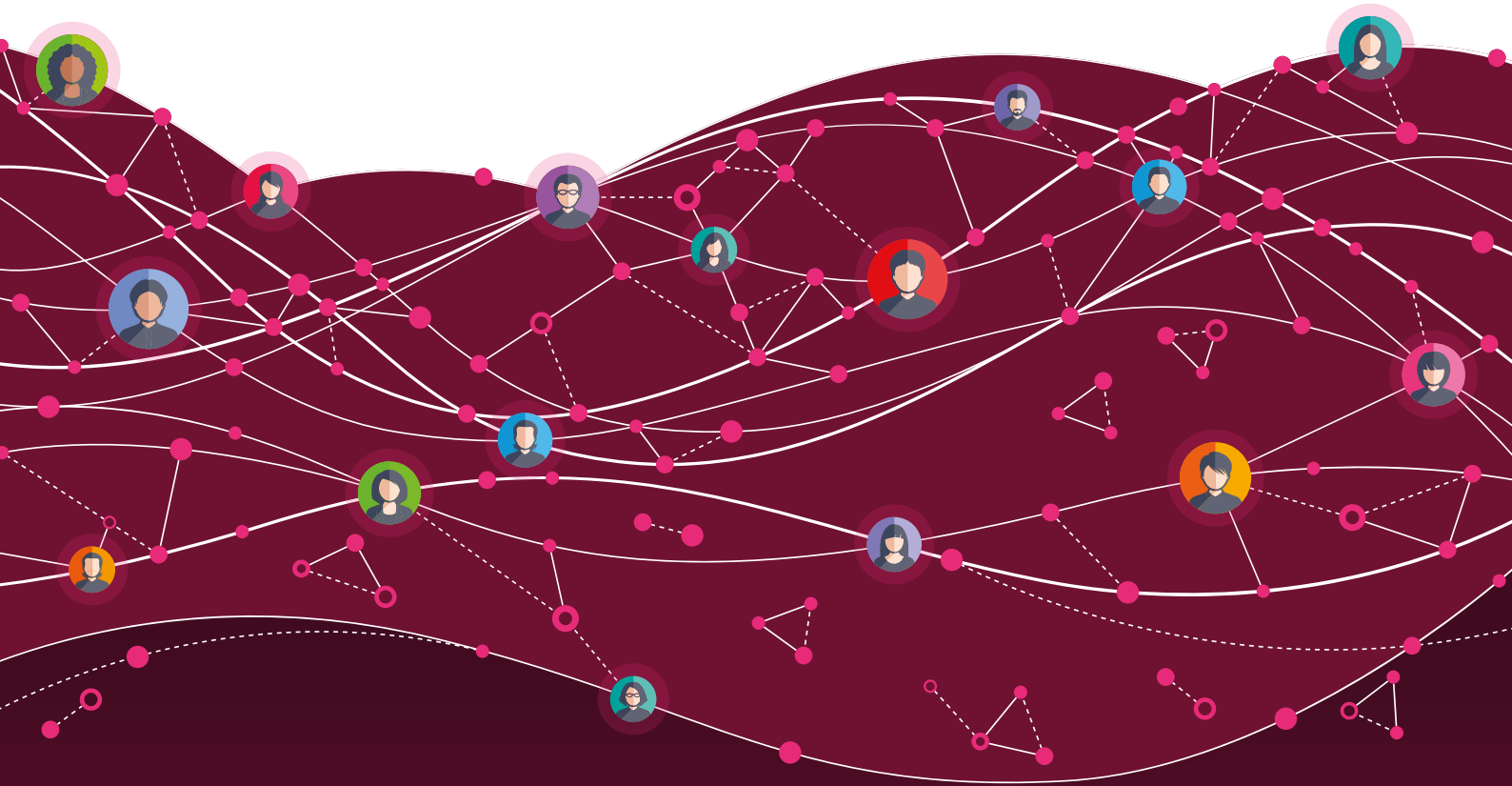


# National Prevalence Study

Do the findings from the Greentown study of children's involvement in a criminal network (2015) extend beyond Greentown?



C. Naughton, S. Redmond

RESEARCH EVIDENCE INTO POLICY, PROGRAMMES AND PRACTICE (REPPP) PROJECT  
School of Law, University of Limerick



An Roinn Dlí agus Cirt  
agus Comhionannais  
Department of Justice  
and Equality

RESEARCH  
EVIDENCE INTO  
POLICY PROGRAMMES  
AND PRACTICE



An Roinn Leanaí  
agus Gnóthai Óige  
Department of Children  
and Youth Affairs



# National Prevalence Study

*The Greentown Project is an initiative of the Research Evidence into Policy, Programmes and Practice (REPPP) project.*

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**Dr Sean Redmond** is Principal Investigator for the Greentown studies. Sean is a civil servant from the Department of Children and Youth Affairs on assignment to the University of Limerick.

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<sup>1</sup> The Criminal Justice Strategic Committee is chaired by the Secretary General of the Department of Justice and Equality and includes the heads of An Garda Síochána, Courts Service, Irish Prison Service, Policing Authority, Probation Service, Legal Aid Board, Forensic Science (p. 12, A Safe, Fair and Inclusive Ireland, <http://www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Department%20of%20Justice%20and%20Equality%20Strategy%20Statement%202016-2019.pdf/Files/Department%20of%20Justice%20and%20Equality%20Strategy%20Statement%202016-2019.pdf>).



## National Prevalence Study

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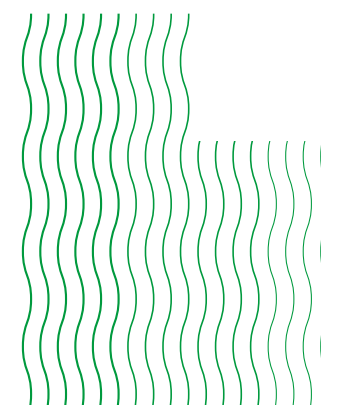


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# Executive Summary

## Purpose

This national prevalence survey aimed to indicate whether the findings from the Greentown study (2015), based on a single case study design, extend beyond that location.

## Method

We choose a survey design to capture the expert knowledge of Garda Juvenile Liaison Officers (JLOs). JLOs are part of a national organisation of experienced police officers who support the operation of the Diversion Programme for children in contact with the law. Given their local knowledge of youth cases processed by the Diversion Programme, JLOs were considered ideally placed to (a) gauge the prevalence of children's involvement in more serious and prolific offending, (b) describe the key features of the children involved in more serious and prolific offending and (c) know whether any children are also engaged in network-related criminal activity. The survey achieved an almost 90 per cent response rate representing every local Garda sub-district across the country.

## Findings at a glance

### Evidence in support of the Greentown findings

- JLOs estimated that a minority (1 in 8) of the children involved in the diversion system fit the profile of the children who featured in the Greentown study. These children lived in both rural and large urban areas.

Findings suggest that

- Children involved in more serious and prolific offending present with multiple vulnerabilities and complexities
- Some children involved in more serious and prolific offending were likely to be engaged in crime networks
- Children involved in criminal networks who were described as blood relatives of local dominant crime families (family members) were predominantly groomed in crime by older family members
- Children involved in criminal networks who were not blood relatives of local dominant crime families (associates) were mostly groomed in crime by younger non-family members of the network or 'recruiters'
- In summary, from the perspective of JLOs, in terms of the profile of children involved in more serious and prolific offending, the Greentown findings resonated beyond the Greentown Garda sub-district.

### Insufficient evidence for, or evidence not supporting, the Greentown findings

- There was insufficient evidence to identify hierarchical differences within criminal networks between children whom JLOs characterised as family members and children who were characterised as associates.
- Although both groups of children were equally likely to present with welfare concerns, children whom JLOs characterised as family members were more likely to have increased risk factors in terms of committing crime and to have parents with more chaotic lifestyles when compared with children whom JLOs characterised as associates.

**Table 1: A summary of the evidencing of key research questions to the Greentown report**

Key Research Questions	Evidence to support generalisation of findings
Is there evidence of children sharing the same general profile found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?	Yes
Is there evidence of children's involvement in criminal networks found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?	Yes
If so, is there evidence of hierarchical differences in such networks that are determined by membership of dominant families?	No

## Conclusion

Overall, the National Prevalence Study findings suggest that the Greentown findings in relation to the profile of children involved in more serious and prolific offending were substantially reflected in the responses by JLOs. Further examination of some of the more nuanced findings in the Greentown study, including the existence of potential status disparities between dominant families and associates, is strongly encouraged. However, the findings suggest that children presenting with profiles described in the Greentown study may resonate in many other communities, both rural and urban, across Ireland.



# Introduction

## Background: A note on the original Greentown study (2015)

The 'Lifting the Lid on Greentown' study was undertaken by Dr Sean Redmond, Adjunct Professor of Youth Justice, School of Law, University of Limerick. This study focused on the activities of children involved in burglary, and drugs for sale and supply offences (2010–2011) in 'Greentown', a real but anonymised locality in Ireland.

The study found evidence that a number of children were heavily involved in a network that was dominated by the members of a core family group involved in organised and serious crime. The network in itself was found to have a significant influencing effect on the children identified, to commit abnormally high levels of crime.

The study found significant qualitative differences between children who had a blood relationship with the dominant criminal family (referred to in the report as '**family members**') and those who had not (referred to in the report as '**associates**').

The type of influence effected by the network depended on the child's relationship to the **dominant core family**. Children referred to as family members were subtly coached in crime by other members of the core criminal family. There was an inherent expectation that children who were family members would become an integral part of the network, eventually taking on leadership roles, and their criminal activities were largely managed informally via familial 'trust'. Children referred to as **associates** were recruited by young adult males within the network, mainly living in the same neighbourhood. Associate children's initial engagement was more often driven by attraction, access to alcohol and drugs, and status. However, once they were drawn in, associates' activities were governed by debt obligation and an environment of fear, intimidation and coercion. Associates appeared to be more disposable in terms of their value to the network.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The full Greentown report can be accessed at <https://ulir.ul.ie/handle/10344/5793>

# Methods

A detailed methodology can be found in the Appendix.

When interpreting the results, the reader should be aware that JLOs were asked to

1. focus on children who
  - a. were involved in more serious and prolific offending (may include burglary or drug for sale and supply related offences)
  - b. have co-offended with an adult
2. select a child who 'best represented' the children who featured in the Greentown study (see Appendix for description) and respond to a series of survey questions with that child in mind.

All findings are therefore based on JLOs' perceptions of the minority group of children who were involved in more serious and prolific offending.

## Research Questions

This report addresses the following specific research questions relating to the Greentown study (Redmond, 2015).

1. Is there evidence of children sharing the same general profile found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?
2. Is there evidence of children's involvement in criminal networks found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?
3. If so, is there evidence of hierarchical differences in such networks that are determined by membership of dominant families?





## National Prevalence Study

# Results

### 3.1 Demographics

In total, 89% of JLOs completed the survey; they represented every region in Ireland (see Figure 10, Appendix). Respondents were highly experienced Gardaí, with 82% having 16 or more years' service with An Garda Síochána. Average completion time for the survey was 35 minutes, indicating that JLOs took due care over the responses.

For each research question, we initially outline the relevant Greentown findings followed by the findings from the national prevalence survey.

### 3.2 Q1:

**Is there evidence of children sharing the same general profile found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?**

#### 3.2.1 Greentown findings

The Greentown study found that children who were involved in more serious and prolific crime were embedded in a local criminal network. The family backgrounds of children featured in the Greentown study were generally characterised by chaotic lifestyles, drugs, petty crime and mental health issues. The children were unsupervised late at night and had problematic school engagement. Children were initially attracted to the network by access to money, drugs and alcohol, but also by the perceived increase in status within their community that they associated with network involvement. They also probably gained a sense of power and belonging by being part of the criminal network.

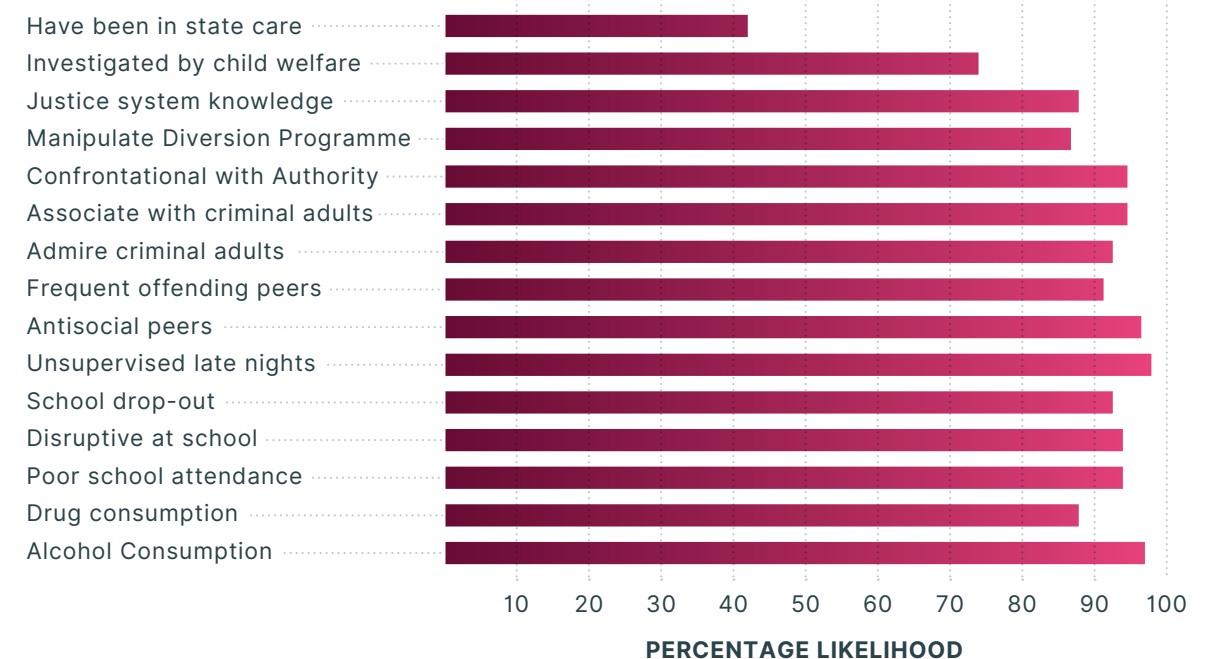
#### 3.2.2 Survey findings

- 86% of JLOs indicated that there were children involved in more serious and prolific crime in their area.
- JLOs in both rural and urban areas believed that children who fit the general profile of the children who featured in the Greentown study constituted 1 in 8 of the children involved in criminality within their area.
- When asked to focus on a child who 'best represents' children who featured in the Greentown study, JLOs predominantly focused on male children (94%) aged 16/17 years (71%).

#### 3.2.2.1 Risk factors

JLOs identified a number of the risk factors identified in the Greentown study as also present for children who were involved in more serious and prolific offending in their area. JLOs reported that the children who they characterised as 'best representing' either 'family member' or 'associate' children were extremely likely to be out unsupervised late at night (97%),<sup>3</sup> be involved in alcohol (97%) and drug (88%) consumption, and have problematic school engagement (94%).<sup>4</sup> Children were also extremely likely to be part of a problematic peer group (96%), be confrontational with authorities (93%), and look up to (92%) and associate with (90%) local adults engaged in criminal activity. Of JLOs, 88% and 87% respectively reported that the children were extremely likely to have a knowledge beyond their years about the way the justice system works, and have the ability to manipulate the diversion system for their own benefit. Of JLOs, 41% reported that the child had spent time in state care while 77% reported that the child had been the subject of child welfare investigations. (see Figure 1)

#### RISK FACTORS



**Figure 1:** The percentage likelihood that children have specific vulnerabilities and established risk factors in terms of offending

<sup>3</sup> That is, 97% of JLO's reported that a child whom they worked with, who was involved in more serious and prolific offending, and best represented the researcher's description of either a 'family member' or 'associate' child, was more likely than not to be out unsupervised late at night. This logic applies to all the findings presented for research questions 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> Averaged across three items (school drop-out, disruption and attendance).





### 3.2.2.2 Factors that attract children to crime

The JLOs described the children who were engaged in more serious and prolific offending as extremely likely to be attracted to this lifestyle in order to gain access to drugs/alcohol (91%) and money (95%). They were attracted to crime as a means of gaining respect (89%) and power (87%) within their community, and to gain other psycho-social needs such as a sense of belonging (85%) (see Figure 2).

#### FACTORS THAT ATTRACT CHILDREN TO CRIME

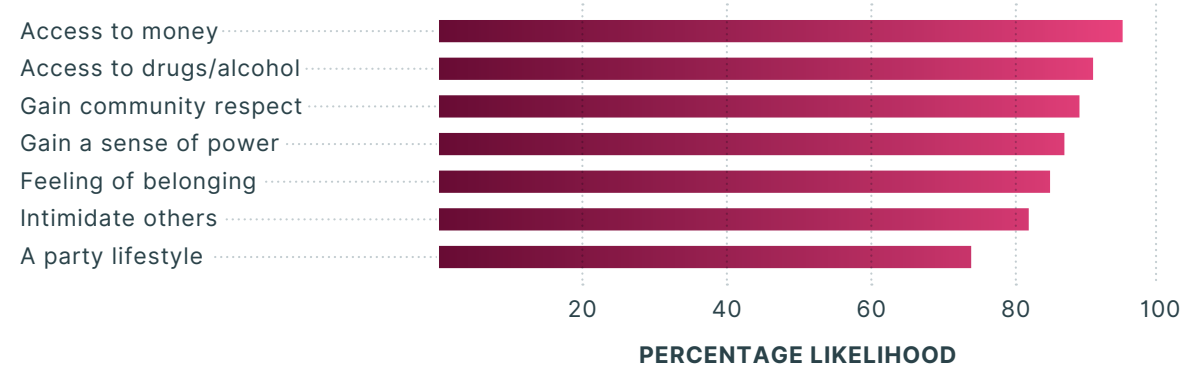


Figure 2: The percentage likelihood of factors that attract children to commit more serious and prolific offending

## 3.3 Q2:

Is there evidence of children's involvement in criminal networks found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?

### 3.3.1 Greentown findings

The Greentown study identified the presence of a local criminal network. Adults within the network recruited and groomed certain vulnerable local children to commit crime. An environment of fear, intimidation and coercion, cultivated by the network, made it extremely difficult for children to disengage from crime. The network had a significant influencing effect on this minority group of local children to commit abnormally high levels of crime.

In this section, we examine the evidence for three key identifiers that the Greentown study indicated as suggestive of the presence of a criminal network:

- a climate of fear, intimidation, and coercion, within the children's **neighbourhood**
- evidence of adult actors **grooming** children for crime
- children's reduced **capacity to disengage** from crime due to the effects of adult-child interactions.

## 3.3.2 Survey findings

### 3.3.2.1 Neighbourhood

JLOs reported that children involved in more serious and prolific offending were very likely to live in a lower socio-economic area (80%) with a high level of antisocial behaviour (79%). JLOs indicated that the children's neighbourhood was governed by a culture of fear, intimidation, and coercion. For example, the residents had a deep sense of fear of negative repercussions (80%) and JLOs believed that those involved in more serious criminal activity had the ability to fulfil threats of violence (84%) and manipulate the criminal justice system (81%). JLOs also believed that residents in the children's neighbourhood were unlikely to either report crime (72%) or act as a witness (73%) (see Figure 3).

#### NEIGHBOURHOOD

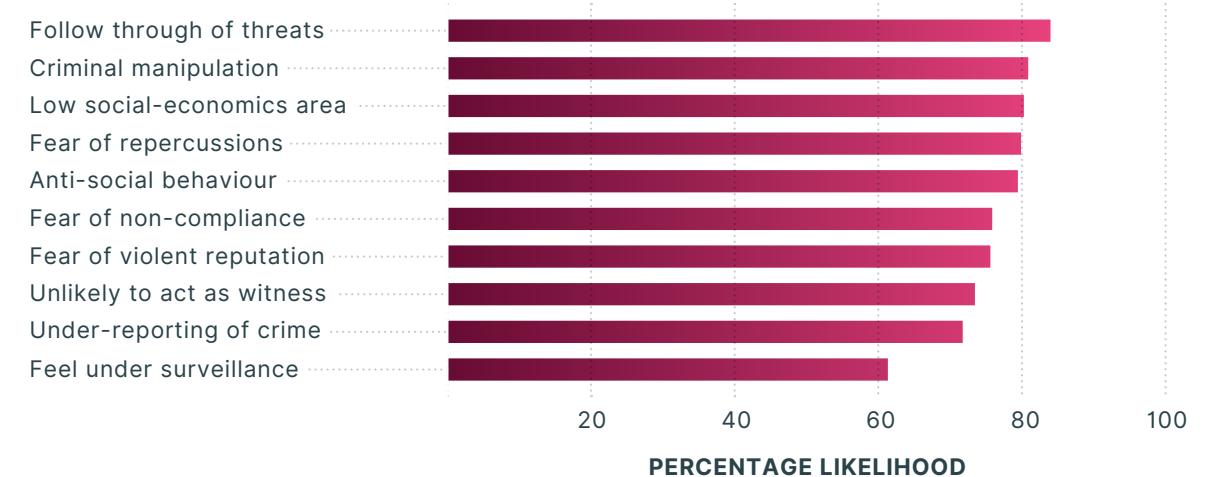


Figure 3: The percentage likelihood of consistency between the neighbourhoods described in Greentown and the neighbourhoods of the children in the current study

### 3.3.2.2 Grooming children for crime

JLOs indicated that the adults who had the most influence, in terms of crime, over the children were extremely likely to teach the child practical skills on how to commit crime (86%) and deal manipulatively with the judicial system (91%) and those in authority (86%), and to supply the child with drugs/alcohol (83%). Conversely, the adults were unlikely to love or cherish the child (43% likely) (see Figure 4).



#### GROOMING FOR CRIME

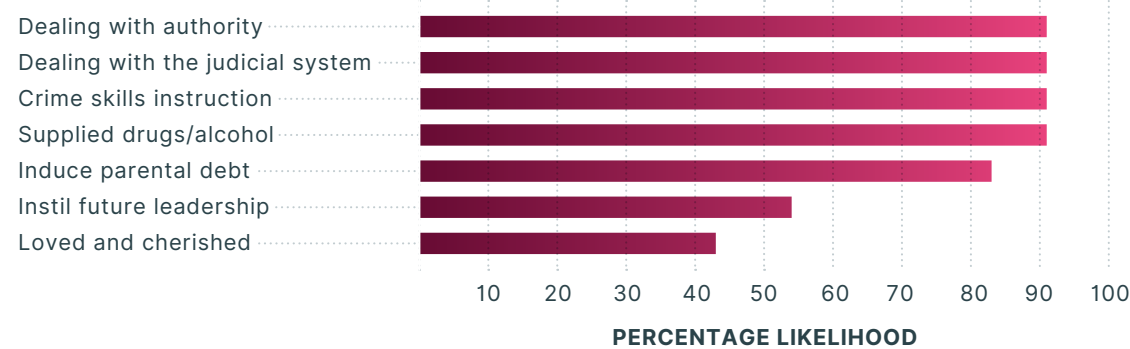


Figure 4: The percentage likelihood of how an adult may influence children in relation to committing more serious and prolific offending.

#### 3.3.2.3 Disengagement from crime

The JLOs' responses highlighted the difficulties surrounding the children's ability to disengage from crime. JLOs were of the view that children who were perceived as particularly useful to an influential adult (in terms of criminality) experienced greater difficulties in disengaging from crime. For example, 71% of the JLOs reported that if an influential adult (in the context of crime) trusted the child and had a strong bond with the child, this impacted negatively on the child's ability to disengage from crime.

It is also of note that from the JLO's perspective, the children's social circumstances also mitigated against disengagement; for example, having friends who are mostly involved in crime was considered a significant barrier (72%). The JLOs indicated that holding the children to account for their criminal activity (65%), providing an effective path away from crime (60%) and the children's own desire to disengage (54%) were the factors most likely to discourage them from offending (see Figure 5).

#### DISENGAGEMENT

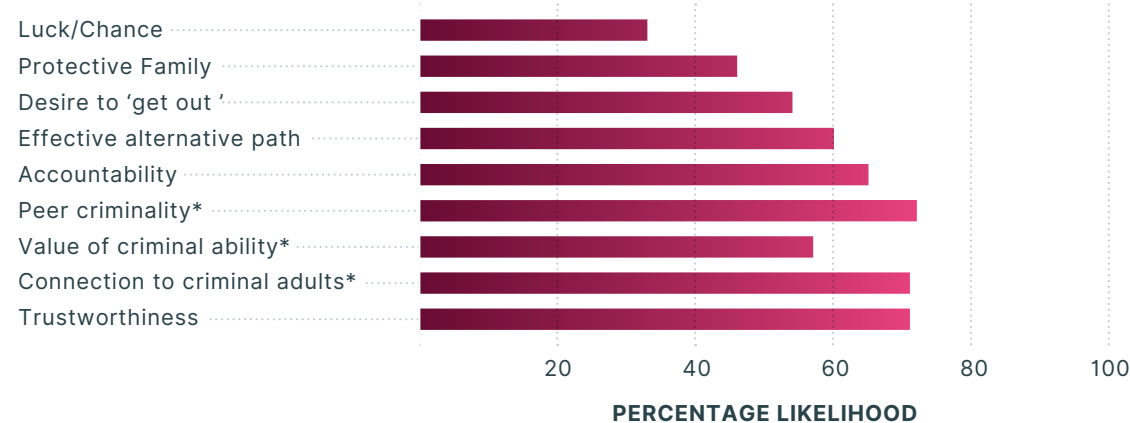


Figure 5: The percentage likelihood of factors that can influence children's decision to stop offending

\*To facilitate interpretation these negative items were reversed scored; that is, the factors are likely to act as a barrier to disengagement from crime.

### 3.4 Q3: Is there evidence of hierarchical differences in such networks that are determined by membership of dominant families?

#### 3.4.1 Greentown findings

The Greentown study identified that the criminal network centred on a core dominant criminal family. Children who were blood relatives of this family (family members) enjoyed higher status within the network than those who were not (associates), that is, a hierarchy existed between the two groups of children. The children described as family members also appeared at least overtly to be relatively sheltered and not presenting obvious child welfare concerns.<sup>6</sup> Children described as associates generally came from chaotic backgrounds and of lower status within the network.

#### 3.4.2 Survey findings

The findings, as previously presented, support the conclusion that the children involved in more serious and prolific offending may be embedded within criminal networks. In this section, we examine whether there is evidence of a difference in status between children who are family members and those who are associates.

##### 3.4.2.1 Risk and protective factors

Respondents indicated differences between the circumstances of children whom they characterised as family members and those characterised as associates. However, there were inherent contradictions in the findings in relation to a key Greentown finding, an elevated status by a virtue of a child's relationship to a dominant crime family. JLOs, in general, reported *increased risk and decreased protective factors* for the children who were characterised as family members when compared to children who were characterised as associates.<sup>7</sup> For example:

- JLOs indicated that children who are family members were twice as likely to have been involved in crime before the age of 12 years (92%) when compared to associates (42%) (see Figure 6).
- JLOs reported that children involved in more serious and prolific offending were extremely likely to be vulnerable and to have highly complex needs. Compounding this, children (those characterised as family members) were also **unlikely** to be characterised as having factors that may be protective. For example, having a positively influential father (family member: 13%, associate: 28%), to be embedded within a positive social network (family member: 20%, associate: 47%), or to actively participate in a community group (for example, sports or arts) (family member: 8%, associate: 30%) (see Figure 6).

<sup>6</sup> This refers to the relative lack of physical neglect (sufficient nourishment, clothing and pro-social activities): the researchers acknowledge that grooming/coaching children in crime and establishing pro-criminal norms could be construed as a form of emotional abuse/neglect.

<sup>7</sup> All percentages in this section relate specifically to the family member or associate group averages (as compared to previous sections where, due to similarities in responses, we combined two group averages (family member and associate)).



- Children who were characterised as family members were more likely than associates to engage in crime due to their desire to live up to the family's (criminal) reputation (family member: 97%, associate: 26%), to feel protected (family member: 77%, associate: 54%), or because they felt that they had no other choice (family member: 54%, associate: 30%) (see Figure 6).
- However, findings also supported the Greentown findings. For example, moving to a new location was approximately twice as likely to be an incentive to reduce offending for associates when compared to children described as a family member (family member: 34%, associate: 60%) (see Figure 6).

#### KEY DIFFERENCES

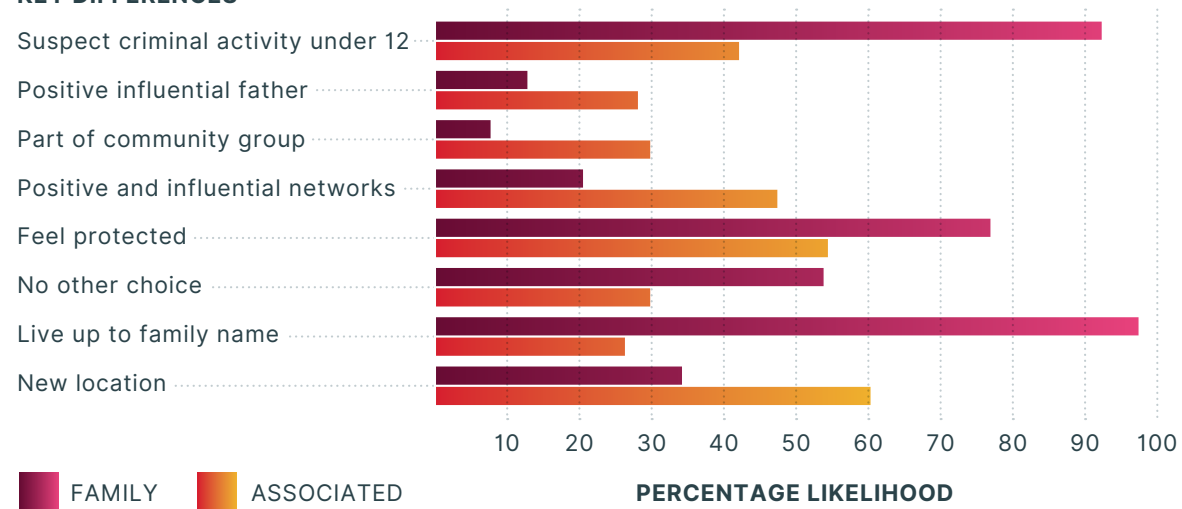


Figure 6: Key differentials between children whom JLOs characterised as either family members (dominant crime family) or associates

#### 3.4.2.2 Parental risk factors

There were some similarities between the Greentown findings and survey findings in relation to the children's *home life*.<sup>8</sup> For example, consistent with the study's definition of a child described as a family member, the parents of family members were extremely likely to have been involved in criminal activity (family member: 92%, associate: 37%). They were also more likely to actively encourage their children to engage in criminal activity (family member: 80%, associate: 42%).

Nevertheless, there were some notable differences to the Greentown findings. For example, JLOs reported that the parents of children characterised as a family member were more likely to have received a criminal conviction within the preceding six months (family member: 69%, associate: 17%), to have alcohol and drug dependency (family member: 77%, associate: 46%) and to be confrontational with authority (family member: 95%, associate: 44%) (see Figure 7).

#### PARENTAL CHARACTERISTICS

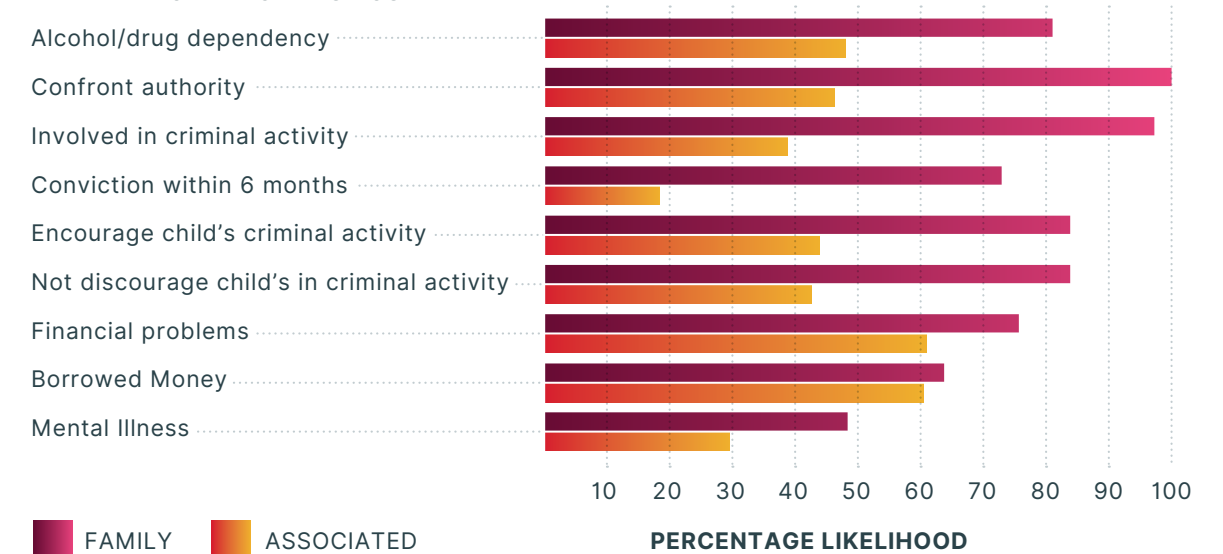


Figure 7: The percentage likelihood of parental characteristics for family members and associates

#### 3.4.2.3 Adult Influence in terms of criminality

JLOs perceived contingencies for adult influence in the children's life regarding criminality. For example:

- For children who were family members, influential adults were described as mainly male (87.5%), a family member (76%) and over 36 years old (55%). A majority (89%) described this adult as having a lot of or more influence over these children. This influential adult (predominantly their father) was more likely to instil within the child a sense of pride in the family's reputation (family member: 86%, associate: 51%), to threaten violence (family member: 81%, associate: 51%) and to use physical violence as a form of punishment on the child (family member: 75%, associate: 45%).
- Adults who groomed children characterised as associates were more likely to attempt to build a trusting relationship with these children (family member: 53%, associate: 79%) (see Figure 8).

<sup>8</sup> The survey design also included questions relating to older siblings. However, the findings were similar to the findings for parents, so to facilitate brevity they were not included in this report.



## National Prevalence Study

# Conclusion

In this final section, we interpret the findings for each research question in turn. We outline the strengths and limitations of the study and end with a summary of the findings.

## 4.1 National prevalence study findings and the research questions

### 4.1.1 Is there evidence of children sharing the same general profile found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?

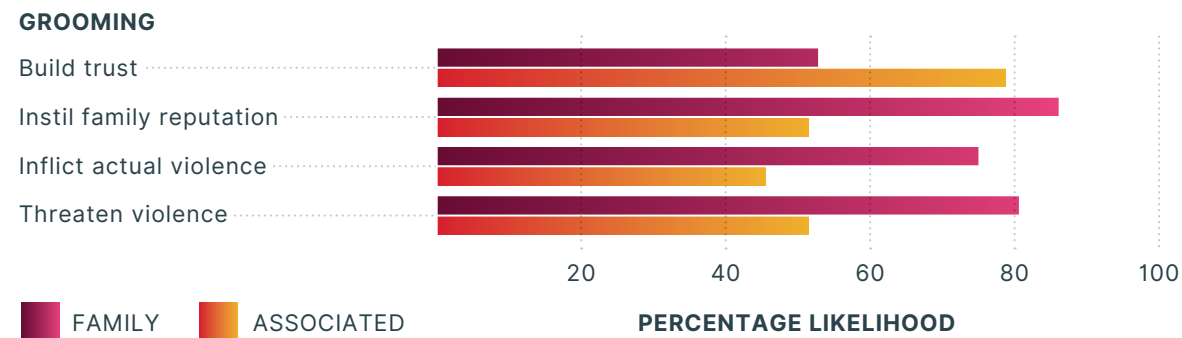
The findings suggest that there is evidence that children involved in more serious and prolific offending across Ireland share the same general profile as the children who featured in the Greentown study.

On average, children who are engaged in more serious and prolific offending make up 1 in 8 of the children in the Diversion Programme. These children are predominantly boys aged 16/17 years and live in both urban and rural areas throughout Ireland. These children present with multiple vulnerabilities and complexities. JLOs reported that the children may be attracted to crime due to lifestyle choices (access to drugs/alcohol and money). The findings also suggest that involvement in criminal networks may fulfil some of the children's basic psychosocial needs (for example, a sense of belonging, friendships and safety).

### 4.1.2 Is there evidence of children's involvement in criminal networks similar to those found in the Greentown study in localities across Ireland?

Findings indicate the presence of three key identifiers that suggest that some children may be engaged in criminal networks.

1. JLOs reported that the children grew up in environments comparable to the familial and neighbourhood profile of Greentown. Findings suggest that this occurred in rural as well as urban areas.
2. The survey findings suggest that local adults may groom a minority group of children for crime.
3. JLOs reported that the relationships forged with key adult actors make it extremely difficult for the identified children to disengage from their offending behaviour. Indeed, only half of the JLOs reported that a child engaged in more serious and prolific offending was capable of reducing offending behaviour by their own choice.



**Figure 8:** Qualitative difference in the percentage likelihood of the type of influence adults have on children in terms of criminality

JLOs reported younger adults who were not blood relatives of the child (specifically young men who lived in the same locality) as having the most influence over the children characterised as associates. Further, analysis<sup>9</sup> of the data suggests that it was these adults who were engaging in behaviours consistent with the concept of grooming the associate child for the purpose of crime. Such behaviour includes supplying the child with drugs/alcohol, inducing debt obligations and teaching the child practical skills on how to commit crime.

<sup>9</sup> Please contact the research team for further information. Full list of JLOs received from the Garda Analysis Unit (March 2017).



Taken together, these three indicators of engagement in criminal networks suggest that a significant proportion of the children involved in more serious and prolific offending are involved with criminal networks. However, while evidence was sought to indicate whether or not children were involved in behaviours suggesting network activity, the size and nature of any such networks was beyond the scope of the national prevalence study.

#### 4.1.3 Is there evidence of hierarchies in such networks that are determined by membership of dominant families?

Consistent with the Greentown findings, the adults most likely to groom children within the family were older family members (typically fathers) while the adults most likely to groom children characterised by JLOs as associates were younger male adults from the same location. However, evidence for the existence of hierarchies within the networks between children who are family members and associates was contradictory. There were some significant differences between the two groups of children. Generally, children characterised as family members tended to fare worse in terms of vulnerabilities and complexities due to their parents' lifestyle, as well as other factors that inhibited their ability to disengage from crime. The findings therefore suggest that having a family with a history of crime is an important risk factor for young people to engage in more serious and prolific offending.

### 4.2 Strengths and limitations

The design is cross-sectional in nature, a snapshot in time. This might have been mitigated by facilitating JLOs to focus on one child for whom they had expert and detailed knowledge of the child and their family. However, stronger evidence may be obtained from a further study that tracks individual children over a longer time- frame.

The survey rests on the expert knowledge of Juvenile Liaison Officers, who are specifically skilled in engaging with and diverting children away from crime. Their engagement with these children provides JLOs with rare professional insights into the children's worlds. However, because the study is based solely on JLOs' perception of a specific child's situation and predicament, it will inevitably be vulnerable to respondents' subjective and institutional bias. Collation of data from various sources including other professionals involved with the identified children and, more importantly, the child and their family themselves would strengthen the evidence.

While the survey design addressed prevalence of children who may be involved in criminal networks and sufficiently demonstrated two of the three initial research questions, it lacked the ability to capture any hierarchical difference between children whom JLOs characterised as family members or associates. This may mean that status as identified in the Greentown findings is confined to Greentown. However, the survey findings did not permit a more nuanced examination of potential power differences between the two groups of children. For example, JLOs indicated that the parents of children they characterised as a family child were four times more likely to have received a criminal conviction in the preceding six months than the parents of children characterised as an associate. The leaders in Greentown, although involved in criminal activity, evaded detection. One possible interpretation is that based on the

researchers' definition of 'dominant crime family' provided in the survey (see Appendix), JLOs included both low-status (lack of power) crime families (as in Redtown case study (Naughton, Redmond, OMeara Daly, 2020)) as well as high-status crime families (as in Greentown case study (Redmond, 2016)) in their characterisation of children as 'family members'. Consistent with this, an examination of the survey's qualitative data, together with the JLOs' descriptions of the children, their parents and siblings who were characterised as family members, suggests that respondents may have interpreted a dominant crime family as a family that is predominantly involved in crime as opposed to a powerful family at the core of a criminal network.

### 4.3 Summary

The findings from the current survey suggest that the Greentown findings **extend beyond Greentown**. Network involvement may resonate nationally for the minority of children involved in serious and prolific offending. Even though children involved in serious and prolific offending represent a small minority of children living in Ireland, their significantly disproportionate offending levels pose a considerable challenge.

A further paper (Redmond, in progress) outlines the policy implications that have emerged from a combination of the national prevalence survey, the Greentown study and two replication case studies (Bluetown and Redtown).

The national prevalence survey suggests that **up to 1,000 children** in Ireland who are involved in more serious and prolific offending may be caught up **in local crime networks**. The findings plausibly suggest malign, intrusive and coercive adult influence in the lives of children caught up in these criminal networks.





# References

O'Meara Daly, E., Redmond, S., Naughton, C. (2020) Lifting the Lid on Bluetown: A replication case study, which investigates the contribution of engagement in a local criminal network to young people's more serious and prolific offending patterns. <http://hdl.handle.net/10344/8643>

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Redmond, S. (2015) Examining the role of criminal networks in causing children to develop longer and more serious crime trajectories "Greentown" – a case study. (Doctoral Thesis).

Redmond, S. (2016) Lifting the lid on Greentown – Why we should be concerned about the influence criminal networks have on children's offending behaviour in Ireland [https://ulir.ul.ie/bitstream/handle/10344/5793/Redmond\\_report.pdf?sequence=2](https://ulir.ul.ie/bitstream/handle/10344/5793/Redmond_report.pdf?sequence=2)

# Appendix

## Methodology

In this section we overview the methodology used to ensure the rigour and robustness of the findings. We outline the design, sampling rationale, survey completion, and analysis of the data.

## Survey design

- The survey design was based on the Greentown study (2015) findings.
- The findings from the Greentown study were systematically coded and a flowchart was developed to reflect both groups (family members and associates) of children's journey within the Greentown criminal network (see Figure 9).

### Framework for survey design based an original Greentown Findings

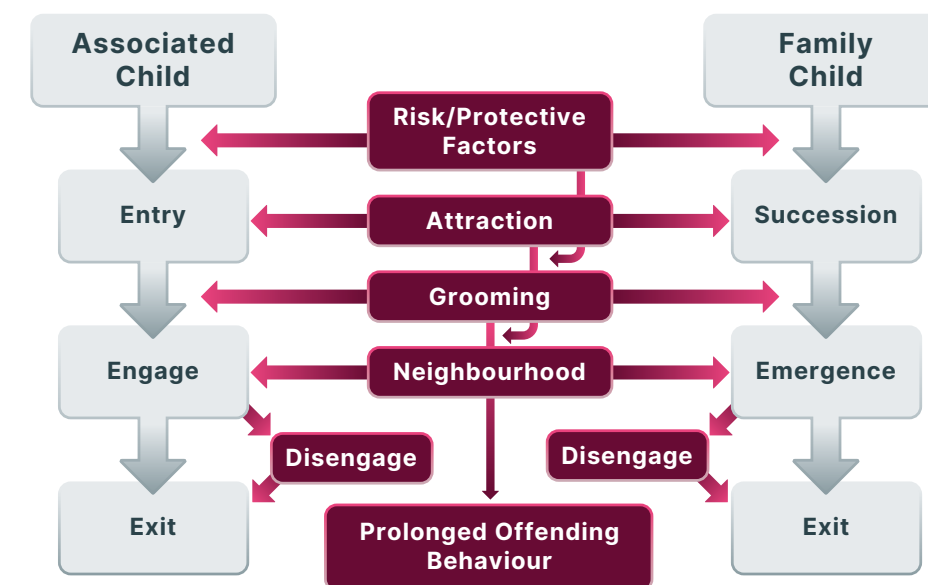


Figure 9: Flowchart of the Greentown findings as they related to survey design





## Sampling rationale

The survey was distributed online via Qualtrics software to 107 JLOs.<sup>10</sup>

JLOs were considered an appropriate group from which to investigate the generalisability of the Greentown findings. JLOs are stationed throughout Ireland and support the operation of the Diversion Office, which reviews the vast majority of youth justice cases. They therefore have in-depth and specialist knowledge of children involved in offending behaviour in their local area.

## Survey completion

JLOs were provided with a description of the children of interest to the study as follows.

### Children of Interest to this research study

This survey asks you about your own experiences and knowledge of any children involved in serious crime in your area. You have received an email from the Garda Analyst with names of children in your area who have been detected for burglary offences or drugs for sale and supply. We have suggested these offence categories because from our experience they seem to be associated with children in very complex situations. However, importantly, we do not want to restrict you to the named individuals on this list; they are simply examples. You may think of other children and other types of behaviour that better describe this group. The important thing is that we are talking about a small group of children involved in very serious offending.

The Greentown findings suggested that there were two reasonably distinct groups of children who co-offended with adults. One group consisted of children who were related to a local dominant crime family. In the research, these are referred to as family members. The other group consisted of children who were referred to as associate children. These children co-offended with adults but were not related to a dominant crime family.

JLOs who indicated that they were aware of children involved in more serious offending<sup>11</sup> within their own local area progressed with the survey and answered separate but identical blocks of questions relating to both groups of children (family members and associates) as follows.

### Initial screening questions

In your experience have any of the children whom you have identified collaborated with any adult(s) in criminal activity?

Are these Greentown findings in any way relevant to the children that you have identified as co-offending with adults?

## Estimate of children that may be caught up in criminal networks

JLOs were asked

Of all the children that you have worked with over the last 3 years using the slider below, can you estimate what percentage of the total children/young people that you have either worked with or are aware of fit the description described above?

On average JLOs estimated that 1 in 8 of the young people fit the description. Given that 9,451 children were referred to the Garda Youth Diversion system,<sup>12</sup> we estimate that this equates to approximately 1,000 children in Ireland.

## Main findings

JLOs were then asked to focus on a child within their area who best represents a child that fits the description of a family member as follows.

In your experience, are any of the children whom you have identified immediate family members of what might be considered a dominant crime family?

Of the children you have identified as belonging to a dominant crime family, we would like you to select one child who best represents this group. We would like you to refer to the child you have selected as 'Alex'. This is intended to help keep your focus for the next set of questions.

JLOs responded on a Likert scale (1: extremely unlikely, to 6: extremely likely) to each subsequent survey question, all of which specifically related to the Greentown findings and were grouped in blocks under the following categories:

1. risk and protective factors
2. the children's attraction to engage in more serious and prolific offending
3. grooming for criminal activity by adults
4. the children's neighbourhoods
5. children's ability to disengage from offending.

Next JLOs were asked to focus on a child within their area who best represents a child that fits the description of an associate, as follows.

In the next section we ask you to SWITCH from thinking about a child that is an immediate family member to thinking about another child that also collaborates with an adult(s) in criminal activity but who is NOT a member of a dominant crime family.

Of the children you identified as co-offending with an adult and who are not an immediate family member of a dominant crime family, we would like you to select one child who you feel best represents this group. We would like you to refer to this child you have selected as 'Jo'. This is intended to help keep your focus for the next set of questions.

<sup>10</sup> Full list of JLOs received from the Garda Analysis Unit (March 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Reflecting the description of the children in the Greentown study.

<sup>12</sup> Annual Report of the Committee Appointed to Monitor the Effectiveness of the Diversion Programme, 2017. [http://www.iyjs.ie/en/IYJS/2017%20Annual%20Report%20of%20Monitoring%20Committee%20\(English\).pdf/Files/2017%20Annual%20Report%20of%20Monitoring%20Committee%20\(English\).pdf](http://www.iyjs.ie/en/IYJS/2017%20Annual%20Report%20of%20Monitoring%20Committee%20(English).pdf/Files/2017%20Annual%20Report%20of%20Monitoring%20Committee%20(English).pdf)



As above, JLOs responded on a Likert scale (1: extremely unlikely, to 6: extremely likely) to each subsequent survey question, all of which specifically related to the Greentown findings and were grouped in blocks under the following categories:

1. risk and protective factors
2. the children's attraction to engage in more serious and prolific offending
3. grooming for criminal activity by adults
4. the children's neighbourhoods
5. children's ability to disengage from offending.

JLOs were also requested to focus on an adult who was most influential to that child, regarding the child's criminal activity, when responding to questions about grooming.

## Data analysis

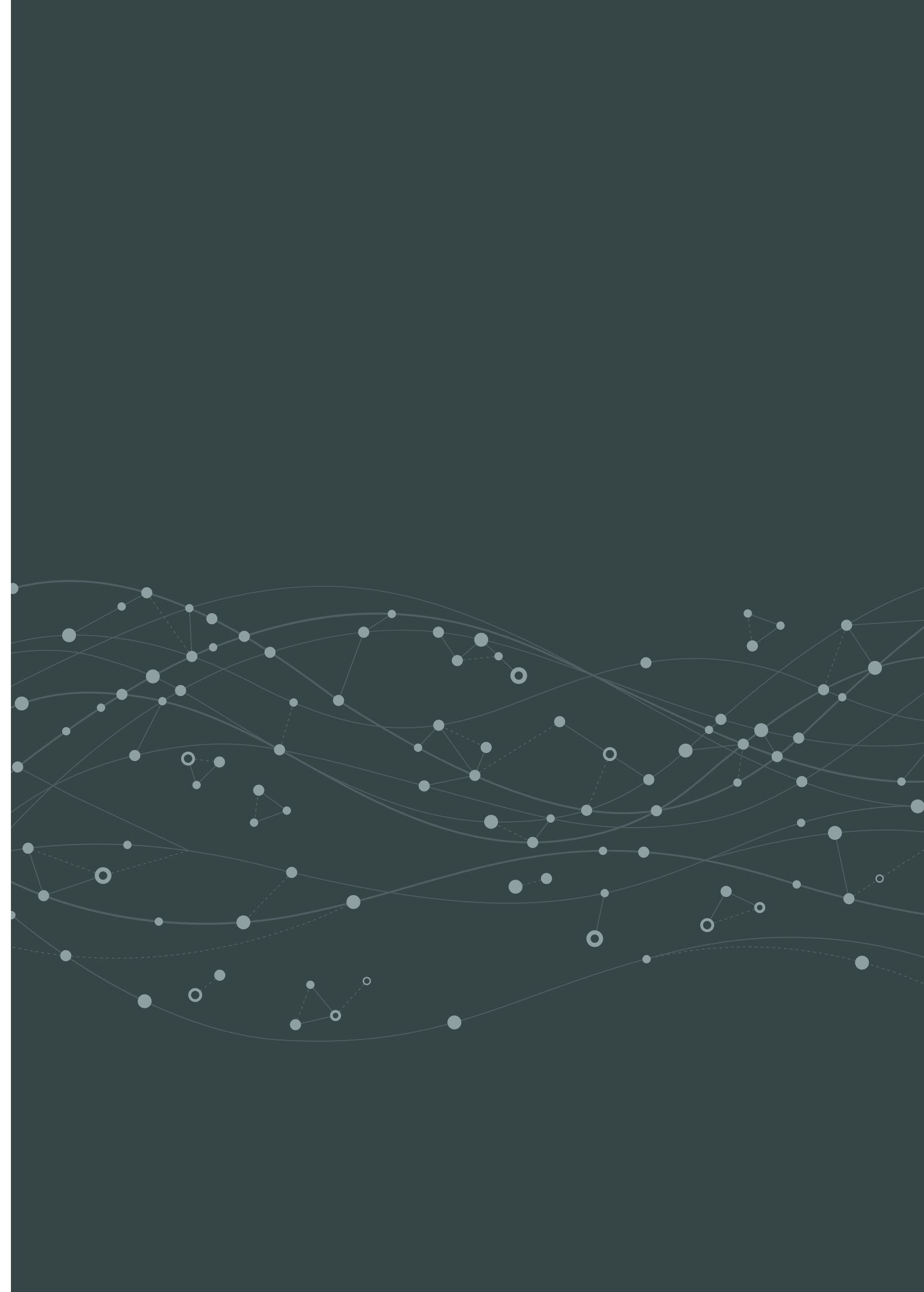
The data were analysed using IBM SPSS statistical software, version 22. Scores were dichotomised; that is, responses 1 to 3 were coded as unlikely, responses 4 to 6 were coded as likely.

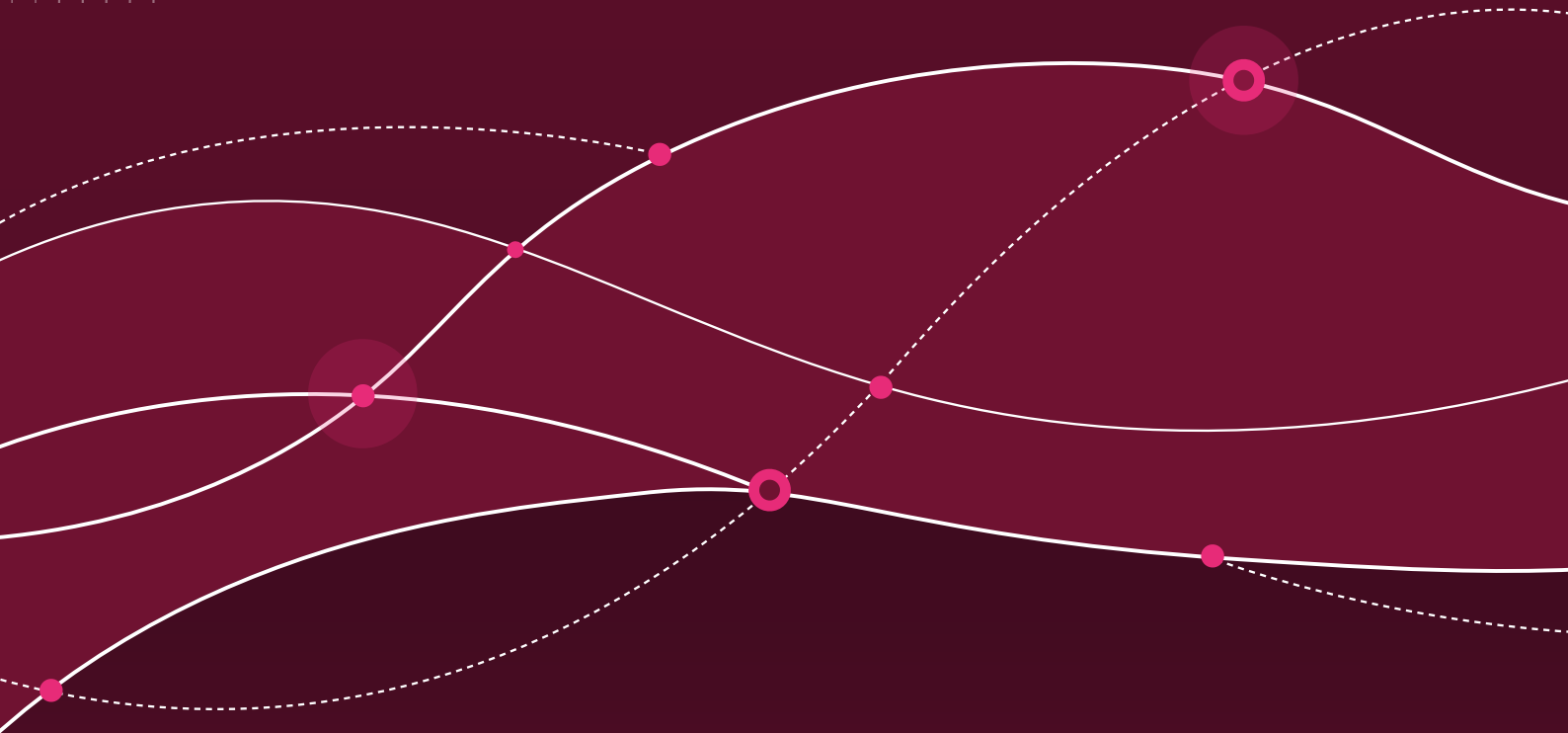
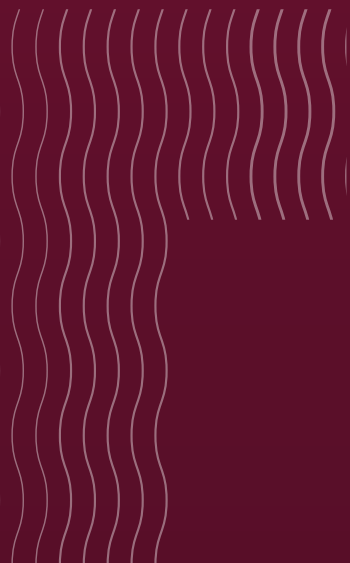
For each question, separate averages of percentage likelihood were calculated for the two groups of children (family members and associates). Where values for the two groups were similar, an average across both groups was calculated and presented (Figures 1 to 5). However, where there were substantial differences, the individual averages for both groups were presented (Figures 6 to 8).

For further information on the methodology please contact the researcher.



Figure 10: The national distribution of the 93 respondents





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