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Review of Knowledge on Juvenile Violence:

Trends, Policies and Responses in Europe

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Executive summary

This report presents a study of juvenile violence in Europe, with three objectives:

1. To review trends in juvenile violence in the countries of the European Union

2. To provide an overview of crime prevention and intervention policies aimed at juvenile violence in the 15 countries that were members of the European Union in January 2004.

3. To provide information on effective programmes and interventions

We have used three methods to meet these objectives:

A. Literature review.

B. Review of statistical data on trends in juvenile violence.

C. Survey of European correspondents on juvenile violence.

We present a summary of our findings below:

1. Trends in juvenile violence

There are many problems in finding out the real situation on the trend in youth violence.

However, the various methods we have used lead us to conclude that there was an increase in the most common forms of juvenile violence in Europe in the 1990s.

Official records of convictions and reports to the police suggest a larger increase than is found by self-report surveys of victimisation. This difference is likely to be caused by two factors:

- There have been changes in the way violent offences are recorded by the police.
- Increasing concern about youth violence has led to more resources being targeted on recording and convicting juvenile violent offenders.

Males commit most violent offences. In some countries, there have also been reports of increases in violent offending by young women.

Assault is the most common violent offence in police records, as it is in self-report surveys. Assault and robbery have tended to increase more quickly than other violent offences (e.g. murder and sex offences).

As violent offences increased, non-violent offences such as theft and burglary tended to fall.

The proportion of people suspected of assault and robbery who were under 18 increased between 1995 and 2000.

The available data for crimes since 2000 is limited, but does not suggest a consistent increase in youth violence in Europe in the most recent years.

2. Overview of crime prevention and intervention policies

We found only one country of the EU15, Denmark, that already has a specific policy on youth violence. Policies on violence prevention are in preparation in Scotland and Finland.

The Ministry of Justice (or equivalent) is responsible in most countries for policy in this area. In several countries, this responsibility is shared with other Ministries, such as Social Affairs, Family and Youth.

In most EU15 countries, policies on youth violence are decided at both national and regional levels.

Policy on youth violence is characterised by continuing efforts to balance the priorities of justice for victims with the welfare of young people. Several commentators have noted a general increase in the scope and severity of punitive responses.

Existing policies highlight the importance of preventing violence by young people.

Increasing attention is being paid to developing responses to youth violence that involve cooperation between several agencies, including police, social services and schools.

There is evidence from some countries of increasing efforts to target interventions on those young people who have been identified as most dangerous in terms of their likelihood to offend, and on reinforcing 'protective factors'.

There is also evidence of increasing pressure to deal with violent young offenders as adults in the courts (a policy that has been found in the United States to be ineffective).

There seems to us to be a need for the development of more coherent, coordinated and comprehensive policies on the prevention of youth violence at national and regional level.

3. Effective programmes and interventions to prevent youth violence

There is a dearth of rigorously evaluated programmes aimed at preventing juvenile violence. There are many approaches that are currently being used. Only a few of them have ever been evaluated, usually in the United States. And no one approach has been found to be superior in preventing youth crime.

The most thorough existing reviews of practice in this area, by the World Health Organisation and the United States Surgeon General, call for a public health approach to preventing violence.

A public health approach to violence involves action at three levels:

Primary prevention — universal approaches that aim to prevent violence before it occurs.

Secondary prevention — approaches that focus on those people who are at the highest risks of victimisation and perpetration of violence.

Tertiary prevention — approaches that focus on people who have already been victimised or violent.

Action at these levels could form part of a comprehensive strategy to prevent youth violence, which could incorporate existing, promising approaches.

Primary

Effective initiatives at the level of areas and neighbourhoods may include:
- Partnership arrangements for improving co-operation between the relevant agencies.
- Regeneration strategies and neighbourhood renewal initiatives.

At the level of communities, effective action may include:
- General initiatives to improve community cohesion and empowerment
- School-based interventions

Effective work with families can include:
- Parent-focused interventions
- Interventions with young children
- Interventions with older children and young people

Given the role of poverty and inequality in creating conditions where violence is more likely to develop, a secure underpinning for all of these actions would be provided by successful efforts to reduce poverty and inequality in Europe.

Secondary

Effective interventions to reduce the risk of violent offending experienced by certain groups and areas can include Situational Crime Prevention measures, such as:

- 'Designing out' crime through, for example, making desirable items such as mobile telephones useless if stolen, and using containers and glasses for alcoholic drinks that cannot be broken into weapons.
- Area specific bans on public drinking, the carrying of weapons, groups of people (whether gathered informally or, for example, to take part in an organised demonstration) and on individuals whose presence may result in violence.

More intensive policing.

- The use of closed circuit television (CCTV) to deter offences and facilitate identification of offenders.
- Secondary intervention can also mobilise community resources to prevent youth violence by, for example:
- Anti-crime campaigns that raise awareness of how to reduce the risk of violence, or of how to play a part in preventing it.
- Creating funds for communities to spend on other measures that reduce violent crime.
- Partnerships between local residents, the police, businesses and young people.

It may also be effective to include specific groups of young people in:

- Activities that divert them from crime, by giving them alternative ways to find excitement and spend their time.
- Giving them advice on how to stay safe when in large groups.

Schools should also be involved in secondary prevention, as much violence against young people happens in school, and failure in education increases the risk of involvement in violence.

Some programmes that include the families of children who have been identified as at risk of violent offending have proven successful in preventing violence.

There have been examples of unsuccessful work with groups of young people to try and change the norms of these groups to become more pro-social. Some such efforts in America have actually increased the level of offending by members of the group.

For all measures at the secondary level, there is a balance to be drawn. On the one hand, there are the potential benefits, both in reduced crime and other outcomes, of the interventions. On the other, there are the dangers associated with labelling groups, individuals and families (with the potential for increasing their exclusion and offending) and of infringing the civil liberties of people who have not committed any crimes. This balance is hard to find when there is so little rigorous research on the effects of such programmes, and on their impacts on civil liberties.

Tertiary

There is some good evidence of what *does not work* in working with violent young offenders. In general, residential and custodial interventions do not have a good record in preventing reoffending. In particular, programmes such as 'boot camps', 'scared straight', and 'short, sharp shocks' are more likely to increase the risk of reoffending.

A general consensus is emerging that the most effective sentences include a range of provision tailored as far as possible to the needs of individuals. This may include the use of intensive, but non-custodial, supervision of young offenders, and the 'Wraparound' approach where comprehensive services are tailored to individual youths, as opposed to trying to fit youths into predetermined or inflexible programs.

Such comprehensive efforts rely on effective coordination and cooperation between different services. They rely on a comprehensive assessment of individual need and a range of interventions that complement each other (e.g. education, housing, family support, dealing with problems of addiction or mental health).

A recent innovation in dealing with young offenders is the use of electronic tagging. This has been found, in English research, to have some negative effects, such as reinforcing the anger and exclusion experienced by the young offender. This research recommended that tagging should be accompanied by face-to-face supervision.

The literature highlights the importance of continuing education for young people who have offended, even if this education cannot be provided in mainstream schools.

The importance of families in working with young offenders is also emphasised. This can be recognised through:
- Support and training to the families of young offenders.
- Providing alternative, surrogate families.
- Maintaining family ties for young people who are imprisoned, by, for example, pre-release contact programmes.

When young people are imprisoned, they generally have high risk of reoffending. These risks can be reduced if adequate post-sentence support can be provided. This can include:
- Ensuring that accommodation and education/training or employment are secured before release.
- Arranging for ongoing access to programmes such as drug or alcohol treatment and psychiatric services where relevant
- Allocation of a key worker or mentor.

Inventory of effective practices

In the literature review section we give examples of many of these approaches. At the end of the report, we provide in appendix an inventory of all the other effective or promising approaches that we found through our literature search and through contacts with correspondents in Europe.

Conclusion

The most common forms of juvenile violence increased in the 1990s, although not as rapidly as suggested by figures on conviction, or by political and media debates in this area.

Policy responses continue to attempt to balance justice and welfare, with some evidence that punitive and targeted responses are becoming more common in Europe.

There is potential for the development of a more coherent, public health approach to juvenile violence in Europe. Research in this area is seriously underdeveloped. American and European examples do exist that can inform the development of initiatives in this area.

Literature review

Introduction

This review was undertaken to find out the state of knowledge on the causes of youth violence and responses to it. It included a very wide range of sources and a number of common themes became apparent, as described below. The sources also showed considerable diversity in:

- the ways in which the causes and manifestations of juvenile violence are conceived of by academics, policy makers and legislators in different countries;
- approaches taken to tackling the problem; and
- the availability of reliable evidence on the impact of these approaches.

Given the breadth of this material, the references and examples in what follows draw only selectively on these sources. A full bibliography is shown at the end of this report.

The problem of juvenile violence

There is considerable variation in conceptions of the problem of juvenile violence both in the research literature and as defined in statute across all 15 states. And it is often difficult to disentangle changes in the pattern of juvenile violence over time from changes in the conception of the problem. Yet both may affect what is recorded in official statistics; and the fact that both may vary — not only as between countries but also within them (especially where federal systems give individual states considerable autonomy) — poses particular challenges for comparing different countries.

While acknowledging these problems, for the purposes of this report the term 'juvenile violence' is broadly understood as follows.

The ***activities*** covered span

- acts of physical violence — from the most serious, including murder, to minor acts of physical aggression and affray — to
- threats of violence — both directly and in forms of anti-social behaviour.

Most of the literature tends to focus on the first of these; but many commentators also remark on the extent to which different countries have become pre-occupied in recent years with the problem of 'security'

(Bailleau and Gorgeon 2000) or 'fear of crime' and the extent to which this has broadened traditional notions of youth violence (see 'political' below).

The ***people*** with whom the study is mainly concerned are

- young people, mainly under the age of 18, who perpetrate these acts, or
- their victims (especially where those responsible fall within the relevant age range[1]).

The point about victims is worth emphasising, since, while the literature focuses primarily on actual and potential perpetrators, numerous sources provide evidence that a large proportion — if not the majority — of victims of juvenile violence are themselves also children and young people (McCurley and Snyder, 2004;Youth Justice Board, 2004).

The majority of perpetrators are boys and young men, although some of the literature points to increased involvement by girls and young women also (Howell 2003). While the perpetrators may act alone, there is also growing concern in some areas about a perceived increase in *group* forms of violence — whether in the form of quasi-spontaneous activity among young people who associate with each other within particular neighbourhoods, or group violence which is more focused and *may* also be orchestrated to some degree such as football hooliganism, racist attacks or civil disturbances/riots often directed towards the police. It is very difficult to disentangle group and individual violence in available data on rates of violent offending. This is part of the wider problem of interpretation of such data.

In the section of this report on trends in juvenile violence, we report on some of these difficulties. Nevertheless, we conclude that there was a rise in juvenile violence in Europe in the 1990s. In the literature review, we looked for factors that could explain this rise.

Causes of rising juvenile violence

The increase in juvenile violence is variously ascribed to a range of underlying factors. They can broadly be divided into economic, political, social/cultural factors and neighbourhood factors but there is some overlap between them; and the overall rise cannot more readily be ascribed to any one of these more than the others since it is a result of the interaction between them. All will have had an impact on the level of youth crime *in general*; and their role in accounting for the increase in youth violence must necessarily be seen in this context since violent offences represent only a relatively small proportion of the total.

The increase in youth violence should be seen in the context of wider developments in youth offending; and its causes must be understood as being 'nested' at different levels, from the global to the individual. This

1 The study will nonetheless cover other types of victimisation of young people (including questions of child abuse by adults) in the context of the *causes* of juvenile violence.

poses particular challenges in terms of effective policy responses that are discussed in the following section.

Economic

The longest known economic phenomenon, inequality, is thought by some writers to affect violence. This effect is suggested by studies that find a correlation between national rates of violent crime and these nations' levels of inequality (Fajnzylber, Lederman, & Loayza, 2002; van Wilsem, de Graaf, & Wittebrood, 2002). This may be caused indirectly by the pressure on parenting that is experienced by people living in poverty (James, 1995; Weatherburn & Lind, 2001). It is argued that the frustration and exhaustion of life in poverty render parents more likely to be irritable, conflictual and to use harsh and inconsistent parenting. This produces violence in the sons who are exposed to it (see section on individual factors below). This pressure on parenting comes from both relative and absolute poverty, while absolute poverty may have the additional effect of malnutrition in children, which itself has recently been linked to increased aggression in adolescence (Liu, Raine, Venables, & Mednick, 2004).

Inequality persists while increased consumption in general, constantly changing youth fashion in particular and the premium attached to keeping up with these changes has increased the 'strain'[2] such young people experience as a result of the gulf between the resources at their disposal and what they aspire to own and/or to be able to do (Balvig 1999, FitzGerald, Stockdale and Hale 2003).[3] An expanding, omni-present media (referred to also under 'political' below) further serve to heighten their awareness of this gulf, which becomes deeper as job prospects for young people get worse. Economic opportunities have been shrinking for young people with few educational qualifications and who lack the skills appropriate to current labour markets. Some commentators explicitly link this to profound changes in the structure of these labour markets in Western societies over the last twenty to thirty years which have seen a shift from long term employment in manufacturing to work in the service sector, often on a part time and/or short-term basis. The increased 'feminisation' of employment in this context has exacerbated the impact on young men in general and, in particular, on those who are least able to compete in this context (Hale 1999, Catan 2004, Bailleau 1991, Rutter and Smith 1995).

This is occurring in the context of increasing economic polarisation in societies more generally (Pfeiffer 1998). That is, in many countries, a gulf is also growing in real terms between young people who come from families who can afford to meet their increasing demands and those whose families may already be finding it more difficult even to meet their basic needs. Some commentators also draw attention to the ways in which the gradual raising of the school leaving age is further exacerbating these problems by keeping young people economically dependent on their parents for longer. This situation not only limits their

2 'Strain theory' is particularly associated with the work of Merton (1938), Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960).

3 As Bailleau (2003) observes:
Très souvent les travailleurs sociaux se plaignent du décalage..entre les measures qu'ils proposent, les moyens que ses measures procurent pour s'autonomiser et les resources que les jeunes peuvent obtenir sur [les] marchés parallèles.

ability to earn the money to buy what they want for themselves; at the same time it removes responsibility from them (Jones 2002, Catan 2004, Pfeiffer 1998, Bailleau 2003).

Meanwhile, cut backs in public expenditure have often had a disproportionate impact on precisely the services which in the past absorbed the energies of young people who could not afford commercially provided leisure activities (Aubusson de Cavarlay 1998); and even the amount of public space to which they have access has shrunk, especially in urban areas — for example with the replacement of high streets by shopping malls and residential streets with gated enclaves. Sometimes this means that the young people most at risk of getting involved in violence (as broadly defined above) have tended to congregate in larger numbers in a smaller number of areas with nothing constructive to do. This increases the likelihood of their coming into conflict with each other and/or with the police to whom they are likely to be reported in these circumstances.

A further set of economic factors that strongly overlaps with the political factors below relates to globalisation. In recent years, the EU15 countries have all seen large and sustained increases in the numbers of immigrants. Where crime statistics are published giving a breakdown by nationality or ethnic group (as in Germany, Britain and the Netherlands), it is common to find that certain groups of immigrants or their descendents appear to feature very disproportionately in the figures. Commentators have variously suggested the following explanations.

The fact that these immigrants are disproportionately young and poor means that they are already *de facto* more likely to feature in the crime statistics (Jefferson 1988, Reiner 1993). An important variant on this, however, is that this is that people from these groups may not immediately become involved in crime. Over time, though, their children may be at particular risk of getting involved in crime where they lack educational qualifications, skills and/or opportunities to compete on an equal footing in the legitimate mainstream of the labour market (Pfeiffer 1998, Tonry 1997, Bastenier 1991).

New arrivals may settle in areas where the environment is already criminogenic. The frustration of the aspirations of the first generation — and the impact of this on those who follow them — may then further be compounded where the group as a whole comes to be labelled ‘losers’ and, more specifically, as criminal (see also under ‘social/cultural’ below). Ironically, these groups may come to espouse the values of the host society, including its consumerism and material aspirations, only over time; and they do so more readily in the younger age range (Tonry 1997). Thus, as minorities become more assimilated in this way, they may increasingly recognise that many of the conventional routes to realising these aspirations are blocked; and they may adopt alternative strategies for doing so (often via community networks), including through forms of criminal activity (see also social/cultural below) (Sullivan, 1989, 2000).

Political

Political developments internationally have had a significant impact on the rise in youth violence. Most obviously, political developments — from the collapse of communism, to more violent attempts at 'régime change' and struggles for political power — have catalysed the rate and scale of migration referred to in the previous section. In part related, some commentators also identify the insecurities created by the increased threat of terrorism as one of the reasons why politicians have felt the need to give a higher profile to issues of 'law and order' (Walter 1999). Others again have argued that this heightened emphasis on 'law and order' has also been more cynically proactive. At a time when recorded crime overall has not significantly risen but in some countries has actually been going down, they claim, the prominence given to these issues by politicians and in the media is intended to mask the extent to which globalisation has eroded the control politicians are able to exercise over events at the national level (Christie 2004; Bauman, 2000).

High profile violent incidents, such as the murders of Olaf Palme, James Bulger, Anna Lindh and Theo van Gogh, and the confrontations between youths and the police in the *'quartiers sensibles'* of French and English towns, heighten the public's awareness of the types of crime which are most frightening (i.e. crimes of violence) and may impact on public perceptions about crime in general.

Whatever the reason for this increased focus on crime, it seems to be a widespread trend which is often accompanied by a shift towards more punitive penal policies and away from more welfare- or education-orientated approaches (Tonry 2004, Von Hofer 2000). In the name of providing 'reassurance' to the electorate in the face of their heightened sense of 'insecurity', some have perceived a significant move from policies or inclusion to policies of exclusion (Young 1999). Well before the level of public concern about terrorism was exacerbated by the events of September 2001, this trend was already apparent in growing political concern about 'fear of crime' — a notion which has been much contested in terms of its definition and measurement (Hale, Pack and Salkeld 1994) but which survey data have consistently shown to be linked to 'incivilities'. The policy response in Britain and elsewhere has taken the form of action to tackle anti-social behaviour, including through legislation which has created new offences and/or given new powers to the police and the courts to deal with the problem. One form of 'incivility' which has been a particular focus of policy attention in this context has been the presence of groups of young people whose actions are abusive or threatening and, thereby cause alarm to others[4]. In other words, these acts are interpreted as precursors to violence and the young people involved are treated as violent *in intent* if not yet in fact.

Because rates of offending have always been higher among young people, therefore, they have disproportionately been the focus of the heightened emphasis on law and order and this focus has intensified as the agenda has widened to encompass anti-social behaviour. Reference has already

4 In some instances, including the anti-social behaviour legislation introduced in Britain in 2003, their simple presence is enough to trigger police action.

been made to the way in which this may, of itself, have tended to inflate the crime statistics. However, some commentators actually suggest that the increased targeting of young people as a result of political preoccupations with crime and anti-social behaviour may serve in some measure as a self-fulfilling prophecy. That is, it may of itself increase the rate of youth offending; and, more specifically, it could increase juvenile violence in two ways — by broadening the concept of violence (Born 2003) and through triggering violence as a result of further increasing the potential for conflict with the police (and other law enforcement agencies[5]) which have erupted into full-scale civil disorder in many areas in recent years (Buitrong 2003).

Meanwhile others have suggested that these international developments, combined with wider developments in society, are also reflected in a loss of confidence in political structures. This is most obviously illustrated by falling rates of participation in elections, even by those who are eligible to vote; but some have also highlighted the extent to which this has been matched by the erosion of traditional forms of collective political action (Pfeiffer, 1998, Bonnelli 2004). In these circumstances, they argue, young people in particular have no obvious legitimate channels for expressing their frustrations and grievances and/or no expectation that these will be listened to and acted on. Of itself, this may increase the likelihood of these frustrations and grievances erupting in forms of violence (Bonnelli 2004). At the same time, once these tensions have built up in neighbourhoods where relatively violent norms prevail and where the police have been relatively absent and/or remote, their intervention may actually be the trigger for disorder and/or their attempts to control it may lead to a further escalation in violence (Bailleau 2003).

Social/cultural

Frequent references are made in the literature to an association between the increase in family breakdown and the growth of single parent families with youth offending (Knill 1998). In addition, population mobility (one particular manifestation of which is migration) may result in high levels of turnover and/or an increasingly diverse mix of residents in certain areas — not only in terms of ethnicity but also socio-economic divisions. The resultant loss of community cohesion may also signify a loosening of traditional social controls over the behaviour of young people. At the same time, this loss of an inter-generational sense of a shared identity may itself trigger contests over 'territory' between different groups of young people. In some cases, this simply repeats long-established patterns of behaviour among certain sections of the youth population; but this may now also be happening in a situation where adults are less well placed to exercise a moderating influence over them.

Arguably family breakdown and, in particular, the relative absence of adult male role models increases the influence of the peer group for

5 It must also be borne in mind that within the last decade in particular, there has been a very marked expansion in the role of private security (Button 2002, Hobbs 2002); and, in the context of tackling anti-social behaviour governments, have increasingly been giving powers which would previously have been the monopoly of the police to a range of uniformed personnel in local areas.

growing numbers of boys and this has resulted in an increase in group activity which ranges from what is perceived as anti-social to the more seriously criminal.

Professionals working with young people have expressed concern about the way sections of the media have indiscriminately referred to group offending in terms of a growth in youth 'gangs', fearing that this may itself actually encourage the development in European countries of a gang problem in the American sense with all that connotes in terms of violence. However, there *is* evidence of some such groups emerging in certain areas (Youth Justice Board 2004); and the findings of some self-report surveys have begun to raise concern about the extent to which young people are now carrying weapons (Beinart et al. 2001) — in particular knives, and to a lesser extent guns.

Some commentators have associated the speedy resort to violence — and the risks associated with the increasing carrying of weapons — with sub-cultures which attach inordinate importance to notions of male honour. Among some groups, notions of 'disrespect' may attach to relatively trivial incidents and provoke a disproportionate response, especially in groups where men may lack status in conventional terms — that is, groups where men who hold to a very traditional view of gender roles and have few legitimate opportunities to take pride in themselves and their achievements (Enzmann and Wetzels 2003).

At the same time, considerable attention is also given in the literature to whether youth violence is actively encouraged by an increasing proliferation of media — from films and news coverage, to music targeted at a youth audience, to material available from the internet and computer games (Knill 1998). The extent to which these may influence the actions of individuals is still contested, although it appears some consensus may be emerging that individuals who are already at risk of becoming violent for other reasons may be especially susceptible (Pfeiffer 1998).

Much attention has also focused on the increased use of drugs by young people; and links have often been made (especially in the media and by politicians) with an increase in violence. However, much of this rise in the use of drugs is associated with their recreational use by young people. There *are* health risks attached to this; but for most young people their risk of criminal involvement rises only inasmuch as the drugs are illegal. In some cases, though, young people whose use of drugs is *problematic* may also be involved in other types of crime; but studies suggest that many of these started to offend before getting seriously involved in drug-taking (Pudney 2002). That is, the two may have common causes for the individual but this does not mean that their drug abuse is the cause of their offending.

Some illegal drugs (most obviously crack cocaine) are more directly associated than others with violent behaviour. Attention has also turned more recently to the question of alcohol-related violence among young people. Alcohol consumption is far more prevalent than the use of illicit drugs and is strongly associated with disorder. Indeed high levels of

violence associated with drugs — including increasing numbers of homicides — may be more likely to be associated with the drugs trade than with the consumption of drugs (Brochu, 2004) (Youth Justice Board 2004). Young people who become involved in the drugs trade, therefore, have a much greater risk of becoming both perpetrators and victims of violence. Especially where community networks already offer a ready *entrée*, young people with few legitimate sources of a good income may decide that the money to be made in this context outweighs the risks. This, in turn, may further reinforce negative stereotypes of such groups as criminal, making it still more difficult for the second and subsequent generations to transcend the barriers to success through legitimate means.

Environmental/neighbourhood

As earlier references have implied, young people may be at much greater risk of becoming involved in violent offending in places in which there are particular, intense configurations of many of the factors referred to in earlier sections (Coulton, Korbin and Su 1996). These are not only places characterised, for example, by high rates of population change (or diversity) which have resulted in a loosening of communal ties in situations of long-term employment where the general level of violence is high and criminal networks are well-established (Bailleau 2003, Satcher 2002). Some commentators have also highlighted the failure of key institutions at local level as playing a critical role in its own right.

Such areas may also be characterised by the effective withdrawal of policing, other than to target residents who are wanted for criminal activities elsewhere (Montjardet 1999). Educational provision may be poor and/or particularly ill-suited to the needs of young people in the area. They may also be areas where political institutions are especially weak. That is, even where the levels of deprivation are comparable, rates of crime are higher in administrative areas with a larger democratic deficit (although it should also be noted that this, in turn, may be correlated with higher levels of population change) (FitzGerald, Stockdale and Hale 2002).

Individual

There is now a consensus — not least as a result of youth cohort studies in different countries, some of which were established decades ago — about the factors which increase the likelihood young people becoming involved in violent offending (Loeber and Farrington 1998, Lipsey and Derzon 1998, Graham 1988). There is also increasing acceptance that offenders need to be considered in two broad groups differentiated broadly by age and by the seriousness and persistence of their offending behaviour.

On the one hand is a group who were exposed to risk factors very early in their lives and whose start offending earlier. Their patterns of behaviour tend to be more than usually intractable; and they are also more likely to involve increasing levels of violence. On the other, is a very much larger number of young people who start offending in adolescence, often in group situations; and, depending on other factors

at work in their lives at the time and as they move through adolescence into adulthood, a large proportion of this group will simply 'grow out of' offending (Graham and Bowling 1995; Moffitt, 1993).

Many of the factors which increase their likelihood of offending are common to both groups; and some of these are particularly strongly associated with violent offending. However, the relative salience of any given factor may be very different depending on the group in question. Lispey and Derzon (1998) distilled a list of the factors most closely associated with serious and violent juvenile offending from a meta-analysis of 66 reports on 34 independent studies, most of which were American but which included some from Britain and from Scandinavia; and they set these out in two columns to show the different ways in which risk factors may operate for 'life-course persistent' and 'adolescent onset' offenders.

'Predictors' of serious and violent delinquency at age 15-25

Factor ranking (ranked by importance)	'Lifecourse persistent offenders' (Onset at age 6-11)	'Adolelescence-limited offenders' (Onset at age 12-14)
1	General offences Substance abuse	Social ties Anti-social peers
2	Gender (male) Family SES Anti-social parents	General offences
3	Aggression Ethnicity	Aggression School attitude/performance Psychological condition Parent-child relations Physical violence
4	Psychological condition Parent-child relations Social ties Problem behaviour School attitude/performance Medical/physical IQ Other family characteristics	Anti-social parents Person crimes Problem behaviour IQ
5	Broken home Abusive parents Anti-social peers	Broken home Family SES Abusive parents Other family characteristics Substance abuse Ethnicity

Based on Lipsey and Derzon 1998, p.98

Other studies have also specifically pointed to the early experience of both physical and psychological victimisation in general (i.e. not simply in the context of parental abuse) as a risk factor for subsequent offending (Flannery and Williams 1999, Howell and Hawkins 1998,

Satcher 2001, Pfeiffer 1998, Chinn 1996, Loeber and Farrington 1998, Blum et al 2003[6]).

In particular, it should be noted that their list focuses very much on *individual* level factors whereas others also include additional *environmental* factors, which commonly cite the many neighbourhood level factors referred to earlier; and a number of commentators might also question their use of the term 'predictors'. These include Lösel, who groups different sets of factors — including economic and neighbourhood factors as well as family and personal factors — in a 'model of cumulated risks in the development of persistent antisocial behaviour' (Lösel and Bender 2003). The model indicates the relationship between the different groupings of risk and sets these in the frame of 'intergenerational transmission', thereby underpinning the notion that these factors and their interaction are dynamic. At the same, though, Lösel is at pains to insist that they are not deterministic. Like others he eschews the notion that they are predictive, stressing the importance also of taking 'protective' factors into account as well (see below). For, as he points out, based on Lipsey and Derzon's analysis, 20 per cent of children who would be identified as being 'at risk' would *not* actually go on to become seriously delinquent while 16 per cent of those identified as *not* being at risk would later turn out to be seriously delinquent after all.

Constant vigilance is needed, therefore, against the dangers of 'labelling' (Becker 1963, Lemert 1951) with the associated risk of the self-fulfilling prophecy. On the one hand, being subject to and particular set of risk factors in childhood may have very wide implications for a young person's physical and mental well-being. They may affect their long-term educational and employment prospects, their chances of establishing stable adult relationships and, indeed, their physical and mental health (Kelley et al 1997); but they will not *necessarily* result in serious violent offending against others, although they are associated with self-harm including suicide (WHO 2002).[7] On the other, individuals who are notionally at greater risk for any of these reasons may nonetheless avoid any or all of these negative outcomes where these factors are offset by other, more positive influences in their lives (Beinart, 2001). That is, many factors also significantly influence the long-term outcomes for the good in the case of individual children and young people, however apparently adverse their circumstances. So, in the process of policy formulation, consideration needs to be given to reinforcing protective factors as well as to reducing risks.

None of these caveats about prediction, though, override the necessity for effective intervention. Lösel concludes:

> Although we still possess only rudimentary causal knowledge on the complicated interplay of multiple factors and domains, we can derive consequences for the practice of prevention.

6 Indeed, Blum et al report that, in their study 'victimization was the strongest finding associated with juvenile violence, for both males and females.'

7 At the same time as juvenile violence has been rising, so too has the rate of suicide among young people. By 2000, suicide accounted for more than a fifth of all deaths in the 15 to 24 age group in Britain, having risen by 60 per cent since the mid 1980s. Rates are higher for young men, standing at 16 per 100,000 in 2000, compared with 9 in 1974 (ONS 2002).

Importantly, he goes on to emphasise the need for multiple approaches which go far beyond interventions by the agencies of the criminal justice system and specifically cautions that no single intervention can be expected to make an impact in isolation.

> First there are numerous target areas for prevention in which we may interrupt the chain reaction towards antisocial development. Second, the areas of impact go far beyond the criminal justice system and refer to, for example, family, health, education, community, and other areas of policy. Third, because so many factors may play a role in delinquent development, we cannot expect large effects when prevention programmes address one specific area. Fourth, multimodal programmes that target multiple risk areas either simultaneously or sequentially may be particularly promising.
>
> (Lösel 2003)

Policy implications

Responses to date

The literature suggests that there have been two main strands to developments in the policy response to crime in general across the 15 states in recent years. Both have been evident simultaneously in many countries, although the emphasis and the balance between the two has varied (for an overview, see Pfeiffer 1998)[8].

On the one hand, there has been an increase in punitiveness and, in particular, a rise in rates of incarceration requiring additional custodial units to be provided in many countries (Kaiser 1997). On the other, there has been a widespread development of approaches not only to crime but also to crime *prevention*. The latter in particular have required increased co-operation between criminal justice agencies and other relevant services, and sometimes with voluntary bodies also. Many of these initiatives are based primarily at a local level — for example within particular municipalities.

Examples of existing policy responses to youth violence are given in the section of this report on the survey of correspondents.

The need for a comprehensive approach

As Lösel implies in the previous section the analysis of the causes of juvenile violence suggests that no one approach will hold the 'solution' to the problem of youth violence; and this point is strongly made by others as well, including Flannery and Williams whose overview of effective youth violence prevention concludes:

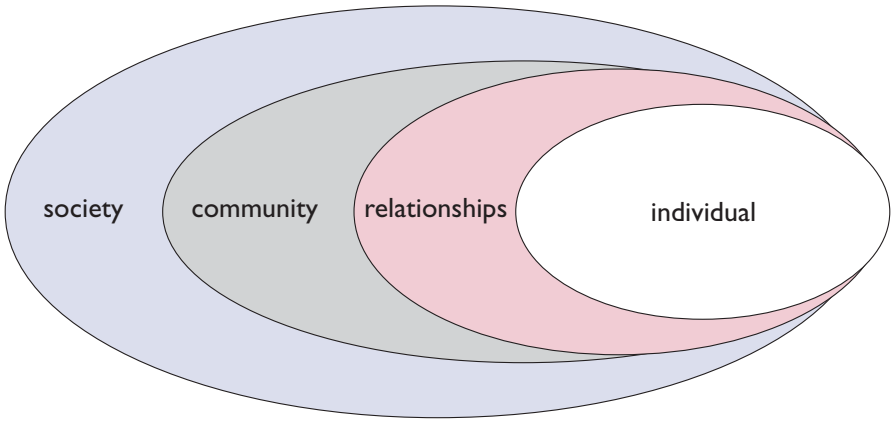
> The most effective strategies are long term, systematic in their treatment of multiple risk factors at multiple levels.. and they are

8 Several sources explicitly contrast the perceived emphasis on 'just desserts' in the USA and Britain in particular with more 'welfare' based approaches elsewhere (Huizinga 2003, Dünkel, 2003) and some go so far as to generalise that these differences may be related to differences between justice systems which are adversarial as opposed to inquisitorial (Hackler 2003, Hanser and Caudil 2002).

> comprehensive in that they include both universal and targeted interventions in *a continuum* of care for youth and families.
>
> (1999. Emphasis added)

Given all of the factors at work and the different ways in which these impact on particular areas, groups and individuals, an approach is needed which is capable of addressing the factors at work at *all* of the different 'nested' levels outlined above and illustrated in figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Nested targets for intervention in tackling juvenile violence



Adapted from 'an ecological model for understanding violence' (WHO 2002)

This, in turn means that interventions are unlikely to be successful if they focus *only* on the problem of violence and that solutions may lie in reinforcing protective factors as much as in trying to reduce risk. Also, while the broad principles of such a strategy may be clear, how these are translated into effective practice may necessarily vary depending on the particular group being targeted and the area in which they are being implemented.

That is, an approach is needed which is based on the 'public health' model which is referred to in numerous sources. Adopting a public health approach to any problem means addressing it simultaneously at three different levels; and the clear purpose of work at each level is to *prevent* the problem. This is true even at the tertiary level where the immediate focus is to respond to the effects of the problem after it has arisen. The three levels of the public health approach in this field can be seen as:

> **Primary** prevention — universal approaches that aim to prevent violence before it occurs.
>
> **Secondary** prevention — approaches that focus on those people who are at the highest risks of victimisation and perpetration of violence.
>
> **Tertiary** prevention — approaches that focus on people who have already been victimised or violent.

A comprehensive strategy within a public health model

Elements of US comprehensive strategy*	Level within public health model
1. strengthening families	Primary
2. supporting core social institutions	Primary
3. promoting prevention strategies, in particular through interventions involving local communities and by targeting young people at greatest risk	Secondary
4. intervention with youth immediately when delinquent behaviour first occurs, involving the family and other core social institutions as far as possible.	Secondary
5. establishing a broad spectrum of graduated sanctions	Tertiary
6. identifying and controlling the small segment of serious, violent and chronic juvenile offenders who have failed to respond to intervention and non-secure community-based treatment and rehabilitation services offered by the juvenile justice system.	Tertiary

* As outlined in Chinn (1996).
For full details, see Howell 1995

Tackling the problem of youth violence requires a comprehensive strategy; and there is a vast menu of options to choose from at each of the three levels of the public health model on which it is based (see below). Even though many of these options will not have passed the test of rigorous, scientific evaluation does not mean they are not worth considering. Indeed, some of the options which *have* proved effective at particular times and in particular circumstances may not translate as effectively into the specific context of any individual EU member state. 'What works' in all of them, however, is likely to depend on the following:

- the *comprehensiveness* of the strategy, rather than any single component within it;
- the extent to which it is adapted to the particular needs of that country and to the different sub-areas and groups which it specifically targets; and
- the effectiveness with which it is implemented.

This last point is the *sine qua non* of any effective policy. There may be considerable variation in the strengths and weaknesses of the personnel on the ground who will be required to deliver the strategy in practice. Similarly, there will be variations in the formal and informal working relationships between the different agencies whose co-operation is essential to a holistic approach to the multiple causes of the problem of youth violence. As far as possible, any strategy will need to take these considerations into account. Successful implementation is most likely where it harnesses what is already in place; for the best evidenced initiatives may fail if they are completely alien to local ways of working or if they depend on human and financial resources which are simply not available (FitzGerald 2004).

Components of a comprehensive strategy

The US Department of Justice has explicitly adopted a comprehensive strategy, the six key elements of which reflect the 'nested' approach referred to in the previous section. They fit within the public health model as shown in the table below. From the European viewpoint, this strategy is located in a society which believes much less In governmental action to reduce one of the major influences on youth violence — poverty. In the absence of an explicit focus on poverty reduction, it is possible that strategies to reduce violence could be seen as blaming poor people, and doing little to alleviate the difficulties that they face in keeping their families safe from harm. In the context of the European social model, it is more likely that a comprehensive strategy to reduce violence can include explicit efforts to reduce poverty and inequality.

A Comprehensive Strategy based on a public health model in essence comprises two main elements.

On the one hand, it will aim to prevent violent offending among young people by tackling the causes (environmental, economic, communal/social, familial, individual, etc). However, it can only do so insofar as the causes are amenable to policy interventions (in terms of cost-effectiveness and respect for human rights). Also, the *main* aim of these interventions will be to protect young people from a *range* of possible harm — not simply to reduce the risk of their offending. Focussing resources narrowly on the aim of reducing offending is likely to be counter-productive in the longer term if damages these wider goals of harm-reduction. It would also be very unfair to young people who do not pose an immediate threat in terms of offending, but who may be at risk of being harmed.

On the other, it will need to respond to effectively to offending once it has occurred, in terms of detection and further appropriate action. Appropriate action in this context must be understood as action that maximises the likelihood that perpetrators, once caught, will desist from crime rather than re-offending. While it is imperative to recognise the needs of victims and ensuring public confidence, punitive interventions cannot be justified — even in terms of concern for victims — if their effect is actually to increase re-offending.In both pre- and post-offending modes, a public health approach implies that it is important to reinforce any protective factors at work (that is, to inoculate, vaccinate or bolster natural immune systems). Focussing exclusively on risk factors may actually prove counter-productive — especially if it results in 'labelling' which so stigmatises individuals and their families that it makes it more than ever difficult to prevent them offending (or re-offending).

Effective responses to youth violence

The literature reviewed for this study provides specific examples of different types of intervention at each of these levels of the public health model. However, a contrast is frequently drawn between the dearth of properly *evaluated* interventions in European countries and the very much richer American literature (Buckland 2001, van der Laand 2003). Even so, the comprehensive and authoritative report of the American

Surgeon General on the question of youth violence, which drew on a vast range of evaluated interventions, concluded that:

> Few existing violence prevention and intervention programs have met the qualifications of a Model program…
>
> For most violence, crime, and drug prevention programs now being implemented, *there is simply no evidence regarding effectiveness.*
>
> (Satcher 2001) Emphasis added.

The standards set by the Surgeon General were extremely rigorous, and there were relatively few interventions which were explicitly shown *not* to have worked. Even among these, some were shown not to have worked in terms of having failed to meet their stated objectives but might nevertheless have shown unanticipated secondary benefits. For example the DARE programme was ineffective in reducing drug use but improved young people's attitudes towards the police. Few programmes, that is, were classified as not working *and* positively harmful in terms of demonstrably increasing offending (see further below).

Others, including Lab (2004), have strongly argued for a more flexible approach, challenging the notion that 'only true experimental designs meet the criteria for demonstrating the effectiveness of an intervention' since this approach has ignored the important contribution made by situational crime prevention and would fail to recognise the role of local partnerships since these cannot easily be accommodated within this type of research design. Lab's report, therefore, lists many projects that are worth considering by policy makers, even though they do not comply with the standards set by Sherman in his major 1997 report on crime prevention. For, as the Surgeon-General's report itself also acknowledges, a number of factors may explain why many such promising approaches cannot yet be shown to have 'worked' in terms of measurable outcomes in preventing violence at all three levels of the public health model. Chief among these are the following.

Some interventions fail to be implemented effectively for a variety of reasons.

- Projects may work well in the privileged and highly controlled conditions of pilot trials but results may be much less impressive when they are rolled out more widely.
- The effectiveness with which any programme is implemented may vary depending on the dosage and/or the duration of the intervention as much as its content[9]; but its quality will, in any case, tend to reflect the skills of those responsible for delivering it.
- Work in one area but do not transfer successfully to others.
- Many local projects work with groups where the numbers are too small for any outcomes to be statistically reliable.

The major challenge to designing 'evidence-based' policies in relation to children and young people, though, is the problem of measuring

9 In some instances, such as the evaluation of the British Youth Inclusion Programmes (Mackie et al 2003), the very marginal differences in re-offending rates between the intervention group and the control group could plausibly be ascribed to the fact that the intervention group simply had more of their time filled with structured programme of activities. This meant they were both less 'available' to commit crime and less likely to do so out of 'boredom' (which is a factor often cited by young people in self-report studies).

long-term impacts. Thus some interventions at the tertiary level may show statistically significant improvements for the target group compared to a control group; but follow-up studies might show that these were not sustained over a longer period and/or that any apparent benefits ceased once the young people concerned were no longer subject to the intervention. Conversely, where interventions have a long-term impact, this can only be known with a degree of hindsight which may be less than helpful for the purposes of current policy development.

This poses particular challenges in the case of primary prevention since successful interventions 20 years ago may no longer be as appropriate for children 'at risk' to-day[10]; and there are major risks for policy makers in investing in projects which, even if they work, can only be shown to have paid off 20 years hence. Nonetheless, many authors point to evidence that the seeds of serious violent behaviour later in life are most likely to be sown in the first two years (Tremblay 1996, Pfeiffer 1998) (Tremblay, 2004). Individuals may also be susceptible at subsequent stages — in particular when they first go to school (Tolan 2001) and at the point of transition from primary to secondary school (FitzGerald, Stockdale and Hale 2003) — and in response to particular events in their lives. However, many cite work by the Rand Corporation (Greenwood et al 1998) to argue that investment in early years interventions is likely to pay off most over the long term and subsequent interventions (that is, once problems which have their roots in infancy begin to become apparent) are increasingly expensive alternatives with diminishing chances of success.

Below we present some of the options available at each of the three levels of intervention within the public health model. All of these options derive from our review of the literature, including work we ourselves have undertaken in the past. There are far too many to provide details; and information on evaluation and outcomes is rarely available, in any case, especially with regard to European initiatives. A selection of initiatives of interest appears outlined in text boxes within these three headings, however, with an indication of the extent to which these have been evaluated. An inventory of additional initiatives is included as an appendix to this report, with an indication of where to obtain further information on them.

As implied earlier, interventions which focus exclusively on violent behaviour are relatively rare; yet many sources point to the inter-relationship between violent and other forms of offending — whether antecedent or contemporaneous. So references to interventions which are not violence-specific have nonetheless been included inasmuch as they appear relevant to a comprehensive strategy for tackling juvenile violence.

Primary intervention

Primary interventions will operate at a number of different levels, focusing variously on particular areas, communities, families and

10 Thus Yoshikawa (1995) cautioned that the Perry Pre-school programme which was implemented in the 1970s might not have the same impact in the context of the demographic, economic and social changes which had taken place since, including changes in the economic activity rates of women.

individuals. They are particularly important for preventing the development of violent behaviour among the early-onset group (see above) whose offending is likely to be most serious and may be least amenable to secondary and tertiary interventions.

In some instances the provision will be universal. For example, partnership arrangements for the protection of young people in general and/or the prevention of crime may be set up all states or municipalities. In others, they will focus primarily on the areas, communities, families or children who are most at risk; but they can do this in two main ways. One is by taking a graduated approach, such that the areas etc which are most at risk receive a more concentrated 'dosage' of universal provision[11]. The other is to target provision *only* on the areas etc where the risks are highest.

The targeted approach is more obviously cost effective; and some commentators imply that universal provision cannot be justified, especially if it reduces the resources available for targeted provision. Decisions about how and where to target, though, raise a number of important questions. In addition to the dangers of labelling referred to above, some local area-based policies for crime prevention may produce displacement effects[12]. Also, the criteria for selection need careful consideration. In some cases (see earlier) the information they are based on they may not be entirely reliable; and, in part for this reason, it may also be important to use a battery of relevant measures to inform the final choice. Simply targeting a particular area on the basis of average deprivation scores, for example, may miss out areas in which specific types of need are higher[13]; and this, in turn can be divisive if particular communities or groups believe others are receiving special help when they need it as much or more. A further important consideration in this context is that, inasmuch as primary intervention may be most important in the cases of early-onset offenders, these will not exclusively be concentrated in particular areas.

Area/neighbourhood level initiatives may include the following.

- *Partnership arrangements for improving co-operation between the relevant agencies.*

  It is, however, important to ensure that the demands on the individual agencies of servicing these partnerships do not outweigh the added-value they produce in practice. This is especially the case where there is a proliferation of local partnerships, with representation on all of them by the core agencies (education, social services, health care and the police), especially if the demands this makes on their resources has an adverse impact on their ability *individually* to respond effectively to the needs of children, young people and their families.

11 Obvious examples are that higher crime areas are allocated more police and state grants to families with children increase with family size.

12 For this reason, Lab (op. cit.) insists that evaluations should routinely try to measure any displacement effects.

13 Thus Mackie et al (2003) show that the choice of areas for Youth Inclusion Programmes was based on measures of deprivation and, for that reason, failed to include several areas with higher levels of youth offending than some of the areas which benefited from this additional resource.

- *Regeneration strategies and neighbourhood renewal initiatives.*

Regeneration should involve local people — especially in terms of providing improved employment opportunities. Their physical design needs to minimise opportunities for crime; and attention also needs to be given to the social mix they will produce, with safeguards built in to ensure that the advent of more affluent residents does not mean the more deprived local residents are further excluded, with a weakening of community ties which may serve as protective factors.

Community-based initiatives at the primary level are most likely to comprise:

- *General initiatives to improve community cohesion and empowerment.*

One specific example of this approach is the Communities That Care model (Hawkins et al. 1992) which has been adopted in a number of areas in European countries as well as in the United States **[text box 1]** and which — like the Comprehensive Strategy — starts from a local audit. However, capacity building within communities can also be part of other, wider programmes, including the neighbourhood renewal and regeneration programmes referred to above; and it is important to ensure that the youth crime prevention element is adequately recognised and developed in this context. One particularly challenging but essential aspect to this is the ability to resolve community conflict, at both the individual and the group level, especially in areas with very diverse population s. Initiatives which bring different sections of the local population together around issues of common concern or mutual

Box 1: Communities that Care

CTC is not a single intervention but a strategy designed for adoption in different local communities. Devised by Hawkins, Catalano and Associates in 1992 it has been implemented in all American states and piloted in England and Wales, Scotland and the Netherlands.

Based on an assessment of risk and protective factors in the lives of children and young people, the process followed is:

- To select areas for intervention
- Recruit and train key representatives of local communities to oversee implementation
- Set up a prevention board which:
  - a) conducts a local assessment of community risks and resources;
  - b) sets priorities for prevention based on this;
  - c) targets these with a programme of action based on tested interventions, using tasks forces composed of local people and instigating action by relevant local parties; and
  - d) evaluates results against the original baseline assessment.

Outcomes/Evaluation

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation funded three pilot CTC projects in Britain in 1998 and these were evaluated continuously to 2003, with measures particularly geared to assess change in levels of risk among young people in these areas. The evaluation remained inconclusive about their impact. Risks had fallen in one area, results were promising in a second but there was no difference in the third. It is uncertain the extent to which these results reflect differences in programme implementation and/or other factors at work locally at the same time; but, in any case, any real impact on young people will be apparent over a longer period.

Details: www.jrf.org.uk

interest can be particularly effective in overcoming prejudice (Jeffers, Hoggett and Harrison 1996).

With few exceptions **[text box 2]**, the literature tends to ignore the relevance to the issue of crime prevention of strengthening local political structures, although in recent years Great Britain, for example, has seen an increasing requirement on local agencies to consult local people about crime, for example under the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. It is essential to ensure that the voices of young people are heard and that they too are politically empowered through any such initiatives. Otherwise — especially in view of the negative focus on young people as a problem in both the media and political rhetoric — further repressive measures and a failure to address the local problems which particularly affect *them* could actually result in an increase in youth violence.

Box 2. The role of 'civic-ness' in the prevention of juvenile violence

A study of the different regions of Italy modelled the levels of civic commitment among the population against official crime statistics and a large scale victimisation survey. Civicness was measured across a range of variables including turnout in elections, participation in political/trade union/community activity and payment of taxes and results were analysed for three different time-periods – the 70s, 80s and 90s. The study found a significant negative correlation with violent crime. There was no difference for juvenile delinquency in general but a strong association with robbery, attempted murder and murder committed by young people. They also note that the regions with the weakest sense of civic community are also those where people have least confidence in political institutions.

The authors conclude that:

'Good civic community may constitute a social fabric in which better and more effective informal control can be exercised, and this kind of control has been shown to be associated with lower violence.'

Source: Gatti, Tremblay and Larocque, 2003

- *School-based interventions*

An essential community in this context is the school. Many of the studies highlight an increased awareness within the last decade of the problem of violence in schools; and there is evidence that the problem of victimisation of young people by other young people is often school-related (MORI 2003). The literature lists many types of intervention to tackle the problem within the context of the school

Box 3. Anti-bullying strategies

A 'whole school' approach to bullying adopted in Norway in the early 1990s has also been replicated in some British schools. Interventions included:

- Advice and support to teachers
- The provision of special curriculum material
- The introduction of specific rules about bullying
- Encouragement to victims to report
- Improved supervision of school play times and
- The involvement of parents.

Reported outcomes have been a decrease in bullying, including violent bullying and, in the Norwegian case, reductions also in anti-social and victimisation outside school.

Sources: Olweus 1991; Pitts and Smith 1995

community, some of which are also referred to under 'secondary prevention' below. The most common of these are anti-bullying initiatives **[text box 3]**; but others range from employing additional staff to improve overall levels of supervision, through whole-school approaches to behavioural improvement (including through the development of mediation schemes) and help to teachers with improving classroom techniques **[text box 4]**.

Box 4. 'Taakspel' (Task Game)

Based on the well-established American 'Good Behavior Game' (but considerably adapted), Taakspel was introduced into 13 schools in Rotterdam and Amsterdam and pupils recruited with their parents' consent to participate in the intervention. After teachers had been trained, 363 second grade children were introduced toTaakspel in autumn 1999, with 303 acting as controls.

Pupils are involved in formulating classroom rules, then divided into teams which are encouraged to manage their own adherence to the rules through group self-interest and mutual reinforcement based on a regular system of team rewards. The aims are to prevent disruptive behaviour (attention deficit/hyperacticity, oppositional deviant behaviour and conduct disorders); and the children were divided at the outset into three groups according to their level of behaviour. Progress was monitored using standard behavioural measures over the course of two years.

Outcomes: Relative to the control group, significant improvements were achieved with pupils who had moderate problems at the baseline on all three types of behaviour; and the conduct of those with the worst problems improved significantly relative to their control counterparts whose conduct actually worsened over the two years. However there was no difference on any of the three measures for the 60 per cent of pupils whose behaviour at the baseline was unproblematic.

Source/ further details: Dr AM van der Sar

Developing partnership working by schools with parents and local communities are also seen as important; but schools also need to be willing and able to bring in help from other agencies to support children in difficulties (see also under Secondary interventions). Among the more controversial findings in this context is that the assignment of police officers to individual schools can be beneficial.

The Surgeon General's report, though, specifically identifies three school based approaches which do *not* work and may in some cases actually be harmful. These are: peer-counselling, peer-mediation and the use of peer-leaders; keeping pupils back a year; and the widely promoted DARE programme which aims to deter young people from starting to take drugs (Satcher 2001).

Family based initiatives at the primary level tend to focus in particular on early years interventions.

- *Parent-focused interventions*

These tend to concentrate in particular on mothers; and they include targeted pre-natal care for those whose circumstances suggest they may be at high risk of actively or passively damaging their children in the critical first years of their lives. (Groups include, for example, drug

addicts and women in prison but also women who are homeless and/or fleeing domestic violence.) More common are interventions related to follow-up visits and support after the birth **[text box 5]**. However, some mothers may need different types of support over the course of the child's life. These may include support in dealing with their own personal needs (for example those who are particularly young when they first give birth and need opportunities later to catch up on education and enter the labour market) as well as help in coping with children whose behaviour they find particularly challenging.

Box 5. Starting Together

Intensive targeted pre- and postnatal interventions aimed at preventing psycho-social problems and child abuse have been shown not only to prevent child abuse but also to reduce anti-social and criminal behaviour in adolescence in the United States (Olds et al 1998) and elsewhere.

Starting Together is a municipality-based collborative project set up in 2003 in three regions by the Netherlands Institute for Care and Welfare (NIZW) and financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Health Research and Development (ZonMw). It aims to identify needs of parents with children aged 0-2 years and intervene as necessary to prevent psychosocial problems in early childhood, as well as aggression and delinquency in adolescence.

New mothers in deprived neighbourhoods with babies 6-8 weeks old are screened by specially trained nurses when they attend health centres. Those with problems or rated as having high risk factors (including difficulties in relationships, with debt or access to employment) then receive a home visit and ongoing support is planned with them, with a 'family coach' assigned where appropriate to help them access particular local services as needed.

Currently designed as a controlled trial, it aims to enable impact evaluation with a long-term follow-up for at least 15 years.

Source: E-mail: fg.ory@pg.tno.nl

Less attention is paid to the role of fathers (possibly because studies tend to show that young offenders are much more likely to have absent fathers). However, they may have a significant influence for better or worse on the future development of their children, not least as male role models. Constructive interventions with men who abuse their partners may be important in this context; but it may also be important actively to encourage men to be involved in the lives of their children, even if they do not live with them. This may itself reduce the risk of offending, particular among young fathers who have few other attachments to mainstream society.

At a prior stage, school curricula should provide good education for parenting which targets both boys and girls.

- *Interventions with young children*

Good quality early years education and child care provision are essential. Even where this provision is targeted, special measures may be needed to ensure that those most in need benefit from it — for example through outreach work and the use of interpreters, as well as monitoring who is using the facilities.

Additionally, systems are essential to ensure that the children most at risk at this early stage are identified, their progress monitored and they have timely access to the relevant services. Risk factors at this stage range include not only the risk of harm and abuse but problems with physical and mental development. The most obvious opportunities for identifying such children arise in the context of ante- and post-natal services to mothers (see above); but it should also be possible for other individuals (such as nursery staff and child minders) to raise concerns where necessary.

Effective partnership working, therefore, is essential to these systems, including provision for the timely exchange of information between all the relevant partners, even though this can raise sensitive issues around confidentiality. A further important factor to consider in setting up these systems, though, is that the children who are at greatest risk will include those whose lives are disrupted by constant changes of address. That is, local partnership alone will not provide adequate safeguards: links are needed between the systems in different areas. In practice, this may require considerable investment in compatible IT provision within and between the relevant agencies if children at risk are not to continue falling through the net of the various until finally they present to criminal justice agencies as offenders.

- *Interventions with older children and young people*

Many of the types of intervention listed above are relevant also to older children and young people; but specific mention should be made of the need for age-appropriate, affordable and accessible leisure activities, including through after school clubs as well as youth provision in the evenings, at week-ends and in the holidays. Crime prevention advice, including advice on non-confrontational methods of coping with threats, on alcohol and drug use, as well as realistic messages about keeping safe generally become increasingly important with age. **[text box 6]** Importantly also, young people who are victims of crime and who are suffering other problems which could put them

Box 6. Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies

PATHS is an American curriculum intervention. Elementary school students from starting school through to grade 5 receive lessons targeting emotional competence (expression, understanding, and regulation), self-control, social competence, positive peer relations, and interpersonal problem-solving skills three times a week in 20- to 30-minute sessions.

Outcomes: Satcher rates PATHS as a 'Promising' programme, reporting that 'evaluations of this intervention have demonstrated that PATHS improves self-control, understanding and recognition of emotions, the ability to tolerate frustration, the use of effective conflict-resolution strategies, thinking and planning skills, and conduct problems, such as aggression. In students with special needs, PATHS has also been shown to significantly reduce symptoms of anxiety, depression, and sadness and to reduce conduct problems'.

Source: Satcher (2001)

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at a higher risk of offending (including the experience of family breakdown and other loss) should be able to access appropriate support when they need it.

- *Other interventions*

In many cases, a range of different approaches will be needed since the problems that may adversely affect children at this early stage are likely to be complex. Those most at risk, for example, may have learning difficulties which are compounded by poverty (including inadequate housing), friction between the parents (possibly involving domestic violence) and inadequate mothering due to depression which may be related to isolation and poverty; and this may, in turn, be further exacerbated where the mother is new to the country and does not speak the language, still less know where to turn for help.

Thus some commentators urge the need for multi-systemic approaches (Borduin 1995); but the scope for intervening effectively in this way will again depend very much on the strength of arrangements for partnership working between the relevant agencies and on having overarching systems in place to ensure the co-ordination of their work with children, young people and their families.

Secondary intervention

The secondary interventions referred to in the literature cover the same bases as primary interventions — that is, local areas, communities, families and individuals; but they focus more specifically on the risk of criminal involvement by young people, including the likelihood of violence. Particular sensitivities arise in the context of secondary prevention with regard to labelling; and — particularly in the case of interventions with families and individuals — a number of commentators stress the importance both of engaging them on a voluntary rather than a compulsory basis and of doing so in ways which minimise any risk of stigmatisation[14]. One approach which avoids this and which is particularly important at the secondary level, although it is somewhat overlooked in the literature generally, is situational crime prevention.

Situational crime prevention

Effective situational crime prevention in the context of violence provides many different types of options for either reducing opportunities for violence or minimising its impact when it does occur. They include, for example: making objects of personal theft (such as mobile phones) unusable if they are stolen; choosing building materials and designs which deter vandalism; and using plastic or specially designed glass rather than traditional glass in situations where large numbers of people will be drinking alcohol.

14 Thus, for example, some interventions show that participation rates are likely to be higher where activities take place in neutral surroundings which are also used universally (for example a school).

Some situational crime prevention initiatives focus on particular areas and people and are referred to below under these headings. Their effective implementation will often depend on members of the public so they are also referred to in the context of community interventions. Care is needed, though, to ensure situational crime prevention does not simply result in displacement; and any evaluation needs to monitor this.

Area/neighbourhood level

- *Area-specific bans* may reduce the likelihood of violence and have variously been applied to:
  - Public drinking
  - The carrying of weapons
  - Groups of people (whether gathered informally or, for example, to take part in an organised demonstration)
  - Individuals whose presence may result in violence.

  Considerations in imposing such bans will include not only human rights and civil liberties but a risk-assessment regarding the enforcement of the ban as well as the likelihood of displacement.

- *Intensive policing*, including the use of other public and private uniformed personnel may pre-empt the likelihood of violence developing.

- *The use of closed circuit television* (CCTV) in potential trouble spots remains controversial in many countries, but is now widely accepted in the USA and Britain as both a deterrent to violence and a useful source of information that makes it easier to apprehend those involved.

Community level

- *Anti-crime campaigns* can involve the community at large in many different ways

  Publicity initiatives can range from initiatives to raise public awareness of how to avoid the risk of personal theft, to encouragement to report domestic violence, to campaigns to persuade people to give information about violent incidents (with provision, for example, about reporting anonymously and explicit reassurances about the information being treated in confidence).

  The availability of special grants can stimulate communities (as a whole and individually) to adopt situational crime prevention strategies, from property marking to the installation of alarm systems and CCTV.

- *Community-based partnerships* to tackle crime can also contribute to community cohesion.

  Private citizens and local business communities may also be encouraged to work with the police to tackle problems such as anti-social behaviour and drug trafficking in their area. The commercial sector can also be involved in measures to make leisure activity safer for young people (see below), while local voluntary

groups can also play an important role in providing diversionary schemes for young people who are at risk of offending. **[text box 7]**

Box 7. Promoting safety and employment opportunities with private sector partners

The Danish Crime Prevention Council has worked with the private sector to promote safety among young people and increase employment opportunities for the most marginalised:

- In 2001, the Council's Violence Prevention Unit introduced jointly prepared guidelines for bars and licensed premises designed to optimised nightlife safety for young people and staff alike. At the same time, it launched a 'Guide to Party Organisers' on ways of arranging parties in order to avoid conflict and violence.
- The Council mounted a campaign in 2001 to get employers to take social responsibility to give marginalised young people opportunities to make a fresh start. It recognised that employers would need support, that schemes needed to be based on mutual agreements with the young people and the progress should be monitored. So it provided supporting guidance, contact details for sources of advice and opportunities to exchange experience, including through a website (www.uij.dk).

Source/further details: www.crimeprev.dk

- Groups of young people within communities are a particularly important focus for secondary interventions.

Secondary interventions may target groups of young people as the most likely *victims* of violent crime as well as the most likely perpetrators. Advice on staying safe in large groups where violence may occur is particularly important among teenagers, as is the ability to resist peer pressures which may increase risk **[text box 8].**

Box 8. Life Skills Training

LST is an American intervention designed to prevent or reduce the use of illegal drugs and alcohol through enabling young people to make informed choices and develop the skills to resist abuse of drugs, tobacco and alcohol. The program targets students in middle or junior high school, with initial implementation in grades 6 and 7 and booster sessions for the next 2 years and may be delivered by teachers or older students. The curriculum has three major components: self-management skills, social skills, and information and skills related specifically to drug use; and a variety of techniques are employed, including instruction, demonstration, feedback, reinforcement, and practice.

Outcomes: Evaluations show that the program can cut tobacco, marijuana, and alcohol use. Moreover, long-term effects of participation in Life Skills Training include a lower risk of polydrug use, pack-a-day smoking, and inhalant, narcotic, and hallucinogen use. However, the impact of the programme dissipated without the booster sessions.

Sources: Satcher (2001); Flannery and Williams (1999)

The impact of anti-racist interventions with young people is not well documented; but the literature documents considerable experience of strategies to prevent of violence at football matches **[text box 9]**[15].

15 However, recent interviews with black footballers imply there has been a noticeable improvement in the behaviour of fans in Britain (at least in this respect), whether as a result of the 'Kick Racism Out of Football' campaign which has sought the active involvement of clubs, or the introduction of specific legislation prohibiting racist chanting, or both.

Box 9. Measures to prevent football hooliganism

Research funded by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior into the question of football hooliganism explored the issues from the perspective of academic experts, the police and private security, football clubs and fan clubs, as well as a sample of 33 hooligans. Asked to propose measures for preventing hooliganism, there was broad agreement by all parties (including the hooligans themselves) on a basket of measures (although there were some differences in the priority each gave to particular elements in the package). These are ranked under three headings:

- *Police and justice measures* (12 items with top ranking for monitoring by specialist police and short paths of communication between all the key agencies)
- *Organisational and security measures* (7 items of which the top two were separation of the fans of opposing teams inside and outside the stadium)
- *Measures concerned with fans and social work* (3 items, top of which was increased funding for fan projects).

Source: Lösel et al (2001)

As yet, however, most work specifically focussed on gangs *as a group* has not been shown to be particularly effective. In any case, it must be borne in mind that the American experience of gangs may not be directly relevant in the case

of the diverse range of groups of young people in Europe to whom the term is now ascribed. Effective work with individual young people, though, will often take account of the role of delinquent peers in their lives (whether or not these relationships are formalised in some way) since this is a common factor in much adolescent offending.

- *School based secondary interventions* are particularly important, given:

  a) awareness of the extent to which juvenile violence occurs increasingly in middle and high schools; and

  b) the impact on young people's life chances and their related risk of offending if they fail to complete their education.

Effective interventions will often be more focused and targeted versions of schools' primary-level strategies; for those schools which do not create a safe and supportive environment may themselves actively be contributing to the problem of youth violence. Where mediation and restorative justice approaches are built in to the school ethos, these may be beneficial, although the research does not conclusively show any significant positive impact on individual young people with problem behaviours.

In cases where a young person's behaviour identifies them as being at particular risk, schools may invoke a range of measures and will ideally involve the young person's parents in all of these decisions. (This too is most easily done if parental involvement is already the norm in the school). If it is appropriate to exclude the young person from school, it is important to ensure that adequate alternative educational provision is arranged. In less extreme cases, mentoring schemes may help; and American studies in particular stress the value of providing incentives for young people to stay on in school.

The most important role the school can play in secondary prevention, though, is in bringing in the services of other relevant agencies *if* specialist help is not already available on site **[text box 10]**.

Box 10. Provision of school-based services

Recognising that schools cannot solve the problems associated with social exclusion and multiple disadvantage and the delinquency associated with this, the Department for Education and Skills set up pilot projects in England and Wales to explore how best to set up multi-agency approaches based on schools themselves. The Education Act 2002 gave school governing bodies the powers to provide community services and facilities using the school as a base and, with the support of local authorities, 'extended school' demonstration projects were set up initially in 3 areas with more introduced in the academic year 2002-3. Drawing on American experience which suggests no one model will fit all, schools, the provision available in each varies but may includes any mix of:

- Additional schooling provision for pupils
- Community provision
- Early years provision
- Family/parent provision
- Other agency provision/links and Open/specialist facilities

Evaluation is currently being undertaken by the National Foundation for Educational Research. http://www.nfer.ac.uk/. The approach is already established in the USA, although many terms are used (commonly 'full service schools') though the literature suggests no single model or blue-print should be adopted. Often the initiative is bottom-up, reflecting the key role of schools at the centre of local communities.

Situational crime prevention approaches are also relevant in school settings, including for example metal detectors where there is concern about pupils carrying knives.

Family/individual

- *Parents*

  While schools should involve parents in responding to behaviour which marks their children as being 'at risk', parents themselves may already be aware of problems as a result of the child's behaviour at home and many will want help and support. It is important to ensure they are aware of where they can find such help and that they can access it. Several sources emphasise the importance of this type of support being available on a voluntary basis **[text box 11]**.

- *Young people*

  Some controversy still surrounds the possibility of identifying young people at greatest risk of offending. On the one hand, Farrington's 1997 paper concludes:

  Violent and non-violent offending can now be predicted more accurately than is generally believed. It is not difficult to identify a high risk category of people at age 8-10 who have an elevated risk (three or four times that of the remainder) of becoming offenders.

  On the other, Le Blanc in the same year asserts:

Box 11. Support for parents of young people committing or at risk of committing crime

The German Juvenile Welfare Act 1990 gives people with parenting problems a right to get help but they cannot be obliged to do so. (In serious cases of risk to children they can, for example, be placed in foster care – but only by virtue of an order from a civil court judge.) (Dünkel, 2001)

In England parents of young people can be obliged by the courts to undertake Parenting Courses provided by or through the Youth Offending Teams. However, the majority of parents who attend these courses attend on a voluntary basis. A three year evaluation of these parenting programmes between 1999 and 2001 shows that nearly 3,000 parents and carers had started such programmes, of whom two thirds were attending on a voluntary basis rather than under a court order. It concludes that 'a system which privileged a genuinely voluntary route, but with Parenting Orders held in reserve where voluntary engagement had failed might prove more acceptable to family support providers, opinion formers and parents themselves. This would help to reduce the initial barriers to engagement with a service arising out of parents' distress at receiving a Court Order, and help minimise the number of parents being drawn into the criminal justice system.

> …there is much technical work to be done before we can develop appropriate screening instruments for the identification of potential offenders. Some screening strategies and instruments are promising, but none can be recommended for immediate use to policy makers and practitioners.

Secondary interventions are impossible without identifying young people as being at risk, however; and well-validated measures are available for assessing those who are introduced to intervention programmes. So it is possible to measure levels of some problem behaviour against the average and to observe whether the scores change over the course of the intervention. For example, the Scallywags project cited below used the Eyberg child behaviour inventory alongside the Abidin Parent Stress Inventory and Rutter's parent/teacher scale (Revised Rutter). Other studies cite a further range of psychometric tests; but some programmes and agencies working with young people have devised their own standard measures (see under Tertiary also).

In some cases, young people will present individually as being 'at risk' because of their behaviour — whether at home, in school or because of their failure to attend school. In these cases, what is essential is appropriate referral systems and access to the type of support which is most appropriate to that young person's needs. This can range from anger management, to educational support, to help with mental health and drug-related problems, as well as whole-family approaches such as family group conferencing. **[text box 12]**

Particular issues arise where the behaviour of young people comes to the attention of the criminal justice system in situations where tertiary level interventions are not appropriate. These may include activities might which might warrant tertiary intervention if they were older — or if they had behaved the same way in a different country. Opinion is polarised here; but many commentators assert that diversion rather than the formal intervention of the criminal justice system is more likely to produce desistance, including Huizinga in his

Box 12. 'Scallywags' family intervention project

The 'Scallywags' project was one of several local innovation projects funded by the English Department of Health through its Children and Adolescent Mental Health Service. Children aged 3-7 whose behaviour was already putting them at risk of school exclusion, educational failure or social isolation. The project team was made up of staff from different professional backgrounds and they worked in partnership with both the parents and the schools on an intervention programme which was tailored to each child individually following an assessment of the child's needs and those of the parents and teachers. The needs were complex and their combination varied between families; but all plans incorporated:

- an individual programme for each child including core targets to be achieved in 6 months;
- a key support worker assigned to each child and their families to support the implementation of the programme in the home and education setting, with 3 hours in the home and 5 hours in the school for each child
- liaison between the various settings and persons involved;
- a 12 session local parent group, with each session lasting 2 hours;
- a local school holiday programme for children/parents of 15 hours per week;
- contact with and co-ordination of local services, if appropriate.

Outcomes: The children had statistically significant reductions in emotional and behavioural problems at home and school which were maintained 6 months after the intervention. Parents showed a significant improvement in their parenting stress levels and the programme met their need for practical knowledge and skills on managing their children's behaviour, with sufficient support to put their learning into practice. The linking of home and school improved communication and mutual understanding between parents and teachers, resulting in a more holistic understanding of the child and more effective handling of their behaviour because parents, teachers and support workers had agreed targets and were working towards them with consistent strategies.

Source: Lovering and Caldwell 2003

comparative study of American and German approaches (op. cit. 2003). **[text box 13]**

Box 13. Diversion

In the Netherlands children aged under 12 who commit violent and serious offences are usually reported to the Council of Child Care and Protection and the referral may result in a civil protection order which may require an intervention which will sometimes last several years. In addition, since 1999, the police can refer children under 12 who have committed minor offences to the 'Stop' programme.

Although 'Stop' is not a penal intervention, the programme is overseen by the office of he public prosecutor. With the consent of their parents, the programme teaches moral reasoning and the young people are involved in various activities to address their wrongdoing, including, for example, writing letters of apology and participating in relevant role plays. Over 1,000 young people have been referred each year.

Sources: Van der Laan 2001
Van den Hoogen-Saleh 2000
Klooster et al. 2003

More controversial, however, are interventions which proactively identify young people at risk and select them for secondary intervention, especially where these are based on different agencies sharing the information they individually hold on such young people and their families. Commonly, provision may consist in providing them with additional activities and recreational outlets, although some

access to services or programmes tailored to individual needs may also be built in to this.

The Surgeon General's report emphasises the importance of secondary interventions, concluding that 'Programs that target the families of high-risk children are among the most effective in preventing violence.' However, he specifically cautions:

> Programs that aim to redirect high-risk youth toward conventional activities involve recreational, enrichment, and leisure activities, including the popular Midnight Basketball program. In general, programs that focus on shifting peer group norms have attempted to turn youth gangs into benign clubs. Instead, these programs have had no effect or have actually increased gang-related delinquent behaviour.
>
> (Satcher 2001)

Nonetheless some of the interventions he reviews, as well as other studies find that some one-off initiatives such as wilderness challenge programmes — or simply the provision of youth activity which involves such young people during the school summer holidays — can be effective. **[text box 14]**.

Box 14 'Kick' project: sport against delinquency

'Kick' was introduced in various areas of Berlin, with the aim of preventing youth delinquency through the opportunity of engaging in sporting activities, combined with social-pedagogical interventions (giving individual and group advice and guidance on various issues, as well as helping to create a networked system of support by passing on information about other relevant institutions). It was open to *all* youths in the area, including those in danger of offending and offenders. As well as sport, it also organised various social events a year in the neighbourhoods (e.g. streetball nights, outings, Karnival etc.)

Outcomes: Approximately 40% of youths referred by the police are reached; and there was a high take up of provision. The intervention was especially effective for youth who were referred early in their offending career (though integrating repeat offenders was more difficult).

Source: www.lsb-berlin.net/sjb/sjb.cfm

Finally, some of the most effective secondary programmes combine approaches at all of these different levels, reinforcing the need for a comprehensive approach **[text box 15]**.

Tertiary intervention

While much of the literature around tertiary intervention is concerned with the effectiveness (or otherwise) of particular sentences, less attention is given to the almost equally important question of post-sentence support. For during their sentence, young people may, in effect, be *protected* from risk by virtue of: the additional input they receive from professionals involved in their case; the fact that participation in supervised community-based sentences takes up time and thereby reduces their opportunities to be involved in offending; and by being physically removed through incarceration from the areas and

Box 15. Multiple interventions

Striving Together to Achieve Rewarding Tomorrows, (CASASTART) was formerly known as Children At Risk (CAR). It targets at-risk youths age 11 to 13 in severely deprived neighbourhoods in the USA and has eight core components which address the range of background factors which could strengthen protective mechanisms in these young people's environment: community-enhanced policing/enhanced enforcement; case management for youth and families; criminal/juvenile justice intervention; family services; after-school and summer activities; educational services; mentoring; and incentives for educational participation.

Outcomes: Evaluations have shown positive effects on avoidance of gateway drug use, violent crime, and drug sales and that these effects are sustained up to 1 year after participation.

communities where their offending occurred. Once these protective mechanisms are removed at the end of their sentence, the risk factors in their lives will again assume greater salience, especially where young people are simply returned to the same circumstances in which their offending behaviour originated. It is arguable that this is one reason why some interventions which are found to have a significant effect during their sentences appear to have no impact on re-offending rates.

The Comprehensive Strategy's approach of graduated sanctions implies a strong preference for non-custodial sentences where possible; and many authors still argue strongly for diversion in the first instance, even though the thrust of policy in many countries has recently moved towards formal interventions. While there is no definitive evidence in favour of either approach, the Surgeon General's report explicitly states that

> Residential programs, interventions that take place in psychiatric or correctional institutions, also show little promise of reducing subsequent crime and violence in delinquent youths. While some residential programs appear to have positive effects on youths as long as they remain in the institutional setting, research demonstrates consistently that these effects diminish once young people leave.
>
> (Satcher 2001)

He also singles out 'short sharp shock' interventions as proven *not* to work and, in some cases, actually to increase the risk of re-offending. 'Boot Camps' and programmes such as 'Scared Straight' ('in which brief encounters with inmates describing the brutality of prison life or short-term incarceration in prisons or jails is expected to shock, or deter, youths from committing crimes') in this context. Another approach that has similarly negative effects is sending young people who are serious offenders to adult courts.

A general consensus is emerging that the most effective sentences include a range of provision tailored as far as possible to the needs of individuals. This is especially important in the case of serious and/or persistent offenders (which will include many young people convicted of crimes of violence) whose needs are likely to be varied and complex. Thus the Surgeon General cites two examples of 'Promising' approaches, which clearly overlap in this context. One is the use of

intensive supervision in a non-custodial environment for serious offenders; and the other is the 'Wraparound' approach where 'comprehensive services are tailored to individual youths, as opposed to trying to fit youths into predetermined or inflexible programs'.

This consensus about the need for a multiplicity of approaches is reflected in the literature concerning tertiary interventions at each of the levels considered with regard to primary and secondary interventions; and their inter-relationship is arguably even more important in this context. Apparently promising interventions may fail not so much because they are inherently flawed but because their impact is undermined by the absence of other local provision or by negative factors in the offender's environment that need to be addressed by others.

Neighbourhood/area-level

- *Inter-agency partnerships*

  Partnership with regard to preventing youth offending needs to extend also to ensuring appropriate provision for young people who have been convicted of offences. A recurrent concern in this context is the availability of suitable accommodation, especially in the case of young people who cannot live with their families; but some studies of inter-agency working with young offenders have also pointed to weaknesses in the contribution of health services and education.

  Effective partnership is also essential where convicted young people are under some form of surveillance in order to ensure that the relevant agencies are informed of any developments which may be of concern in order for them to intervene as quickly as possible.

- *Exclusionary measures*

  Bans and curfews may, in some cases, be appropriate to keep offenders away from opportunities for crime. These may enforced by means of electronic surveillance, including the use of 'tags'. While the use of these measures remains controversial and initial difficulties have been encountered in implementing them, they can be a uniquely effective way of monitoring the movements of people who might otherwise have been incarcerated. However, a recent report on intensive supervision found that, a higher proportion of the young people on the programme who were simply tagged (as opposed to being tracked in other ways) did not complete because they committed other offences while they were on the programme.

  > The evidence suggested that, for some young offenders, the tag inflamed resentment and antagonism, appeared to reinforce anti-social attitudes, and may have increased the probability of their offending further... It appeared to be most effective and more acceptable to young people where its use was linked with tracking by an individual — in other words, tagging combined with a human, face-to-face element.
  >
  > (Youth Justice Board 2004)

Community level

- *Community involvement in sentencing and sentence implementation*

Representatives of local communities may be actively involved in the process of trying to reduce recidivism in two main ways. One is through citizen involvement in the legal process which determines a young person's treatment in response to their offending **[text box 16].** The other is as active participants in many community-based sentences (see also below) including community reparation schemes.

Box 16. Community involvement in 'referral order' panels

The Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 introduced referral orders for 10-17 year olds convicted for the first time and who pleaded guilty. This meant they were referred to a *youth offender panel* (YOP) which is intended to provide a forum away from the formality of the court where the young offender, his or her family and, where appropriate, the victim can consider the circumstances surrounding the offence(s) and the effect on the victim before agreeing a 'contract' with the young offender which will include reparation to the victim and/or community. The panels are responsible for monitoring the young person's compliance with the order and they include at least two members drawn from the local community

The order was first introduced into pilot projects in 2000 and rolled out nationally in 2002.

Outcomes: Three quarters of Community Panel Members interviewed in the evaluation of the pilots believed that they were able to have a strong influence on the outcome of the panels' meetings.

Source: Newburn et al 2002

- *The role of schools*

Once young people of school age have offended, the literature makes little reference to the role of schools; and where they are mentioned, this is often in a negative light. A major independent review of the new youth justice system in England and Wales found that the commitment of education to interagency working through the local Youth Offending Teams (Yots) was weaker than that of other partners because the objectives of the education system were less 'congruent' with the objectives of the Yots — i.e. prevention of youth offending and work with young offenders to reduce the risk of re-offending. Meanwhile other studies have shown that, despite the importance of education to their future, it may be difficult to get young offenders back into regular mainstream education — at least in part because the young offenders themselves prefer to receive education *outside* the mainstream[16].

Family/individual level

Work with families is often an important component of effective treatment programmes for individual young offenders — whether inasmuch as family relationships have contributed significantly to their

16 This may to some degree reflect the very low average levels of literacy and numeracy as well as the higher levels of learning difficulties typically found among this group, as well as particular language needs in the case of some who are recent immigrants. Even where mainstream schools and colleges make special provision to cater for this, the young people may feel stigmatised in the eyes of their mainstream peers.

offending or simply because families can play a critical role in ensuring the successful completion of their sentence and are likely to be the main source of ongoing, post-sentence support. Effective work with families can provide added value where it also reduces the risk of offending by siblings.

(1) Parents and other family members

- *Alternative families*

In some cases, young offenders may be closer to other family members and/or adults who are *not* their natural parents and it may be appropriate actively to involve these individuals in their treatment. In others, placement in properly trained and supported surrogate families may be effective in ensuring they complete their sentences successfully **[text box 17]**.

Box 17. Foster Care

Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care targets teenagers with histories of chronic and severe criminal behaviour as an alternative to incarceration, group or residential treatment, or hospitalization. It is based on research evidence that shows that community-based treatment is more successful with such young people than residential treatment. Foster families are specially recruited, trained, and supervised to offer youths treatment and intensive supervision at home, in school, and in the community. At the same time, the programme also provides parent training and other services to the biological families of treated youths, helping to improve family relationships and reduce delinquency when youths return to their homes. Youths who participate in this program also receive behaviour management and skill-focused therapy and a community liaison that coordinates contacts among case managers and others involved with the youths.

Outcomes: Evaluations have shown that Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care can reduce the number of days of incarceration, overall arrest rates, drug use, and program dropout rates in treated youths versus controls during the first 12 months after completing treatment; it can also speed the placement of youths in less restrictive, community settings.

Source: Satcher 2001
Further details: Dr Patricia Chamberlain
Oregon Social Learning Center
207 East 5th Street Suite 202

- *Multiple family-based interventions*

Where difficulties within families have significantly contributed to offending, the problems are likely to be complex and multi-layered. Parents can be *required* to participate in programmes related to the behaviour of their children (as under the Parenting Orders in England and Wales); but these may be ineffective unless they can address the multiplicity of needs at work, including by bringing in specialist services or referrals to other agencies where appropriate. **[text box 18]**

- *Family support for young people in custody*

Maintaining family ties is particularly important for young people sentenced to forms of residential sentence and may have a significant impact on their likelihood of desistance once they are released. Ideally this means ensuring they are held somewhere they can easily be

Box 18 Multi-systemic family treatment

Functional Family Therapy (FFT) is both a secondary and a tertiary intervention which targets youths 11 to 18 years old at risk of or already demonstrating delinquency, violence, substance use, and conduct disorders including oppositional or disruptive behaviour. The amount of input youths and their families receive is based on their level of need and the problems are addressed in phases, including engagement (to reduce the risk of early dropout), motivation (to change maladaptive beliefs and behaviors), assessment (to clarify interpersonal behavior and relationships), behaviour change (including skills training for youths and parents), and generalization (in which individualized casework is used to ensure that new skills are applied to the specific needs of the family).

Services are delivered in multiple settings by a wide range of interventionists, including supervised paraprofessionals, trained probation officers, and different grades of mental health workers. Together they are able to provide effective treatment of conduct disorders and alcohol and other drug abuse disorders.

Outcomes: FFT has reduced the need for more restrictive, costly services and other social services. Evaluations show reductions in the incidence of the original problem being addressed; and reductions in the proportion of youths who eventually enter the adult criminal justice system. In two trials, not only was recidivism found to be lower among participants than controls, there was also evidence of a diffusion effect: fewer siblings of participants acquired a court record in the 2 to 3 years following treatment.

Source: Satcher 2001
Further details: James F. Alexander, Ph.D,
University of Utah
Department of Psychology, SBS 502
Salt Lake City
UT 84121

visited; but, especially in cases where family relationships are problematic, pre-release programmes and courses which address these problems by involving family members can also be effective. **[text box 19]**

Box 19. Le Transfert des Acquis

This programme was instigated by Government of Quebec and the subject of action research. It focuses on young offenders in institutions where family relations have been maintained and there is an expectation that they will return to the family home on release. Both the offenders and their families, though, are likely to have multiple problems which are implicated in their offending behaviour and Le Transfert des Acquis is a programme which works with both parties (that is, the young offenders and also the families they will be returning to) with mutually agreed goals and a range of supporting interventions available. Progress in the contacts between the young person and their family is monitored in the build up to the point of release.

Outcomes: The numbers of young people involved was relatively small (40) but they were matched with a control group and showed significantly better chances of successful reintegration in the group which went through the programme.

Source: Béguin and Adam (2001)

(2) Individual young offenders

- *Needs assessment*

Effective, standard instruments are required to assess the particular problems and needs of young people who offend as a basis for

- Assessing the level of risk they pose;

- Determining the type of sentence which is most appropriate (in the context of the range available in view of their offence and antecedents);
- Providing a range of interventions in the context of the sentence which will best address the reasons for their offending behaviour and those to which they are most likely to respond;
- Measuring their progress during the sentence and, as necessary, afterwards (for example, if they re-offend).

A number of standard psychometric tests are available and may be relevant for this purpose (see above); but a broader approach may be needed such as the 'Asset' form used by Youth Offending Teams in England and Wales.

- *Combined interventions*

Effective 'wraparound' programmes based on this initial assessment will recognise that some interventions may work for one young person but not for another, even where they are convicted of similar offences of comparable seriousness. This may, for example, be true of mediation, community reparation and restorative justice programmes that are strongly advocated by many commentators and increasingly adopted as policy. Evidence of their effectiveness is uncertain, however. Success is often measured in terms of the satisfaction of those involved rather than outcomes in terms of re-offending; and inasmuch as they are considered successful on any criteria, this may reflect the fact that they can only be implemented in the first place inasmuch as other parties involved are motivated to participate.

At the same time, no single component of any programme is likely to succeed on its own and some may be counterproductive if they simply raise awareness and expectations but the young person is not able subsequently act on these. This will include preparation for employment (for example training for writing applications and interviews) if the young person cannot then get a job; and it may also be the reason why general counselling is seen as ineffective relative to more specific clinical or other behavioural interventions **[text box 20].** Specific anger management programmes and those which teach social skills which will enable young people better to negotiate with others are often referred to in the context of programmes to reduce violent offending, both at the secondary and tertiary levels. However, offenders are also likely to have other needs (such as access to drug treatment or remedial education) and the combination will vary between individuals.

- *Post-sentence support*

The sentence itself should not only build towards increasing the young person's personal capacity to resist future opportunities for offending but also key elements in his/her environment by reducing risk and strengthening protective factors. Examples have been given above regarding family relationships, especially in the context of release from custody. Other recommendations in the literature (including official guidance on policy) refer to taking a systematic approach to

Box 20. Multi-systemic approaches

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is an intensive family- and community-based treatment which aims to tackle the multiple determinants of antisocial behaviour simultaneously. It works through a network of interconnected systems covering one or more of the following contexts: individual, family, peer, school, and neighbourhood. It targets families with children in the juvenile justice system who are violent, substance-abusing, or chronic offenders and at high risk of out-of-home placement. Four types of services are delivered through a home-based model: strategic family therapy, structural family therapy, behavioral parent training, and cognitive-behavioral therapy. While the intensity of services ultimately depends on individual youth and family needs, the average MST family receives 60 hours of direct services delivered over a period of 4 months.

Outcomes: Compared to controls: serious delinquents have shown reductions in long-term rates of re-arrest, reductions in out-of-home placements, improvements in family functioning; and there have been reductions in mental health problems among treated youths.

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post-sentence support[17]. This is framed especially in terms of release from custody but may also be relevant more generally. Commonly these may include:

- Ensuring accommodation, education/training or employment are secured
- Arranging for ongoing access to programmes such as drug or alcohol treatment and psychiatric services where relevant
- Allocation of a key worker or mentor.

Conclusion

Contrary to the received wisdom of ten to twenty years ago that 'nothing' worked in relation to violent juvenile offending, the literature offers a wide range of promising initiatives to this end. Many will not show large effects on their own; and the real challenge is to ensure that any such effects are sustained over a long enough period following the intervention, regardless of other factors which may come into play in the lives of the young people involved. It is in combination that they are most likely to succeed, though; and the most effective combinations will necessarily vary according both to the context in which they have to be implemented and the particular needs of the young people involved.

Effective prevention is essential and may ultimately be more cost effective than interventions with young people once they have offended (Greenwood et al. 1998); but interventions with even the most serious violent young offenders can also show results. What is essential is not to see the two approaches as alternatives but as inter-dependent elements within a comprehensive approach to the problem based on a public health model.

17 See for example the Youth Justice Board's 2003 publication: 'Resettlement: key elements of effective practice' and reports on the Office of Juvenile Justice's reports on the Intensive Aftercare Program.

Statistics on trends in youth violence

Summary

It is very difficult to establish trends in juvenile violence with certainty from statistical sources. Different commentators take different views of whether or not the problem of juvenile violence is increasing. Those who believe that it *is* a problem may themselves further disagree about whether the rate of increase is significantly greater than any increase in crime overall.

In broad terms, though, the statistical evidence presented below, as well as developments in the underlying political, social and economic trends which are covered in the literature review, make it impossible to assume that any apparent rises are simply a recording phenomenon or the effect of 'net widening' on the part of police and policy makers. That is, juvenile violence has increased in Europe in the last 20 years.

The actual *size* of this increase is very uncertain and any assumptions on this point must be subject to four main caveats:

1. Violence incorporates different acts, which may change at different rates.

2. Trends in juvenile violence are uneven across area and group.

3. Recorded statistics may not accurately reflect the level of violence that is actually experienced.

4. Perceptions of a growing problem of juvenile violence may have grown independently from any change in its actual level.

Problems in analysing the trend of juvenile violence in Europe

Firstly, the concept of violence incorporates different acts, which may change at different rates. And reporting and recording practices may change differently from each other. We have focused, in our discussion below, on acts of violence, aggression and threats as they are captured by

surveys and official records. This therefore includes acts as diverse as murder, assault, robbery, rapes and other sexual offences.

Secondly, changes in juvenile violence are uneven across groups and areas. Given what is already known about the factors in the lives of individuals which put them at greater risk of becoming involved in violence, it is unsurprising to find that certain groups and certain areas have been affected more than others. For example:

- National average increases in violence may be sharply inflated by highly localised problems; but, at the same time, national figures may downplay the extent of the problem at regional or local levels.
- Aggregated national statistics for particular ethnic groups may give a misleading picture. Any group which is disproportionately young and poor will show above average levels of offending; and this is particularly the case where such groups are concentrated in the areas worst affected. While other factors may also come into play (see below), the *main* drivers are usually their socio-economic and employment status, combined with their area of residence and the fact that a higher proportion of the group is at the peak age for offending.

The third main set of *caveats* concern the accuracy with which the recorded statistics reflect the problem of violence in the lives of ordinary citizens. Leaving aside the perennial problem of the divergence between the number of actual incidents and the numbers that get reported to the authorities, many sources (including Pfeiffer 1998) suggest that totals may have been inflated in recent years by a number of factors including:

- changes in what is included in the figures as a result, for example, of lowering the age of criminal responsibility or the transfer of responsibility for juvenile crime between agencies.
- pressure on the relevant agencies to keep more comprehensive records.
- an increasing formalisation of interventions in the problem (which may itself further have been encouraged by the increased availability of constructive, non-custodial sanctions).

Finally, perceptions of juvenile violence as a problem have also grown to some degree *independently of* any underlying rise. These perceptions have been driven by an interaction between media coverage, public opinion and a heightened political focus on the problem (Estrada, 2001; Estrada, 2004; Wacquant, 1999); and this may, of itself, have contributed directly to the inflationary factors illustrated above.

The use of data to establish trends in juvenile violence

Felipe Estrada (1999) has written that the ideal description of trends in youth violence would:

- use all available statistics (official records, as well as self-report and victimisation studies).
- use those statistics which "lie 'closer' to the crime" (e.g. crimes reported to police rather than convictions).
- use statistics on identified (suspected) offenders.
- present trends for different categories of crime.
- present information on domestic debates on crime trends.

We have attempted to follow these recommendations in the data that we present below. We use data from both official records and from self-reported victimization surveys in order to give an indication of the reliability of the trends that emerge from both types of data. We present data for different categories of violence. We include data at different 'distances' from the offence (i.e. self-report, report to police, suspected offenders, convictions). We will present and compare trends across groups of countries, rather than comparing the absolute recorded rates between countries. The trends are more likely to be valid, because they will be less affected by differences in recording practices between countries, and in individual countries across time. The information from domestic debates on crime trends is presented in the section on correspondence with experts in the field.

We will present data on both the fifteen states that were members of the European Union on 30th April 2004, and on those ten states that joined the Union the following day. The data that is most directly available for these countries covers the period 1989 to 2000. We also present data from some countries that go up to the latest date available.

Official statistics

The sources for the official statistics presented here are the two editions of the *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics* (Council of Europe, 1999, 2003). These provide data from 1990 to 1995, and from 1994 to 2000. We have used the 2003 edition for data in the overlapping period (1994 and 1995). The authors of the *Sourcebook* provide details of the processes for collating these statistics, and the necessary caution that should be applied to their interpretation. Despite these warnings, we believe that the data does provide an interesting picture of official statistics on recorded crime.

Previous research has looked at offending rates in individual countries (Barclay, Tavares, & Siddique, 2001; Lamon, 2002). In order to provide data for the whole of the European Union (split into new and existing members) we used the data provided in the *Sourcebook* to calculate rates per 100,000 population of convictions and offending for various crimes in these two groups of countries[18]. We included four of the five categories of violent crimes that are included in the *Sourcebook* (the data on armed robbery was only available for a few countries, and so was excluded), and also present the data on all criminal offences for comparison (this data was not provided in the 1998 edition of the Sourcebook, so this data is missing before 1995). The results of these calculations are presented in the tables and charts below.

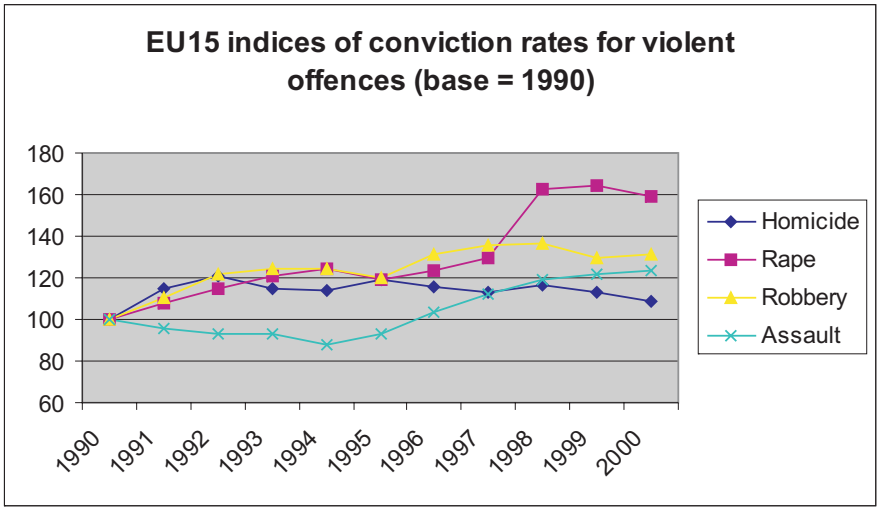
Although not too much weight should be given to absolute differences between the groups, it is interesting to note that in both groups of countries, assault accounts for the highest rates of convictions for violent offences. The graphs below show the evolution of these conviction rates over the decade. They show the rates of conviction for various offences,

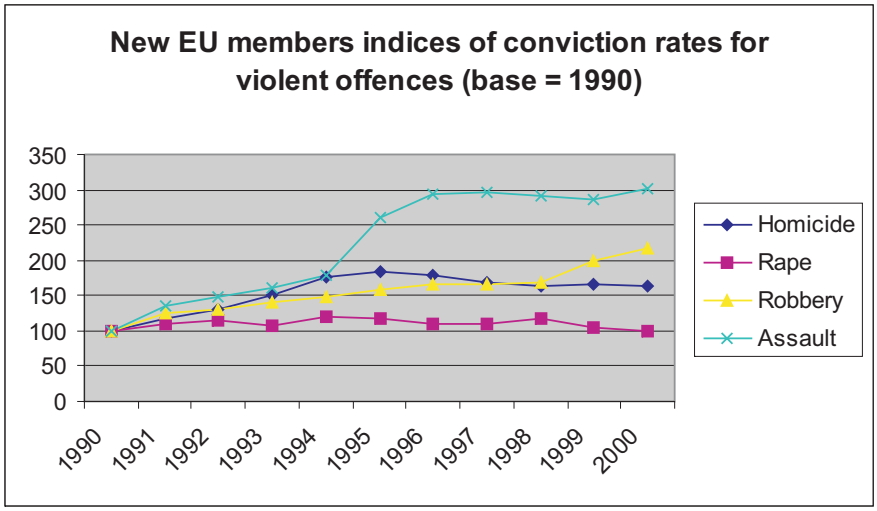
18 Special caution needs to be used in interpreting figures from the new member states, as several of them experienced big changes in their criminal justice systems in the transition from communism during the 1990s.

Table of mean conviction rates: rates per 100,000 population

		1990	1995	2000
Homicide	EU 15	1.23	1.40	1.39
	New member states	1.45	2.55	2.39
Rape	EU 15	1.24	1.54	2.03
	New member states	2.13	2.54	2.23
Robbery	EU 15	9.07	11.29	11.73
	New member states	9.00	13.26	18.05
Assault	EU 15	53.77	47.28	65.45
	New member states	12.86	23.02	36.76
All criminal offences	EU 15	N/A	1182.53	1098.51
	New member states	N/A	554.07	618.18

indexed to 1990 in order to allow comparison of the rates of increase or decrease of these rates.





These graphs show that in the EU15, convictions for all violent offences increased across the 1990's, with bigger increases for rape, robbery and assault than for homicide. The figures on rape should be treated with caution; rape convictions are particularly vulnerable to changes in policy and recording practice. The large increase between 1997 and 1998 reflects a steep increase that year in the rate of convictions for rape in Germany.

The increase in convictions for violent crime was also recorded in the new EU member states, although rape convictions were steadier over the period. A much larger increase than in the EU15 was observed for assault, robbery and homicide.

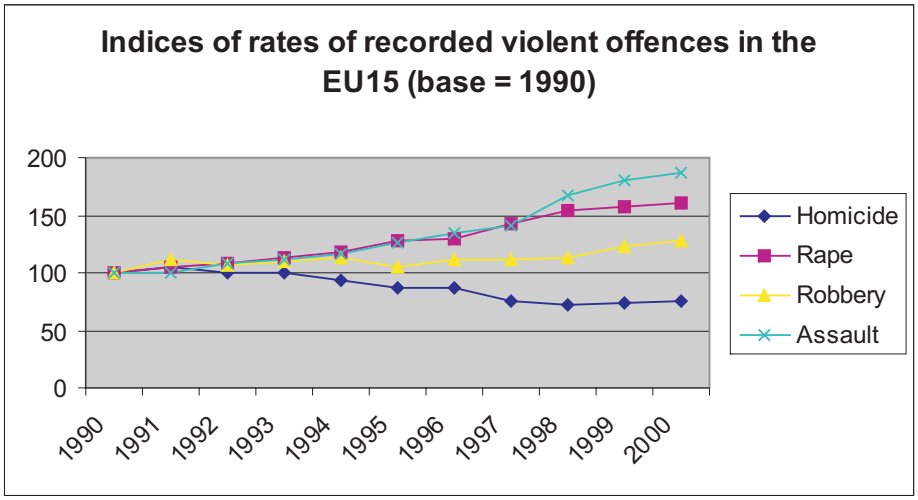
There are also differences between these groups in terms of the rise in convictions for violence, relative to all criminal offences. In the EU15, the conviction rate for all criminal offences fell by 7% between 1995 and 2000, while the violent crime convictions (except homicide) were rising. In the new EU members, the conviction rate for all criminal offences rose by 11%; a smaller increase than that noted for the violent offences (except rape).

Conviction statistics measure the judicial response to violence, which increased in the European Union in the 1990s for all categories of violent crime. However, conviction statistics relate to only a small proportion of crimes that are committed. A larger proportion is reflected in official reports of recorded offending.

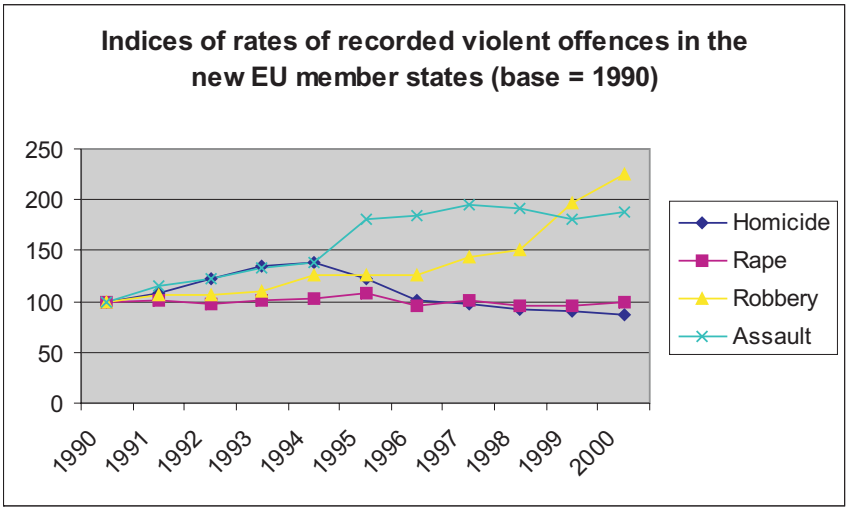
Table of mean offending rates: offences per 100,000 population

		1990	1995	2000
Homicide	EU 15	1.31	1.22	0.97
	New member states	3.41	4.74	3.09
Rape	EU 15	6.27	7.39	9.86
	New member states	5.43	5.61	5.16
Robbery	EU 15	100.83	114.47	123.39
	New member states	38.92	49.29	76.93
Assault	EU 15	191.84	223.51	347.48
	New member states	39.26	54.36	71.22
All criminal offences	EU 15	N/A	6620.65	6620.88
	New member states	N/A	2947.06	2.96

Again, the figures suggest that assault is the most commonly recorded violent offence in both the EU15 and the new member states. As the graphs below show, a slightly different pattern of violent offences emerges than from the conviction statistics.



In the EU15, recorded instances of homicide (which is the most reliably recorded offence) fell during the 1990s, while recorded assault, rape and robbery all increased. The rates of recorded assault rose higher than did the convictions for assault. While rates of violent offences (except homicide) rose in the second half of the decade, the rate for all criminal offences was remarkably stable.



The new EU member states also had a fall in the recorded instances of homicide over the 1990's, despite a rise in the first four years of the decade. Recorded rape was stable, while there were large increases in rates of recorded robbery and assault. The rates of convictions for assault and rape exceeded the increases in the recorded instances of these offences.

The *European Sourcebook* also gives data on the proportion of minors among suspected offenders[19], although this data is available for fewer countries[20]. We have calculated the means for each group of countries, weighted by the estimated populations of the countries at the year of the

19 These figures come from police statistics. The definition of a 'suspected offender' varies between countries, ranging from being recorded when the police themselves are convinced who the offender is, to being recorded only when a prosecutor starts proceedings against a suspect.

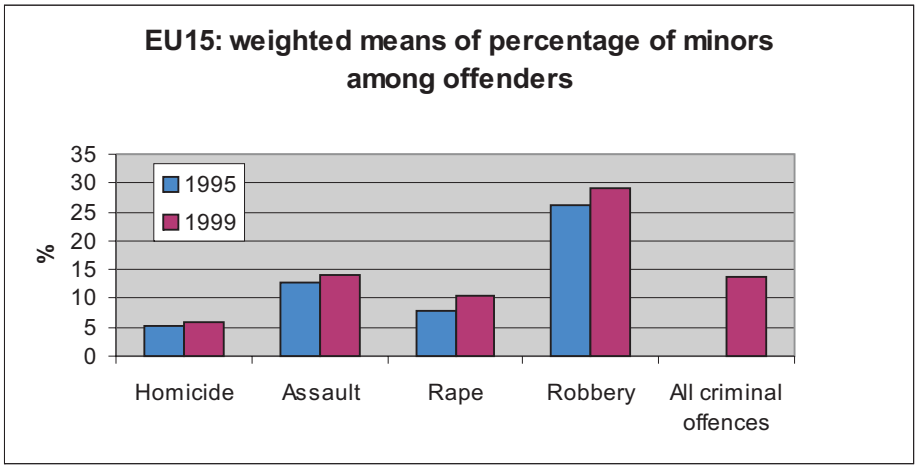
20 In the EU15, the figures are not available for Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Northern Ireland and Scotland. In the new EU members, the figures are not available for Cyprus, Lithuania and Malta.

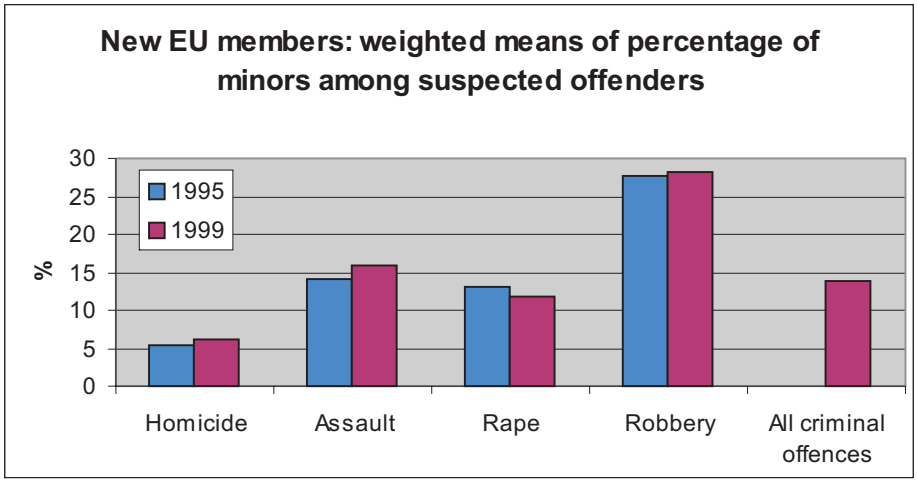
observation. This weighting ensures that the means will more accurately reflect the situation over the whole population of the countries involved, rather than allowing the means of small countries to distort the means for the group of countries.

Table of weighted mean proportions of minors among suspected offenders

		1995	2000
Homicide	EU 15	5.13	5.86
	New member states	5.46	6.15
Rape	EU 15	7.73	10.41
	New member states	13.04	11.73
Robbery	EU 15	26.05	29.08
	New member states	27.74	28.08
Assault	EU 15	12.71	13.94
	New member states	13.98	15.86
Assault	EU 15	N/A	13.96
	New member states	N/A	13.96

A similar pattern emerges from both groups of countries. People under 18 comprise a much higher proportion of the suspects for robbery than for homicide and for all criminal offences. The proportion for assault is also higher than that for homicide, but similar to that for all criminal offences. In the EU15, there were slight increases in the proportions of minors among suspects for violent offences in the second half of the 1990s, which were also seen in the new EU members was for this proportion to fall (except for suspected rapists). It should be remembered that these increases have taken place in a period in which the recorded instance of violent offences and convictions have also been rising. The offences for which the proportions of young suspects are





highest (robbery and assault) are also the offences that official records show are the most common. Official records suggest that they are also the offences which tended to increase the most quickly over the 1990s.

The picture that emerges from these various statistics is that official records suggest that there have been increases in the rate of violent offending. Violent offending, according to these records, has risen faster than all criminal offending in both the EU15 and new member states from 1995 to 2000. Combining these figures with the proportion of minors among suspected offenders suggests that there has been an increase in violent offending by young people, both in terms of their absolute rate of offending, but also as a proportion of the offences that are being committed.

The proportion of minors amongst suspected offenders is probably the statistic that is most likely to be affected by changes in police practices, as the police will catch a larger proportion of children if they focus their attention on this group, even if offending by children does not change[21]

. There is little data available to check the trends in rates of offending by young people. However, we can check the reliability of the apparent overall increase in violent offending by comparing official data with that from surveys of self-reported victimisation.

Data from the ICVS

We present data from the *International Criminal Victimisation Survey* (*ICVS*) (Van Kesteren, Mayhew, & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). This Survey collected information from national victimisation surveys in four years; 1989, 1992, 1996 and 1999. We have used data from those countries for which data was available in at least three of these years in order to provide information on trends in these countries, which can be compared with official data from the *European Sourcebook*. These countries are Belgium, England & Wales, Finland, France, the

21 Wacquant (1999) notes that there has not been a major increase in the proportion of violent offenders who are young, and argues that increases in the numbers of young people coming to the attention of the authorities is an artefact of increased political and police attention on the young.

Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Poland, Scotland and Sweden. *ICVS* gives figures on victimisation as a percentage of the respondents who reported being a victim of each type of crime in the preceding year. These offence categories are not directly comparable to those in the *European Sourcebook*. *ICVS* 'sexual incidents' and 'assaults and threats' are wider than the *Sourcebook*'s 'rape' and 'assault' categories.

Crime rates per 100, reported in 2000

	Robbery	Sexual Incidents	Assaults and Threats
Belgium	1.4	2.1	4.6
England & Wales	2.0	6.1	12.4
Finland	0.7	8.4	6.1
France	1.8	1.3	6.0
Netherlands	1.5	5.7	5.3
Northern Ireland	0.1	1.4	4.3
Poland	2.5	0.5	5.4
Scotland	0.9	2.1	10.3
Sweden	1.5	6.0	6.5

These rates are much higher than those recorded for the equivalent categories in official statistics. This may be partly explained by the broader definitions in the ICVS sexual incidents and assault. But the EU15 rate of recorded robbery in 2000 is 178 per 100,000 population, or 0.13%. The (unweighted) mean of the available rates of self-reported robbery for EU countries in 2000 is 1.24%; nearly ten times as high as the rate of recorded offences for the EU15.

The self-report data shows rises in non-sexual violent victimisation in many of the available countries over the available period. Robbery increased in all the available countries except Northern Ireland, and assault and threats in all countries except the Netherlands and Poland. In contrast, self-reported victimisation by sexual incidents increased in only four of the nine countries; England & Wales, Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden. It is worth comparing these violent offences to non-violent offences over the same period. For burglary, self-reported victimisation increased in four countries, and theft victimisation increased in five of the nine countries. It seems that rise in robbery and assaults has been more widespread than that in sexual offences and non-violent offences such as burglary and theft.

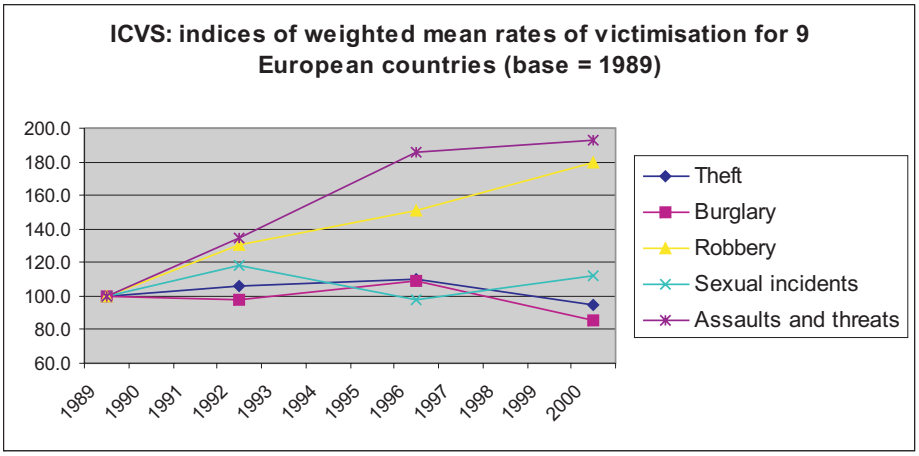
It is interesting to note the lack of consistency in the rates of the different violent offences. Only England & Wales has relatively high rates of all three categories of offence. The other countries show a mixed pattern of self-reported victimisation, with little correlation between rate of different types of violence.

ICVS: rates of victimisation per 100 inhabitants for 9 European countries

	1989	1992	1996	2000
Theft	5.3	5.6	5.8	5.0
Burglary	2.7	2.6	3.0	2.3
Robbery	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.9
Sexual incidents	2.9	3.4	2.8	3.2
Assaults and threats	3.9	5.3	7.3	7.6

In order to get an overall impression of self-reported victimisation, we have calculated rates that are weighted by the populations of the countries for whom ICVS data is available at at least three years (as listed above).

These rates suggest that violent victimisation has increased in these nine countries. This has happened while victimisation by the non-violent crimes of theft and burglary have reduced. Assault and threats overtook theft as the most commonly self-reported crime in these countries in the period 1989-2000, and self-reported victimisation by robbery also nearly doubled. These trends become clearer when presented in the form of indices.



Again, it should be noted that robbery and assault, which are the crimes with the greatest proportions of young suspects, appear to have shown the greatest increases over the 1990s.

Comparison of official to self-report data

Official records may provide different information to self-report studies. For example, Schwind (2001) using longitudinal victimisation studies, shows that a 128% rise in police recorded violence in the German city of Bochum between 1975 and 1998 probably reflects an actual rise of only

Comparisons of trends in ICVS to ESC data during the 1990s

	ICVS robbery	ESC robbery	ICVS assaults and threats	ESC assault	ICVS sexual incidents	ESC rape
Belgium	+	+	+	+	–	+
Finland	=	–*	+	+	+	+
France	+	+	+	+	–	+
Netherlands	+	+	–	+	+	+
Poland	=	+	=	+	–	+
Sweden	+	+	+	+	+	+
England & Wales	+	+	+	+	+	+
Northern Ireland	–	–	+	+	–	+
Scotland	+	–	+	+	–	+

* reduction is only by 5.09%

24%, with much of the difference accounted for simply by increased reporting. Bol (1998) reports similar findings in the Netherlands.

Direct comparison of police records and self-reported violence is problematic, due to differences in definitions of violence, and the different populations that tend to be covered by the two type of data (police records tend to over-represent poor people and prisoners, while they are under-represented in self-report surveys) (Lamon, 2002). Nevertheless, it is possible to compare the suggestions from both types of data on the direction of change in violence in the European countries where self-report surveys have been done. Below, we compare the trends that are evident in the self-reported ICVS data to the official records of reported offending that are available in the *Sourcebook* (referred to in the table below as ESC).

In this table, we show whether each source of data shows a positive, negative, or stable[22] trend from the beginning to the end of the 1990s. It should be remembered that the categories of crimes used by the ICVS and the ECS *Sourcebook* are not identical, but do overlap.

For assaults and rapes, official records showed an upward trend in all these countries. This is supported by ICVS data in a minority of countries for rape, but a majority for assault. In only two countries, and only for robbery, does the *Sourcebook* data on reports to the police give a lower trend than ICVS self-report data. This suggests again that relying only on official data would produce an over-estimate of the increase in juvenile violence.

In only Sweden and England was there complete congruence between the two different sources of data on the direction of change in violent offending. The only reduction that was found by both types of data was for robbery in Northern Ireland.

22 The stable ("=") trend means that the change from beginning to end of the decade was less than 5%.

Trends in offending from 2000 onwards

	Assault	Robbery	Sexual offences	Murder	Theft	Burglary	Source
Austria (to 2002)	–	+	=	–	+	+	www.bmi.gv.at/kriminalpolizei
England & Wales (to 2003/4)	+	+	+		=	–	http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/
Finland (to 2003)	=	–	+	–	–		http://www.om.fi/optula/uploads/cqfi3usm2zbtb.pdf
Germany (to 2003)	–	+	–	=	+	+	http://www.bka.de/

These comparisons provide another warning of the caution that should be applied in interpreting statistics on offending. However, they support the conclusion that changes in violent offending in Europe over the 1990's have tended to be positive, even if these changes have not been as large as suggested by convictions and reports to the police.

More recent data

We have gathered more up-to-date data on offences reported to the police from Germany, Austria, Finland, the Netherlands and England and Wales.

These records provide a heterogeneous picture of the development of violence. Only in England and Wales is there a consistent rise in violence reported to the police across the three categories. However, this is contradicted by self-reported victimisation data from the British Crime Survey, which shows a fall in violent offending since 2000 (*http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/*crimeew0304.html). While we have some confidence that there were underlying rises in violence during the 1990s, we cannot ascribe any consistent pattern to violence in Europe in more recent years.

Conclusion

Our conclusion from the available data on violent offending in Europe is that, during the 1990s, there was a real increase in the most common violent offences, which are assault and robbery. This rise is apparent from both official and self-report statistics on victimisation, recorded offences and convictions. There is also agreement between these two sources of data that sexual incidents, including rape, have remained more stable, although convictions for rape have increased. And homicide, which is the most accurately recorded crime, fell in the 1990s, although there was also a rise in convictions for this crime.

This conclusion is in line with previous research in this field that has found moderate increases in the most common violent offences in the last two decades in several European countries (Eisner, 1998; Junger-Tas, 1996; Lamon, 2002).

It is worth noting that the rise in the most common violent offences coincided with an apparent fall in two of the most common non-violent offences; theft and burglary.

Given the lack of information about who commits crimes, it is harder to draw conclusions about what has happened to violent offending by young people. The peak age for offending is the late teenage years, so it is plausible that overall crime trends reflect patterns in the criminal activity of young people (as they commit the bulk of the most common offences). We do have data on how many people under 18 were found among the suspected offenders in European countries. These proportions tended to rise slightly in the second half of the 1990s. While this may reflect increased political and police attention on the young, it is also plausible that violent offending by young people has increased at least as fast as the general pattern of violent offending. The conclusion of an increase in juvenile violence is supported by the finding that the crimes that have the highest proportions of young people among suspected offenders have also tended to show the greatest increases.

The faster increase in convictions for violent offences than for the other indicators is of great relevance to debates on policy in this area. Existing academic debate in this area has tended to concentrate on whether the increase in juvenile violence is real or perceived. Our analysis suggests that it is both, although the perceived increase is greater than the real one. The perception of increase can be seen as both a cause and effect of the increase in convictions for violence. As violence increases, one would expect convictions also to increase. This may create a perception of an increasing problem with violence, which leads to greater attention being paid to the issue. This may lead again to increased convictions. Even if violence does not continue to increase, convictions may do so, as they contribute to a rising spiral of concern, attention and judicial action. The need for policy innovation in this area may come about as a result of increased convictions, which increase the population of known violent offenders who have to be dealt with, even if the number of violent acts stabilises or falls.

Juvenile violence has not risen as fast as would be suggested by looking at convictions alone, or by relying on impressions given by political and media debates on this issue. The statistics we have used do not show whether the general increase in violence in the 1990s has continued in this decade. Public and political concern on juvenile violence has continued to increase, as is suggested by the policy responses to violence referred to in the section below.

Survey of correspondents

We corresponded with experts in each existing member state of the European Union in March 2004 to gain more information about trends in youth violence, and about responses to it.

We received seventeen responses from thirteen countries, although not all correspondents answered every question.[23]

There were four responses from Germany and two from Sweden.

We asked them to provide information on three themes:

1. Data on youth violence
2. Policy on youth violence
3. Evaluated initiatives to reduce youth violence

A summary of the responses that we received is presented below.

Data on youth violence

The table below is compiled from correspondents' responses on questions about changes in the level of types of crime since 1980 and 1998. They were asked to bases these reports on "the range of available statistics" in their country, including police records and self-report studies, where available. This table shows reported increases as "+", reported decreases as "–", and reports of similar levels as "–". Blank cells indicate that there was no response, or that the trend in that type of crime was reported as not known.

The correspondents reported a general increase in crime since 1980 in every country except Scotland, and an increase in violent crime since 1980 in every country but Finland and Scotland. The pattern in youth crime since 1998 is more mixed. There is some contradiction between reports from Germany. The increasing trend in all and violent crime was reported by correspondents from the Netherlands and Germany. Reductions were reported from Sweden, England & Wales and one of the German correspondents. In countries that could respond on the

23 We did not get responses from Italy, Spain, Luxembourg or France (although we were sent some suggested references from France).

Table of changes in levels of crime reported by correspondents

	Austria	Denmark	Finland	Germany 1	Germany 2	Germany 3	Germany 4	Greece	Netherlands	Sweden 1	England & Wales	Scotland
All crime since 1980	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Violent crime since 1980	+	+	=	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	=
All youth crime since 1998	=			–	=	+	+		+	–	–	
Violent youth crime since 1998	=			–	+	+	+		+	–	–	
Female violent youth crime since 1998	=				+	+	+		+			

issue of violent crime by young females, it was reported to have risen in Germany and the Netherlands, and to be stable in Austria. The divergence between some of the responses from Germany shows the potential for disagreement over the interpretation of crime statistics, even when the same sets of statistics are available to all.

Policy on youth violence

Only the Danish correspondent reported that there was a national policy on youth violence. For Germany, it was reported that there is a national policy on violence associated with right-wing youth groups, but not on other kinds of violence. In Finland, it was reported that a national policy on the reduction of violence is in preparation by the Ministry of Justice, and a similar policy is also being created in Scotland. In other countries, youth violence seems to be dealt with through more general policies on youth crime.

In most countries, responsibility for policy was held by both national and regional authorities, the exception being England and Wales, for which it was reported that policy is decided nationally. In all countries, the Ministry of Justice was reported to be involved in deciding policy. In some countries, other Ministries, such as the Ministry of Social Affairs in Austria, Germany and Sweden, and the German Ministry of Youth and the Family, were reported as involved in these decisions. This again shows how youth violence is treated as a problem of justice, but also as a problem of welfare.

Correspondents were asked to describe the major features of policy on youth violence in their country. In the responses, there was evidence of the continuing struggle to balance the priorities of welfare and justice in dealing with young offenders. It was reported that Sweden has seen a shift away from treatment and towards punishment as an appropriate response to youth violence. More young people are being sent to court, and they are getting longer sentences. A national committee looking at the balance between welfare and punishment was due to report in Autumn 2004.

In Germany, as in some other countries, it was reported that the priority remains to prevent youth violence, with all relevant agencies expected to act at local level to find ways to help young people avoid violence. Education is seen as more relevant than punishment. In Germany, there has also been debate about treating young people as adults in the court system. People aged 18-20 can be tried in adult courts, but this has not been supported by the federal parliament, and the vast majority of offenders of this age are still tried in juvenile courts.

There is some evidence of bifurcation, or the attempt to create different responses to the small group of young people identified as violent, and to their peers who are not seen to be so dangerous. In Denmark, it was reported that there has been a general decrease in youth crime, but a small group of offenders are identified as becoming more prolific and violent in their offending. The national action plan that has been created to act on this concern has four key points; an increase in the severity of punishment of violent crimes, investigation of crimes committed by children below 15 years of age, targeted responses to first-time offenders, increase in crime prevention work at a general level.

England has also seen a lot of political attention given to the need to deal swiftly and firmly with young offenders. The Labour government included the promise to reduce the time between arrest and sentencing for young offenders as one of its five key pledges when it was elected in 1997. Since then, these delays have reduced, and the number of young people in custody has increased, despite efforts by the Youth Justice Board to use custody less. Recently, the government announced a programme focused on "prolific and other priority offenders", which included a programme to "prevent and deter" young offenders from becoming serious and prolific offenders through intensively targeted interventions.

Other innovations in England and Wales include the creation of "Youth Inclusion and Support Panels" (Yisps). These panels are managed by the Youth Justice Board, include representatives of relevant local agencies, and are charged with preventing offending by offering voluntary support services to high-risk 8-13 year olds and their families before offending behaviours have taken hold. There is some debate about the possibilities for labelling effects that arise from identifying children of this age as potential offenders, and managing work with them through the youth justice system. They will build on the work already being carried out by "Youth Inclusion Projects" (Yips), which are programmes of activity that are provided to the 50 young people who are identified as most at risk of offending in the Yip's area.

France has also recently announced, in the "Plan de Cohésion Social", its intention to create new multi-disciplinary, local teams ("équipes de réussite éducative") to act as a point of contact for all services involved in the prevention of delinquency. These are to replace the previous "cellules de veille éducative", and will have a greater focus on the prevention of offending among young people who have not yet got involved in crime.

Other innovations that were reported by correspondents include the replacement, in 1999 in Sweden, of imprisonment by "special youth care" for severe, violent offenders, aged 15-17. These institutions have high staff:young person ratios and are focused on treatment to avoid reoffending. The maximum stay is four years, depending on the severity of the crime. Less serious offenders are increasingly targeted by local crime prevention programmes. The National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) is evaluating both types of activity.

A similar initiative to the "special youth care" institutions was also reported to have been undertaken in Denmark. In Austria, in 2002, the maximum age for being judged by special "youth judges" was reduced from 19 to 18. And new measures for offenders aged between 18 and 21 were implemented.

Another Danish innovation is the involvement of parents in responses to youth crime by writing letters to them. The police now send "letters of concern" to the parents of 10-13 year old children with whom they come into contact and they consider to be at risk. The parents are asked to reply within eight days. If they do not, the case is referred to the combined service of the schools, social services and police (the SSP).

In various countries, the increased political attention that is being given to youth violence is matched with a recent focus on the crimes of chronic young offenders, young women and children below the age of peak offending who are considered to be at risk of becoming violent offenders.

Effective interventions on youth violence

We asked correspondents to tell us about research on interventions aimed at preventing youth crime. For Denmark, England & Wales, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, it was reported that there is a national centre that carries out research on interventions on youth violence (see table).

National centres carrying out research on youth violence interventions

Country	Centre	Website
Denmark	Danish Crime Prevention Council	www.dkr.dk
England & Wales	Youth Justice Board	www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk
Germany	Deutsches Jugendinstitut	www.dji.de
Netherlands	Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Ministry of Justice. Netherlands Institute for the Study of Criminality and Law Enforcement (NSCR)	www.wodc.nl www.nscr.nl
Sweden	National Council for Crime Prevention	www.bra.se

Nevertheless, only one of the correspondents (from Scotland) reported that there had been any interventions on youth violence that had been

evaluated using rigorous methods. The Scottish example was the Freagarrach project, which, as the correspondent noted, is not specifically targeted at reducing violence and was not evaluated using the "gold standard" of randomised controlled trial design. This supports the finding of the literature review that rigorously evaluated interventions to reduce youth violence are extremely rare in Europe. The work of European researchers and the centres listed above in this field is concentrated mostly on establishing the prevalence, pattern and predictors of youth violence, and not no rigorous evaluations of preventative initiatives.

This may be an effect of our looking for the wrong type of research. One of the correspondents noted that interventions in their country were focused not on types of crime, but on groups of offenders. Our search for examples of success in reducing youth violence may have missed some projects that were successful in reducing violence, but that did not consider or report this to be one of their main outcomes.

We also asked our respondents to tell us about promising examples of initiatives in this field. We received information on such examples from Austria and Germany, and these have been included in the inventory [CHECK]

Finally we asked correspondents to give us their opinion of the most important research findings in the area of youth violence. This was an open-ended question, which gave an opportunity for people with a great deal of expertise in this field to communicate any matters of importance that had not been covered by other questions.

The answers included:

- The need to intervene as early as possible.
- The importance of involving parents.
- The need for multi-agency and multi-disciplinary cooperation.
- Targeting the intervention on the specific needs of the target group. For example, peer interventions may work with some young people, and cognitive behavioural approaches with others.
- Targeting the risk factors and precursors of offending.
- Look at youth and growing up as a process that may involve offending and victimisation, while remembering that young offenders "are firstly young and secondly offenders".
- The need to strengthen informal social control of young males.
- Situational crime prevention, especially in environments where young people are drinking alcohol.
- Reducing inequality and alcohol use.

There are interesting echoes of both the literature review and the descriptions of policy that were given by correspondents in these answers. For example, they show a tendency to perceive that youth violence can best be prevented by targeting the specific people who are at risk of being violent, and creating responses that are specifically targeted to their needs, through the work of several agencies in cooperation. There may be some tension between these responses. For example, the targeting of young people as being at risk of violent offending may lead to them being treated as potential offenders first, and

young people second. And there is also some complementarity. For example, situational crime prevention in bars and city centres can be carried out alongside targeted efforts to reduce the other risk factors for youth violence.

Conclusion

The responses we received gave us some useful information, that was not available in the published literature. Overall, it seems that there is a much attention being given to the issue of youth violence. However, it also seems that there are few specific policies on the prevention of youth violence. The European evidence-base is still weak in this area, but there is space for the development of more coherent, coordinated and comprehensive policies to prevent juvenile violence. These policies can build on the existing policies and practices in this area.

Appendix
Inventory of effective or promising practices

Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Flannery + Williams	USA	Peace Builders	Primary	Curriculum input from kindergarten to 5th grade to promote social behaviour, reduce aggressive behaviours and improve social competence	Increased social competence and significant decline in male aggressive behaviour over first 2 years.	Promising (evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	Second Step	Primary	30 lesson curriculum input for grades 1-3 but with modules through to 8th grade.	Students in intervention groups rated by observers as less physically aggressive in playground and lunchroom than control group (though not in classroom) two weeks after programme end. Some change still noticeable at 6 months; but no significant behaviour change noted by teachers or parents.	Benefits not proven
Flannery + Williams	USA	ALERT	Primary	8 lesson curriculum taught 1 week apart, followed by 8 booster sessons. Targets social resistance skills	Assessed improvement after 6th. 8th, 9th and 10th grade showed effects for both low and high risk adolescents, including drop in marijuana use; but follow up studies showed that once programme stopped, so did the effect on drug and alcohol use.	Benefits not proven
Howell and Hawkins	USA	Prenatal/Early Infancy Project	Primary	Home visiting project in which the control group receives only prenatal home visit. The target group home is visited by the nurse during pregnancy and until the child is 2 years old, and they work within a comprehensive programme plan covering the range of family needs.	The targeted group in one area had: reduced child abuse and neglect; fewer subsequent births; shorter periods of welfare dependency; lower rates of impairment and use of alcohol or drugs; fewer arrests. In another, children also had fewer health care interventions indicating injuries or ingestions, and shorter hospitalisation where these occurred.	Model

continued/…

Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Howell and Hawkins 1998; Satcher 2001	USA	Parent-Child Interaction Training	Primary	Low-income parents with pre-school children who have at least one behavioral or emotional problem participate in a series of four to five small-group sessions where they are taught parenting skills, including behavioural management + trained to play constructively with their children.	Programme children improved more than controls on attention deficit disorder, hyperactivity and aggressive and anxious behaviour	Promising (evaluated)
Howell and Hawkins 1998 (citing Yoshikawa 95); Satcher 2001	USA	High/Scope Perry Pre-school project	Primary	Perry Preschool Program provides early education to children age 3 and 4 from families with low socio-economic status. The preschool lasts 2 years and offers: high-quality early education for children; weekly home visits by teachers; and referrals for social services, when needed.	Follow up at age 27 showed significantly fewer programme recipients were frequent offenders — in their lifetimes and as adults compared to controls. Participants also had fewer juvenile arrests generally and significantly fewer for drug manufacture/distribution. They also showed better levels of school participation and attainment.	Promising (evaluated)
Howell and Hawkins (citing Yoshikawa 95); Satcher 2001	USA	Syracuse University Family Development Research Programme	Primary	Like the Perry programme,focusses on improving cognitive ability through a combination of early childhood education and family support services.	10-year follow-up evaluation that showed improved school functioning and lower delinqency (in terms of fewer, less severe offences and less chronic offending behaviour). Children also demonstrated more positive self-ratings, higher educational goals, and increased self-efficacy. However, evaluation has not been replicated and results may have been affected by a high drop-out rate.	Promising (not sufficiently evaluated)
Howell and Hawkins (citing Yoshikawa 95); Satcher 2001	USA	Yale Child welfare Project	Primary	Similar to Perry, Syracuse etc	Evaluation after 10 years showed participants missed significantly fewer days of school, required significantly fewer remedial and supportive school services, and were rated significantly less negative and more socially well adjusted by their teachers compared to controls. Some program effects on academic achievement showed significant diffusion effects on siblings. However, the sample was very small, with results for only 14 of the original 17 pairs.	Promising (not sufficiently evaluated)
Howell and Hawkins (citing Yoshikawa 95)	USA	Houston Parent-Child Development Center	Primary	Similar to Perry, Syracuse etc	Enhanced school achievement in grades 2 and 3; improved parenting skills at the end of the program, at (the child's) age 4, and in grades 2 and 3; and reduced aggressive behavior by children at ages 4 to 7 and 8 to 11. Results also limited by problem of attrition.	Promising (not sufficiently evaluated)

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Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Howell and Hawkins (citing Tremblay 92); Satcher 2001	Canada	Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study	Primary	A 2 year programme with two major components: school-based social skills training (19 sessions) and home-based parent training (17 sessions). The parent-training sessions, provided every 2 weeks for the duration of the intervention, teach parents to read with their children, monitor and reinforce their children's behavior, use effective discipline, and manage family crises.	Teacher-rated fighting behaviour decreased among programme boys. They were less likely to be held back a grade/ placed in special classes or institutions and 50% less likely to have serious school adjustment problems. A long-term follow-up found better avoidance by boys of gang involvement, drug and alcohol use, and delinquency up to age 15.	
Howell 1998, Tremblay 1996, Satcher 2001	Canada	Montreal Preventative Treatment Programme	Primary	Parent training + individual social skills training for disruptive 7-9 year old boys	Effective early intervention strategy	Promising (evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	LRE (Law Related Education)	Primary	Curriculum taught in elementary, middle and high schools for nearly 3 decades re. laws, legal processes, political participation and moral-ethical values.	Several evaluatons in 80s show: good effects for acquisition of factual knowledge but minimal impact on delinquency.	Benefits not proven
Flannery + Williams	USA	Richmond Youth Against Violence: Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways	Primary	6th grade curriculum for 16 x 40 minute workshops taught once a week to impart a 7 step problem-solving model	Evaluation current. Baseline data showed participating boys had higher exposure to community violence + many had participated in high risk behaviours. Their participation resulted in 'significant post-intervention differences in the frequency of violence and other problem behaviours'; but there was no impact on girls.	Promising (evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	Resolving Conflicts Creatively (RCCP)	Primary	Conflict and mediation programme from age 5 up to 12th grade including: classroom lessons re nonviolent alternatives for coping with conflict, negotiation and other skills + weekly practice of skills; mediation programme to provide strong peer models; training for teachers and school administrators.	Although the project is over 10 years old, an evaluation was only current at the time of writing. The authors comment that 'Conflict resolution programmes, while extremely popular and widespread, have not fared well in the face of intensive evaluation…'	No proven benefit
Flannery + Williams	Australia	Dealing with Conflict	Primary	Teachers presented 1 hour weekly sessions in secondary school classes for 10 weeks, focusing on building group cohesion, trust, respect, self-esteem, self-disclosure, barriers to communication, causes of conflict and ways to resolve conflict.	Participating students reported decreases in violent behaviour and more appropriate responses to hypothetical situations after the intervention; but no differences in attitude were found between the experimental and control students	No proven benefit
Howell 1998	USA	Minnesota Delinquents Under 10	Primary and secondary	Early interventions in delinquent careers with co-ordinated and integrated service delivery for child delinquents and their families		Promising (evaluated)

continued/…

Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Flannery + Williams	USA	Metropolitan Area Child Study (MACS)	Primary and secondary	Three levels of intervention delivered in 2 year segments, covering 3 bases: classroom enhancement; small group work with high risk children; and a family relationship intervention	No outcome data at time of writing	Promising (not evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	GREAT (Gang Resistance, Education and Training)	Secondary	9 week programme developed by Phoenix Police Dept. Focuses on: impact of crime on victims; cultural differences; conflict resolution skills; and how to meet one's needs without a gang.(Does not teach social competence skills)	2,600 participating students compared with 3,200 controls. Showed decreases on delinquency and drug use. But effects very small.	Benefits not proven
Flannery + Williams	USA	Cities in schools	Secondary	Case workers assigned to groups of problem students in inner city schools. Provide case management, individual and group counselling, tutoring, attendance monitoring and self-esteem building. No established curriculum.	Drop-out rates and absences provide no evidence of impact, though 'retrospective child reports' regarding behaviour show most improved slightly or, at least, didn't [continue to] get worse. (There are implications that levels of programme implementation may have been a problem)	No proven benefit
Flannery + Williams	USA	Fast track (Families and Schools Together)	Secondary	Includes: training for parents in family management, home visits by staff, social skills training for children, academic tutoring + classroom instructional programme for social competence and classroom management	Preliminary data suggest positive effects, including improved parental involvement in children's education and significant improvement in child problem behaviours	Promising (evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	Young Ladies/ Young Gentlemen Clubs	Secondary	Children referred for behavioural and attendance problems in high risk elementary schools participate in group sessions several times per week during school year. Group leaders employ a series of activities aimed at improving self-concept, developing peer relationship skills and encouraging attachment to school. Music therapy an important component	Several (limited) evaluations include a year-long evaluation based on data from children, group leaders, teachers and parents. Teachers + group leaders reported improvements in social competence and peer relations; and children reported improvements in social competence. Regression analyses showed the length of time in the programme was significantly related to reported declines in aggression and delinquency	Promising (evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	Aggression Replacement Training (ART)	Secondary	Middle-school based programme consiting of three component interventions: skillstreaming; anger control management; moral education.	Participating students gained new skills, managed anger better and had improved moral reasoning. Re-arrest rates reduced and community functioning improved.	Promising (evaluated)
www.sima web.de	Germany	InvaS	Secondary	Intervention programme for violent pupils aimed at 11-13 year old children at one school. Schools apply to local education authority for training, followed by clearing talks, followed by a week long intensive training on confrontation (part 1), followed by part 2, social competency training for 3 hours a week for 10 weeks, followed by closing talks.		Promising (not evaluated)

continued/…

Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Flannery + Williams	USA	Think first anger-control and problem-solving training programme	Secondary	50 minute sessions twice weekly for 5 weeks with high-risk middle-school students, using modelling, role-playing and self-instructional methods of anger and aggression control. Includes incentives for attendance and completion of homework	Matched control showed participating students had lower referrals afterwards for problem behaviours but there were no differences on aggression/ anger measures or changes in attitudes towards delinquency and violence	No proven benefit
Flannery + Williams	USA	The Omega Boys Club	Secondary	Targets high-risk African-American youth with a combination of mentoring and peer counselling. New members pledge not to use drugs and to avoid violence.' Club provides study space, tutoring and academic counselling + includes meetings with the youths' extended families +, more recently, a weekly radio talk show to help discuss the range of problems they face.	No formal evaluation, though the radio show has had wide appeal and expanded elsewhere.	Promising (not evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	Violence Prevention Curriculum for High School Students	Secondary	Teachers receive 1 day training in the curriculum. Classes focus on risk factors for violence, anger management, negative consequences of violence and alternatives to violence	No differences between participating students and control students with regard to knowledge about violence, attitudes towards handling conflict, acceptance of violence, self-esteem, drug use, fighting or weapon carrying. There was also a greater attrition rate in the experimental group.	No proven benefit
Howell 1998 (citing Burke and Pennell 2001)	USA	Breaking Cycles	Secondary	Prevention component targeted youth who hadn't yet entered the Juvenile Justice System (JJS) but evidenced problems behaviours (including chronic disobedience to parents, repeated truancy, running away from home, drug and alcohol abuse, curfew violation etc).	Dramatically redued the number of at risk youth entering the JJS at all; and the graduated sanction component deterred those who did offend from progressing to more serious delinquency.	Promising (evaluated)
Flannery + Williams	USA	The Prepare Curriculum	Secondary/ tertiary	Intervention with adolescents with aggressive and delinquent behaviour using a 10 step curriculum including the 3 steps from ART, plus problem solving, empathy training, situational perception, stress management, co-operation training, recruiting supportive models and understanding/using group processes	No information	Promising (not evaluated)

continued/…

Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Praevis (www.praevention-bw.de)	Germany	Project Chance	Tertiary	Aimed at offenders aged 14-17 who have been sentenced. Eligibility to take part in project is assessed in prison; then offender is then transferred to the home for rest of sentence. Must observe strict house rules and work together with other housemates. Intensive, structured programme that covers daily routines and will educate, provide social training, organise social and sporting activities, provide aftercare, therapeutically build up empathy for victims, take responsibility for crime etc.		Promising (not evaluated)
Howell 1998	USA		Secondary and tertiary	Use of risk assessment tools a) generally and b) with serious, violent and chronic offenders	Review of predictive ability and uses of risk assessment tools, concludes that: a) in most cases they are accurate in their prediction of risk levels; and b) their use by sentencers is a major improvement on reliance on arrest and offending histories which are too crude to indicate risk posed by individuals.	
Wilson, Lipsey and Soydan 2003	Sweden and USA	(Meta analysis of 141 studies of interventions)	Tertiary	Range of interventions with juvenile delinquents (aged 12-21) which were nottailored to be culturally specific	Delinquency outcomes for minority youth compared to whites is not statistically significant, although there is some ethnic variation on all other outcomes.	
Howell 1998 (citing Lipsey 95 and 99, Cullen and Gendreau 2000)	USA, Canada		Tertiary	Meta- analysis of juvenile rehabilitation intervention programmes	Juveniles in treatment groups have recidivism rates 10 % lower than untreated juveniles. The best interventions produced up to a 37% reduction in recidivism rates and similar improvements in other outcomes.Programme effects are consistently stronger for structured behavioural and/or skills building interventions than for insight-orientated approaches such as casework, counselling and group therapy.	
Howell 1998 (citing Lipsey and Wilson 1998)	USA		Tertiary	Meta-analysis of juvenile rehabilitation intervention programmes specifically with serious, violent and chronic offenders in a) institutionalised and b) non-institutionalised settings	Interpersonal skills training very effective for both groups. Otherwise, most positive effects for non-institutionalised are individual counselling and behavioral interventions followed by multiple services. For institutionalised: teaching family homes, behavioural programmes, community-residential interventions, multiple services and interpersonal skills training.Intervention effects do not differ greatly according to age, gender, ethnic mix or aggressive history of participants. (In fact, they are slightly more successful with serious and violent offenders)	

continued/…

Source	Country	Name of initiative	Level of prevention	Brief description of policy/intervention	Findings of evaluation	Rating
Howell 1998	USA	Juvenile delinquency treatment (1)	Tertiary	Meta Analysis of 400 Juvenile Delinquency Treatment Programmes	Four major features of effective programmes: 1) Primary intervention is effective independently of other interventions 2) Supplementary services added to interventions may (but often do not) inrease its effectiveness; 3) Service delivery i.e. amount and quality, (frequency, duration, exent of implementation); 4) characteristics of juvenile clients (some programmes more effective with high/low risk or older/younger offenders.	
Howell 1998	USA	Juvenile delinquency treatment (2)	Tertiary	Meta Analysis of 196 'practical Juvenile Justice System' programmes (i.e. those routinely provided in institutional and community contexts)	Only 7% failed to reduce recidivism; but the majority (50%) did not have large enough effects to be of practical value; 27% produced modest effects; and 17% produced relatively large reductions.	

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