# Ending Gang and Youth Violence: A Cross-Government Report



# Ending Gang and Youth Violence: A Cross-Government Report

Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for The Home Department by Command of Her Majesty

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### Ministerial foreword

Gangs and youth violence have been a serious problem in some of our cities for several years now. This fact is widely known, but we need to accept that over the years not enough was done to deal with the underlying drivers of the violence. Every crime is caused by



a criminal, but we need to do more to prevent young people joining gangs or getting involved in violent activity.

One thing that the riots in August did do was to bring home to the entire country just how serious a problem gang and youth violence has now become. In London, one in five of those arrested in connection with the riots were known gang members. We also know that gang members carry out half of all shootings in the capital and 22% of all serious violence. And even these shocking statistics may underestimate the true total. Similar figures for the riots were recorded by West Yorkshire Police, while Nottinghamshire had only a slightly lower proportion. Most other police forces identified fewer than 10% of all those arrested as gang members. But the fact that so many young people, who are not involved in gangs, were still willing to carry out such serious acts of violence and disorder in the summer merely reinforces the urgent need to deal with what underpins youth violence.

For too long, government action has not been as effective as it should be at stemming the violence. We need a long-term, evidence-based programme to get a proper grip on gang and youth violence.

This report is an important first analysis of the problem of gangs and the interventions that work. It provides a platform for the intensive support we will provide to areas most affected by this serious problem. Our ongoing Social Policy Review will set out more reforms which will address the entrenched social failures that drive problems like gang and youth violence.

This report is the first ever truly cross-government approach to tackling gang and youth violence. It has been drawn up in close consultation with the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions and other Cabinet Ministers. This reflects the fact that we are committed to using all of the tools at our disposal.

We have commissioned analysis on the nature and scale of the problem, we have visited frontline projects, we have met agencies, experts and former gang members and we have hosted an international conference of experts on gang violence.

Our proposals are wide-ranging. They are focused on five areas: prevention, pathways out, punishment, partnership working and providing support. We need to combine action to tackle

the causes of gang and youth violence with tough enforcement to crack down on those who commit crimes. Stopping such violence is not a task for the police alone. Teachers, doctors and youth workers all have a vital role to play. Success will only come when local areas and local agencies like these work together and share information.

The publication of this report is an important step, but it is just the start of the process. Only with a sustained effort based on the comprehensive programme outlined in this report will we effectively confront gang and youth violence.

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Right Honourable Theresa May MP Home Secretary and Minister for Women and Equalities

In the immediate aftermath of August's disorder the Prime Minister rightly called for a report into Britain's street gangs. The proportion of rioters known to be gang involved may be low – so too are the numbers of young people involved in



gangs — but we must not let that distract us from the disproportionate and devastating impact they have on some of our most deprived communities.

Gangs and serious youth violence are the product of the high levels of social breakdown and disadvantage found in the communities in which they thrive, but they are also a key driver of that breakdown. Gangs create a culture of violence and criminality that prevents the very things that can help transform those communities; community mobilisation and economic enterprise

are near impossible in neighbourhoods gripped by fear.

This report makes clear that intensive police action is needed to stop the violence and bring the perpetrators to justice, but we must match this robust enforcement response with a robust offer of support to exit gang life, and an equally intensive prevention strategy. A patient must be stabilised before a cure can be administered, but vaccination is always better than cure. This health analogy is apt, violence is a public health issue, we must start seeing and treating it as such.

We understand that you can't arrest your way out of the problem, and that is why we have been clear that only with full cross-departmental support can we make an impact. Tackling gangs and serious youth violence will take a fully co-ordinated, multi-agency response, and full and public local authority leadership. There is already a wealth of expertise and best practice that can be harnessed, but there is no quick fix. The Government is committed to tackling this over the long-term — this report is the first step towards transforming gang-impacted communities and restoring hope and opportunity to those living within them.

Cas June

Right Honourable Iain Duncan Smith MP Secretary of State for Work and Pensions

### Executive summary

Gangs and youth violence have been a blight on our communities for years. The disorder in August was not caused solely by gangs but the violence we saw on our streets revealed all too vividly the problems that sometimes lie below the surface and out of sight.

Over the years successive government interventions, initiatives and funds have failed to work. A concerted, long-term effort is now needed.

Since August, a group of senior ministers – led by the Home Secretary, working closely with the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions – has undertaken a thorough review of the problem of gang and youth violence. They have visited a range of projects working to stop youth violence; heard from international experts about what works in the United States and elsewhere; consulted with senior police officers and local authority officials; and talked to young people themselves. Several key messages have emerged:

First, the vast majority of young people are not involved in violence or gangs and want nothing to do with it.

Second, the small number of young people who are involved have a disproportionately large impact on the communities around them in some parts of the UK. It is clear that gang membership increases the risk of serious violence.

And third, this small minority of violent young people is not randomly distributed and does not appear out of the blue. Some areas suffer significantly greater levels of violence than others; some individual and family risk factors repeat themselves time and time again.

The police and other agencies need the support and powers to protect communities affected by gangs and to bring the violence under control. But gang and youth violence is not a problem that can be solved by enforcement alone. We need to change the life stories of young people who end up dead or wounded on our streets or are getting locked into a cycle of re-offending. Only by encouraging every agency to join up and share information, resources and accountability can these problems be solved.

The government has already set in motion a number of far-reaching reforms to address the entrenched educational and social failures that can drive problems like gang and youth violence. Our welfare reforms will give young people better opportunities to access work and overcome barriers to employment. Our education reforms will drive up pupil performance and increase participation in further study and employment. The new Localism Bill will give local areas the power to take action and pool their resources through Community Budgets.

Our plans to turn around the lives of the most troubled families will also be crucial. A new

Troubled Families Team in the Department for Communities and Local Government, headed by Louise Casey, will drive forward the Prime Minister's commitment to turn around the lives of 120,000 troubled families with reduced criminality and violence among key outcomes for this work.

Not every area will have a problem of gangs or serious youth violence, so our focus will be on the areas that do. We will offer them support to radically improve the way their mainstream services manage the young people most at risk from gangs or serious violence. At every stage of a young person's life story, the mainstream agencies with which they have most contact - from health visitors, to GPs, to teachers, to A&E departments, local youth workers and Jobcentre Plus staff – need to be involved in preventing future violence. That means simple risk assessment tools; clear arrangements for sharing information about risk between agencies; agreed referral arrangements to make sure young people get the targeted support they need and case management arrangements which bring agencies together to share accountability for outcomes and track progress.

This report sets out our detailed plans for making this happen.

**Providing support** to local areas to tackle their gang or youth violence problem. We will:

- establish an Ending Gang and Youth Violence
  Team working with a virtual network of over
  100 expert advisers to provide practical advice
  and support to local areas with a gang or
  serious youth violence problem;
- provide £10 million in Home Office funding in 2012/13 to support up to 30 local areas to improve the way mainstream services identify, assess and work with the young people most at risk of serious violence, with at least half of this funding going to the non-statutory sector;
- Invest at least £1.2 million of additional resource over the next three years to improve services for young people under 18 suffering sexual violence in our major urban areas with a new focus on the girls and young women caught up in gang related rape and abuse.

**Preventing** young people becoming involved in serious violence in the first place, with a new emphasis on early intervention and prevention. We will:

- deliver our existing commitments on early intervention which research shows is the most cost-effective way of reducing violence in later life. We will double the capacity of Family Nurse Partnerships and recruit 4,200 more health visitors by 2015 and will invest over £18 million in specialist services to identify and support domestic violence victims and their children (who themselves are at particular risk of turning to violence in adulthood);
- assess existing materials on youth violence being used in schools and ensure schools know how to access the most effective;
- improve the education offered to excluded pupils to reduce their risk of involvement in gang violence and other crimes;
- support parents worried about their children's behaviour by working with a range of family service providers to develop new advice on gangs.

**Pathways** out of violence and the gang culture for young people wanting to make a break with the past. We will:

- continue to promote intensive family intervention work with the most troubled families, including gang members, with a specific commitment to roll out Multi-Systemic Therapy for young people with behavioural problems and their families to 25 sites by 2014;
- set up a second wave of Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion schemes for young offenders at the point of arrest, which identify and target mental health and substance misuse problems. These will be targeted at areas where there is a known and significant gang or youth crime problem;
- work, through the Ending Gang and Youth Violence Team, with hospital Accident and Emergency Departments and children's social care to promote better local application of guidance around young people who may be affected by gang activity presenting at A&E;

- explore the potential for placing youth workers in A&E departments to pick up and refer young people at risk of serious violence;
- support areas, through the Ending Gang and Youth Violence Team, to roll out schemes to re-house former gang members wanting to exit the gang lifestyle;
- explore ways to improve education provision for young people in the secure estate and for those released from custody;
- implement new offending behaviour programmes for violent adult offenders in prison and under community supervision, including new modules on gang violence.

**Punishment and enforcement** to suppress the violence of those refusing to exit violent lifestyles. We will:

- extend police powers to take out gang injunctions to cover teenagers aged 14 to 17;
- implement mandatory custodial sentences for people using a knife to threaten or endanger others – including for offenders aged 16 and 17;
- introduce mandatory life sentences for adult offenders convicted of a second very serious violent or sexual crime;
- extend the work that the UK Border Agency undertakes with the police using immigration powers to deport dangerous gang members who are not UK citizens, drawing on the success of Operation Bite in London;
- consult on whether the police need additional curfew powers and on the need for a new offence of possession of illegal firearms with intent to supply, and on the appropriate penalty level for illegal firearm importation.

**Partnership working** to join up the way local areas respond to gang and other youth violence. We will:

- issue clear and simple guidelines on data sharing that clarify once and for all the position on what information can be shared between agencies about high risk individuals on a risk aware, not risk averse, basis;
- promote the roll-out of Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs (MASH), which co-locate police and other public protection agencies, to

- cut bureaucracy and make it easier to share information and agree actions;
- deliver on our commitment that all hospital A&E departments share anonymised data on knife and gang assaults with the police and other agencies and pilot the feasibility of including A&E data on local crime maps;
- encourage the use of local multi-agency reviews after every gang related homicide to ensure every area learns the lessons of the most tragic cases.

This report marks the beginning of a new commitment to work across government to tackle the scourge of gang culture and youth violence. An Inter-Ministerial Group, chaired by the Home Secretary, will meet on a quarterly basis to review progress, including by the Ending Gang and Youth Violence team. We will also establish a forum of key external organisations to meet regularly with ministers and to hold the Government to account on delivery. We will ensure the views of young people themselves are heard too.

Nationally, we are clear that our approach will stand or fall on whether it reduces the number of young people killed or seriously wounded – this will be our ultimate goal. But crime figures only tell part of the story so we will work with local partners to agree other common sense measures in high violence areas for individuals, families and communities. We will use these to help areas evaluate the impact of the measures outlined in this report. Our focus must now be on actions, not words.

## Ending Gang and Youth Violence

#### The life stories that lead to murder

A young man, let's call him Boy X, was born on one of the most deprived estates in London in the early 1990s. His mother was just 17 when he was born and had been involved with the gangs on the estate for some years. She'd been introduced to drugs by them and had rapidly become addicted to crack cocaine. Although she did her best to control her use while she was pregnant, this was a struggle, and she carried on using during his early years. Boy X's father wasn't around much but when he did stay was frequently violent — beating Boy X's mother, often in front of him.

Boy X first came to the attention of his local council when, at the age of three, he was found wandering the streets alone by a neighbour. Although he was returned to his mother, the neglect continued and when he entered his local primary school at the age of four he was reported to be often agitated and volatile — finding it difficult to concentrate and lagging behind the other kids in his class. His mother became pregnant again and gave birth to a girl, Girl Y.

I Boy X isn't a real person but the things that happened to him and his family are based on real events presented to the review team over the past two months and developed in consultation with frontline experts on gang violence. His story illustrates how, unchecked, harmful events can damage individuals, families, and communities.

As he progressed through primary school Boy X's behaviour became increasingly difficult and he started to miss school on a regular basis. By Year four, he could often be overheard by his teacher talking about the gangs on his local estate and on one occasion reported seeing a stabbing outside his house.

At the age of eight Boy X was separated from his mother and went to live with another family member, but even there he witnessed conflict in the family and regular violent altercations with an alcoholic uncle.

At II, Boy X moved up to the local secondary school and the older boys from the main local gang started to take an interest in him. Girl Y was now in the early years of primary school and Boy X was very protective of her, threatening her classmates if she reported even the smallest disagreement.

At the age of I3 he was a victim of robbery on two separate occasions and a few months later he himself committed a robbery and violent assault as part of a group.

Aged 14, Boy X was involved in 6 further crimes, including robbery, violent assault, victim intimidation and public order offences. He was also a victim of grievous bodily harm but refused to co-operate with the police. By the age of 16 he had attended the local hospital 16 times for

various assault related injuries, including stab wounds.

Boy X's offending behaviour continued to escalate and the following year he was involved in 14 offences. He was increasingly in trouble at school too, and was eventually excluded altogether. Now under the care of a pupil referral unit, he attended only intermittently and when he did found himself bored by the classes on offer and left with no useful qualifications. The severity of his offending increased including offensive weapon and class A drug possession.

Girl Y, his younger sister, was now 13, and had started associating with older boys, members of a local gang who were rivals to Boy X's gang. Girl Y was arrested that year for possession of class A drugs. The house was raided following evidence that she was holding a gun for her boyfriend.

By the age of 18, out of work, not in college or training and increasingly embroiled in the local drugs economy, Boy X's life became increasingly dominated by the violent peer group around him and the postcode territories they operated within. Mobile phone footage circulating locally showed Boy X and a group of fellow gang members sexually abusing a fifteen year old girl from their estate.

At the same time Girl Y had dropped many of her female friends and the few she remained with were heavily involved with older gang members. One day, Girl Y turned up at the local A&E. She had been repeatedly raped over a four-hour period. She was severely traumatised and didn't leave the house for six months.

Perceived disrespect from rival gangs was met with violence and when a close friend of Boy X's was shot, he retaliated with a gun rented from a known gun supplier on a neighbouring estate, killing a well-known member of a rival gang, at 2am on a Saturday morning, outside a local nightclub already known for a series of serious assaults inside the nightclub itself. Rapidly identified and charged with murder, Boy X was convicted in the crown court and is now serving a life sentence.

# Working together across government to end youth violence

This summary report sets out a cross-government plan to reduce gang and youth violence by targeting people like Boy X and the damage they do to themselves, their families and the communities in which they grow up. A longer report is also available that includes local case studies and further information on the evidence gathered during the review.

Over the past two months, a group of senior ministers – led by the Home Secretary working closely with the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions – has undertaken a thorough review of the problem of gang and youth violence. They have visited a range of local projects working to stop youth violence and have heard from international experts about what works in the United States and the rest of Europe.

Consultation events have also been held with local authority representatives, with national and local voluntary and community organisations working with young people involved in gang violence, and with young people themselves. (Details of these events are listed in the longer report). Home Office and Ministry of Justice statisticians have analysed the characteristics of the offenders involved in the disorder in August<sup>2</sup> – including their gang affiliation – and the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) have gathered evidence from a range of police forces about the nature and scale of their gang problem and their response.

From all of this material several key messages have emerged.

First, the vast majority of young people are not involved in violence or gangs; want nothing to do with it and object to the generalisations that are made about young people and crime.

Second, the small number of young people who are involved in serious violence have

<sup>2</sup> An overview of recorded crime and arrests resulting from disorder events in Aug 2011 (Home Office 2011).

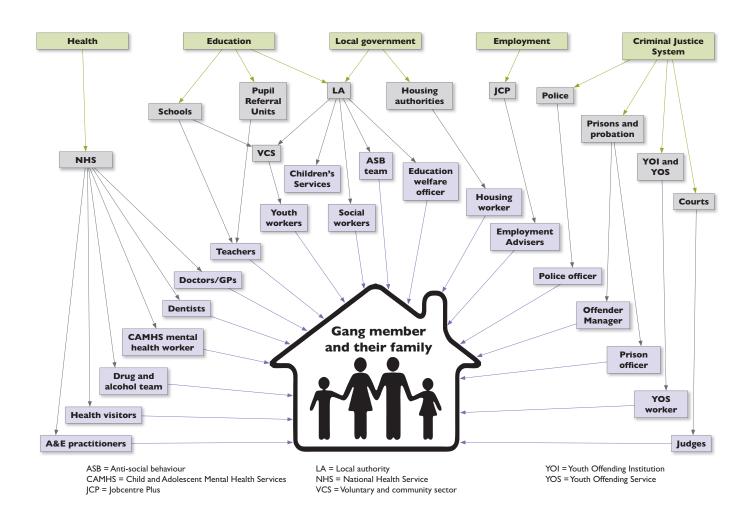
a disproportionately large impact on the communities around them in some parts of the UK. It is clear that gang membership increases the risk of serious violence. Almost 50% of shootings and 22% of serious violence in London, for example, is thought to be committed by known gang members.<sup>3</sup>

Third, this small minority of violent young people is not randomly distributed and does not usually appear out of the blue. Some areas suffer significantly greater levels of violence than others; some individual and family risk factors, repeat themselves time and again.

Fourth, there is some evidence that things are improving. Police in Manchester report that a combination of targeting key offenders, along with community engagement under Operation Xcalibre has resulted in a reduction of gang related shootings. The challenge is to embed and sustain these improvements, and to ensure that all forms of gang and youth violence are dealt with effectively.

Fifth, prevention, enforcement and intervention activities with both young people and their families will only have a real impact if they are coordinated effectively at the local level.

Figure I Map of local agencies in contact with a typical gang member's family



<sup>3</sup> Metropolitan Police Intelligence Bureau research (October 2011).

At every stage in Boy X's life and that of his sister, he and his family were in contact with a wide range of public services. Maps of these points of contact show the breadth of agencies that may be involved and hence the enormous costs these problem families can impose. (Figure 1)

#### What would make a difference?

At every stage in Boy X and Girl Y's lives, there were people and interventions that could have made a difference and stopped their life stories ending in tragedy – if information had been shared or integration improved. (Figure 2)

The police and other agencies need the support and powers to protect communities affected by gangs and to bring the violence under control. But gang and youth violence is not a problem that can be solved by enforcement alone. We need to change the life stories of young people who end up dead or wounded on our streets or are getting locked into a cycle of re-offending. Only by encouraging every agency to join up and share information, resources and accountability can these problems be solved.

The government has already set in motion a number of far-reaching reforms to address the entrenched educational and social failures that can drive problems like gang and youth violence. Our welfare reforms will give young people better opportunities to access work and overcome barriers to employment. Our education reforms will drive up pupil performance and increase participation in further study and employment. The new Localism Bill will give local areas the power to take action and pool their resources through Community Budgets.

Our plans to turn around the lives of the most troubled families will also be crucial. A new Troubled Families Team in the Department for Communities and Local Government, headed by Louise Casey, will drive forward the Prime Minister's commitment to turn around the lives of 120,000 troubled families with reduced criminality and violence among key outcomes for this work.

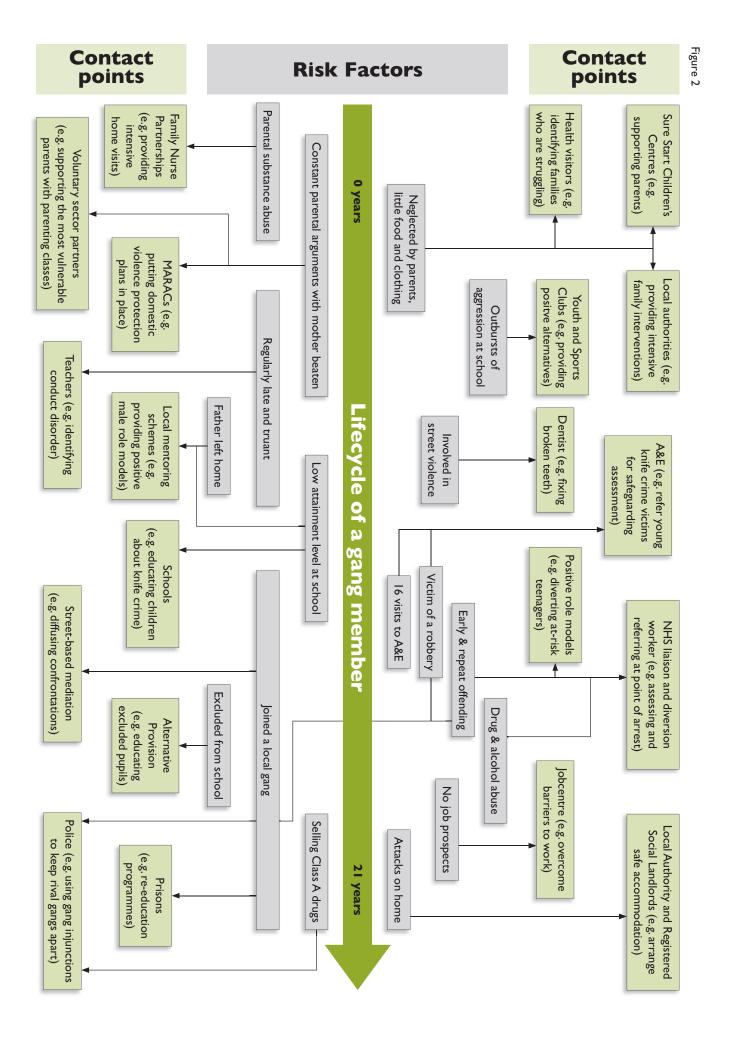
Not every area will have a problem of gangs or serious youth violence, so our focus will be on the areas that do. We will offer them support to radically improve the way their mainstream services manage the young people most at risk from gangs or serious violence. At every stage of a young person's life story, the mainstream agencies with which they have most contact – from health visitors, to GPs, to teachers, to A&E departments, local youth workers and Jobcentre Plus staff – need to be involved in preventing future violence. That means simple risk assessment tools, clear arrangements for sharing information about risk between agencies, agreed referral arrangements to make sure young people get the targeted support they need and case management arrangements that bring agencies together to share accountability for outcomes and track progress.

# Focusing resources on the right people and right places

When resources are tight, it's more important than ever that they are targeted on the most vulnerable people and the highest risk places. Billions of pounds are already being spent on services for children, young people and families but arbitrary ring-fences and poor targeting have often led to waste and poor outcomes in the past. By removing ring-fences and restoring local autonomy we are giving local areas the freedom and flexibility to prioritise local resources on local priorities like gang violence.

Community Budgets are enabling local public service providers to come together and agree how crucial services can be better delivered, how the money to fund them should be managed and how they will organise themselves to deliver better outcomes for people and a more efficient use of resources. Across the country, III councils are already getting involved in this sort of community budget approach – accounting for 70% of problem families across the country.

Where an area considers it a local priority, a community budget could be specifically focused on the issue of tackling gangs or youth violence. One of the first 16 community budget areas, Lewisham, for example, has been using its community budget



process to test new approaches to tackling teenage gangs.

The government's new £2.2bn a year Early Intervention Grant removes the previous arbitrary ring-fences from over 20 different central funding streams for work with children, families and young people of all ages and gives local areas the freedom to focus these resources on the early interventions which will have the greatest impact – including with children of primary school age. To ensure that the children or families who need it most get extra support, and according to local priorities, it can be used to fund intensive family interventions or Sure Start children's centres or targeted mental health work in schools or projects to support vulnerable parents.

#### Providing support for high violence areas

The Home Office has already made additional resource available to three police force areas – London, the West Midlands and Greater Manchester – until March 2013 to implement local plans for reducing the number of teenagers killed or seriously injured by gun or knife-related violence. Over the next 18 months we will build on this work by promoting a step change in the way that all mainstream services respond to youth violence in high violence areas.

To kick-start this process we will prioritise £10m of Home Office investment in early intervention work in 2012-13 to support the areas most affected by gangs and youth violence. Up to 30 areas will be selected for support on the basis of a range of serious violence measures and local intelligence about gang problems — including an ACPO exercise to map gangs and gang violence in forces across the country.

Areas will be able to use this additional resource to improve the arrangements that mainstream local agencies, working with voluntary sector partners, have in place to identify, refer and support the young people most at risk of gang or other violence. This might include investment in Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs to co-locate police and other agencies to deal with public protection referrals, or improvements to risk

assessment processes used by schools, or youth services or local co-ordinators to pull together case management panels for high risk gang members.

We are also establishing an Ending Gang and Youth Violence Team. Made up of a network of over 100 frontline experts, the team will offer intensive support to gang affected areas to help them understand their problem, scrutinise their local strategies and suggest areas for improvement. To reflect the need for local action to be taken by a range of agencies, the team will be made up of people with a range of backgrounds including education, policing, youth work, community engagement, safeguarding, youth justice and health. This is not about short- term quick fixes. The team will focus on helping the local agencies with the greatest challenges to make changes to the way their mainstream services operate which are long-term and sustainable.

#### Foundation years

The early roots of Boy X's teenage violence lay 15 or 20 years back in his very earliest childhood experiences. Very young children are uniquely sensitive to both positive and negative influences on their development. With a young, drugaddicted mother and a mostly absent but violent father, Boy X suffered severe neglect in his first 18 months – a critical period in shaping his social and emotional development, as well as his intellectual growth.

Early interventions to promote warm, loving, supportive parenting are essential if we are to prevent a life of violence further down the line.

The government's broad agenda to support and improve provision for children and families in the foundation years will make a real difference to families like Boy X's. We are continuing to support a network of Sure Start Children's Centres, enabling them to focus on using evidence-based approaches to support the families in greatest need. And from 2013, the entitlement to 15 hours a week free nursery education, currently available for all three and four year olds, will be extended to the most

disadvantaged two year olds. A reformed Early Years Foundation Stage will place a greater focus on the basic social, emotional, communication and language skills children need to do well at school. We are also trialling the take up of high quality universal parenting classes through the provision of vouchers for mothers and fathers of children from birth to five years old, in three areas.

Health visitors can also play a crucial role in identifying and supporting those families like Boy X's that are struggling in the early years of childhood – including identifying the signs of family abuse and violence that can damage children early in life and lead to violent outcomes for the child. We will support the recruitment of an extra 4,200 health visitors by 2015 and will train every health visitor to identify violence against women and children and be able to refer them for appropriate support or criminal justice intervention.

Family Nurse Partnerships (FNPs) are a particular, very targeted example of an intensive home visiting programme designed to identify and support first-time teenage mothers like Boy X's. Starting in early pregnancy until the child is two, the programme is delivered by a specially trained nurse to help parents to care well for their child and themselves, promoting parents' attachment to their child and economic self-sufficiency. A review of thirty years of research in the United States has shown a 59% reduction in arrests and a 90% reduction in supervision orders by age 15 for the children of mothers helped by this programme in the United States. Areas without Family Nurse Partnership schemes should also implement ways to identify problems early and provide intensive support.4

One London family nurse provides a vivid account of what difference FNP made to one of her clients.

#### Case Study: Family Nurse Partnerships

Daniella (not her real name) was involved in gangs from the age of II. The gang became her surrogate family and she became a prolific offender. She was taken into care and at 16 became pregnant. At this point she was referred to the Family Nurse Partnership (FNP) by the social worker who said that her baby was likely to be taken into care. Daniella did not engage well with her family nurse to begin with but began to see that the nurse did not give up on her and she started to engage with and enjoy the programme.

The FNP scheme involved intensive home visits with Daniella until her baby was two years old. The family nurse built a trusting relationship with Daniella and guided her to adopt a healthier lifestyle for herself and her son. She also helped her to plan for the future. By the time her baby was seven months old, she no longer had contact with gang members and slowly built up a new friendship group with other young mothers. She is now 17 and although she can still be impulsive and get angry quickly, progress is steady and she is a warm and caring parent, and her son is happy and thriving.

Gang issues don't disappear overnight and Daniella fears the release of rivals from prison. She has been referred to the local multi-agency group of local voluntary and statutory sector agencies, who produced a risk management plan to provide professional support to reduce the risk of harm to Daniella.

On the night of the riots she stayed at home and expressed a wish to avoid trouble and protect her child.

Witnessing domestic abuse, as in the case of Boy X, is a risk factor for later violence. Those victims of domestic abuse identified as being at highest risk can be referred to a Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) where an action plan to protect them and their children can be agreed. Independent Domestic Violence Advisers (IDVAs) who provide specialist advice and support to the victim will also represent them at the MARAC. These are now in place in over 250 different areas across England and Wales and in the last year have worked with

almost 48,000 of the highest risk domestic violence victims to protect them and their 64,000 children from repeat victimisation.<sup>5</sup>

# If the measures set out above had been in place in the earliest years of Boy X's life, his life story could have been very different.

When his mother became pregnant she could have been offered the FNP programme through her doctor and midwife offering intensive support until his second birthday - building a stronger, loving bond between him and his mother and helping him to develop, learn well and keep healthy. From the age of two, Boy X would have been entitled to 15 hours of free nursery education a week and his developmental progress would have been reviewed with the help of a local health visitor. The midwife, family nurse and health visitor should also have picked up the warning signs of domestic violence and referred Boy X's mother's case to a MARAC meeting, where police and social services would also have been able to share their concerns and agree some immediate actions to prevent further abuse including advising on legal injunctions to keep Boy X's violent father away from the home.

#### The primary years

By the time he entered primary school, the warning signs for Boy X were already clear. Not only was his learning development already lagging behind that of other children his age – but his social development and behaviour were also giving cause for concern. He was aggressive to other children and became angry and agitated very quickly - having to be temporarily excluded from the classroom on numerous occasions and from the school itself on one occasion. He was also frequently late into school and sometimes did not show up at all. As he reached the age of nine the outside influences on his life became increasingly clear too as he talked with increasing knowledge about the older boys and gangs on his local estate including stabbings he had witnessed on his own street.

Successful interventions for boys like Boy X, and his sister Girl Y, require close co-ordination and communication between schools, parents and other local services, among them specialist experts on mental health, including conduct disorder. The voluntary sector provides an increasingly wide range of specialist support services to children and families and have a key role to play too.

Primary schools provide a vital but under-used opportunity to educate all children about the risks they will encounter outside the school gates and to work more intensively with those already showing signs of distress or disorder. We will assess existing materials on youth violence being used in schools and ensure schools know how to access the most effective.

Teachers need to get at the root causes of challenging behaviour, not just the symptoms. New guidance to schools on behaviour and discipline recommends that school behaviour policies set out when a multi-agency assessment should be carried out to identify any underlying causal factors. And the Early Intervention Grant gives local areas the flexibility to prioritise investment, for example in therapeutic interventions for behaviour problems like those developed through the Targeted Mental Health in Schools (TaMHS) approach. We are also committed to expanding children and young people's access to psychological therapies, providing £8 million a year over the next four years. This will be an evidence-based programme for transforming local services for children, and the first wave will include a focus on addressing conduct disorders.

All parents struggle at times to do the right thing and we are working with a wide range of voluntary sector partners to improve the advice and practical support that is provided to the most vulnerable parents. To help support parents to spot the signs of gang involvement in their children, we will also work with a range of family service providers to develop new advice on gangs.

<sup>5</sup> Figures based on data from the 232 MARACs submitting data to CAADA for the 12 months to 30 June 2011 (CAADA, 2011).

Had all of this been implemented in a coherent way when Boy X was growing up, he might have expected his conduct disorder to have been identified early on in his primary school career and for an effective intervention to have been agreed between his teacher, parent and an outside organisation specialising in supporting boys like him – which local authorities have chosen to fund as a priority through the Early Intervention Grant, health budgets and other funding sources. His mum would have been engaged by his school, and would have continued to receive ongoing help with her parenting skills. Boy X would have started to have a positive male role model in his life through a local mentoring scheme. His school, recognising the particular risks around growing up in an area of high knife crime and gang violence and the need to raise awareness early, would have been able to access good quality teaching materials on gang and knife crime so their pupils were well prepared for the move up to secondary school.

#### Teenage years

As Boy X moved into his teenage years, he became vulnerable to the influence of a much bigger and older peer group of boys - many of them entrenched in the gang lifestyle. He started to attract attention from boys in rival areas and was robbed and attacked on several occasions. He started carrying a knife for protection, and became wary of leaving his home territory. By his early teens, he was involved in robberies and violence against other boys, and ended up under the supervision of the Youth Offending Team after being charged with possession of a knife. Boy X also became an increasingly regular visitor to the local A&E department. Others in Boy X's immediate circle also suffered the consequences of his gang involvement, including his sister when a rival gang sought retaliation, and he played a full part in the group's frequent sexual abuse of female gang associates.

Moments of crisis in a young person's life such as arrest, school exclusion or a trip to the local A&E department offer vital opportunities to persuade the young person out of their violent life. All agencies need effective systems for identifying high risk individuals, sharing information about them, and agreeing joint plans for support and interventions.

#### Multi-Systemic Therapy in action

A 13-year-old boy, John, was referred to the Brandon Centre MST team in London because of daily cannabis use and dealing in cannabis on behalf of adult gang members, including dealing from the family home. He had also been excluded from school and there were concerns about him taking drugs into school and creating a gang culture there. He has also been missing from home overnight three or four times a week and involved in robberies with adult offenders. Following threats from adult gang members, and considering John's behaviour, local statutory bodies were concerned for the safety of John and his family. There were also concerns about his older brothers' involvement in drugs and for the safety of younger siblings.

An MST therapist was therefore commissioned to work intensively with the family, visiting two or three times a week, for five months to build the parents' confidence and skills in reestablishing authority with their sons and in their own home. Therapist and parents together were able to work on all their concerns, rather than John being seen individually by a number of agencies for different issues. The therapist supported parents to take a very proactive approach when John was missing or brought strangers to the house. This involved close collaboration with the police, local shopkeepers and housing wardens and neighbours. His parents also introduced drug testing for John and his two brothers, alongside strong consequences for 'dirty' tests. There was support from his extended family and encouragement of a more positive peer group for John.

At the end of the intervention, John and his brothers had tested clean for drugs for over two months, John was sticking to the curfew set by his family and mixing with a more positive peer group. Parents reported that they now felt in control of their own home and that they would be able to tackle future problems themselves, John's father was also able to return to employment and. John was also back in educational provision full time.

Local authorities are already spending over £60 million a year on intensive family intervention services, reaching over 5,500 of the most troubled families in the year to March 2011. The new Troubled Families Team will have an important role in promoting this approach.

Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST) is a particular form of family intervention, involving one therapist working intensively with families over three to five months. Positive outcomes from the first nine sites have shown that 85% of young people who complete the programme have stopped offending and are attending school regularly. We have already committed to supporting the roll out of MST, with 25 sites working intensively with around 1,200 families by the end of 2013.

The Government's broader commitment to improving provision for the 5,000 children who are permanently excluded from school each year will also make a significant contribution. A report by Professor John Pitts in 2006, for example, found that almost two-thirds of gang members in the study had been permanently excluded from school, and there is evidence that exclusion from school can accelerate offending and anti-social behaviour.<sup>6</sup> This can often start with repeat truancy. To address this serious issue, we have announced that we will reduce the persistent absence threshold from 20% to 15%, to ensure that schools react quicker to truancy issues, and we have also announced that we will be publishing schools' pupil absence data to raise the profile of this problem. We are also reviewing the range of legal measures available, including toughening the current fines system to discourage parents from refusing to engage with schools in addressing their children's poor attendance or condoning their truancy.

By March 2012, one in ten secondary schools will be part of a trial to ensure a decent education for excluded children. The new approach gives responsibility and budgets for purchasing alternative provision to head teachers to ensure schools continue to monitor the attainment of the children they permanently exclude. In total, the trial will cover 3000 pupils at risk of exclusion and schools already in the trial report significant improvements. The Government is also determined to raise standards in alternative provision. Provisions in the current Education Bill will establish alternative provision Academies and Free Schools and give greater autonomy to Pupil Referral Units.

Though a wide range of local prevention programmes for youth violence have sprung up, many of these find it difficult to get into schools, and there is little evidence about which programmes make a real difference. We will assess existing materials on youth violence being used in schools, and ensure that schools know how to access the most effective.

# 'Growing Against Gangs and Violence' Programme

Schools can also provide an important opportunity to teach teenagers about the harm and consequences of gender-based violence. The 'Growing against Gangs and Violence' programme, which is a preventative education partnership with the Metropolitan Police Service, has developed a specific programme called 'Girls, gangs and consequences' which is delivered to 13-15 year old boys and girls in schools across South London and is now being expanded across London. Real life multiple perpetrator rape scenarios are discussed with single gender groups. Boys are made aware of the consequences of being involved in abusive relationships with girls, the consequences of being labelled as a registered sex offender and the realities of prison life. Girls are helped to identify the risks and make safe choices with a view to preventing them from becoming victims. The glamorisation of gang involved boys is challenged, as are negative views of the victims of these crimes. The benefits of positive healthy relationships are also examined at length to promote a positive alternative. The programme is being academically evaluated by Middlesex University and is supported by the MPS and Victim Support Services. www.gagv.co.uk

Although Boy X came through his local hospital A&E department 16 times as a teenager, and was an equally frequent visitor to his local police custody suite, at no point was he referred for the sort of detailed assessment that could have identified the underlying factors of his offending and victimisation. The Ending Gang and Youth Violence team will work with hospital A&E departments and children's social care to promote better local application of guidance around young people who may be affected by gang activity presenting at A&E. We will also explore the potential for placing youth workers in A&E departments in the 30 targeted areas to pick up and refer young people at high risk of serious violence.

Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion Schemes assess young people at the point of arrest to identify mental health issues or other vulnerabilities. Health workers then liaise with other local services to ensure support for the young person. Based on the learning from the 37 existing Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion Schemes, we will set up a second wave of schemes for young offenders at the point of arrest. These will be targeted at areas where there is a known and significant gang or youth crime problem.

#### Girls and young women

In focusing on the male perpetrators and male victims of gang violence it can be easy to lose sight of the role that women and girls have in gang-related activity. This may be as active gang members or as family members, associates, or girlfriends of gang members.

Women and girls associated with gang members – whether girlfriends, siblings or mothers – can all be highly vulnerable to domestic and sexual violence themselves.

We have already committed to three years' sustained support to local rape crisis centres and to recruit and train specialist Independent Sexual Violence Advisers (ISVAs) to provide personalised support to women suffering rape and sexual assault. However, there is a general recognition

that services for girls under 18 remain poorly developed. Over the next three years we will make an additional £400,000 a year available to improve services to support children and young women under the age of 18 suffering rape and sexual abuse.

#### Improving the Criminal Justice Response

In common with many serious offenders, Boy X began his offending career early and was soon under the supervision of the Youth Offending Team (YOT). YOTs have a key role to play in dealing with gangs and violent youth culture, and are well placed to gather and share intelligence on gangs. The Youth Justice Board has developed a case management tool to help them do this and most YOTs have identified local gang experts. These are supported by regional gang forums for sharing emerging and effective practice, which currently run in six regions and which will expand to all areas of England and Wales in the next year.

For young people convicted of serious offences, custody provides another opportunity to ensure that they are given help to address the issues that drive their criminality. Many Young Offender Institutions (YOIs) have gang identification and behaviour management strategies in place, and some – Feltham, Werrington and Ashfield for example – run specific anti-gang interventions. We will consider how lessons can be learned from the Heron wing in Feltham, and whether these can be applied to other custodial establishments in light of the evaluation which is due to report in April 2012.

Prevention needs to be balanced with strong enforcement for those young people already involved in criminal violence. We will support the police to suppress gang and other serious youth violence – working with ACPO to spread police best practice from those areas like Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham where projects have reported promising results. Powers for the police to take out gang injunctions to prevent gang members entering rival territory or threatening other gangs will be extended to cover teenagers aged 14 to 17, and we are consulting on whether the police need additional curfew powers,

including a general curfew power to deal with outbreaks of serious disorder.

#### Gang Injunctions in Southwark

Southwark Council obtained the first gang injunction in February 2011. The injunction was against an 18-year-old who was seen as a lead player in a violent street gang operating in the borough. The police, YOS and anti-social behaviour unit had raised concerns about the group, who were involved in a range of criminal activity. Their street notoriety had a direct impact on the local area, especially affecting other young people.

The individual had received a referral order for being in possession of a knife and CS spray, and had a history of intimidating and threatening other people. He had been arrested on several occasions for robbery and possession of an offensive weapon. He and his gang had a feud with another group, who had previously been friends and part of the same gang, over control of a local drugs market. The individual was a talented musician, but wrote and posted music videos through social media networks threatening other gangs with violence. His music was extremely influential, being well-known throughout the area and influencing many young people.

Despite this negative image, those services that worked with this individual and his family found him both personable and engaging when on his own. His mother was supportive and feared for her son's safety.

The decision to apply for the injunction was taken not just in light of the severity of the risk he presented, both to himself and the wider community but also because agencies agreed that with the correct level of intervention and support he could move away from his current lifestyle. The council obtained an interim injunction and full order setting out a number of conditions, including a prohibition on publishing music which could incite violence.

The order also contained restrictions not to go into a specific area and not to associate with named persons. In addition, a positive requirement was included to work with a mentor. As at the end of September 2011 the order has not been breached and the individual has not come to the notice of the agencies since the injunction was obtained.

Looking back over Boy X's teenage years there were multiple opportunities to have made a difference. If one of the new youth justice liaison and diversion workers had been available to screen him at the point of first contact with the police, his underlying substance abuse and mental health needs could have been identified and treated. If the education he received after his exclusion from school had succeeded in reengaging him, he might have been encouraged to stay on at 16 rather than sinking ever more rapidly into the illegal economy. If police had been given the legal injunction powers they need to keep young gang members away from rival gangs and require them to take up positive alternatives to the gang lifestyle, then he might have taken a route out from the negative spiral his life had descended into.

#### Early adulthood

Once Boy X left school without a job or chance of training, he was further detached from mainstream society, and his chances to exit his violent lifestyle were greatly reduced. Fully entrenched in the local drugs trade, he was able to gain easy access to firearms and used his money, status and violent behaviour to exert control over girls in the area. Enjoying the power that this status brought, and without any belief that he could have a better alternative, Boy X became fully embroiled in local gang rivalries and violence. By the time that he shot a rival gang member outside a night-club, Boy X had no expectation of living longer than his late twenties, and no greater interest than ensuring that his reputation had been upheld.

Even at this late stage there were still be missed opportunities to make a difference. If police

# **Enfield and Haringey Gang Action Groups**

The Enfield and Haringey Gang Action Groups (GAG) were set up in 2009 following several gang related murders involving groups of youths from different gangs in both boroughs.

Every month representatives from police, probation, youth offending services, housing, children's services, education welfare, schools and community representatives meet together to discuss about 30 of the highest risk gang members aged from 14 to 25. Cases can be referred to the GAG by any agency and are selected on the basis of the risk of the individual as either a perpetrator or victim of gang violence.

If a case is accepted, each agency is asked to provide any intelligence it holds on that individual and their family to enable a profile containing all the intelligence each agency holds on the gang member. On the basis of this intelligence, their risk level is assessed and a lead agency and plan for managing them initiated. This will include whether diversionary or preventative activity is appropriate or, for higher risk cases, if enforcement measures are needed. The group will consider any suggestion to prevent offending or protect a victim (eg rehousing, move to a different school, family intervention) as well as positive alternatives to their gang lifestyle (eg training, employment, anger management or mentoring). Gang members who choose not to engage are informed that police and other agencies will then apply an enforcement approach to them.

Progress against these actions is then checked at the next meeting to ensure they are being delivered. Over the last two years the combined GAG process has discussed about 100 different gang members across Enfield and Haringey and agreed actions for all of them. According to data from the MPS serious youth violence in Enfield fell over 40% in 2010-11.

Individual case studies show the type of impact this process can have.

Gang member A was a particularly violent individual who was well recognised amongst Enfield's youth as a high-ranking gang member. An action plan, which included intensive police attention being targeted around him was devised by the GAG. This was coupled with home visits to his parents by a dedicated gangs unit which learnt that he wished to attend college. His college application was supported through the GAG agencies, with the proviso that offending would lead to a permanent exclusion from college. Since joining college he has not engaged in any further offending and currently has a 99% attendance rate.

Gang member B was widely recognised to be a gang leader having been involved in serious offending since 2003. He was close to two murder victims in 2008 and involved in the sale of firearms in early 2010, an offence which earned a custodial sentence. On his release, the GAG collated an intelligence profile that demonstrated he was a high-risk individual and was able to use this to ban him from entering Enfield. Since being out of the borough, member B has not come to police notice, despite being closely monitored.

and other local agencies had put in place joint arrangements for managing their highest risk gang 'nominals' like Boy X the combination of tough enforcement and surveillance and a joined up positive offer of training, employment and drugs treatment might have given him a route out. If he and his family had been moved out of their gang riddled estate to a completely new area it might have been enough to break the hold that lifestyle had on him. If during his first spell in custody he'd been offered decent educational provision and training in conflict management that too might have made a difference. And even at the last moment, if a street based mediation team, like the immediate response of the violence interrupters project in Chicago, had been on hand to talk him out of picking up a gun in retaliation, his whole life course could have been different.

The government's broader agenda for getting young people back into work is crucial to the life chances of boys like Boy X. We are investing £200m from the European Social Fund to help families with multiple problems overcome barriers to work and move closer to the labour market and by the end of this year will publish a new cross-government Participation Strategy to maximise the number of 16 to 24 year olds in education, training or work.

For young people like Boy X, caught up in the criminal justice system we will ensure prison leavers claiming Jobseekers Allowance are referred immediately on release into the Work Programme. And we will also continue to explore ways to improve the health and education provision for young people in the secure estate and for those released from custody including addressing any underlying special educational needs, disability or mental health issues.

To help gang members make a clean break from their past life, our new Ending Gang and Youth Violence Team will help areas to develop schemes to re-house the most at risk gang members and their families.

For young people not prepared to break away from their violent lifestyle, tough enforcement must follow. If the victims of such crimes see

that the perpetrators have escaped unpunished, this undermines their faith in the ability of the authorities to protect them. So we must send a clear message to them and to their communities that those who commit violent crimes will be punished. For those using weapons, our position is clear: anyone who commits a crime using a gun or a knife can expect to be sent to prison and serious offenders can expect a long sentence.

The Legal Aid, Punishment and Sentencing of Offenders Bill currently going through Parliament includes a new offence of carrying a knife or offensive weapon in a public place or school and going on to threaten or endanger another, with a minimum mandatory sentence of six months custody for those 18 or over and a four month Detention and Training Order for those aged 16 or 17.

ACPO and the Home Affairs Select Committee have also called for a tougher approach to gun supply and importation. We know that a relatively small number of illegal firearms are involved in a much larger number of firearms incidents, with illegal gun suppliers renting weapons out to different criminals and gang members.<sup>7</sup>

We will consult on the need for a new offence of possession of an illegal firearm with intent to supply and on whether the penalty is at the right level for the existing firearm importation offence. We will also be examining the deactivation standards for firearms to ensure they are sufficiently robust to prevent them from being reactivated into live firing weapons.

And for violent offenders who end up in custody or under community supervision, we will use that opportunity to provide routes out of the violent lifecycle with new offending behaviour programmes for violent offenders being rolled out, including modules specifically targeted at gang members. We will also develop an intelligence network which will enable better identification, management and intervention with gang members in prison.

<sup>7</sup> www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmhaff/447/44708.htm

For violent gang members from outside the UK, immigration powers to detail and deport can provide an additional control and enforcement tactic complimentary to the criminal justice system.

#### **Operation Bite**

Operation Bite is a pioneering joint initiative between the Metropolitan Police Service and the UK Border Agency, targeted on the highest harm gang members. Its aim is to bring the maximum possible joint police and immigration enforcement to bear as quickly as possible against this dangerous group. Through Operation Bite, a number of individuals identified as 'highest harm' gang offenders involved in crimes such as murder, kidnap, shootings, stabbings, robbery and drugs supply have been fast-tracked into UKBA by the Metropolitan Police. UKBA staff have in turn identified foreign national subjects from these for intervention using immigration powers. In one example, a 25 year old gang leader from London had been sentenced in 2004 to six years for robbery involving the use of a converted firearm. In November 2007 he was charged with possession of a firearm, but he was later acquitted at court. In December 2007 he was charged with attempted murder but acquitted again. He was eventually detained for 12 months under immigration powers and then deported for a minimum of 10 years.

The 'Operation Bite' methodology has succeeded in removing nine harmful and at-risk gang offenders from the UK for a minimum of 10 years each. We will now look to expand this sort of successful approach – including in other areas of the UK.

#### Sharing information to save lives

Shared approaches to youth violence require a shared understanding of the problem. Local areas need to know exactly which young people are involved in serious violence – both as victims and as perpetrators and where and when this violence is happening. Violence can be heavily

concentrated at particular times of the day or week as well as in particular locations. Local agencies will need to share all the information and intelligence they hold. Police intelligence by itself won't be enough. To help make this process easier we will:

- issue clear, simple guidelines on data sharing that clarify once and for all the position on what information can be shared between agencies on a risk aware, not risk averse, basis;
- deliver our commitment that all hospital A & E departments share anonymised information on knife and gang assaults with the police and other agencies and pilot the feasibility of including A & E data on local crime maps;
- develop a simple risk assessment tool that every agency can use to identify the young people most at risk of serious violence; and
- promote the roll-out of Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs, which co-locate police and other public protection agencies to cut bureaucracy and make it easier to share information and agree actions.

And, to ensure that lessons are learnt from every tragic young death, the Ending Gang and Youth Violence Team will promote the use of multiagency serious case reviews which should already be carried out after every gang homicide of a young person under 18. We will also encourage local partners to review their actions and interventions in cases of gang-related deaths of young adults so that lessons can be learnt quickly and put into practice to avoid future tragedies.

#### Next steps

This report marks the beginning of a new commitment to work across government to tackle the scourge of gang culture and serious youth violence. An Inter-Ministerial Group chaired by the Home Secretary will continue to meet on a quarterly basis to review progress on the actions set out in this report and will be supported by a cross-government senior officials group chaired by the Permanent Secretary of the Home Office. We will also establish a forum of key external organisations and individuals who share our commitment to end serious youth

violence that will meet regularly with ministers to hold the Government to account on delivery. And we will work with young people themselves to ensure their views are heard too.

Nationally, we are clear that our approach to serious youth violence will stand or fall on whether it reduces the number of young people killed or seriously wounded – this will be our ultimate goal. But crime figures only tell part of the story, so we will work with local partners to agree other common-sense measures of well-being in high-violence areas for individuals, families and communities. We will use these to help local areas evaluate the impact of the measures outlined in this report. Our focus must now be on actions, not words.

#### A focus on action

We have set ourselves clear goals.

#### By December

- Ending Gang and Youth Violence Team in place, with the support of a virtual network of over 100 expert advisors.
- Up to 30 areas with the biggest serious youth violence and gang problems identified and offered support from the Team to revamp their strategic and operational response to serious youth violence.
- Gang injunctions available for I4-to I7-yearolds.
- Consultation underway on the need for a new offence of possession of an illegal firearm with intent to supply, and on the appropriate penalty level for the existing illegal importation of a firearm offence.
- Public health outcomes framework published.
- Child Sexual Exploitation plan published.

#### By April 2012

• £10m of funding distributed to up to 30 areas identified as having significant serious youth violence and gang problems to improve the response of mainstream services, with at least half of this funding going to the non-statutory sector.

- Impact measures agreed with areas in receipt of funding and support.
- ACPO map of gangs in England and Wales developed and regularly reviewed.
- Second wave of Youth Justice Liaison and Diversion sites targeted at areas where there is a known and significant gang or serious youth violence problem.
- Feasibility of including A&E data on local crime maps established.

#### By April 2013

- Clear, simple guidelines on data sharing that clarify once and for all the position on what information can be shared between agencies.
- Simple evidence-based tool developed that every agency can use to identify the young people most at risk of serious violence.
- Gang Forums in place across England and Wales to enable youth offending teams to share best practice.
- New offending behaviour programmes for violent offenders rolled out, including modules specifically targeted at gang members.
- Specialist services in place for girls and young women suffering gang-related sexual exploitation and abuse.
- New advice available to parents, helping them to spot the signs of gang involvement, and teaching materials on serious youth violence assessed, with schools knowing how to access the most effective.
- Law on joint enterprise publicised, making young people aware of the potentially severe consequences of associating with gang members.

#### By April 2014

- Housing resettlement schemes for gang members and their families operating more effectively in all gang-affected areas.
- Intensive Multi-Systemic Therapy will be reaching around 1,200 troubled families in 25 areas.

#### By the end of this Parliament

· We will have turned around the lives of

- 120,000 of the most troubled families, reducing their involvement in violent crime and disorder.
- We will have seen a reduction in the number of young people killed or seriously wounded by youth or gang-related violence.
- All local areas with a serious youth violence or gang problem will be able to point to reductions across a range of indicators, for example, an improvement in well-being for individuals, families and communities.



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