

Tackling Youth Crime, Violence & Disorder: A Partnership Approach

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STRATHCLYDE
POLICE

| Keeping people safe



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COMMISSION

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1. INTRODUCTION

The overall aims and objectives of this Fulbright Police Fellowship project were to share best practice whilst looking at ways to build upon work already carried out in respect of reducing offending by young people and consider the scalability and transferability of programmes so as to inform the policy making process and practical application of related strategies in Scotland and the United States. To achieve this, reference was made to the pioneering work carried out by Professor David Kennedy at the Centre for Crime Prevention & Control, John Jay College, New York and Professor Anthony Braga at the Harvard Kennedy School in respect of the Boston Ceasefire Project in the late 1990s and early 2000s. A key part of the research was to find out how these early programmes have developed in terms of sustainability and viability, and how they have helped to shape and inform wider criminal justice policies and operational procedures.

Through visiting and working with the Boston Police Department (BPD) and the many State, private and voluntary organisations operating within the City, this Fulbright Fellowship looked at how front line services are delivered and how operational activity links into and integrates with other police, government and partnership initiatives to reduce youth crime and offending to ensure, where possible, that such activity is not undertaken in 'silos' but as part of a wider crime reduction strategy.

Youth crime and violence have been clearly identified at national level as serious problems that can have lasting harmful effects on victims, their families, friends and the wider community. During the period of research, it was evident that the goal for youth crime and violence prevention policies and programmes in both countries is simple - stop it from happening in the first place. But this is easier said than done, as the solutions are often as complex as the problem. Prevention, intervention and diversion strategies should aim to reduce / remove factors that place young people at risk of committing crimes and / or acts of violence and promote factors which protect those who are at risk. In addition, these activities need to recognise and address all types of influences on young people; be it individual, familial, relationship, community or societal. Effective strategies are necessary to promote awareness about youth crime and to foster the commitment to social change.

That said, discussions about ways to prevent youth crime and violence - one of the oldest studied fields - continue to advance rapidly. Many prevention tools, programmes and strategies have been developed, implemented and evaluated with a significant number found to be effective at stopping crime, violence and related behaviours among youth. The use of such evidence based programmes has been shown to deliver positive results in many communities.

With regard to the City of Boston, many people will say that the so called ‘Boston Miracle’ and associated reductions in youth crime and violence in the City were solely the result of Operation Ceasefire.

Ceasefire was most certainly ground-breaking in its day – but that day was some 18 years ago. Motivational factors for committing crime, the composition of gangs, policing tactics and partnerships have developed over the years; today Boston is much more than Operation Ceasefire. Boston’s Mayor, Police Commissioner, Executive Director of Public Health, Public Schools Superintendent, District Attorney and many other public, private and third sector leaders across the City continue to lead the way in developing new and innovative practices aimed at tackling youth crime and violent behaviours. Examples of this work include:

- Partnerships Advancing Communities Together (PACT) (Multi Agency Initiative to Identify & Tackle the Most Violent Offenders in the City)
- Youth Violence Prevention Plan (Comprehensive City Wide Plan for Tackling Youth Violence)
- Violence Intervention & Prevention (Community Focussed / Led Violence Prevention Initiative)
- Violence Intervention Advocacy Programme (Hospital Based Support)
- Operation Homefront (Police, Education & Faith Based Partnership)
- Operation Nightlight (Police & Probation Home Visits to Monitor Compliance with Curfews etc)
- Streetworkers Programme (City Funded Direct Outreach – Linked to PACT)
- Safe Streets Teams (Location Based Problem Solving Teams)
- Youth Connect (Social Workers Based in Police Stations)
- Youth Options Unlimited (Education & Employment Guidance & Support)
- Family Justice Centre (Co-located, Multi-disciplinary Support to Victims of Family & Domestic Violence, Child Abuse, Rape / Sexual Assault, Hate Crime, Human Trafficking)
- Adult & Youth Re-Entry Programmes (Multi Agency Re-Integration)
- Start Strong Initiative (Prevent Teen Dating Abuse)
- Defending Childhood Initiative (Prevent Child Exposure to Violence)

The purpose of this paper is not to add to the academic debate about what causes youth crime and disorder, but rather capture some of the learned thinking and operationally effective activities that have helped to reduce the levels of youth crime and violence in communities. In this regard, it is hoped that as the police service and central / local government bodies develop new ways to work in partnership with the many third sector and private organisations operating throughout the country, some of the aforementioned innovative activities and ideas can be adapted and implemented in Scotland and perhaps other places across the United Kingdom (UK).

2. THE FULBRIGHT COMMISSION

The Fulbright Programme, the US Government's flagship international exchange programme was established under legislation introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright in 1946; it is designed to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and those from other countries. The Fulbright Programme provides participants – chosen for their academic merit and leadership potential – with the opportunity to study, teach, conduct research, exchange ideas and contribute to shared international concerns. The primary source of funding for the Fulbright Programme is an annual appropriation made by the United States Congress to the Department of State. Participating governments and host institutions, corporations and foundations in foreign countries and in the United States also provide direct and indirect support. The Congressional appropriation for the Fulbright Programme in fiscal year 2011 was \$273.4 million. Foreign governments, through binational commissions or foundations abroad, contributed approximately \$85.2 million directly to the Programme in fiscal year 2010.

The US-UK Fulbright Awards Programme, created by treaty in 1948, provides grants for British and American postgraduates, researchers and professionals to study or conduct research in the United States and United Kingdom. Globally, Fulbright is one of the most prestigious awards programmes – operating in over 150 countries with over 300,000 alumni. To date, 28 alumni have served as Head of State or Government; 11 have been elected to US Congress; 1 has served as Secretary-General of the UN; 43 alumni from 11 countries have received the Nobel Prize and 78 have received Pulitzer Prizes.

It was Senator Fulbright's hope that Fulbright Exchanges would generate a deeper understanding of the differing cultures and peoples of the world. Beyond its financial offerings, a Fulbright Award is an opportunity for a truly transformative cultural and educational experience.

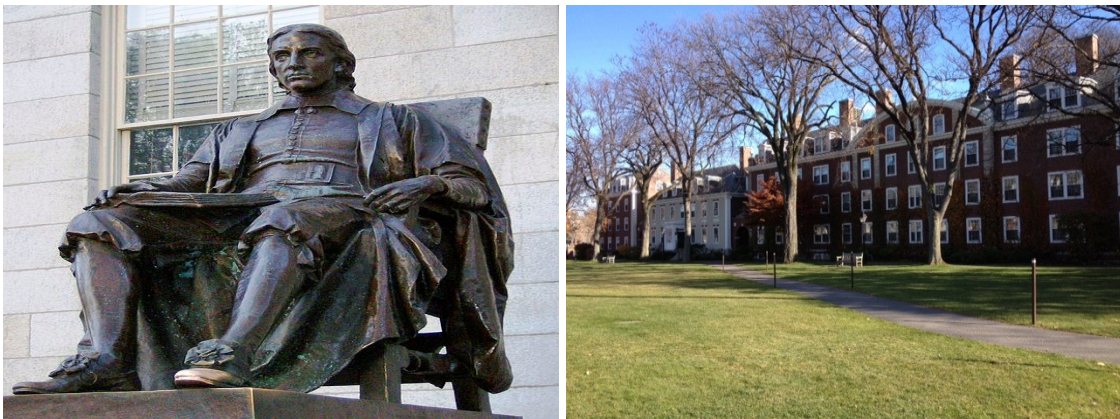
'We must dare to think 'unthinkable' thoughts. We must learn to explore all the options and possibilities that confront us in a complex and rapidly changing world. We must learn to welcome rather than fear the voices of dissent. We must dare to think about 'unthinkable things,' because when things become 'unthinkable,' thinking stops and actions become mindless. If we are to disabuse ourselves of old myths, and to act wisely and creatively upon the new realities of our time, we must think and talk about our problems with perfect freedom'

Senator J. William Fulbright
1905 – 1995

3. HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Founded on 28 October 1636, just 16 years after the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock, Harvard University is the oldest institution of higher education in the United States. Its founding was only preceded in North America by two Spanish universities in Mexico and a French college in Quebec. Located in what was then called Newetowne, Harvard was established by vote of the Great & General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and was originally called 'The College of Newetowne' (Inside Harvard, 2012). In 1637, one year after the college was established, an acre of land was purchased and named 'College Yard' – this has grown over nearly four centuries into the 'Old Harvard Yard' that is seen today.

In 1638, arguably the most important event in the history of the University took place when John Harvard, a Minister of Charlestown, died. In his will, Harvard left the College some 400 volumes and half of his estate which was valued at £779 – this was the first sizable donation and the reason the University bears the Harvard name. A bronze statue of John Harvard stands in front of University Hall; cast in 1884 by Daniel Chester French the statue is often referred to as the 'statue of three lies'. Notwithstanding the inscription on the plinth reads 'John Harvard, Founder, 1638' all three of these assertions are in fact false; as noted above, the College was established by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636 and the figure seated is not John Harvard.



When the statue was cast no one could find an image of John Harvard as they had all been destroyed during a fire in 1764. The face chosen to represent Harvard was that of Sherman Hoar. It is not known exactly why Hoar was chosen, but one theory is that it was in honour of his descendant Rev. Leonard Hoar, President of the University between 1672 and 1674. There is a tradition at Harvard to name upperclassman houses after former Harvard Presidents – but given the lack of support for a 'Hoar House' in the College, it is believed that Leonard Hoar was subsequently honoured via the selection of Sherman as the model for the statue. Most, if not all, images of John Harvard seen today – including his US postage stamp – are in fact Sherman Hoar (Inside Harvard 2012).

The Harvard University we know today has around 2,100 faculty members and more than 10,000 academic appointments in affiliated teaching hospitals. The University counts no less than 44 Nobel Laureates amongst its current and former faculty members. Whilst the University's main campus is in Cambridge, Massachusetts it has real estate holdings of over 5,000 acres spread across the state. The University has 12 degree-granting Schools in addition to the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Harvard has grown from nine students with a single master to an enrollment of more than 20,000 degree candidates including around 6,700 undergraduates and circa 14,500 graduate and professional students. There are more than 360,000 living alumni in the US and in over 190 other countries (www.harvard.edu). Most students live on campus in one of the University's 16 'Houses'. The cost of tuition is around \$36,300 per year; \$52,600 per year including room, board and fees (www.harvard.edu). That said, the actual cost of providing tuition is around \$200,000 per year; the additional costs being met from the University's endowment which was circa \$32bn in 2011 (Inside Harvard 2012).

Harvard was also home to America's first library and developed the first library cataloguing system in 1723; the University currently lays claim to the largest academic library system in the world with over 70 distinct libraries holding nearly 17 million volumes – although there is only one book remaining from John Harvard's original collection, the rest having been destroyed in the 1764 fire. Some libraries remain open 24 hours a day providing unrestricted access to learning for the most dedicated students – or more likely, those who have left submission of their academic work to the very last minute!

Harvard Kennedy School

The Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) was born out of a shift in American politics as the Great Depression and dawn of World War II shocked the country into a newfound awareness of the complexities and importance of government (Inside Harvard 2012). Lucius Littauer donated \$2 million to Harvard in 1933 – at that point the largest ever donation by an individual to a university. This money funded the construction of the Graduate School of Public Administration.

In 1966, in honour of the late President John F. Kennedy, the School of Public Policy changed its name to the John F. Kennedy School of Government – this broke with a long tradition that prevented any of the University's Schools being named after individuals. It could be argued that a donation of \$10 million by the Kennedy family helped focus minds in relation to this (outdated) practice.

The Kennedy School encourages and facilitates a multidisciplinary approach to tackling problems and challenges faced by society by bringing together leaders from government, civil society and business. Over the last 75 years, HKS has become the global leader in educating and empowering individuals committed to advancing the public interest. Its teachers are renowned scholars and accomplished practitioners who

are actively engage in world affairs. HKS students come from every age group and every corner of the globe; across sectors and disciplines they gain critical skills for solving complex problems (www.hks.harvard.edu). Students learn to think deeply and broadly about public service and the impact policies have on people, communities, markets and institutions. They experience the nexus of academic rigor and real-world relevance; but most importantly they leave prepared to create positive social change.

4. SHORT HISTORIES OF BOSTON & BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT

The City Of Boston

The first immigrants from the UK arrived in New England in 1620 when the Pilgrims established a small colony in Plymouth. Ten years later, a flotilla carrying a thousand Puritans arrived having made the treacherous transatlantic crossing. On arrival John Winthrop, looking across the Shawmut Peninsula, declared that ‘we shall be as a City upon a hill, with the eyes of all people upon us’.



Boston is the capital of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; it is also one of the oldest cities in the United States. It was named Boston by early settlers from Boston, Lincolnshire. In 1630, Puritan colonists from England founded the city on the Shawmut Peninsula. The city thrived, becoming the largest in British America and the third largest city in the British Empire (behind London and Bristol). During the late 18th century, Boston was the location of several major events during the American Revolution, including the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party. Several early battles of the American Revolution, such as the Battle of Bunker Hill and the Siege of Boston, occurred within the city and surrounding areas.



Through land reclamation and municipal annexation, Boston expanded beyond the peninsula. After American independence was attained the City became a major shipping port and manufacturing centre, and its rich history helps attract many tourists with Faneuil Hall (and the adjacent Quincy Marketplace) attracting over 20 million visitors every year. The City was also the site of several firsts, including the United States' first public school, the Boston Latin School (1635), and the first subway system in the United States (1897), known locally as 'The T'.

Being the largest city in New England, Boston is regarded as the unofficial 'Capital of New England'; Boston City covers some 48.43 square miles and has an estimated population of just over 625,000 as recorded in the 2011 US Census - making it the 21st largest in the country. Boston is also the county seat of Suffolk County and anchor of a substantially larger metropolitan area called Greater Boston, home to 4.5 million people and the tenth-largest metropolitan area in the country. Greater Boston as a commuting region is home to 7.6 million people, making it the fifth-largest Combined Statistical Area in the United States.

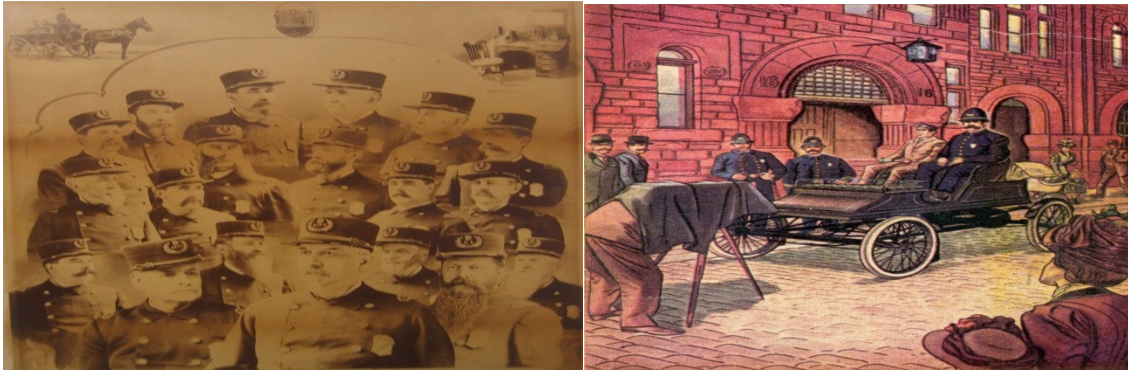
With many colleges and universities within the City and surrounding areas, Boston is an international centre of higher education. It is also home to some of the world's leading medical research centres, biotechnology companies and financial institutions. It is these areas of business that lie at the heart of the city's economic base.

Boston Police Department

The US Constitution created three branches of government: the executive branch, judicial branch and legislative branch; it also provides for a clear separation of powers between respective divisions. Ideally, each area operates independently, acting as a source of checks and balances on governmental power and authority (Bowman & Kearney, 2009). The police come under the administrative branch, but fulfill the will of all. Police officers must enforce the laws that are passed by the legislature whilst abiding by the procedural guidelines promulgated by the Courts. This often causes conflict for the police in the US because they must respond to different sources of authority, for example State legislators may enact a law, but it may be local government that allocates funds for enforcement activity and the Courts that determine what practices can be used when executing their responsibilities (Gaines & Kappeler, 2011). While there is a tendency to think of police organisations as being separate from politics, or even apolitical, the police institution in the US (and most of the associated senior management appointments) is inherently political.

Whilst many of the first police departments in the United States were formed in the Northeast of the country, the history of American law enforcement truly begins in Boston where the people of the town established a Watch in 1631, with the Town Meeting assuming control of the detail in 1636. Watchmen patrolled at night, 'alert for criminals, wild animals and fire' (www.boston.gov). Their responsibilities grew along with the town, which in 1822 became the City of Boston. In 1838, Boston established a

police force of 6 men under the supervision of a City Marshal. The Boston Watch of 120 men operated separately.



In 1854, the old police and watch organisations were abolished and the Boston Police Department (BPD) was established with 250 officers. Each officer was paid \$2.00 per day or night shift, could hold no outside employment, and walked his own beat. The bill hook of the old Watch was replaced with a 14 inch club. In the late 19th century, Boston police provided charitable services that today are managed by other agencies. Police officers at each station served soup to the poor, first at the expense of the officers themselves and later with an allocation from the city. Newcomers to Boston might spend a night as a 'lodger' in a police station. Police ambulances transported sick and injured citizens to City Hospital.

Boston annexed several neighboring towns in the 1870s and expanded police services to these neighbourhoods. Telephone lines replaced the telegraph system that linked the central office with all police stations. A network of police call boxes was installed throughout the city in the 1880s, accessible by key to officers on patrol. At the turn of the century, the Department employed 1000 patrolmen who made about 32,000 arrests annually. Officers' duties now included regulating motor vehicle traffic and removing unruly passengers from streetcars.



The first police automobile was purchased in 1903 and the first patrol wagon in 1912. The Police Strike of 1919 made national headlines and changed the Department. BPD replaced nearly three-quarters of its force, filling the ranks with returning war veterans.

In the 1920s, the Department dealt with prohibition and accompanying crime. Police motorcycles were used to deal with ever increasing traffic. This was an especially deadly time for the Boston Police Department, with 16 officers killed in the line of duty between 1920 and 1930. The Depression brought a tighter city budget and a cut in police pay. During the World War II, many officers left the Department for several years to join the military.

Like many police departments in the 1960s, the Boston police were called upon to maintain order during periods of protest and unrest. With the advent of school desegregation in 1974, BPD deployed officers throughout the city to escort school children and ensure public safety. More recently, Boston's commitment to community policing and partnership working has measurably reduced the youth and violent crime that blighted the City in the 1990s, and these approaches have been studied by police departments nationally and internationally. To meet the demands of 21st century policing, BPD built a state-of-the-art headquarters facility in 1997. While earlier police headquarters were near the centre of Boston's government and commerce, the new Headquarters is near the geographic centre of the city in the Roxbury neighbourhood. One Schroeder Plaza is named after brothers Walter and John Schroeder, two officers killed in the line of duty in the 1970s.

Whilst the circa 2,800 men and women of the Boston Police Department continue to protect and serve Bostonians and visitors to the area, it is important to realise that there is a vast police institution across the US. There are approximately 18,760 separate local, state and federal law enforcement agencies in the country, with more than 1.1 million employees and a combined operating cost of circa \$99 billion (Kyckelhahn, 2010). In addition, there are various government agencies that are not normally thought of as police forces but have 'police' powers dealing mainly with social welfare issues. Notwithstanding that the majority of discussions surrounding policing in the US centre on the larger forces and agencies (circa 60 in number), it is worth noting that most of the departments are small with around 5900 having 10 or less officers and about 700 having only 1 officer (Hickman & Reaves, 2003 as quoted in Gaines & Kappeler).

It could be argued that the vast number of police agencies – divided across federal, state and local government control (as well as those under private management) – leads to a fragmented, inefficient and potentially ineffective service being provided to communities. Indeed, a given jurisdiction (such as Boston) can be policed by several agencies – local police, sheriff's department, state police and several federal agencies – as well as 'private' forces such as those seen in some universities. Although there are seldom situations in which this many different agencies would be involved in the same case, it can happen and great care is needed to ensure no conflicts arise in respect of jurisdiction, while at the same time making sure those individuals requiring assistance get the best service possible.

5. TACKLING YOUTH CRIME, VIOLENCE & DISORDER

Scotland

The activities of young people have long been the subject of public concern. These concerns have been consistently linked to fears about social change, the break-up of the traditional family and community, the dwindling power of authority figures such as parents, teachers, police officers and the wider court system (Pearson 1983 as quoted in Croall 1998). Youth crime and offending is not a new phenomenon; as early as 1603 a group of youths known as the London Apprentices were banned from playing football, playing music or drinking in taverns and were ordered not to *'weare their haire long nor locks at their eares like ruffians'* (Pearson 1994 as quoted in Croall 1998).

In the Report of Committee into Juvenile Delinquency 1816 it is recorded that *'dreadful is the situation of the young offender; he becomes the victim of circumstances over which he has no control. The laws of his country operate not to restrain, but to punish him. The tendency of the police is to accelerate his career in crime. If when apprehended, he has not attained the full measure of guilt, the nature of his confinement is almost sure to complete it; and discharged, as he frequently is, penniless, without friends, character or employment, he is driven for a subsistence, to the renewal of depredations'* (as quoted in Muncie 2011).

In 2002, the World Health Organisation defined violence as 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-treatment or deprivation'. The Centre for Disease Control & Prevention (CDC) broadly defines youth violence as 'harmful behaviours that can start early and continue into young adulthood. The young person can be a victim, an offender or a witness to the violence' (CDC, 2010).

Violence can also be categorised in terms of chronicity, severity and type; it can occur in a single act or it may repeat intermittently or chronically over a life time. Many children and young people are victims of multiple forms of violence; the term 'polyvictimisation' is used to describe a wide variety of violent acts including physical assault, sexual assault, child abuse, bullying, robbery, theft and violence associated with warfare and civil disturbances (Seifert 2012). The complicated interplay of these various forms of violence, and their cumulative effect upon children, is still being studied. However, it is becoming clear that children and young adults need to be assessed for multiple forms of violence (Seifert).

In dealing with the needs and deeds of young people, the system of youth justice employed in England & Wales is often considered more punitive than the Scottish structure. In Scotland, juvenile courts were dismantled and replaced with welfare based 'panel hearings' following the Kilbrandon Report in 1964. These proceedings are

largely informal and the parents or guardian / carer are required to attend with the child / young person. The Children's Hearing System is the care and justice system for Scotland's children and young people. A fundamental principle is that children who commit offences, and children who need care and protection, are dealt with in the same system – as these are often the same children. The Hearings System aims to ensure that the best interests of the child are met and that they receive the most appropriate intervention and support (www.scra.gov.uk).

The Scottish Government's Safer & Stronger strategic objective is to help local communities to flourish, become stronger, safer places to live, offering improved opportunities and a better quality of life. By making communities safer and stronger it is envisaged that this will increase the attractiveness of Scotland as a place to live and work – drawing in new people and talent. In turn, this will improve the overall quality of life and create strong communities where people can fulfil their potential (www.scotland.gov.uk).

“The vast majority of young people in Scotland make a positive contribution to society and are valuable and valued members of their communities. We want to build on the great qualities that young people bring to our society: energy, enthusiasm, creativity, an appetite for learning and huge potential for the future. At the same time, we must remove the barriers that prevent too many of our young people from realising their potential and leading successful, fulfilling lives. The cost for them and their communities of negative outcomes – including educational underachievement, economic disadvantage, social isolation, poor health, substance misuse and involvement in offending – is one that none of us can afford to pay” (Ewing & Hutton 2008).

Youth Crime - in particular violent behaviour - does not just affect those involved, be it offender, victim or witness. It can also have a huge impact on the wider community in terms of confidence and overall feelings of safety and security. The Scottish Police Service is committed to making Scotland a safer place to live, work and visit through effective implementation of prevention, intelligence and enforcement priorities. However, progress towards this goal can only be achieved by maintaining and improving joint working across the police service, with partner agencies and with the communities which the Forces serve. To this end, the Scottish Government has made significant investment in a broad range of initiatives, services and activities to address violent behaviour and offending.

This partnership approach has delivered impressive results - driving down crime to a 37 year low - with detections for violent crime being at a 36 year high (75%). The Scottish Crime & Justice Survey (SCJS) also shows a 30% fall in violent crime between 2008-09 and 2010-11, whilst indicating that the proportion of crimes reported to the police rose from 38% to 51%. Encouragingly, the number of offensive weapon crimes recorded by the police decreased by 44% between 2006/07 and 2011-12 to 5631. A key factor in all of this is undoubtedly the significant reductions in crime recorded within the Strathclyde

Police area. Following the introduction of the Anti-Violence Directorate within the Force:

- There has been a 29.7% reduction in Group 1 Crimes of Violence
- The detection rate for Group 1 Crimes of Violence has risen to 71.4%
- Crimes involving carrying an offensive weapon are down 50.8%
- A 24% drop in recorded youth crimes
- 22.4% fewer young people committing a crime or offence

It is clear that the coordinated and focused strategy employed by the police service and partners works - fewer violent crimes are being committed across the force area, meaning there are less victims of crime. This approach has delivered tangible results which make a real difference in communities. Notwithstanding the significant progress made, at the present time there are a number of approaches to dealing with youth and (alcohol fuelled) violent crime across the country. Although alcohol is not a cause of violence, there is an inextricable link between alcohol misuse and violent behaviours. In such situations, alcohol can make the violence more extreme, often resulting in more severe injuries being sustained by victims.

Whilst there will always be a need to apply a degree of local context to tackling youth crime and anti-social behaviour, it could be argued that in some cases the police service and its partners have developed initiatives in isolation leading to duplication of effort. In this regard, work is ongoing to ensure where possible a (single) shared approach to dealing with existing problems and, building on the achievements to date, new and innovative ways of preventing future (re)offending and keeping people safe are identified.

In terms of developing effective practice and best value, it is vital that all opportunities for joint working are fully exploited - building new partnerships as well as strengthening existing arrangements. Taking into account the findings of previous multi-sector reports (e.g. Arbuthnott, 2009 & Christie, 2011) and looking at the longer term financial picture, it is right that partners critically review their respective structures in order to bring greater focus to areas such as prevention, commissioning and long term funding of projects / services.

Moving forward, this enhanced approach to tackling youth crime, alcohol misuse, violence and reducing (re)offending is being built around 4 key areas:

- **Prevention** **Intervention** **Enforcement** **Re-Integration**

Whilst the overarching strategy is set and coordinated at a national level, the key to delivering real and meaningful change across Scotland is the coordination of existing local partnerships and development of new professional relationships that will ensure a focussed approach is adopted by all concerned.

Brief Overview of Key Youth Justice Strategies & Operational Activity in Scotland

Notwithstanding the impressive partnership results to date, Scotland imprisons more of its people than many other countries in Europe. The prison population has increased in every year of this century and it is projected to rise from 8,100 in 2009-10 to 9,600 inmates by 2018-19. However, Scottish Government led studies¹ have found:

- High prison populations do not reduce crime; they are more likely to create pressures that drive reoffending than to reduce it
- Almost 3 out of 4 of those released from short sentences go on to reoffend within two years of getting out
- In direct comparison, three out of five of those sentenced to community service keep a clean record

Furthermore, compared to the general population, prisoners are:

- 13 times more likely to have been in care as a child
- 10 times more likely to have been a regular truant from school
- 13 times more likely to be unemployed
- 2.5 times more likely to have a family member who has been convicted of a criminal offence
- 6 times more likely to have been a young father
- 15 times more likely to be HIV positive

In respect of their basic skills:

- 8 out of 10 have the writing skills of an 11 year old
- 65 per cent have the numeracy skills of an 11 year old
- 5 out of 10 have the reading skills of an 11 year old
- 7 out of 10 have used drugs before coming to prison
- 7 out of 10 have suffered from at least two mental disorders
- 2 out of 10 male prisoners have previously attempted suicide
- 37 per cent of women prisoners have attempted suicide

For low level offenders, experts² say that prisons do not work:

- To scare people straight - the use of short sentences to provide a 'short, sharp shock' is more likely to deepen criminal justice entanglement than deter it
- Better than community sentences to deter, to punish or to provide reparations to victims - many offenders would prefer a short prison sentence as an easier option

¹ www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/public-safety/offender-management/about/facts

² www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/public-safety/offender-management/about/facts

compared to a community sanction. Those who have been in prison previously are more likely to prefer prison to a community sanction

- To reduce reoffending - the prison setting itself can be an obstacle to change; reoffending can be addressed only when effective forms of treatment programmes are provided in prison
- To strengthen communities - in families where one parent is in prison, other members of the family are more likely to engage in criminal activity, to go to prison, to rely on public benefits, to be placed in care, and to experience high levels of emotional distress
- When they are overcrowded - crowding forces prison staff to focus on basic population management issues and reduces their ability to work productively with offenders

Despite the overall reductions in reported crime, it was clear that more had to be done to prevent young people entering the criminal justice / prison system. To this end, the Scottish Government, supported by the police, wider criminal justice partners and the many 3rd sector, non-profit and charitable organisations working with disadvantaged youth have set about bringing real (intergenerational) change by reviewing and reforming those (often complex) approaches that were clearly not delivering positive outcomes.

Early & Effective Intervention

Traditionally, the police referred most cases of youth offending to the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA) regardless of how minor the offence. The rationale behind this approach was a presumption that SCRA would coordinate service provision around the child / young person's needs. However, this is not the statutory role of SCRA. Moreover, research evidence shows that introducing children and young people to formal systems inappropriately can increase the likelihood of re-offending.

Interventions to offending behaviour should relate directly to the behaviour of the child / young person and take account of the impact on others and make reparation and restoration where appropriate. They should also support parental and child responsibility and be appropriate, proportionate, timely and fair.

Early & Effective Intervention (EEI) allows agencies to jointly deal with issues surrounding the needs of children and young people and any associated concerns. It demands better information sharing; the commitment and participation of all relevant agencies and a shared understanding of the impact that offending behaviour has on the wider community.

Where the offending behaviour by a child / young person has reached a point where a police warning alone is not sufficient or appropriate, then referral to the multi-agency

EEI Coordinator can be made. This offers a range of positive and more focussed responses or interventions such as:

- Community Warning Notice
- Warning Letter
- Police Restorative Warning
- Referral to multi-agency EEI group
- Referral to SCRA for compulsory measures of care
- Joint referral to the Procurator Fiscal and SCRA

EEI measures are not a soft option in tackling youth offending or antisocial behaviour, nor do they provide a means for children / young people to avoid taking responsibility for their actions or conduct. There is clear evidence to support the view that often children / young people who offend are also vulnerable, and the earlier they receive suitable interventions in their lives that address their needs, the more likely they are to be diverted from an escalation in the level of offending. In cases of violent behaviour linked to gang activity, Coordinators work closely with Glasgow's Community Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV). This is a focussed deterrence strategy which is modelled on the Boston Ceasefire Project. Utilising a partnership approach, CIRV delivers a clear message to established violent street gangs that the violence must stop. The CIRV model (www.actiononviolence.co.uk/CIRV), now mainstreamed into everyday policing and partnership activity, consists of three basic components:

- Enforcement
- Services & Programmes
- The Moral Voice of the Community

Taking such a focussed and joined up approach is vital if we are to divert our young people away from a life of crime, prevent (re)offending and ensure they receive the help they need - when they need it.

Whole System Approach

The Whole System approach, which was developed through the Scottish Government's Reducing Reoffending Programme, seeks to employ methods to ensure that only those people under 18 who really need formal measures – such as compulsory supervision by the Children's Hearings System, prosecution, secure care or custody – are taken through this process.

Clear opportunities exist for earlier intervention with young people involved in offending behaviour – including under 16 year olds who come to the attention of the Children's Hearings System, the police, the courts or other agencies – and to engage them more productively in education, skills and positive activity, by putting in place a

more streamlined and consistent response that works across all systems and agencies (a 'whole system' approach) to achieve better outcomes for young people and their communities.

Many young people could and should be diverted from statutory measures, prosecution and custody through early intervention and robust community alternatives; the whole system approach supports young people and encourages them to develop skills which they can use to make a positive contribution to their communities. When fully in place, it is anticipated that a whole system approach will include interventions and responses such as:

- Multi-agency early and effective intervention to ensure young people get a timely, appropriate and proportionate response to early / minor offending and are directed towards positive activities
- A focussed, intelligence-led, approach to identifying serious and persistent young offenders which would enable partners to target, support and challenge those individuals causing the greatest harm in their area
- Multi-agency screening to identify opportunities for diversion from prosecution and diversion from custody, ensuring young people get an immediate and effective response that meets risk and need and channels them towards options that will develop their capacity and skills
- Improvements in the use of risk assessment and associated management planning to support decision making, ensuring resources are used effectively and efficiently, and targeted at those posing the highest risk
- Greater use of community disposals

The anticipated outcomes and business benefits are:

- Fewer under 18s are prosecuted (increased use of diversion from prosecution)
- More under 18s supported through children's hearings post 16
- More under 18s remitted to hearings from the courts for advice or disposal
- Fewer under 18s reoffend within 2 years
- Fewer under 18s receive custodial sentences as adults
- Fewer under 18s are remanded to custody (both prison and secure)
- More young people with offending backgrounds go onto positive destinations
- Faster service delivery and more effective use of resources
- Reduction in social work reports, use of secure care & use of custody
- Reduction in police reports, fiscal time, SCRA time & court time

While some offenders' behaviour will continue to require referral to SCRA and / or the Crown Office & Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS), many will benefit from a more flexible scaled approach that allows for interventions to be put in place based on the child or young person's needs without unnecessarily increasing the severity of any

action taken. Previous experience in relation to youth offending and anti-social behaviour suggests that the earlier a problem is recognised and tackled, the more likely it is a young person will engage with services such as education and healthcare thereby having a positive effect not only on the individual, but by extension the community as a whole.

Preventing Offending By Young People – A Framework For Action

There is a wealth of good practice across Scotland in tackling offending by young people. The challenge is to embed this as standard practice and consistently drive up aspirations and performance. To ensure this work is pushed forward, the Scottish Government introduced a National Framework for Action which focuses on the following areas:

- Prevention
- Early and effective intervention
- Managing high risk
- Victims and community confidence
- Planning and performance improvement

This framework is broad in its scope, spanning prevention, diversion, intervention and risk management, with reference to the individual, the family and the wider community. It reaches from pre-birth and early years to the transition to adult services. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that delivering this vision is everyone's job. Key organisations focus on tackling offending by young people, but in delivering under this framework will work with the wide range of public, voluntary and independent agencies who contribute to improving outcomes for children and young people, and our communities. Whilst concentrating efforts principally on young people between the ages of 8 and 16, it is recognised that there is a need to start preventative work much earlier, and sustain attention on the successful transition to adulthood, particularly the vulnerable period between 16 and 21 years (www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/crimes/youth-justice/NewPage).

Getting It Right For Every Child

In terms of protecting children from harm, Getting It Right For Every Child (GIRFEC) is an approach to working with children and families based on research and practice evidence to help practitioners focus on what makes a positive difference for children and young people and act to deliver these improvements. GIRFEC threads through all existing policy, practice, strategy and legislation affecting children, young people and families.

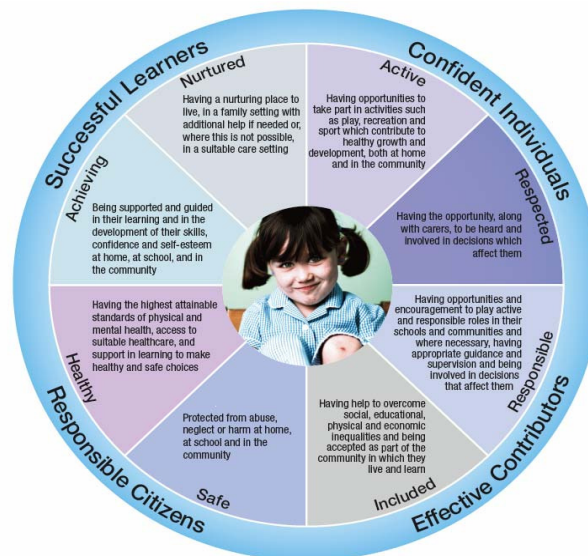
To fully implement GIRFEC across all agencies requires a fundamental review of processes and transformational change to develop a single planning process with a shared understanding and common language across all agencies. The GIRFEC approach is about how practitioners across all services for children and adults meet the needs of children and young people, working together where necessary to ensure they reach their full potential. It promotes a shared approach and accountability that:

- Builds solutions with and around children, young people and families
- Enables children and young people to get the help they need when they need it
- Supports a positive shift in culture, systems and practice
- Involves working better together to improve life chances for children, young people and families

The well-being of children and young people is at the heart of GIRFEC. The approach uses eight areas of well-being in which children and young people need to progress in order to do well now and in the future:

- Safe Healthy Achieving Nurtured
- Active Respected Responsible Included

These are the basic requirements for all children and young people to grow and develop and reach their full potential. They are shown in the following diagram which is known as the ‘Well-Being Wheel’³:



The Well-Being Indicators are used to record observations, events and concerns and as an aid in putting together a child’s plan. Children and young people will progress differently, depending on their circumstances but every child and young person has the

³ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Young-People/gettingitright/practical-tools/well-being-wheel>

right to expect appropriate support from adults to allow them to develop as fully as possible across each of the well-being indicators. All agencies in touch with children and young people must play their part in making sure that young people are healthy, achieving, nurtured, active, respected, responsible, included and, above all, safe.

The Well-Being Indicators can also be used to structure recording of a specific concern that may be raised with or by practitioners that may need further assessment or action; for example, not doing as well in school as expected. A concern can be an event itself, or a series of events, or attributes, which affect the well-being or potential well-being of a child or young person, such as missing appointments for health checks.

A concern can also arise because a child or young person is living in a family where a parent may be misusing drugs or alcohol. Parents, children and young people themselves may have concerns that they bring to the attention of practitioners. The five questions any practitioner needs to ask are the same questions all practitioners need to raise when they are concerned about a child or young person:

- What is getting in the way of this child or young person's well-being?
- Do I have all the information I need to help this child or young person?
- What can I do now to help this child or young person?
- What can my agency do to help this child or young person?
- What additional help, if any, may be needed from others?

The police have a key role to play with other partners in this process. Front line officers have, for several years, received awareness training on child protection and factors which may present early indications of abuse. Child Protection concerns emanate from a variety of sources, both internally and externally. Police officers and members of police staff may become aware of concerns about a child or young person either by personal observations or through report(s) from members of the public. Referrals may also be made to police from external agencies or organisations such as the Social Work Department, Education, Health Services or Non-Governmental Organisations such as Barnardos. Where a child / young person is encountered, in any situation irrespective of type, their whole circumstances should be considered.

Getting It Right For Every Child promotes an integrated and co-ordinated approach to multi-agency planning. It looks to practitioners to work in accordance with legislation and guidance but also expects agencies to think beyond their immediate remit, drawing on the skills and knowledge of others as necessary and thinking in a broad, holistic way (www.scotland.gov/gettingitright).

Reducing Re-offending Programme

Repeat offenders account for a significant proportion of the overall offending rate in Scotland. Re-offending creates victims, damages communities and wastes potential;

organisations operating across criminal justice and community sectors have to manage repeat offenders – providing support to ensure they can identify and address underlying issues - thereby potentially changing life courses. A recent Audit Scotland Report⁴ found:

- Reoffending costs Scotland approximately £3 billion per year
- 30% of offenders convicted in 2009/10 were reconvicted within one year
- 9,500 people convicted in 2010/11 had ten or more previous convictions
- £419 million was spent in 2010/11 dealing with convicted offenders
- £128 million was spent in 2010/11 on services to reduce reoffending
- There are more than 1,300 offender services in Scotland

The Reducing Reoffending Programme aims to deliver a key element of the Scottish Government's strategic objectives for a Safer & Stronger Scotland – delivering justice which is immediate, visible, effective, high quality, flexible and relevant. In support of the Programme Vision to break the cycle of reoffending by ensuring proportionate and early interventions with effective reintegration into the community, seven key objectives or 'Goals' have been identified:

- Prevent reoffending by young people through appropriate interventions
- Divert cases from the courts system where appropriate and to ensure the proportionate use of bail and remand
- Ensure the availability of effective community disposals across Scotland, to improve public confidence in these disposals, and reduce reoffending
- Ensure the effective management of offenders who are placed in custody including rehabilitation and appropriate arrangements for risk management to reduce prisoner numbers and reoffending
- Ensure effective reintegration into the community - make sure employment, health, accommodation and other needs of offenders are being met
- Secure equality by ensuring that systems and services are designed to meet the specific needs of all offenders
- Ensure systems and processes across the programme maximise the opportunities to engage appropriately with victims

Delivery of the programme objectives is through five key projects:

- Young People Who Offend
- Pre-Disposal
- Effective Community Disposals
- Custodial Sentence Management
- Community Reintegration

⁴ Reducing Re-Offending in Scotland, www.audit-scotland.gov

Phase Two of the Programme is focussed on making sure people who have offended use the services available and make the most of opportunities so that they fulfil their responsibilities as citizens and move away from offending.

(www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/public-safety/offender-management)

'One Glasgow' Approach

The One Glasgow project is led by the Chief Executives and Chief Officers from Glasgow City Council, NHS Greater Glasgow & Clyde, Strathclyde Police, Strathclyde Fire & Rescue, Glasgow Housing Association, Department of Work & Pensions and Job Centre Plus. The Core Partners selected three priority themes to explore as part of the developing approach:

- Children aged 0-8, specifically early intervention approaches for this group and their families
- Reducing (Re)Offending targeted at those aged 12 - 25 involved in anti-social behaviour or in the criminal justice system, including prison leavers
- Older People aged 65 and over, specifically those in single households to assist them to live in the community and minimise acute interventions and hospital admissions

The themes selected also link current or emerging priorities for the Scottish Government including a significant focus on early years through the national parenting strategy, the Sure Start Fund, Early Years Fund and Getting It Right for Every Child. They also reflect the Government's priorities of tackling crime and payback to the community, and reform of health and social care through the Change Fund.

The strands cover some of the higher public spending categories, for example social protection, health and public order and safety, and have the potential to impact upon expenditure not just in local agencies in Glasgow but across the public sector. Part of the approach of One Glasgow is to demonstrate what benefits delivered by the city also create efficiencies and benefits for national budgets and agencies. As the methodologies develop, city partners will make the case for how the efficiencies generated could be better directed or reinvested in the city.

Clearly, the three topics are not the only challenges facing Glasgow but they provide a helpful starting point for the application of One Glasgow because they:

- Affect large sections of Glasgow's population, either directly or indirectly, and attract large volumes of Glasgow's total public service expenditure
- Require engagement by a number of diverse organisations with vulnerable individuals or groups of Glaswegians who face challenging personal circumstances
- Are areas where the governance, financial and delivery landscape is complex and

where reducing duplication and improving collaboration on the ground is therefore difficult to achieve

Using the PIER approach, the Reducing (Re)Offending strand of One Glasgow aims to deliver a key element of the Scottish Government's strategic objectives for a Safer and Stronger Scotland – delivering justice which is effective, immediate, high quality, flexible, relevant and visible. In support of the Programme Vision to break the cycle of re-offending by ensuring proportionate and early interventions with effective reintegration into the community, a number of key objectives were identified:

- Prevent offending by young people through appropriate interventions
- Divert cases from the Courts System, where appropriate, and ensure the proportionate use of bail and remand
- Ensure the availability of effective community disposals to improve public confidence in these disposals, and reduce re-offending
- Ensure the effective management of offenders who are placed in custody, including rehabilitation and appropriate arrangements for risk management to reduce prisoner numbers and re-offending
- Ensure effective reintegration into the community by identifying and wherever possible meeting the needs of offenders
- Secure equality by ensuring that systems and services are designed to meet the specific needs of all offenders
- Ensure systems and processes across the Programme maximise the opportunities to appropriately engage with victims

A key part of this is management of information – be it intelligence, data analysis, mapping activity or identifying underlying needs. At the out-set, there were at least 6 different organisations / business areas undertaking this work in Glasgow. In this regard, a single multi-agency coordination hub was set up; key objectives of the Unit are to develop a single, shared operational document that sets out the key challenges facing partners and identifies priorities in terms of violence and (re)offending that can be used to inform operational / service delivery (shared multi-agency Strategic / Tactical Assessment) and support intrusive inspection of outcome based performance measures.

Through the associated tasking and coordinating process, the most appropriate agency / intervention to tackle those individuals / families / areas / issues causing the greatest concern will be identified and a single plan agreed to target the problem and subsequently report on progress.

The role of the coordinating hub in identifying and managing appropriate, proportionate and timely interventions and focussing operational activity across relevant police and associated Local Authority area(s) is vital to breaking the cycle of violence and (re)offending and delivering against overarching local and national strategic objectives.

Improved inter-agency work to address offending behaviour will have positive outcomes for individuals and communities, as well as the One Glasgow and wider Criminal Justice partners in terms of reducing overall demand and enhancing the collective ability to effectively impact on crime and offending behaviour.

By redesigning services in order to reduce duplication of effort and proactively share information, partners can also make sure individual and collective resources are used in the most effective and efficient way to tackle problems associated with youth offending. This is a truly multi-agency response which considers needs as well as deeds.

Persistent Offender Project

The Persistent Offender Project (POP) is a community safety initiative delivered jointly by Glasgow Addiction Services and Strathclyde Police. Through effective information sharing, POP identifies substance misusing persistent offenders and offers / encourages the uptake of intensive support and treatment through community based outreach. POP tackles addiction related offending, promotes training / employment opportunities and seeks to improve the overall quality of life and feeling of safety within our communities.

The annual operating cost of POP is circa £250,000. The majority of this expenditure is in the form of staff and property costs. However, a recent analysis of cost and benefits found that each £1 spent leads to a benefit of up to £14 in the form of reduced economic and social costs of crime. This corresponds to a total net benefit to the criminal justice system in Scotland from POP of £10 million over 3 years.

The report also found that there is a 32% fall in the average number of offences committed after engagement with POP.

Crime brings significant economic and social costs to society; POP has shown that by focusing on a relatively small group of persistent offenders, and the disproportionate amount of crime they commit, offending behaviour can be dramatically reduced, which makes our communities safer as well as delivering considerable savings to the public purse.

Recency, Frequency, Gravity (RFG)

RFG is a data mining technique that literally mines tens of thousands of records from multiple force systems and then applies core analytical risk-based factors of Recency, Frequency and Gravity to the data to identify those entities that score high on each of the core factors. Plainly speaking, this means that if you are an offender who is currently active in violence, is prolific (linked to several crime reports), and who also engages in more serious forms of violence (serious assault / attempted murder) then you

are likely to appear on an RFG listing. RFG methodology has, since 2010, been applied to the full spectrum of the violence, disorder and antisocial behaviour portfolio, including domestic abuse, problematic licensed premises, knife crime, robbery, gang violence, street drinking, noisy party dwellings, youth disorder and vulnerable complainers.

RFG methodology was conceived with the intent of providing 'possible' for inclusion on the radar of local community policing teams. RFG listings are not exhaustive and only represent what has been reported and formally recorded onto force systems. RFG information is supplementary intelligence that should be integrated into the normal intelligence-led policing approach at Community Policing Team level.

RFG offers the ability to measure complex problems through an easy-to-follow scoring system that is three-dimensional rather than two dimensional. All entities, be these offenders, complainers, premises or neighbourhoods are scored out of a maximum of 100 points, with the higher the score corresponding with the greater risk of threat and harm.

Given RFG intelligence can integrate with existing local analysis products through GIS mapping, it is therefore possible for local analysts to overlay RFG intelligence onto their own crime / incident maps. By utilising such products (and other directed communications) in support of effective briefings and debriefings, Strathclyde Police ensures all of its staff are fully aware and clearly understand their responsibilities and role in keeping people safe.

United States of America

Approximately 2.1 million young people under the age of 18 years are arrested in the United States every year, and whilst overall rates have been declining, about 1.7 million delinquency cases are disposed of in juvenile courts annually (Puzzanchera et al, 2011).

Juvenile justice systems have always struggled to balance the perceived roles in punishing offenders and bringing about constructive behavioural change while ensuring public safety (Seifert, 2012). There is now more of a movement to abandon the punitive measures of the system and concentrate instead on prevention, treatment and rehabilitative efforts. Lipsey et al (2010), proposed that the two goals of juvenile justice should be protecting the public from harm and changing the life trajectories of young people involved in crime so they can become better citizens. Howell et al (2004) (as quoted in Seifert), describe an interagency collaborative system for high risk youth. They make a strong case for the fact that these young people have problems in multiple domains and are often served by multiple public agencies. It is argued that adopting a collaborative model would deliver more effective and efficient services.

In 2010, the Office of Juvenile Justice & Delinquency Prevention (www.ojjdp.gov) reported that approximately 101,000 young people (aged between 10 and 20 years) were in juvenile justice facilities; 85% male / 15% female and almost 34,000 between the ages of 10 and 15 years, at a cost of circa \$250 per person per day. When taken into custody, 70% were either living with only one parent or no parent at all – clearly indicating that youth in these categories are more likely to be incarcerated. Whilst 76% of those in custody were enrolled at a school, more than half admitting skipping classes with 57% having been suspended in the year prior to imprisonment. It is also known that recidivism rates are higher for those young people who have been incarcerated (50-90%) than those treated in the community (30%).

The number of gangs, gang membership and gang activity increased significantly in the US between 2002 and 2010; it is estimated that there are circa 756,000 gang members in around 29,400 gangs across the country (Egley et al, 2010). Gang members are primarily male, but there are some female gangs and female members of ‘male’ gangs; the age range is typically 12 to 24 years, with the mean 17-18 years. That said, there has been a lot of debate about around the definition of a gang and what constitutes a gang member. Duffy and Gillig (2004), suggest that youth gang behaviour can initially be categorised into 4 types of activities:

- Criminal – in which the main focus of the activity is directed at making money through illegal means such as supplying drugs or committing robberies. This type of activity may be sporadic or episodic and may not be central to a group’s overall activity. Alternatively, it may involve complex relationships, techniques and skills

- Conflict – in which the main feature is street fighting and where violence is associated with gaining social status and street reputation. This kind of activity is marked by an emphasis on honour, personal integrity and territoriality. Issues of self-esteem, constructions of masculinity and self-protection loom large in consideration of why conflicts occur and persist over time
- Retreat – in which the main activity is heavy drug use and generally a retreat from mainstream social interaction. Illegal activity lies mainly in the use of illegal drugs, rather than in violence or other forms of anti-social behaviour. However, because of the drug use, property crimes and violence may occur. The presence of drug users may also cause issues within communities
- Street Culture – in which the main characteristic is the adoption of specific gang related cultural forms and public presentation of gang like attributes. The emphasis is on street gang culture, incorporating certain types of music, ways of dressing, hand signals, jewellery, tattoos and graffiti. It may reflect actual group dynamics or mimicry based on media stereotypes or youth fads

An important point to note though, is that some of these activities (if not all) may also apply to young people in general and not just ‘gangs’, as at different times and locations in life, a young person may engage in behaviour(s) that may appear gang related but the young person themselves is not involved in gang activity. It is also worth noting that not all ‘gang’ activity is illegal, criminal or bad. Groups of young people have, for generations, been meeting up in public places to listen to music or talk about common interests. In this regard, policy makers and practitioners have to take great care not to demonise and / or stigmatise these youth as that can lead to sensationalised media reporting and a moral panic in communities.

Lipsey et al suggest that three main approaches can be used to translate research evidence on effective programmes into practice for everyday use by policymakers and practitioners. The first approach is direct evaluation of each individual programme used in practice to confirm its effectiveness, and if it is found ineffective, to use that evidence to improve or terminate it. The second is to implement a programme from a list of model programmes certified by an authoritative source as having acceptable evidence of effectiveness. The third approach is to implement a type of programme that has been shown to be effective on average by a meta-analysis of many studies of that programme type, but to do so in the manner that the research indicates will yield that average effect or better.

Youth crime and violent behaviour in particular is expensive both financially and in terms of the immeasurable pain and suffering it causes young people, their families, friends, peer group and the community as a whole. As far back as 1998 it was estimated that violence was costing the US \$425 billion (Seifert, 2012), with gun violence alone accounting for \$100bn per year. In addition, the United States has one of the highest violence rates in non-third world countries and imprisons more people than most

industrialised nations. The rate of serious violent crime in schools is 4 per 1000, whilst away from the school environment it's 8 per 1000.

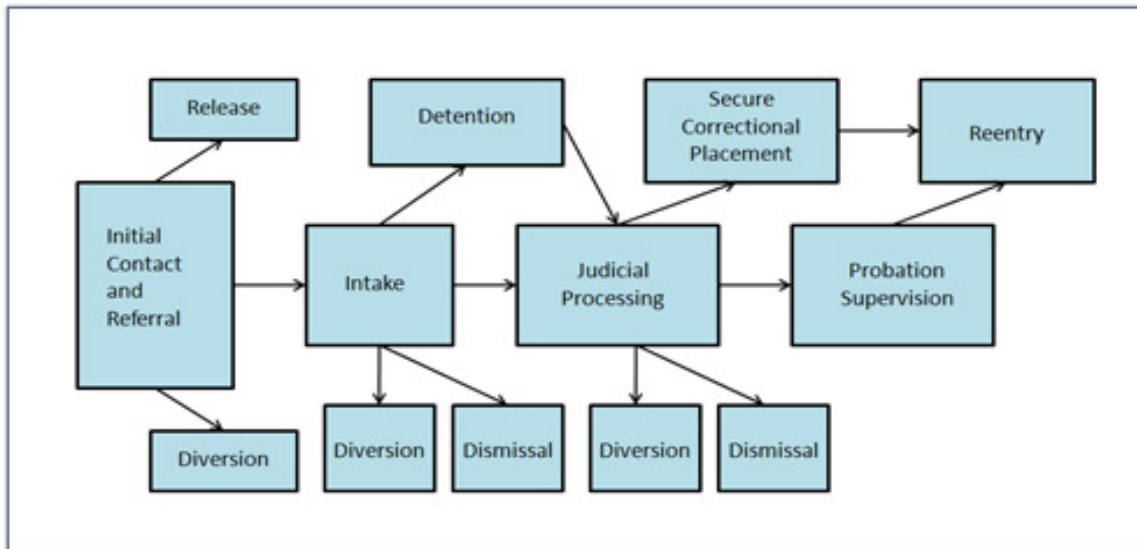
That said, Rand and Catalano (2006) found that only 49% of violent victimisations were actually reported to the police.

The direct cost of child abuse and neglect in the US totals more than £33 billion annually; when indirect costs are added, the figure rises to more than \$103 billion. It is documented by Wang and Holton (2007), and by many others, that children who have been abused or neglected are more likely to experience adverse outcomes throughout their lives such as:

- Poor physical health (chronic fatigue, altered immune function, hypertension, sexually transmitted diseases, obesity)
- Poor emotional and mental health (depression, anxiety, eating disorders, suicidal thoughts and attempts, post-traumatic stress disorder)
- Social difficulties (insecure attachments with caregivers which may lead to difficulties in developing trusting relationships with peers and adults later in life)
- Cognitive dysfunction (deficits in attention, abstract reasoning, language development and problem-solving skills which ultimately affect academic achievement and school performance)
- High-risk health behaviours (a higher number of lifetime sexual partners, younger age at first voluntary intercourse, teen pregnancy, alcohol and substance abuse)
- Behavioural problems (aggression, juvenile delinquency, adult criminality, abusive or violent behaviour)

There is a growing evidence base that shows community based programmes such as Functional Family Therapy (FFT) and Multi Systemic Therapy (MST) are cost effective and can reap better results for young people, their families, communities and the tax payer by intervening earlier in the lives of at risk and delinquent youth; by providing support to the individuals and their families, better outcomes can be achieved including reductions in crime and anti-social behaviour, improved community safety and importantly, less young people in prison. The Justice Policy Institute (2009) found that for every dollar spent on FFT and MST, thirteen public safety dollars are saved. In this regard, potentially tens of millions of dollars could be saved each year if non dangerous young people were treated in communities, rather than being locked up in (overcrowded) juvenile justice facilities.

Adapted from Skowrya & Cocozza (2006), the following diagram highlights the distinctive points where communities and agencies can make positive interventions in the lives of those young people who have, or are at risk of, entering the juvenile justice system:



Initial contact and referral: when a young person is suspected of committing an offence, the police are often the first to intervene. Law enforcement officers respond to calls from schools, parents, concerned public and victims. When responding to a call, law enforcement officers will decide on the most appropriate course of action to take in the circumstances.

Intake: generally refers to the process after a formal referral by law enforcement (or, in some cases, from a parent or family member), during which an assessment process determines whether a case should be dismissed, handled informally or referred to juvenile court for formal intervention

Diversion: one process that can happen at any point in a youth's involvement with the juvenile justice system is diversion. Diversion is an attempt to channel youthful offenders away from the juvenile justice system.

Detention: the most common use of secure detention facilities is as a short-term 'holding' facility for youth while they await processing and / or disposition. However, some states also use detention as a holding facility for youth awaiting placement after adjudication.

Judicial processing: includes adjudication and disposition. Adjudication refers to the process of conducting a hearing, considering evidence and making a delinquency determination. If a young person is found delinquent during the adjudicatory process, a disposition plan is developed. The disposition plan is similar to sentencing within the adult system; the plan details the consequences of the youth's offence (probation, placement in a juvenile correctional facility, restitution). Development of the plan is based on a detailed history of the youth and assessment of available support systems and programmes.

Dismissal: another option in the decision making process for juvenile offenders is an order of dismissal of the pending case prior to adjudication. The delinquency charge is dropped but the conduct / behaviour involved in the charge may be considered and the court may order restitution or another disposition.

Probation supervision: is the most common disposition within the juvenile justice system; it is frequently accompanied by other court imposed conditions, such as community service, restitution or participation in community treatment services. For youth on probation supervision, this can be an important opportunity to provide physical and mental health services and other supports. Partnerships with communities and agencies can ensure that there is a range of services and programmes available to meet the needs of youth on supervision.

Secure correctional placement: placement in a secure juvenile correctional facility is the most restrictive disposition that a youth in the juvenile justice system can receive. Although all juvenile correctional facilities are designed to impose a sanction on the youth, protect the public, and provide some type of structured rehabilitative environment, the characteristics of these facilities vary significantly. Some facilities have been criticised as being sterile and inappropriate for rehabilitative programming, and for fostering abuse and maltreatment. Further, some facilities do not allow young people to maintain connections with their families and support systems, making it very difficult for the effects of any type of therapeutic intervention to be sustained.

Re-entry: is the final point in the juvenile justice processing continuum, and incorporates programmes and services that assist youth transitioning from juvenile justice placement back into the community. An effective re-entry programme involves collaboration between the juvenile justice facility staff, probation / parole officers and case managers with other child-serving systems and community partners and agencies. This process begins well in advance of a youth's release and ensures that the youth is linked with effective community-based services, which can be critical to his or her long-term success (www.findyouthinfo.gov).

Tackling Youth Crime, Violence & Disorder In Boston

Deterrence is at the heart of the preventative aspiration of criminal justice. Deterrence, whether through preventative patrol by police officers or through stiff prison services for violent offenders, is the principal mechanism through which the central feature of criminal justice, the exercise of state authority, works – it is hoped – to diminish offending and to enhance public safety; and however well we think deterrence works, it clearly often does not work as well as we would like – and often at very great cost (Kennedy 2009).

The 'Boston Miracle'

The academic work undertaken by Professors David Kennedy and Anthony Braga in partnership with the Boston Police Department and key civic, private and voluntary partners influenced thinking and helped bring about real change. Operation Ceasefire was a problem-oriented multi-agency policing initiative expressly aimed at tackling a large scale serious crime problem involving (predominantly) young people. This delivered dramatic results, reducing youth violence by about two-thirds; however, most of the success was brought about not by prosecution, but through active engagement with the individuals involved in committing the crimes.

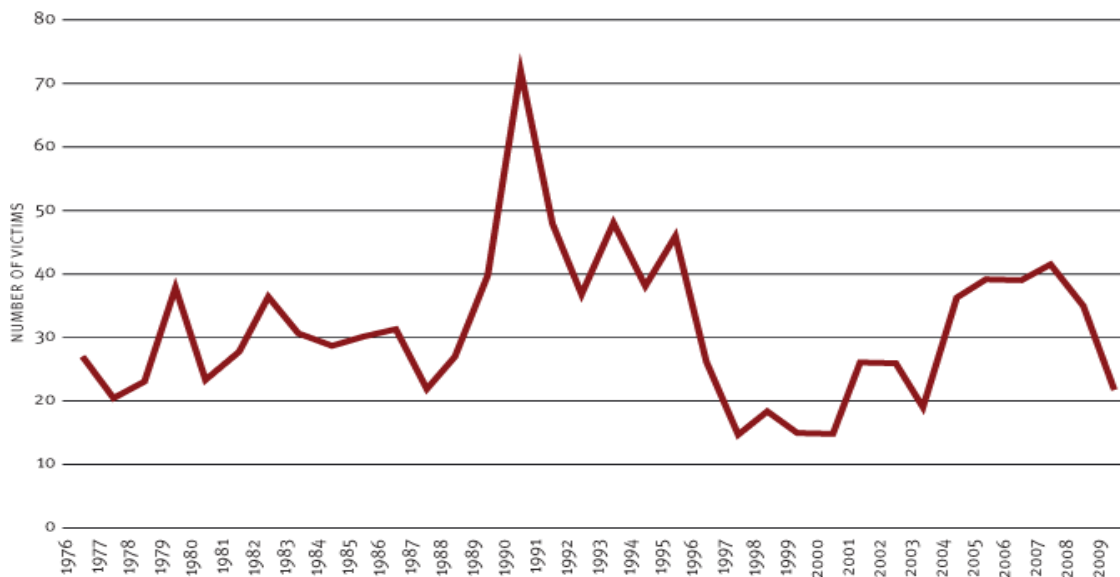
The Boston Gun Project was a problem-oriented policing initiative expressly aimed at taking on a serious, large-scale crime problem - homicide victimisation among young people in Boston. Like many large cities in the United States, Boston experienced an epidemic of youth homicide between the late 1980s and early 1990s. Boston youth homicide (ages 24 and under) increased 230 % from 22 victims in 1987 to 73 victims in 1990. Youth homicide remained high well after the peak of the epidemic. Boston averaged about 44 youth homicides per year between 1991 and 1995.

Sponsored by the National Institute of Justice and directed by David Kennedy, Anthony Braga and Anne Piehl of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, the Project included assembling an interagency working group of largely line-level criminal justice and other practitioners; applying quantitative and qualitative research techniques to create an assessment of the nature of, and dynamics driving, youth violence in Boston; developing an intervention designed to have a substantial, near-term impact on youth homicide; implementing, adapting and evaluating the intervention and its impact. It drew upon an existing 'network of capacity' consisting of dense and productive relationships that were established as Boston attempted to come to grips with its youth violence epidemic.

Core participating agencies, as defined by regular participation in the Boston Gun Project Working Group over the duration of the project, included BPD, the Massachusetts Departments of Probation and Parole, Office of the Suffolk County District Attorney, Office of the United States Attorney, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Massachusetts Department of Youth Services, Boston School Police and gang outreach and prevention Streetworkers attached to the Boston Community Centres programme. Other important participants, either as regular partners later in the process or episodically, included the Ten Point Coalition of activist black clergy, US Drug Enforcement Administration, Massachusetts State Police and Office of the Massachusetts Attorney General (www.hks.harvard.edu).

The Project began in early 1995 and morphed into what is now known as 'Operation Ceasefire', which began in the late spring of 1996. Ceasefire was an innovative partnership between researchers and practitioners brought together to assess the City's

youth homicide problem and implement an intervention designed to have a substantial near-term impact on the problem. Operation Ceasefire was based on the ‘pulling levers’ deterrence strategy which focused criminal justice attention on a small number of chronically offending gang-involved youth responsible for much of Boston's youth homicide problem. Operation Ceasefire was credited with a 63% reduction in youth homicides when it was operational between 1996 and 2000. Beginning in 2002 and continuing through 2007, Boston experienced a resurgence of gang violence that generated noteworthy increases in youth homicide (www.hks.harvard.edu).



The resurgence in youth violence shared many of the same characteristics of the epidemic of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Soon after the Ceasefire interventions ended, the yearly number of youth homicides increased from 15 victims in 2000 to 26 victims in both 2001 and 2002, and then skyrocketed to 39 victims in 2006. Between 2000 and 2006, Boston youth homicide had increased by 160%. As in the 1990s, firearms were the weapons of choice over the course of this new epidemic of youth violence. Eighty per cent of the youth homicide victims during this time period were killed by firearms (166 of 207 youth victims). Fatal and non-fatal shootings also increased dramatically over this same time period.

Similar to the trajectory of Boston youth homicides, the yearly number of shootings increased modestly between 2000 (162) and 2003 (177), followed by much larger increases in 2004 (268), 2005 (341), and 2006 (377). Between 2000 and 2006, the yearly number of shootings had increased by 133%. Most of the shootings were concentrated in a small number of gun violence hot spots in Boston’s disadvantaged, predominately minority neighbourhoods of Dorchester, Mattapan and Roxbury. These gun violence hot spots covered only 5.1% of Boston’s 48.4 square miles, but generated nearly 53% (199) of the 377 fatal and non-fatal shootings in 2006 (Braga, Hureau & Winship, 2008).

Like many other law enforcement agencies, the Boston Police Department measured its performance in preventing serious violence by monitoring yearly trends in total homicides. BPD did not separate homicide trends by specific types of circumstances or by ages of the victim. Unfortunately, this practice undermined their ability to detect that gang homicides had been growing almost linearly since 1999 (Braga et al, 2008).

The Formation of Boston's Street Gangs⁵

Much of the historical literature related to the formation of gangs suggests that for decades teen groups have gathered together, usually by neighbourhood, street, park or corner. In their work with gangs in St. Louis, Decker and Van Winkle found that, in general, the process of joining the gang was consistent with the formation of neighbourhood friendship groups. Boston reflects this same pattern of gang formation. The weight of evidence indicates that gangs in Boston, like most communities across the United States, have traditionally been outgrowths of neighbourhood-based friendship networks. These observations have largely been based around the more historical Italian gangs in the North End of Boston and the Irish gangs in South Boston, and they hold true for the street gang culture that dominates the neighbourhoods of Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan today. There is very little evidence across different generations of systematic attempts to force or coerce young people to join gangs; rather gang involvement was an outcome of growing up with a certain group of family members or friends. Through the process of growing up with their peers, developing long-term relationships, and socialising in many different ways, trust and a sense of loyalty became ingrained in the youth and a strong attachment was formed.

This suggests that the same social processes that helped nurture peer networks also play a role in the formation of gangs. A small but notable number of youth peer networks, many of which came from some of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods with long histories of entrenched poverty and economic isolation, ultimately adopted highly delinquent value orientations and in many cases began to self-identify as street gangs. Within a short period of time these friendship groups transitioned into gangs, established a strong presence in their neighbourhoods, and became increasingly more deviant.

While street gangs have presented public safety challenges for generations, there was a significant increase in the level and severity of the violence perpetrated by these groups starting in the spring of 1988. It was during this time that BPD's Intelligence Unit started to notice a sustained increase in violence among young people aged between 14 and 19. The Intelligence Unit recognised that this was a part of a larger change in the social patterns of young people who seemed to be congregating in public spaces across some of the most distressed neighbourhoods, and engaging in serious violent crime. By

⁵ Section adapted from the works of Joyce, Carabin & Maconochie – BPD PACT Overview

1989, the number of homicide victims under the age of 24 in the City of Boston climbed to 40, and in 1990, peaked at 73.

It became apparent that some youth in neighbourhoods with the highest level of violence were beginning to identify themselves by the streets or neighbourhoods they lived in yet exhibited little organisational structure. It was estimated that during this time there were approximately 15-20 identified street gangs in the City of Boston, with a combined membership of nearly 450 individuals. This was the starting point for the emergence of the street gang culture in Boston. Longstanding neighbourhood antagonisms, along with images of gangs sensationalised through popular culture, as well as the increased use of guns to settle disputes, were all early indicators of what was to come.

[The Crack Cocaine Trade and Organisational Issues in Boston's Gangs⁶](#)

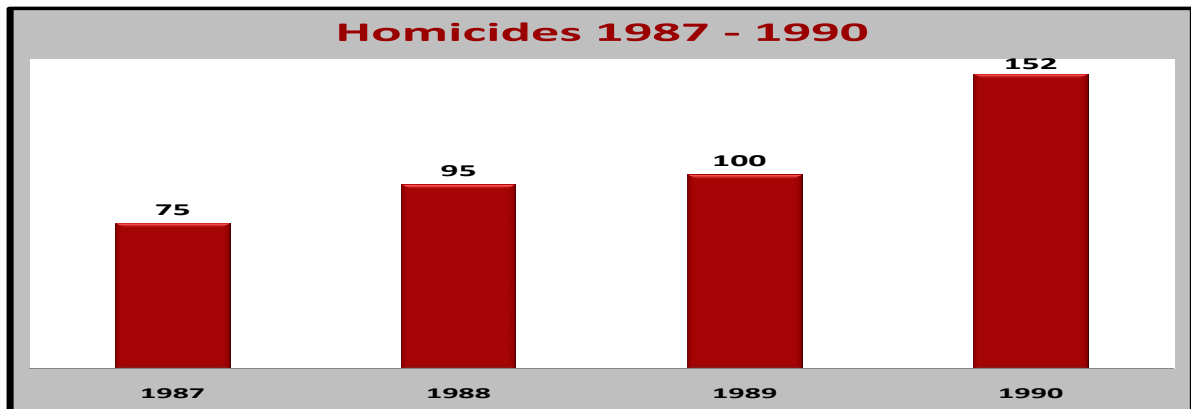
Coinciding with the emergence of street gangs in Boston was the increasing availability and widening market for illegal drugs, specifically crack cocaine. The ability to make large sums of money through the distribution of crack provided a new source of income and called for a more advanced approach within the gang. This opportunity for the gang to 'access the economy' appeared to increase the structure and cohesion among Boston's original gangs and, at the same time, offered strong incentives for the development of new ones. The combination of neighbourhood gangs with a booming drug market denotes a critical stage in the development of Boston's street gangs. While the early days of the crack market could best be characterised as disorganised, the economic opportunity created through the high demand for crack required that street gangs adopt a more systematic course of action if they were going to compete, survive, and succeed against their rivals.

Gangs during this period were still relatively unsophisticated organisations with few concepts of management, organisation, planning and controlling, yet much of this would change. By the early 1990s, gangs began to develop a heightened sense of organisational sophistication with more structure and greater attention to controlling the illicit drug economy. Boston's street gangs were exclusively neighbourhood based during the late 1980s and into the 1990s. The gangs, for the most part, adopted the name of the street, neighbourhood or housing development they came from. Many of the gangs also started taking on the names of professional sports teams and wearing the team's apparel. Violence was synonymous with the gang activity that took place during the late 1980s and was devastating to the city. In 1987, there were 75 homicides; in 1988, 95; in 1989, 100 and by 1990, there were 152 homicides - the most ever in the City. Non-fatal shooting numbers also increased dramatically - by 1990, approximately 550 shootings had taken place. The vast majority of these incidents involved African-American males both as perpetrators and victims. With the development of street gangs

⁶ Section adapted from the works of Joyce, Carabin & Maconochie – BPD PACT Overview

came a more lethal violence with disputes and rivalries being settled with firearms. As gangs moved into the crack cocaine trade, shootings and homicides became a daily occurrence.

A comprehensive review of Boston's youth homicides between 1990 and 1994 showed that these incidents continued to focus on mostly young African-American males from Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan. These youth homicides were largely concentrated among a small number of chronically offending youth involved in ongoing gang conflicts. By this time approximately 1% of the city's youth were involved in 61 gangs in the city, with a combined membership of approximately 1,300 individuals. However, these gangs were responsible for 60% of all youth homicides in the city. The majority of which involved suspects and victims who had prior and often extensive histories of involvement in the criminal justice system.



[Today's Gang Culture: A More Complex Picture⁷](#)

There is reason to believe that while particular aspects of the gang culture from the past still exist in Boston today, there are also changes to the characteristics and culture of gangs that present unique challenges. The Boston Regional Intelligence Centre (BRIC) estimates there are 133 gangs in the City (at various levels of organisation) with a combined membership of approximately 3,500 individuals, including those known to be associates of particular gangs. As previously described, the late 1980s - 1990s saw a more structured gang culture with a leadership element, where members dressed in a similar manner, had clearly identified turf and were immersed in the crack cocaine trade.

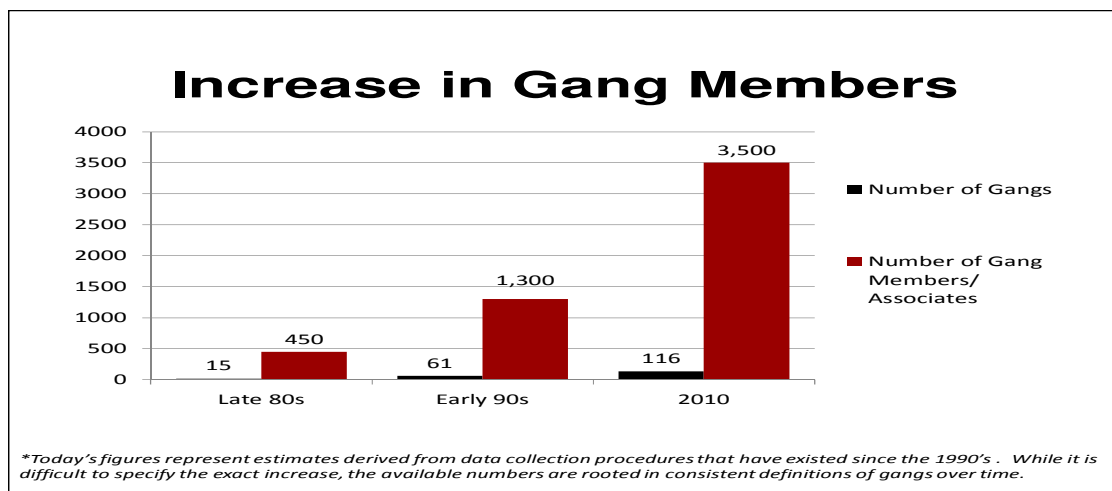
Current gang culture reflects a different picture of anonymity with a fragmentary structure and no discernible leadership. Their feuds and alliances can change quickly therefore redefining the concepts of loyalty and rules that were so prevalent in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This creates a sense of no 'real' rules to the gang scene and few leaders capable of controlling violence. Additionally, the reduction of the crack trade and open air drug markets has taken away a great deal of their motivation and purpose.

⁷ Section adapted from the works of Joyce, Carabin & Maconochie – BPD PACT Overview

Today's gang members more accurately reflect chronic violent individuals exhibiting a variety of factors relating to their persistent offending. These factors include age, race, school performance problems, mental health issues, dysfunctional family settings, neighbourhood effects, the presence of gangs, the availability of guns, drugs, and violent subcultures. It is also suggested that characteristics of violence associated with contemporary gangs have also changed in recent years. The violence in the late 1980s was more 'organised' and 'deliberate' versus today where it is 'random' and 'reckless'. While any violence is unacceptable, organised violence that is linked to patterns of retaliation and feuds creates a sense of predictability and rationality to the gang culture. The 'rules' create, to some degree, boundaries to violence. Moreover, leadership and a predictable structure to violence create inroads for intervention and suppression efforts.

The easy access to firearms in some parts of Boston continues to play a critical role in initiating, sustaining and promoting youth violence in some neighbourhoods today. The use of firearms has become a symbol of respect, power, identity and a tool of survival among certain youth. Violent subcultural values that have been adopted by a small percentage of young people mandate the use of extreme force under certain conditions. The youth driving violence today appear to act on impulse, with little regard for the consequences of their actions. It would seem that the structure of gang culture in Boston has no definitive leadership with no rules and violence is carried out in a more reckless manner.

Boston's street gang culture has existed for over 20 years and has gone through significant changes. In 1988, there were approximately 15-20 gangs with a membership of approximately 450 individuals; in 1996, 61 gangs with a membership of around 1,300 individuals and in 2010, 133 gangs with a membership of almost 3,500 individuals. In this regard, as well as dealing with a highly dysfunctional population, BPD and its partners also have to contend with a much larger group than ever before. This considerable change presented the Police Department and City with a difficult challenge that required a comprehensive multi-agency approach to disentangle this complex and deeply rooted problem.



Partners Advancing Communities Together (PACT)⁸

On 7 May 2010, Jaewon Martin age 14, an honour roll student at the Timilty Middle School was shot and killed in the Jamaica Plain district of Boston. Less than three weeks later, on 30 May 2010, Nicholas Fomby-Davis, also 14 years old, was dragged off a motor scooter in the Dorchester district and shot and killed. The senseless deaths of these two young men were similar in that neither was involved in the ‘gang lifestyle’ and both were innocent victims of on-going gang violence that plagued their neighbourhoods. The response by the community, clergy, government officials and media was one of both anger and dismay. In the immediate aftermath of these tragic events, it was clear that strong action had to be taken to stop the apparent resurgence of youth violence.

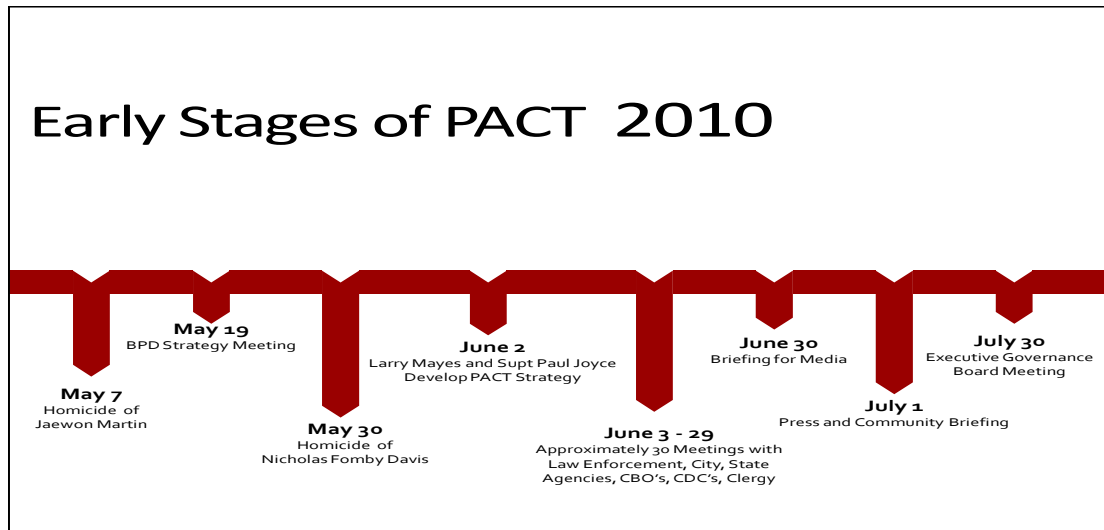
Boston, like many cities across the United States, continues to struggle with the challenges of violent crime. Homicides, especially like those described above, have a profoundly detrimental effect on communities, both in terms of quality of life and levels of fear. Many of the individuals entrenched in the street gang culture are well known to the myriad of public and private agencies charged with ensuring the health and well-being of Boston’s residents, and in many cases, were the focus of intensive efforts by a wide group of agencies. Recognition of this trend compelled many of the City’s key policymakers to rethink how effectively services were being coordinated and implemented with high-risk individuals and families. The homicides of Jaewon Martin and Nicholas Fomby-Davis provided a watershed moment that called for the public sector to devise a strategy for realigning how the violent crime problem is addressed.

The PACT framework started to take shape in early June 2010 when Boston’s Mayor Thomas Menino and Police Commissioner Edward Davis assigned representatives of the Police Department and City Human Services to develop a strategy for addressing the rising level of firearm violence in Boston. A Senior Police Superintendent with extensive experience in tackling violence and gang related / youth crimes and the City’s then Chief of Human Services were tasked with developing and directing the overall strategy. They were supported by the Head of the Boston Public Health Commission and Assistant Secretary of the Executive Office of Health and Human Services who would oversee the youth / family component of the strategy. This high level strategic partnership provided a strong foundation which supported the development of the core working group for PACT. In light of the issues, the PACT mandate was clear and direct; there was a sense of urgency around the development of a comprehensive strategy incorporating prevention, intervention and enforcement to address youth firearm violence. There was also a clear need to strengthen the coordination, communication and accountability among the agencies that work with the most troubled and dangerous youth. The basic premise of this directive was that the multitude of

⁸ Section adapted from the works of Joyce, Carabin & Maconochie – BPD PACT Overview

agencies responsible for addressing the gang and firearm violence problem needed to be held accountable for devising more effective strategies.

‘When innocent young people have their lives ruthlessly snatched from them by violent actors...the PACT initiative was the logical mayoral response to intentionally and aggressively pursue these violent actors and to simultaneously provide with equal resolve corrective services for their families. Frankly, there is no other way to go’.
Larry Mayes, former Cabinet Chief of Human Services for the City of Boston.



Key Foundation Elements & Framework

PACT is primarily government driven. It puts the responsibility and accountability on government agencies to work smarter. The fact that there were finite resources forced partners to think more strategically as to how they communicate, collaborate and problem-solve. PACT is about doing things differently; it encourages organisations to critically review their internal processes and programmes and make relevant changes to improve how they operate and contribute to partnership working. For youth crime, gang intervention and violence reduction strategies to be successful, partners must conduct a thorough analysis of the problems faced and develop strategies that are directly linked to solving / impacting on those issues; the clearer the picture, the more precise and potentially more effective the intervention.

PACT includes front-line practitioner ownership. By incorporating their expertise in the selection process for PACT individuals, front-line ownership and accountability is established. PACT focuses on a finite population – using law enforcement and partnership data to identify the small number of individuals who are responsible for the majority of (firearm) violence.

A Governance Board was established to ensure mutual accountability among partners for the implementation of PACT; it also provides a level of cover to allow for out-of-

the-box thinking and creative problem solving by empowering mid and higher level managers to take chances on new ideas and challenge conventional wisdom. In addition to the Executive Governance Board, the framework includes an emphasis on intelligence-driven decision making - with training to support and a research and evaluation component to review and assess the work. Areas of focus were identified and strategic convening sessions were held to operationalize strategies, tactics, and interventions. Original areas included: community policing, prosecution, supervision, re-entry, education and employment, family and neighbourhood. Early on in the implementation of PACT, these original focus areas were condensed into three: law enforcement, youth and families and neighbourhood. Partners convened and coalesced around a mutually agreed upon problem statement, mission and goals.

A major strength of PACT is the long-standing and robust relationships that exist among partners across multiple agencies. State and city agencies were the drivers of PACT in the beginning, with key non-governmental partners added as the family and neighbourhood components began to take root. Current partners include:

Criminal Justice

- Boston Police Department
- Suffolk County District Attorney's Office
- Suffolk County Sheriff's Department
- Massachusetts Probation Service
- Massachusetts Department of Youth Services
- Massachusetts Executive Office of Public Safety and Security
- United States Attorney's Office

Social Services

- Boston Public Health Commission
- Boston Centres for Youth & Families / Streetworkers
- Boston Public Schools
- Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services / Youth Options Unlimited
- Massachusetts Executive Office of Health and Human Services
- Youth Connect
- Mass Housing

Law Enforcement

In the early stages, law enforcement partners focused on selection of PACT individuals and improving communication and information sharing, thereby creating a coordinated response to the violent behaviour. The methodology used for selection utilised official statistics and recorded information / intelligence. It also relied somewhat on subjective assessment and the 'local knowledge' of front line police officers and partners working in communities.

Several steps were taken to ensure improved communication relative to PACT individuals; a daily (BRIC prepared) PACT report which details any recorded activities involving PACT individuals including arrests, encounters with police officers, those released from incarceration, known or suspected violent incidents and general intelligence is disseminated to partners. A secure web-based platform was developed in order to monitor PACT individuals as they move through the criminal justice system

and PACT has become a fixed agenda item at all Boston Police Department COMPSTAT meetings.

Due to their high rate of offending, the individuals selected for the PACT Strategy became the focus of a strong suppression effort by law enforcement. Thus, consistent with the foundational concepts of Operation Ceasefire, one of the primary instructions provided to frontline Boston police officers and partnering law enforcement agencies alike was to ‘pull all available legal levers’ so as to stop the violent behaviour from occurring. These legal levers included, drug investigations, warrant apprehension, disorder arrests, enforcement of probation restrictions, intensive supervision by the Department of Youth Services (DYS), the use of federal enforcement powers and strict prosecution for all PACT related cases. It is this type of interagency approach that can greatly increase the effectiveness of PACT type initiatives.

PACT seeks to establish an operational continuum amongst the area’s criminal justice agencies; synchronizing various agency activities and developing a unified criminal justice response that is merged imperceptibly with no breaks. To facilitate this, the BRIC was designated as the central hub for coordinating data collection, analysis, product development and the dissemination of intelligence to support the PACT Strategy. The ability to share information between law enforcement and other criminal justice and partner agencies is paramount as it supports the decision making process and brings enhanced partnership accountability for shared outcomes.

As previously referenced, several law enforcement / criminal justice agencies collaborated to develop a streamlined approach to information sharing, analysis, enforcement, supervision, and prosecution while utilising all legal levers available. Supervision in particular has proven to be an extremely valuable lever for PACT. The DYS carries supervisory responsibilities for 22 - 26 individuals on the PACT list, each under the age of 21. If those under DYS supervision are found in violation of conditions of their supervised release, they may have their liberty revoked and be held at a residential facility for a period of time determined by the nature of their violations.

It is a well-known fact that a disproportionately small number of offenders are responsible for committing the majority of crimes in most towns and cities. In this regard, after implementing the PACT Strategy for one year an analysis was required to make sure that the individuals selected for PACT were in fact those assessed as being responsible for a significant portion of the city’s violent crime, and that focusing on these individuals through greater coordination and information sharing was benefiting communities and having a positive impact on crime rates across the City.

In the first year approximately 50% of the individuals from the PACT list were arrested. In total, there were 210 arrests involving 119 individuals charged with a total of 340 criminal offences. Some of the most common charges were related to firearm offences, violent crime (possession of firearm, possession of ammunition, assault and battery,

armed robbery) and drug offences (possession with intent to supply). Twenty four individuals were arrested and charged with firearms-related offences and ten on distribution of drug charges. Perhaps most notable, five PACT clients were killed as a result of being the victims of violent offences. In addition, 14 were shot and another five were stabbed (all non-fatal). As reflected in the arrest statistics, 119 individuals cycled in and out of custody on 210 occasions. During Year One of the PACT Strategy, on any given week an average of 47 PACT individuals were incarcerated with the Suffolk County Jail.

Numerous examples exist that demonstrate the value of PACT – in particular timely, actionable information sharing focused on this small group of offenders positively influences the quality of decision making by the city’s criminal justice practitioners, which serves as a catalyst for stronger collaboration and partnerships among agencies.

Youth & Families

In terms of Youth and Families, PACT is a multidisciplinary, comprehensive service delivery strategy to enhance the quality of life for young people who are the most at risk of being victims or perpetrators of (gun) violence. The PACT initiative service component is a collaboration of youth serving organisations in Boston including:

- Boston Centres for Youth & Families (BCYF) Streetworker Programme - hailed as one of the most effective youth prevention and early intervention services provided to Boston's youth. Initiated in 1990, the programme has received national and international praise. The goal of the programme is to connect ‘hard-to-reach’ / ‘hard-to-engage’ youth to needed services and resources through direct, targeted (City funded) street outreach. Streetworkers have a strong reputation for providing a calming presence during violent periods and for effectively reducing retaliatory actions related to violent events. They also provide critical mediation interventions
- Violence Intervention Advocacy Programme – aims to prevent future violence stemming from past assaults and improve quality of life for victims of violence by intervening with the victims of those assaults in the emergency department; providing case management and referrals to services including counselling, health / mental health, safety planning, education and job training at what Johnson and others have described as a key ‘teachable moment’
- Youth Options Unlimited – YOU provides intensive case management, develops individual service plans, manages education referrals and placements, identifies and develops transitional jobs programmes with key partners that can lead to longer term employment opportunities and effectively operates as a ‘one stop shop’ for those offering employment to young people who have previously offended

- Youth Connect – an innovative and highly effective partnership between BPD and the Boys & Girls Club of Boston to place social workers in police district stations to work with youth who are at-risk of, or are involved in crime, provide advice and guidance and refer individuals (and their families) to appropriate social and / or support services. Among Youth Connect clients, there was a 59% reduction in weapon carrying, a 64% reduction in aggressive behaviour and a 71% reduction in victimisation (www.bgcb.org/our-location/youthconnect/)

PACT providers work together through a model of ‘joint service delivery’ to identify client needs and connect individuals to education, employment, mental health services, substance abuse services, legal services, child support, and housing. Limited and targeted support is offered for family members, including siblings. In order to promote accountability, problem solving, and prioritisation of services for clients, Youth Connect was funded to facilitate monthly multi-agency case conferences for PACT clients who are such high risk that they are in imminent or persistent danger, have a complicated multi-disciplinary need, or are ‘stuck youth’ – that is young people that none of the providers are able to contact and / or otherwise support.

These meetings are divided into two different sessions: Quick Client Reviews and Detailed Client Reviews. Quick Client Reviews occur monthly; during these meetings staff review up to 15-20 clients per 90 minute session. They are a forum for quick problem solving, identification of needs and accountability. Longer more detailed conversations between partners about issues that emerge from the Quick Client Reviews are ideally handled outside of this process. Every three months, Youth Connect hosts an additional Detailed Client Review; this session is an in-depth case conference of one or two complicated cases that require a comprehensive multi-disciplinary review and input. In addition to the main youth serving organisations, these meetings can include, when appropriate, representation from the Department of Children and Families, Department of Youth Services, Massachusetts Probation Service, law enforcement partners and schools. Information sharing between agencies is permitted via the agreed information sharing protocol.

Another part of the youth and families strategy is Operation Homefront which is a national award-winning collaboration between the BPD School Police Unit, Youth Violence Strike Force, Boston Public School Police and Faith-Based Organisations. Homefront operates under the premise that the family is the first line of defence against gang / criminal activity among youth. Home visits are conducted on a weekly basis via referrals from various Boston Police Officers, Boston Public Schools, law enforcement agencies, community based service providers and clergy. Parents are informed about their son / daughter’s negative behaviour and are educated on the warning signs of criminal and / or gang involvement.

This collaborative effort sends a strong message to the students involved that their actions will not be tolerated at school, in the community and most importantly, in the

home. In situations that warrant more services than a home visit can provide, the School Police Unit makes referrals to the clinical staff (social workers) at Youth Connect.

PACT Conclusion⁹

At any given time, PACT clients may be facing criminal charges or other court action, incarcerated at a county, state or federal prison, involved in a pre-release programme, involved with the Department of Youth Services or on probation, parole or some other form of community supervision. Law enforcement agencies have been focused on utilising levers to address the PACT individuals' violent behaviour. However, there is still room for improvement in making sure that these individuals do not 'slip through the cracks' as they move through the criminal justice system.

When and if a PACT client becomes engaged in pursuing alternative lifestyle choices and opportunities, partners need to have immediate access to the services requested (such as trauma and mental health services, educational services, housing services, job development and transitional employment services). Resources and capacity are an ongoing issue that needs to be addressed. Where appropriate, PACT clients should have access to pre-negotiated opportunities to participate in particular programmes. The availability of these opportunities needs to be communicated to representatives from agencies across the City that are able to offer services to PACT clients. Of the clients who have been engaged, 96% have expressed an interest in some form of support. However, limited capacity has meant that many of these concerns are not being addressed.

The level of family engagement has been more limited than client engagement. As opposed to the 96% of engaged clients who have expressed interest in some form of services, only 34.7% of families have done so. This is not necessarily due to lack of desire on their part, rather a lack of engagement with the families of engaged clients. The categories in question for support were education (with 7.3% expressing concern); employment (13.7%); mental health and counselling (10.5%); legal (4.8%); housing, shelter and food (9.8%); substance use / abuse (1.6%); social support (15.3%) and child support (4.3%). There is no data on what proportion of those families who expressed concern received referrals. With a goal of reducing family members exposure to or participation in violence, the PACT Initiative has provided a limited number of services to siblings and other family members who are related to a PACT individual. Youth Connect, which has a family focus, has been working with younger siblings of clients for years. BPD also utilised Youth Connect to reach out to siblings of PACT individuals they have identified; within appropriate legal boundaries, efforts to identify and serve siblings and other family members is being actively pursued.

⁹ Section adapted from the works of Joyce, Carabin & Maconochie – BPD PACT Overview and other partnership data provided by BPHC

Despite the high level support for PACT, there are still challenges emanating from institutional and parochial objective and target setting. Resource constraints and sustainability in the face of daily crises and high profile incidents are very real. Equally as important is the issue of continuity in leadership and institutional knowledge across partner agencies. Boston is fortunate at this time to have stability in senior leadership positions as well as mid-level management. That said, much of what is / has been achieved in terms of partnership and collaboration is based on personal professional relationships and trust. As practitioners in key positions move on, or are promoted, partnerships and collaborations are vulnerable. For this reason, succession planning is vital.

Going forward, partners involved in PACT or similar projects must stay committed to developing and implementing the long-term approaches needed to reduce youth crime and change violent gang culture. This is not achieved through law enforcement activity alone, but also includes family and community interventions. Partners and community residents should be prepared for the fact that in the short term youth crime and violence may not improve. There is a risk that partnerships will weaken if reported crime does not improve immediately; however, whilst agencies need to continue working with a sense of urgency, the strategies outlined need time to be implemented in order to have a sustainable impact at the community level.

Continuous assessment regarding the PACT population is also needed. Who are they? What are their needs? How do they successfully move beyond PACT? Partners need to continuously refine and clarify the criteria for selection, as well as how individuals are removed from the list. A critical challenge for the service providers is obtaining up-to-date information about the status of clients as they often do not know whether or not someone is being held pending trial or how long they will be in prison; this makes it difficult to direct resources towards appropriate cases. Work is ongoing to increase / enhance information sharing on incarceration and legal status; where legally permissible (and appropriate) representatives from law enforcement agencies are sharing information with other stakeholders regarding a client's movement through the criminal justice system.

The PACT Strategy is an effort to redefine Boston's approach to gang violence. It represents a proactive approach to identifying and working with high impact individuals and their families. PACT focuses on the most high risk populations that experience indicates are not only in the most dire need of coordinated prevention and early intervention services, but who are also the most likely to fall through the cracks of traditional human service programming. The PACT agencies have worked diligently to pinpoint and resolve organisational impediments that have hampered effective system-wide service delivery and have developed more integrated and collaborative responses. Youth crime and gang violence problems took generations to create; the underlying issues which cause these will not be addressed overnight, but instead will take extraordinary levels of cooperation and commitment in order to make long-term change.

PACT has made significant strides forward – strong, visible and committed leadership has resulted in a reduction of serious violence across the City; youth crime and gang related violence are also down and more people are making positive life choices. However, despite this great success, partners are not complacent and continue to build on the framework of this comprehensive plan to address youth crime and gang violence in the City of Boston.

Violence Intervention & Prevention Initiative

In 2010, 4,828 young people aged between 10 to 24 years were victims of homicide – an average of 13 each day. Homicide is the 2nd leading cause of death for young people aged between 15 and 24 years (CDC, 2010); it is the leading cause of death for black youth between 10 and 24 years (BPHC, 2012). However, violence is an individual human behaviour, therefore it can be changed. That said, it is a multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary challenge that requires the involvement of communities if we are to succeed.

Violence Intervention & Prevention (VIP) neighbourhoods are small communities of up to 900 households that were selected because they have high rates of (gun) violence, but a strong community infrastructure. The Boston STRYVE (Striving to Reduce Youth Violence Everywhere) effort is focused in the contiguous neighbourhoods of Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan, and within these neighbourhoods, on three low-income ‘micro-neighbourhoods’ that are part of the city’s multi-agency VIP initiative (www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/stryve/index.html).

VIP is an intervention and prevention strategy focused on increasing neighbourhood capacity to prevent violence over the long term in the city’s highest-need neighbourhoods. Through strong community mobilisation techniques, VIP coalitions work to ensure residents have the knowledge and resources to drive sustained changes that influence violence where they live.

The four goals of the VIP initiative are to:

- Connect all middle school students to positive after-school and summer activities
- Train residents to improve their structural surroundings and reduce the perception of chaos in their community by addressing the built environment
- Promote health services, such as mental health, substance abuse, maternal and child home visits, lead abatement and truancy programmes for elementary school students all to improve health outcomes
- Develop community wide responses to violence based upon the best available evidence that reinforce the notion that violence is not acceptable

The STRYVE Boston model builds upon the work of the VIP, addressing challenges encountered in the VIP project, including sustaining resident engagement, involving

more youth and building a longer-term vision of where the work of community mobilisation will lead. With training and technical assistance from the BPHC, teams of residents from each neighbourhood are conducting outreach and collecting data from other neighbourhood residents to create a vision for their neighbourhood and a plan, based upon the best available evidence, for how to achieve that vision.

VIP is a set of long term strategies that strengthen community's resilience against violence. This deeper level of engagement with residents increases social cohesion and organises community members around a set of positive and supportive goals that, over the long term, increase social controls and reinforce a culture of non-violence (www.bphc.org/programs/cafh/violenceprevention/violenceinterventionandprevention/Pages/Home.aspx).

Neighbourhood or community coalitions are widely used to address a variety of crime-related concerns, including substance abuse and juvenile delinquency. Underpinning this approach is the concept of social correctness as a protective factor, inversely associated with crime rates and the community. Community mobilisation can enhance social correctness and efficacy – the ability to have influence and control over the environment (BPHC, 2012).

The development of diverse leadership encompassing youth and adults, technical assistance and partnerships with other coalitions sharing similar goals are factors that enhance community mobilisation efforts. To drive this forward, a full time VIP Neighbourhood Coalition Coordinator and 3 or 4 'Block Captains' are appointed in each area. The organising team has the resources to develop a strong coalition that understands, identifies and meets the needs of the community. These groups ensure a robust level of resident involvement in the development of the violence prevention plan for their respective area (BPHC, 2012).

Coalitions and City agencies have partnered to increase access to after-school and employment related activities for young people. Between the hours of 3pm and 6pm, young people are more likely to be involved in gang related violence and other criminal activities, and are three times more likely to be the victim of a violent crime during the same period (BPHC). Numerous studies have found that after-school programmes can keep young people safe and help steer them away from negative and risky behaviours (Elliot, as Quoted in BPHC, 2012). Previous studies have shown that communities with such activities / clubs witnessed a decrease in juvenile delinquency, vandalism and drug activity. Those areas without clubs had 50% more vandalised housing units and 30% more drug activity (Brown as Quoted in BPHC, 2012).

Neighbourhood coalitions also identify and address physical disorder in the community such as abandoned cars, broken streets lights / furniture and other indicators such as vandalism etc. A study by Anthony Braga and Brenda Bond of a multi-year policing disorder strategy in Lowell, Massachusetts (Braga & Bond, 2008 and Bond & Gebo,

2012) found strong evidence that a targeted approach to addressing physical disorder could be effective in bringing about significant reductions in crime and police calls in 'hot spot' areas. Researchers, working with the police, identified 34 'hot spot' areas. In half of them, authorities removed rubbish from the streets, fixed streetlights and repaired potholes. Abandoned buildings were secured, businesses were subjected to intrusive legislative scrutiny and more arrests made for minor crimes. At the same time, mental health and homeless services / support were increased. In the other half, 'normal' policing and service provision continued. The researchers found that improving the physical environment in high crime neighbourhoods, when combined with active community engagement, reduced crime.

Over and above the activities mentioned, the BPHC makes sure residents in the 5 VIP neighbourhoods in Boston have access to:

- Home visiting and case management by a registered nurse, social worker or family advocate for every family from pregnancy through age 5 years to address health, psychosocial and social needs
- Referral to early intervention or other programme(s) for infants and toddlers with relevant needs
- Linkage to public benefits and support
- Family support around schooling issues
- Youth case management around school, employment and housing
- Youth leadership opportunities
- Family health consultation (including pediatric / school based support)
- Home inspection services (for lead and other known hazards)
- Family and youth engagement with neighbourhood VIP activities

These services help build resilience and promote better outcomes in the neighbourhoods, whilst at the same time addressing those negative health and social effects associated with exposure to high levels of violence and crime.

Safe Street Teams

In 2007, Safe Street Teams (SST) were created to foster police and the community engagement on a more personal level. Originally piloted in three of Boston's high crime areas, they are now spread throughout the City in fourteen neighbourhoods.

Safe Street Teams provide a reassuring presence in neighbourhoods through walking the beat and focusing on proactive and preventive measures to reduce crime, enforce public safety and improve the quality of life in the areas they are assigned. They demonstrate the community policing philosophy that the BPD operates under. They strengthen ties within the community, address quality of life issues and deter crime. These teams focus on creating a clean, safe and orderly environment, increase positive interaction with the

residents – specifically local youth and they listen to the concerns of community members while assisting with tangible solutions. In addition to Safe Streets Teams, BPD also has a community policing initiative known as the Constituent Response Team (CRT). The CRT proactively identifies and analyses recurring quality of life issues using data from multiple sources to examine trends and patterns in complaints for minor crimes, nuisances, social disorder such as loitering, unruly youth, public drinking, loud music and also physical disorder such as abandoned buildings, graffiti, litter and vacant lots. The CRT is comprised of the officers from the Police Department as well as representation from the Public Works Department, Transportation, Department of Neighborhood Services, Code Enforcement, the Parks and Recreation Department, Graffiti Busters and Basic City Services.

In 2009, the Police Department received funding from the Bureau of Justice Assistance Smart Policing Initiative (SPI) to conduct an ex-post facto evaluation of the place based SST strategy. The Boston SPI project was composed of a process evaluation of the actual work carried out by SST officers, a 28 year longitudinal analysis of the stability of violent crime hot spots and an impact evaluation of the SST strategy using a nonrandomized quasi-experimental design that matched the SST target areas with comparable violent crime hot spots across the City. The evaluation showed that violent crime hot spots in Boston have stayed stable over time. The SST officers deployed nearly 400 different situational, environmental, enforcement and community / social interventions in the targeted hot spots during the study period. The impact evaluation showed that the SST strategy was associated with a 17.3% reduction in the total number of violent index crimes, a 19.2% reduction in the number of robberies and a 15.4% reduction in the number of aggravated assaults – with no evidence of displacement or diffusion (Braga & Davis, 2012).

What this research confirms is that a small number of places (as well as people) are responsible for the majority of crimes in communities and that these places remain largely the same over time. In this regard, rather than use the same generic policing / partnership approach in every instance, the response should be tailored having first considered evidence that has been data-mined from multiple (partnership) systems – effectively designing a multi-layered approach rather than each agency developing its own response based on a one-dimensional data-set.

The research also serves to remind partners of the importance of engaging objectively with academic researchers who bring a different perspective to the often complex and persistent crime / social problems that exist in most countries.

Boston Adult Re-Entry Initiative

The Boston Adult Re-Entry Initiative (BRI) identifies the highest-risk offenders from the Suffolk County House of Corrections (SCHOC) while simultaneously offering reintegration services and sending a message of intolerance for continued violence.

Boston Police has partnered with SCHOC, other law enforcement, prosecutorial, supervisory, community and faith-based organisations to administer this programme, which has been shown to reduce recidivism by 30%.

The BRIC analyses the list of offenders entering SCHOC each month for eligible participants (averaging 12 high-risk inmates per month) - males, aged 17-30, with a documented history of gang and gun violence who will be returning to one of Boston's hot-spot neighbourhoods - the list is then vetted by the Re-entry Coordinator, SCHOC, the DA's Office and US Attorney's Office.

Panel participants communicate that there are many life-changing opportunities available, but there are also swift and severe consequences for re-offending. Case Managers / Mentors (from the same neighbourhoods as the inmates), along with service providers, help to lay out the services available and emphasise the feasibility of choosing a law-abiding way of life and the DA and US Attorney's offices explain the prosecutorial consequences of re-offending.

Case Management and Re-Entry Preparation

- Inmate must declare their intent to leave criminal behaviour behind to participate
- Case Manager / Mentor conducts assessments (risk / needs, substance abuse), which lays out an individually tailored re-entry plan: includes plans surrounding employment, education, housing, treatment, benefits and family
- Services are given by SCHOC during incarceration: education, pre-employment, mental health, substance abuse, ID / benefits procurement

Release from Incarceration

- Transitional services during the first 24-72 hours of release are offered to solidify housing and familial accountability, as well as to ensure the offender is receiving all government benefits (s)he is eligible for
- Re-entry support services work with BRI participants for 12-18 months
- Housing: a facility run by Community Resources for Justice provides beds as well as a loan programme for independent housing-ready offenders to use for security deposits
- Jobs: Youth Opportunities Unlimited provides oversight of Case Managers in addition to: job readiness development, Transitional Employment Programme, and subsidised work
- Health: Local Health Centres provides Men's Health and Post-Prison Release programmes, family planning, HIV/AIDS counselling and testing, men's health education, mental health services, substance abuse counselling, free legal clinic, parenting classes, trauma group therapy, victim services, domestic violence counselling and a violence prevention workshop

Boston Juvenile Re-Entry Initiative

The Boston Juvenile Re-entry Initiative is a specialised casework unit that works with the region's highest risk youth. The Re-Entry Team comprises two caseworkers, one district manager, a clinical coordinator, resource development specialist and a site support specialist covering all Metro Regional District Offices.

The overall goals and objectives of the Boston Juvenile Re-Entry Initiative Team are:

- Prevent re-offending
- Enhance public safety
- Redeploy and leverage existing community resources by fostering linkages and accessing currently provided services
- Engage in pro-social community activities and meet family responsibilities
- Enhance educational, vocational and employment opportunities
- Enhance mental health and substance abuse prevention services

The re-entry programme has served 190 total clients since its inception. Clients are selected based upon the following criteria; criminal record, before and during commitment date; gang involvement; programme-based behaviour and familial history with violent crime and gangs.

Clients are selected for re-entry services at least 120 days prior to discharge to ensure that 90-60-30 day planning is consistent, creative and pro-active. Community partners are identified to provide a variety of services ranging from employment, education, mental health and substance abuse services and mentoring. These partners make a commitment to prioritise the re-entry clients for service delivery and support.

Services are introduced to clients early in their transition back to the community. Clients are given the opportunity to access these services from secure settings through community passes. Strong relationships are established with these partners through this process which promote trust and familiarity with the client and the service provider upon release.

Re-Entry Programme Components

- Re-entry Panel: an interactive monthly presentation for current re-entry clients in custody who have not been released to the community. The panel is made up of three core parties: community resources, law enforcement and the clients. During the panel clients are encouraged to ask questions and engage in dialogue. Each client attends approximately three to four panels before discharge

- Mandatory Sentences Programme: a video-based presentation by US Probation Officers regarding federal sentencing guideline and an overview of federal involvement in violent crime in Boston
- Operation Night Light: this pairs one re-entry caseworker with two police officers to make unannounced visits to the homes of re-entry clients
- Electronic Monitoring / GPS: all re-entry clients have to successfully complete 30 days of electronic monitoring upon release
- Re-entry Notification: all re-entry clients' release stipulations (curfew, stay-away orders and caseworker contacts) are shared with the BRIC

Youth Violence Prevention Plan

In April 2011, President Obama established the National Forum on Youth Violence to build a national conversation concerning youth and gang violence that would increase awareness, drive action and build local capacity to more effectively address these, and wider youth crime issues, through comprehensive planning.

The Programme's vision is *'a vibrant national network of federal and local stakeholders who, through the use of multi-disciplinary partnerships, balanced approaches and data driven strategies, strengthen communities so that they may better prevent violence and promote the safety, health and development of the nation's youth'*.

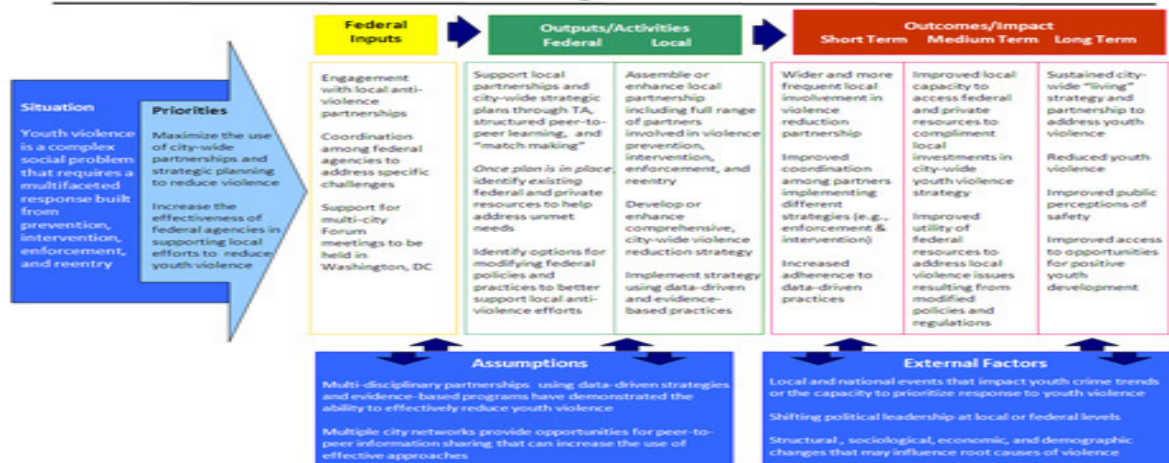
In order to provide focus, three goals were also set:

- Elevate youth and gang violence as an issue of national significance
- Enhance the capacity of participating localities, as well as others across the country, to more effectively prevent youth and gang violence
- Sustain progress and systems change through engagement, alignment and assessment

Youth crime and violence are not inevitable. Research and experience have shown that when communities engage in multi-disciplinary partnerships and implement balanced, data-driven approaches, youth crime and violence decreases while desirable youth outcomes improve. Because youth crime and violence are tied to the quality of life and economic health of a community, localities are more likely to be successful when they implement partnership based prevention strategies (www.findyouthinfo.gov).

Effectively addressing these issues is not easy and requires the full support of all partners – action not just words.

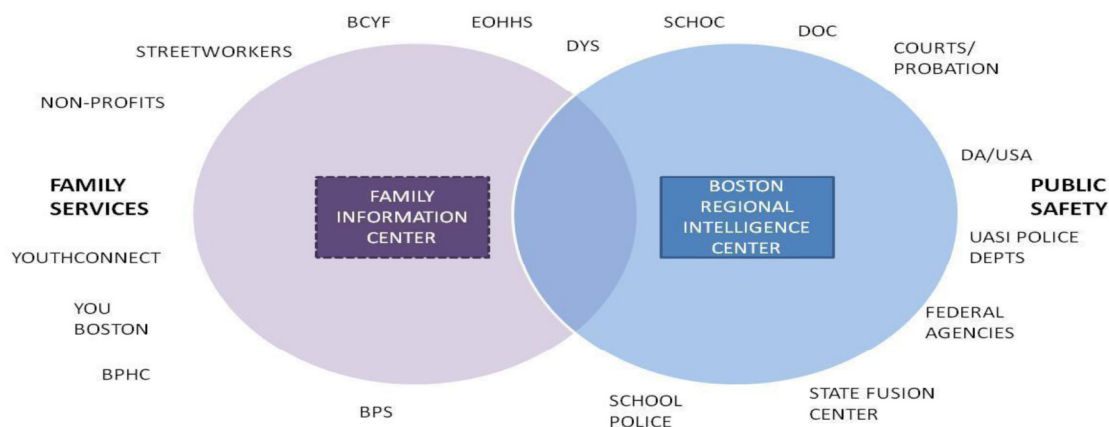
National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention Logic Model



In view of the innovative work undertaken and successes in tackling youth crime and violence, Boston was one of the cities selected to participate in the President’s National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention. The City developed a comprehensive multi-agency action plan to address its strategic goals by facilitating interagency Communication & Information Sharing; promoting citywide Civic Engagement focussing on youth violence reduction and enhancing and coordinating multi-disciplinary, data driven Prevention, Intervention, Enforcement and Re-Entry activities.

Communication & Information Sharing

Enhanced information and data sharing, collaborative analysis and communication were identified as being critical for enhancement of existing efforts as well as supporting future innovation between partners in Boston. It was established that services could be provided in a more effective and efficient manner if a more comprehensive risk assessment were developed that could identify young people suitable for intervention sooner, and earlier detection of trends and patterns could help prevent violence, disorder and anti-social behaviour. Inter-agency communication and information sharing is taking place on multiple levels across the full spectrum of criminal justice services. With regard to youth crime / violence, the following diagram sets out how partners share data in order to develop and deliver more impactful results:



Civic Engagement Focused On Youth Violence Reduction

Boston has a long record of civic engagement. Building on this strong foundation, the City has tapped into hitherto underused assets which are now being employed in a more effective and efficient manner to reduce youth crime and violence and promote social justice which will benefit communities now and in the future.

This enhanced, focussed drive for civic engagement around identified prevention and diversion strategies has brought together local residents, businesses, entrepreneurs, educational establishments, private and corporate foundations, community and faith-based non-profit organisations, voluntary groups as well a whole range of statutory organisations.

A key part is played by the Youth Violence Prevention Funder Learning Collaborative which brings together private and public sector funders, experts and stakeholders to learn, identify, share and better coordinate the commissioning and funding of activities aimed at preventing youth crime and violence. This initiative blends the flexibility of private finance with all of the benefits that come from academic and public sector scrutiny, to ensure funds can be allocated to the right people, in the right place at the right time.

Prevention, Intervention, Enforcement & Re-Entry

This part of the plan seeks to enhance and better coordinate a host of proven programmes, projects and initiatives across the prevention to re-entry spectrum. Particular focus is paid to education, employment, family support, health / trauma response, and from an enforcement perspective – the illegal gun trade.

Furthermore, building on the Ceasefire and PACT models, BPD, BPHC and other relevant partners regularly convene action oriented inter-agency working groups to focus on preventing outbreaks of crime and serious violence in key Districts. These working groups review recent gun incidents and ongoing gang violence problems. Depending on the nature of the problem, appropriate violence reduction plans that blend enforcement, intervention and prevention strategies are developed and implemented.

The Youth Violence Prevention Plan is intended to be an overarching blueprint and provide a framework for multiple agencies and departments to guide their decision making, prioritisation and resource development and deployment. It is hoped, that by building on the strong foundations that exist across the City, partners can use their resources in a more effective, efficient and joined up way to sustain the overall reductions in violence and youth crime across Boston.

Defending Childhood Initiative

Exposure to violence is a national crisis that affects almost two out of every three children in the United States. Of the 76 million children living in the US, an estimated 46 million can expect to have their lives touched by violence, crime, abuse and psychological trauma this year (US Department of Justice, 2012). Whether the violence occurs in children's homes, neighbourhoods, schools, playgrounds or playing fields, locker rooms, places of worship, shelters, streets or in juvenile detention centres, the exposure of children to violence is a uniquely traumatic experience that has the potential to profoundly derail the child's security, health, happiness and ability to grow and learn — with effects lasting well into adulthood (www.justice.gov/defendingchildhood/cev-rpt-full.pdf).

The US Department of Justice launched the Defending Childhood Initiative in 2010 to address children's exposure to violence as both victims and witnesses. Research shows that children who have been exposed to violence are more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol; suffer from depression, anxiety and post-traumatic disorders; become delinquent or engage in criminal behaviour and experience repeat victimisation. Children's exposure to violence is often associated with long-term physical, psychological and emotional problems. Building on lessons learned from previous research, Defending Childhood leverages existing resources across departments to focus on preventing, addressing, reducing and better understanding childhood exposure to violence. The Initiative operates on three key principles¹⁰:

Protect

- Recognise the range of negative effects on children who are victims or witnesses to violence
- Understand that violence takes many forms, may come from many sources and may occur in various settings
- Work with community members and partners in multiple disciplines to raise awareness, educate and build the capacity of those who interact with children
- Reduce the occurrence of violent incidents and reverse belief systems that accept childhood exposure to violence as normal or inevitable

Heal

- Recognise that proper interventions, support and services can mitigate the negative effects of violence and the natural resilience of children can be enhanced
- Develop comprehensive and coordinated responses to ensure seamless delivery of services and resources

¹⁰ www.justice.gov/defendingchildhood

- Identify and assess children immediately or soon after exposure to violence to provide support and services tailored to the child's or family's needs
- Engage first responders, service providers, medical professionals, teachers and other community members to help identify children exposed to violence and contribute to healing

Thrive

- Encourage and support healthy families
- Provide opportunities for enrichment and growth for all children
- Build positive bonds among family members
- Provide safe communities in which families and children prosper
- Support a culture of non-violence in households and communities

The Boston Defending Childhood Initiative collaborative is a group of over 65 organisations that represent an expansive range of sectors, types of violence, state and local agencies, diverse cultural groups and vulnerable populations. The Initiative conducted an intensive community assessment that engaged young people, parents and local and state organisations in order to inform and create a multi-year strategic plan which aims to prevent / reduce children's exposure to violence at home, in school or in the community. The results of this assessment highlighted an overwhelming need / demand for staff training / professional development; greater access to sensitive (mental) health services; enhanced social support and skill building opportunities for parents and increased resident and youth engagement to promote positive behaviours and prevent violence. Taking cognisance of the foregoing, the Boston strategy incorporates the following 5 key components:

- Defending Childhood Training Institute: provides training, technical assistance and acts as an information / knowledge exchange hub
- Family Nurturing Programme: implemented through community based organisations
- Youth Driven Social Marketing: designed to promote healthy relationships amongst adolescents, and engage boys and young men in addressing violence
- Implement Direct Evidence Based Mental Health Interventions: for children exposed to violence
- Recommend & Advocate Trauma Informed Policies / Systems: across the multiple sectors serving children and improve data collection on children's exposure to violence

In designing this strategy, Boston is building on its strengths – utilising the many networks comprising local government, state and federal resources as well as the many non-profit and voluntary groups serving communities across the City.

Start Strong Initiative

The Start Strong Initiative aims to stop teen dating abuse before it starts. It focuses on teaching 11-14 year olds teen dating violence prevention strategies and healthy relationships skills and includes young people in every part of the programming, from planning to implementation. The work covers four main areas:

- Education and engagement in and out of school
- Work with groups of older teens who serve as peer influencers for their peers and younger teenagers
- The peer leaders work on media campaigns aimed at preventing dating violence among teenagers in Boston and increasing their healthy relationship skills
- Work with schools, community groups and youth serving agencies to change policies and environmental factors so that they support young people in engaging in healthy relationships

Nearly one-third of American women will experience domestic violence (DV) also known as intimate partner violence (IPV). In Massachusetts, the number of DV / IPV deaths tripled between 2005 and 2007:

- In 2005, there were 15 murders and 4 suicides related to DV
- In 2006, 28 murders and 3 suicides
- In 2007, 42 murders and 13 suicides

In 50 - 60% of homes where there is physical violence against an adult, there also exists physical violence against children. IPV is also the leading cause of female homicides and injury-related deaths during pregnancy and accounts for a significant proportion of injuries and emergency room visits for women.

According to a Massachusetts Youth Risk Behaviour Survey, 20% of high school girls and 7% of high school boys had been victims of teen dating violence. Abuse frequently escalates during pregnancy; more than 70% of pregnant or parenting teenagers are beaten by their boyfriends. Violent relationships in adolescence can have serious ramifications for victims as many will continue to be abused in their adult relationships and are at higher risk for substance abuse, eating disorders, risky sexual behaviour and suicide. Teen dating violence runs across race, gender and socioeconomic lines. Both males and females are victims, but boys and girls are abusive in different ways: girls are more likely to shout, threaten to hurt themselves, pinch, slap, scratch or kick; boys injure girls more severely and frequently; some teen victims experience violence occasionally; others are abused more often....sometimes daily.

A comparison of IPV rates between teens and adults reveals that teens are at higher risk of intimate partner abuse (Silverman et al 2001). Females aged 16-24 are more

vulnerable to intimate partner violence than any other age group at a rate almost triple the national average (US Department of Justice):

- Approximately 1 in 5 female high school students report being physically and / or sexually abused by a dating partner (Silverman 2001)
- Among female victims of intimate partner violence, a current or former boyfriend or girlfriend victimised 94% of those between the ages of 16-19 (US Department of Justice)

While both boys and girls perpetrate physical violence in dating relationships, the emotional and physical consequences differ significantly. When asked about the worst incident of victimisation, the majority of boys (56%) report not being hurt at all and laughing about the violence, whereas only 9% of girls report not being hurt at all. For girls, the most common reactions were to cry (40%) and to fight back (36%) (Molidor et. al., 2000). In addition to physical and emotional harm, dating violence against adolescent girls is associated with increased risk of substance use, unhealthy weight-control behaviours, sexual risk behaviours, pregnancy and suicidal thinking (Silverman 2001). Among girls age 15-20, who reported being sexually active and experiencing dating violence from a male partner, 26% report that their partners were actively trying to get them pregnant by manipulating condom use, sabotaging birth control use and making explicit statements about wanting them to become pregnant (UC Davis Health System: Newsroom, 2007).

Adolescents and adults often don't make the link between dating violence and poor health: 8% of boys and 9% of girls have been to an emergency room for an injury received from a dating partner (Foshee, 1996); victims of dating violence are not only at increased risk for injury, they are also more likely to engage in binge drinking, suicide attempts, physical fights and sexual activity (CDC, 2006) and rates of drug, alcohol and tobacco use are more than twice as high in girls who report physical or sexual dating violence than in girls who report no violence (Plichta, 1996). Dating violence is associated with unhealthy sexual behaviours that can lead to unintended pregnancy, sexually-transmitted diseases and HIV infections (Silverman, 2001) and abusive dating experiences during adolescence may disrupt normal development of self-esteem and body image (Ackard and Neumark-Sztainer, 2002).

Adolescents in abusive relationships often carry these unhealthy patterns of violence into future relationships (Smith et al. 2003). In a study of gay, lesbian and bisexual adolescents, youths involved in same-sex dating are just as likely to experience dating violence as youths involved in opposite sex dating (Halpern et al, 2004).

As can be seen, clearly more must be done in the early years to prevent the inter-generational transfer of intimate partner violence. Teaching young people about the dangers associated with unhealthy relationships may go some way to reducing the future instances of IPV.

Family Justice Centre

The Family Justice Centre (FJC) model is based on the co-location of multi-disciplinary teams of professionals who work together to provide coordinated services to victims of domestic / family violence, child abuse / maltreatment, rape / sexual offences, hate crime and human trafficking. FJC Guiding Principles are:

- Safety-Focused: increase safety, promote healing and foster empowerment through services for victims and their children
- Victim-Centred: provide victim-centred services that promote victim autonomy
- Culturally Competent: commitment to the utilisation of culturally competent service approaches that are measurable and behaviour based
- Intervene and Prevent: engage all communities through outreach and community education
- Survivor-Driven: shape services to clients by asking them what they need
- Transformative: evaluate and adjust services by including survivor input and evidence-based best practices
- Relationship-Based: maintain close working relationships among all collaborators / agencies
- Prevention-Oriented: integrate primary, secondary and tertiary prevention approaches into all initiatives, programmes and projects
- Kind-Hearted: develop a Family Justice Centre community that values, affirms, recognizes and supports staff, volunteers and clients
- Empowered: offer survivors a place to belong even after crisis intervention services are no longer necessary
- Offender Accountability: increase offender accountability through evidence based prosecution strategies

Family Justice Centres are specifically defined in US Federal Law and refer to the co-location of staff members from multiple agencies. While a Family Justice Centre may house many partners, it must include police, prosecutors, civil legal service providers and community-based advocates. The core concept is to provide one place where victims meet with an appropriate advocate, have their health needs addressed, develop and agree safety plans, obtain advice and support from a range of local government and 3rd sector / voluntary organisations and connect with law enforcement and criminal justice partners.

Family Justice Centres provide a combination of services and interventions from one location to help victims break free from the cycle of violence and develop healthy relationships. A collaborative effort provides more support to victims and children involved in family violence through improved case management and a more fluid exchange of information and resources. Bridging existing gaps increases a victim's access to services and resources and makes the entire process of reporting crimes, such

as domestic violence and / or sexual assault, much less overwhelming for the victims and children involved.

Family Justice Centres also offer comprehensive medical and legal services, counselling for victims and children, links to juvenile, family and criminal courts, as well as access to on-site professionals providing civil legal services, job training / placement assistance and public benefits assistance. They can also provide comprehensive prevention / diversion activities and outreach to young adults and underserved victims.

The on-site partners at each Centre may vary depending on the assessed community need. During the strategic planning process, partners identify what services are required and / or would provide the greatest support for victims when delivered via a co-located model.

In Boston, the following partners are co-located within the FJC:

- Boston Police Department – Domestic Violence Unit, Crimes Against Children Unit, Hate Crime Unit, Vice & Trafficking, Rape & Sexual Assault Unit
- Boston Public Health Commission
- County Prosecutors
- Civil Legal Assistance Team
- Boston Area Rape Crisis Centre
- Housing / Refuge Providers
- Children’s Advocacy Centre
- Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence
- Casa Myrna Vasquez
- Kim’s Project
- Gay Men’s Domestic Violence Programme
- My Life My Choice
- Network La Red
- Association of Haitian Women in Boston (significant Haitian population)
- Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (significant Cape Verdean population)
- Dress For Success Boston

Family Justice Centres increase community capacity while also providing diverse, culturally competent services to victims and their children from a single location. Such approaches, if executed properly, provide greater assistance to those in need. The FJC model has been identified as best practice in the field of domestic violence intervention and prevention services. The documented and published outcomes have included reduced homicides; increased victim safety; increased autonomy and empowerment for victims; reduced fear and anxiety for victims and their children; reduced recantation; increased efficiency in collaborative services and increased prosecution of offenders (www.justice.gov). FJCs make a real difference to people’s lives.

6. CONCLUSION

The first few paragraphs of the following conclusion are drawn from the ‘Report of the Attorney General’s National Task Force on Children Exposed to Violence’. Whilst the report is focussed on the United States, the content and concluding comments resonate across the globe. The comments in particular capture eloquently and succinctly what we should all be doing – it is hoped that partners across all sectors take time to consider these words and how they can be applied.

Every day in the US millions of children’s lives are scarred by violence. Not hundreds or thousands - millions. Every one of these children is precious and irreplaceable; they are our treasure and our country’s future. When even one child has his or her childhood stolen by violence, the loss is incalculable. The wounds our children endure from exposure to violence must be healed. There is no more time to waste - we can no longer wait. Decisive action is required, now. Change can - and must - begin immediately, at every level of government and in every community.

Ultimately, every family must be empowered to join this effort and every community must rise up to protect and heal children who are exposed to violence and ensuing psychological trauma. We all know that children should be protected and kept safe from violence. Yet we have not, as a nation, firmly repudiated all forms of violence that harm our children. We must now commit, unreservedly, to sustained efforts at protecting our children from violence. We can protect and heal our children from exposure to violence by mobilising resources that currently exist but are not sufficiently organised and accessible. Steps must be taken nationally, regionally and locally to inform and support every teacher, healthcare professional, police officer, judge, attorney, social worker, clergyperson, therapist, advocate and paraprofessional who serves and guides children and their families to implement effective policies, practices and procedures to protect and heal children exposed to violence.

Children and families in minority communities, and others in rural or urban settings who live with poverty or discrimination because of their race, culture or language, sexual orientation, or mental or physical disabilities, have experienced decades and generations of exposure to violence and extreme psychological trauma. They require special attention, and they must receive it. We must take steps politically, economically and socially to restore these communities and their children and families from the chronic and debilitating exposure to violence they face every day. Although this is a hard time for countless families in our country who are struggling financially, and for all parts of government facing immense economic challenges, we must not let these realities diminish our resolve to face and address the ongoing epidemic of children exposed to violence. We must continue to identify opportunities for the federal, state and local governments to redirect the funds currently available and to achieve new efficiencies with this funding. We can and must use our resources more wisely to produce better outcomes and to defend children against exposure to violence. We must

actively engage youth, their families, and local leaders in urban, suburban, rural and minority communities to drastically reduce children's exposure to violence.

We must dedicate ourselves to creating safe places and healthy relationships in which every one of our children can grow, succeed, and carry forward the blessings of liberty, fraternity and equality. When we dedicate ourselves as a country to defending our children from violence, we will provide hope and a way forward for every person to thrive, because we will have made our country safe for all (www.justice.gov/defendingchildhood/cev-rpt-full.pdf).

The academic work undertaken by Professors David Kennedy and Anthony Braga in partnership with the Boston Police Department and key civic, private and voluntary partners influenced thinking and helped bring about real change. Their work has also influenced activities in the UK, most notably in Glasgow with the Scottish Government funded Community Initiative to Reduce Violence and formation of a dedicated Gangs Task Force within Strathclyde Police.

However, as stated previously motivational factors for committing crime, the composition of gangs, policing tactics and partnerships have changed over the years. Youth crime and violence have been clearly identified at national level, both in the US and UK, as serious problems that can have lasting harmful effects on victims, their families, friends and the wider community. Issues such as age, race, school performance, mental health issues, dysfunctional family settings, neighbourhood effects, the presence of gangs and violent subcultures, as well as the availability of weapons, drugs and alcohol are intrinsically linked to offending and violent behaviours.

The characteristics of violence associated with contemporary gangs in the US have also changed in recent years. Violence in the late 1980s and through parts of the 1990s was more organised and deliberate versus today where it could be considered random and reckless. While any violence is unacceptable, research has shown that organised violence that is linked to patterns of retaliation and feuds creates a sense of predictability and rationality to the gang culture. The 'rules' create, to some degree, boundaries to violence. Moreover, leadership and a predictable structure to violence create inroads for intervention and enforcement efforts. The young people driving violence today appear to act on impulse, with little regard for the consequences of their actions. It is important to recognise here that there are similarities with the US and Scottish experience as it would seem that the structure of gang culture in Boston and Glasgow has no definitive leadership with no rules and violence is carried out in a more reckless manner.

The fact that there are finite resources forces partners on both sides of the Atlantic to think more strategically as to how they communicate, collaborate and problem-solve. Today's partnerships are about doing things differently; projects such as PACT in the US and One Glasgow in Scotland encourage partner organisations to critically review

their internal processes and programmes and make relevant changes to improve how they operate and contribute to partnership working. If youth crime, gang intervention and violence reduction strategies adopted in the US such as VIP, VIAP and the Adult & Youth Re-Entry Initiatives are to remain successful, partners must continue to conduct thorough analyses of the problems faced to develop strategies that are directly linked to solving / impacting on those issues; the clearer the picture, the more precise and potentially more effective the intervention.

We also know, from research, that many children and young people are victims of multiple forms of violence. The complicated interplay of these various forms of violence and their cumulative effect is still being studied. As such, academics and practitioners in both countries must continue to develop, implement and evaluate prevention programmes and strategies such as the Defending Childhood and Start Strong Initiatives which are aimed at stopping crime, violence and related behaviours among youth. In order to deliver meaningful longer term attitudinal changes, City leaders must also continue to support projects such as Youth Connect, Youth Opportunities Unlimited and the Boston Family Justice Centre which provide access to key services that can transform an offender, victim and their families. From a UK perspective, the principles of these projects are also worthy of consideration not just in relation to youth crime, but also domestic violence, rape / sexual offences, hate crimes and human trafficking.

Many people will say that the so called ‘Boston Miracle’ and subsequent reductions in youth crime and violence in the city were solely the result of Operation Ceasefire. As stated at the beginning of this report, Ceasefire was most certainly ground-breaking in its day – but that day was some 18 years ago. Times have changed, today Boston is much more than ‘Operation Ceasefire’, evidence shows that building on successful programmes and matching services to the changing needs of communities is the key to success. That said, Boston could also learn from some of the innovative work being undertaken in Scotland such as the development of a Multi-Agency Coordinating Hub to tackle youth crime in Glasgow; implementation of Early & Effective Intervention, Whole System and GIRFEC Strategies; and policy, education and enforcement activities aimed at tackling alcohol misuse and domestic violence. These are just a few examples of how partners have adopted a multi-agency approach to developing policies and delivering support to those that need it in a more timely and coordinated way.

Einstein said insanity is ‘doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results’. In tackling the complex issues of youth crime and violence, we must be brave, take chances, do things differently, get out of our comfort zones and not be afraid to make mistakes – but learn from them. Partners need to be open and transparent; when things are not right, we need to fix them. It is only, as evidenced in this document, by continually re-assessing and questioning our individual and collective practices and processes that we will be able to bring about real and meaningful change – not just for the current generation, but for those that will follow in the years to come.

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