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Lifting the lid on Redtown: a replication case study, which investigates the contribution of engagement in a local criminal network to young people's more serious and persistent offending patterns

Catherine M. Naughton, Sean Redmond, Eoin O'Meara Daly

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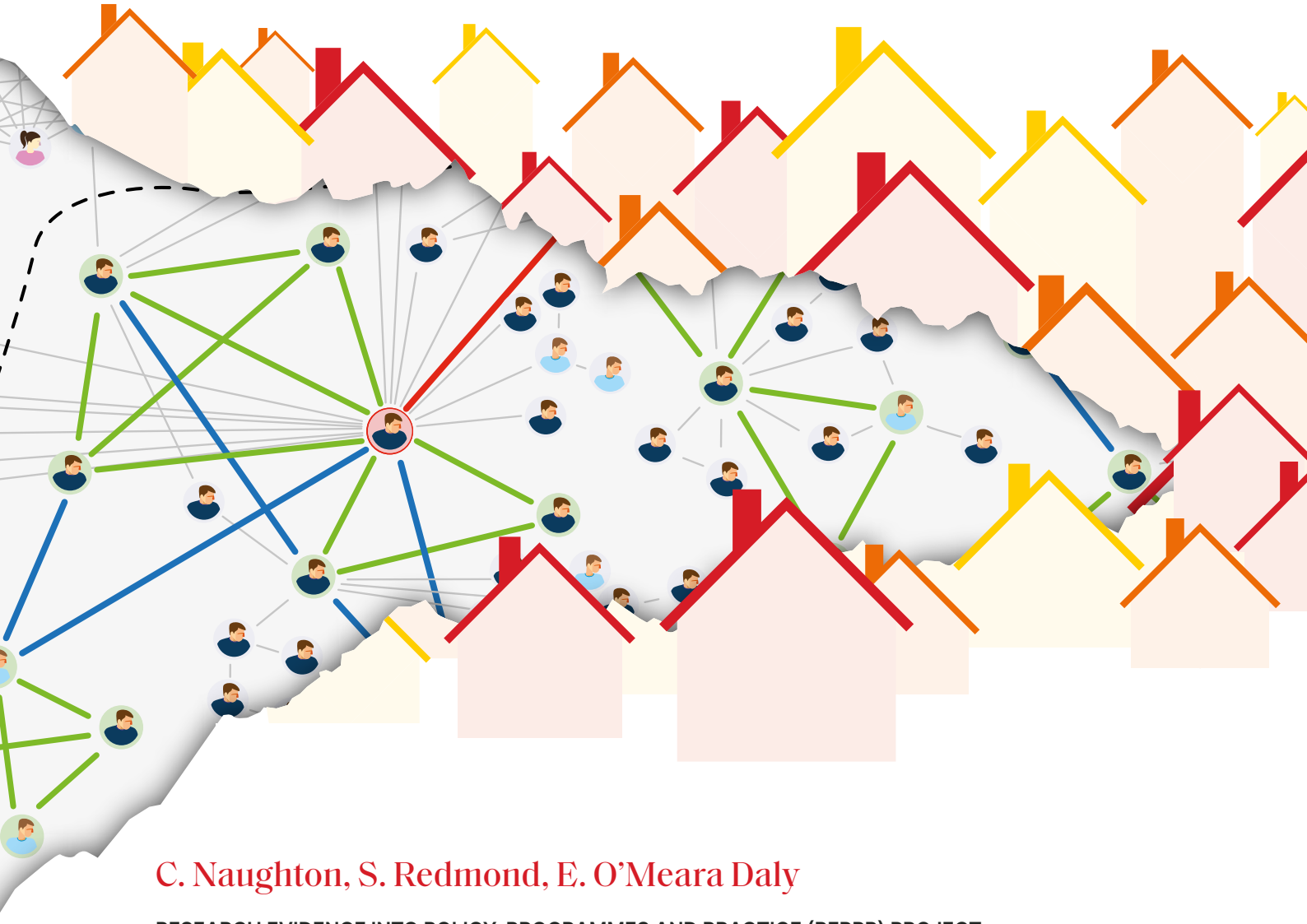
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UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK
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Lifting the Lid on Redtown

A replication case study, which investigates the contribution of engagement in a local criminal network to young people's more serious and persistent offending patterns



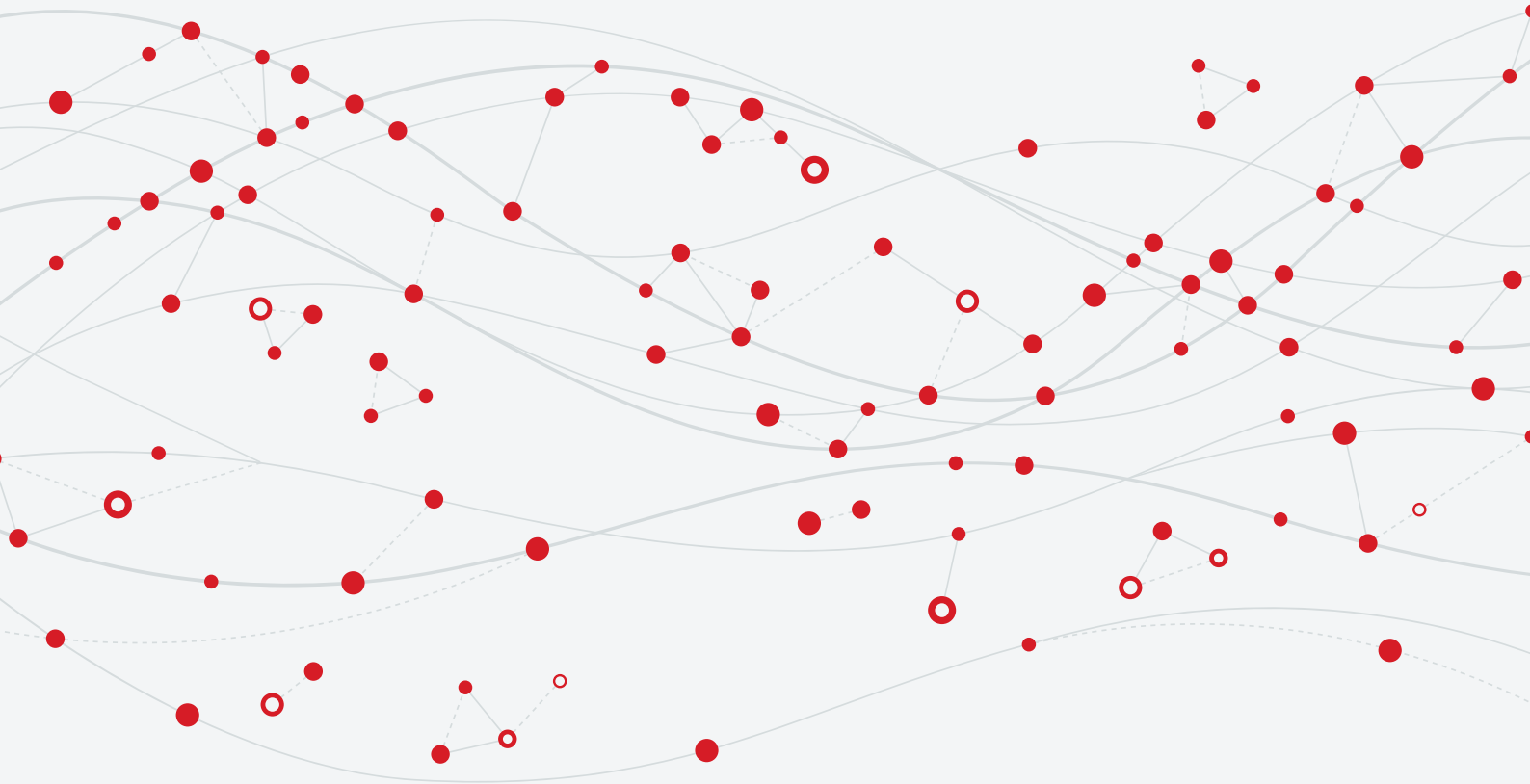
C. Naughton, S. Redmond, E. O'Meara Daly

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School of Law, University of Limerick

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

RESEARCH EVIDENCE INTO POLICY PROGRAMMES AND PRACTICE
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Department of Justice and Equality



Lifting the Lid on Redtown

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National Prevalence Study

Researchers



Dr Catherine Naughton is a Research Psychologist on the REPPP project. Catherine was lead researcher for the Redtown and National Prevalence Report.



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.



Eoin O'Meara Daly is a Research Fellow on the REPPP Project. Eoin was the lead researcher on the Bluetown study.

Lifting the Lid on Redtown

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Dr. Catherine Naughton, **Prof. Sean Redmond** and **Mr Eoin O'Meara Daly**,

REPPP (Research Evidence into Policy, Programmes and Practice)
School of Law, University of Limerick

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Executive Summary

The Redtown study aimed to replicate the Greentown study. The Greentown study was innovative in methodology and purpose. It examined the context of the minority of young people in Ireland who engaged in 'atypical' crimes (burglary and drugs[1] for sale and supply), where criminal activity tended to be more serious and prolific. It identified the presence of a local criminal network and found that engagement in the network contributed to, or was plausibly associated with, repeat offending among certain vulnerable young people. Two replication case studies aimed to examine if the Greentown findings resonated in other locations in Ireland. The current study aimed to identify whether the Greentown findings could be generalised to another anonymised Garda sub-district, Redtown.

The Twinsight methodology

Redmond (2016) specifically designed the Twinsight methodology for the Greentown study. Local network maps constructed from PULSE[2] crime data illustrated crime transactions (burglary and drugs for sale or supply) including transactions between adults and young people in Redtown during 2014–2015. The network map provided a framework to harness the expert knowledge of members of An Garda Síochána in Redtown, and facilitated confidential and anonymised discussions around key incidences, young people's contexts and relationships.

Key findings

Garda narratives centred on three 16-year-old boys. They all came from chaotic backgrounds, including family histories of crime, problematic substance use, mental health concerns and social deprivation, and each had lost his mother at a young age. The three young people were early school leavers and, together with their older siblings and peers, were involved in repeat burglary offences in the Redtown area in 2014–2015. Gardaí described one young person, referred to as R5, as the leader who identified crime targets, sourced transport and organised the sale of stolen goods. Illicit substance use was commonplace and normalised among this group of young people. Indeed, Gardaí identified drug-related crime as an overarching concern in Redtown.

[1] Throughout the report the term 'drugs' refers to illicit substances.
[2] Police Using Leading Systems Effectively, a crime detection recording software.

The Redtown findings suggest that the interaction between three factors – (a) young people's experiences of childhood adversity, (b) involvement in problematic peer groups and (c) pro-criminal norms (held by both families and peers) – that drove expectations to commit crime contributed to the young people's engagement in the Redtown criminal network. Membership of the network in turn may have provided additional opportunities for the young people to access illicit drugs, while their vulnerabilities (traumatic experiences) may have facilitated the development of problematic drug use and drug debt obligations. Drug debt obligations in turn drove further offending and this was identified as a key contributing factor to young people's retention within the network and their atypical offending patterns.

Conclusion

While there were many similarities between the Redtown and Greentown findings, notably the chaotic backgrounds, familial/peer crime norms and sustained presence of the network within the area, there were also notable differences. The Greentown findings suggest the network was a hierarchical structure governed by a core family, which was sustained through a culture of fear and compliance. Although family was an important component of the Redtown network, as a source of pro-criminal norms and adversity, the families that dominated the Gardaí narrative were relativity low status. The Greentown findings suggest one cohesive network (with semi-autonomous clusters of members); however, the Redtown findings indicate differences in network structure dependent on crime type (burglary or drugs for sale and supply). While the combination of Redtown and Greentown findings indicates that the structure and dynamics of networks may be context-specific, both sets of findings suggest that engagement in the local criminal network may have contributed to the young people's 'atypical' criminal activity.

Lifting the Lid on Redtown

Introduction

Background

The original Greentown study (Redmond, 2016) provided evidence for the existence of criminal networks in Ireland and their use of children in criminal enterprise. This study was distinctive in examining the factors that influence the criminal trajectories of children who are involved in multiple serious offences[3]. The Garda Analysis Service constructed a criminal network based on police activity data (PULSE) for a Garda sub-district anonymised as 'Greentown'. Redmond (2016) used this network as a framework for interview with individual frontline members of An Garda Síochána[4]. The findings provided evidence, which suggests that a criminal network was operating in Greentown. This network played a role in sustaining high levels of serious criminal activity among children. The original study revealed five key findings:

1. A criminal network existed and contained key network actors
2. The network was hierarchical in nature
3. Powerful processes and a sympathetic embedded culture supported the hierarchical structure
4. Power and influence were mediated by geography, obligation and the intensity of the relationships with patrons
5. The network compelled some children in the area into abnormal patterns of offending behaviour.

Our subsequent research investigated the generalisability of these findings. First, we conducted a national survey of Garda Juvenile Liaison Officers (Naughton and Redmond, 2017)[5]. Findings suggest that up to 1,000 children in Ireland may be engaged within local criminal networks.

We then conducted two replication case studies in new locations, anonymised as 'Redtown' and 'Bluetown'. The current report focuses on the Redtown replication case study. The replication studies aimed to test the Twinsight[6] methodology and establish if there was resonance between the original Greentown findings and the two new locations.

Using the same methodological approach as the Greentown report, the Garda Analysis Service constructed a Redtown network map based on co-offending relationships (burglary and drugs offences) from PULSE data (2014–2015) from the Redtown Garda sub-district. The original Greentown study provided evidence of the existence of a criminal network in Greentown. Therefore, we took the presence of a criminal network in Redtown (not its structure or dynamics) as a starting point for the current study.

Note that all findings presented are based on the perspective of the Garda respondents.

[3] Burglary and drugs for sale or supply offences are atypical crimes for young people in Ireland; they also often need adult collusion for their operation.
[4] The National Police Force in the Republic of Ireland
[5] Findings support the original Greentown study, with similar children's profiles seeming to fit a minority (one in eight) of the children involved in the diversion system across the country (approx. 1,000 children). This was not confined to large urban areas.
[6] Redmond (2015) developed Twinsight methodology specifically for the Greentown study. We describe Twinsight in detail in the chapter on methodology.

Chapter 1 of *Lifting the lid on Greentown* (Redmond, 2016) presented a review of the existing literature, outlining the strengths and limitations of existing mainstream scientific knowledge on youth crime, followed by a more specific review of the literature relating to networks and crime.

Previous research that informs our understanding of the dynamics of criminal networks tends to focus on social network analysis (for example, see Morselli, 2013), while investigations of factors that influence young people's offending behaviour tend to focus on an individual level of analysis (for example, see Wasserman et al., 2003). The original Greentown study was innovative in that it provided a confidential method to capture the expert knowledge of a local police force. Findings suggest a need to take a network level of analysis if we are to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence young peoples' offending patterns. We discuss the value of undertaking replication studies.

Importance of replication

Yin (2009) identified case studies as the preferred method to address the 'how' questions, which are key to understanding real-life context and contemporary phenomena. Misco (2007) suggests that case studies and qualitative research in general can inform higher-level concepts and theory. However, as case studies are context-specific, they are limited in their ability to infer generalisation beyond the original case location[7]. There is however a growing recognition of the need to address generalisation to ensure that the findings from qualitative research can be considered a significant source of evidence to inform policy development (Polit and Beck, 2010). Yin (2009) suggests the replication of studies in additional locations as a viable means to test theory.

Replications of qualitative studies are sparse within the literature (for an exception see Wright and Patrick, 2019) and have received some critique (for example, see Fleetwood and Hesketh, 2006; Watkins, 2012). However, Melhuish and Thanheiser (2018) suggest that replication studies are an essential element of empirical research. Yin (2009) suggest that replication (multiple experiments) are essential to ensure the robustness of quantitative (experimental) research. Likewise, Yin suggests that the replication of qualitative methodology in distinct locations facilitates the development of a rich theoretical framework. The Redtown replication study therefore aimed to examine the findings from the Greentown study, which suggests that young people's engagement in a local criminal network may have played a role in their involvement in more serious and persistent crime.

Before commencement of the research, the study received ethical approval by the AHSS[8] Research Ethics Committee.

[7] The ability to infer that findings in one context are applicable to other contexts; this is essential to the concept of evidence-based practice and informing interventions for those outside the context studied.
[8] Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science, University of Limerick.

Lifting the Lid on Redtown

Methodology

The detailed methodology is given in Appendix 1 and can be referred to at the reader's discretion. Here we present an overview of the methodology and outline the aims of the research.

2.1 Overview of methodology

1. Redtown is one of two replication case studies.
2. An Garda Síochána Analysis Service[9] ranked all Garda sub-districts based on the detection of burglary and drugs for sale and supply offences committed by young people under the age of 18 years during 2014–2015[10,11].
3. Our decision to select Redtown as a case study location was informed by its third-place position in this ranking list.
4. An Garda Síochána Analysis Services constructed the Redtown network map, based on PULSE data of burglary, drugs for sale and supply and intelligence links for the area in 2014–2015.
5. We used the Twinsight methodology to facilitate confidential and anonymous interviews with Garda respondents based on this network map[12].
6. Respondent-led interviews centred on the individual network members, their contexts and the dynamics between them and the wider community, and sought to ground opinion in specific events.
7. We transcribed audio-recorded interviews verbatim, imported them into NVivo software[13] and coded and analysed these data in order to develop individual case profiles and patterns and themes.
8. We used two quantitative diagnostic tools to identify which network members the respondents felt were significant to the network.
9. We developed individual case profiles of significant members. These provided an overview of individual members' contexts.
10. Themes provided a comprehensive and coherent understanding of the network's operation.

[9] An Garda Síochána Analysis Service, located in Garda Headquarters, is responsible for providing nationwide analytical support.
[10] We based the sampling technique adopted on the theory that burglary and drugs for sale and supply are both atypical crimes for young people and are likely to require adult involvement.
[11] As recorded in PULSE.
[12] As outlined in detail in the original Greentown study.
[13] NVivo Pro is a computer assisted/aided qualitative data analysis program.

2.2 Aims of the Redtown study

The Redtown replication case study aimed to identify factors that may influence young people's engagement and retention within the Redtown criminal network, and how this may influence their crime trajectories.

Research Questions

- From the Gardaí respondents' perspectives, what are the factors that influence young people's engagement and retention within the Redtown criminal network?
- How do members of An Garda Síochána portray the influence of engagement in the Redtown network on the young people's patterns of crime?

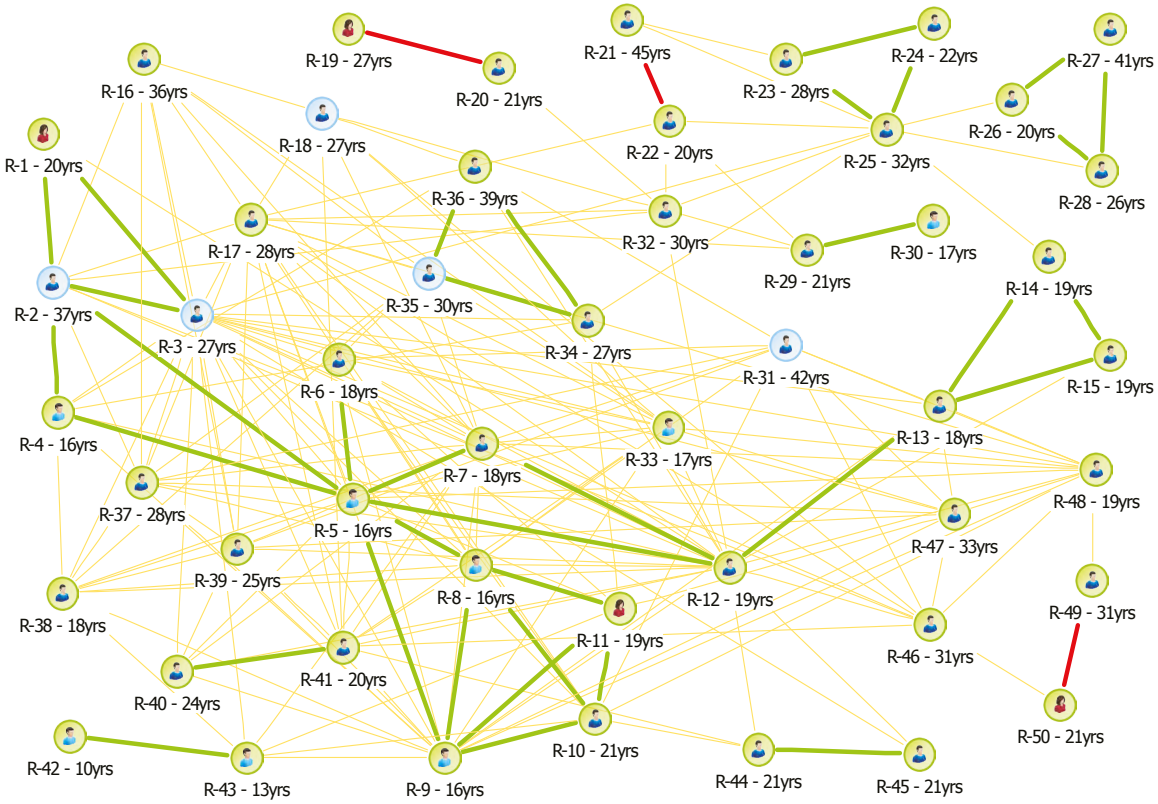


Figure 1: Redtown network map

Results

Key findings

We based all presented findings on Garda respondents' perspectives. Analysis of the interview data identified two major themes.

Theme 1

Family Influences: Adversity, pro-criminal norms and exclusion

- Gardaí narratives centred on three 16-year-old young people detected for repeat burglary offences in 2014–2015, and their interactions within the Redtown criminal network.
- Crime was normalised within the young people's peer groups but in particular within their families, whom the Garda reported to have histories of crime.
- Families were low status and income poor, and experienced extreme adversity.
- Extended family and drugs-related links ensured that the families were embedded within the Redtown criminal network and the young people tended to be excluded from mainstream Redtown community.

Theme 2

Drug-related crime: Organised or chaotic

- Findings evidence drug-related offences as the predominant network activity.
- Network members' type of involvement and level of organisation in drug-related crime resulted in three interrelated categories. These were broadly based on individual vulnerabilities and personal drug use: 1. Fund personal use (chaotic); 2. Carrying and distribution of drugs; 3. Organised.
- Network members involved in higher-level sale and supply (organised) tended to be 'off the map' (undetected). The majority of network members tended to be involved in lower level sale and supply of drugs to fund personal use (chaotic). These individuals tended to be involved in other crime (including burglary) and vulnerable to exploitation.

Introduction

Data analysis resulted in two overarching themes[14]. We present the first theme, *Family influences: Adversity, pro-criminal norms and exclusion* (3.1) in two parts. In Part A (3.1.1), we focus on the findings from the case study analysis (see Appendix 1). We reconfigured a family network map to reflect the data (see Figure 4) and provide detailed descriptions of the network members (together with their families) whom the Gardaí respondents felt were most significant to the network. These provide a descriptive overview of the members of the Redtown criminal network. In Part B (3.1.2), we focus on findings from the thematic analysis. We describe how the combination of influential family factors – family adversity, pro-criminal norms and exclusion – influenced the young people's engagement with criminal activity, specifically their engagement in the Redtown criminal network.

We also present the second theme, *Drugs-related crime: Organised or chaotic* (3.2) in two sections: In Part A (3.2.1) we describe how the Gardaí considered drug-related offences the predominant and problematic criminal behaviour within the Redtown network[15]. In Part B (3.2.2) we describe individual network members within three interrelated categories in relation to the sale and supply of drugs. We illustrate these findings in a reconfigured network drugs map (Figure 12). Finally, in Section 3.3 we summarise the thematic analysis in the form of a theoretical framework (Figure 16).

3.1 Theme 1 – Family: Adversity and pro-criminal norms

3.1.1 Part A – Key network members: who are they?

We used two quantitative diagnostic tools, first five mentioned (see Figure 2) and frequency of mentions (see Figure 3) to rank individual network members[16]. This identified the network members whom the Gardaí[17] considered the most relevant within the network[18]. Figure 2 illustrates the 10 network members that the Gardaí spoke about first (first five mentioned)[19,20]. Figure 3 illustrates the 10 network members[21] whom Gardaí mentioned most during interviews (frequency of mentions)[22]. Table 1 combines the top 10 ranked network members for both first five mentioned and frequency of mentions[23,24]. We have also compiled a table that illustrates the number of times an individual Garda referred to the network members which the Garda described as most significant (see Table 12, Appendix 3).

[14] An outline of the strategy used when reporting the findings can be found in Appendix 1.
[15] Therefore warranting this report's attention.
[16] This was in line with the Twinsight methodology; see Appendix 1 for further details.
[17] The term 'Garda' is used to refer to Garda respondents throughout this chapter.
[18] Gardaí were aware that the focus of the report was the young people's involvement in crime.
[19] In the interest of clarity, we present the top 10 ranked network members here. All network members (35) who were included in first-five mentions by at least one Garda are included in Figure 22 in the Appendix 3
[20] See methods
[21] Again, in the interest of clarity we illustrate the top 10 ranked network members here. We illustrate all network members in Table 22 in Appendix 3.
[22] Therefore had the highest number of coded references
[23] Family membership was based on Gardaí descriptions
[24] Where network members have the same number of first-five mentions or frequency of mentions they are ranked in the same position.

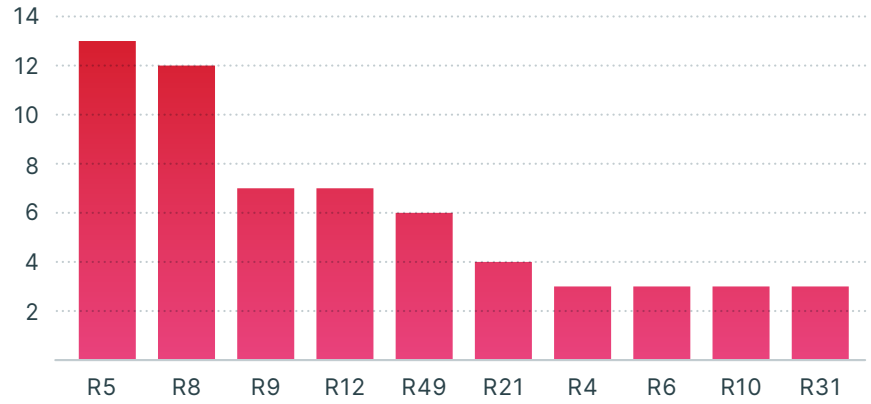


Figure 2: First five mentioned: The number of first-five mentions per network member

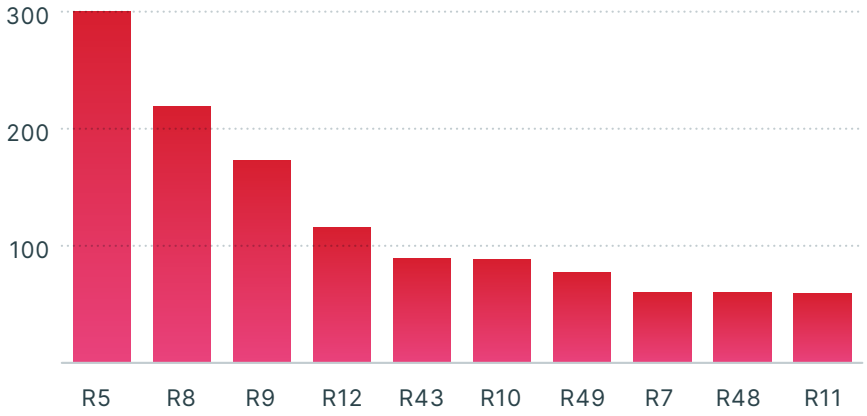


Figure 3: Frequencies of mentions: The total number of references per network member

Table 1: Ten highest ranked members in terms of first five mentioned and frequency

Ranking	1st	2nd	3rd	3rd	5th	6th	7th	7th	7th	7th
First five mentioned	R5	R8	R9	R12	R49	R21	R4	R6	R10	R31
Ranking	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	5th	7th	8th	8th	8th
Frequencies of mentions	R5	R8	R9	R12	R43	R10	R49	R48	R7	R11

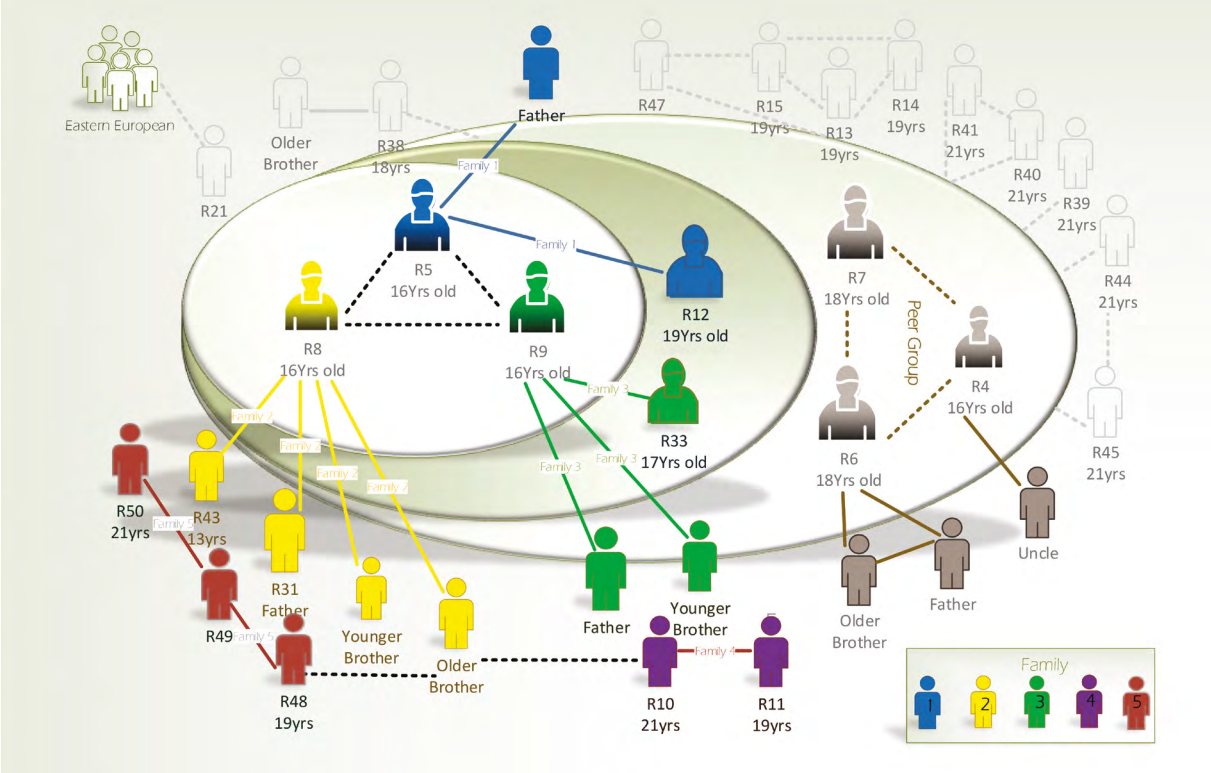


Figure 4: Reconfigured Redtown family map, containing the most frequently mentioned members within their family and peer group[25]

Figure 4 is a reconfigured Redtown family map based on the data analysis. It illustrates the top ranked (see Table 1) network members within their family (1 to 5) or peer group. Continuous lines link immediate family members and dotted lines link non-family members on the network[26]. The perceived importance of additional family members to the dynamics of the network is highlighted by the inclusion of family members that were identified as 'linked'[27] by Garda respondents even though they had not featured on the original map constructed from the PULSE data. Table 1 and Figure 4 (see above) are colour coded in relation to family membership; for example, Family 1 is colour coded blue.

Both 'first five mentioned' and 'frequencies of mentions' tools indicated three 16-year-old boys (R5, R8, and R9) as central to the Gardaí's narrative (see Table 1). Illustrated in Figure 4, the three boys (inner ring: R5, R8, R9) were detected for repeat burglary offences in the 2014–2015 period, together with their siblings (middle ring: R12, R33) and peer group (outer ring: R4, R6, R7). Analysis suggest that the three boys' (R5, R8 and R9) families were embedded within the Redtown network. Below we describe the individuals who the Gardaí felt were significant to the network within their family or peer groupings (Family groups 1 to 5, Peer group 1; see Table 1, Figure 4). Each grouping is illustrated by a reconfigured map and a summary table. Each table contains the information provided on the network map constructed from PULSE data (original map), including their unique identifier number (e.g. R5), gender and age. For the family members not on the original map we refer to their relationship (role) (see Tables 3 to 8 below).

[25] Age is included for all young people 21 years or younger.
[26] This (as is all the data presented) is based on Gardaí perspective.
[27] In terms of criminal activity influences.

Family 1

Table 2: Summary of Family 1

Role/ID	Gender	Age and Notes	First five Mentions	Sources[28]	Frequency of mentions
Father	Male		Not on the map		
Mother	Female	Left Due to Domestic abuse	Not on the map		
Sister	Female	Left with Mother	Not on the map		
R12	Male	19	7(3rd-4th)	16	116 (4th)
R5	Male	16	13(1st)	20	300 (1st)

The first family, as summarised in Table 2 and illustrated in Figure 5, consisted of a father (not on the original map) and two brothers, R5 and R12. R5 and R12, both early school leavers, grew up within an adverse home environment with a father who had problematic mental health and substance misuse issues and a history of crime. Their mother left the home, taking their sister because of domestic abuse. The boys lived in their paternal grandparents' home. Crime was a norm within their home; for example, there was evidence of the detection of R5 and R12 for criminal offences with their father from a young age.

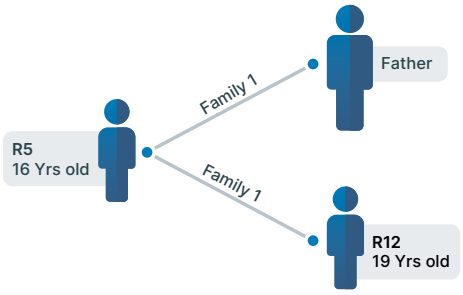


Figure 5: Family 1

R5 (16 years old) was the most frequently mentioned individual on the map[29], ranked first in terms of both first five mentioned and frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). **R5** was described as a 'planner, thinker, daring and cute' (Garda 1), 'self-taught, self-trained' (Garda 4) and with the ability to influence and lead his peers; for example, 'It was him [R5] that was kind of picking and choosing where they would go and how they were getting in and stuff' (Garda 2). His involvement in crime quickly spiralled: at 16 years of age he successfully identified burglary locations, sourced transport and knew where to dispose of stolen goods (out of town). The reported reduction in the crime rate in Redtown when R5 went to juvenile detention highlighted the extent of his influence on the other young people within the network. **R5** used violence and aggression to cultivate a reputation; for example, 'he likes to be the man about town, and he likes people to be afraid of him' (Garda 19) and used

R5 was described as a 'planner, thinker, daring and cute', 'self-taught, self-trained'

[28] Source refers to the number of Gardaí (max. 20) who included that network member in their first five-mentioned
[29] R5 had 300 coded references; the next highest referenced member was R8 with 219 coded references.

this fear to coerce others to commit crime. From a very young age **R5** displayed an air of superiority and infallibility when dealing with the Garda; for example, during interview 'he said prove it lads, prove everything, no comment. A kid like the first or second time he was interviewed for serious stuff' (Garda 18). **R5** was strategic in his actions; his girlfriend, still in school, was from a different socio-economical background and **R5** capitalised on this relationship to gain access to other schoolchildren. **R5** also switched his alliance to suit his needs; for example, 'he [R5] just dropped them, he thought he [R6] was talking too much or being too loud' (Garda 9). He was described as having both an understanding of and an ability to manipulate the justice system; for example, 'he knows the system inside out … he's able to play the system' (Garda 9).

R12 (19 years old), R5's older brother, was ranked joint third in first five mentioned and fourth in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). Respondents made clear distinctions between the brothers; for example, 'R12, he gets involved in silly things, but R5 does more thinking about it' (Garda 1). Garda 3 described **R12** as 'empathetic', readily engaging with services, and 'would have shown a very strong tendency to do things right'. Garda 13 described **R12** as vulnerable; for example, 'we've often had him come into the station crying that he's being threatened by drug dealers'.

'We've often had him come into the station crying that he's being threatened by drug dealers'

However, **R12**'s involvement in crime had escalated from antisocial behaviour ('involved in a lot of public order', Garda 1) to the sale and supply of drugs ('pursuing lads for drug debts and quite enthusiastic about … selling to lads'; Garda 3). Respondents also linked **R12**'s criminal activity with his first cousin, R6 (peer group), who was heavily linked to retail-end[30] drug dealing. Respondents identified **R12**'s problematic drug misuse as contributing to his continual involvement in crime.

Family 2

Table 3: Summary of Family 2

Role: ID	Gender	Age	First five Mentions	Sources	Frequency of mentions
Father: R31[31]	Male	42	3 (7th-)[32]	9	30 (23rd)
Mother	Female	Deceased	Not on map		
Eldest Son	Male	20	Not on map		
R8	Male	16	11 (2nd)	19	219 (2nd)
R43	Male	13	2 (12th-)	17	89 (5th)
Youngest Son	Male	6	Not on map		

[30] Front-line sale of drugs to locals.
[31] References to R8/R43's father are not included in the scores for R31.
[32] '–' is included where a number of individuals received the same score and were therefore ranked in the same position; for example, five individuals were ranked by three respondents in their first five mentions.

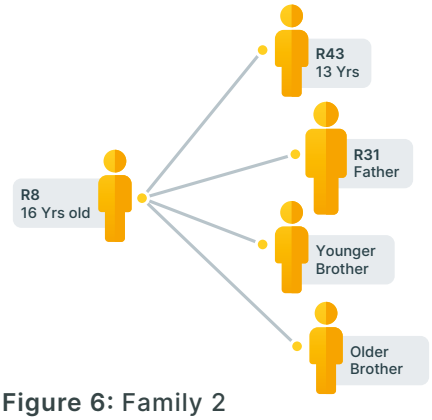


Figure 6: Family 2

The second family summarised in Table 3 and illustrated in Figure 6 consisted of a father (R31) (mother was deceased) and four brothers, R8, R43 and an older and younger brother who are not included on the original map. Their home environment was described as 'shocking' (Garda 18), with evidence of neglect; for example, 'there was no food in the fridge … the kids were just left to rear themselves' (Garda 13). Their father was described as having problematic substance misuse and a history of petty crime; for example, he was 'very busy in terms of ah burglaries and thefts, again no insurance, drink driving and things like that' (Garda 10). Garda 2 stated that the father recently spent time in prison; for example, 'at one stage R8, his older brother and his father were in prison at the same time'. The family was also involved in a feud with R39's[33] family.

R31, the father, was ranked seventh in first five mentioned and 23rd in frequency of mentions[34] (see Figures 6, and Table 1). **R31** introduced his sons to crime at a young age; for example, 'when he [eldest brother] was eight years of age his father used to take him to do burglaries and he'd put him in the window of houses' (Garda 6). **R31** continued to foster that norm; for example, 'their dad would be teaching them on literally how not to get caught' (Garda 4). Respondents described how the children often stole to meet basic needs including food and clothes.

R8 (16 years old) was ranked second in both first five mentioned and frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). As part of the inner circle (see Figure 4), R8 was closely linked to R5 (Family 1 above) and R9 (Family 3 below), mainly through burglary offences. However, respondents made comparisons between the roles of these three young people in crime. R5 was positioned as a clear leader, **R8** and R9 were described as 'sheep … they'd follow' (Garda 2). Specifically, Garda 20 described R8 as 'easily influenced by others'. However, respondents also described R8 as aggressive, intimidating and violent; for example, he 'would assault the father' (Garda 17). At the time of the interviews, **R5** had distanced himself from R8 and R9.

R8 was described as easily influenced by others.

R43 (13 years old) was ranked joint 12th in first five mentioned and fifth in frequency of mentions (see Figure 3 and Table 1). Garda 11 described **R43**[35] as 'the nicest young fella', who started offending to feed himself; for example, 'it's always food and drink he's stealing' (Garda 20), then became 'braver and braver and burglary and all that' (Garda 7). Just as R8 and R9 were closely linked, respondents linked **R43** to R9's younger brother (Family 3), as 'his best friend' but also 'partners in crime' (Garda 12).

The **older brother** was not on the original map. Respondents described him as a ringleader within his group of peers and as having a negative influence on the younger boys in Families 1, 2 and 3. He was also described as the link between R8 and R9 (Families 2 and 3) and the young adults on the map; for example, R10, R11 and R48 (Families 4 and 5). Respondents described how when R8's older brother was placed in detention, R5 took over the role of leader of the cluster of young people in the network.

[33] See Theme 2, level 3, for a discussion on R39's involvement in the drugs trade.
[34] This ranking score does not include the times respondents referred to R31 as R8's father.
[35] At the time of the interviews, R43 and his younger brother (not on the map) were in foster care with a family member in another area.

Family 3

Table 4: Summary of Family 3

Role: ID	Gender	Age	First five Mentions	Sources	Frequency of mentions
Father	Male		Not on map		
Mother	Female	Deceased	Not on map		
R33	Male	17	1 (23th-)	14	50 (13th)
R9	Male	16	7 (3rd)	18	173 (3rd)
Youngest Son	Male	~13[36]	Not on map		

The third family, as summarised in Table 4 and illustrated in Figure 7, consisted of a father (mother deceased) and three brothers: R33, R9 and a younger brother not on the original map. Garda 14 described the children's home as 'horrendous'. Garda 12 described how R9 and R33 were having 'a lot of issues in relation to grief and drugs', while Garda 14 described how the boys' father had 'no control whatsoever over them', and that the boys were 'hanging around the town from a very young age' (Garda 3). Unlike the fathers from Families 1 and 2, respondents described R33 and R9's father as having a good relationship with the Gardaí; for example, he was 'very up front and honest with the guards' (Garda 4).

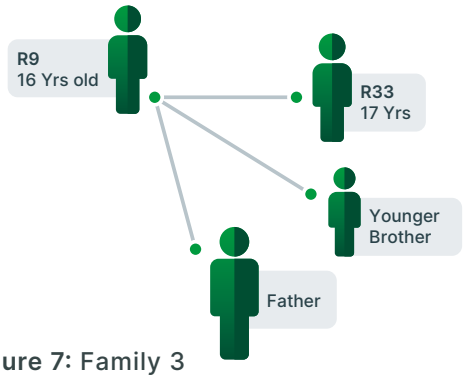


Figure 7: Family 3

R9 (16 years old) was ranked joint third in first five mentioned and third in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). While respondents placed R5 as the ringleader in this group of boys, Garda 20 described **R9** as 'easily dragged along'. However, other respondents placed more agency with **R9** for his behaviour; for example, 'R9 would be much more clever … in relation to R8' (Garda 17) and there was evidence of both his knowledge of and use of the system to his own advantage: 'the minute he used to come in he'd look for his solicitor' (Garda 14). Unlike R8, respondents linked **R9** directly to several other network members within the dataset through the sale and supply of drugs; for example, R9 was 'carrying drugs for R44, and he is carrying drugs, we believe for R40' (Garda 10)[37].

'Alot of issues in relation to grief and drugs'

[36] The youngest son's age is based on a calculation from information provided by the respondents during interview.
[37] See Theme 2 (Section 3.2) for further details

R33 (17 years old), was ranked joint 23rd in first five mentioned and 13th in frequency of mentions. References to **R33** tended to be linked to either his familial relationship with R9 or his problematic drug misuse; for example, 'R33 now would be more into drugs, he'd be linked with R49, R48, and R47' (Garda 7).

Analysis suggests that the **younger brother** (not on the original map) was an infant when his mother died. Garda 2 described him as 'coming to our attention constantly', along with R43; he 'would be into thefts of bikes and stuff like that from a very young age'. Garda 2 also described R43 as having a 'very bad attitude towards the Gardaí'; this was somewhat inconsistent with descriptions of the co-operative relationship between the father and the Garda.

Peer Group

Table 5: Summary of Family R4, R6 and R7

Role: ID	Gender	Age	First five Mentions	Sources	Frequency of mentions
R4	Male	16	3 (7th-)	12	38 (16th)
R6	Male	18	3 (7th-)	13	44 (15th)
R7	Male	18	2 (12th-)	13	60 (8th-)

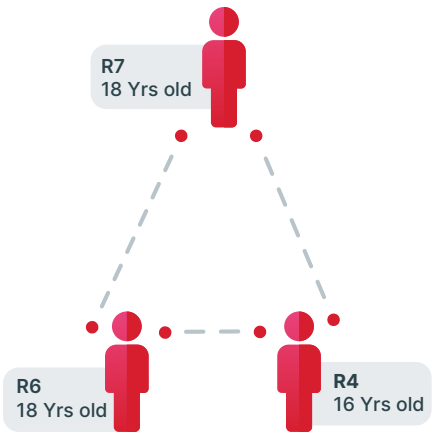


Figure 8: Peer Group

The peer group R4, R6 and R7 (outer circle, Figure 4), as summarised in Table 5 and illustrated in Figure 8, are all linked to the criminal activity of the core group of boys (R5, R8, R9) but also connected through extended family ties. **R4** (16 years old) was ranked joint seventh in first five mentioned and 16th in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). He had recently moved to Redtown to live with his mother's family (all known to the Gardaí). Garda 11 described how his uncle may have coerced **R4** into 'selling weed for' him. Respondents described **R4**'s single-parent mother[38] (history of problematic drug misuse and crime) as protective and proactive in **R4**'s life. This may have contributed to improvements in **R4**'s situation; for example, 'he's doing very well at the moment, he's in education … he's getting involved in sports … he's engaging very well with his youth worker, he's not taking any drink or drugs … hasn't been involved in any criminality' (Garda 12).

R6 (18 years old) ranked joint seventh in first five mentioned and 15th in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). A first cousin of R5 and R12 (Family 1), Gardaí described **R6** as 'a bit mouthy' (Garda 16), lacking empathy and has a 'big problem with drink and drugs' (Garda 1). Gardaí also described his family as 'very disruptive', and reported the occurrence of multiple incidences of domestic

[38] Respondents described R4's father as deceased.

abuse in his family home. **R6**'s father was in custody at the time of the interviews. **R6**'s older brothers (who were not on the original map) were described as involved in the sale and supply of drugs. Unlike the other families, there was a degree of wealth linked to **R6**'s family. For example, **R6** owned an expensive car; Garda 9 described how his brothers 'bought a house for €X cash in Redtown'. However, this overt wealth may have legitimate explanations[39].

'Involved in the sale and supply of drugs, drug debt intimidation and had a violent nature'

At the time of interview, **R6** was married with a young child and living in a homeless hostel. Respondents described **R6** as involved in the sale and supply of drugs and drug debt intimidation, and that he had a violent nature. For example, he was violent towards his wife and mother and that he was aggressive with the Gardaí.

R7 (18 years old) was ranked joint twelfth in first five mentioned and joint eighth in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). He is a first cousin of R38. Respondents described how **R7** came from a stable home with no history of criminal involvement; for example, 'the only one with a stable family … with both parents in the family home' (Garda 12). Garda 14 described **R7** as 'very easily led … he's not the worst, like'. He owned a car and was considered the 'chauffeur' for the group of young people on the network. Respondents also described **R7** as disengaged from this core group of young people and moving on to the next stage of his life; for example, '**R7** now is going out with somebody and is kind of looking to settle down' (Garda 16) and 'hasn't come to my attention for a long time' (Garda 2).

'He was described as disengaged from this group and moving on to the next stage of his life'

Family 4

Table 6: Summary of R10 and R11

Role: ID	Gender	Age	First five Mentions	Sources	Frequency of mentions
R10	Male	21	3 (7th-)	17	88 (6th)
R11	Female	19	0	16	59 (10th)

The fourth family, as summarised in Table 6 and illustrated in Figure 9, consisted of partners R10 and R11. At the time of interviews, they had two children.

R10 (21 years old) was ranked joint seventh in first five mentioned and sixth in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). Although five years their elder, **R10** 'would hang around an awful lot [with R8 and R9]' (Garda 7). **R10** grew up in an adverse home environment, with

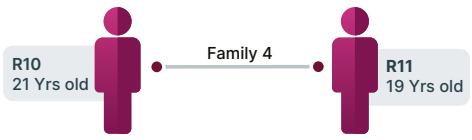


Figure 9: Family 4

[39] Gardaí provided an alternative explanation for their wealth at the presentation of initial findings.

domestic abuse, problematic parental substance misuse, and mental health concerns. Respondents described **R10**'s father as having a criminal background but not part of **R10**'s daily life. **R10** became involved in crime from a very young age. Garda 20 described how **R10** had 'drug dependency issues' and Garda 2 said that he was 'dealing drugs'. Garda 20 also described how **R10** was 'extremely violent with his partner, he has been extremely violent with us and with assaults etc. on the street'. Consistent with this, the courts have issued barring orders[40] to **R10**'s mother and R11 against **R10**. Respondents also described how **R10** was involved in drug-related disputes in Redtown, and Garda 2 stated that his problematic drug use was a barrier to desistence from criminal activity.

R11 (19 years old) was the only female (of the four who featured on the original Redtown map[41]) ranked in the top 10 on frequency of mentions (10th); she did not receive a first-five mention. Analysis suggests that her inclusion within Gardaí narratives tended to focus on the chronic domestic abuse in her relationship with R10; for example, there were 'constant issues [in relation to domestic abuse] and it's just we were like babysitters up there for a while' (Garda 7).

Family 5

Table 7: Summary of R48, R49 and R50

Role: ID	Gender	Age	First five Mentions	Sources	Frequency of mentions
R48	Male	19	2 (12th-)	16	60 (8th-)
R49	Male	31	6 (5th)	18	77 (7th)
R50	Female	21	1 (23rd-)	12	30 (24th)

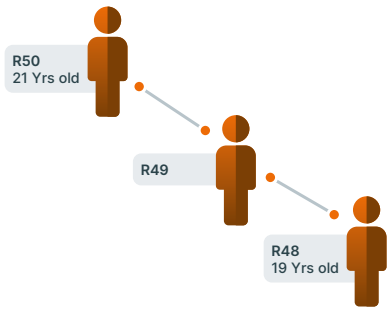


Figure 10: Family 5

Family 5, as summarised in Table 7 and illustrated in Figure 10, consisted of R48 and R49 (half-brothers) and R49's girlfriend, R50. R48 and R49 also grew up in an adverse home environment. Their single-parent mother had problematic drug misuse and mental health issues, and experienced domestic abuse.

R49 (31 years old) was ranked fifth in first five mentioned and seventh in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). Respondents described **R49** as a major drug dealer (heroin) in Redtown and he was serving a sentence at the time of the interview (described in more detail in Theme 2).

[40] Orders issued by the courts under the Domestic Violence Act, 2002 to bar a perpetrator from entering the home of their victim.
[41] See Figure 1.

R48 (19 years old) was ranked joint 12th in first five mentioned and joint eighth in frequency of mentions (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 1). Respondents linked **R48** to the young people in Families 1 to 3, through R8's older brother. Only one of the respondents ranked **R50** (21 years old) in the first five mentioned. Regarding her relationship with R49, respondents said, for example, 'feeding the habit is why she's in the relationship' (Garda 9).

3.1.2 Part B. Young people's engagement in the Redtown network

While the previous section focused on the case profile analysis, the current section describes findings from the thematic analysis. The analysis suggests that it was the combination of adverse experiences, pro-criminal norms and exclusion from mainstream society that contributed to the young people's engagement in the Redtown criminal network. We describe each subtheme in turn, followed by a summary of its contribution to the young people's engagement and retention within the Redtown network. Finally, we discuss barriers to the young people's disengagement from the Redtown criminal network.

3.1.2.1 Adversity

'Respondents tended to describe the young people's parents as lacking adequate parenting skills, themselves having experienced adverse childhoods.'

As previously discussed, the young people tended to have experienced extreme adversity in the context of social deprivation. There was evidence of parental mental health concerns and problematic substance misuse. Respondents tended to describe the young people's parents as lacking adequate parenting skills, themselves having experienced adverse childhoods. Frequent exposure of the young people to various forms of family violence was apparent. There was evidence of the occurrence of parental domestic abuse and their own perpetration of both child–parent violence and domestic abuse.

3.1.2.2 Pro-criminal norms

Criminal behaviour was considered a norm. Some of the young people's homes were referred to as 'open houses'[42] with frequent exposure to criminal activity; for example, 'like most of these families [in the network] … their parents would have history with the guards' (Garda 4). Some of the young people had accompanied their parents and participated in criminal incidences while very young. For some young people, family members had coerced them to commit crime; for example, in relation to R4, his extended family were 'manipulating him I suppose and saying look you are part of the family' (Garda 11). Respondents also described some parents as not discouraging their children's offending behaviours; for example, 'the father would give out to him not for committing the crime but for getting caught' (Garda 15).

'Like most of these families… their parents would have history with the Guards.'

[42] Where criminal proceeding took place.

3.1.2.3 Exclusion

'Within the Redtown network, they received acceptance and kudos for their criminal behaviour.'

The young people were unlikely to be involved in pro-social community organisations and they tended to be early school leavers. Their social circle tended to be limited to other early school leavers and those involved within the criminal network. This suggests that they may have had a very limited social circle, when compared to a typical young person. Within the Redtown network, they received acceptance and 'kudos' for their criminal behaviour. For example, Garda 2 described court as a social event: 'on court day, doesn't matter if you're in court or not, you go to the court house anyway'. Garda 2 also described how in his opinion going before the judge was considered a badge of honour among the young people: 'cool to be in court for something … I'm one of the boys, I'm one of us … and the thumbs up to the lads … he was proud'. Analysis therefore suggests that the young people may have been in redundant networks[43]. Interestingly, R5, who was described as quite distinct from the other young people in terms of his leadership role, agency and persona (see Part A), was described as socialising beyond these redundant networks. For example, Garda 19 reported that 'his girlfriend is from an ok background, she's not, so she would be living in an estate where she's still in school'. However, Garda 19 also described R5 as capitalising on this relationship to gain access to school children, whom he then coerced into committing crime for his benefit; for example, 'he intimidates other' school children.

3.1.2.4 Barriers to disengagement

Analysis suggests that pro-criminal norms were barriers to disengagement from the Redtown network[44]. However, analysis also suggest that lack of proactive parental support, more specifically mothers' support, may be an important factor for both engagement and disengagement in the Redtown network. The five families outlined in the previous section may be distinguished from the other young people on the network map by either the total absence of a mother (Families 1, 2 and 3) or having a mother who was compromised by adversities (Families 4 and 5). Conversely, within the focused peer group (R4, R6 and R7), the analysis suggests that these young people's disengagement from the network may have been facilitated by factors relating to their mother/family. For example, R7 came from a relatively stable home and R4's mother was proactive in changing her son's trajectory away from crime (in spite of her past drug misuse and crime history). Gardaí described both R7 and R4 as no longer engaged in criminal activity.

Analysis also identified the 'small town' phenomenon as an additional barrier to disengagement and thus a factor in retention within the network. In this relatively small geographical area (Redtown population was under 30,000 in 2015)[45], potential employers were familiar with the young people's involvement in crime. This acted as a barrier to gaining local employment and moving on to an alternative pro-social lifestyle. The young people were also known and accessible to those keen to exploit their vulnerabilities; their chaotic backgrounds may have made them ideal candidates to develop problematic drug misuse, thereby incurring drug debt. This is the focus of Theme 2.

[43] The overlap among contacts in the young people's social and offending networks (McGloin and Piquero, 2010).
[44] At the time of interviews, the three key young people – R5, R8 and R9 – either were in detention or had just completed a period of detention and were described as 'keeping their heads down', therefore a full analysis of their possible exit from the criminal network is beyond the scope of the current study.
[45] According to CSO (Central Statistics Office), available on https://www.cso.ie/px/pxeirestat/Statire/SelectVarVal/Define.asp?maintable=E2014&PLanguage=0

3.2 Theme 2 – Drugs-related crime: Organised versus chaotic

Findings from Theme 1 suggest that young people's involvement in the Redtown network provided opportunities for their involvement in both the use of and the sale and supply of drugs. Theme 1 also identified that the young people's adverse and traumatic backgrounds may have increased their susceptibility to drug misuse. In line with this, our analysis suggests that Gardaí believed that drug-related crime was a major issue in Redtown.

We also present Theme 2 in two parts. First, we describe the analysis, which suggests that drug related-crime was the overarching concern in Redtown (Part A, 3.2.1). Second, we categorise network members into three broad levels based on members' level of organisation and the purpose of their involvement in relation to the sale and supply of drugs (Part B, 3.2.2). We illustrate this categorisation in Figure 12, a reconfigured Redtown drugs network map based on the data analysis.

3.2.1 Part A – Drug-related offences evidenced as an overarching concern

In Part A we present the data analysis that compares the 2015–2016 PULSE data used to construct the original network map (Figure 1) with the Redtown dataset in relation to drug-related crime.

Table 8: Percentage of network members who were directly linked to either drug-related or burglary offences (at least once) on the original network map and within respondents' narratives.

	Drugs	Burglary
PULSE detections (2014/2015)	12% (+34%)[46]	76%
Respondents' narratives[47]	90%	60%

The original Redtown network map[48] indicates burglary as the dominant co-offending crime, as it linked (green connecting lines, see Figure 1) a majority (76 per cent) of members on the network. On the other hand, only 12 per cent of all network members were linked via co-offending drug-related offence detections (red connection lines[49], Figure 1). PULSE data indicate that a further 34 per cent of the network members were detected for individual drug-related offences[50]. However, analysis of the Garda's narratives suggests a substantive link between the members and drug-related crime; Gardaí directly linked 80 per cent of the network members with the sale and supply of drugs, with an additional 10 per cent directly linked to drug use. In contrast, only 60 per cent of the network members were directly linked to burglary related offences within Gardaí's narratives (see Table 8).

[46] 12 per cent relates to detection of co-offending offences as illustrated on the network map; the additional 34 per cent relates to individual related offences that are not depicted on the map (these are both PULSE detections in 2014–2015).
[47] The network map was based on PULSE detection 2014–2015, Gardaí's narrative was not limited to this time frame and may capture their experiences of the occurrence of offences before and after 2014–2015.
[48] Derived from detections of both burglary and drug-related offences recorded in the PULSE system (see Appendix 1).
[49] Two of the three drug links on the original network map linked included female partners; this is of interest in that only four females appeared on the map, but it may also be relative to the crimes used to construct the network map (burglary offences tend not to be linked to females).
[50] PULSE data indicate that 12 per cent of network members were detected as individuals for sale and supply and 22 per cent for simple possession in 2014–2015, but as the original maps were based on co-offending incidences, individual offences were not illustrated on the original network maps.

Therefore, while PULSE data linked one in eight network members to drug offences, respondents directly linked nine out of ten network members to drug-related crime. Further analysis of the dataset revealed that Gardaí referred to drug-related offences three times more frequently than they referred to burglary-related offences during their interviews (see Figure 11 below).

REFERENCE TO VARIOUS CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

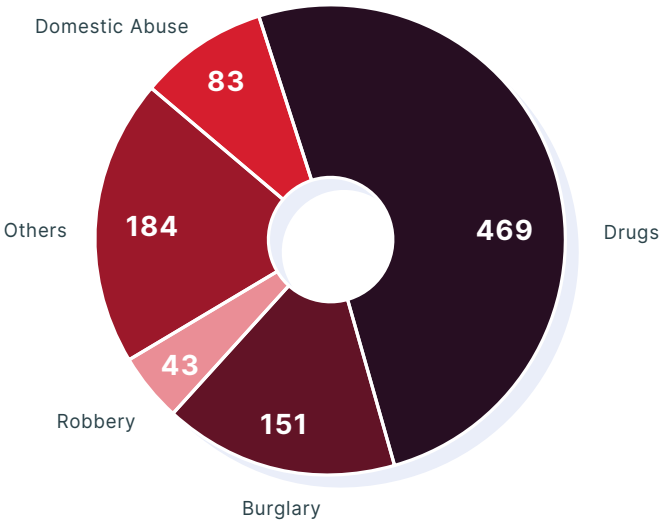


Figure 11: References coded to distinct criminal behaviour sub-categories as a proportion of all references coded to the criminal behaviour category

Table 8 above compares the percentage of network members detected for drug- and burglary-related offences (2015–2016, PULSE data) with the percentage of network members directly linked to drug- and burglary-related offences in the dataset. Figure 11 above, on the other hand, presents a breakdown of the interview data that relate to criminal behaviour. While 50 per cent of this narrative was in relation to drugs-related crime, only 16 per cent was in relation to burglary-related crime, with robbery (5 per cent), domestic abuse (9 per cent) and others (including antisocial behaviour and traffic-related offences (20 per cent) accounting for the remaining narrative[51]. These discrepancies (lower level of PULSE detections for drug-related offences to Garda perspective) may in part be explained by the difficulties involved in the detection of drug-related offences; for example, 'you're trying to deal with something that's completely under the radar' (Garda 8).

[51] Of note, interviews were respondent-led (see Appendix 1 for full methodology).

3.2.2 Part B: Categorisation of network members

Findings in Part A suggest that drug-related crime was problematic; indeed, analysis of the dataset suggests that drug-related crime linked the majority of network members. This is consistent with Garda 11's suggestion that 'every green line should be a red line as well'[52]. In particular, cannabis use among the younger network members was seen as the norm; for example, 'they all smoke cannabis, but that's kind of like alcohol' (Garda 11). Consequently, the sale and supply of cannabis was described as widespread; for example, 'anybody and everybody is now a cannabis dealer'[53] (Garda 10).

In Part B we categorise the individual network members within one of three interrelated levels, based on network member's role and increasing level of organisation[54] in relation to the sale and supply of drugs. We have illustrated this in Figure 12 below, the reconfigured[55] Redtown drugs network.

Network members were placed in one of three broad levels in the reconfigured drugs map (Figure 12). We positioned family members who did not feature on the original map (see Figure 16), but whom Gardaí described as significant in relation to the sale and supply of drugs, on the periphery. Dotted lines represent direct links described by Gardaí between individuals in relation to drugs for sale and supply offences.

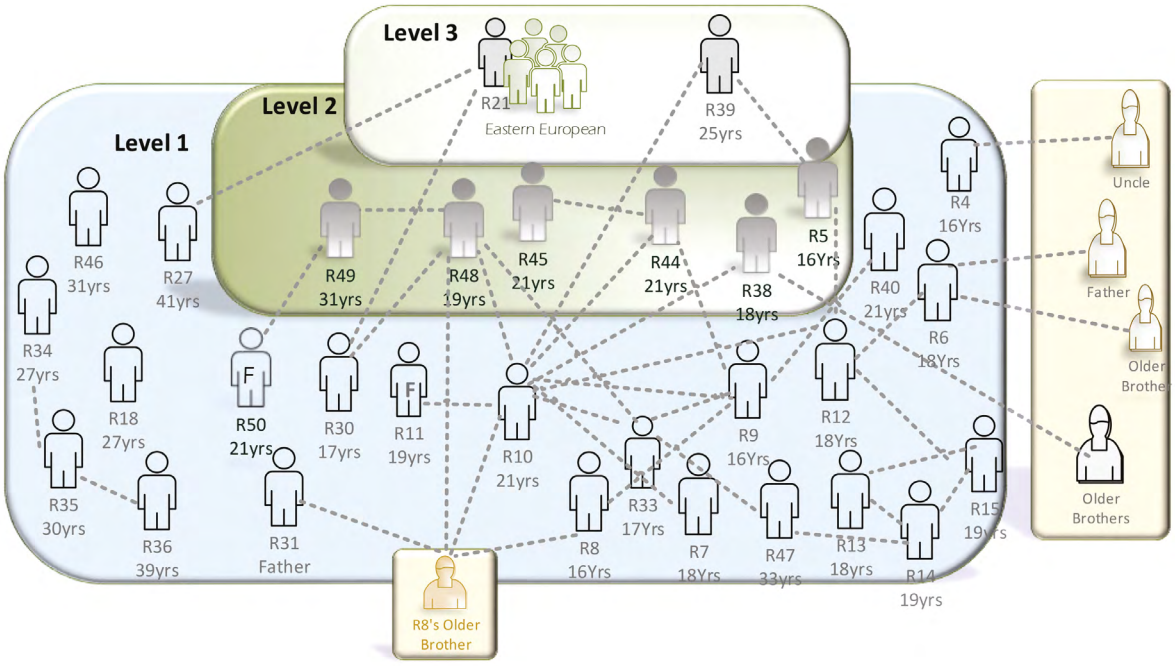


Figure 12: Reconfigured Redtown drugs map, linking network members based on their connections through the sale and supply of drugs

Level 1: Sale and supply to fund personal habit (low organisation/chaotic)
Level 2: Carrying, distribution and supply to lower level individuals
Level 3: Organised sale and supply of drugs

[52] Green lines in network maps represent linked burglary offences; red lines represent linked drugs offences.
[53] The sale and supply of cannabis is illegal in Ireland under the Misuse of Drugs Regulations 1988.
[54] Level 1 was linked to lowest level of organisation and poverty while Level 3 was linked to the highest level of organisation and a degree of wealth.
[55] Reconfigured based on the data analysis.

Table 9: Centrality[58], in terms of the sale and supply of drugs within the network

Network member	a. Centrality (number of connections)	b. Connected to	c. Number of Gardai Sources	d. Levels
R10	10	R11, R39, R44, R38, R9, R12, R33, R7, R48, R8b[56]	7	1C[57]
R12	6	R5, R6, R10, R13, R14, R15	4	1A
R9	5	R8, R10, R44, R40, R33	6	1A
R48	5	R49, R10, R33, R30, R8*	10	2
R33	4	R9, R10, R48, R49	4	1A
R47	4	R33, R13 R14, R15	3	1C
R**48**	5	R49, R10, R33, R30, R8b	10	2
R49	3	R48, R50, R33	16	2
R5	2	R39, R12	6	2

Based on analysis of the interview data, we present the centrality scores[59] for

a. the most connected network members
b. the members Gardaí connected them to
c. the number of Gardaí who linked that network member to the sale and supply of drugs[60]
d. the level (1 to 3) within the drugs network to which the member was assigned.

[56] b relates to the sublevel within level 1
[57] The centrality measure captures 'degree', a measure based on the number of individuals directly connected to an individual (with nobody in between) – the more people directly connected to an individual, the higher their degree score.
[58] Relates to R8's older brother, who was not on the original map.
[59] The centrality score is defined in full in Methodology. In brief it refers to the total number of Network members the individual was connected to in relation to the sale and supply of drugs (connected but not necessarily powerful, Cook et al, (1983))
[60] The number of Garda (sources) is repeated in Figure 13 (Level 1) and Figure 14 (Level 2).

Level 1: Sale and supply of drugs to fund personal use

The majority of the individuals within the Redtown network (see Figure 12 above) were categorised within this level. We divided these network members into three subgroups based on their age and level of sale and supply of drugs[61] as follows:

a. Young people (16 to 19 years old)
b. Adults involved in longer-term crime
c. Higher-level sale and supply of drug but with chaotic contexts.

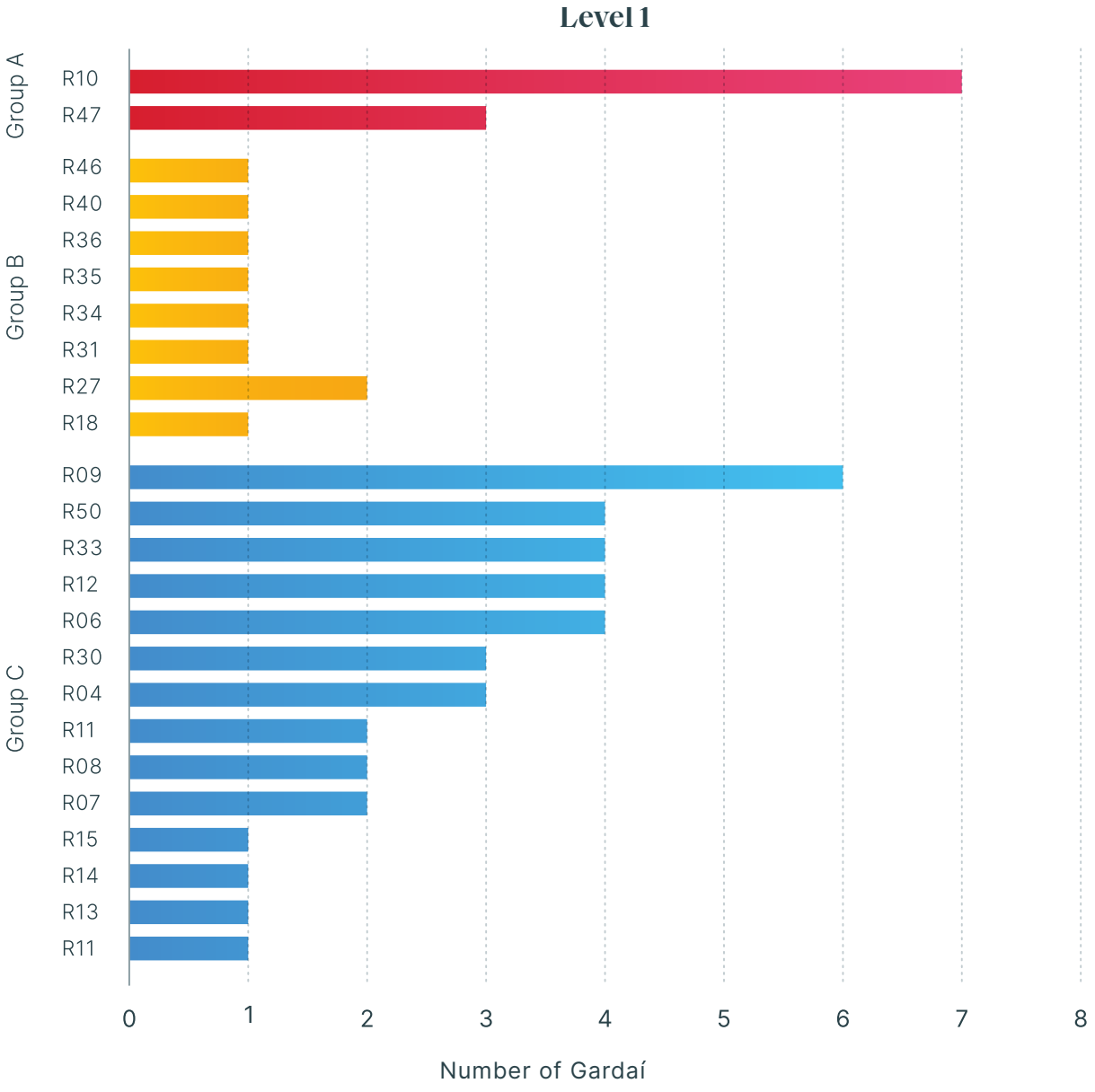


Figure 13: Number of Gardaí who linked the individual network members to the sale and supply of drugs for network members in Group A, Group B and Group C of Level 1[62]

[61] Members in Level 1 tended to be linked to the sale and supply of cannabis, tablets and amphetamines.
[62] For example, R10 was linked to the sale and supply of drugs by seven Gardaí.

Group A

Group A consisted of the young people in the Redtown network whom analysis suggests are involved in the sale and supply of drugs to fund their personal habit. As identified in Theme 1, adverse family circumstances and social deprivation were a common theme for the vast majority of individuals classified as Group A; for example, 'there's a lot of disruption, dysfunction, I suppose the family thing would stick out to me … what they all have in common' (Garda 2).

'There's a lot of disruption, dysfunction, I suppose the family thing would stick out to me … what they all have in common.'

Analysis also suggests that extended family may have exposed the young people to drugs within their home from an early age. For example, R4's extended family 'would be known in the drug, I suppose community, people who were addicted to drugs' (Garda 12). Young people's initial 'dabbling' in drugs escalated to more persistent drug use and crime to fund their personal drug use; for example, 'R9 got into an awful rut of doing crime and burglaries to feed the drugs habit' (Garda 6). However, drug debt was not considered to be the initial entry point into criminality for this group; for example, 'they were doing burglaries before they were into drugs but I think when the drugs became more prevalent … in their lives they would have either funded it by crime or by dealing themselves' (Garda 12).

Initial 'dabbling' in drugs escalated to more persistent drug use and crime to fund their drug use.

The data analysis therefore suggests that the young people in Group A sold drugs as a means to fund their personal drug use. Indeed, the sale or supply of drugs or 'supplying each other' was normalised for the young people; for example. 'a lot of them don't see themselves as drug dealers or involved in the drug business' (Garda 3). Respondents described that carrying and dealing drugs was a less risky means of earning money (when compared to other crimes[63]); however, there was no overt financial wealth linked to this group of young people's drug dealing.

'A lot of them don't see themselves as drug dealers or involved in the drug business.'

Respondents tended to describe burglary connections as secondary to a drugs connection; for example; 'R14 and R15 that would be a drug connection … I'd be aware of the burglary-related incident, that wouldn't be the connection, the drugs would be the strong connection there' (Garda 3). R30 (17 years old), although placed on the original map due to a burglary incident with R29 (Level 3), only surfaced in Garda narratives in terms of his drugs connections. Respondents tended to describe involvement in drugs as the vehicle that ensured contact between the young people on the periphery of the network with those more central. Specifically, to the cluster of young people involved in more prolific burglary offending, for example, 'if there was a supply of recreational drugs … it would come through R5 to R12[64] [brothers from Family 1] up to R13, through to R14 and R15' (Garda 4).

Centrality scores (see Table 9) suggest that within Group A, R12 (Family 1) and R9 and R33 (Family 3) were well connected in the Redtown drugs network, with centrality scores of 6, 5 and 4 respectively. However, there was no evidence to suggest that R12, R9 and R33 were attributed power or status within the network. Interestingly, the analysis also suggests that R12 was the link between his younger brother, R5 (Level 2) and other young people on the map in relation to the sale and supply of drugs (see Level 2 below for further discussion).

[63] For example, theft, burglary, robbery
[64] R5 being the top ranked and his brother R12 the fourth rank member in terms of both first five mentions and frequency of mentions (See Theme 1, section 3.1.1,)

Group B

Group B represents older network members with extended crime trajectories. As such, these members tended to be described as older versions of the Group A young people. Portrayed as career criminals, they tended to be predominantly linked to robbery- and burglary-related crime and to a lesser extent drug misuse. There were no overt signs of wealth, and only one Garda[65] linked each of the Group B members to the sale and supply of drugs (see Figure 13).

Group C

Group C consists of R10 and R47. Similarly to Groups A and B, respondents described R10 and R47 as experiencing adversity and social deprivation. There was also an apparent lack of organisation linked to their drug dealing and no explicit signs of wealth; for example, '[R10] seem to be living in poverty all the time' (Garda 20). However, they are distinguished from Groups A and B due to the relative seriousness of their involvement in the sale and supply of drugs.

Three Gardaí directly linked R47 (33 years old) to the sale and supply of drugs and he had a centrality score of 4 (see Table 9). R47, who was described as having 'spent half of his life in prison' (Garda 4), was linked to the young people on the network through 'story telling'[66] and also the sale and supply of drugs. Respondents described R47 as displaying all the signs of persistent drug misuse. Four generations of R47's family were known to the Gardaí. The youngest, his nephew, who was not on the original map, was also linked to young people identified in Group A. R47 and individuals identified in Group B were all linked to extended crime trajectories; their continual presence within the network suggests the long-term stability and embeddedness of this criminal network within Redtown.

Seven Gardaí linked R10[67] (21 years old) to the sale and supply of drugs and he had the highest centrality score at 10 (see Table 9). Analysis therefore suggests that in terms of sale and supply of drugs, R10 was the most connected; however, he was also described as living in poverty (see Family 4, Theme 1). Respondents linked R10 to the two 16-year-olds, R8 and R9 (Group A and featured in Theme 1); for example. R10 'would consider them [R8 and R9] friends even though they are younger … they would all engage in drug dealing' (Garda 19). Garda 10 described a somewhat less equal distribution of power in the relationship between the young people and R10, where R10 'is getting R9, R8, definitely R7, R12, R33[68] – from what I know of, they're dealing cannabis for him'. However, differently to the other Level 1 network members, respondents also linked R10 to the more organised dealers, R39 (Level 3), R49 and R44 (Level 2), through drug-related links.

R10 was also noted for his involvement in drug related feuds, for example; 'R10 he would be feuding with relatives of R38 [Level 2] and he'd be feuding with R39 [Level 3] . . . last year they put in the windows of his mother's house, R10's house, and that would be drugs related as well' (Garda 6).

While respondents tended to link drug use with aggression, violence and antisocial behaviour, they linked obtaining sufficient funds to purchase drugs to theft, burglary and drug dealing.

For Level 1 members drug use was linked to drug debt; for example, 'heard from the parents of R9 and R8 about people calling to the door looking for money' (Garda 12), which in turn was linked to the sale and supply of drugs; 'everyone is selling drugs now that has a debt'[69] (Garda 5). Network members classified at this level tended to be described as 'easy targets' (Garda 5), having experienced adversity throughout their childhood where 'standard basic needs are not being met'

[65] With the exception that R27 was directly linked to the sale and supply of drugs by two Gardaí, and was connected to the Eastern European cluster (Level 3).
[66] R47 was described as an older network member who entertained the young people (in particular, R13, R14 and R15) with stories about his experiences. The young people were described as looking up to R47.
[67] See Theme 1, Family 4.
[68] R8, R9 (16-year-olds), R33 (17 years old), R7 (18 years old) and R12 (19 years old) were all classified as Subgroup A and featured in Theme 1.
[69] This was an expert opinion and not grounded in specific incidents.

(Garda17) (see Theme 1). While respondents tended to link drug use with aggression, violence and antisocial behaviour, they linked obtaining sufficient funds to purchase drugs to theft, burglary and drug dealing.

Level 2: Carrying, distribution and supply to lower level individuals

Analysis identified R48, R49, R5, R38, R44 and R45 as involved in carrying drugs for Level 3 dealers and in the recruitment of others to sell drugs for them in Redtown.

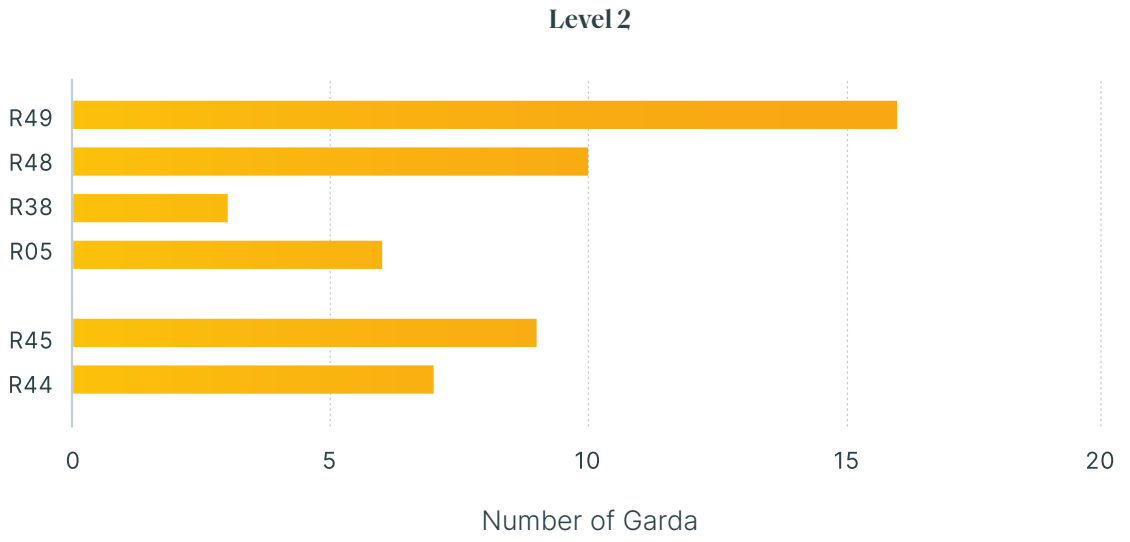


Figure 14: Number of Gardaí who associated the Level 2 network members with the sale and supply of drugs

Ten Gardaí linked R48 to the sale and supply of drugs and he had a centrality score of 5. Sixteen Gardaí linked R49 to the sale and supply of drugs and he had a centrality score of 3 (see Table 9). Respondents described R48 as a half-brother to R49, and socially linked to the Group A young people. Analysis suggest that R49's offending had escalated over time; for example, 'a big dealer [now] but he started out like R48 now, selling cannabis' (Garda 8). There was a degree of organisation linked to R49's involvement in the sale and supply of drugs. Sixteen of the 20 Gardaí linked R49 to the sale and supply of drugs[70]; however, with a centrality score of 3, Gardaí only linked him to three other individuals in the current drugs network[71].

Although Garda 8 described R48 as 'selling cannabis', Garda 5 described R48 as sourcing cannabis in a neighbouring city and supplying the young people in Redtown to sell on. However, there were no overt signs of wealth; for example, 'he's [R48] no millionaire by any means' (Garda 9). As described in Theme 1, R49 and R48 also grew up in adverse circumstances: their single-parent mother was described as having substance misuse problems; for example, 'mum would have been ferociously strong into the drugs' (Garda 3).

[70] This was the highest number of Gardaí direct links for a network member for the sale and supply of drugs
[71] R49 was incarcerated at the time of interview.

Six Gardaí linked R5 to the sale and supply of drugs, but he had a centrality score of only 2 (see Table 9). Gardaí however described R5 as connected to other young people on the network map through his older brother R12 (see Level 1). Although closely linked through family and burglary offences, R5 stands apart from the young people in Group A (Level 1). We outlined his dominant position in the Garda's narratives in Theme 1. Although he was only 16 years old, Gardaí descriptions of R5's involvement in the sale and supply of drugs were more consistent with dealing at a more organised level. For example, 'he would have had people dealing out for him' (Garda 9) and R5 was 'threatening to cause serious harm to a person … that was a drug-related incident' (Garda 9). Garda 9 also predicted that R5 might have a more serious involvement at an organisational level in the sale and supply of drugs in the future; for example, 'I think eventually R5 will get involved in drugs heavily, but not hands on: he will be involved in facilitating it, at a higher level'.

Three Gardaí linked R38 (18 years old) to the sale and supply of drugs and he had a centrality score of 2 (see Table 9). Garda 1 described R38 as 'an accomplice of all that group [Group A]'. However, analysis suggested that R38 may have 'branched out' and was 'working' for his two brothers (not on the map) who were involved in the sale and supply of drugs; for example, it was 'widely known in Redtown that [they] are involved in the drug trade' (Garda 1).

Gardaí consistently linked R44 and R45 (21-year-olds) and they differed from other network members in that they were described as growing up in comfortable, relatively functioning homes[73]. Gardaí 16 described their parents as 'Garda friendly', having 'good jobs' and 'no criminal background whatsoever'. Garda 10 described how R44 and R45 were 'involved in taking drugs since they were 14, 15', which 'expanded out to drug dealing' (Garda 13). Although they do not feature on the drugs centrality table (see Table 9), there were multiple descriptions of their drug dealings; for example, they were described as carrying drugs from a nearby city for 'someone higher up' (Garda 9). There were also more serious descriptions, for example, 'He's [R44] one of the biggest suppliers of cocaine in Redtown, it's very rare that he handles any product himself, he has been known to go down to the secondary schools around here and pick out a couple of lads who are known to dabble in cocaine and cannabis and get them to do his runs for him' (Garda 10).

Although they had different social backgrounds, R44 was linked to the Group A young people; for example, R9 was described as 'doing a lot of work in terms of carrying drugs for R44' (Garda 10). R44 and R45 also 'have strong connections to others and the main thing would be drug related' (Garda 3). R45 was also described as having 'two first cousins who aren't on the list who are extremely busy in dealing cannabis and cocaine in, say, the Redtown district, not just Redtown town' (Garda 10).

Level 3: Organised sale and supply of drugs

Level 3 individuals were linked to a more sophisticated level of organisation in the sale and supply of drugs, with some evidence of financial gain. The analysis suggests that individuals categorised at this level tended not to be involved in burglary-related incidents and may have avoided detection for drug-related offences by engaging others to do their frontline sale and supply of drugs. Therefore, this level was predominantly composed of individuals who did not appear on the original network map. For example, 'one of the main lads in the town who would be selling everything, there's two brand new cars in the driveway, the house is paid for … he's not hands on, he organises everything' (Garda 11).

[73] As compared to the social deprivation experienced by the network members featured in Level 1.

R39's appearance on the original map was confined to intelligence links (see Figure 1). Garda 1 described R39 as 'one of the main suppliers in the town'. Gardaí also linked R39 to his brothers who were involved in the sale and supply of drugs (not on the original map). Garda 9 suggested that R39 was 'supplying at a higher scale now … selling in he has not been caught'. Further, Garda 1 described how 'I could meet R39 tomorrow morning and he might have €600, €700 on him, but he'd never have stuff on him'. Garda 9 also described R39 as a possible drug source for R5 (Level 2)[74].

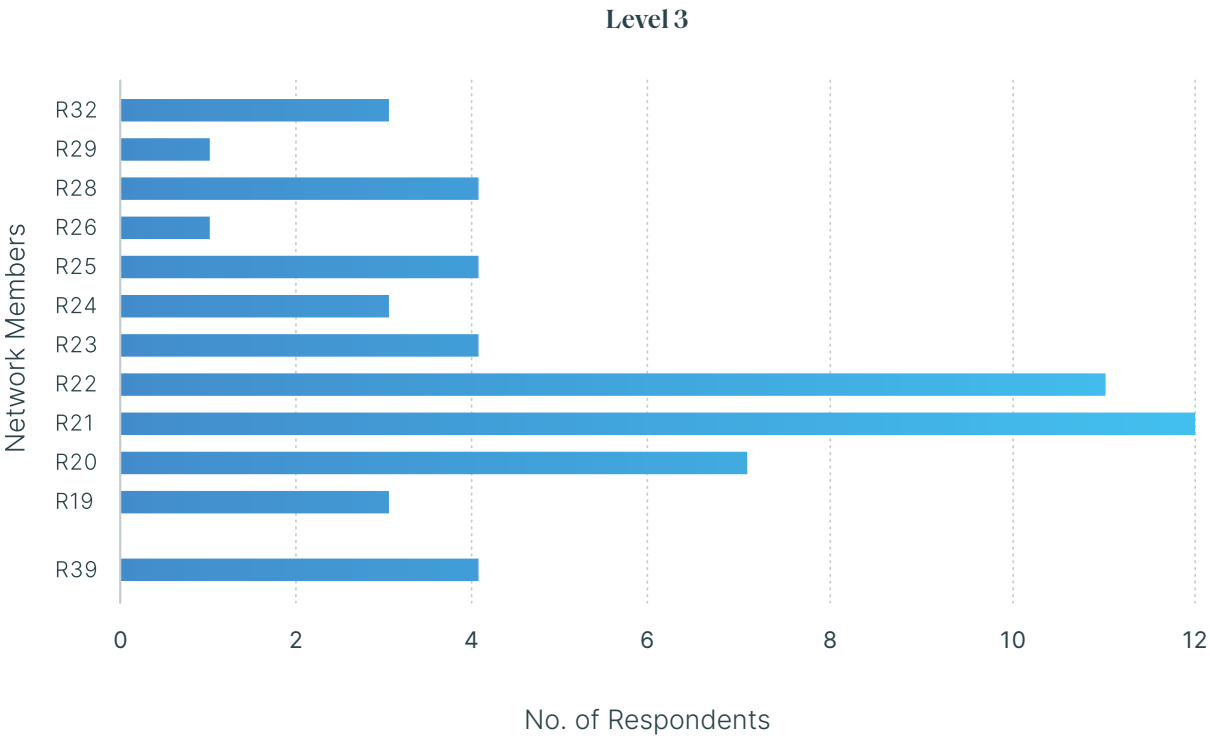


Figure 15: Number of respondents who associated the Level 3 network members with the sale and supply of drugs

Gardaí linked the cluster consisting of R19 to R26, R28, R29 and R32 by a common non-Irish ethnicity (of Eastern European descent). These individuals are also interconnected through both familial and friendship links: R21 and R22 (father–son), R19 and R20 (sister and brother), R26, R28 and R32 (half-brothers), and R19 and R22 (romantic partners). They differ from other Level 3 individuals as they have been detected for burglary and drug-related crime in the 2014–2015 period and therefore appear on the original network map (Figure 1). However, there is a degree of organisation linked to this cluster; for example, they were linked to both a local grow house[75] and a relatively large seizure of drugs. The predominant narrative centred on their sale and supply of drugs (in particular cannabis) within their own ethnic group; for example, 'generally speaking they supply themselves' (Garda 9). However, they lived in the same council estates as others on the map, and the analysis revealed evidence of interactions between the two communities. For example, Gardaí reported that R32 had received a severe beating from locals in a drug-related incident. R27 (Level 1, Group B), a local man, was a driver in an aggravated

[74] R5 was the young person that dominated the respondent's narratives (see Theme 1, Family 1). This extract is based on opinion and not a specific incidence
[75] Grow houses are premises where a large quantity of cannabis is grown and harvested for sale.

burglary incident with R26 and R28[76]. Further, there was an intelligence link between R25 and R14 (Level 1, Group A), and a burglary link between R29 and R30 (Level 1, Group A). No evidence was provided to suggest that this cluster had adverse childhoods. Also distinguishing them from others on the map, this group tended to have consistent legitimate employment.

Summary

In brief, Gardaí identified the sale and supply of drugs as a serious problem in Redtown. Analysis suggests that the young people were vulnerable to exploitation within the network, and that drug misuse may have led to drug debt and the sale and supply of drugs. There was also evidence of escalation of individual network members' level of sale and supply of drugs. Addiction to drugs was described as a barrier to desistance for young people and a defining factor in their crime trajectories; for example, they 'get stuck on the drugs then and the game is up' (Garda 5). Specifically, Garda 1 described R6 as 'a lost cause and the reason why is, he is hell bent on drugs … there's no future for this guy'. It is important to note that individuals who Gardaí portrayed as well connected within the network did not appear to have power or status and tended to be linked to more chaotic criminal activity. In contrast, individuals portrayed as involved in more organised drug-related crime, and linked to power and status, had low centrality scores and did not feature on the original network map (not detected).

[76] This was described as related to drug debt.

3.3 Summary of findings: Theoretical framework

Finally, we summarise the findings in a theoretical framework).

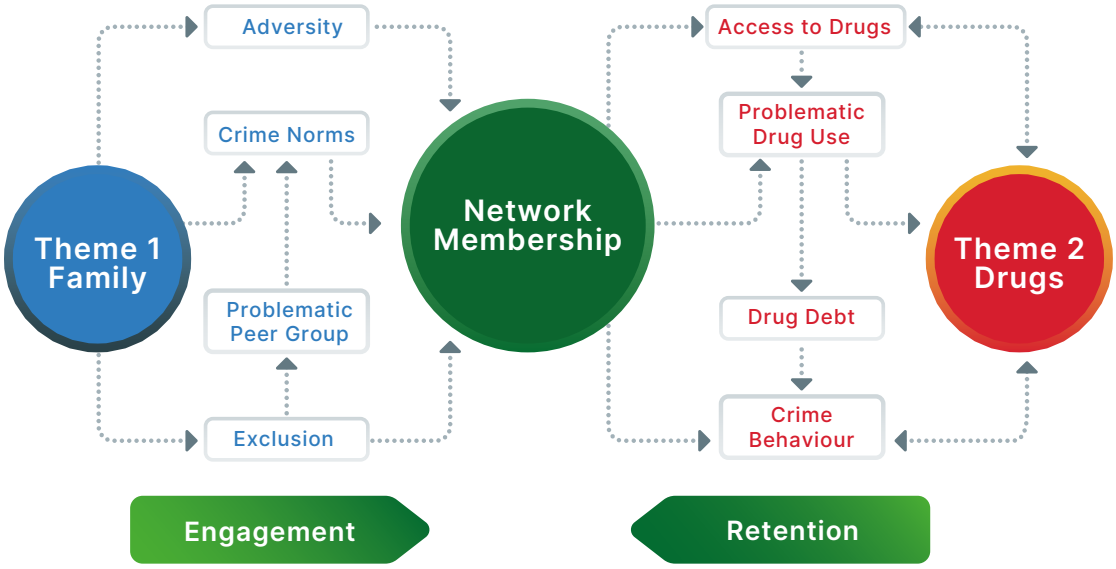


Figure 16: Theoretical framework illustrating the interconnections between themes, subthemes as processes of engagement and retention of network membership

We have chosen an integrated theory to capture the complexities evidenced for young people involved in more serious and prolific crime in Redtown. The analysis suggests that adversity (trauma histories) may have increased young people's vulnerabilities to risk-taking behaviours, while pro-criminal norms within the young people's families drove expectations for the young people to commit crime. Exclusion from mainstream society in Redtown (early school leavers, non-involvement in pro-social community groups/activities) contributed to the young people's engagement in problematic peer groups that arguably resulted in restricted worldviews. This may have reinforced family norms that viewed criminal behaviour as acceptable. The analysis therefore suggests that a combination of adverse family environments (in the context of social deprivation) and family pro-criminal norms (reinforced by redundant peer groups brought about by exclusion) contributed to the young people's engagement within the Redtown criminal network. Membership of the network may have then reinforced pro-criminal norms and brought about additional expectations of criminal behaviour.

Network membership provided additional opportunities for the young people to gain access to drugs while their adverse experiences (vulnerabilities) may have increased their susceptibility to problematic drug use, which in turn may have led to drug debt and the sale and supply of drugs to cover that debt.

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Conclusions

In this section, we consider how the Redtown findings address the research questions (Section 4.1) and outline the strengths and limitations of the study's methodology and findings (Section 4.2). Finally, we summarise the findings and outline how the Redtown findings resonate with the Greentown findings (Section 4.3).

4.1. Redtown findings and the research questions

The Redtown study aimed to identify from a Garda perspective the factors that influenced young people's engagement and retention within the Redtown criminal network, and whether engagement with the network influenced the young people's pattern of criminal activity. The current methodology, a case study approach, precluded causal inferences; the study is therefore exploratory and formative. We developed a theoretical framework, which proposes that the interaction between experiences of adversity[77], pro-criminal norms and exclusion that leads to involvement in problematic peer groups contributed to the young people's engagement in the Redtown network. Membership of the network in turn may have provided opportunities for the young people to access illicit drugs, while their vulnerabilities may have facilitated the development of problematic drug use and drug debt obligations. Findings suggest that this may have been a key contributing factor to young people's retention within the network and atypical offending patterns.

4.2 Strengths and limitations[78]

Redtown, although a relatively small provincial town, was ranked third in the list of all Garda sub-districts for the number of young people (under 18 years) involved in atypical crimes (burglary and drugs for sale and supply). This made it an ideal location for an in-depth analysis of the factors that may influence young people's more serious and prolific offending from the perspective of Garda respondents, a previously untapped source of expert tactile knowledge in this area.

A particular strength of the Twinsight[79] methodology was its ability to capture in-depth knowledge over and above that possible from an analysis of the administration data or an ethnographic analysis alone. First, Twinsight methodology facilitated both group- and individual-level analysis. For example, at a group level, the Redtown findings showed that family-led factors contributed to the engagement and retention of young people and explored dynamics at play within the network. However, findings also highlighted individual-level factors. For example, although findings suggest that R5 also experienced

[77] Adversity has been conceptualised within the literature as adverse childhood experiences (ACEs). ACEs is a measure that captured the occurrence (not frequency nor severity) of 10 adverse experiences in a child's life (before the age of 18) (Felitti et al., 1998).
[78] A full discussion of the limitations linked to the Twinsight method is given in the Greentown report (Redmond, 2016)
[79] More specifically, case profile analysis.

adversity[80] and maintained strong pro-criminal norms (group-level factors), they also suggest that certain personality traits (for example, his unrealistic sense of superiority, and ability to adapt to and influence his peers) may have differentiated R5 from the other young people engaged in the Redtown network. These factors may have also contributed to R5's extensive criminal offending[81].

Second, we based the original network map on 2014–2015 PULSE data; however, the Twinsight methodology facilitated the examination of the network from a longitudinal perspective. Findings evidenced contexts, specific incidences and interactions both prior to and post 2014–2015. This provides an additional in-depth understanding of the individual members and their families' contexts and the ongoing maintenance and operation of the Redtown network. While this identified a degree of network sustainability as a whole, it also highlighted the dynamic nature and changes within the network itself over time.

At the initial briefing meeting[82] the research team informed Gardaí that the study focused on young people, their contexts and interactions with other individuals on the network. This may have influenced Gardaí narratives. However, despite the study's focus on the younger members of the network, the intergenerational nature of offending was evident, with older family members also involved in the network.

Readers need to be aware of some limitations in relation to the use of PULSE data to construct the original network map. Local Gardaí initially inputted the PULSE data and the national Garda Siochána Analysis Service compiled and manipulated the data to construct a local network map. However, the research team took steps to ensure the map was representative of the area; local Garda management approved the map prior to interviews and Garda respondents gave an average rating of 7.8 out of 10 for the accuracy of the Redtown map at the start of their interviews. Further, we grounded the study findings on the analysis of local Garda respondents' narratives of network members, their contexts and the dynamics between network members. This combination of input, construction and analysis of Garda narratives may have contributed to the occurrence of an institutional bias. However, our data collection procedure, which interviewed Gardaí with diverse roles and perspectives and aimed to ground narratives in specific incidences, served to minimise the occurrence of such bias.

The ability of the Twinsight approach to unearth information over and above the original PULSE data was evident when two new networks for specific crime types (burglary and drugs for sale and supply) were required to reflect the interview data. As mentioned previously, it is important to note that we based the findings on third-party (Gardaí) perspectives. Triangulating findings with input from individual network members may strengthen the evidence base by providing a frontline perspective, though such a study would present many ethical challenges.

As criminal transactions between individual members were central to the concept of a network, we did not include individual detections on the original network map (see Figure 1). This results in a visual underestimation of the occurrence of drug-related crimes, which are more likely to be detected as individual crimes[83].

[80] R5 was however essentially reared by his paternal grandmother. R5's living conditions were not as extreme as those of other families described in Theme 1; for example, 'she would have kept an all right house but would have been turbulent enough' (Garda 18).
[81] Further investigation, for example a tracking of R5 in terms of his criminal behaviour and influences, may add to the knowledge base on factors that influence more serious and organised crime trajectories.
[82] See Appendix 1.
[83] Private correspondence with senior analyst with in An Garda Síochána.

The PULSE crime data indicate that the young people in the Redtown criminal network were involved in atypical crime. The current study aimed to identify from a Garda perspective whether engagement in the criminal network influenced the young people's offending patterns. A follow-up longitudinal study that compared the PULSE crime data of the young people embedded in the network with those on the periphery would provide insights as to whether this embeddedness contributed to prolonged offending.

Summary

The original Greentown study (Redmond 2015, 2016) was unique in its design of the innovative Twinsight methodology to facilitate the examination of criminal networks using a qualitative approach and capturing the expert knowledge of the local police force. The findings from the original Greentown study identified the importance of taking a network approach to the examination of the factors that may contribute to young people's more serious and prolific offending. This replication study strengthens this position; it highlights both the replicability of the Twinsight methodology in different contexts and its contribution of novel knowledge in the area of youth justice.

A comparison analysis of the findings from the original Greentown study and the two replication case studies together with practical implications can be found in a separate publication (Naughton, Redmond, O'Meara Daly, in progress). Redmond (2016) contains a full discussion on practice and policy implications, while Redmond (in progress) describes the practice and policy implications emanating from all research studies in the Greentown Project (Greentown, Bluetown, Redtown and National Prevalence Study).

In line with the Greentown findings in relation to the context of the local young people caught up in the criminal network, the Redtown findings suggest that familial and peer pro-crime norms, together with experiences of adversity, contribute to young people's engagement with the local criminal network. The network fulfilled valued psychosocial needs, expectations of criminal behaviour and the norm of illicit substance activities. These ensured retention within the network and contributed to more serious and extended crime trajectories for the young people engaged in the local criminal network.

In relation to drug activity, the Redtown findings suggest difference in levels of power and status among individuals. While the majority of the network members had a chaotic involvement in drug activity predominantly to feed their problematic drug use and pay drug debt obligations, individuals involved in more organised drug activity tended not to feature on the original map (which was constructed from PULSE crime data). This suggests that they may have engaged others to conduct their frontline work (for example conveyance and sale of drugs), and therefore go undetected.

In brief, the Redtown findings suggest that young people's vulnerabilities (experiences of adversity and pro-criminal norms) may have led to their engagement in the criminal network. This in turn may have contributed to their exploitation by others and the young people's escalation in offending to include the sale and supply of drugs. This escalation together with drug misuse and associated drug debt obligations may have contributed to the young people's retention within the criminal network.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Methodology

Initially we outline the key features of the methodology, then we describe the Twinsight methodology, aims of the research and data analysis strategy in detail.

Twinsight methodology

We replicated the Twinsight methodology that Redmond (2016) specifically developed for the original Greentown study. First, we explain how we selected the replication site. Second, we outline how the Garda Analysis Service constructed the network maps; finally, we describe our data collection procedure.

Selection of replication case study location

We selected the replication case study locations based on the sampling strategy taken by the Greentown study. An Garda Síochána Analysis Service ranked all Garda sub-districts based on detections of burglary and drugs for sale and supply offences committed by young people[84] during 2014–2015 as recorded in the PULSE system. Table 10 (see below) illustrates the top six ranked Garda sub-districts (anonymised), together with the total number of burglary and drugs for sale and supply detections for children during 2014–2015. The table also contains the proportion of the total number of offences per 1,000 children in that Garda sub-district.

Garda management from the anonymised locations, Bluetown (Dublin sub-district) and Redtown (provincial sub-district), which were ranked first and third, accepted an invitation from the research team to participate in the replication study.

[84] Under the age of 18 years.

Table 10: Ranking of all Garda sub-districts (2014–2015) based on detections for burglary and drugs for sale or supply offences by young people under 18 years

Ranking	Sub-District	Burglary	Drugs Sale/ Supply	Total	Burg/Drugs Per 1000 12-17yrs
1	Bluetown	234	8	242	35
2	Greentown	112	0	112	32
3	Redtown	78	7	85	31
4	Dublin **X**	57	7	64	20
5	Dublin **Y**	61	0	61	29
6	Midlands **X**	56	3	59	35

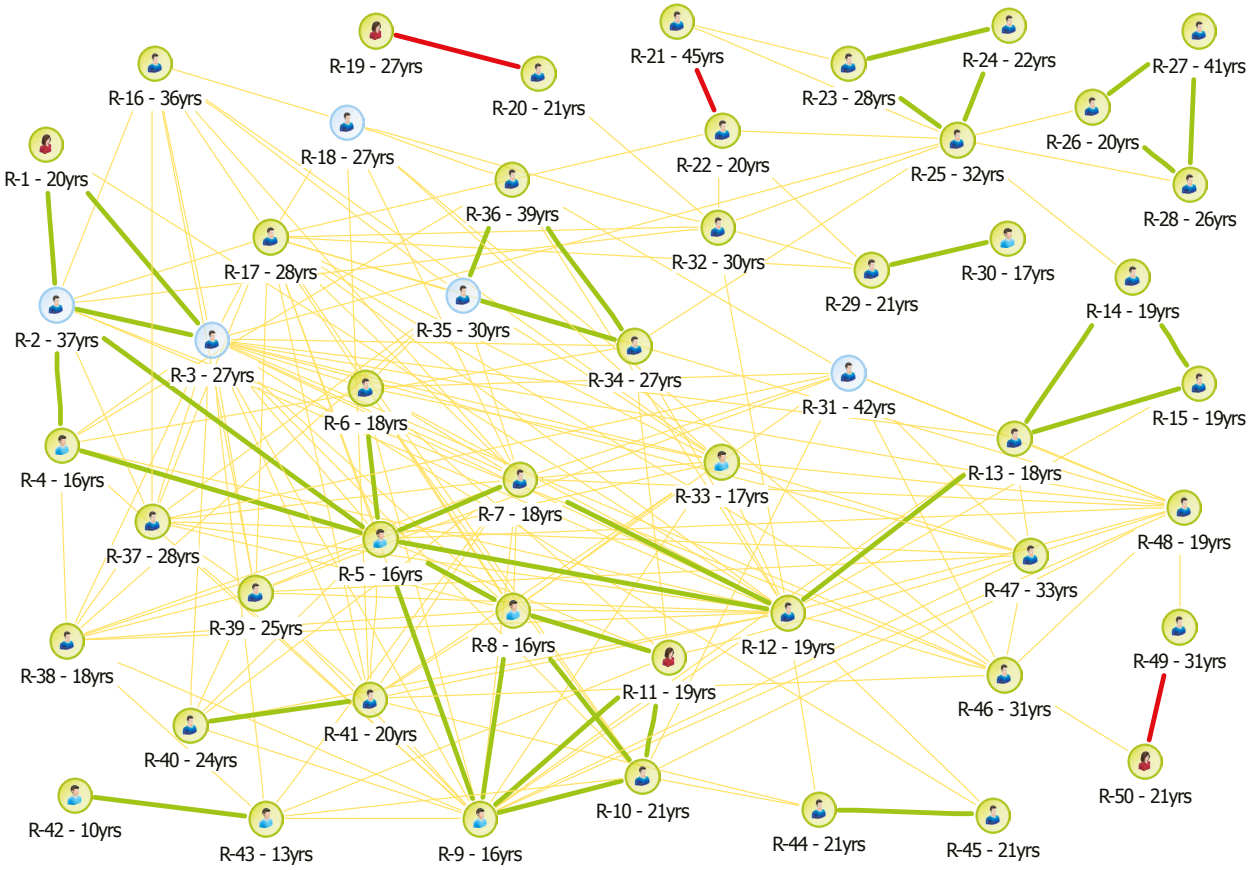


Figure 17: Redtown sub-district linked offences 2014–2015, researcher's version[85]

Construction of the network map

The Redtown network map, based on 2014–2015 PULSE data, was constructed by An Garda Síochána Analysis Service (see Figure 17 above) based on co-offending relationships[86].

Each node[87] (see Figure 18) represents an individual network member with identifying information as follows:

- a unique identifier number: R1 to R50
- age in years[88]
- gender: the female members are represented by a red figure head, the male members are represented by blue figure heads
- location of current address[89] is represented by background colour – light green background represents individuals with an address within Redtown sub-district; blue background represents an individual with an address outside the sub-district[90].



Figure 18: Node

[85] This map is the same map as Figure 1
[86] Co-offending relationships refer to specific criminal incidents in which two or more individuals were detected together.
[87] A node is a figurehead that represents an individual on the network map.
[88,89] As of 31 December 2015.
[90] Figure 18 shows a node representing R27, who, on 31 December 2015, was a 41-year-old male with an address within the Redtown Garda Sub-district.

Colour links (lines that link the nodes) represent individuals detected together for at least one specific criminal incident as follows.

Red link: drugs for sale or supply offences
Green link: burglary offences
Orange link: intelligence record[91]

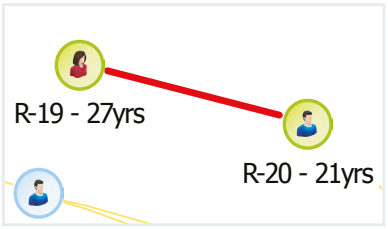


Figure 19: Drug

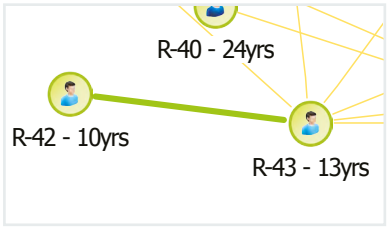


Figure 20: Burglary link

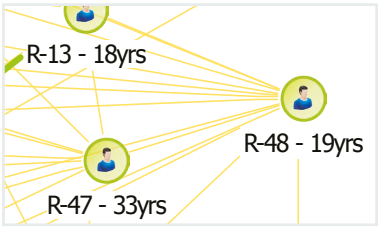


Figure 21: Intelligences

Data collection

Using Twinsight methodology (Redmond, 2016), two PDF versions of the Redtown network maps were produced by An Garda Síochána Analysis Services, a researcher's version and a Garda's version. The researcher's version (Figure 17) was anonymised[92]. The Garda respondent's version also contained the name of each network member[93]. This ensured a comprehensive yet confidential discussion during interviews with Redtown Gardaí, and afforded protection to case-sensitive data. Prior to interviews, local Garda management reviewed the network maps to ensure they were an adequate reflection of detections for the specified criminal offences in the Redtown area during 2014–2015.

We conducted an initial on-site briefing with the Redtown Gardaí who had agreed to participate in the study. The aim of this briefing was to outline the purpose of the study and ensure the Garda respondents were familiar with the network map. Prior to the interviews, the Garda respondents were encouraged to discuss the contents of the map among themselves and to think about specific incidences relating to individual network members who featured on the map, their contexts and interactions between the individuals. This was done to ensure that the Garda respondents would provide rich data grounded in evidence[94,95].

We conducted interviews with 20 Gardaí based in Redtown who had a working knowledge of the network[96]. At the researcher's request, Garda respondents varied in terms of their rank, age, gender and roles (for example, juvenile liaison officers, community officers, regular, specialist crime, drugs, and intelligence) within An Garda Síochána[97]. This ensured the dataset[98] contained a number of diverse within-organisation perspectives and permitted in-depth insights from a wider range of contextual viewpoints (home life, community life, specific offences, etc.)

[91] Intelligence links were not included on the Greentown map. The use of intelligence links therefore represents a new addition to the Redtown map. Intelligence links refer to incidents deemed sufficiently important for the observing Garda to record.
[92] The researchers' version contained no personal identifying information.
[93] In line with the original study, to ensure anonymity and confidentiality the Gardaí's versions remained under the protection of An Garda Síochána and were at no time visible to the research team. We used the unique identifiers to refer to specific network members throughout the interviews.
[94] It was considered that grounding the interview discussion in specific incidences and events would minimise opinion-based answers and mitigate (albeit to a limited extent) responses based only on an organisational perspective.
[95] To avoid the risks of the development of consensus prior to interview, Garda respondents were informed of the importance of diverse perspectives on specific incidences and individuals.
[96] To capture expert on-the-ground tacit knowledge of the network.
[97] To maintain the anonymity of the respondents, a table of their attributes has not been presented.
[98] 'Dataset' refers to the 20 transcribed interviews.

Participation was voluntary and all Gardaí provided informed consent prior to interview. We conducted the interviews in October/November 2017 in a venue that facilitated confidential discussions. The interview schedule facilitated a close examination of the network at various levels: individual, transactions between individuals, sub-group activities and the network as a whole. Interviews were semi-structured in order to allow the researcher to probe areas of interest to the research question. Interviews were audio recorded and lasted an average of 60.29 minutes (minimum 48 minutes and maximum 85 minutes).

The interview schedule facilitated the close examination of the network at various levels of granularity: individual, transactions between individuals, sub-group activities and the network as a whole.

Data Analysis Strategy

We transcribed audio-recorded interviews and imported the transcripts into NVivo software. The analysis consisted of two parts: case profile analysis and thematic analysis.

Case profile analysis

We developed case profile analysis to maximise insights provided by the Twinsight methodology (Redmond, 2016). As such, case profile analysis provided a thorough analysis of individual network members and the context of their engagement, retention and exit from the Redtown network. We used NVivo software to link paragraphs of narrative on individual network members throughout the dataset. We then manually checked each compiled case profile for accuracy. Following the Twinsight methodology, we used the two quantitative diagnostic screens – first five mentioned and frequency of mentions – to aid in the selection of the network members whom the respondents considered important, for further in-depth analysis.

Case profile analysis was developed to maximise insights provided by Twinsight methodology.

First five mentioned: We asked each respondent to identify five individuals on the map who they felt were important and were happy to talk about during their interview. During analysis, we totalled the first five mentions across all respondents, to provide a first-five mention score for each network member. The process identified individual network members who were salient to the respondents.

Frequency of mentions: We totalled the number of paragraphs linked to each network member[99] to provide a frequency of mentions score. This process identified individuals who were dominant within Garda narratives throughout the dataset[100]. We conducted further analysis on individual network members that featured in the top 10 for either first five mentioned or frequency of mentions rankings. We compiled case profile summaries and synthesised these within their family groupings[101,102].

[99] NVivo software compiled all paragraphs that contained a specified unique identifier number.
[100] We used this tool to offset bias that may have arisen from the increased attention that may have been given to talked-about individuals or sensationalised behaviour which may contribute to a higher than warranted 'first five mention' score.
[101] As family influences were considered important to the research question (see Chapter 3, Theme 1), summaries were also written for family members (including girlfriends) who were closely linked to the top 10 ranked (in terms of first five mentions and frequency of mentions) individuals within Garda narratives.
[102] The summaries were extract-heavy so that they clearly reflected Garda narratives.

For the Redtown study, we also calculated a centrality score for network members and grouped individuals according to their family classification.

Centrality: We totalled the number of network members whom at least one Garda directly connected to a specific network member in relation to the sale and supply of drugs, to provide a centrality score for each network member. Centrality is based on links made by Gardaí and does not equate to power, therefore high centrality scores portray an individual as connected but not powerful (Cook et al., 1983).

Classification of family groups: We based the composition of families on Gardaí's descriptions. Family groups were inclusive of family members who were not on the original network map, but were identified by Gardaí during interview.

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is a process that facilitates the identification of relationships and patterns across the dataset which are both meaningful and relevant to the research question. We interpreted and synthesised these patterns to form themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). We developed an a priori coding framework (Carroll et al., 2011) based on the original Greentown coding categories (Redmond, 2015) this resulted in seven categories divided into 26 sub-categories. The framework also included an open category to facilitate the coding of data that did not fit the a priori categories (see Appendix 2 below for a full list of the categories and sub-categories). This approach provided a pragmatic solution to ensure time-efficient and consistent coding between the two replication studies, Bluetown and Redtown.

Thematic analysis is a process that facilitates the identification of relationships and patterns across the dataset which are both meaningful and relevant to the research question.

We read the transcripts in their entirety to gain an overview of the entire dataset. To assure a systematic analysis of the dataset, using a constant comparison method (Glaser, 1965), transcripts were line-by-line coded to the a priori framework. To ensure internal reliability, three research team members initially coded the same transcript. We subsequently held extensive discussions to compare coding and any discrepancies. We agreed descriptions of each category (see Appendix 2). During analysis, we prioritised data grounded in evidence (direct corroborated observation of specific events). However, under certain conditions data provided by only one Garda was included[103]. Precedence was given to the quality of data (relevance to the research question) over the quantity (how many respondents said something) (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Where we observed conflicting reports between respondents' narratives, we prioritised data that Gardaí (1) had evidenced by specific incidences over data that they had not, and (2) data provided by a Garda who had demonstrated in-depth knowledge of an individual/situation over data provided by a Garda who did not. We wrote summaries for the sub-categories and we recorded patterns and relationships between the categories in memos.

[103] This occurred where the Garda had established substantial knowledge in this specific area within the interview.

Next we cross-referenced the summaries for the major categories (thematic analysis) and case profiles (case profile analysis) to ensure internal triangulation. This process also facilitated theme development and synthesis of the findings. The data analysis process was iterative, repeatedly returning to the original text to ensure context, and reflective to mitigate the impact of researchers' biases and views on the interpretation of the data. In addition, to ensure validity, meetings between team members took place throughout the analysis process where we discussed the coding frame, analysis, interpretations and theme development in detail[104].

Finally, we constructed reconfigured network maps based on the data analysis and presented initial findings to the Garda respondents in Redtown[105].

Strategy for reporting findings

We presented the Redtown findings as two overarching themes that were relevant to the research questions. We used extracts from the dataset, which illustrate important arguments, throughout the findings.

To ensure a cohesive report, we limited referencing individual Garda respondents to direct quotes[106]. Garda expert opinion where relevant is occasionally presented; when this occurs it is highlighted within the findings. It is important to note that all findings presented are from the perspective of the Garda respondent and reflect their expert experiences on the ground.[107]

[104] Although frequent team meetings occurred, different researchers led individual case studies. The lead researcher conducted coding, analysis and reported writing to ensure a degree of separation between the reports (and minimise internal replication bias: see the introduction). Further, the reflective and iterative nature of the coding, analysis and report writing also helped mitigate carry-over of findings between studies.
[105] Limitations to the method are discussed in Section 4.2.
[106] We compiled initial extended summaries; these reference all respondents and can be accessed from the research team on request.
[107] All findings related to the analysis of interview data. Theme 2, Part A is the only section to reference the PULSE data used to construct the original Redtown map

Table 11: List of categories, sub-categories, descriptions and frequency of occurrence within the dataset

Category	Sub-category	Description	Node	No. of coded references
Risk/Protective factors	Individual	Personal attributes which may protect or increase vulnerability for criminal behaviour, for example lifestyle (drugs, alcohol/impulsivity/ chaotic/empathy/capacity/ intelligence/ masculinity/antisocial and pro-social behaviour/ school drop-outs/peers/romantic relationships	Risks	304
			Protectives	93
	Family context	Home life/influencers from within the family (parents/siblings) on criminal behaviour, for example family, criminality, domestic abuse, mental health or addictions, neglect, supervision, support, encouraging crime, not discouraging crime, norms	Risks (DV)	480
			Protectives	75
			Family relationship	172
	Cultural context	Responses that refer to the actors' mesosystem (neighbourhood, community) that may influence criminal behaviour, or limit their perspective/ worldview, for example norms/feasible alternatives. Also includes descriptions of the area	Risks	144
			Protectives	23
			Neutral	60
Networks	Evidence of crime organisation	Narrative suggesting organised crime/degree of pre-planning/collaboration/trust/control/ reprisals/punishment		78
	Pecking order	Narrative around status and power relationships (dynamics) in the context of crime (minims/little army) trust/value versus disposability		125
	Proprieties	Building and preserving the network, repeat behaviours, uniformities, trusting relationships, protecting the network members/concealing/ taking the rap		11
	Family brand	Family as a feature of a network/close bonds/ trust. Family reputation/front/myth etc.		64
	Clusters	Quasi-autonomous clusters within the networks, alliances of individuals		292
	Open system	Relationships with external networks, any reference to networks outside the confines of the map		39
Criminal activities	Drugs	References to illicit drugs	Evidence of use	174
			Evidence of sale/supply	284
	Burglary	References to burglary or other offence categories linked to burglary or attempted burglary events		151
	Robbery	References to robbery or other offence categories linked to robbery or attempted robbery events		43
	Domestic abuse			83
	Other	Reference to any other offence categories		164
	Offending patterns	Escalation of crime and references to frequency and seriousness or de-escalation of crime and references to frequency and seriousness	Increase	140
			Decrease	40

Category	Sub-category	Description	Node	No. of coded references
Dynamics	Pull	Factors that may have attracted actors to crime, access to lifestyle, status and motives for crime (to feed themselves/ buy drugs/status)		57
	Push	Interpersonal coercion, fear, intimidation and obligation	Actual violence	8
			Threatened violence	22
			Obligation	11
	Grooming	Narratives in relation to older adults' direct influence on youths to promote their criminal behaviour/compliance		32
	Agency	Processes of resilience, defiance against the network		7
	Current responses	Responses relating to procedures and solutions, i.e. a critique		202
Formal system	Network member Interactions with authorities	How the actors interact with authorities	Gaming	60
			Confrontations	18
	Suggested solutions	Looking forward: Identification of possible solutions		39
Open coding	Others	Doesn't fit within the a priori subthemes or warrants further coding/attention		25
Methodology	Methods	Responses relating to strengths and weakness of the network map. Any references to study methodology	Strengths	62
			Limitations	212
	First 5 mentions	Responses to 'identify five actors on the network you would like to talk about'		53
	Demographics (respondent)	Respondents' roles and progress through An Garda Síochána		40

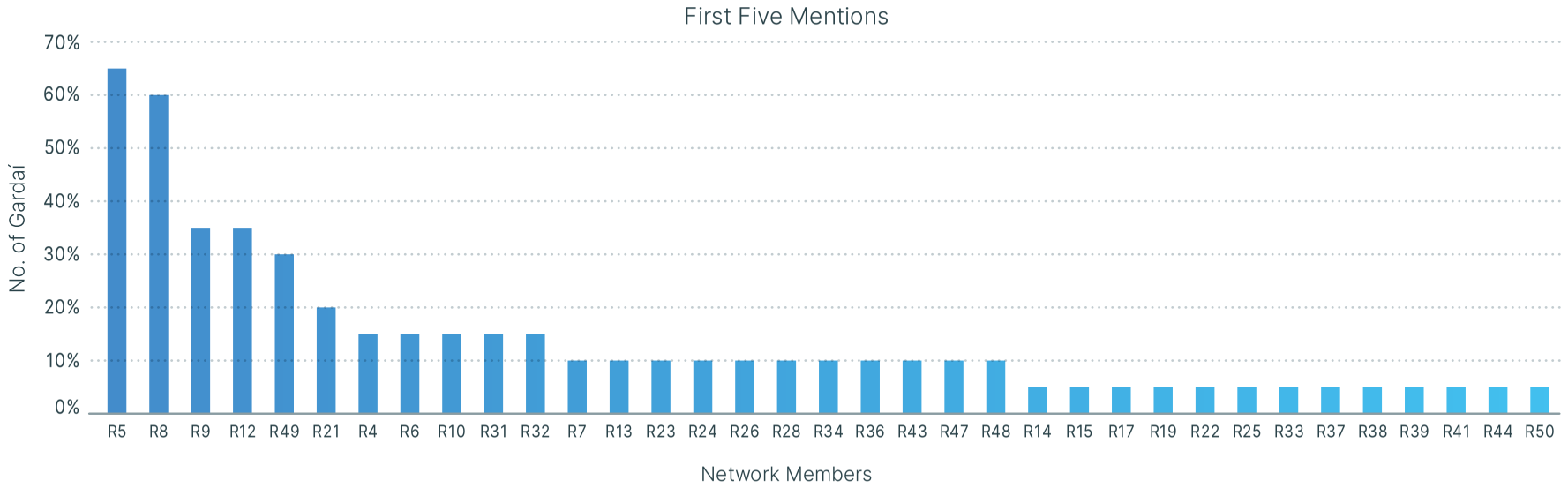


Figure 22: The percentage of Garda who included specific network members within their first five mentioned

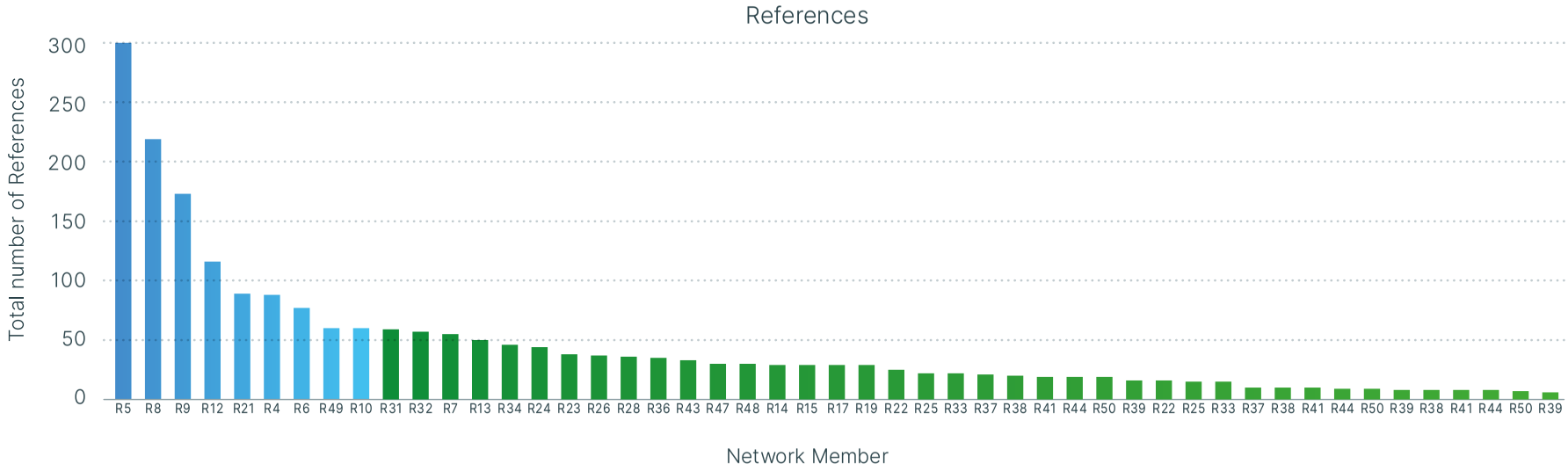
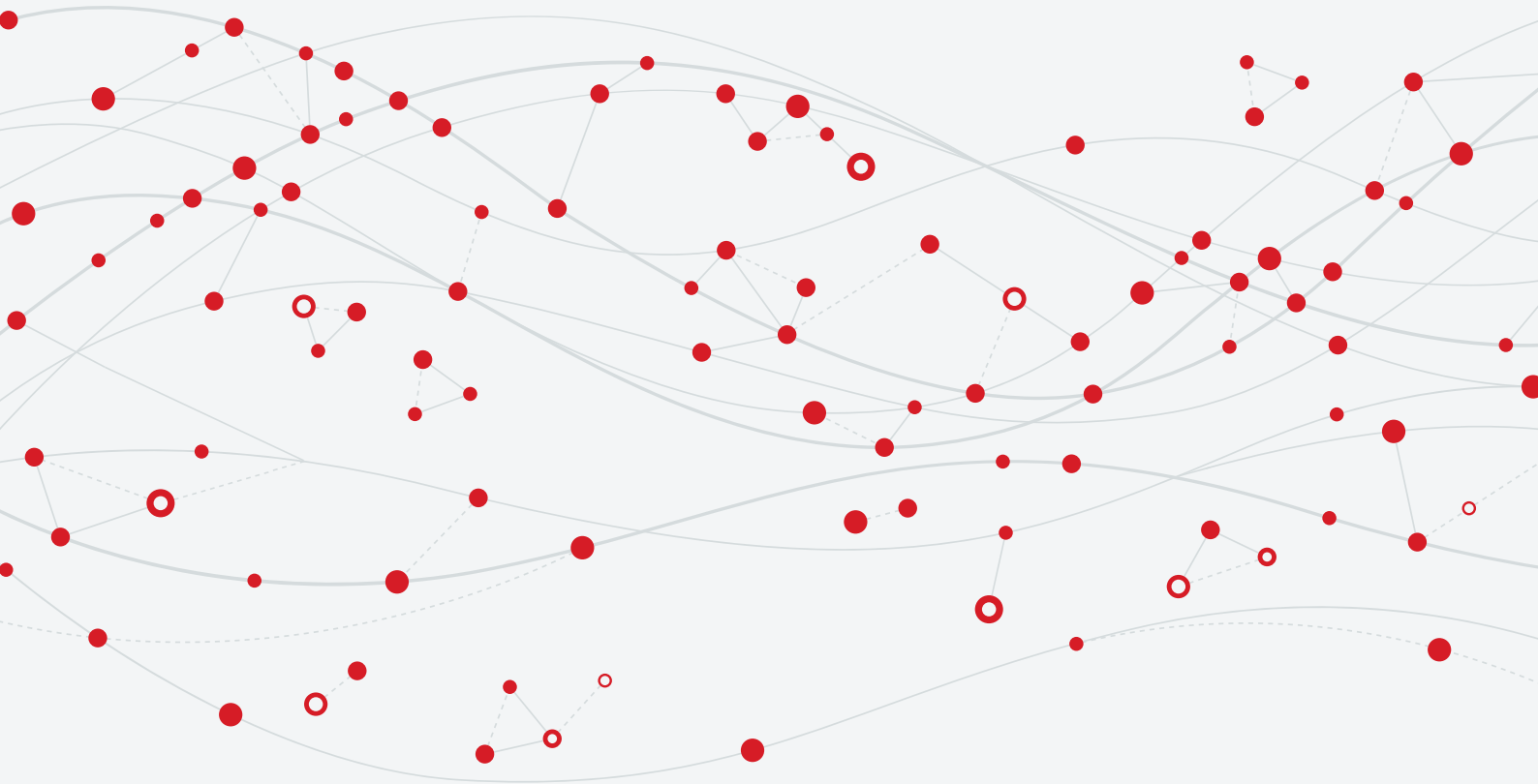
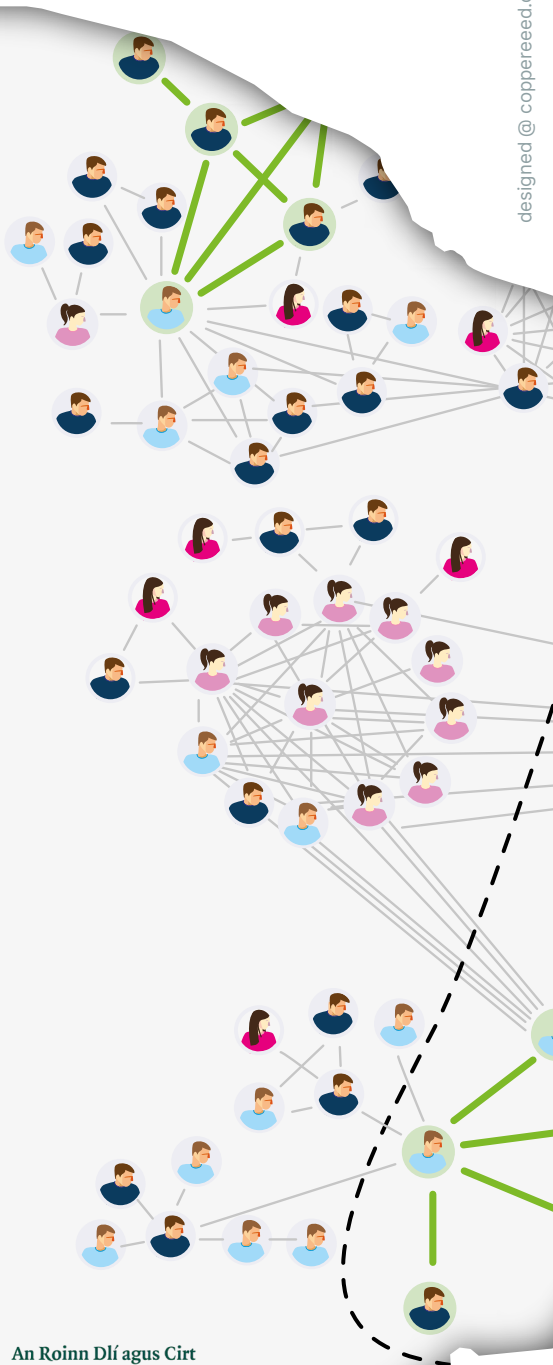


Figure 23: The number of references per specific network member

Table 12: Frequency of mentions by each Garda respondent

Ranking	1st	2nd	3rd	3rd	5th	6th	7th	7th	7th	7th
First five mentioned	R5	R8	R9	R12	R49	R21	R4	R6	R10	R31
Total references	**300**	**219**	**173**	**108**	**89**	**88**	**77**	**60**	**60**	**59**
Garda 1	20	17	21	19	0	2	1	7	2	2
Garda 2	13	9	15	4	3	6	8	3	8	5
Garda 3	11	4	5	11	0	4	3	0	1	5
Garda 4	15	7	6	8	5	1	2	5	4	1
Garda 5	12	18	8	4	3	8	3	0	5	0
Garda 6	12	6	4	2	1	6	9	5	11	2
Garda 7	10	17	7	0	9	10	7	1	4	8
Garda 8	3	2	4	0	6	0	6	0	4	0
Garda 9	28	3	10	0	2	2	3	0	8	3
Garda 10	15	15	8	4	1	8	8	5	2	4
Garda 11	2	2	0	2	1	1	3	0	1	1
Garda 12	22	27	20	15	19	6	0	9	0	3
Garda 13	3	15	2	3	5	1	4	2	0	1
Garda 14	10	15	17	7	2	5	2	3	2	4
Garda 15	7	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Garda 16	28	6	11	6	6	0	1	6	1	0
Garda 17	4	10	4	4	10	9	1	4	1	11
Garda 18	23	12	12	4	1	8	4	9	3	1
Garda 19	39	10	9	10	9	2	0	1	0	1
Garda 20	23	24	10	5	6	9	8	0	3	7





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