



BUILDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE

Responding to Criminal and Anti-Social
Behaviour Networks Across
Dublin South Central
A Research Study

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Executive Summary

Building Community Resilience Background to the research

This research was commissioned by the Policing Forum Network (4Fora) which consists of the four Local Policing Forums (LPFs) in the Dublin South Central Area. The 4Fora is a unique initiative in Ireland, bringing together representatives of four different Local Policing Forums working in communities which are among the most affected by Community Safety issues. Collectively, the membership of these forums have many years of experience in tackling the most intractable community safety issues. They have driven innovative responses to such issues using a partnership model between the Communities, An Garda Síochána, Local Authorities and other relevant statutory agencies. They are rooted in the communities they serve and have an intimate knowledge of the issues, their causes and consequences and of what works and does not work in responding to them.

The 4Fora was established because members of the LPF's believe that there was much to be learned from sharing experiences of operating LPF's in different communities, and that advocating for resources and policy change is best done collectively. Another motivation is the belief that, at least to some extent, the anti-social behavior (ASB) and criminality impacting on communities is as a result of the activities of Networks connected to the drug-trade that operate across LPF area boundaries. This motivated the 4Fora to commission this research.

Research aims

- ▶ To investigate and identify the nature and reach of the key criminal/ASB Networks within Dublin South Central.
- ▶ To investigate and describe the impact of these Networks on people living in the areas most connected to and most affected by these Networks.
- ▶ To investigate the relationship between key socio-economic indicators and the operation and impact of such Networks, including the factors that facilitate resilience in these communities.
- ▶ To investigate and map out the initiatives, structures and resources that are in place to address the impact of these Networks and their causes and to assess their performance (this primarily focused on policing and community safety structures and processes)
- ▶ To consider what is required to sustainably address the impact of these Networks and their causes, including the enhancement of existing initiatives and/or the development of new initiatives.

Research methodology

The research involved a triangulation of a number of different methods to address the above questions. These are summarised below:

Social Network Analysis

In criminology, **Social Network Analysis** has been adopted to explore and model the organization of crime. Recent Social Network Analysis studies have also focused on interactions amongst neighbourhoods and the effects of these interactions on crime by integrating spatial and social network methods. Some authors have started to model proximity not only in geographical terms but also in social Network terms. Levels of crime in a neighbourhood are thus influenced by features of both geographically proximate locations and places connected by social ties (e.g. rivalries among gangs). Throughout the past fifteen years, a range of studies have looked at the growth in and impact of the increasingly violent crime and anti-social behaviours associated with the illicit drug trade in Ireland¹. The research here adopted and built upon an innovative Irish case study: *Lifting the Lid on Greentown*, which used Social Network Analysis applied to official crime incident police reports, to construct a Network Map connecting co-offenders involved in burglaries and drugs for sale and supply (Redmond 2016)².

Interview with Garda members using Twinsight methodology

Once constructed, the Network Map formed the basis of examination in individual interviews with six Garda members based locally throughout the research area. The Twinsight methodology developed in the Greentown study enables the researcher and the Garda members to discuss Network members in a confidential arrangement, ensuring that the researcher has no access to or sight of confidential information, which could only be accessed by Garda members.

Socio-economic analysis of Network members

The Deprivation Index published by Pobal uses a number of indicators across three categories: demographic, labour market and social class, providing a useful indicator of the socio-economic status of those involved with the Network. This data was transferred onto an online map, using shapefiles for the Research Area (Dublin South Central). Shapefiles are the boundaries for the 18,500 small areas throughout the State and each boundary has the same deprivation and indicator data associated with it. This provides a useful indicator of the socio-economic status of those involved with the Network.

Mapping of crime and anti-social behavior hotspots

A heat map based on Public Order/Criminal Damage type offences reported to an Garda Síochána throughout the Dublin South Central area was used during interviews with Garda members, where they were asked to comment on the various hot spot locations identified on the maps.

Attendance at local meetings

Members of the research team also attended a number of relevant local Community Policing Fora and Joint Policing Committee (JPC) meetings. Minutes of such meetings over a two-year period were

¹ See Johnny Connolly, 'Illicit drug markets, systemic violence and victimisation' (2017) 68(4) NILQ, 415-432.

² Department of children and youth affairs (2016) *Lifting the lid on Greentown*. Dublin: Government Publications.

reviewed on a thematic basis, and actions taken to mitigate the effects of local criminality were described and assessed.

Focus groups

Following the interviews with Garda members, two focus groups were conducted with Community Activists from throughout Dublin South Central where the Network Maps were presented. These focus groups enabled local activists to comment on the maps and to provide their perspective on the nature and impact of local criminal Networks, crime hotspots and other issues. The final focus group was conducted with the 4Fora Network members during which the author set out a broad set of guiding principles and recommendations to assist the group in agreeing a way forward, in terms of developing a response. The actions arising from those discussions are outlined below.

Research ethics

In a process of co-production, the current research expanded upon the Greentown study referred to above, by also incorporating the perspectives of community residents on the nature, reach and impact of local criminal Networks. Unlike Greentown, the research location for this study was not anonymised, the ultimate objective being to develop local, sustainable and safe community-based responses to the complex and multi-layered problems associated with such Networks.

The research highlights the importance, value and challenges of using police generated Social Network data with residents of those communities most impacted by locally embedded criminal Networks. These Network Maps were used as a tool to build trust at a local level between residents and stakeholders in policing and community safety. This mapping can serve as a vital resource in addressing alienation and in building resilience and community efficacy. The researcher performs a central role as an intermediary and facilitator in the co-production of agreed responses to criminal local Networks. This role involves numerous ethical dilemmas and constructive ambiguities that must be navigated by researchers as they build trust with both police and community members.

The Network Maps constructed by the Garda Síochána Analysis Service provide a very useful tool to assist in the analysis of local crime Networks. However, they also contain extremely sensitive material and it is essential that strict confidentiality is observed at all times. Ethical approval for this research was provided by the Ethics Committee of the faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Limerick.

Findings

The nature and reach of the key criminal/ASB Networks within South Central (DSC)

The overall Network, including a crime (not traffic) and intelligence link came to about 650 people, which was then pared down to two Networks named: Dublin South Central Network One (SCN1) with 44 individuals, and Dublin South Central Network Two (SCN2) comprising 52 individuals. These Networks consist of individuals who have offended at least once in 2015-2016. Broken down by area and population, this makes up 1.2% of the population aged from 12 to 40 years of age – 92% of offenders are from this age bracket. There are 1,457 offenders in the area in 2015-16, or 2.8% of the population

aged 12 to 39. 97.2% of this cohort have not offended over this time period. This figure must be treated with caution due to the widespread reluctance across many areas of DSC to report crime, either due to fear of reprisal or a belief that little would be done about it, or for some other reason. These issues are raised repeatedly at various community fora throughout the area, as discussed later in this report. Notwithstanding these issues, which also arise in other similar communities, it needs to be recognised that, although these Networks can cause significant harm, they represent a very small proportion of the residents of such communities. It is important to highlight this point as it speaks to the unjustifiable stigma that is often attached to such communities, via the media and elsewhere.

Respondents were asked to consider the extent to which Networks were organized or clearly structured. Responses varied, with some referring to them as loosely organized, not particularly clearly designed or structured. Also, it was suggested that whilst these Networks can be quite well organised in the specific areas or flats complexes where certain individuals live, that they would have looser links with others from outside their specific area. People's willingness to become involved in the Network is due to either becoming entrapped through debt obligation, or because they see the potential material benefits that can be obtained, notwithstanding the risks involved. Also, senior Network members are often admired and younger people seek to emulate them. Senior Network members also can have significant control in the areas in which they live, including in terms of controlling crimes that might bring unwanted attention to the area which could undermine their drugs operations. This control is maintained through fear and intimidation on the one hand, and a degree of apathy or resignation on the other. Senior Network members may not appear on the map, as they as they might not necessarily commit crimes together or get caught together. Some of the key people at the apex of the Network would previously have been lower down the hierarchy, with multiple connections, but they have since moved on and elevated themselves, avoiding long prison sentences and death. Criminal Networks, as described above, appear to be loose constructs with varying levels of hierarchy or organization depending on location, or on whether they revolve around specific families, for example.

The impact of criminal Networks on people living in the area most connected to and most affected by these Networks

Consistent with a lot of recent research in this area, the impact of the illicit drugs trade in particular locations and the involvement of different Networks is often hidden. The impact of such Networks can also be experienced in schools, where divisions and conflict can emerge over associations with different individuals or families linked to Networks. The issue of drug debt and how it can play a role in drawing people into criminal Networks, or into engaging in criminal behaviour on behalf of such a Network as an obligation, is also referred to. Criminal Networks can also become embedded in communities and normalized due to fear. Another dimension of the impact of criminal Networks is the anti-social behaviour (ASB) that can become associated with them. This can be indirect, as in through the anti-social behaviour involved with open drug use, or it can be more organized, as we have seen with SCN2, where anti-social behavior can be used as a mechanism for controlling an area so as to facilitate criminal activities. Furthermore, organized confrontations with An Garda Síochána, whether in their cars or on

the beat, are sometimes intended to make certain locations no-go areas for policing. Also, Gardai respondents referred to an unwritten code: that people involved with the Network do not interact with An Garda Síochána. This also influences the interaction between other residents and An Garda Síochána, who would fear reprisal if they interacted with the AGS even for routine police matters, where they could be assumed to be cooperating.

The research examined a number of crime hotspots throughout the area. The extent to which these hotspots are linked to criminal Networks is discussed, with the view expressed that they are more linked to nightlife activity or are associated with small-scale crime linked to dependent drug users accessing local treatment and homeless services. It also highlights responses which indicate that most crime in the Ballyfermot area, for example, is not reported by local people so this clearly has a big effect on the data. This point is also made repeatedly by local Community Activists in the focus group reports below. On the other hand, due to the control exerted by the Network, other types of crime are less likely to happen in the area so as not to attract Gardai attention. One Garda respondent acknowledges the limitations of the Gardai influence in the respective area, referring to it as being 'self-policed' due to a combination of fear or respect for prominent Network members.

Many studies have highlighted the complexities of the relationship between some communities and illicit drug markets that take hold locally. In particular, the drugs trade can provide not just money for those involved in the supply chain, but they can also be a source of cheap goods for local residents as dependent drug users, for example, often steal goods to pay for their drugs and then sell them on locally. In this way, local people often act out of a degree of necessity, helping sustain the local drugs trade on the one hand, while being opposed to it or in fear of those involved in it, on the other. This highlights the importance of policy responses, particularly policing and community-safety ones, as being suitably nuanced to take account of this complex and almost symbiotic relationship that can exist between criminal Networks and their 'host communities'.

Community Activists' perspectives on local crime Networks

Although Community Activists value the exercise of mapping out local criminal Networks, a repeated theme relates to the extent to which it represents an accurate picture. The absence of younger people, and the low crime reporting rate throughout Dublin South Central are highlighted. Both these issues were also referenced by Garda members interviewed. Views are also expressed in relation to the extent of organization involved in local Networks. One respondent questions the extent to which we can refer to a Network, rather than a series of clusters of activity. Some activists also query the extent to which young people are targeted and groomed into the Network, instead suggesting that people involve themselves in the Network largely out of choice. One community-based respondent also highlights the challenge of encouraging people to make pro-social choices, given the material gains and sense of belonging provided by involvement in the Network. Another respondent points to the organized and deliberate function of anti-social behavior, as a concerted means of exercising Network control over areas.

The initiatives, structures and resources that are in place to address the impact of these Networks and their causes and to assess their performance

The research also provides an overview of the existing community safety structures, initiatives and resources in the areas covered by the South Central Policing Forum Network, which commissioned this research project. The South Central Policing Forum Network comprises four LPFs from distinct areas: the South West Inner City, Canal Communities, Dublin 12 and Ballyfermot/Chapelizod Fora. This Network was established in 2017 when the fora decided to come together to strategically co-analyse and collaborate to more effectively address criminality and ASB, and the harmful impact of these upon the combined communities.

All the fora recognised that improvements could be made to their structure and functioning. Members were eager to “re-purpose” their role and to raise the profile of the LPFs, so as to attract greater funding, public support and increased Garda resources. Challenges identified to effective inter-agency and community partnership collaboration include a perception that some Youth Centres are reluctant to work with an Garda Síochána, due to the pressure on community residents not to be seen to be interacting with Garda members on any matter. Garda members acknowledge and sympathise with the local community with regard to their reluctance to engage with an Garda Síochána. However, they also point out how difficult that makes their job. Garda members also echo the views of Community activists when they argue that there are not sufficient Garda resources committed to community policing on a consistent basis and that, as a result, a coherent community policing approach is therefore lacking.

As shown in the Network Maps, those involved in the criminal Networks represent a very small percentage of loosely organized local residents. The response to them, on the other hand, whether from the statutory or community and voluntary sector- or a combination of both, does not appear to be similarly organized. At present, a largely unfocused, ad hoc approach to the issues seems to dominate across all the existing structures: Joint Policing Committees (JPC), Local Policing Fora (LPF) and Community Safety Fora (CSF). The same issues repeatedly crop up for discussion and the perception of community-based workers and residents who attend the public fora meetings is that current interventions and responses are not effective. As things stand, the structures (JPC, LPF, CSG) are weak, disconnected, lacking in clear orientation and poorly resourced. Respondents believe that more cohesive, localized structures have huge potential to help build bridges between the agencies and the communities, to facilitate local police accountability and to help build community confidence.

The main and repeated issues being dealt with throughout the various structures include the following: inadequate Garda numbers, the failure to fill Garda vacancies -especially at Sergeant level- low Garda visibility and failure to respond to calls when people report serious issues, especially anti-social behaviour in local parks; failure to address crime and anti-social behaviour ‘hot spots’; failure to curb intimidation and to respond to gang-related feuding. Another significant issue that arises in relation to the crime picture is that residents at meetings do not appear to have faith in the accuracy of Garda crime

statistics - including in relation to serious offences like domestic burglary. This is because many people do not bother to report local incidents, believing that nothing would be done by An Garda Síochána about it. This is a particularly challenging issue and it compounds the problem of people not reporting crime due to fear of reprisal.

The need to combine Care and Control responses:

The issue of the importance of developing a holistic approach to crime problems at a community level was also identified in an analysis of the Community Safety Groups (CSG's). Participation by residents in the CSG's may have repercussions for their own personal safety, and the problems raised may not even be resolved due to protestations from the statutory agencies that "their hands are tied" procedurally, or otherwise (for instance, due to resource issues). Owing to the reluctance of residents to involve themselves in CSG's, community-based workers often perform a role on them. This raises two issues: the importance of ensuring that those who are willing to take up the vital role of engaging in localised structures in response to community problems are kept safe, and secondly, that responses are not exclusively enforcement oriented i.e. about making arrests, performing surveillance, issuing warnings and pursuing evictions. These things matter, but the building of resilient communities requires more nuanced and sustainable responses.

Future Guiding Principles and Four Fora Action Plan

Building Community Resilience provides an essential basis for creating a strategy for responding to anti-social behaviour and criminality across the South-Central Area, because it describes the nature of the drug-trading, anti-social behaviour Networks and how they impact upon our communities. It also analyses the structures currently in place to respond to this reality and outlines their strengths and weaknesses. Most importantly, it situates its analysis in the context of hugely significant developments in the world of community safety recently, particularly those arising from the Report of the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland.

As a result, the 4Fora has appended the Building Community Resilience research report with an outline strategy, based upon the report's findings and recommendations. This outline strategy is set out below. Much of the work of implementing the strategy will involve filling in the detail, which will require the involvement of many stakeholders. However, the Building Community Resilience report enables us to set clear parameters for our strategic outline, and to base our model on both reality and realism.

The strategy outline is structured in three parts;

1. What is the vision of our strategy?
2. What are the specific actions required?
3. What are the structural reforms needed to carry the strategy?

1. The Vision. What will guide us?

The vision is to build community resilience. We understand that solving the drug problems or social inequalities that drive community safety issues is beyond the reach of four local policing forums. However, we aim to develop significant resilience in the face of these issues within those communities most affected by them. The report suggests that our strategy should be built upon specific principles.

Principle One: Responses should be driven by Human Rights.

The report recommends that: “The 4Fora Network should promote a human rights-based approach that balances competing rights. For example, the rights of community residents to live safe from fear and crime on the one hand, with the procedural rights of criminal suspects” And that: “Such an approach should be developed in association with the Irish Council for Civil Liberties and the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission”.

For the most part, human rights associated with community safety tend to be focused on the procedural rights of those suspected or indeed convicted of offences. These include rights such as the right to a fair trial, to legal representation, to freedom from torture and arbitrary arrest. These rights are essential. While those suffering from anti-social behaviour and criminality may yearn for tough responses from the State, breaches of these rights by authorities only makes things worse. They create alienation within sections of our community and exacerbate lack of cooperation with authorities.

However, more needs to be done on understanding and advocating for the rights of communities impacted by community safety issues. These rights relate to how the state can ensure minimum standards in the quality of life for people and certain groups of people. Can a right to decent housing include the right to live in a home and a community free from persistent low-level intimidation? Can rights relating to the distribution of resources and freedom from social exclusion include adequate access to policing for communities under pressure? Are the rights of the child pertinent to children being “groomed” into participating in the drug-trade? The strategy will include understanding relevant human rights and how to situate the argument for safe communities within a human rights framework. We will seek to develop a language and culture of human rights at local level so that the obligations on the state to protect society is articulated through the lens of human rights. This reflects the first principle of the Report on the Future of Policing, namely “Human Rights as a Foundation of Policing”.

Principle Two: Balance of Care and Control in responses

The strategy recognises that clear boundaries must be placed on harmful behaviour (Control), no matter what the reason for this behaviour, whilst recognising that those causing harm are often victims themselves who need and deserve our care. Hurt people will hurt other people. Many involved in the Networks described within Building Community Resilience are living with addiction, drug-debt, mental health issues, poor educational attainment and poor prospects of decent employment. The report reminds us that our strategy needs to be “trauma informed”. In other words, we must be attentive to the adverse childhood experiences associated with many offenders’ lives. The Care and Control principle will challenge us to think outside our “comfort zones.” Those of us working in caring professions must

appreciate the need to enforce boundaries on negative behaviour at times, and those of us used to dealing only with the offence of the offender, need to take account of the whole person in responding effectively to community safety issues.

Principle Three: Adopt a Restorative Approach

This is an approach to Community Resilience based upon the understanding that anti-social behaviour breaks relationships. All offenders are part of our communities and, in many cases, are family members and childhood friends of those they are harming, in the communities where they cause most distress. The strategy is about creating a community where healthy relationships are fostered and sustained, and where they are restored when sundered.

2. Actions. What we will do?

2.1 The use of qualitative as well as quantitative data, drawn from the lived experiences of those living and working in our communities, to identify “hotspots” within LPF areas- and to understand the nature of the problems presenting in each case.

The report refers to: “The hidden character of the illicit drug market, and the particularly corrosive impacts it can have on those communities in which local drug markets tend to take hold, referred to as their ‘Host communities’”. There is a concentration of problems in such “host communities” which have become “hotspots” of victimization and intimidation. Indeed, the report includes a heat-map of the hotspots identified through the PULSE system. These are areas where street or home-based drug dealing and its associated anti-social behaviour such as- intimidation, public alcohol and drug consumption, loud noise, vandalism, defecation and drug/drink detritus, violence and party-houses - is persistent. These areas can be identified by Garda PULSE data and Garda intelligence. Interestingly however, interviews with individual Garda highlighted the fact that the profile of “hotspots” identified through PULSE differs somewhat from that which might be identified by residents living with persistent drug-trade related anti-social behaviour. Disorder related to people leaving nightclubs and the sort of chaos arising from the activity of Network members can create identifiable hotspots. But the level of trauma endured in each case can be very different to that identified by PULSE. Additionally, the report highlights that in some actual hotspots, because reporting levels are low, they may not register in official data and yet the problem is severe and continues to persist, undocumented. In its review of Joint Policing Committee (JPC) reports, Building Community Resilience concludes:

“Clearly, in the light of the LPC minutes which make constant references to various “hotspots” in each of the four areas and to inadequate policing of these public places, there appears to be a disconnect between the lived experience of residents in these areas and the perception of AGS and DCC regarding the sufficiency of the monitoring, and in particular, the police presence to deter ASB and to tackle it effectively when it happens”. This suggests that we need to add in a mechanism whereby soft intelligence can be gathered by residents and given a central place in determining where State responses should be concentrated. Such a mechanism would offset the limitations of relying only on PULSE data, as in many hotspots it is clear that direct reporting by the public to authorities can be low. We need to value the qualitative, as well as quantitative evidence of problems.

The report recommends the use of Community Crime Impact Assessments: “The 4Fora should support the development of a local Community Crime Impact Assessment as a means of informing local policing and community safety strategies and as a way of monitoring interventions”.

Community Crime Impact Assessment (CCIA) is a tool which has been piloted in three communities in Dublin 8, Dublin 15 and Dublin 1. It allows a community to gather testimony as to the impact of drug-related criminal behaviour on those who live and work there. This data is then triangulated with the data available in PULSE, Local Authority complaints data and other sources. A Garda Inspector will then endorse this assessment as broadly true and trustworthy. This assessment will then trigger a response – the engagement by relevant parties in a Problem Oriented Approach to the identified issues (See next section). Assessments are then taken at intervals to monitor the impacts of interventions, both positive and negative. CCIAs are valuable in that they validate the experience of those living with drug-trade related anti-social behaviour and give them power to influence actions. It also makes the experience of local people the key arbiter of how successful interventions are, alongside statistics on arrests, searches or drugs seizures.

Once hotspots are identified, they need to be graded, so that resources can be prioritised to the most affected areas. The method of grading will need to be further considered, but the extent of the impact on quality of life should be the determining factor. It should be noted that while drug-trade related antisocial behaviour does tend to be territorial, persistent problems with criminality may not always be geographical. An assessment may be carried out on a specific issue that is not connected to geography, such as spates of violent robberies, or racist attacks. Even if this is the case, an assessment tool can still be used, and the strategic planning process outlined below can still apply.

2.2 Problem-Orientated Approach (POA) - Responding to Hotspots.

The report then advocates the use of a Problem Orientated Approach using the SARA model (Scanning-Analysis-Response-Assessment) to respond in a strategic and persistent way to the presenting problems, with all relevant agencies involved. It says: “Responses should adopt a problem- oriented approach, as recommended by the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland.”

And again: “Problem-Oriented Policing (POP).....is a proactive alternative to traditional response policing. Along with identifying hotspots, such as those identified throughout Dublin South Central in this report, POP places more emphasis on understanding the connections between problems and why they are occurring, and on tackling problems identified by local communities that have been resistant to other, more conventional responses. The model requires thorough analysis of the causes of crime and disorder, identifying strategies for intervention (beyond law enforcement), involving other agencies and the community in delivering them, and checking whether benefits accrued”.

The report recommends that relevant agencies, identified via the analysis of the Community Crime Impact Assessment, work together on a strategy for tackling the issues based on the data collected. Again, the outcomes of the strategy are then measured through further assessments. A Problem-Orientated Approach could lead to a huge variety of responses depending on the nature of the issues in the targeted area. It may involve for example: implementation of specific aspects of the Divisional Model of local area policing, some local precinct improvements, improved CCTV monitoring,

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youth outreach, an intervention in a crisis family, targeting an off-licence selling to minors, organising community activities to reclaim a public space, enforcing tenancy agreements... or a range of other options.

It further recommends that training for LPF members and relevant partners in the Problem-Orientated Approach should be undertaken.

In summary the specific actions will be:

- I. Employ Community Crime Impact Assessments to help identify hotspots and benchmark the specific issues
- II. Develop a template for grading hotspots, prioritising those most impactful on communities
- III. Develop structured templates and protocols for using a Problem Oriented Approach in response to hotspots
- IV. Use the Community Crime Impact Assessment tool to measure the effectiveness of strategies employed
- V. Provide training in use of CCIA's and POA.

2.3. Responding to the Nature of the Networks

The report profiles the two main Networks in a way that suggests there are three strata within them:

- First there are career criminals at the centre of the drug trade.
- Second there are street dealers, usually teens and young men operating in and around hotspots.
- Third there are children, often below the age of criminal responsibility who are groomed into participation in the Networks.

These three categories are not clearly defined and there are overlaps, but they suggest three levels of response:

- I. Develop an interagency response to the career criminals focused on curbing their criminality with a "carrot and stick" approach. A case management response is appropriate in tackling this set of individuals in the system. One possible model for this is the Joint Agency Response to Crime (JARC) which uses an interagency approach to manage prolific offenders. A 2018 report suggests that JARC is very promising as a way of reducing prolific offending, though the evaluation is limited. Many of those in this category of the Networks do not have many convictions, but a similar interagency model involving Gardai, Social Welfare, Probation and Revenue to profile and target such individuals will be developed.
- II. Employ an intensive outreach and bridging model to target the young people involved in street dealing Networks, their families, and those who orbit them around hotspots. This will involve teams of street outreach workers connected with youth services but whose sole focus is on the Networks' participants. They will typically be young adults who can relate directly to these young people and build a relationship with them on the street, with the sole purpose of bridging them into employment, education, rehabilitation or other constructive life paths. Outreach teams will focus not on a particular neighbourhood or age-group, or a particular presenting need (such as addiction, unemployment

or mental health) but on the group operating as a Network at street level, including their families and those orbiting them on the street. If the group moves location, the team follows them. We have evidence of the success of this approach in South-Central already in the TRY programme in Donore Avenue, which is cited in the report.

- III. Create specific interventions for children who are identifiable as recruits for the Networks at late primary-early secondary school stages. Such interventions will be developed drawing on the experience of local youth services and schools, Tusla, the Research Evidence into Policy, Programmes and Practice (REPPP) model being developed by the University of Limerick and which is referred to in the report, and alternative education programmes such as the Youth Encounter Project. The key action is to develop a process of facilitating dialogue, involving everyone with a contribution to make on what programme or programmes will best address the challenges presented by these children. It is beyond the scope of this outline strategy to be prescriptive, except to say that it will need to be specifically aimed at those most likely to participate in the Networks, and their families and existing local services will need to be central to whatever programme arises. It is likely that there will need to be more than one programme, given the size of the areas involved, but it may be prudent to start with one as a pilot, perhaps attaching it to one of the Networks identified in the report.
- IV. Develop a partnership of relevant agencies along the lines of The Young People at Risk Services (YPAR) in the North Dublin Inner City to identify the children at risk, to coordinate immediate responses to their needs and to develop the more long-term intervention described above.

Restorative Practice (RP) is highlighted above and in the report. We will also build collaboration between the Dublin 8/12 Restorative Practice project and the Ballyfermot Restorative Practice Project. Our Strategy includes a vision to work towards supporting Dublin South Central to become a Restorative Community. This means that RP methods would be available to children in schools to help children learn to express feelings and develop empathy; also in community centres and in youth and drug projects to help foster positive relationships and to help deal constructively with conflict in these settings, and so ultimately in our wider neighbourhoods. In time, it is hoped that there may be RP interventions to address the damage caused by Network members in hotspots where they have been causing harm. We will partner with national initiatives developing Restorative Practice and Restorative Justice in this approach.

2.4. Public Meetings

The organisation of Public Meetings is a core activity of LPFs. This report describes a range of experiences in organising meetings and the varied responses from the public. Some difficulties include keeping meetings on-topic, avoiding unproductive repetition of the same conversations meeting after meeting, and increasing participation by all attendees. The 4Fora Network facilitated a sharing of these experiences and the introduction of some new methods of organising them, leading to the development of new strategies by forums. The strategy will include continued mutual learning between forums on the best use of meetings. It is envisaged that if CCAs and POP processes are used in tandem, and reported on at public meetings, there may be a greater sense of progress on the core issues locally.

3. Structure: How we will organise ourselves?

3.1 Staffing

The report recommends that the 4Fora should:

“...put together a proposal for the establishment of a Local Policing and Community Safety Team. This team’s role would be to coordinate a DSC policing and community safety strategy emerging from this report by – for example – assisting in the induction of new Community Gardaí into the area; developing training in problem solving and restorative practice (see below); organising problem-solving teams; co-ordinating the restorative practice programme (see below); liaising with outreach teams and the programmes targeted at children and families at risk (see possible interventions below). The role of this team should be in addition to the support role for the Policing Forums available through Dublin City Council (DCC) currently, as it requires a different skill-set.”

This is a welcome suggestion, as it recognises that the task of building community resilience in an area so bedevilled by challenges to community safety is not achievable through voluntary effort alone, or via the spare capacity of already overworked professionals. In some parts of Dublin, Local Policing Forums do have staff. The achievement of a strategy such as this will be very limited without staffing. A team of four staff, one for each forum, will be established to operate as a Dublin South Central Local Policing and Community Safety Team. This staff will operate as one team in order to facilitate them attending to LPF cross area activities, such as the development of a programme for children at risk of engagement in the Networks, or to facilitate the development of the Outreach programmes. They may also pursue policy issues arising from the work, for example with regard to the grooming of children or to the development of a Human Rights framework for Community Safety. One staff member will be allocated to serve each Forum, to look after public meetings, carry out assessments and implement POP strategies in each local area. The staff team may benefit from having members with different backgrounds, such as youth work, drugs work or other varied relevant experience.

3.2 The 4Fora Network

This team will be managed by the 4Fora Network, which will be reformed to constitute an effective management committee. This will require a new profile of members and a Chair with the capacity for this task. The 4Fora will continue to play its role of Networking between the 4 LPFs in South Central, organising learning events and advocating on policy and resource issues.

3.3 The Local Policing Forums

Supported by staff, each Policing Forum in South Central will adopt the strategy of identifying its local hotspots, using Impact assessments to benchmark and understand the issues, employ problem orientated approaches to tackle these issues, and measure progress using further assessments. They will also continue to develop public engagement through public meetings and other communication means. While this model envisages LPFs sharing resources and learning through the staff team and learning Networks, the independence of LPFs to serve their own specific local area as they see fit will be protected. This model does not envisage the merging of Forums into one entity.

3.4 The South-Central Joint Policing Committee

The JPC will oversee the entire strategy, developing its agenda around it. The JPC will be closely linked with the LPFs. Community membership of JPCs will, for example, be drawn from LPFs, and the primary agenda of the JPCs will be the policy and resource implications of the work of the LPFs.

3.5 Training, Support and Oversight - The role of the Policing and Community Safety Oversight Commission

Building Community Resilience situates the research recommendations in the context of developments within community safety work at the heart of which is the Report of the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland, which is currently in the process of being implemented. A key recommendation of this report, accepted by Government, is the amalgamation of the Policing Authority and the Garda Inspectorate into a Policing and Community Safety Oversight Commission (PCSOC):

“Currently the Policing Authority has a responsibility to coordinate and support the JPCs. It has not had the same role in respect of LCPFs. As foreshadowed above, we propose that PCSOC should develop these local structures to function effectively, building capacity for participation by community stakeholders, setting standards for their operation and evaluating their performance. The key objective would be to build community trust and address problems through authentic engagement. PCSOC should also work with local fora to promote multi-agency approaches to community safety at the local level. It should have a fund available to support local innovation and initiatives.”

This is congruent with the desires of LPFs recorded in Building Community Resilience as follows: “All the fora recognised that improvements could be made to their structure and functioning. Members were eager to “re-purpose” their role and to raise the profile of the LPFs, so as to attract both greater funding, public support and Garda resources.”

If the recommendation in the Commission Report is followed, the Local Policing Forums in South-Central can expect to be supported in the way described to implement this strategy.

This strategy proposes that this would mean:

In support of this work, the PCSOC will support the training of LPF steering group members and their collaborators in carrying out CCAs, using POP methods as well as other relevant training in human rights and restorative practices.

- ▶ PCSOC will have a role in developing standards for LPFs and JPCs and these will be adopted into the policies and practices of such structures in the South-Central Area. This will include policies on recruiting and suitably vetting new members, terms of reference, engaging with the public and working in line with best ethical standards.
- ▶ PCSOC would be asked to support the development of the 4Forums Network as a management team for the Local Policing and Community Safety Team which will include recruiting an LPF membership with the skills to perform this role. The 4Forums Network will continue to facilitate a learning Network between the four LPFs where good practice can be learned, and policy issues identified.

- ▶ PCSOC would support the JPC to oversee the whole strategy and to advocate for the necessary resources.
- ▶ PCSOC will provide oversight, using its authority to ensure all agencies play their part in the JPC, the LPFs and in the strategies being developed under these structures.
- ▶ PCSOC will be invited to consider the 4Forums project as a “new initiative” as proposed in the Report on the Future of Policing, enabling it to fund training and other measures.

The purpose of this research is to explore the dynamics of criminal and anti-social behaviour Networks across Dublin City's South Central Area (Ballyfermot, Inchicore, Crumlin, Drimnagh, Rialto, Walkinstown, The Liberties and the south west inner city), their impact on communities and to produce a report recommending practical steps that can be taken by local communities, An Garda Siochana, Dublin City Council and other stakeholders in response to these impacts.

Section 1

Introduction

1) Background research – a summary

Throughout the past fifteen years, a range of Irish studies have looked at the impact of crime and anti-social behaviour, much of it associated with the illicit drug trade (For a brief summary see Table One). Given the hidden character of the illicit drug market, and the particularly corrosive impacts it can have on those communities in which local drug markets tend to take hold, referred to as their 'Host communities'³, this research has had to utilize innovative research methods.

AUTHOR/TITLE	OUTCOME/FINDINGS
Connolly J (2003) Drugs, crime and community: Monitoring quality of life in the North Dublin Inner City. North Inner City Dublin Drugs Task Force	A study to ascertain the quality of life in an area of Dublin's North Inner City, with a particular focus on the impact of drug-related crime and antisocial behaviour. The study found that drug-related crime and related antisocial behaviour exacerbate the already serious social problems in the area and corrode community cohesion. The few repeat offenders have a substantial impact on the quality of life of those living in the local community. It calls for sustainable, interagency and community- based interventions with a balance of prevention and intervention.
Loughran H and McCann ME (2006) A community drugs study: Developing community indicators for problem drug use. Dublin: Stationery Office.	A qualitative participatory research study exploring the experiences in communities of the drug problem since 1996. The study documented a sense of fear expressed by many people resulting from groups of young people congregating and using drugs and alcohol and how this fear negatively impacted social cohesion. It documented visible local drug dealing, greater violence in the community associated with drug dealing, and a greater sense of intimidation from street gangs.
Public Communications Centre (2009) Dial to stop drug dealing evaluation report September 2008-July2009. Dublin: Public Communications Centre.	Based on the success of an earlier campaign in Blanchardstown, the decision was taken to roll out a national phone line initiative. The campaign was launched in regions across Ireland in three phases between October 2008 and July 2009. Evaluation of the campaign noted increasing reports to the phone-line of the incidence of intimidation, particularly in the Dublin North Inner City area.
O'Leary M (2009) Intimidation of families. Dublin: National Family Support Network.	A descriptive survey of family support workers/ facilitators about the nature and extent of drug-related intimidation experienced by families availing of support through these services, including 78 case reports. Describes the targets of intimidation, how they are intimidated, the reasons for intimidation, and how victims responded to intimidation.

³ May T, Duffy M, Few B and Hough M (2005) Understanding drug-selling in communities: insider or outsider trading. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

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<p>McCulloch L, Beasley S and Rourke S (2010) An overview of community safety in Blanchardstown RAPID areas. Dublin: Safer Blanchardstown.</p>	<p>A household survey which found high prevalence of reported harassment or intimidation in the local area, with over half of households in one of the sampled areas reporting becoming victims of harassment or intimidation, and 82% reporting witnessing harassment or intimidation.</p>
<p>Hourigan N(ed) (2011) Understanding Limerick: Social Exclusion and Change. Cork: Cork University Press</p>	<p>This three-year ethnographic study on intimidation, fear and feuding in Limerick provided insight into the hierarchical structure of Limerick's family drug gangs, the impact of social exclusion and fear-based respect on the socialization of young people into drugs gang culture, and the role of intimidation in creating regimes of fear.</p>
<p>Jennings P (2015) Melting the iceberg of fear: A collective response to anti-social behaviour, drugs misuse, criminal activity and drug debt intimidation. Dublin: Safer Blanchardstown</p>	<p>A descriptive study, including interviews with senior outreach staff from community agencies, and a literature review and documentary review of local public meetings in Mulhuddart, Dublin. Describes an 'iceberg' of intimidation, in terms of three orders: low, middle and higher order. It makes recommendations for interventions at each level.</p>
<p>North Inner City Drug and Alcohol Task Force (2013) Violence, intimidation and threats: Trends and behaviours online survey Dublin: North Inner City Drugs and Alcohol Task Force.</p>	<p>An online survey of issues relating to violence, threats and intimidation experienced by individuals and groups engaging with local projects in the North Inner City in October 2013. Survey found considerable engagement with services around issues of violence, threats and intimidation, 28% of which was estimated to be drug-related.</p>
<p>Connolly J and Donovan AM (2014) Illicit drug markets in Ireland. Dublin: National Advisory Committee on Drugs and Alcohol. http://www.drugsandalcohol.ie/22837/</p>	<p>An exploratory study conducted between 2008 and 2010, including a cross section of four drug markets (two urban, one suburban, one rural). All four sites reported an increase in violence associated with the drug trade, largely related to unpaid debts.</p>
<p>Connolly J and Buckley L (2016) Demanding money with menace: Drug-related intimidation and community violence in Ireland. Dublin: CityWide Drugs Crisis Campaign. http://www.drugsandalcohol.ie/25201/</p>	<p>An audit of over 140 incidents of Drug Related Intimidation reported to projects in 13 Drugs Task Force Areas. Provides descriptive evidence on the profile of victims and perpetrators, the nature of incidents, reasons behind the incidents, actions taken in response to the incidents, reporting of the incidents, and the impact of the incidents, with discussion of the policy implications of the findings.</p>
<p>Murphy L, Farragher L, Keane, Galvin B and Long J (2017) Drug-related intimidation. The Irish situation and international responses: an evidence review. Dublin: Health Research Board. https://www.drugsandalcohol.ie/27333/</p>	<p>Much of the above research above has highlighted the issue of drug-related intimidation (DRI), often in relation to drug debt. This is a pervasive and pressing issue negatively impacting the health and well-being of individuals, families, communities and the functioning of local agencies that serve them. The aim of this evidence review was to critically appraise the national and international evidence to identify best practice in community-based responses to DRI and to inform: a) DRI action points within the National Drugs Strategy, 2017–2026, and b) to inform Drugs Task Force action plans for implementing responses to DRI in their local communities.</p>

Table 1: Summary of key recent relevant Irish research⁴

⁴ The studies in Table 1 can be located in the National Documentation on Drug and alcohol www.ndc.ie

In recent years, **Social Network Analysis (SNA)** has been applied to the understanding of the dynamics of criminal Networks, with a view to informing sustainable responses, and this conceptual approach was regarded as appropriate for this research. In criminology, SNA has proven to be a valuable tool for the study of personal and neighborhood Networks and their influence on crime and for the analysis of criminal groups⁵. SNA can be adopted to research the influence of personal Networks on crime and, more generally, on delinquent behavior. This category includes studies on the consequences that personal Networks may have on juvenile delinquency or, in fewer cases, on adult criminality.

A second category of studies adopting SNA in criminological research encompasses the analyses of neighborhood Networks and their influence on crime. Recognizing the importance of the “neighborhood effects” on crime, these studies adopt SNA to assess the facilitating and deterring effects that the structural properties of neighborhood Networks have on crime and delinquency rates. Recent studies also focused on interactions among neighborhoods and the effects of these interactions on crime by integrating spatial and social Network methods. Drawing on the idea that “observable outcomes in one neighborhood are partly the product of social actions and activities that can stretch beyond local communities”, some authors have started to model proximity not only in geographical terms but also in social Network terms. Levels of crime in a neighborhood are thus influenced by features of both geographically proximate locations and places connected by social ties (e.g. rivalries among gangs).

Finally, SNA has been adopted to explore and model the organization of crime. Street gangs, as well as illicit markets and co-offending Networks, have been analyzed through the lens of SNA.

An innovative Irish case study recently used SNA applied to official crime incident reports to construct a Network Map connecting co-offenders involved in burglaries and drugs for sale and supply⁶. This was then used as the basis for interviewing Gardaí about a criminal Network in a local community and its role in influencing local children’s trajectories of criminal involvement. This study, *Lifting the Lid on Greentown* found evidence of a ‘criminal Network which ... was hierarchical in nature and was governed by a family kinship-based “core”. The hierarchical structure was supported by a deeply embedded sympathetic culture in the area, as well as powerful ongoing processes – in particular, patronage-based relationships which shared the rewards of crime among associates, but also generated onerous debt obligations’. (Redmond 2016, p.7).

The study found that a small number of young people were engaged in a disproportionate amount of serious crime. It identified the existence of a Network and also found that adults in the Network appeared to actively recruit and groom children towards criminal activity. It also provided information on the perception of Garda members regarding the vulnerabilities of specific individuals brought into the Network, and with regard to the influence of specific families within Greentown. This criminal Network played a significant role in recruiting child Network actors to engage in criminal behaviour on behalf of the Network and reducing opportunities for members to exit the Network. The Greentown study described a three-tiered, hierarchical Network structure, with the kinship core, associate members and

⁵ This review of Social Network Analysis is derived from Berlusconi G (2017) Social Network Analysis and Crime Prevention. Manuscript published as Chapter 10 (pp. 129-141) in Leclerc B. & E.U. Savona (Eds.) (2017). Crime Prevention in the 21st Century: Insightful approaches for Crime Prevention Initiatives. Cham: Springer.

⁶ sRedmond s (2016) *Lifting the Lid on Greentown*. Dublin: Department of Children and Youth Affairs

child Network actors.

The Greentown study was followed by a survey of Juvenile Liaison Officers (JLO) throughout the country to ascertain if its findings were supported by their experience⁷. This survey of 93 JLOs, representing every Garda Síochána district throughout the State, confirmed the findings of the original *Greentown study*. 'Greentown' was then also extended to two further locations, referred to as 'Redtown' and 'Bluetown'. These studies are due to be published in early 2020.

This is part of the Research Evidence into Policy, Programmes and Practice (REPPP) initiative of the Department of Children and Youth Affairs, based at the Centre for Crime, Justice and Victim Studies, in the School of Law at the University of Limerick. Having developed an evidence base, the next stage of the REPPP project is the bottom-up design of a new intervention programme designed to disrupt Network activity. This process has involved the collaboration of international and national scientific and policy experts across a wide range of disciplines. The newly designed evidence-based programme, combining elements of child welfare, law enforcement, community capacity building and new pro-social opportunities for children engaged in Networks, is attracting significant international interest. This will be discussed further in the final section of this report.

2) Research Aims

The aims of this research are set out below:

- ▶ To investigate and identify the nature and reach of the key criminal/ASB Networks within Dublin South Central
- ▶ To investigate and describe the impact of these Networks on people living in the area most connected to and most affected by these Networks
- ▶ To investigate the relationship between key socio-economic indicators and the operation and impact of such Networks, including the factors that facilitate resilience in these communities
- ▶ To investigate and map out the initiatives, structures and resources that are in place to address the impact of these Networks and their causes and to assess their performance
- ▶ To consider what is required to sustainably address the impact of these Networks and their causes, including the enhancement of existing initiatives and/or the development of new initiatives
- ▶ To prepare a report including recommendations as to how to address the issues arising from the analysis.

3) Methodology

3.1 Garda analysis of the dynamics of Networks of criminality/ASB and their interaction across the relevant communities

The research utilized Social Network Analysis (SNA) and an adaptation of the methodology adopted in the Greentown study to examine local criminal and anti-social behavior Networks throughout Dublin South Central. This involved close collaboration with local members of An Garda Síochána and the Garda

⁷ Naughton C and Redmond S (2018) National Prevalence Study – Do the findings from the Greentown (2015) study of children's involvement in criminal network's extend beyond Greentown? REPPP. School of Law, University of Limerick, Dublin: Department of Children and Youth Affairs.

Síochána Analysis Service (GSAS) based in Garda headquarters in Phoenix Park. The initial stage of the research involved the preparation of a Network 'Map' or graphic by the GSAS, using the crime categories defined in the study or other relevant crime types⁸. The analysis identified links between individuals across a number of crime types throughout the research area.

3.2 Interviews with Garda members using innovative Twinsight methodology

Once constructed, the Network Map formed the basis of examination in individual interviews with Garda members based locally throughout the research area. The Twinsight methodology enables the researcher and the Garda members to discuss Network members in a confidential arrangement ensuring that the researcher had no access to or sight of confidential information, which could only be accessed by Garda members. Twinsight involves the use of anonymous but unique identifier codes permitting precise and simultaneous identification of individuals for discussion, while observing ethical requirements to use only anonymized data. The researcher did not access any personal information on the individual in the Network - only details of age and gender. The use of Twinsight ensures that all respondents can talk authentically in a safe and confidential manner about case-related events, specifically around individuals and Network dynamics. This is facilitated by the use of both unique reference points (unique identifier numbers) and two versions of the Network Map.

Version 1 –'live Network'- Garda PDF version. Contains personal information pertaining to an individual's name as well as unique identifier number, age and gender. This version is placed in a sealed envelope and retained by An Garda Síochána and is at no point accessible to any member of the research team.

Version 2 –'anonymised Network'- Researcher's PDF version. This contains an identical graphic to version 1, contains a unique identifier number, age and gender but no other personal information. This is viewed by both the researcher and Garda respondents.

The semi-structured interviews covered the following questions:

- ▶ What is the nature and reach of the key criminal/ASB Networks within the South Central Area?
- ▶ What are the impacts of these Networks on people living in the area, including those participating in the Networks themselves?
- ▶ Which are the specific neighbourhoods within the area most connected to and most affected by these Networks?
- ▶ What key socio-economic factors facilitate this association and its impact?
- ▶ What factors facilitate resilience in these communities against such impact?
- ▶ What initiatives, structures and resources are in place to address this impact and its causes? How well are they working?
- ▶ What is required to sustainably address the impact and its causes? Prompts: reform of current structures, roles played by stakeholders (particularly DCC, AGS and the community, but also other

⁸ A challenge here relates to the limitations that can be found in reported crime, particularly in relation to drug supply offences. In Greentown and in this study, garda analysts were given discretion to identify other crime types that might link individuals in a network.

agencies such as the HSE, Tusla, Drugs and Alcohol Task Forces, youth services, etc.) plus enhancement of existing initiatives that are working well and new initiatives that can address the issues.

3.3 Socio-economic analysis

The Deprivation Index published by Pobal uses a number of indicators across three categories: demographic, labour market and social class⁹. The full small area dataset contains the relative index scoring (as well as other indicators from the census). This data was transferred onto an online map, using shapefiles for the Research Area (Dublin South Central). Shapefiles are the boundaries for the 18,500 small areas throughout the State- see previous note and each boundary has the same deprivation and indicator data associated with it.

During the interviews with Garda members, using an affluence map based on the Deprivation Index data, the interviewee was asked to provide a rank A (very affluent) to F (very disadvantaged) based on where the person referred to lives (Figure 1).

Using the Twinsight method, the Garda member would have the address of the individual being referred to on his Network Map.

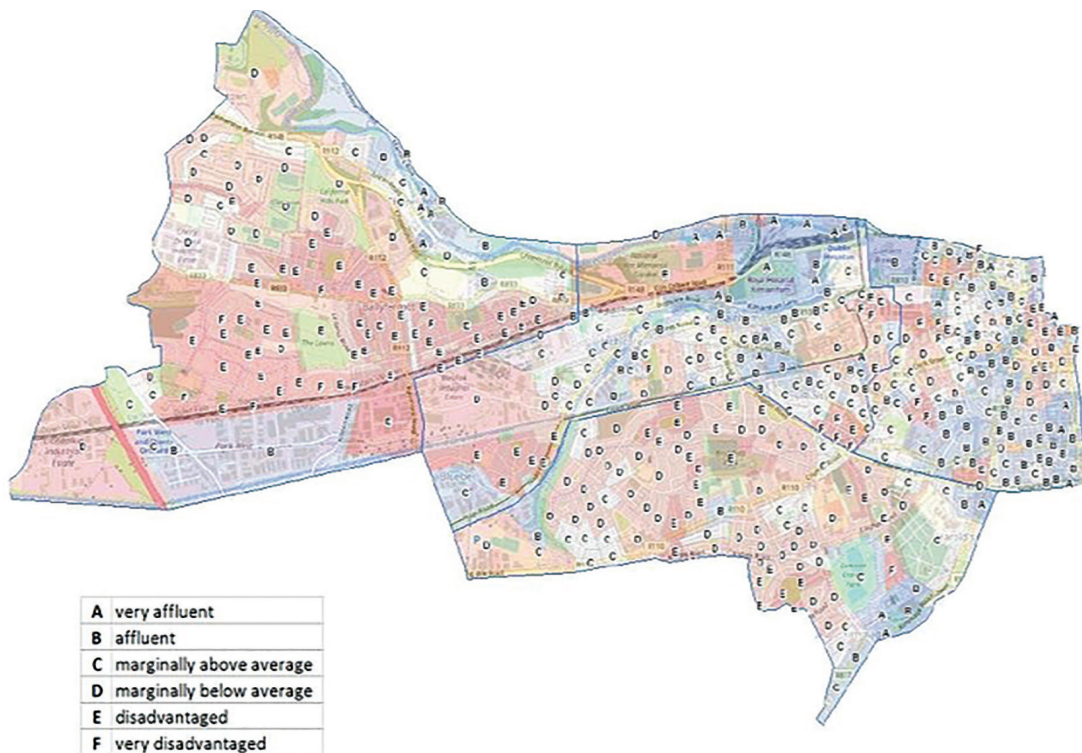


Figure 1: Dublin South Central Deprivation Index map

However, during the course of the research it became apparent that interviewees usually only concentrated on a small number of specific individuals known to them, so it was decided to request the GSAS to conduct this analysis for the Network as a whole. Allowing for the fact that the people involved might move residence frequently, this data (presented below) provides a useful indicator of the socio-economic status of those involved with the Network.

⁹ Based on data from the 2016 Census of Population, the 2016 Pobal HP Deprivation Index shows the level of overall affluence and deprivation at the level of 18,488 Small Areas in 2006, 2011 and 2016, using identical measurement scales.

3.4 Crime and anti-social behavior 'Hotspots'

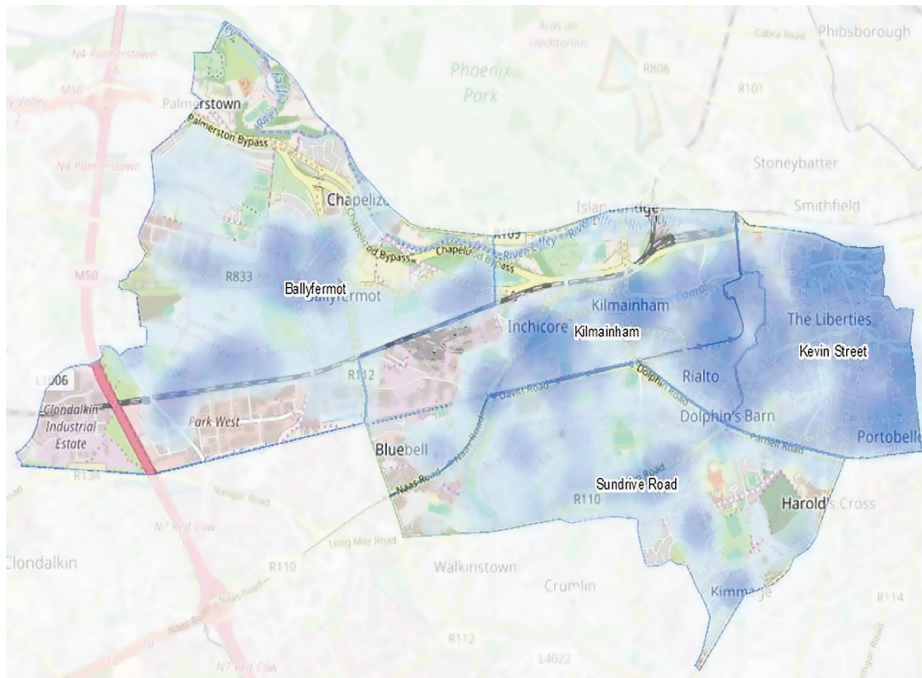


Figure 2: Heat map of Dublin South Central (DSC) crime anti-social behavior hotspots

A heat map based on Public Order/Criminal Damage type offences reported to an Garda Síochána throughout the DSC area was used during interviews with Garda members, where they were asked to comment on the various hot spot locations identified on the maps.

3.5 Attendance at community meetings and relevant community safety fora and Analysis of meeting minutes

Members of the research team also attended a number of relevant local community, Policing Fora and Joint Policing Committee meetings. Minutes of such meetings over a two-year period were reviewed on a thematic basis, and actions taken to mitigate the effects of local criminality were described and assessed. The effectiveness and limitations of local policing and community safety fora was also assessed. Recent previous evaluations/reports of these structures were also examined.

3.6 Focus groups

Three focus groups were conducted. The first one involved a presentation at an early stage in the process about the research to a group of Community Activists and some state agency representatives. Initial Network Maps were used to encourage discussion about the issues. Building a Network Map purely on Garda detected incidents is likely to leave matters that are un-reported or under-reported, such as drug issues for example, greatly under represented. Following the interviews with Garda members, a further focus group was conducted with Community Activists from throughout DSC, where a presentation of the research findings was given. This was transcribed and incorporated into the study. This study was commissioned by a Network of four local policing fora throughout DSC. One of the primary objectives of the study is to identify practical steps that can be taken by local communities,

An Garda Síochána, Dublin City Council (DCC) and other stakeholders in response to the impacts of these Networks. The final focus group was conducted with the 4Fora Network members, during which the author set out a broad set of recommendations to assist the group in agreeing a way forward in terms of developing a response.

4) Structure of this report

The report is divided into seven sections. These sections largely correspond to the aims of the research set out above.

- ▶ **Section 1** is the Introduction.
- ▶ **Section 2** presents the data from the Network Maps prepared by the Garda Síochána Analysis Service and interviews with individual Garda members to describe the nature, organisation and reach of the key criminal Networks in Dublin South Central.
- ▶ **Section 3** considers the impacts of these Networks upon people living in the area most connected to and most affected by them, using interview and focus group data. It also presents heat map findings based on PULSE data for local hotspots for crime and anti-social behavior, which are then discussed in interviews and focus groups.
- ▶ **Section 4** presents data from the Deprivation Index on Network members in terms of their residence and discusses some of the factors that facilitate resilience throughout DSC.
- ▶ **Section 5** presents data from a focus group conducted with Community Activists from Dublin South Central about the study findings.
- ▶ **Section 6** describes the local policing and community safety initiatives that exist throughout Dublin South Central and assesses their performance.
- ▶ **Section 7** considers what is required to sustainably address the impact of these Networks and their causes, and concludes with a series of recommended key principles and specific actions aimed at enhancing the existing initiatives and the development of new initiatives.

Section 2

The nature and reach of the key criminal/ASB networks

The Network Maps

The overall Network including a crime (not traffic) and intelligence link came to about 650 people (Figure 4), which is pared down to two Networks named Dublin South Central Network One (SCN1) with 44 individuals and Dublin South Central Network Two (SCN2) comprising 52 individuals -

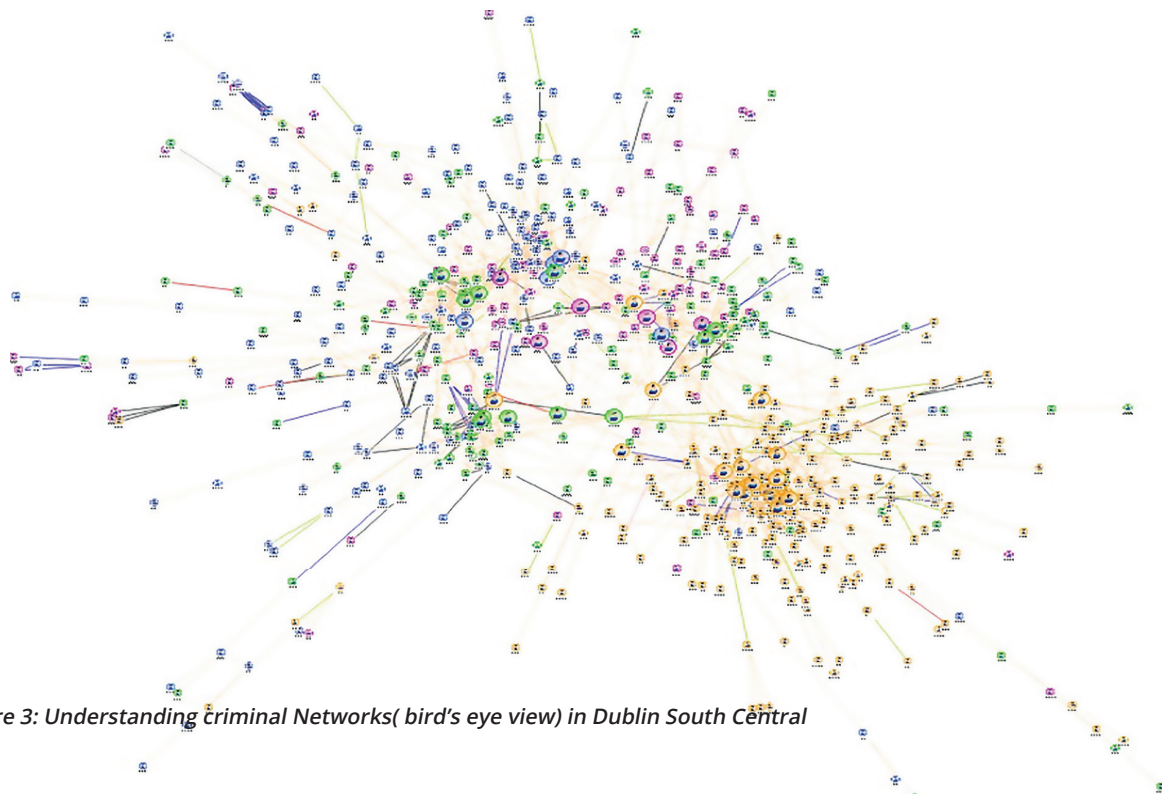


Figure 3: Understanding criminal Networks(bird's eye view) in Dublin South Central

Key to links:

- Orange = Intelligence
- Green = Property crime
- Blue = Public order
- Red = Drugs for sale/supply
- Black = Robbery

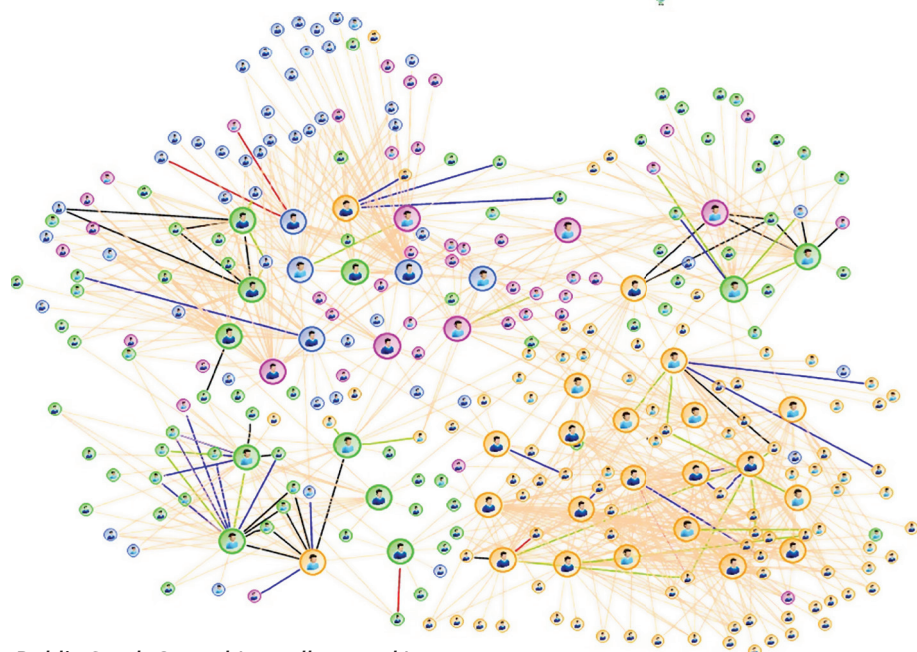


Figure 4: Criminal Networks in Dublin South Central (overall network)

Section - 2

The slightly larger icons are 'well-connected' individuals with many links to others, creating links between clusters of individuals. However, these are not necessarily the most prolific offenders and the most prolific doesn't necessarily mean the most important to the Network. The layout above is purely co-incidental, as it makes the Network 'readable' but it is blind to the streets/estates where people are from – so some colours (indicating people from the same area) may be clustered, but the Network has not got a geographical basis in terms of locations on a map. Offences of Drugs Sale/Supply (Red) often involve just one offender per offence, therefore such offences appear less often than might be expected. In the Network at least two people need to be involved before they and the link between them appears in the Network.

Sub-Districts	Population (2017 est.)	Population 12-39years*	% population 12-40yrs in Network
Kevin Street	29,722	16,814	1.0%
Ballyfermot	28,203	11,522	1.9%
Kilmainham	26,416	13,438	1.1%
Sundrive Road	26,140	10,615	0.9%
Overall	110,480	52,389	1.2%

Table 2: About the Network

*92% of offenders in the Network 12-39 years of age

The Networks consist of individuals who have offended at least once in 2015-2016. Broken down by area and population this makes up 1.2% of the population aged from 12 to 40 years of age – 92% of offenders are from this age bracket. In Ballyfermot, for example, 1.9% of the population are linked into the Network.

- 28% of Networked individuals have offended once in the 2 years.
- 16% have offended 2 times over the 2 years.
- 21% have offended 10 or more times over the 2 years – this is 0.2% of the population aged 12-40 years.

As shown in Table 3 below, there are 1,457 offenders offending in the area in 2015-16, or 2.8% of the population aged 12 to 39. 97.2% of this cohort have not offended over this time period. 664 of these offenders are linked by the Network. 46% are linked to some other offender, either through co-offending or via Garda intelligence. 67% of offenders are 1-time offenders, 8% have offended 5 or more times. 25 offenders are linked to 10 or more offences. 7 of these were under 18 years of age in 2016.

Offences	Offenders	% Offenders
1	970	67%
2	230	16%
3	99	7%
4	47	3%
5	33	2%
6	18	1%
7	14	1%
8	11	1%
9	10	1%
10+	25	2%
	1,457	100%

Table 3: Criminal offences and Network linkages in Dublin South Central

In relation to Table 3, the Greentown Study has found that key offenders are not necessarily prolific (they don't get caught and have others work for them), so in terms of targeting offenders there is a need to understand 1) the crime landscape, 2) crime Networks and 3) offending rates.

Interviews with Garda members and Community Activists

Below we present data from interviews conducted with six Garda members throughout the DSC area, based on the Network Maps. These interviews are broken into various themes. As the study progressed, it became apparent that there were at least two identifiable Networks across DSC. Had the study been much larger, allowing for a greater number of interviews and analysis, it is possible -if not probable- that many more loose Networks would have emerged. As the graphic presented above shows, there are numerous small clusters of individuals who appear to be connected but are not part of the two main Networks discussed below. However, for the purpose of presenting the data, it was decided to focus on what appeared to be two Networks. These Networks encompass numerous specific locations (streets, estates, flat complexes). Any specific locations mentioned involving these Networks have been deleted from the accounts presented below, so that no one area is seen to be identified or stigmatized relative to any other location. The Networks will be referred to as South Central Network One (SCN1) and South Central Network Two (SCN2).

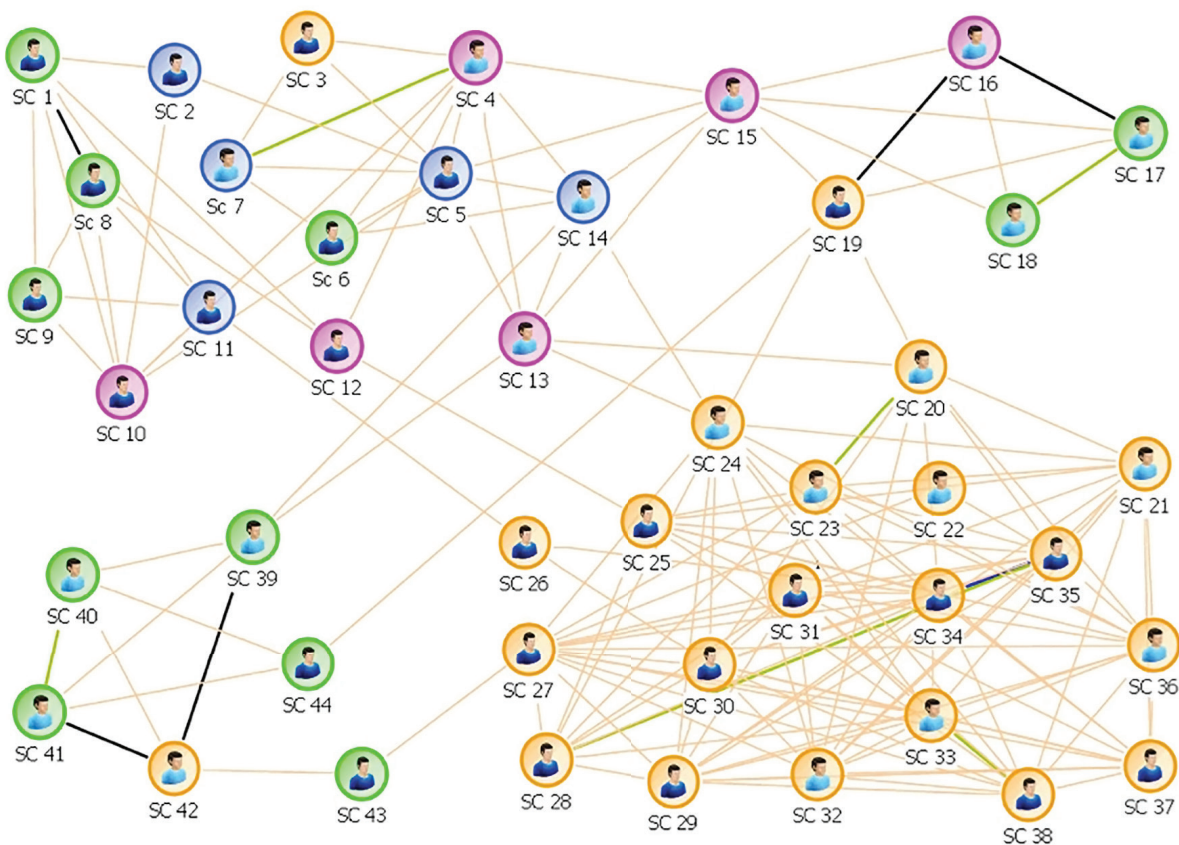


Figure 5: South Central Network One

Interviews with Garda members – South Central Network One (SCN1) - Network structure and organisation

Garda members were initially shown the network map and asked to comment on its accuracy and identify what was missing.

A I suppose there's a younger age group that aren't even being taken up on this at all. And they are really the runners for these guys, and we are getting to see them at an early stage. Maybe through word of mouth in the community or from the community the local youth leaders or else maybe people are finding these young people at a younger age causing disturbance or public nuisance or whatever else, starting off petty stuff. And then they move on. The older lads are looking at some of these guys and maybe have no parental contact or else maybe broken homes or maybe it's a case that they just run in groups. An Garda Síochána 1 (hereafter AGS1)

Q Okay and so when you are talking about younger what age?

A I'm saying from eleven upwards.

Garda interview respondents were then asked to talk about anything that 'jumped out' at them from the network map. The following respondent refers to the influence of social media and mobile phones as an important facilitator of network activities.

A It's amazing the different connections, but mainly through loose connections as well, because they are meeting friends of friends and also the younger people now are on the phones all the time with Facebook and this and that. So there's contact between young people now, they don't have to be beside each other anymore. Before you had to be one to one or whatever, but now it's all done by phone. Everything is in the cloud or everything is Facebook or Viper or whatever. And they are all talking to each other, all in contact with each other. Or else they know of each other through the Facebook as regards what's happening and this and that and the other. AGS 1

Respondents were then asked to consider the extent to which networks were organized or clearly structured.

A Its loosely organised I'd say...But it's all through connections and through maybe some of them will have gone to school with each other at an early age. Or through associations like that. Maybe it's through their drug activity. Maybe it's also through the local community, they are meeting friends of friends and that's how word of mouth. It's like everything else, somebody else will vouch for you and once you are in that group then 'he's sound' or whatever else. And that seems to be the way, it's unofficially tagged together. AGS 1

A I wouldn't think it's by design....I wouldn't class this as an organisation or an organised crime gang. I

would certainly think that some individuals feed into one gang, certainly, or one gang in an area you know. But I certainly wouldn't have considered this a gang....you are obviously debating as to whether all of these are connected, but I would say that maybe, I would think that one of these doesn't know that the other existed. Does that answer that? AGS 2

One of the reasons the current study was originally commissioned across the whole South Central Area was that the 4Fora Network wanted to investigate the extent to which crime is connected throughout the area and the extent to which it is organized. The following respondent believes that while people may be quite well organised in their own specific area, they would only have the occasional or looser link with others from outside their specific area.

A Yeah I would very much agree with that take on it. Like a couple of these boys are feeding into their local thing, they are obviously aware that something is happening on the other end of the vision like. Maybe one or two who are involved in it they know as well. Definitely I agree with that but I can't see them all being personally connected and personally aware of their role or what they are into. AGS 2

This Garda member points to a hierarchical aspect to the network where he points to 'key players' and people lower down the scale. He also refers to a loose connection with local members of the travelling community.

A SC2, SC3, SC4, SC5, and SC7, all lower scale. And then the rest that I know of would be players from that, they would be another shoot off from that. But below that line as such. And then like there's links across then into SC15, 16 they would be players, SC17 is just a young lad who's in, so is SC18 these are young lads. The age profile of these lads would nearly show you they are so young, they are just involved in criminality like. But you'd fear for their future if they are linked in with these other individuals. Because they are going to be wheeling and dealing drugs for these lads in no time if not more. Maybe not, you see another thing with these two guys, SC17 and SC18 is they would have links in with the traveling community. So they may or may not get involved with some of the other individuals because you know, I haven't overly seen members of the traveling community involved with organized (crime), on a constant basis, on a daily basis or whatever like. So they may or may not. I think for me now those two lads will still be involved in criminality, low level you know breaking into cars and stealing and that kind of stuff or a while longer.

Individual profiles

Garda respondents were asked to choose a number of people from the network map and discuss them. They were free to choose at random from their own knowledge of individuals. The prompt was to talk about 'three or four other people that jump out at you that you might know'. Some of the garda members were Juvenile Liaison Officers so would have focused on specific young people they knew, others were community gardaí so their commentary would reflect their particular experience and role. He refers both to hierarchy and to a focus on ones' specific area, with loose connections to others.

A So SC7, started off as a young lad and in a particular area, in Dublin 8, and he started off then small time with a number of friends. And got into crime at an early age. He continuously then met up with older people, and was under the influence of older people. That's how it began and how it developed. And as a result of that then his connections then, as I said he's connected to SC4 and others then outside the area. And those are the fellas then it's amazing how, with the (Deletion) connection and with the (Deletion) connection these are uncles sometimes, or friends of friends. And that's how they all begin to interact. Let me see, the likes of SC5 and SC14...those kinds of guys are on the periphery of things. And as I say they would move onto bigger things further down the line. And they are linking up with the likes of SC15 and that would bring in other fellas then from the far side, (Deletion). Now its gas as well that they look after their own patch, but there's a loose connection to other areas. So they don't like going out of their own areas, and that's what you find is they look after their own, they stay specifically to their own areas unless they are roped in or brought into something else. But they won't go to (Deletion) to engage in stuff, they won't go to (Deletion), it's a local area. AGS 1

The following respondent had an in depth knowledge of one particular family, having engaged with them over many years.

A I would know the family of SC17 extremely well. He...would be the third eldest of six, and his oldest brother came to my attention in the Guards and ended up getting charged for offences. This young person (SC 17) ended up in Oberstown...And so there was three more children after that, so I would have had quite a lot of dealings with that family. He was an early school leaver, he tried to go to a special school with smaller classrooms and fewer subjects shorter school days and wasn't successful. His older brother was successful in that environment but he wasn't. What more can I tell you about him. Very little constructive past-times, spare time activities. A lot of services were linking in, open to social work. Involved with the youth project, referred to a Garda youth project didn't take that up. I suppose came to the Garda attention from a young age as well and committed an awful lot of offences at an early age and was nearly unsuitable for inclusion in the diversion program from a very young age. AGS 2

The following responses from one garda member, aJLO provides an insight into a number of individuals with various life paths, including the traumatic events, challenges in the family environment and also individual educational difficulties.

A So like that SC18, to the left of SC17, very known to the Gardaí. Older brother would have offended, his father was murdered...I think that plays into the family psyche quite a bit as well. It was local, it was pretty vicious, it was in a flat complex across from where they live, they see it every day. So SC18 himself, quite good to deal with face to face but very little commitment to changing or to addressing any of the behaviour. Mam wouldn't have been capable of supervising and not really interested in trying to do her best as well. She had younger kids as well, and probably a grandmother at a young age

and trying to support her other family members. Again he was referred to a Garda youth diversion project, he went through the JLO system, he got cautions and then he was found unsuitable at a certain point. Was referred to the GYPD project went maybe once or twice, didn't fully engage. Referred to a pilot diversion project...From what I hear he's doing pretty good but still offending, I can still see that he's still committing offences. Both of those boys would have frequented the same area which I think is a massive problem for a lot of the young people and the young offenders as well. I think the area is just prone to criminal offending. AGS 2

A SC41 down on the bottom left there. I know him quite well, I've worked with him since he was twelve or thirteen. Started off with petty stuff, not able to manage his temper basically and public order offences and the likes and abusing the Guards and kicking off in his local flats. Quite a bit of time spent with him, he was known to the guards but known to school completion program and education welfare officers from an early age as well. He was always on the radar as being at risk I suppose, you know. He ended up doing fairly well in an educational placement in another school out of the area, mainstream but with I suppose a unit they had developed for young people who weren't able for, it was in (Deletion) but was a particular unit that had difficult, young people with difficulties with their education. He wasn't ultimately successful but tried another school the school I mentioned earlier on with lower student numbers, shorter days and the likes but wasn't successful there either. But he went on to commit more serious offences than as I mentioned earlier on. It was just public order and theft and criminal damage maybe, but went onto assaults and a hijacking he was involved in as well. Like that I know his mam pretty well, mam wants the best for him, tried to do her best for him. Realised he was getting into more serious trouble, she had a good enough support network in her family which was local....Like he did go to a Garda project, did pretty well actually...He was doing well, up until about a month ago, he's fallen off the radar again. AGS 2

A The above male SC40 would have come to a lot of Garda attention from a young age. Parents were separated, father was very bad on the beer. Very bad with alcohol, took it out on the boys and as a result he would have roamed the streets for quite a bit to keep away from his father. I'd get on quite all right with him. He wasn't really abusive to guards, he hadn't a grá (love) for them obviously but he wasn't too bad with them. But into a lot of driving offences and the likes...But yeah quite a lot of offences at an early age and then went through a quiet spell and now is only picking up the odd charge....He would lack a lot of confidence where others would have confidence. AGS 2

This respondent refers to a specific location in Dublin South Central which attracts a number of individuals from different locations.

A There's in this top right corner where I mentioned SC17 and SC18, I can see that there's three different colours in a tight enough cluster there. Yet I would associate all of those being around the same area and not too far, they all would have connections in the one area...there would be two of them actively living, one of them lives in the area and one spends all his time in the area. Two of them used to live in the area but moved out across the road, that happens quite often.

Q But still maintaining their patches.

A Oh yeah, that's it like, yeah. It seems like a hub. It does seem like a natural hub for a lot of things to happen like. As we were talking about those robberies it's not especially people from the area that are committing the robberies. They all come back to do it and then leave and they do have some connection to it be it family or used to live there or friends. AGS 2

The following respondent describes an individual who is quite important in the network and challenging to deal with along with other more important network members, with links to an unnamed ongoing feud in the area.

A SC2 is a man that is familiar to me. I know him since I came here to this district, I know him, he's 29 years of age and I know him since he came here as a child, as a young lad...he's been convicted of drug dealing and criminality. He would be connected with a lot, again I don't know how much I can say, he would be someone on the ground that would be overseeing, selling and overseeing drugs, controlled drugs in a certain place. He would be one of the bigger players, not top player but he would be certainly lieutenant on the ground. He would be someone that would be aggressive towards us, someone that would be difficult to deal with, somebody that has threatened and assaulted guards in the past both under cover and uniform. He's a difficult individual to deal with like, someone well known to us here. And despite that he has over eighty convictions yet he's spent very little time in prison. He's someone that challenges the system at all angles, he would always, always, fight the case to the bitter end and take as many challenges he can to higher courts even. He's someone who likes to frustrate the system. He plays a lot of tricks and a lot of games and that you know, he's a challenging individual. He would be someone that, he's in there now but he wouldn't relate to anyone in this group to my knowledge but I see a link in there now to SC5. SC5 would have links into some of the higher up players in a current, in a feud that's going on, well a feud here in the city, he would have links with SC4, a direct link now. Both of those SC5 and SC4 would be related, closely related to some of the main players in that as would SC3. SC7 is also involved in that. And again SC2 while he would know them, he would be a step below those like you know they don't let him into the inner circle. That's it. AGS4

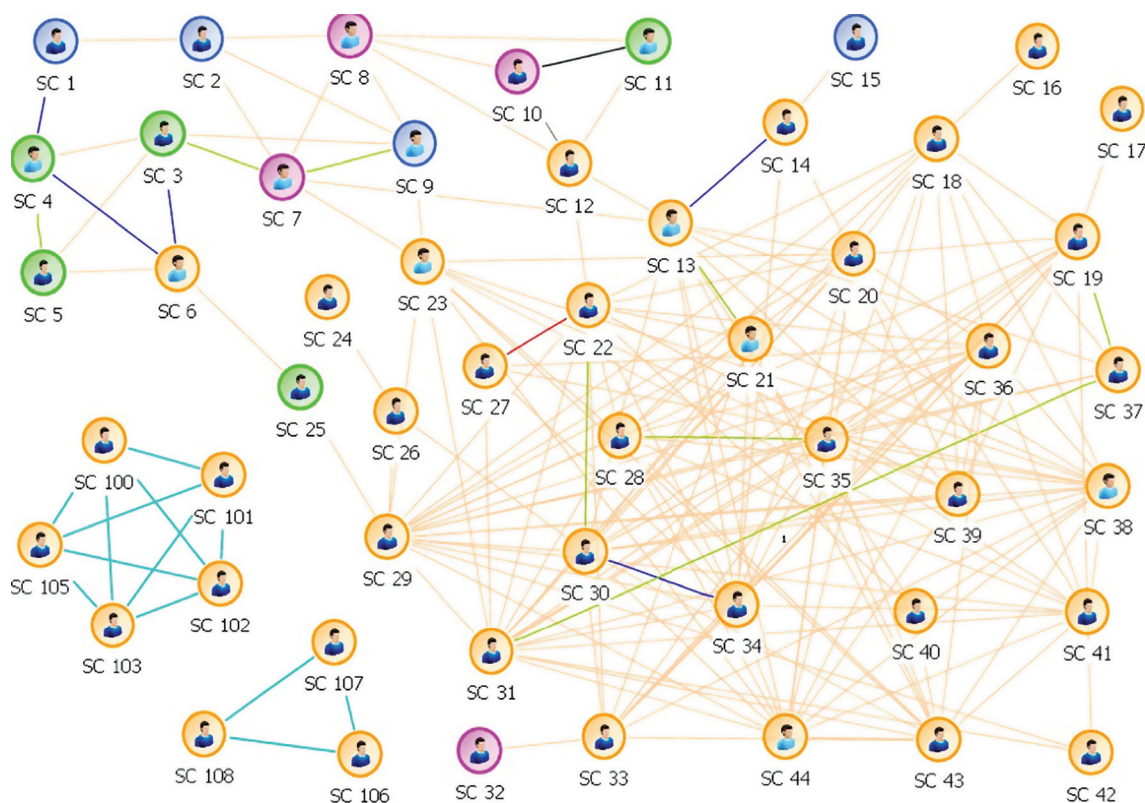


Figure 6: South Central Network Two (SCN2)

Interviews with Garda members: Network structure and organization

The following respondents responded to questions in relation to SCN2, beginning with a request to identify the accuracy of the network from a scale of 1-10, with 10 being completely accurate.

- A** I would say on a scale of one to ten I would say it's probably about six it has a lot of the as we would call the runners for the bigger fellas that are not on the list and like as you can see like this is all connected. Like maybe just it is the maybe the bigger fellas are keeping out a bit and just letting the younger fellas because it's all young boys that are doing it...the more organised boys at the top...don't care what happens to the young boy...they are all like expendable as they say. Yes the main fellas are on our radar but when you have it down on paper like this here it doesn't really it gives insight into what is happening at a lower level but the higher level is not involved at all. Like we are aware of them because obviously working in the area and we know what we are looking for but yes, it's kind of mainly focused on the lower level street dealers as opposed to the main fellas. AGS 4

The following respondent was asked the same question as to the accuracy of the network map. Prior to conducting interviews in relation to SCN2, the garda analyst who had prepared the map consulted with the garda members and they advised him to incorporate a number of other individuals who had not been included in the original map. This is referred to below.

A Well I suppose when (Garda Analyst) first came out we did have to make some changes we thought it had left out a number of certainly the more...higher level people bosses shall we call them. And I suppose maybe that is a reflection in the on the pulse and links between people and the parameters that this particular study has set. It is reflected enough now I would say it's much improved it would be where it would be eight or nine out of ten I suppose. But again I suppose it's more focused on joint offending this map where I mean there would be a lot of people who might not necessarily commit crime together or get caught together so. I suppose based on the parameters it's decent enough. AGS 5

As a consequence of the review of the map, a number of key individuals were incorporated. These appear as two small isolated groups to the left bottom half corner of the map, 100-108

A Yes well we actually got we got most of them added on... they might not have links to many people but yes they would be the step above...at this stage. Now they would have come up if you had...done this study ten or fifteen years ago they would have been the people may be right in the middle with lots of connections. But they have just moved on they have elevated themselves, they have managed to I suppose avoid the long prison sentences and or deaths or whatever goes along with the risks that they take. And they are now at the upper echelons. AGS 5

The following respondent refers to a loose network in the sense that people come and go. However, he also appears to be suggesting that there are clear processes through which it facilitates its survival so in that sense it is quite organized and hierarchical and revolving around key individuals in control.

A I'd say it's a loose enough network, I mean people float in and out probably. Like you are going to have the likes of SC35 and he's going to have people working for him but that can change. We would see it ourselves, we've apprehended different people with what we could call their batch of drugs and they would have the phone, the one phone would nearly go round as to who was dealing that day. So you can kind of come in and out, I think one of the reasons for that is if we are paying too much attention to that one guy then he'll be stood down and someone else will step in because its felt that we are getting too close or whatever. So he might be stood down for a while and someone else will come in, someone goes to prison maybe. If we apprehend someone with a quantity of drugs again I'm focusing on drugs but that's something I know most about. If we apprehend them for drugs they'll probably be stood down for a little while. Because a long with the fact that they'll be getting more attention because everyone would know who is involved, there's a fear that they will inform maybe, that's what the people higher up the chain would think that there would be pressure on them, and they might feel the pressure to tell the guards something maybe to try and get a lighter (sentence), even though that not necessarily happens. But that's the impression they'll have. AGS 6

Individual profiles:

The following respondent discusses also how the network sustains itself and how it is attractive to younger people in the area.

A Like most of these fellas on this chart here have never finished school and it's probably the they see this fella SE35 as he has always had a bit of cash on him and there are probably just trying to look up to him and they drop out of school and try and follow in his footsteps. But there are also other fellas there like there is different levels on the street...there are very low street dealers then you go up to the main fellas like the different levels up here. And you have a few of them attached there now like the very low street dealers would be probably just looking out here now probably maybe SE38, SE41, SE28 like they are they would be the main fellas that would be doing daily you know street deals to people out there. Who SE35 does not care about they might think he does but he doesn't care about them like and they are all around the same age but they just can't see that...they just see the handy cash they get in and the fancy clothes and maybe what other fellas are wearing and they want to be like that....and then these fellas here then they will all look up to this SC105...he would be one of the main leaders...he looks after all these fellas. Him and SE18 you see him up on the top there he like he is quite older as you can see compared to the rest of them there and these two fellas here they take on young kids...they make an impression to these young fellas and they all look up on him and they think these two these boys can't do anything wrong. And they are in the estate as well and everything and anything that happens in the estate goes through these two fellas and these boys all kind of aspire to one day end up like these fellas. AGS 4

The revised network identified a key number of individuals, 101-105. Respondents were asked to discuss these individuals.

A That little number of five people there they would be they would be our main players say in the... district they don't get caught with doing anything stupid they are very smart. They are very organised it's like a well-oiled machine what they do they have it's like ourselves going to work in the morning they are the same they get up in the morning to start. Even I would say SE105 would be the person who would be in the ground the other fellas would not be on the ground like SE103 you would never see him at all. SE101...you wouldn't see him at all SC102...would actually be on the ground but he would be in a different area to the rest of these fellas which is a different part of (Deletion). But these fellas they are very organized, you need to be. AGS 4

The respondent below discusses the network with reference to key individuals and issues of control, with family and other connections between certain people as relevant in the formation of the network.

A Yes well I suppose you have as I said so SE18 controlling most of the youths of the area with probably a number of kind of lieutenants under, the main one being SE35...right in the middle of the threads or the connections. So a lot of things seem to come through him you would have then I suppose everyone in the beginning would be of the same age more or less the same age. They would have grown up together would have been in the gaff from early on you...there would be family connections like say SE36 there his younger brother coming up behind him there you know SE44 right at the bot-

tom. You would have then say SE30 kind of middle lower middle again SE33 so right at the bottom there again family connections. SE31 and SE29 again family connections AGS 5

Although drugs links might not be prominent on the map, give the challenges around detection and lack of reporting, the following respondent explains the role of illicit drugs and other crimes in relation to the network. He also refers to other activities such as intimidation as a means of asserting network control of an area.

A Oh well I mean from say SC101 and SE18 you would be well certainly SC101 you would be talking importation of drugs...on a big scale. You would be talking say SE103 again that would be connected to SC101 you know he would be involved in a family who would be huge in importation and you know with links to you know the cartel as they are all known now. But so SC101 would be drugs and SE18 would be drugs where they would be making them main money from and then SE18 would be for control of practically everyone underneath him. Whether that would be storing drugs, prepping drugs whether it would be burning out cars intimidation trying to force other families out of the area. I mean murders everything you know everything down to protection rackets in relation to new houses being built currently being built you know it would be anything that there is money to be made in you know. AGS5

Q And then in terms of drugs it would be a range of drugs as well not one drug?

A It would be a range of drugs yes probably mainly heading into crack is where the money is...AGS5

South Central Network 2 is described below as extremely organized around a number of key individuals.

A Organised crime is you have a hierarchy of people bosses, lieutenants, foot soldiers that is how I see it and that is how this operates I mean there is levels you know. There is you know say you certain young lads on this you might very rarely see, there would be a core group of higher level lads who would always be together. And then you know there would be groups of foot soldiers that you would always see together but do you know...all SE18 has to do is text someone, arrange someone and say this needs to be done and it gets done. Like that is organised you know they are not going out well I suppose they are going out at night randomly wrecking the place as well if they want but I mean they do it at an organised level as well when needs be. He (SC18) never managed to kind of pick up those serious convictions you know whether he was maybe under the wing of SC101 who I suppose never picked up...has in later years but didn't initially I suppose pick up. I suppose maybe (SE18) was mentored up through you know, taught not to get yourself in bother you know and still... (there) would never be any hassle with you know, you could chat to this person. Whereas as you move down that page the aggression and the intelligence I suppose isn't there and I have seen it other places I have worked where young lads who are brave when they are young and have mouthed the Gardaí. You know they get to an age where they suddenly realise, 'Jesus if I don't give the Gardaí any hassle I

won't get stopped as much or I would get as much attention if I don't get enough attention I can get on with doing what I need to do to make money'. You know so I mean he is cute enough I suppose to do that where other people might not be like you have lads on this who...will never amount higher than where they are now. They just haven't got the intellect to do it. AGS5

The following respondent was asked to describe how the network sustains itself as an organized entity.

- A** It maintains itself because the lads at the top don't allow themselves to get caught doing anything so you always I suppose have the head of the snake is always there where everyone else below it is replaceable. So whether they get caught doing something that is fine then he goes to the detention center or prison if even for a short periods of time. And there is other younger people always able to step up or enough of them to step up to fill the void again there is always people who want to join the gang...or haven't got any options and see it as a way...of surviving. And I suppose you have you have it's not really I mean it's generations you know their parents either would have been at the same would be criminals to an extent or you know low level criminals or would have addictions issues and can't control. So I mean it's their chances of ever amounting to anything else is very low I would say and I might be very pessimistic... Well I suppose so as I was saying one person gets caught and they move onto the next person who will do the dealing for them you know who will use the house to store the drugs in. Who will do the shooting you know it's not you know it's not rocket science...AGS 5

As with the respondent above, the following comments also refer to the ability of those at the top to sustain themselves without getting prosecuted by interacting with each other but not with anyone below them.

- A** SC100, 101, 102, 103, 105, from my opinion they would be near the top of the pyramid here in (Deleted) and then obviously you can see they are interacting with each other but they don't seem to have much interaction with people who would be working for them lower down the scale. Most of them are involved in drugs I suppose, organised crime to some degree. AGS 6

He also discusses another small cluster - SC106, 107, 108, who also appear to be out on their own to a degree.

- A** Well those three are members of the traveling community so I mean like they would live in the same site I suppose you'd call it and from what I know they would be apprehended committing offences together....offences against property, burglaries, thefts, criminal damage I suppose and again they don't commit offences with say the others, they stick to members of the traveling community. But they are committing these types of offences. AGS 6

- Q** Would they have any connections say with the ones around them?

- A** Yeah, they would, definitely connected with 101. 101 is involved in that kind of crime as well, crimes against property so there would definitely be connections there. I wouldn't say they have any connection with the other three, they are more involved in drugs. AGS 6

Again, in the following series of comments, the same individuals appeared as prominent controlling members of the network.

- A** SC35 now I'd imagine the other lads spoke about him as well. He would be next, he would be on the, if you say tier 1, 2, he would be on tier 2 in the...area. So I worked in the drugs unit for ten years here and for the last three, four or five years he would have been one of our main targets involved in the sales and supply of crack cocaine in. The way he would operate I suppose that we would think anyway from intelligence point of view he would have a group of 16/17 year olds doing his bidding on the street. They would have their batch of crack cocaine and they would sell it, you know, we got wind of people with maybe 30 deals of crack who we would know through I suppose intel, mobile phones and stuff that its him they are working for. SC 35 would have started at 17. A bad attitude towards police. And that I suppose that attitude set alarm bells ringing...Even though his family unit seems to be fine, it's not a broken home or anything but I don't know, I don't know how he got involved so young, was it just that he was in the company of some of these older people, he seen the money and they trusted him from a young age and maybe incidents like that showed that this fella is you know he's one to use and abuse. But anyway he's climbed the ladder now. AGS6

The Garda respondent also discusses how the network can interact with the local community from a crime control perspective, whereby certain activities are not tolerated by prominent individuals in the network.

- A** SC 18 would have overall control over what happens in (Deletion) you know what I mean. So everyone would be in fear of him to a degree and I suppose nothing will happen criminally up there, stolen car, driving around the estate whatever it is, you would imagine they would know he is okay with it. Or else they would be getting a knock on the door from him, and again they haven't done drugs that we are aware that he has knocked on doors and dished out his own form of justice or punishment. But you know we don't be told that but again its intelligence we would have, that happens. So SC44 and SC43, SC23, they are all young 15/16, they would all work I suppose directly under SC35. Doing his dealing on the street. SC40 there, from a very young age was involved in burglaries down the country, stolen cars, assisting in burglaries. Burglaries around here too but he was doing it from a young age. He was in and out of the children's courts and stuff like that and different spells in custody and stuff. But he's 18 now so obviously he's moved on, as far as I know he could be still in custody now....then there's SC33 and 30, a lot of what I'm saying is because I'm coming from a drugs background, most of it is probably based on drugs. SC33 I would have apprehended at 14, I think he was with an ounce of heroin and obviously he's, I put him into the courts system, he went to court and whatever interventions in the children's court, could get him placed, they tried to get him placed but I suppose he's just moved on. He's recently out of the prison now and as far as I know he's work-

ing so maybe he has come through. SC102 his area would be (Deletion). That would be where he lives, he would operate. Now again he's drugs, he would be selling relatively substantial quantities of drugs to other drug dealers and drug users around (Deletion) and even around the country. But he'd operate around here, around the station and into the middle of (Deletion). SC103 would be the whole of (Deletion) and (Deletion), they would be importing drugs, distributing to other dealers. SC40 who I mentioned for burglaries he would be, his crimes would cover all of (Deletion) and further. SC42 another burglar he would specialise in factories and stuff so he would be around industrial estates. SC32 he's not from here, as far as I know he's from (Deletion). I met him over here so he obviously has some links over here, whether that's through people he's met in prison. I see he has a link there with SC33 he definitely was in prison, so I suppose a lot of these relationships could be built in prison. AGS 6

A SC24 is a traveller as well and SC26 is his nephew. So they will be involved, most of their crimes would be committed outside the (Deletion) sub district. Again crimes against property, burglaries, although there would be plenty of road traffic stuff as well, no insurance, failing to stop, dangerous driving. Which a lot of them could be committed in the district around the place. Just sometimes we try to bring them in if they fail to stop and then just traffic pursuits ensue and all that stuff, that can bring us across the city depending. As regards the other people from around outside I wouldn't...SC8 I would know. Yeah (Very young) 16, 17 again I assume SC11 I have heard of who is supposed to be involved in the same, supply of controlled drugs, I assume that would be the link between some of these people. I see that there's a kind of a link through SC12 with SC13, SC13 is from here but he would go into town selling drugs. SC27 was operating around here as far as I know he's associating with criminals from (Deletion) area now. Again he's quite a dangerous individual. He would be working on a level below SC35, he would be someone, I know he's a suspect for discharging a firearm a number of times...I presume he's back into the same stuff, but he's not hanging around here as much. So whatever allegiances he made in prison he doesn't seem to be around here as much as he was. So I suppose at that anyway he would have been used by this group here maybe, and some others for whatever firearm offences and stuff. AGS 6

A Well more particularly I'd say SC100, SC105, 101, SC103, 102, from what we know don't get involved as much in that kind of stuff, firearm and things they seem to be running a business, I don't know if it's through fear or whatever but they don't seem to be involved as much in firearm offences. Not from my experience anyway. AGS 6

One of the reasons the 4Fora came together and commissioned the current study was to analyse the extent to which criminal activity across DSC was linked. Although we have identified two loose networks in DSC based on the data received and interviews conducted, it is unclear the extent of the connections between these networks on an ongoing or operational. However, data supplied by the GSAS suggests that 34 individuals appear in both networks. 10 appear only in SCN1 and not SCN2. 18 appear only in SCN2 and not in SCN1. There are also common residential patterns between network members. These issues are addressed further below.

The following respondent discusses the way that SCN2 is quite self-contained.

A Well only what surprised me is how, you know if this area here references SCN2 and people involved in SCN2 how they very much to me like their interaction is very much among themselves. It just reaches out a little bit then into the other areas. And the SCN2 community seem to be very, they seem to be much closer, their interaction is much tighter. While this is a bit looser and again you could say a little different clusters, they know each other but the research shows they don't overly, overly cross over like. AGS3

It is also important to realise that a network is a loose concept. Even within a small geographical area, for example, sub-groups or sub-networks can exist. This point is illustrated below in response to the question as to whether networks are locally concentrated but there might be occasional connections across DSC.

A Yeah, could be (connections) through relations, but that would go with a lot of things that we see on the ground, we'd see certain flat complexes and the people living in those complexes they wouldn't overly associate with the flat complex just up the road like. They would sit, not so much in the houses or streets this is more the flat complexes. So people in one complex wouldn't overly socialise with people in a different flat complex. It's almost like their own little sub-world like. I know one flat complex and the people there wouldn't even venture into town, they would stay local at the weekends, they stay in the flats. If they are going to have a drink or something they'll stay in the flats drinking on the balconies. Or else they might go to one pub that's quite local. But they don't really...one local shop is as far as they venture kind of thing. I don't know why but that's what I see. If they go away on holidays they go with all their neighbours you know they don't, they go in large groups like. AGS 3

The following respondent highlights the role that prison or juvenile detention centres can perform in developing connections between people across different areas.

A Connections in relation to other areas are probably made whether that be through prison or juvenile detention centres as these people have grown up you know, prisons they are a great way to make connections. And they tend to kind of connect after they get out somewhat initially anyway AGS 5

Notwithstanding the comments above, which suggest limited interaction between networks across DSC, an interesting finding presented in Figure 8, the blue box represents a small geographical area in DSC, approximately 700 x 300 metres. It shows that many of the key individuals involved in both DSC networks either are or have been resident in close proximity to each other. Where an asterisk appears within a red circle, this represents the same individual, who is common to both networks. Again, people move addresses quite frequently so these could be how they originally made a connection as they lived in close proximity or went to the same school. Again, it is an interesting finding in terms of how network relations can be formed and sustained over time.

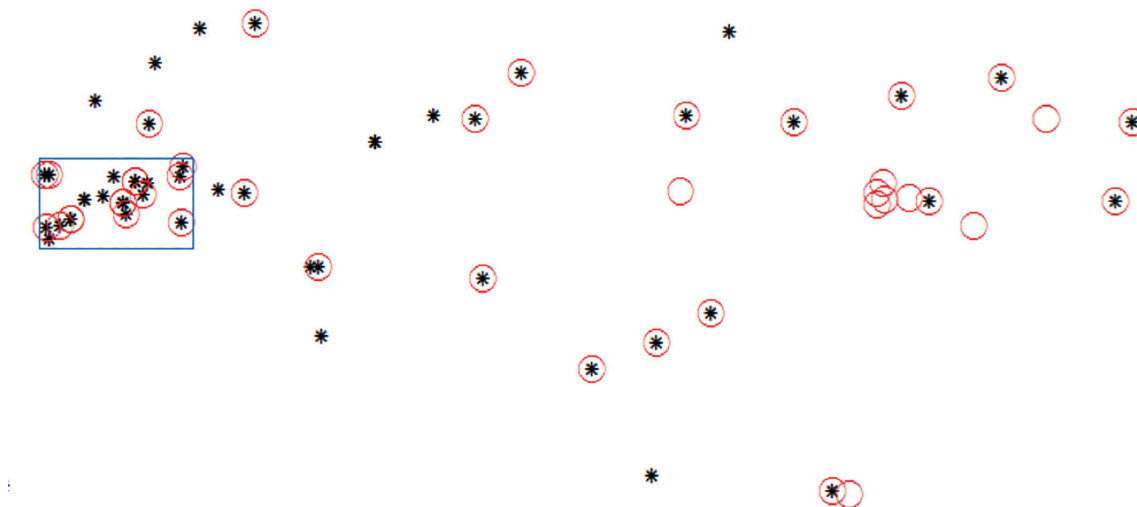


Figure 7: Residential links between network members
Key: Asterix= Network SCN1, Red Circle=Network SCN2

Summary Analysis: The nature and reach of the key criminal/ASB networks within South Central

The overall network including a crime (not traffic) and intelligence link came to about 650 people, which is then pared down to two networks named Dublin South Central Network One (SCN1) with 44 individuals and Dublin South Central Network Two (SCN2) comprising 52 individuals. The Networks consist of individuals who have offended at least once in 2015-2016. Broken down by area and population this makes up 1.2% of the population aged from 12 to 40 years of age – 92% of offenders are from this age bracket. There are 1,457 offenders offending in the area in 2015-16, or 2.8% of the population aged 12 to 39 – 97.2% of this cohort have not offended over this time period. This figure must be treated with caution due to the widespread reluctance across many areas of DSC to report crime, either due to fear of reprisal or a belief that little would be done about it, or for some other reason. These issues are raised repeatedly at various community fora throughout the area, discussed later in this report. Notwithstanding these issues, which also arise in other similar communities, it needs to be recognised that although these Networks can cause significant harm, they represent a very small proportion of the residents of such communities. It is important to highlight this point as it speaks to the unjustifiable stigma that is often attached so such communities, through the media and elsewhere.

Section - 2

As the study progressed it became apparent that there was at least two identifiable Networks across DSC. Had the study been far larger, allowing for a greater number of interviews and analysis, it is possible if not probable that many more loose Networks would have emerged. These Networks encompass numerous specific locations (streets, estates, flat complexes). They are referred to here as SCN1 and SCN2.

With regard to SCN1 Garda members were initially shown the Network map and asked to comment on its accuracy and identify what was missing. A number of respondents commented on the absence of younger people, aged 11 and upwards. Such individuals often act as 'Runners' for more senior Network members. Garda members, particularly Juvenile Liaison Officers, see them engaging with Networks at an early stage. They also refer to the vulnerability of many of these people, who might lack parental contact or come from broken homes and can be preyed upon and groomed by older Network members. The facilitation of Network contacts has also been greatly enhanced through social media and mobile phones.

Respondents were asked to consider the extent to which Networks were organized or clearly structured. Responses varied with some referring to them as loosely organized, not particularly clearly designed or structured. Also, it was suggested that Networks can be quite well organised in the specific areas or flats complexes where individuals live, but that they would have looser links with others from outside their specific area. However, Garda members in SCN1 did highlight 'key players' and then people lower down the scale. In discussing individuals involved in the Network, Garda respondents also highlighted difficult life stories associated with many of those involved, including traumatic events, challenges in the family environment and also individual educational difficulties.

With regard to SCN2, this appeared to be far more organized than SCN1. In terms of its accuracy, prior to conducting interviews in relation to SCN2, the Garda Analyst who had prepared the Map consulted with Garda members and they advised him to incorporate a number of other key individuals who had not been included in the original Map. This identified a number of very significant individuals, including those involved in drug importation. They also pointed to the absence of younger individuals or 'Runners'. These were regarded as plentiful and expendable. Also, some of the more prominent individuals might not appear on the Map as they as they might not necessarily commit crime together or get caught together. Some of the key people at the apex of the Network would previously have been lower down the hierarchy, with multiple connections, but they have moved on and elevated themselves, avoiding long prison sentences and death.

SCN2 appears to have clear processes in terms of how it facilitates its own survival and in that sense it is quite organized and hierarchical, revolving around key individuals in control. When someone is apprehended by An Garda Síochána, they are 'stood down' temporarily from the Network out of concern that they might become an informant so as to plea bargain and lessen their sentence. SCN1 is described as like a 'well-oiled machine' with those at the top intelligent and business like. It sustains itself through those at the top not getting caught while everyone else below them is easily replaceable.

People's willingness to become involved in the Network is due to becoming entrapped through debt obligation and also because they see the potential material benefits that can be obtained, notwithstanding the risks involved. Also, senior Network members are often admired and younger people seek to emulate them. Senior Network members also have significant control in the areas in which they live, including in terms of controlling crimes which might bring unwanted attention to the area and that might undermine their drugs operations. This control is maintained through fear and intimidation on the one hand, and a degree of apathy or resignation on the other.

Criminal Networks, as described above, appear to be loose constructs with varying levels of hierarchy or organization depending on location, or whether they revolve around specific families, for example. Furthermore, the study sought to investigate links across Dublin South Central. Although two Networks were identified, one interesting finding was that many individuals from both Networks have been, or are currently resident, in one small geographical area of approximately 700 x 300 metres. It shows that many of the key individuals involved in both DSC Networks either are, or have been, resident in close proximity to each other.

Section 3

The impact of these networks on people living in the area most connected to and most affected by these networks

The following interview provides excerpts from Garda respondents and local activists about their views on the impact of these Networks in Dublin South Central. Consistent with a lot of recent research in this area¹⁰, the impact of the illicit drugs trade in particular, and the involvement of different Networks is often hidden. The following respondent refers to the impact in school.

A ...as I say there's different camps and if you are not in a particular camp the other camp are looking at you. Even in school's there can be divisions because brothers and sisters or maybe even younger siblings are looking at this and they are even getting it at a younger age getting...into their own camps. In classroom situations, we had a situation there in one of the youth reaches where there was four fellas attacked a fella because of an incident happened over the weekend. And because they were part of a different group, and word got back and they were sending out a message. And that kind of thing can happen very easy. AGS 1

The issue of drug debt and how it can play a role in drawing people into criminal Networks or engagement with criminal behavior on behalf of such a Network is referred to below. Also, how acceptance of what the Network does locally can become normalized due to fear.

A Well a lot of the people are from here originally, people know not to get involved with these guys. People know when they do get involved that it's heavy, that you pay up, you don't say anything and as I say you just get on with what you have to do. And they are telling their kids from a young age, but the kids (see their) friends and maybe get fifty quid for this pair of runners, Nike tracksuit top, throw them a few bob or maybe even at the weekends being thrown a bit of cannabis. That's the kind of thing I'd say starts it off easy. And then it gets progressive. They are then hooked, they have them. And then its hold onto the stuff, move (it) on, there's young kids we've got (with) up to five or six thousand euro worth of stuff being held. And then where do you replace that, (the) family are under pressure. AGS1

Another dimension of the problem referred to below is the anti-social behavior involved with open drug use.

A Yeah, local communities feel terrorised. Because the activity itself, let's just talk about drug dealing I suppose. Or drug abuse. You have dealing and you have the ones who are using as well. they are coming to the area, for instance a local principal emailed me and rang me to say that criminal damage, they (drug addicts) angle grinded holes in a fence...so that they could gain entry to the school yard

¹⁰ Connolly J and Buckley L (2016) Demanding money with menace. Citywide Drugs Crisis Campaign

after buying their drugs basically so they didn't have to go home with them or they got into a kind of hiding place to do it. They were destroying the environment, but using it as a bathroom, using it as a shooting gallery and you know. So that's obviously going to upset the school principal, the students, the staff, the locals as well because they are obviously using the area. Then it's drawing attention to the area as well, so the drug dealers won't be happy about that. AGS 2

The following respondent referred to a series of robberies that were taking in place in a specific location that, he suggests, are linked to local criminal Networks.

- A** No, they are being committed in (Deletion) but not by- mostly not by people who live there. But with links there, yeah. But not being committed on people, generally they are being committed on ethnic minorities and foreign nationals. So they feel they are more easy prey I suppose. AGS 2

The following Garda respondent refers to the degree of control that can be exercised over local communities by criminal Networks and prominent Network members. He also refers to the degree to which Networks can intentionally engage in anti-social behavior as a means of asserting control over an area, so as to facilitate their criminal activities.

- A** Oh the impact on the community is huge. Like some of these individuals like SC2 would have literally controlled a flat complex by his intimidation and his behaviour. He would have intimidated, he would have just continued his criminal business under the eyes and nose of the good decent people living there who wouldn't have challenged him or you know would have been afraid to challenge him and his brother would be a player in there. Like, it's almost something you'd see on TV...they did their best to make it a no-go area for policing. Because Garda cars came in they were challenged, there might be stuff thrown at the cars, guards on the beat would be challenged, stuff thrown at them. It was dangerous, you know, a dangerous place to be. You had to be careful, it would be organised if you were ever going in there because these guys they wanted this place to be their territory, their territory only so they could sell basically drugs and carry out their other criminal activities basically it's all drugs...So he would have, he would have been seriously disliked by people in there, by these people. But people just kept to themselves to that degree...He lived in a flat complex and himself and his brother and his family would be well known criminals in the sale of drugs, and yet from a policing point of view when the flats were knocked and there was a chance to remove him, you know he wasn't, the family were left there. And they are still conducting their activity. So from our point of view that was disappointing because I believe it was a chance to get them out of the area. But it didn't happen. AGS3

He also refers to the failure to remove this individual when an opportunity arose and suggests that such a response would not be tolerated in a 'decent area', implying perhaps a more affluent area.

- A** So you'd often wonder is it because of...you know in a decent area you know, if you had a block of apartments and somebody was acting, you know..... they wouldn't be long being evicted or called to be evicted. So I know they have to live somewhere but I often felt that it's a pity they weren't removed,

they had nothing to contribute to that community, nothing. Only just badness and you know for the youth and everybody living in there. AGS 3

The following respondent refers to the unwritten code that people involved with the Network do not interact with An Garda Síochána (AGS). This also influences the interaction between other residents and AGS, who would fear reprisal if they interacted with the Gardaí.

A ...the impact that these men have on these boys here (SCN2) is that there is a silence across the board. There is no speaking, they don't interact with the Gardaí...they don't do anything with Gardaí and this goes onto the other residents the people that are working in the area. They are just living here as well and if anything happened...they don't see anything they don't...like the Garda calling because they know if anything happens it will come to their front door. And they will do damage to their house...its run by fear of the repercussions if they talk. AGS 4

On the other hand, due to the control exerted by the Network, other types of crime are less likely to happen in the area.

A I suppose if you look at the burglaries rates in the say the (Deletion) area it's very minimum because they wouldn't, as they say themselves, they don't go near their own patch. They don't and anybody that did burglary in their own patch...there could be fear then of them robbing the wrong house as they say and so it actually never happens. It does happen obviously but burglaries in (Deletion) are pretty small, I can guarantee, to other areas... because they just don't bring any attention... they don't want to bring any attention to themselves in that particular area. AGS 4

The issue of drug debt is discussed by the Garda respondent below. He also points out the unintended negative consequences that can arise from a successful Garda seizure: the money for the drugs still has to be paid. The Gardaí want to secure a prosecution and successful conviction, but the problem in relation to the debt continues afterwards for the convicted person or their family.

A I suppose yes like it's the drugs debt...is probably where the barrier is if a certain person is caught with drugs by the Gardaí searching their house...they owe the money and it has to be paid no matter what. And even if a certain person goes to custody and to jail like they (the dealer) come to the house and they obviously want to get paid no matter what they don't care who is in the house. They want it paid, it puts...the house in very awkward position because...they have to pay it if they don't pay it... (they) will be get their house damaged, windows broken, broken cars, broken or worse so I suppose I don't know yes the drugs debt. Getting caught with drugs at a certain level it can have serious consequences...we are seizing drugs off these people every day but it doesn't stop there. It stops moving for the Gardaí when you get them to court and get there. But it doesn't stop for the person they get the drugs they were caught with the drugs because they obviously have to pay their debt. In whatever way these main men want them to pay their debt by ways of committing other crimes or whatever. They are in their pocket then which ties them in probably ties them in even deeper to this group here

because they have to work with them. But yes you can see that is never going to stop. AGS 4

The following respondent acknowledges the limitations of Gardai influence in the respective area, referring to it as being 'self-policed' due to a combination of fear or respect for prominent Network members.

A (Deletion) is almost self-policed and certainly probably self-policed by those two particular individuals (SC101 and SC18) you know...they would have created an aura of fear...and respect in the area. So I mean people would be afraid to make statements with fear of retaliation or whatever and then you would have the other side who would look up to these people and that would be the reason they wouldn't be making statements. Because they aspire to be like them. AGS5

The respect for gangs relates to the limited legitimate opportunities for young people to be able to succeed in such areas. He concludes by asserting that gangs run the area.

A No I suppose the respect element would be from the people who see the money the lifestyle or the maybe the deterrent who respects the fear that these people create amongst other members in the community you know. There...is not a lot around here for young people growing up...the options are limited you know I suppose it's a nature versus nurture argument if you want to go into that. But you know options are either you close your door at night and never go out and hope to succeed through your studies....Or I mean if you are out and about you are going to get drawn into these gangs and that is what you know the gangs run the area. AGS 5

The following respondent is responding to the query as to whether drug debt is used as a means to sustain the criminal Network and to recruit new members. He observes that for some they are drawn into Network activities due to debt, but for others they aspire to be part of the Network. He also acknowledges that the Gardaí would not be aware of the extent of the debt issue¹¹.

A Pump people in yes, correct...whether I suppose this Network here wouldn't really be drug debt they would be involved because they want to be involved....I suppose the people that get drawn in with drug debt are probably people who wouldn't really want to get involved (but) they have an addiction they have built up a debt. And then you know they can't pay it or listen will you drive this here or drive that there or do you know if you don't we will shoot up your house or they get brought in that way. But probably don't really don't want to be in the Network they are drawn in to the Network or their families get drawn into the Network and I suppose as I was saying earlier on this area is kind of self-policed. We might not even we wouldn't even hear a lot of you know your drug debt and also the only time we hear of drug debt is probably in a interview room like this where it's a great one to fall back on. Going, 'oh the reason I did such and such is because I owe X amount and that is my excuse' and that is what will be rolled out in front of the judge. AGS5

¹¹ This is a consistent finding of the following study, where most people do not report debt, or threats or intimidation, to AGS. Connolly J and Buckley L (2016) Demanding money with menace. Citywide Drugs Crisis Campaign.

The following respondent believes that violence associated with criminal Networks has increased in the past seven years.

A I suppose...the Networks have probably got more brazen and more violent and aggressive...then they were seven or eight years ago. I mean if now if a debt isn't paid they have no bother call to the door and threatening Johnny's dad or Johnny's mother or whatever they just want to get paid. And you see houses around here getting shot up for like fifty euro, fifty euro drug debt you know it's not even a drug debt you know. But there would be a lot of show man ship within the Network as well wanted to look like the big man look show the bosses that you can step up and that you won't take any shit you know. And I suppose that is the dangerous thing as well because it leads to shorter fuses I suppose and...violence being a way of showing off you know. Like I have seen families pay big sums of money... in order to save maybe their family members. But the problem is the family pay off debts is what you find is these people go out and build up a debt again do you know it's a just a circle. AGS 5

Many studies have highlighted the complexities of the relationship between some communities and illicit drug markets that take hold locally. In particular, the drugs trade can provide not just money for those involved in the supply chain, but they can also be a source of cheap goods for local residents as dependent drug users, for example, often steal goods to pay for their drugs and then sell them locally. In this way, local people- often out of a degree of necessity- help sustain the local drugs trade on the one hand, whilst being opposed to it or in fear of those involved in it, on the other.

A Well...you mentioned...coming up to Christmas is always a busier time whether that would be an increase in robberies if money is needed for Christmas, families are expected to provide for their kids or whatever at Christmas time. And if that means that person can get...something their kids want for cheaper by buying it stolen well I suppose they have to, that is a moral thing that they have to deal with themselves. But many would be happy to do so I suppose like I said there is parts of the community who aren't involved in the Network but are certainly supporting them by buying stolen things....They probably wouldn't like to consider that they...are supporting drugs gangs or whatever but that is what they are because drug gangs are involved in everything...Like that is the areas you are working in you know they are they don't have anything they are surviving on welfare... and whatever they can do to make ends meet I suppose. AGS 5

The following respondent refers to the scale of the local criminal Network. The PULSE data shows it to involve a small fraction of local residents, less than 2%. However, fear of those involved in the Network also operates as a barrier to people cooperating with An Garda Síochána for even routine police matters.

A So you know its quite a small percentage, and I know from my own experience from doing different inquires and you go out there into the community and knocking on doors doing house to house... like four in ten you won't have had any interaction there to the people. So it is a small portion of the population but someone like...SC18...who would have control...and there would be a fear there.

They would tell you like. They don't want to...they didn't see anything because they don't want to get involved because of the fear that's out there. AGS6

On the other hand, the influence exercised by people such as SC18 also helps to keep other forms of local crime under control.

A ...for instance that individual he doesn't want stolen cars driving in his estate. Yeah, so that really doesn't happen. So for his estate they don't have that as much. But other than that I'd imagine its fear. But then I assume if they don't get involved and stay out of his way then he has no problem with them. Once they are not seen to be helping us out overly. And that makes it difficult for us...Not that he's going around I would say threatening everybody who we take a statement off. But...he would have a certain amount of influence over them. And especially close to where he's living. AGS 6

The following respondent also refers to the role that debt plays in sustaining criminal Networks, particularly in terms of how young people can get caught up in the Network through using cannabis.

A Oh I would say definitely so. Because again if you are dealing for a dealer and you lose some of that stuff or some of that is confiscated by us...then what will happen, not all the time but sometimes they will say right now you owe me for that...and they might give you a certain amount of time to pay back that bill and if its not been paid back you know, we have heard like parents have said it to us and that's as far as its gone because they won't put it in writing obviously because they are in fear. But they have told us they have taken loans out to pay these drug debts. But I suppose where that doesn't happen...they are going to be doing robberies and...shootings and...burglaries and all sorts just to pay back the dealer, or favours to reduce the debt...be that holding firearms or holding drugs...getting stolen cars, driving stolen cars....Obviously drugs debts will pay a massive part in it. And unfortunately I'd say of the 1.9% you said there (involved in the Network), like probably 80% of them are using cannabis at least and probably were since they were 14 or 15 and have moved onto at least coke now and maybe some others....so the debts, like they don't have any ability to earn money to pay for the cannabis at that age so they are obviously going to get into criminality to pay for that. So that's where it starts. AGS 6

Crime and anti-social behaviour hot spots

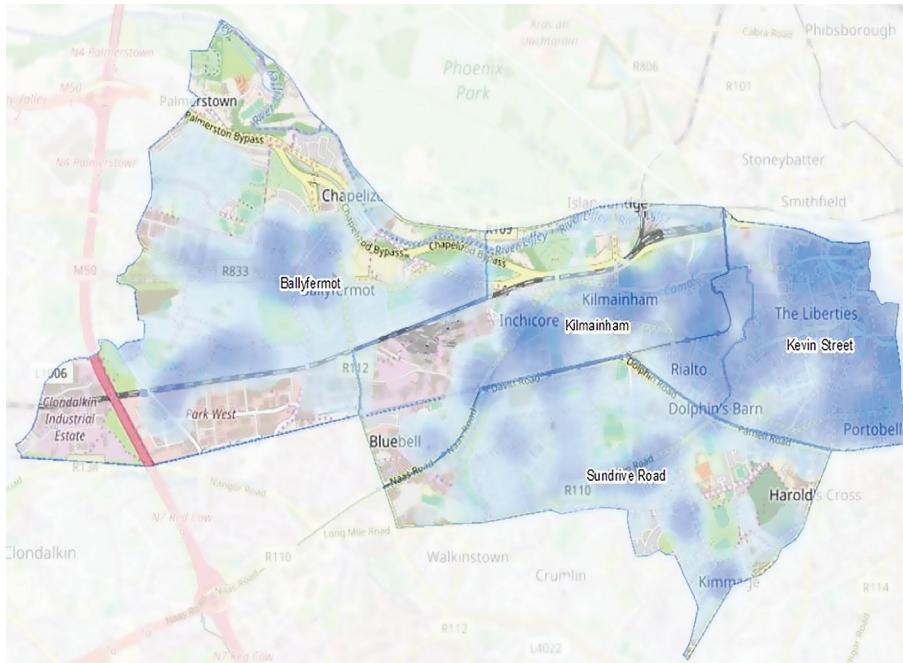


Figure 8: Hotspots: Public Order, Criminal Damage, Assaults

Figure 8 identifies a number of hotspots of crime and anti-social behavior throughout Dublin South Central. In the following interviews, respondents are asked about whether there are linkages between the criminal Networks and this anti-social behavior.

The following Garda respondent expressed some surprise at some of the hotspots. The extent to which the hotspots are linked to criminal Networks is discussed, with the view expressed that they are more linked to either nightlife activity or they are associated with small scale crime linked to dependent drug users accessing local treatment and homeless services, or to the illicit drugs trade activity along the River Liffey.

A I'm very surprised with some of the hot spots on this, because they wouldn't be to us the hot spots. Portobello would be one, I mean there's a College there beside it. The only thing I could see about Portobello is that you have the nightclubs in Camden Street. That's the only, as regards late night drinking and bars and that. That's only in the last two or three years, but that's I think changed an awful lot, the social scene has changed an awful lot. I'd see more or less in and around the Liberties area more so, and you can see there Christ Church some of that area that has been bad. And the reason being that drugs is coming in and you have the likes of, every organisation wants to set up a homeless shelter or an after night shelter or some kind of refuge or some kind of place for drugs rehab, no other areas want these. They are being thrown into the middle of the city and what's happening? All our tourists are being reefered because they are walking through the likes of the Guinness Hop Store, the Dublinia, they are going up there from Temple Bar they are going up then and getting lost in around some of the areas. And then they are getting robbed and that. That's what I see. The Quays at the moment is mad. There's about a kilometre along the Quays from Wood Quay

all the way up to maybe Mercers Quay and at night time it can be very tricky. Even during the day time on the board walk and things like that. It can be very tricky around there, there's an awful lot of homeless at the moment and an awful lot of young people out there openly selling drugs. AGS1

The same respondent questions the extent to which this crime is linked to organized criminal Networks.

A No, no I think some of them are a lot of once off things. And some of them are a spat, maybe you have a fella after getting out he does five or six burglaries or something. And that's how you are getting them, but it's not typical of what's happening. You have small stuff going on but there's stuff going on all the time. I mean look at Inchicore, Kilmainham you still have it all there. You still have it along the Quays, Oliver Bond down there is high, but that's part of a whole problem down there. And also, as I say I didn't think as much with the Portobello area but that's more like nightclubs and robberies, assaults, and maybe theft of mobile phones. That kind of stuff. AGS 1

The following respondent regards the heat map as representing a fairly accurate representation of crime and anti-social behaviour throughout the area he is familiar with.

A I suppose in Inchicore you can see a red spot, pretty much. Yeah I think that's it. I would say that represents the junction there in Inchicore village which I suppose people hang around, young people are coming down from Bluebell, coming down from Inchicore and meeting around that as well. The yellow would take into account probably the most, the busiest of the local authority flats there as well in Inchicore. And the blue is the surrounds around Vincent's Street West, where there would be a lot of antisocial behaviour as well. So that's a fairly accurate reflection, I mean even now that's a fairly accurate reflection. Moving on down, down to the edge of Kilmainham sub-district I suppose, over towards here and the red and yellow would take into account Basin Street flats there as well. Where there would be an awful lot of those types of incidents, public order, there's also a chronic amount of drug dealing and drug use there as well at the moment. I don't see where the red, I don't see why that red is where it is. I'm trying to figure out, I see Rialto as also in the mix, Rialto and Dolphin's Barn and around that neck of the woods which would make sense as well and the South Circular Road. AGS 2

He also refers to the influence of the night time economy in some central locations.

A Maybe so and I think that would explain part of the Kevin Street hot spots as well, down around Portobello, I know (Deletion) was surprised to see that the other day. But like that it might take into account the night time activity as opposed to residential. It's interesting, I'm interested to see here as well this one. AGS 2

Q Kilmainham?

A Yeah it seems like it's the crossroad there at the South Circular and Emmett Road, or James's Street coming onto James's Street so that's interesting to see. I wouldn't have thought that there would be too much happening around that neck of the woods but that might also take into account lower

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Inchicore or the likes of that, where the blue kind of starts off there. That's obviously lower Inchicore as well. And then I'm looking at Bluebell, sorry...at the junction of Naas road and Davitt Road there is also a blue spot...there was a pub there, James's town road is there as well, there's shops there as well, shops and a petrol station there would have been public order outside those places as well. And it might be a hot spot for public order coming out of Bluebell as well. Lads coming out of houses and then flats as well. AGS 2

The respondent below also references the night-time economy, highlighting the difference in reported crime during day time hours.

A Well the ones I'm most familiar with are the ones in the Kevin Street area. And the first one that comes to mind is Camden Street, which is on the right. You see R110 on the map just beneath that there's a big large red dot. That's Camden Street, and I take it then that that would be highlighted by public order and assaults. Simply because of the nightlife on Camden Street, not much trouble there during the day. But once eight or nine o'clock at night comes, it's not a bad area just it's a huge footfall, with the nightlife, with the bars and clubs. So that would result in public order and you know assaults, drunkenness...you know that level. Nothing mental out of control down there but you know it happens. AGS 3

This respondent makes the important point that most crime in the Ballyfermot area is not reported by local people so this has a big effect on the data. This point is also made repeatedly by local Community Activists in the focus group reported below.

A And this shows you that there is a lot of crime here and it doesn't show as much in Ballyfermot I think that probably comes down to what happens in Ballyfermot and what is reported to Gardaí like we should say what reflects on PULSE is completely different. There is a lot of stuff up here that is happening that is not being reported because of the communities are too scared to report anything. AGS 4

Summary Analysis: The impact of these Networks on people living in the area most connected to and most affected by these Networks

Consistent with a lot of recent research in this area, the impact of the illicit drugs trade in particular locations, and the involvement of different Networks is often hidden. The impact of such Network's can also be experienced in schools, where divisions and conflict can emerge over associations with different individuals or families linked to Networks. The issue of drug debt and how it can play a role in drawing people into criminal Networks, or engaging in criminal behavior on behalf of such a Network as an obligation, is also referred to. Criminal Networks can also become embedded in communities and normalized, due to fear. Criminal Networks, particularly drug-related ones, also provide a source of money and access to material goods for young people, who otherwise would not have resources for such things. This acts as an incentive for their initial involvement, and then this can intensify further. The involvement of young people in criminal Networks is also linked to the limited legitimate opportunities for many young people in such areas to succeed.

Another dimension of the impact of criminal Networks is the anti-social behaviour that can become associated with them. This can be indirect, through the anti-social behavior involved with open drug use, or it can be more organized, such as that we have seen with SCN2, where anti-social behaviour can be used as a mechanism for controlling an area, so as to facilitate criminal activities. A number of robberies committed in a specific location were linked into criminal Networks. Furthermore, organized confrontations with An Garda Síochána, whether in cars or on the beat, sometimes aimed to make certain locations no-go areas for policing. Also, Garda respondents referred to an unwritten code i.e. that people involved with the Network do not interact with An Garda Síochána. This also influences the interaction between other residents and AGS, who would fear reprisal if they interacted with the AGS, even for routine police matters where they might be seen and assumed to be cooperating. The research examined a number of crime hotspots throughout the area. The extent to which the hotspots are linked to criminal Networks is discussed, with the view expressed that they are more linked to either nightlife activity or they are associated with smallscale crime linked to dependent drug users accessing local treatment and homeless services, or to the illicit drugs trade activity along the River Liffey. It is also pointed out by respondents that most crime in the Ballyfermot area, for example, is not reported by local people - so this has a big effect on the data. This point is also made repeatedly by local Community Activists in the focus group reported below.

On the other hand, due to the control exerted by the Network, other types of crime are less likely to happen in the area so as not to attract Garda attention. One Garda respondent acknowledges the limitations of the Gardai's influence in the respective area, referring to it as being 'self- policed', due to a combination of fear or respect for prominent Network members. He also points out the unintended negative consequences that can arise from a successful Garda seizure: the money for the drugs still has to be paid. The Gardaí want to secure a prosecution and successful conviction, but the problem in relation to the debt continues afterwards for the convicted person or their family.

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Many studies have highlighted the complexities of the relationship between some communities and illicit drug markets that take hold locally. In particular, the drugs trade can provide not just money for those involved in the supply chain, but they can also be a source of cheap goods for local residents, as dependent drug users, for example, often steal goods to pay for their drugs and then sell them locally. In this way local people, often out of a degree of necessity, help sustain the local drugs trade on the one hand, while being opposed to it or in fear of those involved in it on the other. This highlights the importance of policy responses, particularly policing and community-safety ones, as being suitably nuanced to take account of this complex almost symbiotic relationship that can exist between criminal Networks and their 'host communities'.

Section 4

The relationship between key socio-economic indicators and the operation and impact of such networks, including the factors that facilitate resilience in these communities

The association between crime rates and economic conditions or economic deprivation has been a central focus of criminological research since the pioneering work of the Chicago school in the 1930s. This research also highlighted the nature of links between crime and location or, what was referred to as 'the ecology of the city'¹². Mc Alister and Healy, writing in the Routledge Handbook of Irish Criminology point out: 'Two key mechanisms appear to explain the relationship between community disorganization and crime, namely limited social capital and low collective efficacy, which increase crime by reducing the availability of conventional social opportunities and allowing delinquent opportunity structures and sub-cultures to flourish'¹³. In this section, the Garda Síochána Analysis Service (GSAS) provided a Deprivation Index for members of the Network based on their residential address. It was also acknowledged that many Network members would have moved address over time.

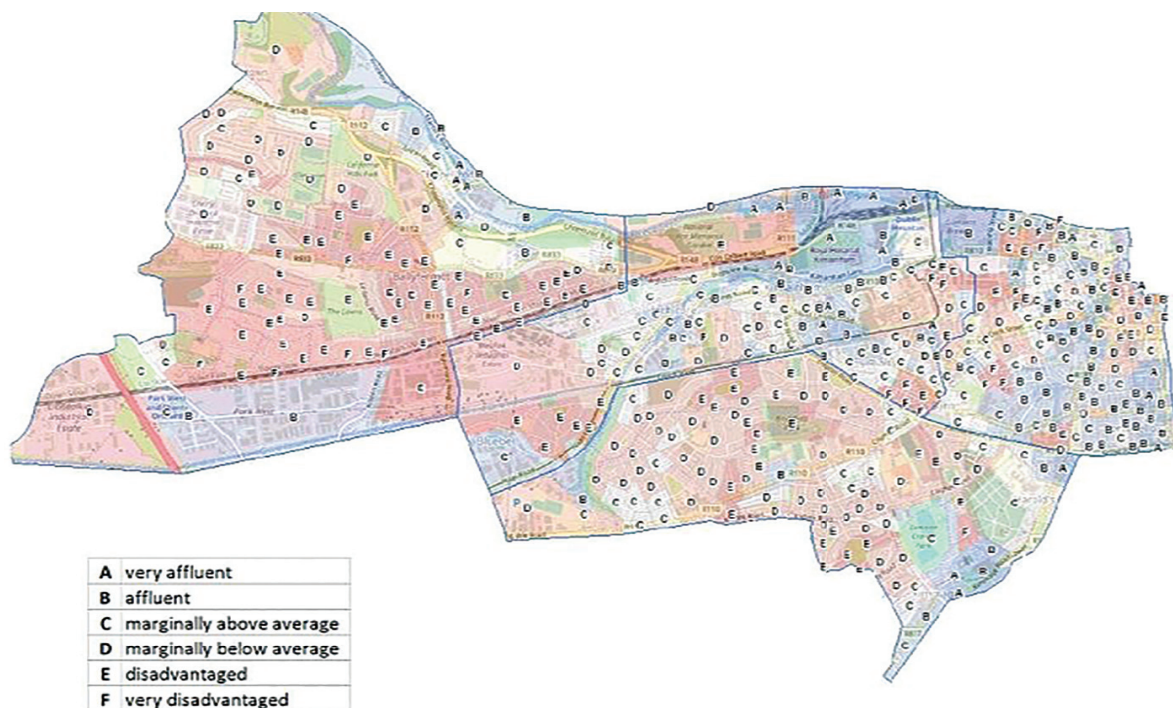


Figure 9: Network members' residence and deprivation index

Map Area	Deprivation Index	SCN 1	SCN 2
B	20 -> 10	2	1
C	10 -> 0	4	5
D	0 -> -10	13	7
E	-10 -> -20	19	32
F	-20 ->	6	7
Total		44	52

Table 4: Network members' residence and deprivation index

¹² For a discussion of the international and Irish research in this area see McAlister S and Healy D Crime, conflict and poverty. In Healy D eds. (2016) The Routledge Handbook of Irish Criminology
¹³ Ibid p124.

Table 4 provides data from the Trutz Hasse Deprivation Index for members of the two Networks in DSC while Figure 9 maps it out for the DSC area. It can be seen that a clear majority from both Networks score a D to F rating, marginally below average to very disadvantaged, with the largest number from both Networks classified as disadvantaged. In the interviews below, Garda members were asked to provide a deprivation score for specific individuals they referred to in interviews. This respondent highlights the issue of relative deprivation and the way in which the area can be divided along socio-economic status, with high levels of deprivation co-existing in close proximity to high levels of affluence.

A All in the F. And yet its gas you know that F block is surrounded by C and B. I know the B area would be a nice area. And the C, it's surrounded by C and B. But that little block has three Fs together, that's where the guy I was talking about now. There's another group then that we deal with, again they are down in the Fs as well, and they are surrounded by B, and one A. So the kids I'm talking about are all Fs, and are surrounded by B and A which is one is very disadvantaged and yet right beside them is affluent or very affluent. AGS 3

Resilience

This study is titled Building Community Resilience as it is oriented towards assisting the local community in delivering solutions to Network behavior and local crime that are community based. In the following interviews, Garda respondents were asked to discuss the strengths of the local community and the challenges they face.

This respondent, who is a Juvenile Liaison Officer, perceives a part of the challenge is that the positive message he is trying to communicate to children is not being reinforced at home.

A I suppose a common want for their community...to be good and who want their children or grand-children to grow up in a safe place where they can walk down to the shop or can walk up the street and get the Luas, but it takes strong people. Sometimes it's not easy for people to speak out and to put themselves out there as well...I think it needs to start at home, in houses and in flats. I think attitudes, parents attitudes need to change. I even think like working with children now is nearly lost. You need to change the attitude of these children hoping that they will change as they grow into adults as well, so that they may influence their children. Because anyone who is trying to do good for an awful lot of these young people it's not being reinforced at home, not being reinforced with as I think good morals or norms in the home...which ... sounds like I've lost hope already but it's not that, it's just it's very hard...if I'm seeing a child a couple of hours a week I know it's not being reinforced at home. I know there's not a respect for education or a respect for authority let's say for a better word. You could work with a child all day but then when they are going home to a situation where mam and dad aren't of the same opinion as you or want to reinforce the things you are talking about. It's very, very hard. AGS 2

This respondent acknowledges the challenge that arises for local residents to address the issues involving criminal Networks, due to fear; he also perceives what he refers to as a cultural acceptance of crime to a certain extent, contrasting this with his own personal background.

A I don't know, good question. Is it just existence, somewhere to live? A lot of people who live there have lived there for generations and a lot of them are very proud of where they live. And so they just try and get on with their lives, side by side these individuals. Like the vast majority of people living in the different flat complexes or streets where there is trouble they are decent law abiding people. Who just keep themselves to themselves? And these lads coexist beside them. But like their families would know what their sons and daughters are doing, their parents know what they are at. They choose to ignore it, I often wonder do they live in fear that their son might be the next person to be shot or injured or whatever like. Or...is it just a way of life that they just put up with it like. I remember being at an event one time and a little bit opened my eyes. It was in a flat complex here in the city centre and they did a historical event, they had done a little documentary of some sort...and they were interviewing people living in the flats. And almost every second story from the people interviewed, every second person told stories about stolen property that came into their possession, as a bit of a joke and a laugh. And...I remember sitting there, people around me were laughing it was great fun these stories. Every second person had a story like about literally calling stuff falling off a back of a bus and they were winking to the camera as if you know, but it was all stolen property they were receiving like. And...people thought nothing of it. It was no big deal....And I said to myself, if I was in a similar hall and my parents were in the audience and I was up there telling my story of the time that I found stuff off the back of a bus I think my parents would be mortified. And disgusted with my behaviour. As would my neighbours and the community I grew up in you know. And I just said there's... two different communities I thought like you know, and I just said to myself...is this a way of life here? Perhaps it is. So even those who might turn a blind eye to it, I'm sure if something came their way or something they would accept it as being part of fair enough, you know, I'm getting a bargain so be it. So does that feed into the greater, into the bigger picture overall of criminality, drug dealing...Yeah are you implicated to a degree so you let the other stuff go on as well. You don't challenge it. AGS3

He also describes one location where local residents, primarily women, have taken a stand against anti- social behavior in a particular block of flats.

A In some of the flats where there's no crime, or very little crime that's where the community have taken a stand. That's where parents have taken a stand with the children...they don't allow stuff to go on, on their doorstep. And the whole neighbourhood, even the men, the women and mothers tend to take a stand. They never allowed it to take hold. To this day they mind it, for example there's two flat complexes. AGS3

He contrasts the approach taken in two different flat complexes. In the latter block, he describes organized resistance despite repeated improvements to the flats being made, presumably by the local authority.

A We'll say (Deletion) is reasonably quiet, yes there's activity nearby but they got doors in, steel doors, fobs okay.... Something similar to that to enter and leave the block...all the community guards were given fobs to access that okay...to this day the doors are still there, perfect. And it's a nice lovely clean block of apartments, or flats. The other place the doors were pulled off the hinges, wrecked, fixed, wrecked again, fixed, wrecked again, damaged to the point they are gone. The doors are gone...again he (SC2) would have been actively involved in doing this...and organising that. He would have been a foot soldier within another group of lads in there...they went out of their way to wreck it, damaged cameras, so they wouldn't be picked up on doing it. Because they were selling from within these stairwells and this is where they used to hang out and this is where they did all the cutting up. So...they didn't want to lose that access. So they went out of their way to damage it. And despite complaints from the residents, the council fixed it, the council went out of their way to try and keep it right, but these lads they damaged it. They directed it. Did their parents challenge them about this, I doubt it somehow. But why in the other communities not let that happen. Like why was there more people or enough people in there to say let's keep this clean. Is that a long term thing that has started from day one and people took ownership of their apartment or blocks, flats and said no, I like where we are lads, we'll maintain it. And another group decided against it. AGS3

Summary Analysis:

The relationship between key socio-economic indicators and the operation and impact of such Networks, including the factors that facilitate resilience in these communities

The association between crime and poverty or socio-economic marginalization is well established in the literature, both international and national. The research here shows that a clear majority from both Networks score a D to F rating, marginally below average to very disadvantaged, with the largest number from both Networks classified as disadvantaged.

Another factor relates to relative deprivation in an area such as Dublin South Central, where high rates of poverty can co-exist in close proximity to high levels of affluence. This study is titled Building Community Resilience as it is oriented towards assisting the local community in delivering solutions to Network behaviour and local crime, that are community based. Garda respondents were asked to express their views on the strengths of the local community in DSC and the challenges they face. A number of issues were raised, including the lack of positive messages about pro-social behavior not being consistently delivered, for example where Juvenile Liaison Officers are engaging with young people, but the messages they are seeking to communicate to children are not being reinforced at home.

Reference is also made to the abilities of some communities or specific locations to resist the influence of criminal Networks, or to 'take a stand' against anti-social behaviour in a particular block of flats, and this is contrasted with the completely different experience in other similar locations. A respondent contrasts the approach taken in two different flat complexes. However, Garda respondents also acknowledge the active resistance to improvements by criminal Networks so as to maintain control, despite repeated

improvements being made by the local authority. No clear reasons emerge as to why such differences exist but clearly, some communities have more capacity or efficacy than others. Combined multi-agency and community-based solutions must overcome Network resistance where it is evident. Particularly due to fear of reprisal and to enhance community safety.

Section 5

Focus group with community activists about network analysis and general research findings

In this section we report on a focus group that was conducted with ten Community Activists working in Dublin South Central, on the findings of the Network Analysis and other aspects of the research. Each member of the focus group was given a few minutes to respond to the findings of the research.

Community Activist one expresses surprise at the size of the Network and refers to the absence of younger residents. He also repeats a theme that other Activists also highlight and this is the low reporting rate of crime to An Garda Síochána throughout Dublin South Central.

A So yeah, well there's a number of things that strike me- one is the low numbers of people who are connected with the Network. I wonder how many under 12s as well would be involved in it. That's a question I'd have. And there's a lot, even though in terms of the hot spots there's quite a lot of blue... especially down around this area and down towards the river, Rialto sorry, down around Dunore Avenue, Basin Lane, Inchore obviously as well and I was surprised at the distinction being made between Ballyfermot, where people don't report a lot of stuff, and those areas which the blue seems to suggest that people do. Because we are always hearing all the time that people don't report. Surprised as well that the hot spots are not found to be linked into the Networks, and the little experience I have is that you can actually see the connections here about somebody who is described as at least mid-level - comes in and supplies, and so on. So I'm surprised to see that... But all in all I think, yeah, a very useful mapping out of the situation - at least from one very good perspective of the Guards. Community Activist One (CA1)

The following respondent refers to the way in which criminal Networks are sustained locally as being inter-generational and also the way in which the stigmatization of an area can also contribute to Networks being sustained over time.

A I wasn't surprised by the Networks to be honest with you. All these interlinks and all the connections these people have. I was surprised that nothing was done around the stigma in an area and levels of social control in an area. Which I think holds these people stuck in an area. And I suppose the negative role models they would have. Some of the young ones id be working with even though they never met some of the cartel they talk about they really believe they have a strong connection with this cartel. That's who they aim to be like, so that's just what I was thinking you know, it's the stigmatisation in an area that people will internalise and it's intergenerational. Everything is passed down to them from the parents. CA2

The following Activist, who is a resident and community worker in the same location as SCN1, refers to

how he sees a degree of informal social control or self-policing in SCN1 that is increasingly disappearing in other areas, particularly involving young people and involving, with poly drug use particularly, benzodiazepines- having a negative influence on their behavior. He also refers to the challenge of working with state agencies, despite the willingness of some local people to work in these areas with the young people involved.

A I suppose I'm looking at it from the point of view where I was reared and where I worked for the last 17 years. So there's a connection with two areas and one of the biggest things for me is knowing how (SCN1) works...how they deal with their own things, I don't think that's necessarily unique to (SCN1). But what I have noticed in (Deletion) in particular is the complete disintegration of how that would normally work, the regeneration, the flats gone, pecking order completely got rid of. So what you have is 14, 15, 16 year olds stepping in and they are top of the food chain. And they are full of benzos and full of weed and full of alcohol and it's a very dangerous cocktail, complete lawlessness. Lack of resource's in the areas as in the people who are willing to work in them and want to work in them and are able to work in them aren't backed up. So I'm not surprised to see the hot spots. I'm not surprised to hear what you were talking about with (SCN1). I suppose the research will bear it out but also the reporting you know, I think it's a new phenomena for people to have to do that in (Deletion). They are very afraid, some of them are starting to step out. I don't think that's going to last long, they don't believe in An Garda Síochána, they don't believe in Dublin City Council CA3

The following respondent questions the extent to which we can refer to a Network, rather than a series of clusters of activity. He also highlights the lack of reporting and questions the reliability of the data as a consequence.

A Just looking at the thing what strikes me first is when you called it a Network, it implies it all works together and I'm not sure if they all work together necessarily in any strong connected Network way. I think what we see is more clusters, you'd see the percentages down in the south, in the (Deletion) area because its concentrated in smaller clusters you know we can all identify the areas (Deletion), (Deletion), you know, we know where the clusters are. I think the problem very much in terms of a response, we find in terms of obviously there's all the demographics of the marginalisation of community, the factors around poverty but also I think its endemic that one of the things that comes up in our regeneration board a lot is why isn't this reported more. Why isn't anti-social behaviour reported more? But it's because, even if the family aren't necessarily involved in the antisocial behaviour, they are related to the people who are involved in the antisocial behaviour. So I think that's another point. I just wonder did most of the information, obviously all the info comes from the Guards and its just a question is that reliable enough to say who these individuals are and how they are connected. CA4

The following respondent also questions the reliability of the data, particularly the reliance on Garda data and the absence of young people under 12.

A I'm only after starting my training, I worked in (Deletion) for a while and just what (CA1) was saying that I worked in the Justice project in (Deletion) and there would have been a lot of young people you know the stats and data wouldn't have been correct at all from guards...when we went looking for crime stats you know when you were writing reports, it was very wishy-washy....So just there's flaws with that but it just with under 12 that would have been a big piece a well. A lot of the young people heavily involved in crime that were under 12 years of age. CA6

The following respondent compares the findings with those of a previous study Understanding Limerick and the organized nature of some of the Network behavior. He also believes that there still remains a strong element of informal control in many communities that asserts itself when things get out of hand.

A Not a lot surprising in it, I suppose, maybe apart from the (SCN1) thing being as organised as it is. Kind of reminded me a bit of the Niamh Hourigan report¹⁴, stuff that's being said about the Limerick report that she did which is children, how children and the recruitment of children and stuff like that. I think some of that is here but it probably not as (prevalent) in this particular area. Still that strong social connection here. I think what strikes me as well is that there is something about levels of social order here in this part of the city, where it exists in estates... obviously with the drugs situation large families moved out. But there's a strong community still, I think the whole thing around social order prevails in terms of when things go too far. The areas are policed themselves and the police here generally recognise that the best way to police some of these areas is to deal direct with some of the problems that stops some of the criminality and the violence But certainly the level of drug dealing and criminality there's still a huge level acceptance but its where it stretches out and gets messy, especially among kids and when I say kids the ones you are talking about out in (Deletion). We had...that here and that's been stopped, its been stopped in (Deletion). Things are grand and quiet so we keep saying this is the quietest year we've ever had but there's still lots of drug dealing going on. All that indicates is that there's further acceptance that the drugs culture is accepted. It's here and here for good.CA7

He also makes the point that in some communities, Community Activists have to engage directly with those involved with the criminal Networks and that although this can raise the dilemma that they are being legitimised, he does not see them as having a choice.

A We obviously have a Safety Committee here; generally things have to be dealt with sometimes as an intervention at local level. To ask people to stop, that means going directly to the drugs area, those who have instant power. And from someone who has grown up in this area that hasn't changed, but unfortunately it's those families who are very vulnerable who don't have any connections or any influence with who is, and the problem with all that is from a State point of view is the whole issue of handing over power to the criminal underworld. That's the risk, but the other side of that is people want to live in peace and harmony sometimes you have to do things that the police or the

¹⁴ Hourigan N (ed) (2011) UnderstandingLimerick: Social Exclusion and Change. Cork: Cork University Press.(See Table 1)

city council will say well that's not acceptable, that's not the right way for this, but that's fine if you are living outside that culture. CA7

The following respondent again highlights the lack of reporting of crime in her community and how this impacts on the Network data. She also makes the point that people do not report on residents from their own area but get frustrated at the activities of those from outside the area who engage in anti-social behavior locally.

- A** The low numbers surprised me like when you see the 42 but I suppose I probably just need to understand it a bit more maybe. So like in (Deletion) for example the reporting levels are nil, essentially there is never reporting to the Gardaí. We know that it's a key problem area but I don't think that its picked up at all...I'm wondering obviously the tolerance levels in areas like... are quite high particularly when it comes to their own residents. There are families in (Deletion) that we know are operating at a higher level therefore, they themselves are participating in what's seen to be less anti-social behaviour, but yet the people around them engage in antisocial behaviour. So residents get frustrated with the people who are from...outside coming in, or that's how they see it but the people who are coming in and are connected at the same time...I know the guards know all the people in our area, so I'd say possibly there's an element of whereas they are known to Gardaí but maybe they are operating at too low a level... CA8

The respondent below believes that the Map provides an accurate picture of SCN2 and he refers to the importance of understanding the background of the key individuals in the Network. He also queries the extent to which young people are targeted, instead suggesting that people involve themselves in the Network largely out of choice. He also highlights the challenge of encouraging people to make pro-social choices, given the material gains and sense of belonging provided by involvement in the Network.

- A** Yeah I wasn't surprised; it was good actually to see it mapped out that way. Like the one bit that I would have liked to see more in it would have been around them people in (SCN2), I wasn't surprised how organised (SCN2) is either, I've experienced that. Like I could see that map in my head of who links with who like. I would have liked to see more around the level of attainment and the barriers that them...key people actually experienced in their life. So we know who they are, did they get to secondary school, what other barriers were put in place? I'm not too sure about the comment around them actually consciously targeting younger people. I don't know is there any actual evidence of that, has anybody actually told you that's how they got brought in. I think a lot of younger people actually are attracted, they are definitely attracted and its one of the challenges we face as workers as well that like this is what you kind of trying to provide something more attractive than a beamer (BMW). And you are trying to bring them quadding. So there's a huge disparity in our funding to address them issues. I find that the younger people that are coming into that culture are finding a sense of belonging that they are not meeting in their communities. And that's where the area of disadvantage I would have liked to see more explored, what are these other young people engaged in, what's on

offer for them? But what are they able to access...there's hundreds of services everywhere. And nobody seems to be working with bleedin' anybody sometimes. And it's like why can't they engage?
CA9

He also makes the point that the Local Policing Forum, to be discussed below, is not operating effectively.

A Just one other thing, just in terms of the Community Forums and I suppose the information coming from Community Forums- I don't actually think the people that are represented at the Community Forums, I did go to the (Deletion) Policing Forum for a long time and I got fed up with it because I was the only one that seemed to be actually standing up for young people. It seems to me like a bit of an opportunity for a bitching session for the Community to have a go at the Council and have a go at the Guards, whereas actually no real responses came from them. So I don't know what benefit them community policing forums are actually having in an area. CA9

The final respondent also sees a positive in the Network mapping exercise. He also makes the point that while those involved in the Network are organized, those responding to them are not. He is also critical of a policing forum he had attended, something that will be discussed in the next section.

A No great surprises in it, one thing that struck me was that (Deletion) didn't seem to have any hot spots, which was a bit of a surprise all right. Really good to see the Network mapped out like that, just to see how it operates. But no great surprises. One of the things that I suppose disappoints is that I took this on back in '96 and I was involved in this kind of stuff and all this kind of response and you could have said the same things then as you are saying now. Those involved in drugs, organised, those trying to respond all over the place. And the same thing here, we are just all over the place and even when they are deciding to put resources in its still unconnected, lack of policy, lack of cohesion, lack of focus, like sitting around a table here we all know what the answers are. We know what needs to be happen and I don't want to go into that but what strikes me is that you know there's no great surprises, and the things that will fix it aren't really being done. And those who are pretending and I do think pretending, there's a bit of like you know just empty rhetoric about what we need to do about it, it's kind of like you know tick the box and get them off your back there's no real commitment to it. There's no real policy, no coherence, never going to be sorted unless there's some of that joined up thinking. It has to be outside of just a patch, it has to be across the board. I went, like my friend here beside me, I went to two meetings of the policing forum the local policing forum when I started the job back in 2014. I went to two and I said I wouldn't go back again it was a waste of space, they were talking about Mickey Mouse stuff, and there was no capacity to take on the real issues. And there was certainly no will from the council and the guards and I said if you want me to attend you can change that agenda. When you do take on the real issues I'll put in my tuppence worth. And I'll give you the information, and you know if there's a commitment to take it on I'm in there. And you know four years later there's still no commitment there. I haven't gone back to those forums. CA10

Summary analysis: Activists' perspectives

Although Activists value the exercise of mapping out local criminal Networks, a repeated theme relates to the extent to which it represents an accurate picture. The absence of younger people, and the low crime reporting rate throughout Dublin South Central are highlighted. Both these issues were also referenced by Garda members interviewed.

Views are also expressed in relation to the extent of organization of the Network. One respondent questions the extent to which we can refer to a Network, rather than a series of clusters of activity. Another points to the organized and deliberate function of anti-social behavior, as a means of exercising Network control over areas. One respondent who lives and works in the same location as SCN2 believes that the map provides an accurate picture of SCN2 and he refers to the importance of understanding the background of the key individuals in the Network. He also queries the extent to which young people are targeted and groomed into the Network, instead suggesting that people involve themselves in the Network largely out of choice. He also highlights the challenge of encouraging people to make pro-social choices, given the material gains and sense of belonging provided by involvement in the Network.

One activist who is a resident and community worker for thirty years in the same location as SCN1 refers to how he sees a degree of informal social control or self-policing in the area that is increasingly disappearing in other areas. He links this to what he sees as increased erratic and uncontrolled behavior by young people fueled by poly drug use, particularly benzodiazepines, being a contributory factor. He also refers to the challenge of working with state agencies despite the willingness of some local people to work in these areas with the young people involved.

Another activist from the same area believes that there is still a strong element of informal control in many communities that asserts itself when things get out of hand. He also makes the point that in some communities, community activists have to engage directly with those involved with the criminal Networks and that although this can raise the dilemma that they are being legitimated, he does not see them as having a choice. The final respondent makes the point that while those involved in the Network are organized, those responding to them are not.

Section 6

The initiatives, structures and resources that are in place to address the impact of these networks and their causes and to access their performance

In this section we focus primarily on the existing community safety structures that have developed throughout Dublin South Central, including the Local Policing Fora, Community Safety Fora and the DSC Joint Policing Committee. It is beyond the scope of this study to consider all of the various organisations, initiatives and interventions that exist throughout Dublin South Central and which may be having a positive impact on crime and anti-social behaviour, whether statutory-based or involving the community and voluntary sector. However, in the interviews below, Garda members and Community Activists were asked to discuss the various agencies that interact with Network members. This will be relevant when we come to discuss possible responses to criminal Networks.

6.1) Interviews with Garda members and Community Activists

The following respondent was asked to comment, from his knowledge of those involved in the Network, how many would already have received some sort of statutory intervention.

A I'd say at least all of these guys have at some stage had a Social Worker. At some stage had key workers. Had a Probation Officer, a lot of the older lads especially definitely a Juvenile Liaison Officer ...So they are all interlinked in some way because we are getting files of families and sometimes it's gas - they will change address. They will start off in an address in Teresa's Gardens (for example), and they end up in Rutland Street. So the files are being jumped over. At the moment as I say we have three Garda Youth Diversion Projects in the particular area. AGS 1

The following respondents agreed, although he highlights different levels of engagement by individuals. The second respondent (AGS3) also refers to a commitment among some individuals to engage in drug dealing as an occupation.

A Nearly all the people I can see that I know would have had strong involvement from State and community agencies or support agencies. Wouldn't have massively engaged but would have always been offered the support. Now that goes from family resource centres, to drug addiction services to Tusla and social work. The Gardaí Youth Projects, local Youth Projects, after schools, the schools themselves. AGS 2

A Yet again, going back to this group in the left hand corner, a lot of them live in a certain number of flat complexes. They have a huge amount of different agencies from Dublin City Council involved with their housing. But then youth clubs, there's different groups trying to provide employment for these people. But these guys won't, don't really interact with those groups. They just don't... they refuse it just doesn't interest them. Their interest is just in criminality, it's a way of life. You come in here this

is your job, you've travelled up from whatever today to see me and whoever else, because that's your work. That's your interest like and I'm the same when I came in here this morning and did what I did today. But all you and me will do our best today and you know do our best for everybody but these guys are just up in the morning, I won't say up in the morning I'll say up in the afternoon and their day revolves around the sale of drugs. And the organising of that, like. AGS 3

This respondent also refers to the peer pressure that can come upon people to remain engaged with criminal Networks.

- A** Yes, like, initially they have to engage with them (agencies)...some of them would go intoand they want to be involved in crime as well and maybe sometimes they are peer pressured into it... into committing crime. So when they see a chance, if they are involved with a social or an agency then... they try and stay there as long as they can and I know a lot of young men up there that are involved with the agencies, and they don't commit crime as well there, so. It actually helped there, for them, but...others then that just... they don't want to be helped and they don't get involved. Some are pulled back in by just peer pressure, yes, or because they are all in one estate... and if one person has got out and you are staying in, then they are asking why are you staying in, now, and they'll just be peer pressured into going out and doing other stuff, like. AGS 4

The respondent below admits to having become cynical in relation to the services offered to people and the suggestion that many are gaming the system.

- A** Like, everyone on that page would have a previous conviction so they would all be in... they would have all been through the system at some point. And whether that be probation services or Irish Prison Service or Health Service Executive, because you know yourself, the staggering percentage of people on this list who claim to have or who have been diagnosed as having some form of ADHD or Asperger's. Or there will always be a reason why they are acting out, do you know, and I don't know...you can probably tell by the way I am speaking, whether I am maybe a bit cynical in that. But... I am in the Gardai eighteen years and it's kind of hard not to get cynical I suppose... there is always an excuse. And whether that be Social Workers making excuses for people or, I suppose we do see it more at the cold face and there are inherently just bad people in this world... as well and a lot of the people on this page are just bad, you know. AGS 5

The following Garda respondent refers to challenges working with a specific Youth Centre and his perception that the Centre does not wish to work with An Garda Síochána.

- A** ...there are youth centres they go into and...there is one particular youth centre down there that doesn't interact with the Gardaí. And they like to protect the youths before they will come to the Gardaí but I think that is a big barrier that has to be broken...as a community Garda myself we try and go down and talk to these people, like we are there on a community basis...we are there to guard surely, but we are not there to get them in trouble or see where they are at. We want to try and build

bridges as well but I think some youth centres could do a lot more...telling these people that we are here to protect...I think that is a big barrier to be broken away. AGS 4

The following respondent emphasizes the importance of intervening early to get young people away from the influence of the Networks and to maintain a focus on prosecuting those higher up in the Network.

A But I think they need to see the consequences more of what they are doing, trying to get them into projects like that. If you could get them jobs and stuff where they didn't have as much free time or spare time. Get them away from the SC35s and the SC18s (Network Two), break the link with the people at that level. Now we've been lucky enough in the last while - we've got some good charges on these people so we'd be hoping that they will see that there are consequences for their actions. But I suppose that's important too, that they can see that people, the people at the top aren't untouchable. There are consequences. And that's the way you are heading if you keep going down that road... Like as regards how to get these people away at a young age, I suppose we are involved in trying to identify the vulnerable people who we would see maybe at a young age... maybe 12 or 13 or 14, even younger that are getting involved. That are hanging around with these older people...if there's Social Workers involved in the school that can say look they are getting involved with these people, are the parents aware or how do the parents feel about this? Is there anything we can do to get them involved in something after school or whatever that they are hanging around or what's their attendance like in school? And if they are not good in school is there anything else we could, any workshop, you know? Because I suppose that's the age if they go so far it's very hard to get them back. So if you can get them when they are starting off maybe. AGS 6

The respondent below believes that there are not sufficient Garda resources committed to Community Policing on a consistent basis, a point repeated by Community Activists below.

A ...we haven't got enough resources to deal with it as well and as community policing ...we don't have enough Gardaí up there at all. You know we could be working with community for a couple of days then we are off for four and you are back again or you are going somewhere else you have to go some you can't dedicate yourself...I would be looking after (Deletion) but as because we have no resources you have to go down to obviously the middle of (Deletion) you have to go out to (Deletion) you know have to go to different meetings there. So you might be in (Deletion) one week and you might not see them again then until another three weeks or if there is meetings coming on you are off you know it could be a month. A month well or six weeks before you see them again and so they have they forget who you are. AGS 4

In response to how matters can be improved in the area in relation to the impact of criminal Networks, the following Garda respondent acknowledges and sympathises with the local community in terms of their reluctance to engage with An Garda Síochána. However, he also points out how difficult that makes their job.

A I honestly don't know. I see where people won't make statements or we don't want to go to court I don't want to make complaints and they don't want to fall foul of these people. I understand totally where they are coming from. If I lived in (Deletion) I wouldn't want to be here (in the Garda station talking to Guards)...you are leaving yourself wide open for the house to get attacked or yourself or your family members to get attacked. So I understand it although it makes...my life a lot harder and it gives these people the power do you know I mean if and I suppose this is going to sound funny. But maybe if the people in the communities are willing to stand up to these people by making statements...and by going down the road to court maybe you could start making inroads into breaking up these gangs. But I suppose until the criminal justice system is willing to punish these people properly or whether that is asking somebody to go to court and make a statement just to see these people get convicted and then walk out of court with a suspended sentence. You know....it's not worth the risk...prisons aren't big enough ...you can't just keep on filling prisons as we can see because prisons are overflowing now. And prisons are just breathing grounds anyway for connections to other areas and you know the school of criminality I suppose. AGS 5

In response to the challenges he identifies above, AGS 5 is then asked to comment on whether other alternative interventions such as Restorative Practice, for example, might make a difference.

A Well you see the problem is always going to be...these people don't care about the community, they see the community...how they want to shape the area. And they want to have the area where they are in control of things and if they see community activists coming in trying to I suppose meddle in the community...that is a challenge to their authority...that is where it will fall down... there is plenty of facilities...and you have different clubs or whatever. That tries to filter the younger people away from crime...but again when you put all these people together they end up just teaching each other you know you are just making more connections. There is very few of these people who manage to break the mould and once you are in the system you know like...break out of the system is whether they get addicted themselves and they fall off the radar and they become the junkie on the street. Or do you know they end up dying...or in and out of prison but I feel for the communities around here because there are plenty of decent people but just.... these are the people in the majority; it's just they never are going to have the power. That is probably a bad way to look at the community but that is the way I would see it. AGS 5

As shown in the Network maps, those involved in the Networks represent a very small percentage of local residents. Following on from the comments above about the challenges facing communities, AGS 5 is asked to expand on views he expressed about Community Policing. He talks about the importance of dedicated Community Policing, and the existence of Local Policing Fora, to be addressed below.

A Without the help of community, we can't do our job anyway and wherever anything serious happens which...then it's what filters back up from the decent joe soap in the area that probably gets you over the line. Now I don't mean they are making statements but certainly giving you the information

that you can act upon in order to get where you want where you need to go in an investigation. And a good community policeman like (Name deleted) who you interviewed the other day - he is very good and if I ever need to know anything about Joe Bloggs or- do you know your man?- he would... a decent community policeman is worth their weight. I started off in Community Policing...we were in a Community Policing Unit, we went to a few meetings every now and again. It wasn't the same structure like it is now with you know forums and all that...but basically it meant giving hours to the lads on the regular unit but we did the same work you know. So you have to like you said you have to have dedicated people who want to be in those units focused to do...you know what is required of them in those roles. AGS 5

6.2) Review of Local Policing Fora and Community Safety structures

This section provides a brief overview of existing community safety structures, initiatives and resources in the areas covered by the 4Fora Network, which commissioned this research project. The information in this section has been informed by input from those working with the structures, a comprehensive analysis of Minutes from the Fora and Joint Policing Committee meetings, attendance at a number of Fora meetings throughout Dublin South Central, attendance at two Community Safety Group meetings, facilitation of a 4Fora Network Meeting and a Focus Group with Community Workers from Dublin South Central. Certain internally commissioned documents and LPF submissions were also instructive.

The Dublin South Central Policing Forum Network (4Fora)

The South Central Policing Forum Network comprises four LPF from distinct areas: the South West Inner City, Canal Communities, Dublin 12 and Ballyfermot/Chapelizod Policing Fora. The Network was established in 2017, instigated by the South West Inner City LPF. Members of the four LPF Management Committees were aware that the impact of ASB and criminal Networks cannot effectively be tackled within any one policing fora area, in isolation. Since the communities served by the four fora are historically strongly linked- with considerable movement of people, including those involved in ASB and criminality- across the region, the fora decided to come together to strategically co- analyse and collaborate, to more effectively address criminality and ASB and the harmful impact of same upon the combined communities.

The overarching aim of the 4Fora Network is to produce a focused, evidence-based plan to comprehensively tackle the impact of criminality/ASB across the communities. There is consensus among the 4Fora on the negative impact of cuts in community policing numbers and the need for considerable improvement in terms of communicating pressing issues from the LPF's upwards to the JPC's and to have JPC decisions transmitted in a timely manner downwards to the communities impacted by them.

The Network has been active primarily in two domains since its inception:

- ◆ Networking and engaging in a "joint learning process" about how other forums work, building relationships, working together, capacity building, getting specific training on discrete issues, for example housing issues and provisions of the Housing Act 2014;

- ◆ Commissioning and project managing the Building Community Resilience research project, with a view to attracting resources to tackle/ disrupt crime, and improve the current 'low level' of policing.

As a result of joint Networking and learning experiences, members of the 4Fora identified a specific role for a Local Policing Forum within a Network. The South West Inner City Forum had evolved a strategy for engaging with a wide group of groups, residents and other interested parties and is well placed to facilitate links between Networked groups and An Garda Síochána while placing specific concerns in a wider area context¹⁵.

Local Policing Fora

Local Policing Foras (LPF's) are community level structures within the overall Joint Policing Committee (JPC) framework. The Dublin South Central area is divided into four Local Policing Forums¹⁶: the South West Inner City, Canal Communities, Dublin 12 and Ballyfermot/Chapelizod. The membership of these LPC's include An Garda Síochána, Dublin City Council officials, community representatives, members of Drug Task Forces and local politicians.

The South West Inner City Local Policing Forum was formed in 2012, drawing most of its members from a pilot Community Policing Forum that worked in the area since 2000. The SWIC LPF has been chaired by community and business representatives. Gardai (Kevin Street) and City Council representation at Garda Inspector and Administrative Officer levels has been consistent with occasional changes of specific personnel. Cllr. Críona Ní Dhálaigh has been the City Council representative on the Committee since 2015, having attended Public Meetings since the establishment of the Forum. The Forum organises three Public Meetings per year, moving venues but recently meeting most often in St. Catherine's Church, Thomas Street. The Management Committee (MC) meets between each public meeting and holds one or two additional meetings in the year as required. This has been a settled arrangement but attendance at Public Meetings has not grown since the Forum was launched and in 2016 the Committee recognised an urgent need for development and began a process of renewal.

The principal concerns of Committee Members underlying the renewal effort was that the contribution of the Forum to public safety was limited. Action responded to issues raised at public meetings - which were not well or consistently attended - with the result that the focus of attention shifted, responses were often short term and reactive and members did not believe that continuing underlying problems were being recognised or addressed. The Forum was operating in relative isolation from other bodies facing the same or similar challenges, often with greater resources and expertise. The format of Public Meetings did not encourage participation or the engagement of participants in working towards solutions. Given the longevity of the Committee, some members needed to move on and the Committee needed to attract new members with the capacity and expertise relevant to new challenges.

The Garda Inspector appears under-resourced and in need of support from higher up in the organisation so as to make the necessary contribution required. There is no Local Drug and Alcohol Task Force

¹⁵ See Minutes from SWIC LPF, 11/04/2017

¹⁶ I wish to thank Rea Lavelle of Dublin City Council coordinator to three of the four LPFs for assistance in compiling this information - Dublin South Central is divided into four Local Policing Forums.

representation on the MC, or community representatives in a real sense, other than the regeneration coordinator from St. Teresa's Gardens. A particular concern for SWIC are the planning decisions that are being /have been taken in recent years, which have led to very high levels of concentration of student accommodation, as well as homeless/addiction services in the area.

An initiative of the SWIC committee in 2016 was to invite the Chairs of each of the other LPFs in Dublin South Central to meet. From this initial contact, the South Central 4Fora Network, which commissioned the current research, was formed. Funding by Dublin City Council for a coordinator support person for the four LPFs has brought focus and energy to the SWIC LPF. The CEO of Merchant's Quay Ireland has recently joined the MC, as well as a representative from a DePaul homeless hostel. With new members on the Management Committee, plans have been advanced to offer meetings in World Café Style from October 2019. The Garda South Central Area, which includes Kevin Street Garda District, is one of four Garda divisions nationally piloting a new Garda Divisional model of organisation¹⁷. During 2019 a new model for Garda Community Engagement will be introduced in the SWIC area which, it is anticipated, will create significant new challenges and opportunities for the LPF.

The Canals Forum is Chaired by the head of Dublin South City Partnership. The Management Committee has community representatives from Herberton, Dolphin and Inchicore, (which are the main Dublin City Council housing hubs in the catchment area), as well as some youth workers, a school principal from Inchicore, as well as the former CEO of a prominent voluntary housing association that also operates in Inchicore. The DCC representative is the Housing Manager for the area. The Garda representative is an Inspector, who has also indicated that he will probably begin to concentrate on other duties next year. The MC used to meet regularly, every 4-6 weeks, but over the summer of 2018 especially, attendance declined significantly.

Dublin 12 Forum has a large catchment area which is now changing with the new electoral area boundary changes. The Management Committee has 6 community/resident representatives from different areas, as well as regular attendance from the DCC housing manager, and two LDATF representatives. The Garda representative is again of Inspector grade, and is new to the post. The public meetings and MC meetings are always held on the same evening, five times per year and rotate around different areas, including traditionally more middle -class areas with mostly private accommodation.

The public meetings tend to be well attended, with up to 100 participants. The Chairing arrangement is a rotation (once a year) between the Councillors in the area, of which currently there are only two. According to the fora coordinator, 'The Forum seems to have a reasonable reputation of serving some kind of a function within the community, with especially DCC usually able to take action on issues when being made aware of them by the public. The fact that there are two Garda stations in the area (Crumlin and Sundrive Road), perhaps means that there is not such an acute lack of Garda resources within Dublin 12 , as with the two other Forums I work with. The first few meetings I attended had a sizeable number of people concerned about issues around parking, but since the run-up to Halloween, the anti-social

¹⁷ Policing Authority (2018) Sixth report to the Minister for Justice and Equality in response to the request under S117A of the Garda Síochána Act, 2005

behaviour around Drimnagh, especially in the Brickfields Park, has become a major concern with the community representatives and public¹⁸. This problem has also been recognised by other agencies, to the extent that a Task Force (initiated by the Joint Policing Committee) is now established to deal with this issue, even though the Forum was not asked to have involvement/representative on it¹⁹.

The Ballyfermot/Chapelizod Policing Forum was established in 2008 and held its first public meeting on 10th April, 2008 and quarterly thereafter. The Management Committee convened its first meeting on 17th January, 2011 and again met quarterly thereafter. The Management Committee meet 4 times a year. In attendance at the meetings are: representatives from An Garda Síochána, Dublin City Council, Local Drugs and Alcohol Task Force, four local residents, one Dublin City Councillor (nominated by the other local Councillors - rotating every 2 years). Councillor Daithí Doolan is the current Chairperson of the Management Committee and the public meeting. The Chair of the LPF is selected by the Management Committee. The Management Committee meets on a quarterly basis, (usually 2-3 weeks prior to the Public Meeting) which are mostly held on the last Thursday of the month, also on a quarterly basis.

There are four core areas covered:

- Lower Ballyfermot
- Upper Ballyfermot
- Cherry Orchard
- Chapelizod

The public meetings are held in Ballyfermot Community Civic Centre, and a total of 4 public meetings are held a year. Administrative assistance is provided by Ballyfermot Area Office Staff. Letters of notification of the meetings, with copy of minutes of previous meetings attached, are distributed by mail to a circulation list (opted into by attendees). Posters are displayed locally, a notice in the Echo Newspaper and information on Social Media are all available in advance of each meeting. A good attendance is usually recorded and there is a high level of participation in relation to current issues impacting on local residents.

Review of LPF's

The researchers attended a number of public fora meetings and analysed a selection of the Minutes furnished by the Management Committee of each fora to get a sense of the key issues. In approaching this a number of questions were considered:

- ◆ Are the fora are currently well equipped and organized to take meaningful action to deal with the issues raised?
- ◆ How is success determined?
- ◆ Is the approach taken by LPF's guided by any logic model or theory of change, such as a problem-oriented approach?

¹⁸ I wish to thank Rea Lavelle of Dublin City Council coordinator to three of the four LPFs for assistance in compiling this information

¹⁹ This issue arose during the course of this research and it has caused some concern as it is seen as an example of the structure being by-passed and not being supported..

All the fora recognised that improvements could be made to their structure and functioning.

Members were eager to “re-purpose” their role and to raise the profile of the LPFs, so as to attract both greater funding, public support and Garda resources. Some of the Forums have or are in the process of changing the format of their public meetings to ‘World-Cafe style’, where participants sit around small tables and talk about pre-assigned topics, rather than the traditional top table facing the audience set-up. At the public LPF meetings attended, which were in the traditional format, there were a number of short presentations from core members of the fora, including an account by the DCC representative on issues relating to housing, planning, parking and miscellaneous matters, and also reports of crime statistics for the year to date by a member of An Garda Síochána. The utility and accuracy of these crime statistics was questioned on numerous occasions in the Minutes by disgruntled residents who alleged that the crime figures were inaccurate – including in respect of serious offences like domestic burglary – simply because many people did not bother to report the incidents, believing that nothing would be done by AGS about it. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the statistics focused on crimes like burglary, robbery, theft and public order incidents. There appeared to be little focus on quantifying crimes committed within the home, such as child sexual abuse²⁰, assault and neglect. This may well be because the majority of crimes within the family home go unreported.

Common themes, as identified by the Minutes and attendance at public meetings include:

- ◆ Inadequate Garda numbers, low visibility and failure to respond to calls, especially about Anti-social behaviour in parks;
- ◆ Hotspots, particularly public parks where there tends to be a high concentration of drug dealing and consumption, youths drinking, setting fires, illegal dumping, burning of refuse and animal maltreatment;
- ◆ A sense of repeated frustration that these behaviours would not be tolerated in more affluent areas.

²⁰ However, in the LPF Minutes from D12, dated 06/09/2015, the report on the Garda update contained the following statement: “Sexual assaults cases have increased though these are ‘historical’ cases.”

Table 5 provides information on issues raised in the minutes of meetings at the four local policing fora in Dublin South central, with the seriousness of an issue determined by the number of times it is repeated in the minutes.

Issues	SWIC	Canal	D 12	Ballyfermot/Chapelizod
Road Traffic/parking	*	*	**	*
Dumping/littering			**	***
Issues relating to animals			*	*** (horses)
Criminal damage/arson	*	*	**	
Offences against property	*	**	**	***
ASB/public order	***	***	***	***
Drugs, including intimidation	***	***	***	***
Problems relating to particular events (Halloween, St Patrick's Day, concerts)	*		**	
Violent crime/gang- related feuding		***	***	
Racism		**	*	
Housing	***		**	
Policing presence & effectiveness	***		***	***

*** - major concern
 ** - repeated concern
 * - low level concern

Table 5: Issues raised in minutes at four local policing fora in Dublin South Central

In some areas, such as the Canal Communities, some of the most problematic young people live in Local Authority housing adjacent to and outside the canals area, which “impacts on the ability of DCC to enforce tenancy agreements, as the anti-social behaviour is not taking place in the vicinity of their home”²¹. This issue should have been remedied by the widening definition of ASB in the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2014, Part 2, s7.

In a number of the LPF areas, planned developments for rapid build modular houses/family hubs, a homeless accommodation facility, a senior citizen's complex in Dublin 12 and the location of service facilities for people accessing homelessness and addiction services, and future planning in relation to same in the South West Inner City, caused concern among residents that they were not being consulted and generally about the lack of transparency in relation to the plans.

In terms of responding to issues raised in communities, the South West Inner City LPF proposed a clearer approach to raising issues at public meetings and referring them to Dublin City Council, by recording: “ACTION (ongoing, completed, planned), CLARIFICATION or REFERRAL (by the Forum to a person or body

²¹ See “Working Towards a Safer Community: A Community Safety Plan for the Canals Communities, Canal Communities Local Policing Forum, February 2015, at p.6.

at an appropriate level).²² As noted by the fora, an LPF is unable to assume responsibility beyond its brief. However, when “available actions in response to a problem have been completed the Forum should record its position and report to parties concerned”²³.

Joint Policing Committees

Joint Policing Committees were established in 2006 in all Local Authorities following a joint Directive from the Department of Justice and the Department of the Environment Community and Local Government following on from the Garda Síochána Act 2005. The purpose is to provide a forum where the Local Authority and Senior Garda Officers responsible for policing and safety in the City, with the participation of Oireachtas Members and community interests, can consult, discuss, influence and make recommendations affecting policing and safety in the City. It is also intended as a mechanism to encourage and facilitate an integrated approach from the relevant stakeholders.

Dublin City Council has a City-wide JPC and five sub-committees based on the five areas management/political structures in the City, of which the South Central JPC is one. An analysis of the South Central JPC minutes reveals that many of the same issues that arose for discussion in the LPFs were also discussed at the higher level meeting of the JPCs, for example:

- ◆ Lack of visibility of Gardaí on the ground particularly the Community Gardaí.
- ◆ The issues around providing a Drugs Squad at the new Kevin Street Garda Station.
- ◆ Security and public order issues surrounding upcoming concerts
- ◆ Use of benzodiazepines and the impact on ASB.
- ◆ Community frustration due to the “lack of response” when people report serious issues
- ◆ Insufficient Garda numbers and the failure to fill vacancies especially at Sergeant level

An interesting item from the South Central JPC Minutes from February 2018 relates to the Workplan of the JPC, where AGS and DCC committed to target “hot spots” proactively and regularly.

Regular monitoring of “hotspots” including laneways is carried out by the Gardaí and Dublin City Council on an ongoing basis ... Ballyfermot primary routes, lanes and shop precincts checked regularly. Ballyfermot Area Office & Community Gardaí assist in monitoring regularly. Crumlin Gardaí & bye-laws compliance and intelligence. Neighbourhood Watch Schemes near Sundrive Bottle Bank, Eamonn Ceannt Park and Brickfields areas. Crumlin Area Office is a great support. Four Road Pub Area & Bangor Circle Drimnagh attract large groups of youths who are “intimidating to older persons”. (26 Feb 2018)

Clearly, in the light of the LPC Minutes which make constant references to various “hotspots” in each of the four areas and inadequate policing of these public places, there appears to be a disconnect between the lived experience of residents in these areas and the perception of AGS and DCC regarding the sufficiency of the monitoring, and in particular, the police presence to deter ASB and to tackle it

²² See Minutes to South West Inner City LPF from 12 September 2018

²³ Ibid.

effectively when it happens.

Comments from participants involved in the fora, including the 4Fora Network, consulted for this study:

'However, as things stand the structures are weak, disconnected, lacking in clear orientation and poorly resourced.'

'I think other reforms might be useful here too, such as tightening the membership connection between LPFs and JPCs or using more participative methods when holding LPF public meetings. The issue of communication with the public between meetings is also a challenge.'

'In the Ballyfermot/Chapelizod area LPF the meetings had great energy for a number of years, were well-resourced with DCC support and well attended. However, in the past year numbers have plummeted with poor attendance from Councillors and the public... In discussion with members of the public I have been cited 'same old problems and same old response, 'nothing being done', 'waste of time' as reasons for the decrease in public support.'

'LPF's have huge potential to build bridges, ensure accountability and create confidence. Unfortunately they have been allowed to become irrelevant. This has happened because of lack of resources, lack of senior Gardai involvement, lack of support for Community reps and lack of proper coordination between the LPF's in Dublin South Central...the LPF's in the area appear to operate in very different ways. With different structures. This is not helpful and only creates confusion, fragmentation and lack of coordination. This can be reversed.'

'The public LPFs must become more than power point presentations on crime. Statistics on their own become irrelevant to communities. These meetings must be about accountability, decision making and measuring impact of crime on people's quality of life'

'LPFs, DSC JPC sub committee and the Citywide JPC have very little linkages. The three structures operate in separate silos. There needs to be more connectivity and information flow between the three structures.'

'The safety committees are deemed to be working reasonably well, although at times there has only been representation from the lower Garda ranks, with lack of resources cited as the issue.'

'The lack, or kind of Garda involvement certainly seems like the biggest challenge; although some of the inspectors do agree to/turn up for occasional meetings'

'Another trend that is easily spotted across public meetings in all the DSC areas is that there is an opinion among the public that there is no (or very slow/inadequate) response from Gardai when they are called, so many have given up on even trying to report criminal activity.'

'In short, the LPF as we know it is not a body that can be central to a new and effective response to the problems that the UL Research identifies and the key shortcomings are not at the level of management committees or meeting participants.'

'We have had an escalation of anti-social behaviour in a particular area of Drimnagh preceding and post Hallowe'en this year and there has been a serious assault also. The DCC and the local Gardaí have had 2 meetings in regard to this with local elected Councillors and have decided to set up a Task Force specifically for this and also a Safety Committee. I am not against these being set up but I feel that there is already local structures in place such as LPF, to deal with these issues and yet we were not included in the process which is ongoing there; to me this is duplication. I feel that, as it is with the LPF to JPC communication disconnect, this will lead to not only another layer of structure locally, but also a further disconnection and, worst case scenario, will render the LPF Dublin 12 null and void.'

Community Safety Groups

As observed by the Review of Community Safety Groups (CSG's) in Dublin conducted in 2012: the value of such Groups is "the collaboration on the issues from the community, law enforcement and landlord [DCC]. However, a key constituent in the community perspective are residents."²⁴ The Review noted that in some cases, residents' representation is strong, while in others it is "non-existent".

While statutory agencies such as AGS and DCC "favour as much first-hand, real-time information as possible" from residents "living in different parts of the estate that are community-minded and are trustworthy", rather than relying on mediated accounts of ASB and criminality from community-based workers, which may contain inaccuracies, residents are often understandably reluctant to participate in CSGs for fear of reprisals.²⁵ Participation in the CSGs may have repercussions for their own personal safety, and the problems raised may not even be resolved due to protestations from the statutory agencies that "their hands are tied" procedurally, or otherwise (for instance, due to resource issues). Indeed, the wider issue of encouraging aggrieved residents to make statements about ASB and criminality was raised at one of the CSG meetings regarding the role of locals in bringing wrongdoers to justice, by progressing prosecutions or evictions against individuals or families, and it was agreed that "we need to persuade people to make statements and that's difficult."²⁶

Attendance at the two CSG's was very illuminating. In the first CSG meeting, there was a Community Guard, Community Worker and a Housing Officer, but no resident. In the second meeting there was a Community Garda, a Housing Officer and a resident. The latter spoke in emotional terms about a particular issue that affected her personally.²⁷ According to the 2012 review, AGS prefer to receive information at CGS meetings from residents "thinking of the community as a whole and not just those incidents which affect them personally". In terms of trust, the imbalance in power among meeting attendees and the one-sided nature of information flow can be problematic, as residents in attendance may mention

²⁴ New territory in community work, a review of community safety groups at p. 8

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid

names, thereby taking risks, while Data Protection procedures in DCC for example, preclude them from mentioning names in such fora.

Owing to the reluctance of residents to involve themselves in CSGs, “community-based workers play something of a lynchpin role”²⁸, which the workers themselves do not necessarily relish, as the CSGs tend to often have more of a control/coercive function, than a caring one. As the Gardai and DCC respond to anti-social behaviour primarily through enforcing laws and rules, CSG discussions are predominantly about making arrests, surveillance, warnings and pursuing evictions.²⁹

The review of Community Safety Structures reached the following conclusions:

- ◆ Community Safety Structures are a worthwhile infrastructure in sustaining & strengthening vulnerable communities.
- ◆ Experience of participation in CSS marked by frustration, conflict, stress & occasional satisfaction in achieving results.
- ◆ Participation in same can involve real personal risk; clear safety guidelines and trust between members vital.
- ◆ Can share detailed current information on ASB
- ◆ At their best, meet regularly and work to a consistent format
- ◆ Importance of understanding different roles, perspectives and also their limitations, and aim to circumvent those limitations in interest of safer communities.
- ◆ Need to combine both Care and Control responses.
- ◆ Need to develop good working relationships and protocols with community-based and relevant statutory organisations.
- ◆ Not a substitute for good relationships between residents, AGS and DCC.
- ◆ Need support – team building, strategizing, training in relevant subjects: legal issues, mediation, capacity building, networking across communities.
- ◆ Activity highlight range of issues: legal and policy issues, allocations, evictions, role of community and youth workers in creating safe communities, dynamics of gangs, using innovative methods such as Restorative Justice.

Summary Analysis: The initiatives, structures and resources that are in place to address the impact of these networks and their causes to access their performance

This section provides a brief overview of existing Community Safety Structures, initiatives and resources in the areas covered by the Dublin South Central 4Fora Network, which commissioned this research project. The information in this section has been informed by input from those working with the structures, a comprehensive analysis of Minutes from the Local Policing Fora (LPF) and Joint Policing Committee meetings, attendance at a number of Local Policing Fora meetings throughout Dublin South Central, and at two Community Safety Group meetings, the facilitation of a South Central Policing Forum

²⁸ Ibid, at p. 9. See also p. 7.

²⁹ Ibid, at p. 7.

Network Meeting and a Focus Group with Community workers from the four areas. Certain internally commissioned documents and LPF submissions were also instructive.

The South Central Policing Forum Network comprises four LPF's from distinct areas: the South West Inner City, Canal Communities, Dublin 12 and Ballyfermot/Chapelizod Fora. The Network was established in 2017 when the fora decided to come together to strategically analyse and collaborate to more effectively address criminality and ASB and the harmful impact of same on the combined communities.

All the fora recognised that improvements could be made to their structure and functioning. Members were eager to "re-purpose" their role and to raise the profile of the LPFs, so as to attract greater funding, public support and increased Garda resources. Some of the Forums have, or are in the process of, changing the format of their public meetings and these reforms are at various stages of development. It should also be noted that in interviews with Garda members indicated that most of the individuals identified as part of the Networks already have had strong involvement from State and community agencies or support agencies. However, individuals show different levels of willingness to engage and to develop their own pro-social behavior. Some come under peer pressure and others are simply committed to engaging in drug dealing as an occupation. Challenges to inter-agency and community partnerships working identified include: a perception that some Youth Centres are reluctant to work with an Garda Síochána due to the pressure that can come on community residents not to be seen interacting with Garda members on any matter. Garda members acknowledge and sympathise with the local community in terms of their reluctance to engage with An Garda Síochána. However, they also point out how difficult that makes their job. Garda members also echo the views of community activists when they argue that there are not sufficient Garda resources committed to community policing on a consistent basis.

Lack of a coherent approach

As shown in the Network maps, those involved in the Networks represent a very small percentage of local residents. This of course is unlikely to represent an accurate picture of the problem, given the lack of crime reporting. They can create a disproportionate degree of fear and disturbance and be relatively organized and business-like in their approach and in how they sustain themselves. The response to them on the other hand, whether from the statutory or community and voluntary sector or a combination of both, does not appear to be similarly organized. At present a largely unfocused, ad hoc approach to the issues seems to dominate across all the existing structures: Joint Policing Committees, Local Policing Fora and Community Safety Fora. The same issues repeatedly crop up for discussion and the perception of community-based workers and residents who attend the public fora meetings is that interventions and responses are not effective. One example is in relation to the response to crime and anti-social behavior 'hot spots' where JPC minutes suggest there is a degree of coordination between agencies but the perception at LPF's is that there is not. A consequence of this apparent disconnect is that people become disillusioned with the structures and attendance drops off. As things stand, the structures (JPC, LPF, CSG) are weak, disconnected, lacking in clear orientation and poorly resourced.

Respondents believe that localized structures have huge potential to help build bridges between

agencies and the community, to facilitate local police accountability and to help build community confidence. However, the perception is that they have become irrelevant, that they lack resources, that they lack consistent senior Garda support and involvement, that community representatives are not given sufficient support, that they lack proper coordination, that they operate in silos using different processes, and that all this contributes to fragmentation and confusion.

Understanding the crime picture, monitoring interventions and data reliability

The main and repeated issues being dealt with throughout the various structures include the following: Inadequate Garda numbers, the failure to fill Garda vacancies especially at Sergeant level, low Garda visibility and failure to respond to calls when people report serious issues, especially about anti-social behaviour in parks; failure to address crime and anti-social behavior 'hot spots; intimidation and gang-related feuding. Another significant issue that arises in relation to the crime picture is that residents at meetings do not appear to have faith in the accuracy of Garda crime statistics - including in respect of serious offences like domestic burglary. This is because many people do not bother to report incidents, believing that nothing would be done by An Garda Síochána about it. This is a particularly challenging issue and it compounds the problem of people not reporting crime due to fear of reprisal.

The need to combine care and control responses

The issue of the importance of developing a holistic approach to crime problems at a community level was also identified in an analysis of the CSG's. Participation by residents in the CSGs may have repercussions for their own personal safety, and the problems raised may not even be resolved due to protestations from the statutory agencies that "their hands are tied" procedurally, or otherwise (for instance, due to resource issues). Owing to the reluctance of residents to involve themselves in CSGs, community-based workers often perform a role on them. This raises two issues: the importance of ensuring that those who are willing to take up the vital role of engaging in localised structures in response to community problems are kept safe, and secondly, that responses are not exclusively enforcement oriented i.e. about making arrests, implementing surveillance, issuing warnings and pursuing evictions. These things matter, but the building of resilient communities requires more sustainable and nuanced responses.

Section 7

Building community resilience - responding to criminal networks

- ▶ To consider what is required to sustainably address the impact of these Networks and their causes, including the enhancement of existing initiatives and/or the development of new initiatives.
- ▶ To prepare a report including recommendations as to how to address the issues arising from the analysis.

Situating the recommendations – A changing local policing context: The Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland

In this section we will identify a series of key guiding principles that should inform the future role and function of the various local policing and community safety structures discussed in this report. Central to the future of these localized structures and processes will be the roll-out of the recommendations of the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland (CFPI). The CFPI report has recommended a new vision for policing in Ireland that focuses on the frontline and envisages a new district model of policing. The CFPI report was published in September 2018.³⁰ In December 2018, an implementation plan for the recommendations included in the report was published.³¹

Key Principles and Recommendations

1. Responses should be grounded in human rights, balancing the rights of individuals (dependent drug users and criminal suspects) with the right of communities to live in safety and without fear.
2. Responses need to be delivered through a coherent locally oriented policing and community safety approach, based on the District Policing model recommended by the CFPI.

The CFPI report has recommended a new vision for policing in Ireland that focuses on the frontline. As part of this vision, the building of genuine community partnerships should be a requirement for all districts. Gardaí should be assessed for performance in this respect, and it should be a factor in determining assignments and promotions. Each district commander should work collaboratively with the local policing structures and other key community groups, to develop district policing plans. All police service personnel at district level, should be considered to be community police.

A new AGS Divisional Model is currently being piloted in Kevin street Garda station. The Policing Authority in its 6th Report has concluded that 'there has been little discussion of the communications plan for the new Divisional Model of policing internally within the Garda Síochána organization, but also for the

30 Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland (2018) Report of the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland. Government of Ireland.

31 Implementing Group on Policing Reform (2018) A Policing Service for the Future – Implementing the report of the Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland. Government of Ireland. Government of Ireland.

communities affected and how this might allay fears. This will be very important in framing the model positively and setting out the real potential benefits in service delivery for communities.³² The CFPI has recommended that the Policing Authority and Garda Inspectorate be merged and replaced by a new body: The Policing and Community Safety Oversight Commission (PCSOC). Until that structure is legislated for, the 4Fora Network should liaise with the Policing Authority, which has identified the development of Local Community Policing Fora in its current plan.³³ Furthermore, the Garda Inspectorate, in a report also published in December 2018 Policing with Local Communities, has recommended an action for Joint Policing Committees and local community fora to provide enhanced accountability of and support to local policing³⁴. This action is for the Policing Authority, with the assistance of the Department of Justice and Equality.

In sum, we are at a unique point in terms of policing in Ireland, particularly Community Policing, and Dublin South Central, with the range of localised structures that have been developed over many years, is in a position to offer significant evidence-based and community-based insights into how future structures should be developed. Given the ongoing pilot in Kevin street, it is important that the 4Fora Network lobbies for its inclusion in this reform and learning process.

Recommendations:

- a. The 4Fora Network should promote a human rights based approach that balances the competing rights for example, of the procedural rights of criminal suspects on the one hand, with the rights of community residents to live safe from fear and crime.³⁵
- b. The 4Fora Network is a unique initiative in the context of local policing structures in Ireland. It is important that it now situates itself at the centre of policing reforms as they affect Dublin South Central.
- c. As part of the recommendations arising from this report, it should re-define its role, which is currently unclear, but which should be closely linked in to the ongoing developments in local policing described in the paragraph above.
- d. As part of the above process, the 4Fora Network should communicate with the Implementation Group on Policing Reform³⁶, the Policing Authority, the Garda Commissioner, the Chief Superintendent of Kevin Street, the Dublin South Central Joint Policing Committee and with Dublin City Council on foot of this report, seeking to be consulted on the current Divisional model pilot in Kevin street Garda station. This pilot should address the many issues and concerns that have consistently raised at a community level about the inadequacy of localized policing and community safety structures and processes.
- e. It should put together a proposal for the establishment of a Local Policing and Community Safety Team. This team's role would be to coordinate a DSC policing and community safety strategy emerging from this report – for example – , assisting in the induction of new community Gardaí into the area, developing training in problem solving and restorative practice (See below),

³² Policing Authority (2018) Monitoring and assessment of the measures taken by the Garda Síochána to implement recommendations of the Garda Inspectorate "Changing Policing in Ireland". 6th Report. p22

³³ Policing Authority (2019) Strategic Plan 2019-2021. Policing Authority.

³⁴ An Garda Síochána Inspectorate (2018) Policing with local communities.

³⁵ Such an approach should be developed in association with the Irish Council for Civil Liberties and the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission.

³⁶ Footnote 31

organising problem-solving teams, co-ordinating the restorative practice programme (see below), liaising with outreach teams and the programmes targeted at children and families at risk (See possible interventions below). The role of this team should be in addition to the support role for the Policing Forums available through DCC currently as it requires a different skill-set.

3. Responses should adopt a problem oriented approach, as recommended by the CFPI.

One of the key findings of this report and other previous analyses of local policing structures is that there is a great deal of inconsistency in service delivery over time and also that problems seem to continue on for long periods with no apparent resolution. The 4Fora Network should promote a clear 'Theory of change or logic model', based on Problem-oriented policing approaches. This should happen at all levels so that all participants, including agency personnel and community residents, can understand the process being undertaken in relation to a given problem or hotspot, for example. Logic models tend to be used to plan a new project or service. They can be used in the planning, implementation and review phases. They are most useful to get people to think through and understand a project.

They demonstrate:

- What goes in – inputs.
- What comes out – outputs.
- What results from it all – outcomes.

They do not necessarily provide evidence that something has been achieved. Nor do they demonstrate the value of the service. They reveal intention, assumptions and rationale behind a project. They link what you meant to happen and what did happen.

Problem-Oriented Policing incorporates such an approach. It is a proactive alternative to traditional response policing. Along with identifying hotspots, such as those identified throughout DSC in this report, POP places more emphasis on understanding the connections between problems and why they are occurring, tackling problems identified by local communities that have been resistant to other, more conventional responses. The model requires thorough analysis of the causes of crime and disorder, identifying strategies for intervention (beyond law enforcement), involving other agencies and the community in delivering them and in checking whether benefits accrued. The SARA model presented in Figure10 below is a standard and well known problem-oriented approach.

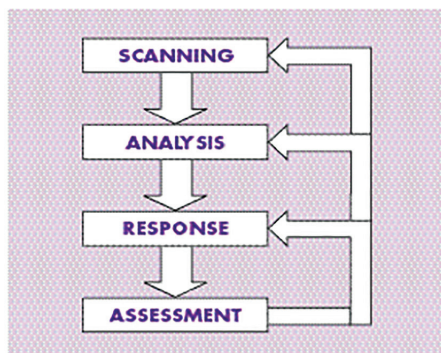


Figure 10: Problem-oriented policing – SARA model

Recommendations:

- a. The 4Fora Network should seek support from the Policing Authority, Dublin City Council, An Garda Síochána and Dublin City Council to provide training in problem solving techniques for those involved in the various local structures (JPC, LPF, CSF)³⁷
 - b. Joint training programmes should be provided to agency and community members in such approaches
- 4. Responses should be informed by a ‘Comprehensive’ or ‘Whole systems’ approach to building community resilience and efficacy.**

One of the memorable points made to the author at the beginning of this research is that criminal Networks are organized for the purpose of committing crime for financial gain, so communities must also be organized in order to respond. A recent National and International review of research conducted by the Health Research Board sought to address the following questions with a view to informing a comprehensive community-based strategy in response to gangs:³⁸

- What community- based interventions are effective in preventing entry into gang Networks?
- What community- based interventions are effective in promoting gang desistance among young people?
- What community- and/or criminal justice approaches are effective in deterring or suppressing gang- related crime, intimidation and/or violence?’

The review questions emphasize community-based interventions, as the main aim of this review was to inform the actions of the Local and Regional Drugs and Alcohol Task Forces in responding to Drug Related Intimidation in their communities. The study found that comprehensive gang control programmes - combining prevention, intervention and suppression – have shown promise.

Comprehensive approaches require clear specification of the component parts, the building of strong interagency partnerships with relevant agencies, effective communication and data sharing strategies, and a designated lead agency with strong leadership capacity and the ability to mobilize the community to ensure good implementation fidelity.

Across the literature reviewed in the study, within the domains of prevention, intervention and suppression, a key message that emerged was the importance of involving the local community and the direct and continuing involvement of community leaders. The importance of such an approach arose firstly, because it provides local knowledge and insight to ensure that the gang control strategy is appropriate to the local context and the local gang problem. Second, the community can help ensure that the strategy is appropriately targeted by assisting with the identification of youth most at risk and the selection of

³⁷ A recent guide by the University City London Jill Dando Institute of Security and Crime Science Problem Solving for Neighbourhood Policing is instructive

³⁸ This Review followed on from research conducted by the author in consultation with drug task forces and the Citywide drugs Crisis Campaign on drug-related intimidation: Connolly J and Buckley L (2016) Demanding money with menace: drug-related intimidation and community violence in Ireland. Citywide Drugs Crisis Campaign.

the issues of greatest importance to the local community. Third, engaging and mobilizing the community presents a strong message to those involved in gang activity that crime, violence and intimidation will no longer be tolerated and that support is available for those ready to leave that life behind. Lastly, it can strengthen social cohesion by empowering the community, thus preventing feelings of helplessness and hopelessness that are perpetuated by crime and anti-social behaviour.

However, developing a comprehensive strategy is not simply a matter of selecting the most effective programme from each of the prevention, intervention and suppression categories; there are many other considerations. First, a clear understanding of the local problem is required. A good understanding of the local context and context-specific challenges, using local knowledge and intelligence, is required in order to adequately respond; second, a clear understanding of the resources available to address local problems is required in order to design a response that can be feasibly delivered at a consistently high standard, and sustained over time. Moreover, having a clear articulation of realistic short- and medium-term goals and objectives can support funding sustainability and build momentum for expanded activity. The HRB review concludes that 'Given the current state of evidence in the area, any intervention that is implemented should include a process and outcome evaluation within a pilot project area before widespread implementation, in order to ensure that it has the intended effect, does not cause unintended harms, and is cost- effective.'(p.86).

The REPPP project being delivered in collaboration between the Department of Children and Youth Affairs and the Law School at the University of Limerick has identified a whole systems approach to responding to youth involvement in criminal Networks. This is illustrated in the graphic below.

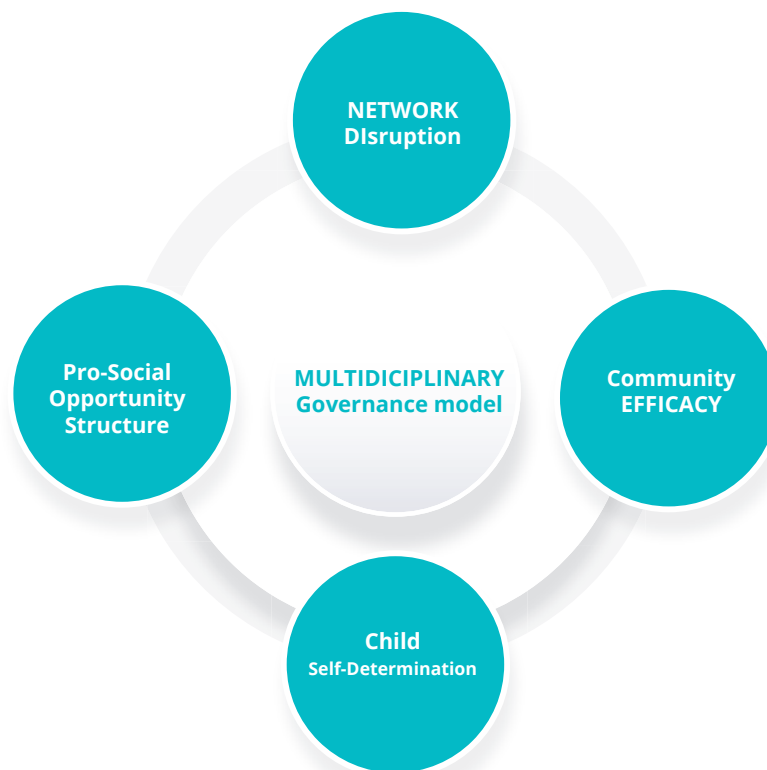


Figure 11: The Research Evidence into Policy, Programmes and Practice (REPPP Model)
Source: Redmond S (Forthcoming)

The following is a description of the intended programme.³⁹

Programme Objectives: protecting children from criminal Network engagement and prevention strategy for prolific offending

- Designed specifically for Greentown - evidence based and bespoke
- Will only work if combined
- Must be sustained over the long term
- Unconventional way of working
- Not cheap – but the problem we are facing is very difficult – has been around a long time and has never been tackled properly
- Keep governance simple

The model identifies a number of problems, outlined below, and possible interventions to address or respond to them.

Problem: Control and exploitation of young people by adults/ Adults are constraining the choices of young people/ Young people may feel this is 'normal' and/or fear reprisals/ Crime families complicate operation of child protection legislation and responses

- Public health campaign. Government messaging / national campaign on 'Grooming', 'exploitation' and 'safeguarding'.

Problem: Incentivising pro-social behaviour

- System sanctions bad behaviour and needs to promote and reward good behaviour
- For some, the criminal Network may have greater legitimacy than the State. Tied to the Network by bonds of identity and loyalty
- Tackle / name illegitimate opportunity structures- Develop tactics to counter bad opportunities and options
- Build on existing services- Importance of school and school services input- etc. attendance records
- Identify structured activities that meet needs- Some of the target group do not engage in normal or usual structured activity
- Community mobilisation for youth that are isolated from crime Networks

Problem: The problem identified through the REPPP programme is that some communities have the capacity to deal with anti-social behaviours; some do not. A possible programme would aim to do the following:

- Create a pro-social youth Network which is supported and protected.
- Start small with the things that matter to the community.
- Identify achievable outcomes; create community confidence for driving more change; generate momentum

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I am indebted to Professor Sean Redmond and the REPPP team for their generosity in providing me with this information.

- Communicated by a community-led media campaign (small win stories)
- Cultivate community 'moral voices' / empower the stoics
- Drug dealing and debt has become normalised to a degree. Develop long term 'new norms'.

The focus of this study is on building community efficacy and resilience. There are perhaps hundreds of locally based initiatives throughout DSC that perform a positive role in terms of maintaining community cohesion. Although this report does not identify specific interventions, the 4Fora Network should consider the type of intervention it needs to support in terms of developing responses to those involved in the Network. Two examples are highlighted below.

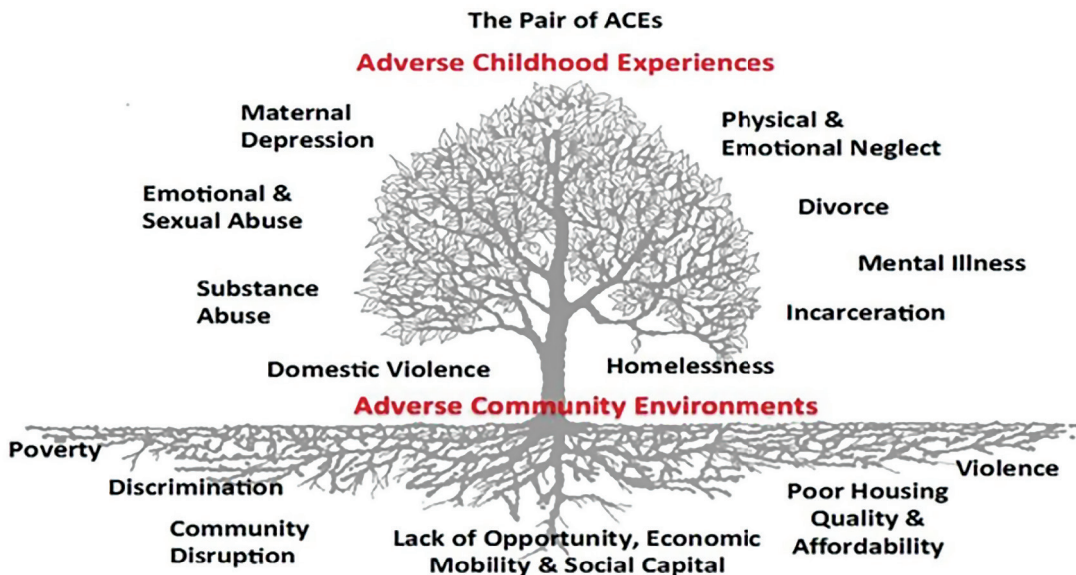
Recommendations:

The 4Fora Network should identify specific interventions it wishes to develop or support. Four possible approaches that would seek to achieve outcomes on different aspects of the Network might be considered:

- A targeted multi-agency hotspot intervention to show a clear win for the community
- A higher level intervention targeted at key individuals such as one modelled on the J-ARC approaches which are currently being piloted in other areas of the city.⁴⁰
- An initiative aimed at engaging with some hard-to-reach young people. The author was impressed by the TRY (Targeted Response for Youth) project currently running at St. Teresa's Gardens, an example of an innovative approach that might work with these very hard-to-reach/marginalised youths.
- An initiative aimed at engaging with and supporting families of young people engaged with Networks

5) Responses should be Trauma informed and Restorative in order to be sustainable

5.1 Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE)



Ellis, W., Dietz, W. (2017) A New Framework for Addressing Adverse Childhood and Community Experiences: The Building Community Resilience (BCR) Model. *Academic Pediatrics*. 17 (2017) pp. S86-S93. DOI information: 10.1016/j.acap.2016.12.011

Figure 12: Adverse childhood and community experience: The building community resilience model

⁴⁰ J-ARC Evaluation Framework Working Group (2018) Critical review of initial evaluations on the three J-ARC pilot projects. Department of Justice and Equality.

Figure 12 provides a useful illustration of the depth of issues/challenges that we face when trying to address issues such as those which we are confronted with in relation to criminal and anti-social behaviour Networks. In Ireland, a recent investigation into the prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences among Cork Simon Community homeless service-users yielded interesting results⁴¹. Of the 50 service-users surveyed, 77% had four or more ACEs, while 8% had 10 ACEs. More than 1 in 3 were sexually abused as children, a quarter were subject to physical neglect and two thirds reported emotional neglect. Over 70% lived with someone with an alcohol or drug addiction, more than 50% lived with a mentally ill person, 50% were raised in a single parent household and almost one third grew up in home where a was family member incarcerated. Almost half witnessed their mother being subjected to domestic violence. Moreover, 71.4% had a history of suicidal thoughts and 44.8% had self harmed in the past. Other findings regarding physical and mental health were that:

- 39% admitted to having shared a needle for intravenous drug use;
- 62% reported they had overdosed in the past;
- 90% had been seen by a psychiatrist or psychologist;
- 90% stated they believed they had psychological problems but only 23.5% could name an exact diagnosis (e.g. depression, anxiety, psychosis, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, Borderline Personality Disorder, Bipolar Disorder and Schizophrenia);
- Thirty five of the 50 participants were currently using prescription medication, including antipsychotics, benzodiazepines, methadone and sleeping tablets.

According to Bessel Van der Kolk, the ACE study has shown that “child abuse and neglect is the single most preventable cause of mental illness, the single most common cause of drug and alcohol abuse, and a significant contributor to leading causes of death such as diabetes, heart disease, cancer, stroke and suicide”⁴². Nonetheless, mainstream society is completely blinkered to the huge costs of ACEs, and “too embarrassed or discouraged to mount a massive effort to help children and adults to deal with the fear, rage, and collapse, the predictable consequences of having been traumatized”.⁴³

It is highly likely that a significant number of the young people who congregate in parks or street corners in large, intimidating groups at night time drinking, drug taking, causing criminal damage and undermining the quality of life of residents in the geographical areas covered by this research come from dysfunctional homes with an overdose of toxic stress caused by ACEs. As trauma specialist Besselvan Der Kolk says: “Hurt people hurt other people”. Children who are abused and neglected, particularly those who grow up in deprived, urban areas which constitute adverse community environments where there is poor housing, low rates of employment and low collective efficacy, are likely to engage in substance misuse with peers to deal with their emotional dysregulation and disrupted attachment. These people come to the attention of AGS due to public order disturbances, and the sale and supply of drugs. Mulcahy has argued elsewhere that offending behaviour, addiction, homelessness, mental illness and suicide are all symptoms of trauma.⁴⁴ Criminality and the consequent loss of liberty may, for many prisoners, be a minor aspect of their personal adversity stories. Offenders tend to come from communities where ACEs are all around them;

⁴¹ The references in this section are derived from Mulcahy J (2018) Daring to Ask “What Happened to You?” - Why Correctional Systems Must Become Trauma-Responsive. *Advancing Corrections*. Journal of the International Corrections and Prisons Association.

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Ibid

in their homes, on their streets, in their schools, doctor's surgeries and emergency rooms.

5.2 Restorative practice

Restorative practices is a social science that studies how to build social capital and achieve social discipline through participatory learning and decision-making. The use of restorative practices helps to:

- reduce crime, violence and bullying
- improve human behavior
- strengthen civil society
- provide effective leadership
- restore relationships
- repair harm

The International Institute for Restorative Practices definition of restorative practices also includes the use of informal and formal processes that precede wrongdoing, those that proactively build relationships and build a sense of community to prevent conflict and wrongdoing⁴⁵. Where social capital - a Network of relationships - is already well established, it is easier to respond effectively to wrongdoing and restore social order - as well as to create a healthy and positive organizational environment. Social capital is defined as the connections among individuals, and the trust, mutual understanding, shared values and behaviours that bind us together and make cooperative action possible⁴⁶.

Hull city in the United Kingdom was reportedly the 'first restorative city'. Led by the Hull Centre for Restorative Practices (HCRP) and the International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP), Hull has endeavoured to become a "restorative city." The goal is for everyone who works with children and youth in Hull, one of England's most economically and socially deprived cities, to employ restorative practices. Although the current situation in Hull has received mixed reviews, a number of other cities are currently engaging with similar approaches including Brighton, Bristol, Southampton, Newcastle in New South Wales in Australia and Victoria in New Zealand.⁴⁷

The Dublin 8/12 Restorative Practice Project is a coalition of youth workers, community workers, Gardaí, Dublin City Council staff and Schools' staff who believe that Restorative Practice can make a valuable contribution to effective work in local schools, neighbourhoods and community and youth centres. The ambition of the Dublin 8/12 Restorative Practice project is to build the practice of preventing conflict and restoring relationships from early childhood in school settings to people living together in neighbourhoods⁴⁸. The project plan is to provide information, training and support to bed down RP across the Dublin 8/12 area. The project is following a five-step strategy:

1. To establish a committed Steering Group of RP champions to lead the project.
2. To hold Introductory workshops for those working in a variety of settings across the Dublin 8/12 area.
3. To follow these workshops with practitioner training for those who would like to practice RP in their setting.
4. To facilitate practitioner support meetings so new practitioners can share experience, problem-solve and learn new skills.
5. To run a Training of Trainers programme to enable practitioners to develop RP skills in other colleagues.

⁴⁵ <https://www.iirp.edu/pdf/Defining-Restorative.pdf>

⁴⁶ Putnam R (2000) *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

⁴⁷ <https://www.iirp.edu>

⁴⁸ Information sheet: The Dublin 8/12 Restorative Practice Project. Community Action Network. Dublin

Recommendations:

- a) The 4Fora Network should encourage a trauma-aware response to interventions
- b) The 4Fora Network should consider promoting and developing Dublin South Central as a Restorative Practice location, building on current national and international approaches⁴⁹

6) Responses should be informed by the best available evidence

While positive working relationships between community and statutory agencies are desirable and important in their own right, there should ultimately be measurable results in terms of interventions in response to crime and anti-social behaviour. Furthermore, given the low level of crime reporting in communities throughout Dublin South-Central, whether due to fear of reprisal, disillusionment with policing and the criminal justice system for example, it is imperative that we develop ways to assess the impact of crime on such communities. At present a Community Crime Impact Assessment is currently being piloted in three separate locations across Dublin as part of the National drugs strategy⁵⁰. Such an idea, which combines various data sources, including qualitative input from local residents about crime and anti-social behavior, can assist in enhancing the local crime picture and also the evaluation and monitoring of community-based interventions.

The Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland has also made a number of recommendations in this respect: that District police should have real time access to crime data and to information about public concerns. They should keep their residents well informed about community safety issues and engage with them proactively to solve problems affecting crime and the perception of crime, thereby leading to both the reduction of crime and stronger confidence in community safety⁵¹. That public applications should be developed at the community level to enable residents to report their concerns, and that police should disseminate information about matters of interest from crime prevention to road closures⁵². That An Garda Síochána should develop and implement a new social media strategy to engage with the local community⁵³.

Recommendations:

- a) The 4Fora should support the development of a local Community Crime Impact Assessment as a means of informing local policing and community safety strategies and as a way of monitoring interventions.
- b) The 4Fora should engage with the Kevin Street divisional pilot initiative discussed above, with a view to experimenting new ways of improving communications between AGS, DCC and local communities.

⁴⁹ The development of a RP network associated with Maynooth University is currently underway and can be of assistance in progressing this recommendation. I am grateful to Dr Ian Marder of Maynooth University who is steering this initiative.

⁵⁰ Peter Dorman of Community Action Network and the author are involved in this initiative.

⁵¹ Commission on the Future of Policing in Ireland (2018) The Future of Policing in Ireland Ch. 6 para.3.

⁵² Ibid Ch21 pg 8

⁵³ Ibid Ch. 21 para. 9, Ch. 17 para. 7



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