

Briefing no. 4 in the series '*Young People, Gang Cultures and Firearms Violence*'

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'Developing Multi Agency Strategies to Address the Street Gang Culture and Reduce Gun Violence Amongst Young People'

Section 1: Overview

Introduction

There are significant social, economic and moral rationales for local and national government to develop comprehensive strategies to address the gang culture. Young people are drawn into the gangs and crews in ever increasing numbers and the gang culture is now inextricably linked with gun violence.¹ Moreover, the violence has a spill over effect onto non gang involved offenders who are arming themselves for protection against armed gangs. In Manchester, for example, as predicted by researchers in April last year, non-gang related shootings have increased by 60% over the last year. Thirteen and fourteen year olds have been shot and seriously injured and fifteen and sixteen year olds shot and killed. One Head Teacher recently reported an incident of a gang involved pupil carrying a gun in the school.²

Other briefings and reports

- 'The Utility of Firearms Amnesties', Shropshire, April 2000
- 'Lessons Learned from the United States', S. Shropshire, December 2001
- 'Gangs and Communities: Engaging Community Residents' Shropshire & McFarquhar, forthcoming
- 'Voice from the ground: Interviews with gang involved young people' Shropshire & McFarquhar forthcoming
- 'Strategy to Address the Problems Associated with Youth Gang Violence in Manchester: Options for Multi Agency Interventions', S. Shropshire for Greater Manchester Police and Manchester City Council, April 2001
- 'Risk Assessing for Gang Involvement or Vulnerability to Gang Influences', S. Shropshire, July 2002
- 'Gang Resistance Education And Training (GREAT): A Programme for Pupils, Parents and Teachers', S. Shropshire and K. Rowe for Manchester Education Authority, June 2002
- 'Domestic Gun Markets: the Licit - Illicit Links', in 'Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms', Norwegian Initiative on Small Arms Transfers (NISAT), June 2000; co-author with W. Cukier, Professor of Justice Studies, Ryerson University, Canada.

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Myths and misunderstandings

There are many myths and misunderstandings of the gang culture including *inter alia*: all gang involved young people are involved in some way in the illicit drug market; it is a problem exclusively for young black males. The reality is that some do deal drugs, many do not. The ethnicity of gang involved young people is increasingly diverse, and young women are increasingly becoming gang involved. It is also a myth that gang related shootings are always about turf wars between rival gangs fighting over illicit drug markets. Often shootings are about purely settling personal arguments.

Not all gang involved young people are 'gang members'. It is common for a young person to be 'associated' in some way with a particular named gang or crew yet not regard themselves as an actual member of that gang but identifying, however, with the wider 'gang culture'. Many young people do not even consciously identify with the gang culture, rather, it is circumstance (e.g. *where they live, who their friends and siblings are*) that leads others to identify the young person as gang involved.

A crime problem, a social, an economic and a public health problem

The gang culture's impact, effect and consequences extend beyond the conventional wisdom that treats the problem as an isolated issue purely within the context of criminal activity. It is not just a crime issue it is also a social, an economic and a public health issue. Social Services, education authorities, public health authorities, local authority housing, Connexions, schools and urban regeneration bodies all need to place a higher priority on addressing both causal and symptomatic factors and problems. Local authority bodies and statutory agencies have to some extent all voiced intentions to act. To date, however, many of the stated intentions have been backed more by rhetoric on the part of senior management than by strong, consistent and visible support.

Developing local multi agency and national strategies

All local actors and stakeholders, statutory and non-statutory should be involved in the development and implementation of city-wide multi agency gang strategies. Strategies should ensure a proper balance between enforcement measures/punitive sanction, early intervention preventive measures and rehabilitative measures. At the national level, appropriate government departments (*in most cases cross departmental initiatives*) should be responsible for providing key core programmes such as a standard national gang resistance education and training (GREAT) programme for schools.

All departments and agencies, statutory and non-statutory that are engaged in the process need to recognise that there are no quick fixes. Some measures may appear to yield successes quickly but are, however, illusory. Bold statements that the problem has been solved because shootings are markedly down one month over the previous month only serve to demoralise communities when the violence returns with a vengeance. A long-term strategy with a commitment to fully support it is essential. In terms of meeting the challenges faced, efforts to date might be described as works in progress. Much remains to be done.

Section 2 of this report briefly outlines the nature of the modern gang culture, the role of young people in it, and the impact of gangs on young people. Section 3 outlines current and traditional responses. Sections 4 and 5 provide an overview of some of the key elements to developing a strategic response, and in so doing, indicates some of the internal issues that Crime and Disorder Partnerships need to address to ensure strategies and plans are effectively carried through.

Appendices: the Gang Resistance Education And Training (GREAT) Programme for secondary schools; the 'Streetworker' detached outreach and personal mentoring project; the 'Pulling levers' multi agency enforcement strategy.

Section 1. Background to the problem

1.1 Gang development and evolution

- The majority of social scientists and criminologists that have written about gangs and gang culture have attempted to isolate several or even just one causal factors as the key to understanding gang development and hence the key to understanding how to respond. Martin Sanchez-Jankowski, for example, takes a Social Darwinist world view "*...the most important features of gang members is their defiant individualist character*" which, he argues, is a result of competition and conflict over scarce resources.³
- Some theorists do, however, acknowledge that multiple factors contribute to the marginal status of young people in certain urban areas that eventually make gang involvement appear to be a viable option. James Diego Vigil, for example, states *'The lives of the street youths who comprise the gang reflect multiple stresses and pressures, which result in multiple marginality. This multiple marginality derives from various interwoven situations and conditions that tend to act and react upon one another.'*⁴
- To reduce the problem to a only handful of causal factors such as poor parenting skills, low teaching standards, lack of male role models, security (*safety in numbers and so forth*) and the ease of profiteering from illicit drug markets is to fail to understand the dynamics at work. The street gang culture has multifarious causal factors arising out of a complex intertwining of social, educational and economic exclusion and marginalisation, familial patterns and inequalities both real and perceived. This is not just a fleeting phenomenon. It has been growing and evolving for a decade and a half and is extremely deep rooted.
- It is important to understand that the street gang culture is something young people have created themselves for themselves. Despite its many negative aspects, the gang culture is inclusive. To increasing numbers of young people involvement on the gang culture is perceived as a viable option in life. More worryingly, for many it is not just a viable option, it is the normal thing to do.

1.2 Desensitisation to violence

- Young people are becoming more and more desensitised to violence. Not by violence on television and in films which has, by itself, a negligible impact but by the real life violence that takes place daily outside, and inside their homes and the increasing use of serious and lethal violence with guns and knives on the streets. The more desensitised they become the more violence there is, in turn desensitising young people further. The young teens in today's gangs and crews are more violent than those gang involved individuals now in their twenties who were becoming gang involved in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many of the older gang involved individuals are often genuinely shocked by the prolific use of firearms and other lethal violence by their younger counterparts.

1.3 The extent of the gang culture

- Over 1000 young people are now thought to be gang involved or otherwise caught up in the gang culture in Manchester. The number of gang involved young people under aged sixteen has doubled over the past two years.⁵ Similar or greater numbers would likely be found in London and Birmingham and figures rapidly approaching that number in Liverpool, Leeds and Bradford. Other towns and cities, including Sheffield, Preston, Bolton and Bristol are also experiencing the problems associated with the street gang culture.⁶ It is now undeniably now a problem for the country as a whole.

1.4 Possession and use of guns

- The possession and [mis]use of guns is the norm amongst gang involved young people in Manchester and London and increasingly so in other cities. Guns are frequently used in street robberies. Guns are used to settle the most minor of arguments.
- For the country as a whole the risks of being shot and injured or killed are low. The overall firearms murder rate for England and Wales is 0.09 per 100,000 head of population (*or 0.0009 per 1000*) comparing favourably with the overall rate for the United States of 5.4 per 100,000. However, the rates for gang affected cities reveal a different picture. For Greater Manchester the firearms murder rate is 10 per 100,000 (*or 0.1 in 1000*). For the gang affected areas of South Manchester (Longsight, Ardwick, Moss Side and Hulme) it is 140 per 100,000 (*or 1.4 per 1000*). The risks of being shot and injured or killed are high. Moreover, the risks are highest for younger gang involved individuals. In nearly half of all murders committed with a firearm the victims are under aged 18.⁷
- The type of firearms used range from converted starter pistols and particular air weapons that can be adapted to fire a single bullet, pistols and revolvers, to machine pistols and sub machine guns through to military assault rifles including AK47s and US made M16s.⁸ It is perhaps only a matter of time before cottage industries spring up manufacturing easy to make revolvers - the UK equivalent to 'junk guns' or 'Saturday night specials' in the United States.⁹
- Young people have been shot and injured as a result of mistaken identity or because they are friends with other young people who are gang involved. Increasing numbers of young people are being injured when guns have accidentally or unintentionally been fired. There have been fatal shootings of 16 year olds and serious woundings from shootings of 14 and 15 year olds.¹⁰
- The homes of innocent families have been shot at by gang involved individuals who have targeted the wrong house. Drive by shootings have resulted in stray bullets hitting homes, commercial properties and vehicles. Innocent bystanders have been caught in the crossfire of shoot-outs.¹¹
- Gangs often stash firearms in public places such as in hedges, gardens or behind loose bricks in walls so that they can be retrieved easily when needed for defensive purposes without the need to constantly carry firearms about the person. In one reported incident a loaded sub machine gun was found by young children who could easily have mistaken it for a toy. Homes, especially homes of vulnerable families with young children are frequently taken over by gang involved young people who use the house as a base bringing their guns into someone else's home. These homes soon become known to other gang involved individuals and rival factions and become at risk of having shots fired at the house.¹²

1.5 Gangs in schools

- The average age of gang involved is falling. Young people now are typically first becoming gang involved between the ages of 12 - 14. Many are becoming involved as young as 9 or 10. Older gang involved individuals now have children of their own who are growing up in homes where the gang lifestyle, including the possession of guns is normal, even revered.¹³
- There has been a marked increase in gang activity in the schools. A typical secondary school in a gang affected area may have up to 20 seriously gang involved pupils, 30 or 40 less seriously involved and up to 100 more who are either marginally involved or at serious risk of later involvement. One Head Teacher has reported an incidence of a known gang involved pupil carrying a firearm in school. Many school staff and practitioners including police officers

from armed crime units believe it is only a matter of time before a pupil, or a member or staff, is shot and injured or killed on school premises. More worrying, an emerging consensus of opinion is that a single serious shooting incident in a school would open the floodgates to gang related gun violence in and around schools by removing the still existing taboo against using guns in the school environment.¹⁴

1.6 Defining street gangs & crews

- Street gangs are often regarded as one and the same thing as the crime firms (*organised crime groups*). Crime firms are essentially groups of criminals coming together to engage in illicit economic activity. The street gangs and local neighbourhood crews, however, form and evolve for a host of social, familial, extra familial and cognitive reasons. The opportunity to commit crime for illicit economic gain is but one of many reasons, and is not necessarily the prime reason for many gang involved young people. For the 'firms' the use of firearms is almost always instrumental to an [illicit] economic purpose such as enforcing 'regulations' in the illicit market place, for defensive purposes against an 'aggressive' take-over by a competing firm, or offensive purposes such as launching an aggressive take over. Street gangs and crews do sometimes use guns for these purposes but are just as likely to use guns to settle even the most minor personal argument. Indeed, there have been incidences of gang involved young people firing shots at other young people for no reason whatsoever.
- The gang culture does *not* consist entirely of people belonging to distinct rival groups. Whilst many young people do identify with a particular gang or crew, there are many who do not regard themselves as being a member of, or affiliated in some way, to one particular named gang. They may identify with the gang culture and 'move' with other young people who may be part of a particular gang or crew but are not necessarily themselves part of that gang or crew. A growing number of young people are inadvertently and involuntarily 'involved' simply because of where they live, who their friends are or who their siblings or cousins are.
- Not all gang involved young people are involved in illicit drug markets. Some avoid drug dealing and focus on street robberies or vehicle theft or 'taxing' other offenders. Some do not engage in any type of illicit economic activity at all but still may be active in other ways such as a driver. Some young people can be gang involved for several years before engaging in or committing any kind of criminal activity.

1.7 Gangs and ethnicity

- Whilst it is true that many young black men are caught up in the gang culture it is by no means exclusively a problem for young black males. Increasing numbers of young men, and young women, from all ethnic groups are being drawn into the gangs and the gang culture. For example, a quarter of the total number of gang involved young people in Manchester are white, 10% are Asian. In other cities too gang involvement affects all ethnic groups.¹⁵

Section 2. Current responses

2.1 Crime and Disorder Partnerships

- There have been tentative moves towards developing and implementing holistic approaches. However, it is still the case that agencies beyond the criminal justice agencies regard the problem as predominantly a crime problem and subsequently primarily an issue for police, youth offending teams and probation. Subsequently, there are still insufficient early preventive measures running in parallel to enforcement and rehabilitative measures.

- The Crime and Disorder Partnerships provide the appropriate vehicle for a multi agency response. However, these partnerships are still in the early stages of development. Many are still in the delicate stages of finding shared missions, building trust, adjusting working methods and practices to accommodate partners with different working cultures and philosophies and developing data sharing protocols.

2.2 Enforcement and sanction

- Current gang oriented enforcement responses tend to focus on shootings and other firearm related offences. Whilst other offending behaviour is by no means ignored, there are seldom the co-ordinated dedicated operations addressing the full range of criminal activity gang involved individuals engage in. Moreover, enforcement and sanction are often artificially divided into criminal and civil measures making inter agency co-operation more difficult and problematic than it need be.

2.3 Community engagement

- Community and grass roots groups and non-statutory service providers are rarely fully engaged by local authorities in addressing crime and disorder issues. Community consultation meetings and conferences are staged, but all too often, despite the best intentions, end up as little more than '*feel good*' exercises rarely yielding effective consultations. Moreover, traditional style consultations and conferences invariably fail to reach out to those community residents most affected by the gang culture yet their input is the most essential.

2.4 Cumulative impact of previous interventions

- The windows of opportunity work with gang involved young people when they are voluntarily giving their attention to agencies, and are committed to seeking pathways out of the gangs, are often extremely short, as brief as two or three weeks. Statutory agencies are simply not geared up to respond this fast. Every failure to capitalise on a window of opportunity feeds back to other young people. Consequently, the message that young people receive is that even when agencies say they will provide help and support, the help and support is not be forthcoming. This only serves to make young people feel more marginalised and excluded and drives young people deeper into the gang culture.
- Over time the limitations in the response have exacerbated the problems to such an extent that many young people are so far disassociated from mainstream society and so distrusting of statutory agencies that the agencies are finding it increasingly difficult to target and deliver meaningful interventions. Again, this drives young people deeper into the gang culture.

Section 3. Towards a comprehensive multi agency strategy

3.1 Researching the background

- A first step is to building up a detailed rich local picture. In this respect, viewing historical data held by different local agencies is important. However, taking data from several years and aggregating it results in an 'average' picture. Yet averages, whether means or medians are *not* representative, they are theoretical states of affairs that either have never existed or portray only a small percentage of the total. That is not to say aggregated data is not useful, it does have a useful function. However, when examining an issue as dynamic as the gang culture it is essential to also build a separate picture for each year for which data exists or at the very least for the past year or two.

- There are two types of data. 'Hard' data is the information stored in official databases or official reports in hard copy file. 'Experiential' data is the wealth of day to day experiences and knowledge that practitioners build up over time the bulk of which is not normally written in official reports or entered onto official databases. Experiential data also includes the experiences and knowledge of community residents and young people. 'Hard' data has shortcomings including, for example, under reporting. An analysis only of hard data will not portray an accurate picture of reality. It is essential that both 'hard' data and 'experiential' data is extracted, collated and analysed.

3.2 Effective consultations and policy development

- Consultations and subsequent development of policy is invariably limited to agency managers and community leaders. However, senior managers are, by virtue of their position in an agency, far removed from the problem on the ground. Line level staff, not managers, are closest to the problem on day to day basis. It is essential, therefore, that line level practitioners are involved at all levels of consultation and policy and strategy development not just brought in at the latter stages to implement it.
- A common pitfall is limiting consultations to 'community leaders' without considering whether they are necessarily the people who really know young people and understand the young person's world as it is today. In a similar sense to senior managers (*see above*) community leaders often occupy that position based on *previous* good works that brought them to prominence. But in the dynamic environment of the gang culture, they may now be out of touch with the problem. There will be others in the community who are currently actively engaged with young people and communities but who are not yet considered 'community leaders'. These individuals need to be identified and involved in consultations.
- It is important to consult with young people who are currently gang involved and their families. It is not enough to talk only with those who have been gang involved for several years or the parents of those who have been involved for several years. The experiences and feelings of those recently involved or currently marginally involved or at risk of involvement may be different to older individuals. To ensure the strategy is pertinent to the problem as it is today, talk with those whose involvement is more recent.

3.3 Active support of senior management

- 'Lessons learned' has become something of a mantra. However, in practice, lessons are often 'observed' rather than genuinely 'learned' and incorporated into practices. More often than not, lessons learned studies whose findings are problematic for one or more agencies or departments either never see the light of day or are substantially watered down before dissemination. As a result, certain critical issues continue to receive little or no attention. Moreover, this sort of behaviour sends the message to staff that learning from mistakes or from the past is not a high priority and, indeed, may be counter productive. Agency heads need to take assertive steps to guard against this and must be prepared to allow critical issues to be brought into the open and discussed fully.
- The policy decisions that will constitute much of a gang strategy, or any multi agency Crime and Disorder strategy will take some time to become part of an agency's or department's or organisation's operating culture. Unless senior management develop and actively implement a plan to incorporate a strategy into the agency or department, the degree to which new guidelines, practices and working methods are embraced by staff will depend largely on each staff member's predilections. Even when a policy decision is made at the highest level within an agency, if the line level practitioners and lower tier managers are unwilling or unable to modify their practices very little change will occur. It is therefore essential that senior

managers and agency heads provide the necessary support and encouragement to all staff in their agency in order that strategies are implemented.

3.4 Genuine multi agency working

- Genuine partnerships do not exist simply because agency heads say a partnership exists. They only become genuine partnerships when middle managers and line level practitioners routinely work together, share information with each other, and, crucially, have a genuine shared mission. However, some agencies still see their work as almost diametrically opposed to that of some of their 'partner' agencies. It is essential that agency heads acknowledge and address, rather than deny, or turn a blind eye to issues of historical or ideological differences between agencies. The existing strategies and practices followed by each agency or group of agencies should be compared to look for gaps and overlaps. If there are conflicting objectives, they should be aired and resolutions found.
- It is essential that managers and agency heads allow innovation at line level and take care not to stifle creativity. Line level practitioners should be encouraged to redefine roles and develop, in multi agency teams and case intervention groups, cross agency responsibilities.

Section 4. Key elements of a multi agency gang strategy¹⁶

4.1 Multi agency law enforcement capacities

- Conduct an audit of all enforcement measures available. It is often forgotten that social workers, education welfare officers and others as well as police, probation and youth offending team officers all have enforcement measures and sanctions that can be used.
- Develop and deploy multi agency approaches such as the pulling levers strategy (**see appendix 1**). Consider establishing a multi agency gang task force of Police, Youth Offending Team, Probation, and Neighbourhood Nuisance Teams.
- For gang involved young people in supervision orders, the use of voice recognition systems to check whether they are complying with curfews is an inadequate check. Gang involved young offenders are part of a large group or groups. They may be at home when the curfew is on, but other gang members may be in the home with them and gang related criminal activity does not necessarily require leaving the home. There is no real substitute for home visits when curfews form part of a supervision order for a gang involved young offender.

4.2 Dedicated multi agency practitioner teams

- Establish multi agency practitioner teams (*police, social services, youth offending teams, probation, education authority, youth services / Connexions, Housing*), dedicated to working with gang involved or at risk young people and their families.
- Teams should share all agency information in order to gain a thorough knowledge of all familial and extra familial factors in the young person's life that may directly or indirectly lead or be leading to, or have led to gang involvement. Teams should develop a detailed intervention action plan for the young person and also for the young person's family including parents, younger siblings, older siblings, and any incarcerated members of the family.
- The teams should have at their disposal the full array of *all* partner agency capacities including enforcement measures and options for sanctions. Crucially, teams must have full

and genuine support of senior managers and agency heads. A dis-empowered team is of little use.

- Constraints arising from data protection and sensitivities regarding some information will limit to some extent the participation of non-statutory service providers and community groups in multi agency team meetings. However, this does not, and should not, preclude them from participating on an ad hoc basis in intervention planning meetings action or from being tasked with actions during implementation.

4.3 Awareness raising initiatives

- Identify knowledgeable individuals experienced in working with gang involved young people and in gang affected communities who can form an awareness raising team. These teams should raise awareness of gang and gun cultures and the problems faced in dealing with it across all agencies, statutory and non statutory, with schools, and at all levels, from line level to senior management.
- It is essential to raise the awareness of parents and other community residents so that they can look out for early signs of gang involvement and / or take steps to address, or seek support for their efforts to address, certain 'risk' factors that can lead to later gang involvement.
- Deliver a Gang Resistance Education And Training (GREAT) [22] programme in schools targeting pupils, teachers and parents (*see appendix 2*).

4.4 Reducing the risks and impact of exclusion

- In gang affected areas and in areas with emerging gang problems, exclusion without proper alternative provision means greater opportunity for exposure of the young person to gang influences. Early intervention of a trained multi agency gang dedicated team can reduce exclusion. Through working directly with schools (*teaching and pastoral staff*) an Education Welfare Officer (EWO), who should form part of the multi agency dedicated practitioner team, will be able to identify those most vulnerable to gang influences as well as those who are already involved. Subsequently an EWO can identify, and in conjunction with other team members, address factors in the home, in the school and, crucially, on the streets that are leading or pushing the young person towards exclusion.
- Whilst efforts should always be geared towards the avoidance of exclusion, it is inevitable that some young people who are either already gang involved or who are exposed to multiple risk factors will be excluded either permanently or temporarily from school. Existing alternative provisions for excluded under 16s are unlikely to be sufficient and often are inappropriate. For example, some gang involved young people may be unable, for safety reasons, to attend a course or class in a particular locality. The development of flexible provision at different times and places is essential. One means is through establishing a 'virtual' school, that is, a network of educators rather than a physical building fixed in one place. A virtual school could provide education in a variety of places and at various times and respond quickly to changes in circumstance, e.g. fluctuations in relative safety of certain localities according to the ebbs and flows of conflicts and tensions on the streets.

4.5 A 'Streetworker' outreach and mentoring programme

- Develop a 'Streetworker' programme combining detached outreach and personal mentoring or adapt existing outreach and mentoring programmes to the Streetworker strategy. In addition to outreach and mentoring, Streetworkers should carry out conflict prevention and mediation. They should also act as an interface between statutory agencies and young

people and families and be on hand to assist Social Workers, Youth Offending Team Officers, Probation Officers, Police Officers, Education Welfare Officers and Teachers on home visits to families of gang involved young people. **(see appendix 3)**

Section 5. Appendices

Appendix 1: The 'pulling levers' multi agency enforcement strategy

The Pulling levers strategy (See also Operation Cease-fire) was a vital component of the gang violence abatement strategy in Boston in the United States. Developed by Dr David Kennedy, Harvard University, it was deployed in 1996 cutting the number of gang related shootings by more than half in just two years. Pulling levers strategy does not in itself bring about a permanent lowering of gang / gun violence. Rather, it is intended to create a substantial firebreak in the violence allowing parallel preventive and rehabilitative measures to take effect. Pulling levers is dependent on two critical issues: (i) having the capacity to pull all levers identified; (ii) direct communication with the target population. Outlined below is the basic structure, along with the key differences from more traditional deterrence approaches.

- (1) Select a "target category" of behaviour to be addressed, e.g. gang related firearms violence. (*Traditional deterrence approaches have much broader targets, such as offending or gang offending*)
- (2) Assemble an array of agency capacities that can be deployed in the service of the strategy, e.g. police, YOT, probation, parole, CPS, gang / youth outreach workers. (*Traditional deterrence approaches tend to rely primarily on the routine workings of the police, prosecutors, and corrections.*)
- (3) Deliver a direct and explicit "retail deterrence" message to the target audience - e.g. the individual members of the gangs - regarding what kind of behaviour will provoke a special response and what that response will be. The message should include an offer support to any that wish to exit from the gangs. (*Traditional deterrence approaches vaguely "send signals" to a large and indeterminate population, generally promise only arrest and prosecution as a response, and do not focus services and other opportunities on the same population in a complementary fashion.*)
- (4) Continue to communicate with the target audience as the strategy unfolds. For example, following a crackdown on a particular gang which transgressed the target behaviour, deliver a further direct and explicit message to all other gangs that the crackdown was a result of that gangs transgressing the target behaviour. (*Traditional deterrence approaches rely on the routine workings of criminal justice agencies to send signals to offenders and do not draw explicit cause-and-effect connections between the behaviour of the target population and the behaviour of the authorities.*)
- (5) If the original target behaviour is controlled, a new one e.g. use of juveniles as runners for the gang, may be selected. (*Traditional deterrence approaches do not take a strategic approach to winning selected battles in a manner according to agency and community priority.*)

Adapted from 'Making deterrence work', Dr David Kennedy, Harvard University

- NOTE 1: It is essential that agencies thoroughly research gang membership and target accordingly. Although not all gang involved individuals who move with known gang members are themselves members of that gang for the purposes of crackdown the majority will be more associated with one group than with others and can therefore be targeted as involved in that gang or crew. Another possible way of adapting pulling levers strategy might be to use small tightly defined geographical areas rather than gang membership to identify target populations for a crackdown.

Appendix 2: The Gang Resistance Education and Training' (GREAT) Programme

Developed by Steve Shropshire, Consultant in gang culture and gun violence prevention, and Karen Rowe, Education Welfare Officer for the Manchester Education Authorities on secondment to MMAGS.

GREAT is a programme intended for delivery in secondary schools in gang affected areas and in areas with emerging gang problems building on existing national school initiatives including the PHSE curriculum. It is currently being run in secondary schools in South Manchester.

Objectives

- Empower pupils to resist gang influences and / or exit from gangs
- Enhance capacity and skills of parents to support their children in their efforts to resist gang influences and / or exit from gangs
- Raise awareness of school staff about the problems associated with gang involvement
- Train school staff in ways of working with gang involved pupils and their parent's
- Enhance school's efforts to engage with gang affected communities

The programme includes training sessions for educators in:

- Awareness of signs to look for in pupils and family members; and early warning indicators of possible, or likely, gang involvement
- What to do if you know, or suspect, a pupil is gang involved or if a pupil is being victimised by gang involved youth[s]
- Conflict prevention and resolution for disputes between pupil/pupil, pupil/parent, pupil/staff, pupil/other
- What to do if a pupil is to be excluded (fixed term or permanent) to limit that pupil's vulnerability to gang influences
- Establishing 'early warning mechanism' with partner agencies to enable schools to be aware of gang conflicts that might affect the school and vice versa
- How to communicate to gang involved pupils and their parents

The programme includes training and literature for parents in:

- Why young people join gangs and risk factors leading to gang involvement
- Possible consequences of gang involvement for children and for their parents
- Awareness of signs to look for in children suggesting possible, or likely, gang involvement
- What to do if you know or suspect your child is gang involved, is vulnerable to gang influences or is being victimised by other gang involved young people
- Developing parent support networks, accessing support and tips for good parenting

The programme includes lessons and literature for pupils in:

- What young people know about gangs and guns, what they think they know and what they don't know
- Consequences and risks of gang involvement for young, their parents and other family members and friends
- Alternatives to gangs: what they are and how to pursue them
- Conflict resolution and prevention and mediation

Final session bringing parents, young people, educators together

- What young people know (*parents often underestimate their children's knowledge*)
- What parents know (*young people often underestimate parental knowledge*)
- What school staff know (*school staff are often assumed to be too far removed from the real world environments of the pupil and pupil's family to understand what its like in that environment*)

The text of the Great Guide for Young People and GREAT Guide for Parents as designed for Manchester Schools is available from Steve Shropshire - email a request to sashropshire@ukonline.co.uk Please feel free to adapt and/or incorporate into local authority or school or other agency or community groups materials.

Appendix 3: The 'Streetworker' detached outreach and personal mentoring project

Amongst the recommendations made to the Manchester Multi Agency Gang Strategy Partnership Board (Police, City Council Chief Executive's Department, Youth Offending Team, Probation, Social Services, Housing, Education Authority, Youth Services/Connexions) by S. Shropshire April 2001 was the establishment of a detached outreach and personal mentoring project employing workers with knowledge and experience of working in gang affected environments and with gang involved young people. Greater Manchester Police provided a grant of £70,000 in June 2001 to start the 'Streetworker' Project in South Manchester employing two voluntary sector youth workers who were themselves former gang members.

- **Staff selection criteria:** Streetworkers should already be known and trusted by young people and parents in the community and should themselves be from the community. They should ideally be in the age range 25-35 (much younger and they will not command respect with older members of the community, and much older and they may not 'connect' as well with this target group of young people). It is essential that they accept the need to work with close co-operation with *all* partner agencies including police and other criminal justice agencies and genuinely recognise the benefits thereof.
- **Proactive outreach and non traditional hours of working:** Streetworkers should work non traditional hours including evenings and weekends and be on call 24 hours a day to talk to or meet with young people or concerned, anxious or frightened parents.
- **Outreach on the streets:** Streetworkers should directly approach young people in the streets targeting unknown and unidentified young people in known problem areas as well as ensuring frequent contact with known gang involved young people. Streetworkers should provide support to other youth workers working in gang affected areas. Streetworkers should have clearly marked identifiable 'streetworker' vehicles not unmarked cars.
- **Outreach in the schools:** Streetworkers should liaise directly with schools to identify and reach gang involved, high risk and marginally gang involved young people in order to keep them from causing problems in the class room and ensure a safe environment is maintained in the school.
- **Working with Education Welfare Officers and excluded young people:** Streetworkers should liaise with Education Welfare Officers when a young person from a gang affected area is facing exclusion to ensure appropriate alternative provisions keep the young person off the streets thus limiting exposure to gang influences.
- **Outreach in the home:** Streetworkers should make regular visits to the homes of gang involved or high risk young people in order identify the needs of young person's family and link them into the appropriate service provider agencies.
- **Acting as interface between statutory agencies and young people and families:** Streetworkers should be on hand to assist Social Workers, Youth Offending Team Officers, Probation Officers, Police Officers, Education Welfare Officers and Teachers on home visits to families of gang involved young people.
- **Conflict prevention, resolution and mediation:** Streetworkers intervene in crisis situations and assist police and other criminal justice agencies in cooling tensions between young people from rival factions. Streetworkers also work with school pastoral teams in order to identify signs of impending disputes and carry out timely preventive action or mediation.
- **Working with incarcerated young people:** In conjunction with Probation and Youth Offending Team officers, Streetworkers should work with young people, and, where appropriate, their families, during periods of incarceration to ensure there is a smooth transition from incarceration to life back in the community.
- **Risk assessment and supervision:** Streetworkers should liaise with criminal justice agencies to ensure detailed assessments are carried out and support YOT and Probation teams in implementing supervision orders

END NOTES

¹ For example. Gang related verifiable shootings in South Manchester in 2000: 8 firearms homicides; 31 victims with non fatal gun shot wounds; 20 other verified shooting incidents. In 2001 there were 7 firearms homicides (and 1 gang related knifing homicide) 23 victims with non-fatal gun shot wounds and 31 other verified shooting incidents. 'Verifiable gang related shootings': shooting incidents when either the shooter or victim (or intended victim), or both is/are gang involved; and where there is physical evidence that a shooting occurred such as person reporting to A&E with gun shot wounds, ammunition casings or cartridges recovered from the scene, physical damage to buildings, vehicles or other infrastructure caused by being struck by a bullet or bullets. It is estimated that the actual number of gang related shooting incidents is at least double the verifiable figure. Many are not verifiable if, for example, witness statements do not indicate

a precise enough location, as may be the case when shootings are from moving cars at night. Also there have been incidences when the shooting victim has sought private medical attention and the Doctor has failed to report to police that he/she has treated a person for gun shot wounds. In other incidents victims with less serious gun shot wounds have initially administered basic treatment themselves then travelled abroad for professional medical treatment.

² Based on research conducted by Steve Shropshire, senior research consultant to 'Operation Chrome' (Police/Home Office study of gangs and shootings, July 2000-May 2001) and consultant to the Manchester Multi Agency Gang Strategy (June 2001-June 2002) and interviews conducted by Michael McFarquhar and Steve Shropshire with excluded pupils and parents between April 2002-August 2002

³ Martin Sanchez-Jankowski, *Islands In the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society*, Berkeley; University of California Press, 1991

⁴ James Diego Vigil, *Barrio Gangs* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990)

⁵ 'Operation Chrome' 2000-2001, and MMAGS 2001-2002

⁶ In the case of Sheffield several senior members of one of the Moss Side gangs effectively relocated across the Pennines for a period of about a year between late 2000 to late 2001. During this time agencies in the city reported an upsurge in gang type activity including violence in particular young offenders were drawn to the real life gang members in their midst. Though the Moss Side gang members have recently returned to Manchester their presence in Sheffield acted as a catalyst to the development of gang culture in the city. Sheffield should now be regarded as an area with an emerging gang problem. More recently a number of gang involved young people including some main players from one of the Longsight gangs have been congregating in Preston. As yet there have been no agency reports of young people from the area being drawn into the gang culture as a result. Although experience suggests it is still too early to confirm whether or not the presence of gang members will act as a catalyst for the development of gang culture amongst Preston's own young people.

⁷ Figures for Manchester from 'Operation Chrome' (July 2000-May 2001), other figures from country profiles compiled by the Small Arms Firearms Education and Research Network (SAFER-Net)

⁸ 'Operation Chrome'. Firearms recovered from gang members and gang involved individuals in South Manchester include inter alia: Smith and Wesson .44 magnums and 3.57 magnums, Smith and Wesson self loading pistols, Barrette .45 pistols, Thompson sub machine guns, Mach 10 machine pistols, an M16 semi automatic assault rifle, Tocarov 7.62mm pistols, shot guns, 9mm semi automatic pistols, Colt .45 revolvers, Taurus 9mm self loading pistols, 7.65mm smooth bore self loading pistols

⁹ It could be considered that the beginnings of such 'cottage' industries already exist. In recent years there have been illicit workshops in the UK set up to reactivate deactivated firearms and other workshops set up to concert starter pistols and certain air weapons to fire single .22 bullets. To date there are no confirmed reports of any workshops manufacturing complete firearms. Should illegal gun manufacturing workshops be established they are likely to concentrate on making revolvers rather than semi automatic or automatic / self loading weapons. Revolvers are, in engineering terms, relatively easy to manufacture and though high 'quality' weapons would require more sophisticated tools and machinery, 'junk' guns, i.e. those with for example less precision in the boring of a barrel and using lower grade materials could be made in workshops with cheap machinery and tools.

¹⁰ 'Operation Chrome' (July 2000-May 2001)

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ 'Operation Chrome' July 2000-May 2001) and Manchester Multi Agency Gang Strategy (June 2001-June 2002) and interviews conducted by Michael McFarquhar and Steve Shropshire April 2002-August 2002

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ 'Operation Chrome' July 2000-May 2001) and Manchester Multi Agency Gang Strategy (June 2001-June 2002)

¹⁶ Based on some of the 112 interventions and policy recommendations developed by S Shropshire for Greater Manchester Police, City Council and the Crime and Disorder Executive Partnership April 2001