information. Many sites had social networking elements so members of opposing gangs could post messages and comment. Fights were arranged like local football matches. It highlighted that gang violence had become, for some young people, recreational. Most of the kids from rival gangs would be in school the next day and had no particular issues with each other as long as no one had been seriously hurt. This information was cascaded out to the wider force and led to the initial development of the Gang Task Force. It was also shared with the Violence Reduction Unit.

Parents of children were also communicating with the police through a more informal approach in the school and highlighting problems in the community – for example, 'Can I have a quick word about the drug dealer living next door?' Parents would phone me asking how their kids were doing - this was usually after I had been in touch about gang involvement or solved another problem for them. After the initial chat we would often get on to what was happening in the area and these parents became a great source of community intelligence. Many of the school's support staff, cleaners etc. whose own kids attended the school would sneak in to have a chat with me without anyone seeing them. Thus the informal access to a police officer through the school helped to address the huge community concern about being seen as a 'grass'. The longer I was in the school the more able people were to just chat in public. I had become a part of the school and not seen as the enemy.

Making a Presence/Learning the System

Another hurdle that I had to overcome was that of the then education exclusion policy. I had my awareness of this raised after what I would describe as the bizarre anomalies around exclusions. On one occasion, on the day following the public arrest of a boy in school - who had been found to be carrying a knife in his schoolbag - he was back in the school. He had been cuffed, taken away from the school in a police van, charged, the weapon removed from the school in a see-through bag so that everyone knew why he was being arrested, and he was taken to the police station and charged[1].

I couldn't believe it! The child had been arrested for bringing a knife into the school and all the possibilities that go along with that. He could have maimed or killed someone with the knife. On speaking to the head teacher he explained that permanent exclusions were very rare and that it looked bad for the school if they had lots of exclusions. Outraged by this, I fought to have the policy changed so that any pupil caught with such a weapon in a school would be permanently excluded from that school.

Changing Communities

The catchment area for this school draws from some of the most deprived communities in Scotland: one of the areas very close to the school is number one on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). Adult life expectancies are significantly lower than the rest of Scotland. The demographics include major generational unemployment and substance abuse. It has the consistently highest crime figures for Scotland. We know that 70% of violent crime is not reported to us and that this figure increases dramatically for the 12 to 16 age group.

[1]The preferring of the charge takes place at a police office in the presence of the parent or guardian. Children are searched and kept in a secure room, not a cell. Fingerprints, photographs and DNA are taken. Upon charging, the child is usually released into the custody of the parent. Only in very serious cases would the child be kept for court the following day. Occasionally a child is deemed outwith parental control and social services are required to find accommodation. This is easier said than done due to shortage of beds at short notice.

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Now there is less graffiti, gang activity and anti-social behaviour, because one of the things that I was able to do was to show that I knew whose tags they were and the significance of that – basically who were fighting there. Also it was recognised that kids who were found to be engaging in troublesome or anti-social behaviour, once they had had their restorative justice interview, needed to be involved/engaged with at the community level. For example, on occasions they were required to remove graffiti from the local community – clean up what they had done - and the kids liked this option as did the local people. It also saved on a raft of paper work and police time and allowed for community engagement between young people and the local adult populations.

There has been a great deal of regeneration work in the last few years. Many of the old tenements and high flats have now been torn down. Communities have been mixed up and importantly some primary schools amalgamated. This has meant that schemes that have been isolated socially for generations are now mixing and that old gang boundaries have physically disappeared. The challenge is to prevent this gap from being filled and new territories formed.

I wouldn't say that there is no gang problem in this area but I would say that there are fewer young people involved in gangs and gang fighting. The majority of gang activity is from the 18 to 50 year old age groups. These groups have retained their old animosities and sporadically this erupts with serious violence. The younger family members have on the whole not taken up the proverbial sword. So the cycle of violence appears to have been broken. I suspect it is a tenuous break as injury to family members could draw, and certainly has drawn, individuals back into the fray.

The young people may still be aligned to gangs by their geographical location but they are not engaging in gang fighting in the way they did before. It is a key factor that those kids who were likely to have gang ties are continually engaged at key stress points in their young lives. All the agencies need to be aware of who they are and share information about family breaks, bereavements, domestic violence, new siblings etc. The use of alcohol is also a massive factor. Any sign of use needs to be picked up immediately. Information-sharing protocols need to be in place between key partners. At present there is no service level agreement between Glasgow Education Department and Strathclyde Police. Nor are there any agreements with key alcohol based charities.

The prospect of work is also vital. The work carried out by Community Interventions to Reduce Violence (CIRV) has highlighted that the vast majority of older gang members just want a job, but their conviction history precludes most legal employment. Overcoming this difficulty is extremely important. However it is also a complex issue to address; employment offers need to meet the expectations and aspirations of the individuals involved and secondly, and perhaps more importantly for the campus officer, it is important that it does not send the message that gang or criminal behaviour in their teens and early 20's will not impact on their ability to gain employment in the future as the threat of no, or difficulty in gaining, employment in later years has been found to be a useful teaching tool.

The evidence so far suggests that the community is safer – even businesses' opinions have changed. The garage across the road is now prepared to give our kids the opportunity to go there for work experience and has taken pupils on as apprentices. Previously this would not have happened as the relationship between the garage and the school was poor: the garage proprietor believed that damage caused by pupils attending the school was costing him over £50,000 per year. Work opportunities again are the key. More and more businesses have taken on kids from the school. I have provided references for a number of apprentices and indeed many of the kids who have had difficult academic careers come to me for a reference as I have usually seen an alternative side to the young person's character. I am also able to check on their progress and there seems to be a reticence to let me down.

Similarly shops now report less trouble since the pupils have been kept in the school at break times. The break time policy came about as a solution to the poor diet of the kids and also to combat truanting after morning and lunch breaks. Its spin-off was more work for the teaching staff, but far less problems in the school, the local area and a massive improvement in time-keeping figures for the whole school.

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Negative Aspects
Of course there were also a number of other projects and initiatives going on in this area as well – it wasn't just the campus officer. There was/is the football – it runs in 8 week blocks from 7-9pm on a Friday night for 12-18 year olds with the aim of stopping young people from drinking and fighting. The problem is that this is too short – these types of interventions need to be long term. The reality was that they all started drinking after the football! The projects have now all been extended and street leagues formed via the CIRV project. This has proved very successful as they are long term and include follow up work by a variety of agencies looking at employability, anger management, parenting and substance misuse.

When there was lots of money around for youth diversion, there was £5,000 available, which was spent by Housing and Culture and Sport. However, these programmes highlighted the difficulty of developing effective programmes that encouraged diversion and skill building. Essentially they proved to be a bit of a disaster because they actually led to more gang fighting and activity. If anything the programme/s developed showed the young people how to be more organised and in the end, the young people were more organised, but in a destructive way!

Current Issues
The 'Right Track' programme is a major source of employment for the young people in this area but it has just had its funding pulled – this may have an impact on the future behaviour of young people when the job opportunities are removed from them. It was a way out for young boys in particular who wanted to exit school.

Long term initiatives are needed that provide long term support. I guess in a way CIRV are doing that as they are working with one of the local gangs: attempting to establish a football team rather than a gang!

Ignored Group
We don't do enough for the victims - they are largely ignored in the process. Perhaps this is an area where we need to build. Victims are pretty much left to their own devices. The referral rates to victim support are poor. Possibly this is because most victims do not realise the extent of the service offered. A recent study of victims showed 87% were dissatisfied with the criminal justice system. Many complaints were received regarding time taken for cases to come to court, length of sentencing and a lack of information during the process. Restorative practices are one possible tool that could be more widely used to give victims greater ownership of the process. Victims could also be involved in the selection of sites for work by community service teams.

Developing the Role
The sum of £21,000 is currently available from Glow[2] to develop early intervention programmes with Primary 3/4 to help young people who may live in families where there is domestic violence. The intention is to run a pilot in Primary Schools and the development of the materials to be used is being overseen by Dr. Meredith Tag regarding their suitability for use with children and also to ensure that adequate support systems are in place. The project went live in February 2011 for 1000 primary children. It focuses on choices made regarding experiences of conflict in the home, in the community and on screen. Empathy-based programmes for very early years groups have proven success rates; for example, The Canadian Roots of Empathy[3] programme is a very good example and it is currently being piloted in another part of Scotland.

The long term perspective and some work I heard about from the USA led me to extend the role into nurseries and primaries. In the nurseries, you can guarantee it, one child will start to cry as soon as you walk through the door; many of them have no permanent male presence in their lives and many of them just want to touch you – to see if you are real….just stroke your arm……to feel you. It continued to be the case throughout my time within the schools that new children would show massive signs of fear at seeing a police officer. It takes months to break this down through storytelling and simply playing with the children until trust is developed and it has the additional effect of reducing tensions with the child's parents. Barriers to police and policing are huge and deeply ingrained in this area and it will take many years of sustained effort to bring about real change.

[2] Glow works alongside the Curriculum for Excellence to build capacity and ensure a first-class education for Scotland. It provides a safe virtual learning environment for personalised programmes of work and to share thinking and curricular resources for pupils, practitioners and parents to enhance the learning experience.

[3] http://www.rootsofempathy.org/

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Unfortunately due to budget constraints we now only have one officer dedicated to three secondary schools. Many of the good practices are continuing; however there is good intelligence that some pupils are reforming gangs and this only serves to highlight the necessity for maintaining the campus officer role in Schools.

PART 3 – CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Main Findings

Reflecting on the narrative outlined in the case study above, we, the authors, identify a step-by-step process which led to the success of the programme.

- Assess situation and develop outsider perspective: this is a crucial first stage as once one becomes part of the system it is difficult to identify anomalies and inconsistencies in policy and practice.
- Develop a targeted strategic approach: in this case it was the decision to adopt an early intervention strategy for the educational element of the programme whilst adopting a zero tolerance approach to interdicting the gang violence. This allowed the limited resources to be targeted appropriately and 50% of the time to be spent proactively.
- Treat the problem holistically: the decision to treat the problem holistically as a community problem and not an institutional problem was a wise one as schools are part of the wider community. Problems and arguments which develop inside school can be resolved outside of school and vice versa. The decision to restrict the access of pupils to supplies of Red Bull and cigarettes and to resituate the chip vans are excellent examples of targeted community policing. Working in partnership with the shopkeepers was also an excellent strategy.
- Develop a Robust Intelligence Strategy: the partnership approach to intelligence gathering and sharing was an essential element in the strategy. Identifying key informants and tapping into the schools informal intelligence system laid the foundations of success. Being able to identify ringleaders and key players is essential and linking any intelligence into the national intelligence system allows seemingly unrelated pieces of intelligence to be compared and developed. The work with identifying gang tags and participating in group activities was also an essential element of the plan, as is the innovative work on gathering intelligence from social networking sites. The development of the CCTV intelligence and the Gangs Taskforce also helped create the conditions for success.
- Adopt a High Visibility Approach: in this instance the Zero Tolerance approach to high visibility patrolling and arresting players was crucial in developing and establishing the trust of the staff and pupils. The fact that it was an open and transparent policy led to its success.
- Analyse and change policies: the case highlights the necessity of challenging and if necessary working together to change institutional policies such as those on exclusion, where they are counterproductive.

Conclusions

These steps can be used effectively to tackle youth gang issues in any schools with similar demographics and issues. While this approach highlighted here on the integration of campus officers into the school system is transferable across jurisdictions it is also important to acknowledge that the case does not tackle the underlying issue of violence in schools which may not always be gang related. This will be dealt with in future practice notes. This practice note will hopefully be of help to other campus officers, community beat officers, and other police officers who have to deal with such gang related issues. However, there are many other underlying socio-economic issues which remain unresolved. Community policing is a continuous process and it is disturbing that the programme is being scaled down because experience tells us that ingrained social behaviours such as gang fighting are difficult to eradicate and that it can take several generations to change habitual behaviours and culture.

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