EURO CENTRE PUBLICATION

Youth Gangs

Preventive social measures to reduce juvenile delinquency and gang crime

Günter Stummvoll

Vienna / December 2021

EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND RESEARCH

Vienna, December 2021

The project 'Youth Gangs - Preventive social measures to reduce juvenile delinquency and gang crime' was implemented for the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs in 2021. Opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the funding organisations.

Please cite this publication in the following manner:

Stummvoll, G. (2021). *Youth gangs: Preventive social measures to reduce juvenile delinquency and gang crime,* EURO.CENTRE.REPORT. Vienna: European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research.

Contact:
Dr. Anette Scoppetta
scoppetta@euro.centre.org

European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research
Berggasse 17, 1090 Vienna, Austria
www.euro.centre.org
ec@euro.centre.org

Acknowledgements

The author would like to take the opportunity to express his gratitude for the time and effort of the following national experts and organisations in sharing their valuable knowledge on existing legislation and policies, providing the requested information and additional clarifications when needed: Tony Malmborg, Kristoffer Lundberg, the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

Draft documents have been kindly reviewed by the following colleagues at the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research: Christian Böhler, Veronica Sandu, Selma Kadi, Sonila Danaj, Rahel Kahlert, Cees Goos, Anette Scoppetta and Kai Leichsenring.

Special thanks go to Amália Solymosi for layouting and editing.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

This publication is about policy responses to youth crime in general and to crime committed in youth gangs in particular. The phenomenon of youth gangs, their prevalence, transformation and the harm they cause, has been studied around the globe for almost a century (Muncie, 2021; Esbensen and Maxson, 2012; Maxson and Esbensen, 2016). Although suspects at 10 – 21 years of age represent only a small proportion of all offenders recorded by the police in western democracies, juvenile offenders are over-proportional in relation to their population in a given polity. In this age cohort a higher percentage of individuals are reported for criminal offences than in other age cohorts. However, for the majority of young people, involvement in delinquency seems to be an episodic experience in their biography, whereas only a small proportion of them become persistent offenders, usually together with peers. Moreover, most youth groups do not engage in crime; only a small proportion of youth groups accept doing illegal things (Gatti et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, youth groups who commit crime cause significant problems in urban areas, either by fighting each other or by intimidating and threatening the general population. Gun violence, robbery, street fights and property damage in public spaces provoke major fears, and not only in deprived neighbourhoods.

However, the term 'youth gang' is ambivalent. Not every youth group that call themselves a gang would also count as a gang in scientific terms. This has to do with a certain myth that is commonly attached to juvenile subcultures and which has been fuelled by the film industry (West Side Story, Al Capone and others). Researchers who specialize in studies of youth gangs have agreed on the following definition for scientific purposes:

"Any durable, street-oriented youth group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity" (Decker and Weerman, 2005).

This definition for 'youth gangs' has been used consistently in criminological studies.

This project was concerned with the phenomenon of youth gangs and respective prevention measures to reduce the number of young people who join youth gangs. The first section in this report offers a historical review on youth gang research, discussing methodologies and ideologies that have been applied at certain times in history. At the beginning of the 20th century in Chicago, street gangs were studied as a socio-cultural phenomenon in urban development. After the 2nd World War, the emphasis shifted to the critical study of deviance and social control, as juveniles were regarded as victims of social inequalities and (racial) discrimination. At the last turn of the centuries, the focus shifted again to criminological large-scale surveys to study risk factors in order to develop countermeasures against delinquency and violence caused by youth gangs.

The second section in this report - pathways towards prevention - presents some arguments for a positive change, particularly derived from the concepts of "drift", "social bonding", and "turning points" in the life course of young people. These concepts can inform policy makers and youth workers in designing suitable interventions.

Some interventions are presented in part three of this report. In a welfare approach to tackle youth crime, three examples on various levels of intervention are presented: First, 'police counselling in schools' represents a recent programme of police in Austria to raise awareness about the consequences of law-breaking, but police also inform about the hazards of substance use and the risks of general leisure activities including the use of social media. Second, the practice of 'positive role models in communities' in the Netherlands shows that former gang members can have a significant impact on legal behaviour in active youth gangs, as they use their trusted image to assist juveniles with housing, employment and family conflict issues. Third, "social network and family conferences" are presented as an example of diversion within criminal justice procedures to reduce the number of juveniles in pre-trial detention. Together with family members and significant others young delinquents are making plans for their future development and a life free of drugs and crime.

In the final section, we take up an academic debate on multi-agency partnerships in crime prevention which seems fruitful for developing comprehensive intervention programmes to combat youth gangs. This discussion on collaboration in partnerships between government organisations and civil society may be particularly useful for administrations, where multi-agency policing is not yet fully established. Here we discuss obstacles and pitfalls as well as managerial concepts before we make recommendations for a successful implementation of crime prevention partnerships.

In sum: *"The most successful comprehensive gang initiatives are community-wide in scope, have broad community involvement in planning and delivery, and employ integrated prevention, outreach, support and services"* (Howell, 2014: 7).

1 Background and introduction

Many European countries are confronted with an aggravated problem of gang crime and increasing street violence. Youth gangs[1] that commit crimes often include young people with a variety of social problems associated with poor schooling, migration background, low socio-economic status and living in deprived neighbourhoods. Street shootings and violence have lifted youth gangs to the top of the political agenda, and strategies to mitigate the problems are urgently needed.

There are several political strategies to tackle the problem of juvenile gang crime, and very broadly two approaches are distinguished in current criminological discourse: **deterrence** and **social prevention**. More than twenty years ago, the US-American criminologist David Garland (2001) proclaimed a decline of "penal welfarism" and a shift in the culture of control in the Western world from rehabilitative to punitive ideals in criminal justice politics. Punitive strategies of deterrence, he argued, are based on the idea of offenders as rational utility-maximizing individuals and suggest surveillance, higher penalties, strict sanctioning and reducing opportunities for crime by changing the immediate situational environment. Proponents of this "managerialist approach" prefer short-term solutions over long-term welfare strategies, low-cost interventions over large-scale social programmes and market-driven public-private partnerships over social welfare institutions (Garland, 2000, 2001). In contrast, social crime prevention is defined as "aims to strengthen socialization agencies and community institutions in order to influence those groups that are most at risk of offending" (Bright, 1991: 64; quoted in: Hughes 1998: 20). Social prevention tries to reduce the likelihood that individuals or groups will include crime in their repertoire of behaviours by strengthening informal and institutionally based incentives to be law abiding (Sutton et al., 2008: 22). This analytic distinction between deterrence policy and social prevention policy has gained importance in European politics today.

With regard to policies in social prevention, a further analytical distinction has been made (Welsh and Farrington, 2012): "Accentuating the positive" is different from "eliminating the negative", which translates into "promotion of social goods" versus "preventing of social harms". Evidence from practice suggests, however, that combining both strategies in a meaningful way is helpful to prevent gang membership and reduce violence in cities.

Whereas the proponents of law-and-order policies search for new techniques to control gang crime, social prevention protagonists seek to understand the social conditions in a society that allow – or

[1] In this report, we use the term 'youth gang' to describe harmful behaviour of a permanent group of juveniles toward other persons and properties. Nevertheless, we also recognise the potentially inclusive effect that 'gangs' can have on individuals in terms of positive in-group feelings, protection, social cohesion, collective conscience, and solidarity.

prompt - youth groups to engage in criminal activities. This search for social causes, however, is a serious matter, as it requires the study of social complexity of juvenile delinquency before the political implications can be worked out.

Despite considerable political distinctions, inter-continental research has revealed important cultural differences in youth gang crime prevention in the USA and Europe. Although an incoherent landscape of intervention strategies in European countries is recognised, it was found that - historically - interventions in Europe have been embedded in social welfare policies: "Many of these measures are part of the traditional welfare state response of building up permanent institutions (e.g., youth clubs, sport facilities, child-care services, street worker units, treatment institutions, and so on)" (Carlsson and Decker, 2005: 261). On the other hand, the United States are known for a vast amount of specific crime prevention programmes to compensate for the lack of an institutional "social safety net". However, more recently the change of political governments in European countries has caused confusion to this clear division and has led to a mix of conservative and social-democratic approaches in youth gang crime prevention. In practice, this means that many US-style 'special' programmes have been imported to the European continent and are now merged with social welfare programmes, particularly in the fields of health promotion, child protection, employment benefits, and the variety in social work services (ibid. 262). As a consequence, the response to violence and gang crime has become a mix of universal prevention through social welfare services and case- and place-specific intervention programmes that address individuals with their personal characteristics, relationships between youth and adult caregivers, schools, neighbourhoods or general social norms in the community.

Aims and objectives of this report:

The focus of this analysis is on good practice examples and effective social policies to reduce juvenile delinquency particularly in the form of gang crime.

- Identify socio-economic risk factors that may contribute to the involvement of young people in gang crime
- Assess prevention policies on several governmental levels (national, regional, local) that focus on the problem of youth gang crime, and highlight social prevention approaches in response to the particular risk factors
- Present good practice examples from various international research projects
- Identify institutions of the public, the private and the civil society such as the police, schools, public health, family, community, social work and probation services, and describe their potential contributions in preventing gang membership
- Develop a multi-agency approach to tackle the problem of youth gang crime and street violence.

Methodology

The findings in this report are based on a comprehensive desk research that included a literature study on recent international research programmes. Those programmes not only focus on the composition and cultures of street gangs, but more importantly provided clear policy guidelines as outcomes of their research. Criminological research on gang crime has a long tradition and has focused on many themes: Quantitative and qualitative data collection, including administrative statistics, self-report surveys, socio-economic data on structural living conditions and ethnographic research on cultural features of gang membership. As a result, a great number of research projects, in the USA and Europe, have been conducted to advise governments on strategies and methods to prevent gang crime. Three major international research programmes[2] have been identified as a crucial source of information for this study. These empirical programmes are still ongoing and today they function as organisational frameworks for many individual case studies around the globe. In recent years its collaborators have offered sound policy recommendations, which also provided the basic material for this desk research on good practices.

The **ISRD Study** (International Self-Report Delinquency Study) is probably the most comprehensive longitudinal juvenile self-report study of the last three decades worldwide. More than 60 countries in Europe, the Americas, Africa, Asia, and in the Pacific regions have recently joined the 4th sweep of this standardised research on juvenile delinquency. This dataset can help understand the socio-economic circumstances (risk factors) for young people to join youth gangs and engage in criminal activities. From this analysis respective prevention practices can be derived.

The **EUROGANG** project, founded in 1998 by the American gang researcher Malcolm Klein, is an international network of American and European researchers who aim to "inform the development of effective local, national, and international responses to emerging youth crime and violence issues". Following the first workshop in 1998 in Schmitten, Germany, 19 workshops for scientific exchange were organised mainly in the United Kingdom, Scandinavian countries, Germany, the Netherlands and the USA. The network has produced some high-level publications that provide discussions of national policies with implications on prevention and interventions (see references).

The **TRANSGANG** project was founded in 2018 by researchers at the University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona. TRANSGANG is a solution focused research project that highlights mediation processes in the work with youth groups as an alternative solution to gang crime. The project offers insights into intervention practices from several geographical and cultural regions (the Americas, S-Europe, N-Africa) that directly involves transnational youth groups in problem interventions of gang violence.

[2] See links to project webpages in the references.

Working definition of youth gangs

All partners of the EUROGANG programme have come to agree on a common definition for the phenomenon of youth gangs. The following definition has been accepted in many study projects on youth gangs in the USA, Europe and beyond. The EUROGANG programme defines a youth gang as:

"Any durable, street-oriented youth group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity"[3].

This definition implies that crime committed by members of a youth gang is not an isolated outbreak of violence, but a frequent occurrence deeply entrenched in social structures. There are, still, major controversies over the definition of these structures in terms of ethnicity, rivalry, socio-economic strain or political oppression. Also, the definition does not clearly differentiate between a gang and any other form of violent group, subculture, friendship network or organised crime. It seems that all of these elements can be components of the definition depending on local social structures. However, with this definition in mind, researchers in the USA and Europe set out to conduct a variety of studies, collecting data about incidence rates, organisational structures, cultural contexts, and prevention policies.

2 A short history of youth gang research

Juvenile delinquency and gang crime have been a focus of the social sciences for almost a century. From the early 20th century until today, research has passed through various political and ideological eras with significant effects on objectives, methodologies and conclusions. At most times, juvenile delinquency was studied to understand the meanings of social and cultural behaviour and see the world "through the eyes" of young people involved in crime. For example, Frederic Thrasher conducted a long-term ethnographic study on street gangs in the 1920s in the city of Chicago (Thrasher, 1927/1947). Thrasher spent eight years, studying 1,313 different youth groups across the city of Chicago. However, for Thrasher the gang was not a malignant group of criminals. Rather, the gang emerged out of a natural playgroup of children who were united in defence and shared the struggle for privileges and territorial sovereignty in the streets of Chicago. In line with other researchers of that time, and as part of a research tradition that became known as the Chicago School of Sociology, Thrasher considered crime and delinquency as a by-product of population density, overcrowded streets and poverty. The Chicago School researchers studied the social fabric of the city from an anthropological viewpoint which ensued an unbiased and politically disinterested analysis of strange peoples and customs (Downes and Rock, 1998). Crime was studied

[3] It is uncertain at what point in time this definition was first agreed. The chapters in Decker and Weerman (2005) already refer to this definition.

as a normal phenomenon in society, an ordinary consequence of poor living conditions, and anything but pathological. Delinquency was described as a feature of locality in the city and as a way of life passed from generation to generation.

The post-war period marked a significant shift in academic approaches to researching gangs. With the formal establishment of a *sociology of deviance* developed in the 1960s as a home for the special field of gang research, observational methods were superseded by theory-driven empirical analyses of structure and agency within the subcultures of youth gangs. The prevailing theoretical concepts were: (1) *anomie*, or the disparity between the 'cultural goal' of economic success and the unequal distribution of 'legitimate means' of attaining this goal; (2) *strain* in terms of marginalisation and status frustration among working-class people; and (3) *labelling and social constructionism*, nurtured by the mass media blamed for causing a "moral panic" about youth cultures.

For example, Albert Cohen argued in *"Delinquent Boys – The Culture of the Gang"* (Cohen, 1955) that structural and institutionalised inequality brought on an experience of collective strain, which then induced similarly excluded individuals to establish "group standards" in opposition to mainstream values in society. The recognition denied in the wider society can be compensated and achieved within a subculture, where the gang offers a sense of belonging and status:

"Being denied access to, or wilfully disregarding, the formal values of mainstream society, an alternative subculture is created in which individuals may be successful – in terms of violence, crime, and hedonism" (Cohen, 1955: 55; quoted in Fraser, 2017: 67).

The argument of structural inequalities, social exclusion and discrimination culminated in a critical view that presented young delinquents as victims of political power relations closely linked to race, gender, class – and more recently: migration background. The radical political demands that followed from the labelling perspective were the call for de-criminalisation of certain offences in criminal codes, minimal intervention by the police, diversion and abolitionism in penal systems.

From the 1980s onward, the field of gang research has increasingly turned away from cultural studies and became a major focus of the rising academic discipline of criminology and criminal justice. This also meant a shift in focus, from qualitative ethnographic approaches of social contexts in which gangs were established, to studying the causes and correlates of gang membership in large-scale surveys. Quantitative surveys investigate the dark figure of crime and study the causal relationships between gang affiliation and other social factors such as personality, family background, schooling, and leisure activities. The theoretical focus also shifted from a socio-political critique of living conditions to institutions of social control, prevention and early intervention. A concise analysis of administrative data (official crime statistics), self-report studies and survey data can offer policy recommendations that consider factors that may allow or hinder young people from joining youth gangs. Survey based methods of data collection include school-based sampling

where students are asked to complete questionnaires on criminality and victimisation[4]. In statistical analyses, answers are correlated with answers to questions on lifestyle, leisure activities, peer-group activities and socio-demographic information.

More recently, research is conducted that aims to identify certain risk factors for juveniles to join gangs. As Carlsson and Sarnecki (2016) contend, risk factors have two features: they come in clusters - social arrangements such as family, school, neighbourhood etc. are meshed up; and risk factors are cumulative - the more risk factors an individual is exposed to, the higher the risk of offending.

- *Psychological factors:* A hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention deficit is predictive of future offending. Also, low intelligence, low school achievement, learning disabilities, anxiety, early aggressiveness are strong predictors of early onset of criminal offending.

- *Broken homes*: Socio-economic status and large family size, but more importantly how families function in terms of poor parental supervision, harsh and inconsistent discipline, abuse, maltreatment and neglect, family conflict, and parent's own problems such as crime, substance abuse, mental illness, poverty.

- *Peer factors:* Proximity and association with delinquent peers and siblings, gang membership and "differential association" (Sutherland, 1939).

- *School factors:* Learning difficulties and low achievement, truancy, dropping out or being expelled from school. Also, schools have a strong effect of social control in terms of quality of schooling ("effective schools"): Classroom management, high teacher expectations, teachers as positive role models, positive feedback and treatment of students, good working conditions for staff and students, shared staff-student activities.

- *Neighbourhood and community effects:* Economic deprivation, disorder and incivilities, poor neighbourhood integration, availability of firearms, level of gang activity.

In life-course criminology it is argued that criminal careers are the result of an accumulation of a number of risk factors, including individual, psychological, social and economic factors. The study of correlation of these and other risk factors in relation to delinquency have become the special focus of large-scale quantitative research projects in recent times.

[4] See: The International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD) of youth: https://isrdstudy.org/

2.1 Interpretivist or positivist research?

This short historical overview demonstrates that over time researchers have taken very different perspectives when they studied the phenomenon of youth gangs. The position is contingent upon a wider social and political context, and it is important to explicitly point to the different ideologies that are at work when social scientists study gangs. Differentiating these ideological viewpoints is important because they strongly determine aims, objectives, methods and conclusions of research.

Different approaches have implications for the epistemological underpinning of empirical research: They influence *how* we collect information and *what kind of information* we are interested in. For example, research conducted in an **interpretivist tradition** will assume that social reality does not have an objective reality 'out there' that needs to be discovered, but conversely the world as we know it is constructed and interpreted as a result of cultural understanding. Hence, research sets out to understand the meanings (verstehen) of social and cultural behaviour, the processes by which certain behaviours become criminalised, and to recognise the impact of ascribed labels on individuals. Consequently, scientific research on youth gangs focuses less on a certain objective identity and rather on the performance of individuals in social situations. Then, research methods in that tradition are mainly participants observation, in-depth interviewing and visual methods in order to see the world 'through the eyes' of the subjects. Interpretivist researchers are conducting "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) and elaborate "webs of meaning" in which participants are embedded. Qualitative approaches emphasise the culture of youth gangs and more particularly words and meanings rather than numbers and correlations.

In contrast, **positivism** emerged in the early 19th century and argues that social relations and events (including crime) can be studied scientifically using methods from the natural sciences. Its aim is to search for, explain and predict future patterns of social behaviour. In this research tradition, the core method to gain knowledge is in seeking cause-and-effect correlations – for example, between gang membership and crime. The recent focus on multivariate modelling and "expanding webs of big-data" (Fraser, 2017: 28) shows the ascendence of quantitative methods in mainstream gang research in the US and worldwide. Quantitative approaches to study youth gangs allow researchers to generalise from surveys using inferential statistics, to replicate a study and track changes over time, and to draw conclusions from the data regarding factors of life-course persistence and desistance in gang crime. However, as criminologists repeatedly pointed out, these data sets rely on practices of reporting and recording data. Some offences are more likely to be reported than others and recording data may be influenced by a range of internal administrative factors. Often, a separate category to register information on gang-related crime does not exist in governmental crime records, and therefore additional information is sometimes collected simply from experience and observation of police officers in a rather arbitrary way.

It is not difficult to see the benefits of both research traditions for the study of prevention of youth delinquency and gang crime: First, interpretivist research focuses on the social interaction between

social service agencies and their 'clients' and thus on the quality of interventions. A good understanding of youth cultures and vocational cultures (police, social work, pedagogy) can be helpful in social interventions of all kinds. Second, positivist research presents a perfect match and focuses on risk factors in the transition of young people from childhood to adulthood. Triangulation of dynamic and static methodologies in the study of youth delinquency are crucial for any kind of preventive action. Data collection through different approaches and its examination from different perspectives will provide a better understanding of a problem (Kumar, 2014), and it will help turning risk factors into protective factors.

However, we may ask: What makes us so sure that positive change in the development of young people is possible? Do not the various ethnographic studies of juvenile delinquency and the series of quantitative surveys on risk factors paint the picture of a predetermined offender, predestined either by internal personality traits or by the external social environment? Are young people bound in their social development by poor neighbourhoods, social inequalities, economic deprivation, stigmatisation and anomie? What makes us believe that young offenders can escape criminal careers and abstain from criminal activities together with peers? In other words: What are the basic assumptions that can motivate prevention efforts?

3 Pathways towards prevention of gang crime

In the following, three arguments are given that underpin a positive stance towards change in the life-course of young people: First, it is assumed that young people are not totally lost to criminal subcultures but *drift* between various social groups with conventional and deviant norms and values (Matza, 1964). Second, research from the perspective of *social control theory* identified elements of social bonding that support young people to abstain from involvement in criminal activities (Hirschi, 1969). Third, it is argued that young people experience also positive life events such as a partnership, taking up employment and becoming a parent, which can be *turning points* at any stage of the life cycle. This "stake in conformity" - the feeling of having something to lose - and subsequent investment in conventional society, functions as another major constraint to crime (Sampson and Laub, 1995). These dynamics will have to be considered in intervention and prevention programmes.

3.1 Drift between conventional and deviant social groups

The theoretical pathway from understanding gang crime to prevention and intervention can be laid out as follows: Rather than concentrating on purely *interactionist* and *interpretivist* approaches and

also avoiding a radical critique of social systems on a macro-societal level, we may follow a *realist* approach in order to offer a valid solution to the problem of gang crime. We may start from the concept of *drift* (Matza, 1964), which rejects the static view of theories of subcultures and instead contends that life-courses are neither predetermined nor culturally inherited. In his classic study *"Delinquency and Drift"* (1964), David Matza argued that most young people do not spend all of their time together with young offenders, but also at home, at school, at work, and maybe in a sports club. In each setting, juveniles are exposed to different role-structures, norms and values. Therefore, delinquency tends to be transient and intermittent, and juveniles may temporarily drift away from law-abiding norms into situations where delinquency is the dominant form of conduct. When juveniles drift between conventional and criminal activities, there is hope that the norms in non-delinquent social groups are strong enough to eventually take control in the overall normative orientation of young people. This is where social work begins: Investment in education, employment, family relationships and other 'anchors' to conventional society improve the likelihood of desistance (Weaver, 2015; Fraser, 2015). The aim is then to strengthen social ties with conventional networks.

3.2 Social bonds to conformity

What is needed is not only a theory about why youths are pushed into delinquency, but also a better understanding about what prevents adolescents from joining gangs. In other words, there is not only a need to identify factors that motivate youths to commit delinquent acts, but rather we should ask: Why do youths conform to the laws? A number of researchers have focused on the mechanisms that restrain individuals from becoming involved in deviant, delinquent and criminal behaviour. One of the most celebrated proponents of *social control theory*, Travis Hirschi (1969), was concerned with identifying the factors that lead to social conformity. Hirschi argued that the reason people do not engage in deviance or crime is because we have *social bonds to conformity* that keep us from engaging in unacceptable activities. There are four elements of social bonding as the core condition for conformity: *attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief*. These elements will now be presented as they are significant to deduce prevention strategies.

- *Attachment* is the affectionate component; it suggests that an emotional relationship with others, usually parents and other family members, but also friends we look up to, plays a significant role and guides our actions. A strong attachment may help young people to re-consider their plans before carrying out a crime in order to avoid personal disappointment. Caring about what significant people (role models) would say if they found out is a vital element of social control.

- *Commitment* is the rational component that causes young people to weigh costs and benefits of deviant behaviour. Those who have more to lose will less likely engage in delinquency. The risk of losing a job, losing a partner, or losing a position in a sports club acts as an important factor of social control.

- *Involvement* is the practical component of time management. Involvement in conventional activities functions as a distraction from getting involved in deviant activities. The more time is spent engaged in conforming activities such as doing sports, artwork, reading, etc., the less time there is available to deviate and cause trouble. Hirschi's argument here is that "idle hands are the devil's workshop" (Hirschi, 1969: 187).

- *Belief* is the moral component. This simply refers to the degree of agreement with rules and norms of society as a control factor. A feeling of moral obligation and respect for societal norms and values prevent young people from breaking rules.

Hirschi has, of course, found relationships between these components, as for example, the more time someone spends in a sports club, the more he or she will feel attached to team-mates and possibly to coaches, the more they will have to lose, the more they will respect the rules of conduct, and the less time they will find to engage in street fights. At this point we can speculate whether engaging in religious and spiritual practices will have a similar bonding (and controlling) effect.

Interestingly, and somewhat surprisingly, Travis Hirschi worked out a new version of control theory 20 years later when he teamed up with his colleagues Michael Gottfredson (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). In their empirical research they reduced the causes of delinquency to one single characteristic: self-control, or "the differential tendency of people to avoid criminal acts whatever the circumstances in which they find themselves" (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990: 87).

3.3 Life-course criminology and desistance from crime

Approaches in life-course criminology are interested in criminality in different stages of life. It is assumed that the importance of crime is not the same across all ages but varies in a lifetime. For some time, involvement in youth gangs can have a significant function for young people as it shapes identity and provides solidarity within peer groups. Later, this situation can change: An exit from gangs occurs as the peer group loses significance and is gradually replaced by new associations at work or in private life. This idea of a dynamic socialisation process was also pursued by Sampson and Laub (1995). They argued that *informal social controls* are the key to understanding why individuals engage in crime, why they persist, and why they stop. Adverse conditions of informal social control in criminal careers are effective at different stages during personal development: A lack of bonding in the family, school failure, delinquent peers, social deprivation and unemployment are significant risk factors for developing criminal careers. Conversely, social institutions, employment, and engaging in romantic relationships provide potential *turning points* in young people's life trajectories during their transition to adulthood. Together with other factors such as change in routine activities and cognitive change, a change in social control seems to be the crucial condition for desistance in crime and delinquency.

4 A welfare approach to social intervention in juvenile delinquency – three practices

In general, prevention measures can address youth in different social settings, in their families, in the community or at school. Also, prevention can address (1) young people in general (universal populations / primary prevention), (2) young people at risk of gang membership (selected populations / secondary prevention), or (3) young people already convicted and sanctioned (indicated populations / tertiary prevention).

This section expands on the risk and protective factors and looks more closely at the role of control agencies such as family, school, and peers in the community. Three examples for prevention strategies are presented, taken from Austria, the Netherlands and New Zealand. These strategies either address young people in schools, or young people in the community who are at risk of getting involved in youth gangs, or young people who are already facing a conviction in institutions of the criminal justice system. Taken together, these examples represent important corner stones in a social welfare approach to prevent gang crime.

Juvenile delinquency and gang crime are more likely when a number of risk factors such as early childhood neglect, low-income households, broken homes, poor school achievements, school dropout, and unemployment accumulate. Likewise, an effective policy response should be just as comprehensive and offer a network of social services in a variety of social control institutions such as families, schools and the community. The following three examples address different social institutions and represent different levels of prevention. First, **"Under 18"** is a school-based counselling programme given by prevention officers in the police in Austria. Second, a project in the Netherlands uses ex-gang members as positive **"street-oriented role models"** in a community. Finally, the **"Social Network Conferences"** depict a concept in youth justice that originated in New Zealand. "Under 18" addresses all youth in a population regardless of risk (universal, primary prevention); the Dutch "Role Model Experiment" addresses youth at high risk "in the thick" of the problem (selected, secondary prevention); "Social Network Conferences" address youth who are already within the criminal justice system, either in pre-trial detention or in prison (indicated, tertiary prevention).

Level of prevention	Examples
Universal populations / primary prevention	"Under 18" School-based counselling by the police
Selected populations / secondary prevention	Street-oriented role models In the community, subculture
Indicated populations / tertiary prevention	"Youth Justice Family Group conferences" and "Social Network Conferences" Using family networks and other significant persons

Table 1: Three Examples for prevention in a welfare approach by level of prevention.

4.1 "Under 18" – Police counselling in schools in Austria[5]

"Under 18" is a programme offered by specially trained prevention officers in the police to juveniles at the age of 13-17 years in selected schools in Austria. Usually, schools make a request to the police to receive the programme. The programme, fully established since 2017, integrates prevention of violence and prevention of addiction (substances and behaviours) and is based on psychological and pedagogical expertise to provide skills on the prevention of violence and substance use. Although mainly dedicated to students, also teachers and parents can be involved in the programme that is offered in 12 sessions within one school year. The programme "Under 18" is composed of three modules:

1. "All Right" focuses on basics in administrative law, criminal law and civil law as it occurs in various situations of youth in everyday life.

2. "Click & Check" focuses on violence in the context of digital media and encourages a sensitive use of the internet. Teachers, parents or legal guardians are called upon to discuss issues of social media in class and at home together with their pupils and children.

[5] The programme was established by the Austrian Police in 2017 https://www.bundeskriminalamt.at/205/start.aspx

3. "Look@your.Life" focuses on general challenges in everyday life of young people, in the community and in relation to consumerism and the use of social media. Here, also consumption of psycho-active substances, the social climate at school, a sensible use of smart-phones, behaviour at parties, the creative use of leisure time, and the function of role models in families and communities is discussed.

Goals of the programme[6]:

- Promoting legal awareness
- Developing action strategies for living in the community
- Raising awareness of moral courage
- Strengthening of life skills through cooperation in the class structure and coping with difficult situations
- Enhancing alternative behaviours and conflict resolution skills
- Providing facts about dangers on the Internet
- Promoting responsible use of digital media
- Expanding and internalizing of action strategies in social networks
- Preventing criminal acts in relation to substance use
- Promoting low-risk substance use and growing up without legal problems
- Improving communication skills in interactions between students, teachers, and parents or legal guardians

Contents of the programme:

- Understanding terms and conditions in legal regulations in national law
- Explaining juvenile justice regulations in relation to everyday life of youth
- Enhancing awareness of various criminal justice regulations
- Knowing about different forms of violence and skills to prevent violence
- Sensitising for situations of conflict and violence and developing skills in the context of moral courage
- Competence training in empathy, reflexivity, setting limits
- Self-reflection and self-awareness
- Explaining myths about alcohol consumption
- Discovering healthy activities in leisure time
- Supporting cognitive creativity in dealing with conflicts

[6] Source: https://www.bundeskriminalamt.at/205/start.aspx

Prevention officers in the Austrian police must take a special training of 22 days on top of the basic course on crime prevention to give this programme in schools. The training includes both e-learning and face-to-face sessions, and a fresh-up course is required every two years.

Similar school-counselling programmes exist around the word, sometimes supplemented by pre-school programmes, anti-bullying programmes, individual personality training, psychological and mental support, group therapy in class, parent training, and others (Farrington, 2002; Welsh and Farrington, 2012).

4.2 Positive Role Models for Youth Gangs in the Netherlands

As a member of the EUROGANG research programme, Jan Dirk de Jong reported on a new development in the Netherlands in handling the problem of youth gangs (De Jong, 2016). The idea is using positive role models with local background in the community as an alternative approach to both repressive responses and (primary) prevention services. This approach is not new as many local projects in the United States show: Local outreach workers (Decker et al., 2008), personal mentors (Langhout et al., 2004) and Big Brothers or Sisters (Grossman and Thierney, 1998) are some examples. Interestingly, efforts to work with ex-gang members to help youth at risk to desist from participating in gang membership are presented as an alternative to professional youth work and social services.

In the Netherlands, the role model project originated from dissatisfaction with conventional social work institutions in their efforts to gain local trust. Without that trust, it is argued, practitioners cannot bridge the gap between conventional civil society and "street cultures" of underprivileged neighbourhoods. For a long time, the positive impact of local key figures has been ignored in formal interventions by municipal governments or was accepted only as a by-product in social work. De Jong criticises that an emphasis on scientific outcome assessment in terms of "what works" has often eclipsed the practice of "who works" in terms of personal professional skills combined with individual traits and local social networks (De Jong, 2016: 238):

"(T)he person who was most important and successful in making a difference in the lives of gang members did not always turn out to be the professional. In those cases, the local key figure with influence and informal authority appeared to be the decisive factor, acting as a positive 'role model' in the eyes of the gang members. He or she was the one who reached the 'unreachable' gang youth, involved them in positive and pro-social activities, helped them with difficult personal problems (finding work, housing and professional help), and got them to stop certain delinquent activities." (De Jong, 2016: 238).

In a subsequent research project in the Netherlands these new possibilities were embedded more structurally as a component in a comprehensive approach to gang crime. The fieldwork for this

exploratory research took place in Amsterdam, The Hague, Leiden and in Zoetermeer, where role models could be identified. In total, 47 semi-structured interviews were conducted with boys of 12-24 years of age, who collaborated with the researchers. They were asked about their own life, growing up in the neighbourhood, and about activities and their role in the youth gang. Additionally, interviews with non-gang members in the community, many of them professionals such as shop keepers, sports instructors, teachers, youth workers and counsellors, housing associations, municipal officials, police officers, probation officers were conducted to find solutions to the local gang problem.

The most important finding from this exploratory research revealed the importance of exactly those services that could not be provided in conventional crime prevention programmes: First, getting help with finding suitable work, housing and dealing with all kinds of personal problems. These services are crucial for desisting from criminal activities and gang involvement (De Jong, 2016: 241). Secondly, street-oriented role models are perceived to be more genuine and sincere in their efforts to help than conventional youth workers. De Jong concludes:

"This perception of true commitment, understanding, and involvement appears to be the main added value of the local, street-oriented role model that might potentially fill an important gap in the preventive measures in our Dutch approach to the gang problem" (De Jong, 2016: 241).

4.3 Youth Justice Family Group Conferences in New Zealand and Social Network Conferences in Europe

This third example presented here addresses young people who have already come in contact with the criminal justice system (indicated populations / tertiary prevention). Youth Justice Family Conferences and Social Network Conferences have been used for many years as a way of diversion and as an alternative to punishment in systems of youth justice. It gives juveniles a "second chance" and at the same time encourages the young person to take self-responsibility in working out a positive change in life. This change shall be planned together with family members and significant others under the supervision of probation workers.

Youth Justice Family Group Conferences were first introduced in 1989 in New Zealand, where this intervention was first applied as a form of restorative justice for young Maori offenders (MacRae, 2004). Until today, the criminal justice system in New Zealand offers this opportunity to young people of the Maori community (and others) to help vulnerable children and young people to cope with difficult situations in life as an alternative to getting a criminal record.

In Youth Justice Family Group Conferences, a youth justice coordinator arranges meetings for the young offender together with his or her whānau, victims and professionals from the police and probation officers to make action plans for lasting, positive changes to ensure future wellbeing and a life without offending. There are several steps in "Youth Justice Family Group Conferences":

- Getting the facts: The police reads out the circumstances of the alleged offending
- Time to talk: Members of the whānau and victim(s) will be heard
- Family time: Whānau and the young person will take time out to come up with a clear, realistic plan to take back to others at the family group conference.
- The plan: The plan is then discussed with the wider group, and if everyone can agree, then a legally binding plan is created and must be completed. This will rely on whānau and professionals providing ongoing support, working together, and keeping each other informed about progress and problems.

If the conference is unable to agree on a plan, the matter is referred back to the police or the youth court.

In Europe, "social network conferences" represent a similar method and activity to support young people who have come in touch with the criminal justice system. The aim of social network conferences is to come together with an offender and his/her social network to develop a realistic and binding plan for the future, which shall support the court in their decision for either conditional dismissal or suspension of executing a prison sentence. The goal of social network conferences is to work towards milder measures for juveniles as alternatives to imprisonment.

For example, in 2011 the Austrian Federal Ministry of Justice started a pilot programme for social network conferences in cooperation with the Austrian Probation Service “Neustart”, and a corresponding amendment to the juvenile law entered into force in 2016[7].

The main goals of the social network conferences are:

1. Get the client's commitment for change in the near future
2. Involve the client's reference persons, resource persons, and attachment figures in change management
3. Making tangible plans for structuring daily routines in the near future

In practice, coordinators, probation workers, and clients are given particular roles in the procedure. The *coordinators* of the social network conferences must act neutral, their task is simply to organise the conference and guide all participants through the process. *Probation workers* present the case to the coordinators of the social network conference, phrase the particular “care problem” as the basis for the initiation of a social network conference, and finally make decisions on the plan that was elaborated by the client together with his or her social network in the course of the network conferences. The *clients, i.e. the youth*, have an active role in the process; they must understand

[7] In Austria, the instrument of social network conferences has been evaluated in two separate projects by two different research institutes: The Austrian Institute for Criminal Justice and Criminology at the Vienna University conducted an evaluation study on social network conferences with young offenders in 2012/2013 (24 months). The Austrian Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology conducted an evaluation study in 2015/2016 with a special focus on people in forensic custody. Research reports are available directly at the research institutes.

that they get a chance to benefit from this intervention for their future personal development. This, however, requires personal commitment.

The conferences have the character of workshops where social development plans for the client are elaborated on flipcharts in cooperation with the client and his or her social network. The conference examines opportunities that can help ease the particular problem of the young person. Employment opportunities, healthcare opportunities, drug prevention, and housing opportunities have to be found together with professional experts. The core question in the development of a social plan is this: “Who does what with whom in what time, and who monitors the process?” It is important that the client himself/herself presents the final plan in front of the group during the decision phase of the conference.

Social network conferences are offered to clients in pre-trial detention to assist court decisions, as victim-offender mediation, and as prison-release conferences in order to prepare the client for a successful (re-)integration into society[8].

The three cases are successful examples for integrating specific programmes in institutional welfare regimes to address the problem of youth gangs. In sum, social prevention shall include preventive efforts on all systematic levels of prevention (primary/universal, secondary/selected, tertiary/indicated prevention) and cover all social levels of the ‘social ecology’ (individual level, relationship level, community level, societal level). In that way, social policies can be instrumental to mitigate poverty and social marginalisation and at the same time prevent the formation of youth gangs.

[8] For research on social network conferences in restorative justice see Hagemann (2016) and Vitalyevich et al. (2021).

5 Preventing youth crime in multi-agency partnerships

In this report, several risk factors for young people to develop criminal careers were mentioned, including personality traits, broken family relationships, school failure, social deprivation, poverty, and neighbourhood effects. These risks are often addressed in separate professional domains located in psychology, education, policing, criminal justice, and social work.

In this section, we take up an international discourse that proposes to combine preventive initiatives in policing, early intervention in families, school counselling, substance abuse treatment, violent radicalisation, and others into a single comprehensive approach (Sampson et al., 1988; Gilling, 1994; Walters, 1996; Rosenbaum, 2002, Hardyns et al., 2021). From this it follows that a network of professions such as the police, probation services, schools, social work, health services and others must be coordinated in one way or another and implemented either on a large-scale federal policy level or on a small-scale local level. Already in 1994, in an outstanding paper, Liddle and Gelsthorpe had described the difficulties in synchronising the strategic and practice levels in crime prevention partnerships. In 2002, Rosenbaum has worked out the theory and practice of partnerships in regard to community integration and highlighted respective challenges for evaluation research (Rosenbaum, 2002).

What is multi-agency crime prevention?

"Multi-agency intervention is the planned, co-ordinated response of the major social agencies to problems of crime and incivilities […] Social control in industrial societies is, by its very nature, multi-agency" (Young, 1991: 155; quoted in Hughes, 1998: 76).

"The movement to multi-agency rather than single-agency intervention implies that probation, education, employment, social work and other 'family' services, health, housing, and 'private' bodies such as charities and businesses, as well as the police, all have a role to play in an extended prevention continuum" (Hughes, 1998: 77).

The partnership approach in the United Kingdom

The quotes on multi-agency crime prevention partnerships comment on the developments in the United Kingdom at the time of Conservative government when the 1984 inter-departmental circular 8/84 (Home Office, 1984) triggered the development of several large-scale initiatives in crime prevention. Initiatives in the 1980s and 1990s such as 'Five Towns' and 'Safer Cities' arose out of the UK Home Office officials' wish to establish multi-agency crime prevention and to integrate both situational approaches (opportunity reduction, target hardening) and social approaches. Furthermore, the so-called Morgan Report (Home Office, 1991) had widened the scope of 'crime prevention' by adding the term 'community safety' to encourage greater participation from all sections of the community to engage in the fight against crime.

The following decades in UK politics were marked by a dispute between Conservative and Labour officials about power relations and resourcing between central government, local authorities, and the police regarding the leadership in these crime prevention partnerships. On the one hand, it was argued that the shift of responsibility from central government administration (police, criminal justice, and social welfare institutions) towards other agencies of social control (family, schools, private security businesses, community) was associated with contracting-out, deregulation and privatisation of original state services. On the other hand, the underlying justification for active collaboration of governmental agencies, social organisations, and the public as co-producers of crime prevention and public safety was based on the belief that social reactions to crime should reflect the nature of the phenomenon itself (Young, 1992). In the UK, crime prevention and community safety initiatives particularly focused on the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Crime prevention partnerships in Germany

The concept of multi-agency crime prevention has also gained acceptance on the European continent since the early 1990s. For example, in Germany, the conventional practice of security governance with its division of labour between police and private security services has been replaced by a complex kaleidoscope of stakeholders collaborating in different ways (Frevel, 2015):

- First, in a very broad policy approach, a variety of topics such as urban planning, social integration, certain forms of offending (e.g., burglary, street violence, domestic violence) and leisure activities in public space are discussed from a security and safety perspective in so-called *kriminalpräventive Räte* (crime prevention councils). Here, a great number of institutions can be involved: public transport organisations, businesses, chamber of industry and commerce, trade unions, media, churches, and local communities.
- Second, *Sicherheitspartnerschaften* (security partnerships) are more limited in thematic and administrative scope. Local stakeholders act according to their own competences and exchange activities and achievements.
- Third, *Sicherheitskonferenzen* (security conferences) are held on the executive level of administration (courts, prosecution, federal police) to develop local security strategies together with selected partners in organisations of the critical infrastructure (tele-communication, energy providers, hospitals, etc.).
- Fourth, *Arbeitskreise* (round tables and conferences) are organised on a local level to respond to particular security problems, for example, domestic violence. Here, victim protection associations, men's counselling centres, anti-violence training centres, alcohol and substance use rehabilitation facilities, and psychological support centres get together to work out very specific solutions in response to current problems.

Levels of collaboration in crime prevention partnerships

These experiences show that policy debates in security governance deeply affect the modalities of power relations between various sectors of central government, local authorities, service organisations, civil society and individual citizens. The relations between these institutions are complex and depend on trust and shared goals in a polity. The quality of collaboration between two or more organisations can be described in a 4-step model, from mutual observation as the most basic form to organisational cohesion on the highest level of collaboration (Schimank, 2007; Wald & Jansen, 2007). This model can be applied to an unlimited spectrum of cooperation initiatives in all political sectors.

In a systematic view, organisational cooperation of two or more partners can be arranged in 4 stages:

1. A most elementary form of collaboration is given in mutual (organisational) observation. The longer the period is of observing what 'the other side' is doing, the clearer are the rules, rationales, and 'no-goes'. This process of observation allows for better coordination in operational practice.
2. Permanent observation in terms of awareness about each other's actions leads to mutual (organisational) transparency. Here the organisational decisions of the other actor are transparent, and the tasks, objectives and processes can be adjusted and coordinated accordingly. On this level consistent exchange can be expected, which leads to a consensus about overall objectives and goals supported by programme managers within each organisation.
3. Inter-organisational transparency is the basis for developing respect and mutual (organisational) trust, which allows for special practices that require loyalty and consent between organisations. Trust building is fundamental for a common work ethic and "normative spirit" in the field.
4. If all activities of the two partner organisations are driven by a common ethical orientation, the highest level of organisational cooperation can be reached: organisational cohesion, expressed in both subjective (personal) and objective (functional) unity. Cohesion includes all hierarchical levels of each organisation and allows for further development of common strategies of problem solution.

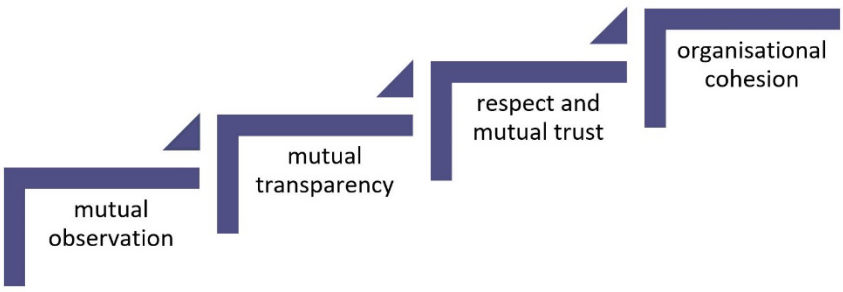

Figure 1: 4-step model of collaboration in partnerships (Schimank, 2007)

5.1 Managing crime prevention partnerships

The official United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime suggest in their "Conceptual Frame of Reference" (United Nations, 2002: 4) that crime prevention encompasses a wide range of approaches, including (a) prevention through social development or social crime prevention, (b) locally based crime prevention, (c) situational crime prevention, and (d) reintegration programmes. This wide range of approaches needs a good planning process to set priorities, formulate goals and objectives, establish a timeline, recognize key partners and their contributions, and finally, evaluate the impact of the strategy.

In this section we briefly describe two of the most important management tools that have been developed in recent years in Europe to support organisations in setting up, implementing and evaluating crime prevention partnerships. Those schemes can also be applied to particular partnerships in the prevention of youth crime. The first has been developed by members of the CEN Technical Committee 325, the special working group on 'Prevention of crime – Urban planning and building design' at the European Committee for Standardization (CEN – Comité Européen de Normalisation), which is the supra-national agency for national standardisation institutes in Europe. The second example refers to the so-called 'Beccaria-Standards for ensuring quality in crime prevention projects', developed by the German Crime Prevention Council on behalf of the Ministry of Justice in Lower Saxony.

a) CEN/TR14383 - Prevention of Crime

The majority of standards elaborated at the European Committee for Standardisation are technical norms, but apart from that, experts in various fields also work on policy norms as guidelines in administrative procedures. Policy guidelines on crime prevention were published in a series of Technical Reports (CEN/TR14383). Part 2 in that series refers to "urban planning and building design" and has been worked out by expert consultants in the time period between 1995 and 2008 (Stummvoll, 2017). Although the theoretical scope is limited to methods in opportunity reduction and situational prevention, a significant part of the document is dedicated to administrative procedures that can help crime prevention partnerships to better organise the collaboration of stakeholders. Before this process may start, some general preconditions have to be fulfilled: The responsible body (the lead organisation) shall give evidence about its commitment to crime prevention and check for existing work on crime problems, crime hot spots and previous efforts for solutions. Only then a 'working group' (partnership) can be composed to define a mission statement and kick off. The CEN/TR14383 proposal is guided by internationally recognised standards of quality assurance of the ISO-series 9001 and by sustainability standards (ISO 14000). It suggests a 7-step process:

Step 1: Crime review or crime assessment

A crime review is part of a risk assessment where information about offenders, potential guardians (police, bus drivers, residents, etc.), and victims or targets is collected. More specifically, data about the physical environment, socio-economic and demographic information, particular control features, and the issue of fear of crime are reviewed. These may be gathered via methods of crime mapping, victim surveys, offender interviews, and safety audits.

In regard to problems of youth gangs committing crime, in this vital part of the process all existing initiatives to tackle juvenile delinquency shall be listed and discussed, including social, environmental, and administrative projects in various institutions (schools, youth associations, sports clubs, probation services, artists and urban designers, nightlife-economy, etc.).

Step 2: Objectives / Requirements

Specific objectives of the project shall be listed in the form of a concrete set of safety and security requirements including a time schedule for implementation. Here, the synergy effects of different activities in safety projects shall be discussed.

Step 3: Plan of the Working Group

Scenarios of implementation for the most effective strategies are then prepared, costs are calculated, and potential risks are considered. Which activities will be carried out at what time and where, and who shall be involved?

Step 4: Decision by Responsible Body

The leading organisation presents a final decision for an action plan for the near or distant future, including specific prevention initiatives, distribution of responsibilities, time scales and reporting.

Step 5: Implementation and control

The implementation of selected projects will be carried out under clear monitoring and control within an agreed reporting procedure.

Step 6: Evaluation

The performance of the measures implemented in step 5 shall be evaluated with respect to their safety and security effects. External assessment shall comprise both programme and project evaluation and look at both process and outcome of single initiatives.

Step 7: Monitor and corrective action

Findings from evaluations shall lead to corrective action.

b) Beccaria Standards

The Beccaria Standards were developed and published in 2007 by experts at the Crime Prevention Council of Lower Saxony, Germany, and were translated into 18 languages. Since that time, the quality standards for crime prevention have informed a great number of local safety projects. The document presents measures and requirements for quality planning, implementation and assessment of crime prevention programmes and projects. This manual for practitioners who are working in the field of crime prevention and public safety clearly has similarities to the CEN document and also includes 7 steps in project management:

1. Description of the problem
2. Analysis of the conditions leading to the emergence of the problem
3. Determination of prevention targets, project targets and targeted groups
4. Determination of the interventions intended to achieve the targets
5. Design and execution of the project
6. Review of the project's implementation and achievement of objectives (evaluation)
7. Conclusion and documentation

Again, a concise problem description uses a variety of datasets in order to fully comprehend the dimension, location, timing, and target groups of crime issues and to identify the particular stakeholders involved in existing and previous efforts of problem solution. Also, the work of 'description' must be separated from 'analysis', the latter referring to a deeper understanding of social causes of the problem. It is important to understand the 'history of the present' of a crime problem as well as specific approaches to problem-solving that have failed in the past. In regard to youth delinquency, risk factors and protective factors shall be analysed. Risk factors are conditions that are detrimental to a young person's development, for example child neglect, contact with delinquent peers, deterioration of neighbourhoods. Protective factors can prevent crime from occurring. For example, stable emotional bonds between youths and their parents, safe houses for girls in isolated neighbourhoods, good lighting of public places that are known as trouble spots.

Both models may provide useful insights for developing and maintaining crime prevention partnerships as related to youth gangs.

5.2 Pitfalls, obstacles and hurdles

The controversies over the gang concept and social structures do not make the decision on appropriate strategies to thwart the gang problem any easier, even more so when repression and sanctioning shall fade into the background and give way to welfare measures of problem solving. A welfare approach to the problem of gang crime must balance measures of *intervention* and *prevention*. It can be argued that intervention may come too late when gang fights are in full

motion; on the other hand, prevention measures that affect the general population may be experienced as excessive social control that is incompatible with current liberal policies. In other words, there are two pitfalls in social policy response to the gang problem: *over-reaction* and *denial*.

First, the risk of over-reaction may be associated with over-protection of children and youth. For example, intervention in families due to some suspicion of risk factors for developing a criminal career in early childhood may be considered as moral panic. Also, developmental prevention measures may be stigmatising, and labelling can result in a self-fulfilling prophecy which prompts juveniles to act out stereotypes attributed to them.

The second pitfall, denial, bears the risk to ignore latent problems and to miss the point of time when conflicts escalate. Then, interventions are likely to tip into "tough" reactions, including criminal justice interventions like surveillance, arrests, and imprisonment. This, in turn, further aggravates the conflict and leads to violent confrontations between law enforcement agencies and youth gangs. In an escalating spiral, more and more young people may be recruited to join violent groups as social cohesion in gangs increases.

In our literature review we identified several other obstacles to multi-agency crime prevention and multi-agency initiatives to tackle youth gangs. The first concerns the problem of thematic expansion: In a holistic approach, different agencies interact in various ways with the benefit of pooling information and resources. However, the collaboration of different agencies increases the complexity of the problem: As different agencies bring different datasets to the table and describe the problem from different perspectives, juvenile delinquency gets blended with other problems such as unemployment, substance abuse, truancy, migration, spatial segregation, and infrastructure development. Then, an agreement on strategies to tackle youth delinquency becomes extremely difficult as stakeholders need to reconcile different forms of delinquency, economic problems, health issues, schooling, demographic change, and environmental matters. As a result, one can easily lose sight of the issue at hand.

Second, there is the issue of a contradictory understanding of the problem. The police may look at youth groups as troublemakers, whereas social workers regard the same group as people in trouble and as victims of their circumstances. Similar differences may also occur between police and schoolteachers, and between health workers and criminal justice officials. Hence, negotiations in security partnerships can stall, but they can also produce creative solutions that were not thought of at the outset. An exchange of interpretations of given problems (communication), setting priorities in discussions (coordination), and careful distribution of tasks in collaborative activities (cooperation) seem to be the core elements in multi-agency partnerships.

Third, a different understanding of the term *prevention* can be a major impediment in discussions across professions and can result in severe disagreements about target groups. Here, it will be important to point to the variety of approaches that are captured in typologies in the relevant literature. Figure 1 shows a two-dimensional typology of crime prevention that combines the

criminological division into social and situational prevention and the division into primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention, which we have already referred to above (Crawford, 1998).

	Primary prevention	**Secondary prevention**	**Tertiary prevention**
Social prevention	Education and socialisation, public awareness and advertising campaigns, Neighbourhood Watch	Work with those 'at risk' of offending: youths, the unemployed, community regeneration	Rehabilitation, confronting offending behaviour, aftercare, diversion, reparation
Situational prevention	Target hardening, surveillance, opportunity reduction/removal, environmental design, general deterrence	Target hardening and design measures for 'at risk' groups, risk prediction and assessment, deterrence	Individual deterrence, incapacitation, assessment of 'dangerousness' and 'risk'

Table 2: Two-dimensional Typology of Crime Prevention (Crawford, 1998)

As all parties involved seem to pursue the same objective at the onset of meetings (i.e. reduction of youth violence), different concepts and ideologies may come at a surprise and are seldom addressed explicitly. Some may favour situational tactics in crime prevention and prefer measures of target hardening and reduction of opportunities for crime; others interpret prevention in terms of welfare politics and suggest treatment and recovery, early social intervention in families, and a change in socio-economic conditions in neighbourhoods; others again present arguments for legalisation, tolerance, minimal intervention and diversion, echoing the problem of stigmatisation, labelling and criminalisation of young people as 'folk devils' in society. Due to these conflicting ideologies, which often occur even within the same profession (Stummvoll, 2022), heated discussions regularly occur at security conferences.

Fourth, in an exchange perspective, stakeholders are endowed with various 'goods' such as expertise, services and resources (data, access to target groups, personal and financial resources) that will be traded on the marketplace in security partnerships. Outcome and success will be evaluated individually at the end according to a personal cost-benefit assessment: Did I get something in return for my input? Did everyone give an equal share? However, occupational cultures and especially occupational structures constrain the parties involved in their concessions to varying degrees. Participants from organisations with hierarchical structures such as the police need to request approval from their line managers, whereas participants from social work associations may be more autonomous and more flexible in their decision about commitments. This can lead to an imbalance in the decision-making process and the search for agreements.

Fifth, acceptance of expertise is a critical issue in participatory processes particularly in questions of security and public safety. In crime prevention partnerships with invited professional experts (lawyers, planners, social workers, police) and representatives from the civil society, the different

views will range from complex discussions on law to very specific cases of social disorder. The expert-laymen divergence can be observed in differences of knowledge, responsibilities, capabilities, the use of technical language, impulsiveness and (lack of) self-control. Civil society includes, for example, youth clubs, senior citizen associations, victim support organisations, schools and parent associations, owners and customers of restaurants, bars and night-clubs, churches and religious communities, sports clubs, cultural institutions, residents' associations, and many more. Will their representatives be heard, and will they get an equal voice? Are they accepted as experts or demoted to laymen? Who decides who is invited and who is denied access? In general, participatory processes require good steering competencies of an independent facilitator who leads through the programme and who coordinates different interest groups. The absence of coordination can result in a situation in which the "different interest groups pass each other like ships in the night" (Sampson et al., 1988: 488, quoted in Crawford, 1998: 178).

Sixth, especially in the field of security, there is often a gap between service providers and service users: Safety is an ideal and fictitious commodity, a product of which there can never be enough, and whose demand will never be saturated. Moreover, prevention is oriented to the future and depicts safety in terms of absence of crime and violence. This negative understanding of the term prevention and the missing positive imagery of the future leads to unlimited expectations in the population. This ideal of "ontological security" resembles the definition of health, where people feel healthy as long as they do not feel any pain, or as the French physiologist René Leriche once said: "living with the silence of organs" (Canguilhem, 1977: 157ff.). Accordingly, "ontological security" is understood as the absence of threats. The pursuit of total security thus refers to the elimination of risk, and hence becomes utopian. In this way, high expectations of neighbours in a residential community or the high demands of victim support associations are often difficult to meet. The perception of this gap between service provision and user expectation can easily lead to frustration on the part of residents and victim support staff as problems cannot be reasonably resolved.

Further conflicts can arise, first, from excessive formalities and bureaucratic hurdles; second, from a lack of financial, material, and human resources; and third, from the fact that an expansion of surveillance and control comes at the expense of neglecting civil liberties. Regarding the formality-informality debate, Crawford (1998) pointed to a double-edged problem: too formal meetings can become unproductive and turn into mere 'talking shops' while informal partnerships allow for greater flexibility and swift decisions but are particularly susceptible to the negative impact of staff turnover – and they are difficult to evaluate.

Finally, as Frevel (2015: 208) explained, involvement of diverse stakeholders in crime prevention partnerships can become inefficient for at least two reasons: First, partners focus too much on communication technologies rather than on problem solving. Often, presentations of hotspot analyses use sophisticated techniques of graphic design, space syntax demonstrations and other geo-statistical methods in predictive policing – this can distract stakeholders from moving forward in problem solving. Second, placing too much emphasis on establishing personal relationships to facilitate direct communication can sometimes distract participants from the real goal of planning a concerted effort. In both cases, the secondary benefits of networking predominate, and a

superficial consensus masks the fundamental controversies that naturally arise. While consensus is generally helpful, work in crime prevention partnerships becomes self-referential (Frevel, 2015).

6 Conclusions and policy recommendations

Youth crime is multi-faceted by its nature, both in its causes and effects. Hence, special efforts are needed to coordinate a variety of counter measures and project activities in schools, in parks, in youth clubs, in the nightlife economy, and in the criminal justice system. School counselling programmes given by the police, the work with former gang members as positive role models to 'reach the unreachable', and diversion in the criminal justice process through social/family network conferences, are promising practices. However, these measures will be more successful, when integrated into an overall strategy.

Interventions shall address several social institutions that can influence the life-course of young people. As young people tend to drift and shift between different social environments (Matza, 1964; Weaver, 2015) there are a number of ways to identify turning points and intervene in family life, at schools, in sport clubs, and in the local community (Sampson and Laub, 1995). Empirical research has tested social control theory (Gatti et al., 2011; Haymoz et al., 2013; Manzoni et al., 2015) and confirmed Travis Hirschi's social bonds to conformity (Hirschi, 1969). Accordingly, interventions should be designed to

1 establish a strong attachment with positive role models

2 elaborate social programmes that allow juveniles to be committed to accumulate positive achievements in life

3 involve young people in meaningful activities other than "hanging around"

4 influence their moral convictions that guide their actions.

Social programmes need to offer a variety of services in various local settings such as schools, sports, music, religion, arts and craftwork to support adolescents to better cope with stress, status frustration and stigmatisation.

Moreover, we have argued that there is clearly a need for a central coordination of wide-ranging activities in social crime prevention in general, but particularly in tackling youth crime. The coordination of various activities is a challenging task and needs to be embedded in appropriate organisational structures and well-guided processes. In this regard, standardised instruments such as the CEN/TR14383 and the "Beccaria Standards" can be applied to better manage the collection of information on the problem at hand, identify the target groups, carry out a causal analysis of problems, determine interventions, coordinate the monitoring of interventions, and to evaluate their success.

Nevertheless, the implementation of interventions requires the collaboration of a number of stakeholders that often differ in their vocational cultures, particularly in organisational structures, responsibilities, decision making processes, technical terms, but also in ideologies about problem solutions. We have identified a number of potential difficulties that crime prevention partnerships often face. In this last section, we will give some recommendations that can help multi-agency partnerships to organise successful prevention programmes. From our literature review, we have identified the following success factors for crime prevention partnerships in the field of youth gangs:

Accept differences

Stakeholders in the prevention of gang crime need to be realistic about existing vocational differences and expect disagreements at the onset of a collaboration process. Police, social service providers, health organisations, public transport organisations, schools, churches and others, differ in organisational structures, legal mandates, social responsibilities, principles and work methods. However, partners inherently have opinions about each other that often express themselves in stereotypes and prejudices, such as about youth prevention. For example, social workers are unfamiliar with hierarchical structures in the police and respective command structures, hence the impatience in decision making during partnership meetings. On the other hand, police officers are overwhelmed by the low-threshold activities of social workers and refuse to jump to conclusions. One solution to this is to dedicate sufficient time to exchange about professional cultures at the start of partnership meetings. Another solution is to organise regular joint vocational trainings for different actors in the field of safety management (Stummvoll et al., 2021).

Define interfaces

Stakeholders have different responsibilities in security and safety management, but their expertise overlap in theory and practice. This is also true for tackling youth gang crime. There are many occasions when stakeholders meet: in cases of domestic violence, bullying at school, substance use, vandalism, at football games and music festivals. Here, perceptions of problems and professional responses may vary. Therefore, it is all the more important to define interfaces between actors. This can refer to particular groups of persons (target groups), situational and spatial contexts (e.g., nightlife). Therefore, responsibilities, functions, skills, and methods need to be clearly defined at the interface of situations. This will lead a to more efficient use of resources, more swift exchange of information, better access to target groups, expanded competences, the more productive use of synergy effects and the increased avoidance of misunderstandings.

Work towards a common understanding of problems

At first glance, the goals of stakeholders involved seem to be obvious and congruent: to prevent crime and increase public safety for all. But already at a first encounter it often turns out that stakeholders have different views about security and prevention of youth gang crime. Police speak about emergency response, while pedagogues look at the causes of delinquency in family relations; police define social situations in terms of breaking the law, while health workers see the needs of substance users; street workers support homeless people, while shop owners are concerned about

their clients and see disruption to their business. Therefore, an exchange of different views is essential to construct a common understanding of problems such as gang activities.

Find an impartial coordinator

An impartial coordinator plays an important role in organising, running and monitoring partnership meetings. Although someone must initiate the process, it is recommended that neither the police, nor the city council nor any other organisation takes the lead in crime prevention partnerships. Whoever is the initiator, responsibility to coordinate partnership programmes should be outsourced to independent consultants with an expertise in organisational counselling and skills in mediation, moderation and conflict resolution who are not bound by directives. Taking a neutral position is vital when collecting topics of stakeholders, designing agendas, preparing information before meetings, taking the minutes, supervising the process management, regulating disputes among partners, etc. It is a challenging responsibility to balance interests in multi-agency crime prevention partnerships, such as in tackling youth delinquency.

In conclusion, we hope that this brief overview of historical approaches, theoretical understanding, empirical examples and the discussion of difficulties and management solutions in multi-agency crime prevention partnerships is helpful in designing social prevention programmes as part of a comprehensive welfare approach to addressing youth gang crime problems.

7 References

Benz, A., Lütz, S., Schimank, U., Simonis, G. (Eds.) (2007). *Handbuch Governance. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendungsfelder*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Bright, J. (1991). Crime Prevention – The British Experience. In: D. Cowell and K. Stenson (Eds.), *The Politics of Crime Control*. London: Sage.

Burford, G. (2000). *Family Group Conferencing: New Directions in Community- Centered Child and Family Practice (Modern Applications of Social Work)*. Routledge.

Canguilhem, G. (1977). *Das Normale und das Pathologische*. Berlin: Ullstein Verlag.

Carlsson, C. and Sarnecki, J. (2016). *Life-Course Criminology*. London: Sage.

Cohen, A. (1955). *Delinquent Boys – The Culture of the Gang*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Crawford, A. (1998). *Crime Prevention & Community Safety – Politics, Policies, Practices*. Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.

Carlsson, Y. and Decker, S.H. (2005). Gang and Youth Violence Prevention and Intervention: Contrasting the Experience of the Scandinavian Welfare State with the United States. In: Decker and Weerma (Eds.), *European Street Gangs and Troublesome Youth Groups*. Lanham: Alta Mira Press.

Decker, S.H. & Weerman, F. (Eds). (2005). *European Street Gangs and Troublesome Youth Groups*. Lanham: Alta Mira Press.

Decker, S.H., Bynum, T.S., McDevitt, J., Farrell, A. and Varano, S. (2008). Street outreach workers: best practices and lessons learned: Innovative practices from the Charles E. Shannon Jr. Community Safety Initiative Series. Institute on Race and Justice Publications. Paper 15.

De Jong, J.D. (2016). The Real Deal: On Positive Street-Oriented Role Models in Response to Dutch Gangs and Youth at Risk. In: Maxson and Esbensen: *Gang Transitions and Transformations in an International Context*. New York: Springer.

Downes, D. and Rock, P. (1998). *Understanding Deviance – A Guide to the Sociology of Crime and Rule Breaking*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duxbury, L. and Bennell, C. (2017). *Police in Schools: An Evidence-based Look at the Use of School Resource Officers*. Routledge.

Enzmann, D., Kivivuori, J., Haen, M., Ineke, Steketee, M., Hough, M., Killias, M. (2017). *A Global Perspective on Young People as Offenders and Victims: First Results from the ISRD3 Study*. Springer.

Esbensen, F-A. and Maxson, C. (Eds.). (2012). *Youth Gangs in International Perspective*. New York: Springer.

Farrington, D.P. (2002). Developmental Criminology and Risk-Focused Prevention. In: Maguire, M., Morgan, R. and Reiner, R. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 3rd Ed. Oxford.

Fox, D. (2019). *Family Group Conferencing with Children and Young People: Advocacy Approaches, Variations and Impacts*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Fraser, A. (2015). *Urban Legends: Gang-Identity in the Post-Industrial City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fraser, A. (2017). *Gangs & Crime: Critical Alternatives*. London: Sage.

Frevel, B. (2015). Kooperationen für sichere Städte. In: Floeting, H. (Ed.), *Sicherheit in der Stadt*. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik.

Garland, D. (2000). Ideas, Institutions and Situational Crime Prevention. In: Von Hirsch, Garland und Wakefield (Hrsg.), *Ethical and Social Perspectives on Situational Crime Prevention*. Oxford – Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing.

Garland, D. (2001). *The Culture of Control. Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gatti, U., Haymoz, S., Schadee, H.M.A. (2011). Deviant Youth Groups in 30 Countries: Results from the Second International Self-Report Delinquency Study. In: *International Criminal Justice Review*. Sage.

Geertz, C. (1973). *Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gilling, D.J. (1994). Multi-Agency Crime Prevention: Some Barriers to Collaboration. The Howard Journal. Vol. 33, No 3. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gottfredson, M. R. and Hirschi, T. (1990). *A General Theory of Crime*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Grasmick, H. G., Tittle, C. R., Bursik, R. J. and Arneklev, B. J. (1993). Testing the core empirical implications of Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 30(1), 5-29.

Grossman, J. and Thierney, J. (1998). Does mentoring work? An impact study of the Big Brothers and Big Sisters program. *Evaluation Review*, 22(3), 403-426.

Hagemann, O. (2016). Gemeinschaftskonferenzen und andere Restorative Conferencing Verfahren. In: Ochmann, N., Schmidt-Semisch, H., Temme, G.: *Healthy Justice – Überlegungen zu einem gesundheitsförderlichen Rechtswesen*. Wiesbaden: Springer. Pp. 229-261.

Hardyns, W., Thys, J., Dorme, L., Klima, N., Pauwels, L. (2021). Multi-agency working to prevent violent radicalisation. RADICES. 1(1). p.22-40. OCAD-OCAM. UGent.

Haymoz, S., Maxson, C., and Killias, M. (2013). Street gang participation in Europe. A comparison of correlates. In: *European Journal of Criminology*. London: Sage.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of Delinquency*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Home Office (1984). Circular 8/84: *Crime Prevention*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (1991). *Safer Communities: The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention through the Partnership Approach*. London: Home Office.

Howell, J.C. (2014). Why is Gang-Membership Prevention Important? In: *Changing Course: Preventing Gang Membership*. Published by: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and US National Institute of Justice (NIJ). CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Hughes, G. (1998). *Understanding Crime Prevention – Social Control, Risk and Late Modernity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

International Self-Report Delinquency (ISRD) Network 2020. The ISRD4 Study Protocol. Internal paper (unpublished).

Jackson, S.E. (1998). *Family Justice?: An Evaluation of the Hampshire Youth Justice Family Group Conference Pilot Project*. University of Southampton Library.

Junger-Tas, J., Marshall, I. and Ribeau, D. (2003). *Delinquency in an international perspective. The International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD)*. Den Haag: Kugler Publications.

Klein, M., Kerner, H., Maxson, C. and Weitekamp, E. (Eds.) (2001). *The Eurogang Paradox: Street Gangs and Youth Groups in the U.S. and Europe*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Kumar, R. (2014). *Research Methodology*. 4th Edition. London: Sage.

Langhout, R., Rhodes, J. and Osborne, L. (2004). An exploratory study on youth mentoring in an urban context: Adolescents' perceptions of relationship styles. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 33(4), 293-306.

Liddle, A.M. and Gelsthorpe L.R. (1994). *Crime Prevention and Inter-Agency Cooperation*. CPU Paper 53; London: Home Office.

MacRae, A. (2004). *Little Book of Family Group Conferences New Zealand Style: A Hopeful Approach When Youth Cause Harm (Little Books of Justice & Peacebuilding)*. Good Books.

Manzoni, P., Fischbacher, R., Schwarzenegger, C. (2015). *Jugendkriminalität in Österreich aus Täter- und Opferperspektive. Resultate der dritten 'International Self-Report Delinquency' Studie* (ISRD-3). Zürich/St. Gallen: Dike Verlag.

Marshall, I., Enzmann, D., Hough, M., Killias, M., Kivivuori, J., Steketee, M. (2015). *Youth Victimization and Reporting to Police - First Results from the Third Round of the International Self-Report Delinquency Study* (ISRD3). https://web.northeastern.edu/isrd/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/ISRD3_TechRep_03.pdf

Matza, D. (1964). *Delinquency and Drift*. New York: John Wiley.

Maxson, C. and Esbensen, F-A. (Eds.) (2016). *Gang Transitions and Transformations in an International Context*. New York: Springer.

Muncie, J. (2021). *Youth & Crime*. 5th Edition. London: Sage.

Rosenbaum, D.P. (2002). Evaluating Multi-Agency anti-Crime Partnerships: Theory, Design, and Measurement Issues. In: *Crime Prevention Studies*, *14*, pp. 171-225. Monsey NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Sampson, R. J. and Laub, J. H. (1995). *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sampson, A., Stubbs, P., Smith, D., Pearson, G., Blagg, H. (1988). Crime, Localities and the Multi-Agency Approach. In: *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 28/4.

Schimank, U. (2007). Elementare Mechanismen. In: Benz. A. et al. (Hg.), *Handbuch Governance. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendungsfelder*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Stummvoll, G. (2017). Normen für eine städtebauliche Kriminalprävention in Europa? In: Häfele, J. et al.: *Sicherheit und Kriminalprävention in urbanen Räumen. Aktuelle Tendenzen und Entwicklungen*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Stummvoll, G. (2022). Social Work and Policing: Multidisciplinary Vocational Trainings for Urban Security. In: Saraiva, M.: *Urban Crime Prevention: Multi-disciplinary Approaches*. New York: Springer (forthcoming).

Stummvoll, G., Reischl, Ch., Dück, Ch. (2021). SWaPOL – Socia Work and Policing. In: *SIAK-Journal – Zeitschrift für Polizeiwissenschaft und Polizeiliche Praxis*. 2/2021. Vienna: Bundesministerium für Inneres.

Sutherland, E.H. (1939). *Principles of Criminology* (3rd edition). Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.

Sutton, A., Cherney, A., White, R. (2008). *Crime Prevention – Principles, Perspectives and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thrasher, F. (1927/1947). *The Gang: A Study of 1.313 Gangs in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Gemert F., Peterson D. & I-L. Lien (Eds.) (2008). *Street Gangs, Migration and Ethnicity*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Vitalyevich, K., Zlokazov, S., Dzakhotovna, G., and Takeyasu, K. (2021). Systems of social networks of delinquent young people. SHS Web of Conferences 108, IX Baltic Legal Forum 2020. https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202110805012

Wakefield, A. and Fleming, J. (2009). Multi-agency policing. In: *The Sage Dictionary of Policing* (pp. 202-203). SAGE Publications.

Wald, A. and Jansen, D. (2007). Netzwerke. In: Benz, A. et al. (Hg.), *Handbuch Governance. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendungsfelder*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Walters, R. (1996). The "Dream" of Multi-Agency Crime Prevention: Pitfalls in Policy and Practice. In: *Crime Prevention Studies*, Vol. 5, pp. 75-97. Monsey, New York: Criminal Justice Press.

Weaver, B. (2015). *Offending and Desistance: The Importance of Social Relations*. London: Routledge.

Welsh, B.C. and Farrington, D.P. (2012). *The Oxford Handbook of Crime Prevention*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Young, J. (1991). Left Realism and the Priorities of Crime Control. In: Cowell, D. and Stenson, K. (Eds.), *The Politics of Crime Control*. London: Sage.

Young, J. (1992). Ten points of realism. In: Young, J. and Matthews, R. (Eds.), *Rethinking Criminology: The Realist Debate*. Pp. 24-68. London: Sage.

Internet Sources

https://isrdstudy.org/ (last accessed: 27.12.2021)

https://eurogangproject.com/ (last accessed: 27.12.2021)

https://www.upf.edu/web/transgang (last accessed: 27.12.2021)

https://www.bundeskriminalamt.at/205/start.aspx (last accessed: 22.12.2021)

https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/youth-justice/family-group-conferences/ (last accessed: 22.12.2021)

United Nations Standards and Norms in Crime Prevention (last accessed: 22.12.2021)

Beccaria-Standards for ensuring quality in crime prevention projects (last accessed: 22.12.2021)

8 List of Tables and Figures