

**NSPCC**

**Response to**

**Safeguarding Young People in Gangs**

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## **Introduction**

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) is the UK's leading charity specialising in child protection and the prevention of cruelty to children. The NSPCC's purpose is to end cruelty to children. We seek to achieve cultural, social and political change - influencing legislation, policy, practice, attitudes and behaviours for the benefit of children and young people. This is achieved through a combination of service provision, lobbying, campaigning and public education.

The NSPCC exists to end cruelty to children through a range of activities which aim to:

- help children who have suffered abuse overcome the effects of such harm;
- prevent children from suffering abuse;
- prevent children from suffering significant harm as a result of ill-treatment;
- help children who are at risk of such harm; and
- protect children from further harm.

We have a number of teams and projects throughout England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Their work includes:

- Providing telephone support for C&YP via ChildLine.
- Providing telephone support for adults concerned about the welfare of a child
- Providing support for vulnerable children, young people and their families to help keep these C&YP safe and well cared for
- Providing services for children, young people who need help to overcome the impact of abuse.

The following response is informed by consultation with NSPCC practitioners working in our services in Tower Hamlets and Peckham. The NSPCC sexual exploitation in Tower Hamlets provides work with young women up to 18 years of age around issues of sexual exploitation, including abuse through prostitution. The Tower Hamlet's Young People's Centre Provides a range of support services for young people living in the borough including work with young people who are gang-involved. The Harris School's team in Peckham provides counseling, drop-in clinics, peer support and group work in local primary and secondary school and have experience working with local gang members. It also contains the views of young people consulted on the issue by the NSPCC. We do not have practice experience of working on this issue in areas other than London.

## 1. Is the guidance sufficiently clear on the role of safeguarding within the wider context of the work taking place on tackling gangs?

We have observed that the main focus of previous guidance and initiatives on gangs has been on public protection, rather than on responding to the safeguarding needs of the young people involved. We greatly welcome the fact that the emphasis throughout this guidance is on the risks young people face, rather than a narrow focus on the risks young people pose.

However, in order for the guidance to be of practical use to a range of practitioners, we recommend that it should contain more information about the balance between children's social care and criminal justice interventions.

The NSPCC considers that a much clearer definition of 'sexual exploitation' is needed.<sup>1</sup> The guidance should cross refer to the definition used in the new draft guidance document 'Safeguarding children and young people from sexual exploitation' (see page 9).<sup>2</sup> It would also be helpful for the guidance to include a list of warning signs to alert professionals to the possibility that a young person is being sexually exploited. Examples include:

- Running away;
  - Overt sexualised dress / attire;
  - Internal injuries, multiple sexually transmitted infections (STIs), miscarriages and/or terminations;
  - Chronic drug dependency (particularly crack / heroin); and/or
  - Expressions of despair such as self-harm – cutting, overdosing, eating disorders, sexualised risk-taking.
- (London Safeguarding Children Board).<sup>3</sup>

The language used in this section of the guidance does not adequately express the seriousness and urgency of sexual exploitation. For example, we would like paragraph 42 to state that safeguarding principles *must* rather than *should* be a priority for girls who are sexually exploited and abused. These changes should be made throughout the guidance.

The risks of sexual exploitation of girls connected to gangs are well established<sup>4</sup> and it is misleading to suggest that this phenomenon is confined to some geographical areas and not others (as stated in paragraph 42). In addition, we therefore recommend that this dimension of sexual exploitation is also covered in the guidance.

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<sup>1</sup> For further information about sexual exploitation see London Safeguarding Children Board (2006) Safeguarding children abused through sexual exploitation (2006) London: London Councils

<sup>2</sup> Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009) Safeguarding Children and Young People from Sexual Exploitation: Supplementary Guidance to Working Together to Safeguard Children London: DCSF

<sup>3</sup> London Safeguarding Children Board (2008) Safeguarding children affected by gang activity and/or serious youth violence London: London Councils

<sup>4</sup> Young, T; Fitzgerald, M; Hallsworth, S & Joseph, I (2007) Groups, gangs and weapons London: Youth Justice Board

**2 All professionals who have contact with children and young people should be able to recognise when a child is vulnerable to, or at risk of harm from, gang involvement or activity. Section 4 sets out the particular risk factors that increase the likelihood of young people becoming involved in gangs. In your experience, are there other risks that need to be included in this section? If so, what?**

The layout of the table on page 16 of the guidance is not sufficiently clear. At present, it is not clear whether practitioners should read down or across and whether the table aims to establish relationships between the factors identified. We recommend that the table is replaced by clearer bullet points which can be more easily interpreted by practitioners.

In addition, the categories in the table are far too general. Most of the risk factors identified could be associated with children with a range of additional needs, rather than being specific to the gang context. This will make it difficult for practitioners to identify gang-involved young people as distinct from young people in need, although there are clearly significant overlaps between the two. We suggest that this section should therefore highlight risk indicators which are specifically related to gang membership, in particular, violence and abuse in the home, poor access to positive activities and personal experiences of victimisation. We also suggest that more emphasis should be placed on the warning signs (shown on pages 18-19) to maximise the usefulness of the guidance for practitioners.

Research evidence suggests that young people who are in conflict with the law are likely to have experienced abuse and maltreatment in childhood.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, we recommend that the category of 'parental abuse' should be expanded to present a clearer breakdown of sexual, physical and emotional abuse and neglect. These are all child protection concerns and must be flagged up as such. The guidance should also cross refer to the definitions set out in section 1.29 of the Working Together guidance (see page 37).

Although certain behaviour by family and parents can be an important risk factor for young people, the language used to express this in the table is overly negative and potentially stigmatising. For example, the use of the phrase 'lax parental supervision' should be reconsidered as it does not capture the challenges parents can face in supervising their children. For many teenagers, peers can exert a much greater influence than parents<sup>6</sup> and this is not adequately reflected in the table.

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<sup>5</sup> See Day, C; Hibbert, P and Cadman, S (Unpublished) A literature review into children abused and/or neglected prior to entering custody: Commissioned by the Youth Justice Board; Utting, D; Montiero, H & Ghate, D (2006) Interventions for children at risk of developing antisocial personality disorder: Report of the Department of Health and Prime Minister's Strategy Unit London: Policy Research Bureau and Margo, J (2008) Make me a criminal: Preventing youth crime London: Institute for Public Policy Research

<sup>6</sup> Duffy, M & Gillig, S eds (2004) *Teen gangs: A global view* London: Greenwood Press

It would be helpful for the guidance to say more about the need to respond to potential threats to siblings and other family members of young people at risk of harm through gang involvement (mentioned in paragraph 60 of the guidance). This is important, as in our experience, gang members have sought to pursue a vendetta by harming friends or family members of the young person in question. This is more likely if the intended target has been removed to guarantee their safety. The potential dangers posed to siblings and other family members should also be considered when agencies are designing measures to ensure that gang-involved individuals are protected from harm.

Paragraph 43 of the guidance states that the majority of gang members are male and this is supported by much of the research literature available.<sup>7</sup> Despite this, NSPCC practitioners working with young people in London believe that the number of female-only gangs is increasing, along with the level of violence used among these groups. NSPCC practitioners have also been involved with several cases where girls have been drawn into male gangs in order to carry drugs or firearms. It is also our experience that fewer girls are willing to identify themselves as gang members, compared to their male counterparts and this can partly explain the low reported levels of female gang involvement in the research available. This possibility should also be considered as part of the guidance. For this reason, it is important that the guidance reflects the existence of female-only gangs and is alert to the possibility that this may become a more common phenomenon in the future.

Young people consulted by the NSPCC felt that a lack of positive activities for children and young people made gang membership more likely. Although the guidance refers to a 'lack of age-appropriate, safe play facilities in the area' it should also acknowledge that a lack of diversionary youth activities in deprived areas can also be a key risk factor for gang membership. One young person consulted by the NSPCC claimed, "The government or the parents should provide more activities. There should be places where young people can go to instead of being on the streets."<sup>8</sup>

Young people consulted by the NSPCC on this issue, also stressed the need to provide support to young victims to help them overcome their experiences, without recourse to violence.<sup>9</sup> The importance of this measure should not be underestimated, given the emphasis in the draft guidance on the dual victim and perpetrator status (page five of the draft guidance).

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<sup>7</sup> Bennett, T and Holloway (2004) 'Gang membership, drugs and crime in the UK' in *British Journal of Criminology*, no. 44, pp. 305-323, 2004 and Matthews, S; Brasnett, L and Smith, J (2006) *Underage drinking: Findings from the 2004 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey* London: The Home Office

<sup>8</sup> NSPCC consultation work with the NSPCC 'The Way Forward' young people's advisory group (young people aged 13-19), 2008

<sup>9</sup> Based on consultation sessions with 18 young people from diverse backgrounds aged between 13 and 19 years old.

**The next two questions relate to Section 5: Assessments and Referrals and can be found on page 18 of the guidance.**

**3 a) Are the processes set out in Section 5 on assessment and referral clear?**

Not all practitioners who will use the supplementary guidance will be familiar with the Common Assessment Framework (CAF) or use this in their daily work. The guidance needs to be clearer about whether there is an expectation that CAF will be used by all agencies. More guidance is also needed about how other assessment processes, such as the ASSET and ONSET tools used in the youth justice field, will sit within the processes outlined in the guidance.

Paragraph 65 should state that page 17 of 'What to do if you are worried about a child' is being referred to, as currently this is unclear. For ease of reference, we recommend that the flowcharts are reproduced in the supplementary guidance to save practitioners time and maximise the possibility that they will be referred to and used.

Paragraph 68 states that a qualified social worker should lead the initial assessment of young people. More detail is needed in this section to state on the level of training and experience needed by the social worker who will lead the assessment. Also, we recommend that the guidance should state that the social worker attending should have the necessary level of authority to be able to make and enforce decisions. The paragraph should more clearly state that a multi-agency meeting should take place, within which a safety plan should be developed and specific tasks allocated.

Paragraph 71, which discusses the use of the term 'gang', makes a very important point. Labelling young people as gang members can have a negative effect as it may increase the likelihood of young people taking part in more serious forms of offending, encouraging them to join up with and be active members of gangs.<sup>10</sup> We suggest that concerns about the labelling of young people should be included in the section titled 'Definition of a gang' on page 8. In addition to this, the instruction for LSCBs to develop a locally agreed definition of an area's 'gang' problem should also be outlined in Section 7: 'The role of the LSCB' rather than being included in the paragraph on referral and assessment.

**3 b) Are there other issues that practitioners will have to consider that should be covered in the guidance? (assessment and referral).**

The guidance does not sufficiently address the problem of responding to young people who live in one local authority but who have established their 'territory' in another. NSPCC practitioners working in London have found it difficult to make successful referrals to local authority children's social care, as neither local authority wishes to take responsibility for the young people

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<sup>10</sup> Young, T; Fitzgerald, M; Hallsworth, S & Joseph, I (2007) *Groups, gangs and weapons* London: Youth Justice Board

concerned. The usual response to this is a 'lack of resources' needed to back up the referral. Similarly, if the crisis occurs outside of normal working hours the Police have said they have higher priorities, which leaves young people in gangs at further risk of harm.

Paragraph 81 discusses the need to hear the young person's voice throughout identification, assessment and intervention. We strongly support this. The guidance should be clear that the views of the young person should be taken into account both as a crucial element of the assessment process and as part of identifying the help they need. Correspondingly, this paragraph should be included as part of the section on assessment on page 20 of the guidance.

There is inconsistency throughout the guidance about the role of parents in relation to young people's gang involvement. In paragraph 69, it is stated that parents can be a useful source of information and can become 'active participants' in preventative work. However, paragraph 70 directly contradicts this and suggests that parents may be condoning children's involvement in gangs. The guidance needs to be much clearer on its messages about parents and should avoid over-generalisations about their behaviour. It should also state that parenting capacity should be examined as part of the initial assessment in order to determine the extent to which they should be involved with programmes of interventions for young people.

It is important for practitioners to understand how families may have different views on parenting and parental involvement at different stages in a young person's life. The guidance as currently drafted does little in terms of recognising diversity and the need for issues such as inequality and discrimination to be recognised and included in any assessment and plans made for young people. For example, a young person with parents from West Africa is likely to be parented very differently from a young person whose parents originate from the West Indies.

**This question relates to Section 7: The Role of the Local Safeguarding Children Board (LSCB) which can be found on page 25 of the guidance.**

**4) Does Section 7 provide adequate information on the actions that LSCBs may be expected to take in the development of local protocols and facilitating information-sharing and multi-agency working?**

LCSBs are well placed to develop local protocols and procedures in their areas, but are unlikely to have the capacity to carry out a detailed information-gathering exercise. We suggest that an assessment of the presence and/or activity of gangs should form part of information-gathering in relation to vulnerable groups that will inform the strategic direction of the statutory Children and Young People's Plans (CYPPs) drawn up by Children's Trusts. This evidence could then be shared with LSCBs and used to develop local policies and procedures.

The guidance is not sufficiently clear on exactly how young people are to be involved in the LCSB's development of local protocols and procedures. More thought is needed about how this process might be managed effectively. If young people volunteer to provide local intelligence, the guidance needs to provide instruction about how this process should be managed to ensure the safety of the young people involved. Alternatively, this could be streamed through existing LSCB groups such as the prevention and protection working groups, as they have the mechanism to report to the executive. If front-line practitioners sit on these groups they can also feed directly into this process.

Although the emphasis on developing solutions tailored to each local area is useful, the guidance is not currently clear enough about whether practitioners should follow the protocols and procedures set out within local guidance or whether they should in the first instance refer to the procedures set out in national guidance. More clarity should be provided on this point in the early sections of the guidance.

Paragraph 116 discusses the role of Child Death Overview Panels (CDOPs) and Serious Case Review (SCR) processes. There is currently no requirement in law to carry out a SCR in cases where young people have died following peer on peer violence, although all deaths will automatically be reviewed through the CDOP processes. However, the number of fatal incidents are likely to be far outweighed by the number of 'near-misses', and the NSPCC considers that if lessons are to be learned some mechanism for gathering and learning lessons from this data would be instructive. The NHS, for example, has a developed procedure for the investigation of Serious Untoward Incidents (SUIs), and we would suggest consideration is given to how such a model might be adapted for the examination of 'near-misses' in gang-related violence among young people.

#### **5. Is the guidance clear on the role of other professionals and agencies' roles and responsibilities with regard to safeguarding young people at risk of harm through gang activity?**

It would be helpful for Section 8 of the guidance to include a consideration of the role of housing services. Housing services may become involved in individual cases if a young person or their family need to be removed from the community for their own safety. They will also be key partners in local multi agency partnerships. The guidance could cross reference the Home Office 'Tackling Gangs' guidance, which gives more information about the role of housing services within multi agency efforts to tackle gang activity.

Page 35 of the guidance discusses the role of voluntary and community organisations in responding to young people in gangs. This section should be re-worded to acknowledge the key role played by voluntary and community sector services which is in addition to their potential to deliver 'soft intelligence' to statutory services. This role includes engaging young people in positive activities and providing support to families.

There is a potential problem with the assumption that voluntary and community sector providers are well placed to provide intelligence about local gangs to other agencies. In order to successfully engage with a community, voluntary and community sector providers must develop relationships of trust over time, based on clear confidentiality agreements and their independence from statutory agencies. As distrust can undermine engagement work with young people and their families, it is unlikely that these organisations will share 'soft intelligence' with other agencies unless there is a strong child protection reason for doing so. This section of the guidance should be revisited with this in mind.

The wording of paragraphs 83-85 on the risks of harm to professionals should be strengthened by reiterating the responsibility of employers – in this case local authorities - to ensure that processes are in place to protect staff. For example, paragraph 85 states, "Local authorities may also want to consider putting in place protocols for managing risk of harm to professionals in this context." This wording may make it difficult for staff to hold local authorities to account if they suffer harm, so it would be better to say that local authorities 'should,' rather than 'may also want to consider' putting in place protocols.'

We consider that the practice of searching young people in schools without consent should be examined from a child rights perspective before it is allowed to take place routinely in schools (see page 34 of the guidance). This should include consideration of how this will impact on children's rights as stated in article 28 (2) of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC): 'States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.' Consideration should also be given as to how this should be balanced with Article 3 (3) of the UNCRC which states that 'States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision.'

There needs to be much clearer guidelines for school staff on the circumstances in which searching is necessary so that this is not open to abuse. Schools will also need to put mechanisms in place to ensure that the practice is regulated and monitored and that individual members of staff can be held to account for their actions. There are also clear implications for the safety of teachers which are not sufficiently covered in the guidance. Young people surveyed by the NSPCC felt that more teachers should be trained to respond to gang-related violence in schools.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> NSPCC consultation work with the NSPCC 'The Way Forward' young people's advisory group (young people aged 13-19), 2008

**6 The role of safeguarding and child protection in relation to gangs should be both preventative and responsive. Is the guidance clear on what should happen if there is a risk to the life of a child or the likelihood of significant harm?**

Paragraph 74 refers to the NSPCC as an agency with statutory child protection powers. While this is true, the guidance should state that where there is an immediate child protection concern, the police should be involved at the earliest opportunity. For less urgent concerns, the guidance should signpost adults to the NSPCC Helpline (0808 800 5000) as the point of contact for NSPCC advice on child protection issues in relation to individual children. Children and young people who are affected by gangs and need to speak to someone for advice and support can call ChildLine on 0800 1111. ChildLine counsellors are available 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Children and young people will also be able to access online support from ChildLine from September 2009 at [www.childline.org.uk](http://www.childline.org.uk).

In paragraph 76 the guidance states that removing a young person to a safe place 'may be necessary' but does not say in what exact circumstances a young person will need to be removed and the processes which need to be followed. Neither is there any acknowledgement of the likely problems which may arise when attempting to secure alternative accommodation for young people. Foster carers may be reluctant to offer a placement to a young person who has been involved in gangs and there is a shortage of specialist foster carers. Securing spaces in local authority secure children's homes or residential care for welfare reasons is also likely to be difficult.

Osman warnings (discussed in paragraph 78 of the guidance) are not commonly used in the context of children's social care. It is not clear to what extent children's services practitioners other than the Police need to be aware of Osman warnings as a potential tool for responding to gangs. The NSPCC believes that this section should also be used to signpost practitioners to obligations set out under the Children Act 1989.

The guidance does not pay sufficient attention to the processes which need to be followed in cases where young people have gone missing. Such young people may have run away, been abducted and/or be afraid to return home or to their place of education. Young people who are missing are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and are at serious risk of harm. The guidance should make clear that if a young person goes missing, this fact must always be reported to police and social care. It should refer to the forthcoming guidance from DCSF on children missing from home and care which provides more detail about these issues. Further to this the Osman warning refers to case precedent in the early 1990s which may not be totally relevant to today's young people who face a different set of challenging circumstances.

## **7 Does the guidance support practitioners to ensure interventions are proportionate and based foremost on the child's needs identified during an assessment?**

The issue raised in paragraph 91 on young people who do not meet the thresholds for statutory children's services is extremely important. At present a large number of young people do not meet the thresholds for statutory or Youth Offending Team intervention but would still benefit from broader preventative work. We do not consider that the guidance places a strong obligation on local authorities to ensure that suitable provision is made for young people who fall below the thresholds for such provision. Unless the guidance states that there is a positive duty to provide for the young people who miss thresholds, but about whom concerns have been raised, it is unlikely that this group will be able to access services which could help to prevent their future gang involvement. It is also not practical to assume that LSCBs have the capacity to track individual young people.

## **8 Is the guidance sufficiently accessible to practitioners in terms of the language used?**

The NSPCC practitioners we consulted felt that the language used throughout the document was too vague and many found that it was difficult to understand. More clarity and detail about specific issues, risk factors and processes is needed if the guidance is to be of practical use to practitioners.

The experience of NSPCC practitioners is that it can be difficult to access services for young people aged over 14 years, as agencies can be reluctant to accept referrals for young people of this age. To guarantee a consistent multi-agency response, the guidance needs to be very clear about exactly what the responsibilities of individual agencies should be. Ambiguity in the guidance will make it far more difficult to hold agencies to account for their actions or to elicit a response in relation to a particular case. This is especially the case if agencies lack the resources and capacity to take part in local multi-agency meetings.

## **9 Are the case studies provided useful? If you have already developed a local protocol on safeguarding and gangs, it would be helpful if you could enclose a copy with your response to this consultation.**

The London Safeguarding Children Board has published local practice guidance about responding to young people in gangs.<sup>12</sup> This was written by practitioners after full consultation with a range of other service providers. We consider this to be a good example of guidance on gang issues, as it is sufficiently detailed and sets out clearly the processes to be followed by each partner organisation.

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<sup>12</sup> London Safeguarding Children Board (2008) Safeguarding children affected by gang activity and/or serious youth violence London: London SCB

## **10 Other comments or views regarding this guidance are welcomed.**

### **General comments**

Supplementary guidance on responding to young people who are gang-involved has the potential to be very useful for practitioners. However, in its current form the guidance lacks sufficient clarity and detail to be optimally useful to practitioners. This may be because it has been written for a range of professional groups from the fields of social care, criminal justice and the voluntary sector practice, so it is not always obvious which sections of the guidance are applicable to which group.

The guidance would be strengthened by providing more signposting for practitioners to the guidance and legislation which underpin the actions to be taken. This will give practitioners a full understanding of their legal obligation to act and will more easily be able to hold other agencies to account.

We suggest that the guidance could also be strengthened if it were jointly produced by the Department for Children, Schools and Families and the other government departments with responsibilities for responding to gangs, such as the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office. We hope that key partners such as the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and the Association of Directors of Children's Services (ADCS) will be actively involved in promoting the guidance and ensuring that it is followed. It is also important that children and young people should be consulted as part of the development of this guidance.

### **Responding to young people**

The NSPCC considers that children in conflict with the law should be considered as children first and foremost. Wherever possible, we believe that interventions should be delivered through the social care rather than the criminal justice route and should be designed according to each child's welfare and protection needs with a strong focus on welfare and prevention.

Truancy and exclusion from school are key risk factors for social exclusion and criminal behaviour in young people.<sup>13</sup> For this reason, an important strand of preventative work should involve work to keep young people in education. Young people at risk of permanent exclusion from the education system should have access to specialist support, especially if they exhibit behavioural and learning difficulties, or need help to deal with experiences of abuse. This could be achieved through increased access to therapeutic interventions, and through family support workers and appropriate help for children with low attainment levels.

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<sup>13</sup> Smith, D (2006) *School experience and delinquency at ages 13-16* Edinburgh study of youth transitions and crime: Number 13 University of Edinburgh: Centre for Law and Society and Margo, J (2008) *Make me a criminal: Preventing youth crime* London: Institute for Public Policy Research

The NSPCC considers that abuse is one of the most important risk factors that should be considered for children and young people engaging in criminal, anti-social and risk-taking behaviours.<sup>14</sup> Tailored therapeutic support should be made available to help young people overcome previous experiences which may underpin and sustain destructive behaviours. Stronger partnerships between providers could help to ensure that potential links between offending behaviour and experiences of maltreatment are effectively identified and appropriate treatment options explored.

As the guidance suggests, experiences of victimisation can contribute to the process whereby a young person may become involved in gangs. For this reason, targeted victim support for young people should be provided to help them overcome their experiences without recourse to violence.

### **Evidence base**

The use of referencing is variable throughout the document. In several paragraphs it is not clear on what evidence the statements are based, for example, on page 20, the guidance warns that children who are looked after by local authorities are particularly vulnerable of becoming involved in gangs. However, the evidence for this is not cited. We recommend that referencing be used more comprehensively throughout to clearly demonstrate the evidence on which the guidance is based.

The guidance contains references to American research literature on gangs (see paragraph 47), yet the demographic, social, economic and political differences between the US and England mean that the lessons learned in the US are not always applicable in the English context. We recommend that wherever possible the evidence on which the guidance is based should comprise research conducted in the United Kingdom.

More research is needed to establish why Black African-Caribbean young people have an increased chance of being victims as well as perpetrators of gun and knife crime and group-based offending. We consider that this is something the DCSF must examine more fully.

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<sup>14</sup> The NSPCC has published research on the risk factors and safeguarding needs of young people who become involved in weapons and group-based offending. See Fitch, K (2009) Teenagers at risk: An overview of the factors and safeguarding issues associated with young people's group-based behaviour and use of weapons London: NSPCC