

Citizenship: young people's perspectives

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Citizenship: young people's perspectives

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Introduction

This report presents the findings and key practice and policy implications from two research studies undertaken with children and young people living in areas of high crime and high deprivation. The studies were commissioned by the Home Office to improve our understandings of children living in these areas: one to explore children's understanding of key aspects of citizenship, and the other to examine the perceptions of the

community held by a range of professionals and resident adults and children living and working in On Track areas. Although undertaken and reported as separate studies, there was some overlap in the findings and their practice and policy implications in respect of citizenship, which have been drawn together for this Development and Practice Report.

The studies

The two research projects were designed to complement the National Evaluation of 'On Track', which is a long-term national experimental project introduced as part of the Home Office Crime Reduction Programme. The project aims to prevent crime and anti-social behaviour by children and young people by the comprehensive provision of multiple interventions for children and families, with an emphasis on "at risk" children between four and 12 years of age. The University of Sheffield was commissioned to undertake the first phase of the National Evaluation of the programme in its 24 small area locations across England and Wales. The two studies reported here were undertaken in the early months of 2002 in a sample of On Track project areas by the University of Sheffield.¹

In total, 11 On Track areas across the country were included in the research. They varied in terms of their heterogeneity, residential mobility, demographic composition and the type of area, though all have high deprivation. These were qualitative exploratory studies

employing a range of visual and activity based techniques that took place in local schools, youth clubs, youth inclusion programmes, On Track interventions and community groups. The exercises and activities developed for this research were designed to be appropriate for the topic and age range of participants.

Children of all ages enthusiastically contributed to this research and were appreciative of the opportunity to discuss the issues and tell us their views: 63 focus groups were undertaken in 11 different areas involving 400 children aged between five and 15.

1. Hine, J (2004) *Children and Citizenship* RDS Online Report OLR08/04, Home Office: London and Camina, M (2004) *Understanding and Engaging Deprived Communities*, RDS Online Report OLR07/04, Home Office: London.

Home Office Development and Practice Reports draw out from research the messages for practice development, implementation and operation. They are intended as guidance for practitioners in specific fields. The recommendations explain how and why changes could be made, based on the findings from research, which would lead to better practice.

Citizenship

This report is organised according to the three themes of citizenship²:

- social and moral responsibility
- political literacy
- community involvement.

The results reinforce the interconnectedness of these three themes and highlight the ways in which addressing issues in one realm can have a knock-on effect in others. They also highlight how important it is to take account of the views of children and young people. However, it is not sufficient just to invite their views – to avoid young people becoming cynical about these processes and apathetic they must include dialogue and provide feedback so that the children understand the role their input has played and the reasoning behind decisions.

The introduction of citizenship studies to the national curriculum for secondary schools establishes its importance and will enhance children's appreciation of citizenship issues. However, in order to become fully aware of the meanings and implications of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, children need to have this teaching complemented by practical example and experience. Example should come from the practitioners around them and the experience from the structure and the organisation of the school and their local community. Schools have a responsibility to ensure that children appreciate their civil rights and responsibilities, and that the example from the school encourages them to be fully active citizens as they become older. It is not sufficient, however, to teach children about citizenship – they need the opportunity to experience and practice it. Truly participative processes in schools, within which children feel they are

listened to and the teachers lead by example, will more effectively equip children for active citizenship than simply lessons in the classroom. Schools are a crucially important forum for providing such experience and learning.

Some locally specific issues emerged in the course of the work, and the report on understanding communities particularly highlights that the professional and practitioner views of the problems and needs of an area can be different to those of the residents, and that the views of children and young people can be different to those of adult residents. Each perspective has some validity, and it is important for workers in local areas to be aware of, and take account of, these alternative views.

The aspects of local life that the children and young people identify as important are often those that have low priority on political agendas and are frequently the targets for cost cutting exercises. This work researching children's views demonstrates the wide ranging impact that such decisions can have on children in deprived areas, and the knock-on effect that this can have for their attitudes and aspirations and ultimately for their future role as active and law abiding citizens. Paradoxically, the reinvestment in these relatively low cost resources could have considerable positive and cost saving effects, though not necessarily for the budget making the investment. A holistic cross-departmental approach (both governmental and local authority) is essential to address the problems apparent in deprived neighbourhoods such as those involved in this research.

2. Crick, B (1998) *Education for Citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools: Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship*, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

Social and moral responsibility

The aim of this aspect of the research was to explore children and young people's perceptions of rules, their understandings of right and wrong, and their involvement in decisions that affect them. Exercises and discussion drew out their experience and understanding of rules in different contexts; their ability to shape and negotiate those rules; reasons for compliance; their views about right and wrong and responses to wrong doing.

It was discovered that:

- Children and young people of all ages are very aware of the rules that govern their lives and feel that most of the rules they have to comply with are necessary and ultimately beneficial.
- They have a sophisticated understanding of the reasons for rules and their application in different contexts.
- They are quick to spot unfairness in the application of rules, and particularly resent rules which they feel are unfairly applied to children but not to adults.
- Children and young people in this research understand the difference between right and wrong, but the positioning of the boundary changes with age.
- Most children and young people consider the perspective of the victim and are concerned that

people who commit criminal acts deliver some kind of restitution.

- Most children feel they do not have enough say in the rules to which they are subject, especially in the school environment. They would appreciate more opportunities to be involved, but are cynical of schemes where they feel their involvement is tokenistic.

Experience and understanding of rules

Rules that governed their school and home lives were readily identified. The children and young people were keenly aware of school rules, the reasons behind them, and the penalties for disobedience. Even if the rules were felt to be restrictive, the children generally felt that most of the rules that they had to comply with were necessary and ultimately beneficial. A wide range of reasons for school rules were described including:

- to teach children
- for the benefit of the school
- safety (e.g. crossing the road)
- appearance (e.g. no chewing gum)
- concern for others/respect for other people's property
- to avoid arguments
- to give a sense of identity (e.g. school uniform)
- future benefit (e.g. homework).

When discussing particular rules with which they disagreed, they were also able to offer alternative arguments as to why the rule should be changed, or include some flexibility: *"I disagree with the rule that does not allow us to play on grass. There's two rules, there's two: we would be allowed to play on the grass when it's dry and we wouldn't if it's muddy"* (10 yr. old).

Complying with rules

The children and young people interviewed demonstrated sophisticated reasoning in relation to compliance with rules. They did not comply blindly and without thought. In particular they often referred to a consideration of the circumstances when making a decision, so for instance "no fighting" would be seen to apply differently to fighting with a fellow pupil in the school playground and fighting with a sibling at home.

A number of issues were weighed up when deciding whether or not to obey a rule. School rules were prioritised in terms of their importance, and those regarded as less important (for example, tucking in a school shirt) were more likely to be flouted. But even here context was important, and they were more likely to see this rule as relevant when they were in uniform outside the school.

The children and young people discussed a number of factors that they might consider when weighing up whether or not to comply with a rule. They described complying with rules generally because they felt it was the right thing to do, but also described occasions when their compliance with a rule was driven by the promise of reward, respect for the person enforcing the rule, or fear of the consequences of non-compliance. They demonstrated an understanding of the value of reciprocity: *"If I do things for my mother like tidy my room, turn off the alarm clock and turn on the heating in the morning...and I wake her up...she lets me stay up late and watch TV"* (10 yr. old).

Children and young people of all ages could speculate about the possible consequences of breaking various types of rules, and considered whether or not non-compliance would result in punishment, or would make them feel guilty or bad. They recognised the fact that the severity of punishment could vary depending on the rule broken, and the number of times they may have broken that particular rule: *"...no swearing in our school is as strict as anything. If you get caught swearing you do like an hour's detention or something like that"* (8 yr. old).

Some children suggested that sometimes non-compliance was unintentional, or even unavoidable, and others talked about the breaking of certain rules being fun, or impressing friends and peers. Significantly, one reason for non-compliance with rules was their non-enforcement, as this suggests the rule is not important.

Fairness and the role of adults

Children were quick to identify examples of perceived unfairness, especially when they felt that rules were not being applied fairly. Children often raised the point that apparently different standards were expected of them and of teachers within the school environment, and this they felt was unfair. Examples given were teachers shouting at pupils when there was a school rule about not shouting, and teachers being able to wear any type of dress when pupils were restricted to particular types and colours of clothing.

Teachers who were seen to flout school rules were quickly spotted, especially if they "got away with it", and this in turn undermined respect for rules and any faith that the children may have had in the power of the school to uphold school rules. One example given was teachers being seen smoking in school buildings when there was a rule about not doing so. It is important to remember that children on the whole respect their teachers and look to them for illustration about appropriate ways of behaving. Such bad examples can lead to lack of trust in the teachers

in their schools, and children do resent the “do as I say not as I do” attitude of some adults. Pro-social modelling – leading by example – is an approach being used in a variety of environments, and teachers and staff in schools could usefully apply it.

Many children felt that the teachers did not listen to them or respect their opinions, and they were particularly unhappy when things that were important to them were trivialised by a teacher “*She [teacher] promised to change it last year – but she didn't*” (11 yr. old). The researchers were even given examples of health and safety issues that were raised by children but apparently ignored. An important aspect of citizenship is that individuals should know their rights and their responsibilities and have the means to resolve issues about them. Few of the children involved in this research were given opportunity to do this. Schools can and should provide children and young people with an opportunity to actively participate in meaningful discussion, negotiation and decision making.

Right and wrong

Established literature suggests that children go through a clear series of stages in their moral development and understandings of right and wrong. This work suggests that the picture is not so linear or straightforward. As well as age and level of maturity, social forces such as belonging to different communities, cultural and racial diversity and gender differences, influence children's moral thinking and development.

The children and young people, when asked to reflect upon some “scenarios”, clearly understood issues of right and wrong, but came up with arguments about degrees of “wrongness”. For example, the younger children were sure that stealing any item was wrong, even a packet of crisps. The older groups, however, were not so sure, and some even approved of stealing minor items of little value. However, when the item involved was more valuable (such as stealing a CD player) there was general disapproval across all ages.

Justice

Children become much clearer about the consequences of breaking the law as they become older, but even young children volunteered an awareness of the principles of restoration and reparation. In focus group discussions the children and young people, when asked about right and

wrong, often showed empathy for the victim and were concerned for the effect on others. Whilst disapproving of a friend who had stolen something from a shop in the scenario, they were often concerned about why they had done it. Some said they would make reparation on behalf of their friend, but most suggested that they would try to persuade their friend to take restorative action: “*If I seen him stealing I would go over to them and tell them to go back into the shop and give the crisps back*” (8 yr. old).

Key lessons for practitioners

- Children and young people of all ages accept the need for rules, but prioritise them according to their perceived importance. They have sophisticated understandings of rules, and their compliance is related to a range of factors that can vary with age, but even at a young age their understandings should not be underestimated.
- Children are more likely to comply with rules when they understand the reasons for them and the consequences of non-compliance. Practitioners should take the time to ensure that the children they work with have this understanding.
- Children will ignore rules that they see are not enforced. Certainty, consistency and fairness are important principles to apply in such enforcement.
- Children are quick to spot unfairness, especially where they feel that rules are not being applied reasonably. Children appreciate seeing that adults are applying rules fairly, and importantly that they lead by example and comply with those rules too. Pro-social modelling techniques (i.e. treating children in ways that one would want them to treat others) can be used as an effective tool by all staff in the school environment.
- Even at a young age children have an understanding of moral and justice questions and are interested in discussing these issues and expanding their understandings. Schools should create opportunities for children to debate these issues.
- Children have the capacity to understand democratic principles and their development as citizens requires them to have the opportunity to experience democracy as well as be taught about it. Teachers and adults in schools should respect children and listen to what they say, as things apparently trivial to the adult can be very important to the child.

Political literacy

Political literacy is more than knowing about politics and politicians: it relates to *“pupils learning about how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values”*. (Crick, 1998, p. 13). Government is committed to ensuring that children and young people’s voices are heard and has set out core principles for government departments to follow.

This aspect of citizenship was explored through children’s discussion of: (i) their knowledge of and interest in local and national politics; (ii) their sources of information; (iii) their opportunities to participate in school decision making. Overall, it was found that:

- Children and young people of all ages are interested in current affairs, with TV, newspapers and radio all being cited as sources of information.
- Cynicism and lack of trust in formal politics and politicians is apparent, even at a young age, which could lead to apathy as they become old enough to vote.
- There were some positive reports of opportunities to be part of the rule making process in schools, but many children and young people at primary and secondary school are sceptical of school councils currently in place at their schools, and especially suspicious of tokenism within them. School councils and other means of fostering pupils’ engagement in decision making are seen to be valuable, but only when their participation is genuine.
- Children and young people of all ages become frustrated when they feel that adults, particularly teachers, have not listened to or respected their views and ideas.

Current affairs and politics: knowledge and attitudes

Young people in the focus group discussions reported learning about current affairs from a range of sources that included the radio and newspapers. Television was the most popular way of learning about news stories: *“I like watching the news cos ... I like to know what’s going on cos I’m a bit nosey me”* (9 yr. old), though some children preferred newspapers or radio, with evidence that they are discerning consumers. For instance, it was suggested that television was more truthful: *“Television doesn’t lie. Newspapers sometimes actually add on their little bits to make it like...like more interesting so people read it”* (11 yr. old), but that radio was more interesting: *“They tell you what happens everywhere – not just here but in the world”* (10 yr. old).

Interest in news stories does not extend to an interest in the political process, as found in other recent research (e.g. CYPV, 2002).³ The young people demonstrated some understanding of differences between local and national processes and could relate to issues that impacted on their own lives, such as visits of politicians, debates about traveller sites, and petitions about parks. However, lack of trust in the political system was apparent from a young age and the children were particularly cynical about politicians and were wary of their effectiveness and motivation, *“...they don’t do anything about it. They just want to make people feel ...happy that the government is going to do something ...”* (9 yr. old).

Pupil involvement in school decisions and rules

Few of the children felt they had any real say at school, but did generally concede they could influence classroom rules more easily than school rules, though even here most were hesitant to question the rules. A few schools had participatory systems to encourage pupils to become involved in decisions made at school. Children who had positive experiences of such schemes were enthusiastic about the opportunity to contribute to making *“the right decisions”*, reporting that *“they help the school environment get better”* (9 yr. old).

However, there were more examples of less positive experiences, where children detected tokenism within the schemes and were sceptical of them: *“We have a school council, but no one wants to be part of it cos nothing gets done...”* (11 yr. old). Several other studies⁴ have reported similar findings, that children contribute to such schemes only where they feel their input is valued and respected by the teachers in the school. They do not expect all of their ideas and comments to be acted upon, but do expect them to be heard and respected.

The biggest complaint by the children about the school environment by far was that they feel they are not listened to. Many of the children and young people claimed that teachers were unwilling to take their concerns seriously, claiming that *“we explain to them [the teachers] but they don’t listen”* (8 yr. old). In such situations the children felt undervalued and misunderstood.

3. CYPV (2002) *Young People and Politics: A report on the Yvote?/Ynot? Project* by the Children and Young People’s Unit.

4. Bickmore, K (2001) *Student Conflict Resolution, Power ‘Sharing’ in Schools and Citizenship Education*, Curriculum Enquiry 31:2 (The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) and Morrow, V (2001) *Networks and Neighbourhoods: Children and Young People’s Perspectives*, London: Health Development Agency.

Key lessons for practitioners

- Children and young people have a greater interest in politics and current affairs than is commonly thought, even at a young age. Schools should provide opportunities to discuss topical issues in a constructive environment that encourages pupils to voice their opinions and raise questions in a mutually respectful atmosphere.
- Children and young people of all ages are highly cynical of formal politics and of politicians. This cynicism is often fuelled by a lack of understanding or knowledge. The introduction of citizenship into the curriculum, taught in an interesting and participative way, will improve this understanding, and encourage future participation in the electoral process.
- Aspects of the citizenship curriculum should be introduced in primary school to harness and stimulate early interest that can be carried through into the secondary school. Too often children have already become apathetic about such issues during their primary school years.
- Children and young people of all ages want to be involved in decision making in schools, but are quick to detect and resent tokenism. Schools should evaluate existing schemes to find out how pupils experience them. Schools without such schemes should introduce them even if in a limited way. All such schemes should be genuinely participatory, providing feedback to pupils about what ideas have been considered and the reasoning behind decisions.
- One of children's biggest complaints was of not being listened to, and their discussions suggest that they often have no legitimate avenue for questions or suggestions. In situations where there is neither formal nor informal mechanism for children's concerns to be voiced and discussed it is more likely that they will resort to less acceptable ways of letting their views be known. Teaching negotiation skills to children could reduce their need to argue their point aggressively in order to be heard, and simultaneously increase the likelihood that they would feel valued and understood.

Community perspectives and involvement

*"Voluntary service and community involvement are necessary conditions of civil society and democracy"*⁵ and important attributes of a good citizen. Such involvement presupposes a commitment to the neighbourhood and the people in it. The local community and neighbourhood provide opportunities and restrictions for children's development of social and moral responsibility and their understandings of right and wrong. Children and young people were asked to talk about their community and neighbourhood (including crime and safety in the area) and about the availability of recreational activities and voluntary services, and their participation in them.

- The findings from this work highlight the ways in which deprivation and social disorder impact upon the lives of children, limiting their opportunities for healthy development.
- Young people described their communities in terms of both people and place, recognising the social and spatial dimensions of their neighbourhoods.
- Diversity of the population was frequently a key feature in these deprived neighbourhoods.
- Children and young people are generally positive about the areas in which they live, usually highlighting the good points before the bad. Whilst often accepting of their lot, they become

more critical as they become older, and from as young as eight made suggestions about how the neighbourhood could be made better for them.

- People, particularly the friendliness of neighbours, was the most often reported positive aspect of the neighbourhood.
- Lack of facilities is the most frequently cited complaint: lack of safe places to play from the younger children, and lack of things to do from the older young people.

Community, facilities and safety

Shared spaces and meeting points are needed to bring people together, initially on the basis of casual or routine contact.⁶ At the same time such spaces provide opportunity for crime and disorder and may not be safe for children and young people. Examples of such places are shops, leisure facilities and parks, all of which were mentioned by children of all ages. They were discussed as desirable places to go, but as places where risks were present which limited their use of those facilities. The children's

5. Crick, B (1998) *Education for Citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools: Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship*, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.
6. Thomas, D (1991) *Community Development at Work: A case of obscurity in accomplishment*, London: Community Development Foundation.

discussions highlighted their detailed but often different understandings of the geography of an area. The layout of housing in an area impacted upon how they felt about it: where was safe or unsafe and where they were allowed to play or “hang out” undisturbed by adults. Paradoxically places that were well lit and felt to be safe were often the places where adults would discourage them from being because they were said to be a nuisance.

A major concern to children of all ages was litter – of all sorts. Simple litter on the streets, such as sweet and cigarette wrappings, was disliked, and linked to shortages of litter bins. Rubbish was sometimes more problematic, for instance when it attracted rats (sightings of which were described in several locations), or when local shopkeepers and food outlets burned their rubbish in the streets rather than pay for the local authority to take it away. Both examples demonstrate the additional risks that rubbish can pose for both children and adults. “Large” litter was complained about by many children, who gave examples of bulky items such as sofas and white goods being disposed of in local open spaces and not cleared away. These often became the focus for vandalism and fires. Burned out cars were also given as an example here, showing how crime can directly impinge upon the children’s environment. Other examples of the litter of crime were offered by children as examples of reasons they could not safely play in local spaces, for instance syringes and other drug taking equipment were often linked to local parks: *“It’s bad cos there is a park where bad people dispose syringes, cigarettes and lighters”* (10 yr. old). The fact that litter and rubbish was not dealt with by adults and those in authority was seen as a signal that children’s needs were not important.

Another limiting feature of the places where children and young people might like to congregate was anti-social and criminal behaviour. In every location where this research was conducted the children, particularly the younger ones, talked about the local teenagers who picked on them or created a nuisance, so as to have the effect of teenagers controlling the limited open space that was available. *“If you try to play, like the big kids will come along and like nick your football”* (11 yr. old). Sometimes these teenagers were described as bad, but many younger children explained that older children did these things because there was nothing else for them to do. This was certainly reflected in the discussions with older children who talked about lack of activities, especially during the winter months when it was dark and cold and there was nowhere for them to go. Teenagers presented a view of being “trapped” in a place where there was little for them to do, few safe places to meet with friends, and a community of adults who did not like them. They did not have the resources available to them to go elsewhere.

Descriptions of serious disorder and criminal activity by both teenagers and adults were given, many of which were witnessed at first hand by the children, including the use of drugs and guns. There is a danger that such familiarity can lead to acceptance of these behaviours. The children also described how parents’ attempts to keep them safe restricted their movements, and thus their ability to engage with other people in their community: *“I’m only allowed there with big people”* (9 yr. old).

Social diversity

The social composition of many of the areas was complex and diverse, with sub groups and differences apparent based on geography, income, gender, ethnicity and age as well as different rates of movement in and out of the area. Within apparently ethnically homogenous communities there were important social distinctions recognised by the children in the area, for instance the Irish or traveller communities within a predominantly white population, or the Mirpuri and Pathan communities within a predominantly Asian population. Children described experiences of racism, both as witnesses and victims, and voiced their own misconceptions and prejudices about groups or individuals within their community.

It was widely acknowledged in one research area that lack of integration between various sections had been one of the principal causes of localised civil disturbances the previous year. The children felt that stigmas remained: *“They say that all ‘Pakis’ are the same. If there is a fight on the street they call it racist even if it is not”* (14 yr. old). Some children felt that their area and their social community had been stigmatised unfairly: *“They [the media] paint a negative picture, it’s not like that”* (14 yr. old).

Community involvement

There were few clubs or formal opportunities for children to become involved in voluntary activity within the local community in most of the areas that took part in this research. In the rare locations where such options were available children talked about them enthusiastically. Some schools were reported as providing opportunities for such activity: *“In textiles, we made our cushions and we took them up to the hospital for the old people’s ward thing. We sang for them as well”* (14 yr. old).

However, the majority of children could describe ways in which they had helped people in their neighbourhood on an informal basis, describing such activities as baby sitting, washing cars, walking the neighbour’s dog or keeping an elderly person company. Children found these activities personally fulfilling, although many had become involved at the instigation of a parent or other adult:

Key lessons for practitioners

- Community safety is an important issue for children. Children and young people of all ages want a safe and clean environment.
- High standards of street cleaning and the rapid removal of bulky items are needed to clean up deprived areas and counteract the view that no-one in authority is interested in or cares about the neighbourhood. Additionally, the provision of accessible locations where bulky items can legitimately and safely be disposed of may reduce the recurrence of inappropriate disposal.
- Clearing away the litter alone is not enough to encourage pride in the appearance of the community. Education is needed to encourage people to keep their locality tidy, highlighting the risks to children posed by inappropriate disposal, and problematic rubbish hot-spots need to be targeted.
- Children want safe places to meet with friends or play. Many referred to local playgrounds, sports pitches and park amenities being downgraded or closed. As local authority priorities have changed, such facilities have been seen as appropriate targets for cost saving, but this research highlights that such facilities are a particularly important resource for children and young people in deprived areas. Local authorities should consider reinstating facilities, and improving the safety of existing ones, possibly by the provision of CCTV or by encouraging adults to be around. Greater general use of public space makes it safer for all.
- Young people described their frustrations at having little to do in their neighbourhoods and no resources to go elsewhere. Younger children described how teenagers often tormented them and were generally perceived as troublesome. A two pronged approach of controlling the unruly and anti-social behaviour whilst at the same time providing attractive alternative activities for young people would reduce the problem for both groups. Addressing this issue would have wide ranging positive effects by reducing frustrations in the short term and providing more positive role models for younger children.
- Young people and teenagers should be involved in deciding and providing these activities, maybe with the help and support of youth services. Such an approach would provide the young people with direct experience of social responsibility aspects of the citizenship agenda, and reduce the possibility of the young people not using facilities that are provided.
- Consultation with the community should include consultation with children, and with children of different ages. This work shows that children often have a different perspective about the problems of an area, and constructive suggestions about how to address them.
- Nuisance and disorder have a substantial impact on children, but such activities tend to be relatively low level priorities for the police, who could have an important role in the reduction of such disorder.
- Schools have an important role in addressing misconceptions and prejudices about diversity and other sectors of the community, and consideration should be given to involving families of children.
- Critically, local agencies must work together to tackle issues simultaneously, and take a holistic approach to the problems of a neighbourhood. Schools should be actively involved.

Notes

On Track was originally established by the Home Office in 1999 as part of its Crime Reduction Programme (CRP). In April 2001 the On Track programme was transferred from the Home Office to the Children and Young People's Unit (CYPU) and incorporated into the Children's Fund. Until June 2002 the management of the evaluation remained with the Research, Development and Statistics Directorate of the Home Office.

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