The impact of sports programmes on youth crime

Geoffrey S. Nichols

Sheffield University, Department of Law

Thesis submitted to the
University of Sheffield for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Volume One.

April, 2004

// Abstract

The impact of sports programmes on youth crime

This thesis examines how and why sports programmes working with young people might contribute to crime reduction. The research focused on three case study programmes, selected with reference to a mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social development, and contrasting those working with high and low risk clients. The research was informed by the methodology of scientific realism. Analysis was at the level of each programme, at the level of individual participants, and across the three programmes.

The mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social development was most apparent in the programme working with the highest risk level of participants. There was little support for this mechanism in the programmes working with lower risk participants, where diversion from crime was more important.

The position of the programme on the continuum between high and low risk participants determines programme design and the relative importance of different mechanisms of crime reduction. Programmes impact on crime by more than one mechanism and may have multiple objectives. This contributes to the difficulties of programme evaluation, as do the greater inherent difficulties in researching a mechanism of pro-social development, especially in programmes working with low risk participants. Policy led by evidence might devalue programmes where such evidence is inherently more difficult to produce and values of academics and policy makers will continue to inform views of the validity of evidence. A critique of scientific realism confirms the value of the notion of generative causality, and notes implications for interview conduct, but also limitations.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my supervisor, Iain Crow, for conscientious and good quality supervision, from which I learnt a lot. Also for patience when I was losing mine.

Thank you to Hilda Betts for help with word processing and good humour.

Thank you to Myrene McFee for attentive proof reading and help with presentation.

Thank you to Diane Brook for help with diagrams.

Thank you to the referees of various papers who have helped me sharpen up my ideas and expression.

Thank you to those who gave me access to programmes, time for interviews and help with the research.

Table of Contents

List of Tables vii
List of Figures viii

Chapter 1 Introduction and background 1

1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 The background of the author 4
1.3 The scale of public sector programmes which use sport as a medium to reduce crime 5
1.4 A conceptual categorisation of programmes 6
1.5 The policy context 9
1.5.1 Poor evidence to support an economic / social justification 9
1.5.2 An increased emphasis on measurement of policy effectiveness and 'joined up' local government 12
1.5.3 The changing national policy priorities 13
1.5.4 The importance of value judgements and the legacy of the rational recreation movement 14
1.6 The evidence for benefits of sports participation 16
1.6.1 Sport's contribution to physical fitness 16
1.6.2 Sport's contribution to increased self-esteem and sense of control over one's life 17
1.6.3 Sport's contribution to the development of cognitive competencies 21
1.6.4 Sport's contribution to new peers and role models 22
1.6.5 The role of sport in providing legitimate excitement 23
1.6.6 Sport as a 'hook' to attract youth involvement 24
1.6.7 The negative role of sport 25
1.6.8 Summarising the potential role of sport in crime prevention programmes 26
1.7 Understanding crime prevention achieved through countering risk factors with protective factors 27
1.8 Understanding crime prevention as achieved through personal growth directed by values 31
1.8.1 Development of the model 31
1.8.2 The importance of values in the process of personal growth 36
1.8.3 An overview of the personal growth directed by values model 36

1.9 A synthesis of the two approaches and the role of sport as a catalyst 40
1.9.1 Combining the two models to provide the theoretical foundation for the research 40
1.9.2 The role of sport within the model 43
1.10 Implications for this study and a refinement of hypotheses 44
1.10.1 The theoretical model provides several hypotheses 45

Chapter 2 Methodology 47
2.1 Introduction 47
2.2 Scientific realism 47
2.3 Implications for the present research design 52
2.4 Some limitations of scientific realism 56
2.5 Conclusion on the value of scientific realism 58

Chapter 3 Methods 59
3.1 Overview 59
3.2 Selection of case study programmes 60
3.3 Programme descriptions 63
3.3.1 Sportaction / Positive Futures 63
3.3.2 Easttown Summit 66
3.3.3 Easttown Splash 69
3.4 Exploratory interviews and methods subsequently rejected 71
3.5 Methods – Sportaction 75
3.5.1 Sportaction, records of client's participation 75
3.5.2 Sportaction, records of meetings with clients 76
3.5.3 Sportaction, interviews with clients 76
3.5.4 Sportaction, interviews with sports leaders and project administrator 79
3.6 Methods – Summit 81
3.6.1 Summit, records of attendance and performance 81
3.6.2 Summit, questionnaire surveys 82
3.6.3 Summit, use of Huskins's personal independence scale 83
3.6.4 Summit, interviews with sports leaders 85
3.6.5 Summit, interviews with YOT officers 86
3.6.6 Summit, case studies of Summit clients 87
3.7 Methods – Splash 89
3.7.1 Splash, selection of Splash sites 90
3.7.2 Splash, questionnaires to parents 91
3.7.3 Splash, questionnaires to participants 94
3.7.4 Splash, interviews with selected participants 97

3.7.5 Splash, interviews with sports leaders and programme managers 104

3.8 Conclusions on methods 105

3.9 A critical review of national research into Positive Futures and Splash 106

3.9.1 National research into Positive Futures 107

3.9.2 National research into Splash 108

3.9.3 Conclusions on national research into Positive Futures and Splash 111

Chapter 4 Results: Sportaction 112

4.1. Records of attendance 112

4.2 Case study of Adam 114

4.2.1 Involvement with Positive Futures 114

4.2.2 Analysis in relation to hypotheses 115

4.2.3 Adam – conclusions 120

4.3 Case study of Marvin 121

4.3.1 Involvement with Positive Futures 121

4.3.2 Analysis in relation to hypotheses 122

4.3.3 Marvin – conclusions 127

4.4 Sportaction – analysis at the level of the programme 128

4.4.1 Crime reduction through diversion 128

4.4.2 Crime reduction through personal development directed by values 128

4.4.3 How important were the success factors and were they present? 130

4.4.4 The role of sport 131

4.4.5 Implications of working with clients at the high risk end of the Brantingham and Faust modified continuum 132

4.4.6 A broader perspective on Sportaction 133

Chapter 5 Results: Summit 135

5.1. Records of attendance 135

5.2 Case studies of clients 136

5.2.1 Case study of Colin 136

5.2.2 Case study of Darren 140

5.2.3 Case study of Billy 142

5.2.4 Case study of Paul 144

5.2.5 Case study of Mark 146

5.2.6 Case study of Dennis 149

5.2.7 Case study of Gary 154

5.2.8 Case study of Mickey 158

5.2.9 Case study of Fred 160

5.3 Two stage questionnaire of participants' changes in independent sports participation, self-esteem and Huskins's development score 165
5.4 Summit – analysis at the level of the programme 169
5.4.1 Crime reduction through diversion 169
5.4.2 Crime reduction through pro-social development directed by values 170
5.4.3 How important were the success factors and were they present? 172
5.4.4 The role of sport 174
5.4.5 Implications of working with clients at this point of the Brantingham and Faust modified continuum 175
5.4.6 A broader perspective on Summit 176

Chapter 6 Results: Splash 180

6.1 Questionnaires with parents and participants 180
6.1.1 Attractiveness of the activity (1.10.1, h3) 180
6.1.2 Ability to adapt the programme to individual participants' needs (1.10.1, h4) 183
6.1.3 Rewards of achievement, increased self-esteem (1.10.1, h5) 183
6.1.4 Sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participant's needs and development (1.10.1, h6) 184
6.1.5 The role of the sports leaders as mentors (1.10.1, h7) 184
6.1.6 The ability to offer long term exit routes (1.10.1, h8) 186
6.1.7 Sharing activity with pro-social peers (1.10.1, h9) 186
6.1.8 Promotion of pro-social values (1.10.1, h10) 187
6.1.9 Splash as a diversion from crime 187
6.1.10 Splash as contributing to long term personal development (1.10.1, h1, h2) 190
6.2 Interviews with participants 190
6.2.1 Attractiveness of the activity (1.10.1, h3) 191
6.2.2 Ability to adapt the programme to individual participants' needs (1.10.1, h4) 192
6.2.3 Rewards of achievement, increased self-esteem (1.10.1, h5) 193
6.2.4 Sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participant's needs and development (1.10.1, h6). 195
6.2.5 The role of the sports leaders as mentors (1.10.1, h7) 195
6.2.6 The ability to offer long term exit routes (1.10.1, h8) 196
6.2.7 Sharing activity with pro-social peers (1.10.1, h9) 197
6.2.8 Promotion of pro-social values (1.10.1, h10) 198
6.2.9 Splash as a diversion from crime 198
6.2.10 Splash as contributing to long term personal development (1.10.1, h1, h2) 201

6.3 Splash – analysis at the level of the programme 203
6.3.1 Crime reduction through diversion 203
6.3.2 Crime reduction through pro-social development directed by values (1.10.1, h1, h2) 203
6.3.3 How important were the success factors and were they present? 203
6.3.4 The role of sport (1.10.1, h11) 205
6.3.5 Implications of working with clients at this point of the Brantingham and Faust modified continuum (1.10.1, h12) 206
6.3.6 A broader perspective on Splash 206
6.3.7 The limitations of local crime data 207

Chapter 7 Analysis across the three programmes 210

7.1 What is the relation between the programmes and crime reduction (h1 and 2)? 210
7.1.1 Personal development of young people, guided by values 210
7.1.2 Diversion from offending 213
7.2 How important were the 'success factors' to this process (h3–10)? 213
7.2.1 Factors contributing to personal development of young people, guided by values 214
7.2.2 Factors contributing to diversion from offending 216
7.3 What is the role of sport (h11)? 217
7.4 Implications of the position of the programme on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum 218
7.5 Conclusions on how and why the programmes have an impact on crime reduction 224

Chapter 8 Understanding the relationship between sport based programmes and crime reduction 226

8.1 Programme mechanisms 226
8.2 Overlapping and changing objectives — the influence of funding 228
8.3 Programme design 233
8.4 The design of research and the ability to produce evidence of a causal relationship to crime reduction 236
8.4.1 Programmes with low risk clients 237
8.4.2 Programmes with high risk clients 241
8.4.3 Conclusions on the relationships between the position of the programme on the risk level / mechanism matrix (figure 8.3), the design of research, and the ability to establish a causal relationship with crime reduction 242
8.4.4 Gaining the co-operation of the programmes in producing evidence 243

8.4.5 The relationship of research problems to the philosophy of research 245
8.4.6 Applying a retrospective view of the inter-relation of the position of the programme on the risk level / mechanism matrix; the design of research; the ability to establish a causal relationship with crime reduction; the need to gain the co-operation of the programme; and the relation to research philosophy; to a critical review of the conduct of this research project 248
8.5 The influence of values on programme design and evaluation of evidence 252
8.5.1 The influence of practitioner and policy makers' values on programme design and evaluation of evidence....252
8.5.2 The influence of academics' values on evaluation of evidence 256
8.6 Implications for policy....259
8.7 The application and limitations of scientific realism....260

References 263

List of Tables

Table 3.5.4 Summary of Sportaction interviews........ 80

Table 3.6.4 Summary of interviews with managers and sports leaders responsible for the Summit programme........ 86

Table 3.6.5 Interviews with YOT officers........ 87

Table 3.6.6 Interviews with Summit clients........ 88

Table 3.7.1 Local deprivation scores of Splash sites, summer 2000........ 90

Table 3.7.2.1 Questionnaires completed by parents at the end of summer Splash 2000........ 92

Table 3.7.2.2 Questionnaires completed by parents of participants at Splash, 2001........ 93

Table 3.7.3.1. Questionnaires completed by Splash participants 2000........ 95

Table 3.7.3.2 Questionnaires completed by participants of Splash, 2001........ 96

Table 3.7.4.3 Splash participant interviews by site 2002........ 100

Table 3.9.2 Changes in crime 2000 – 2001........ 109

Table 4.1. Sportaction. Records of work with clients – 10/2000 to 7/2001........ 113

Table 5.1 Summit participants who started 1/00 – 4/02........ 135

Table 5.3 Changes in independent sports participation, self-esteem and Huskins's development score........ 166

Table 6.1.1.1 Participants' best things about Splash........ 181

Table 6.1.1.2 Parents' view of the main benefits from Splash........ 181

Table 6.1.1.3 Parents' two most important reasons for their child attending Splash........ 182

Table 6.1.9 Parents' views of the impact of Splash on crime........ 188

Table 6.3.7 Changes in recorded crime between August 2001 and August 2002 for the 8 Splash areas which received additional funding from Youth Justice in 2002........ 208

List of Figures

Figure 1.8.1 Priest's adventure experience paradigm (AEP) 33

Figure 1.8.2 Personal growth through adventure 35

Figure 2.2.1 Classic experimental research design. 48

Figure 2.2.2 A context, mechanism, regularity / outcome configuration (CMR/O) 50

Figure 2.2.3 The elements of the process of a crime reduction programme in sequence (source: author) (reproduced on page 211) 51

Figure 2.3.1 The design of the research as three case studies informed by scientific realism (reproduced on page 219) 53

Figure 3.5 The triangulation of methods in a case study approach to Sportaction 75

Figure 3.6 The triangulation of methods in a case study approach to Summit 81

Figure 3.7 The triangulation of methods in the case study approach to Splash 89

Figure 8.1 Programme mechanisms 227

Figure 8.2 The overlap of sports development and crime reduction objectives in relation to the risk level of programme participants 232

Figure 8.3 Programme categorisation and mechanisms 233

Chapter 1 Introduction and background

1.1 Introduction

The aims of the research are to explore 'how' and 'why' sports programmes working with young people and with explicit objectives of crime reduction may affect participants. It is to refine understandings of what might work for who in what circumstances; or, in terms of scientific realism, context / mechanism / regularity configurations (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). That is, in what context is a particular mechanism likely to lead to crime reduction? Pawson and Tilley's conceptual framework is discussed in more detail in chapter 2. Briefly, it proposes that the mechanism by which it would be possible for a programme to produce a change in client behaviour has to be understood as an interaction of the actor and the programme, in what is termed generative causality. Causality in these terms has to be understood as a combination of human agency and individuals' reactions to new opportunities and resources. A given mechanism will be contingent on a particular context, it will not work in all circumstances. While Pawson and Tilley offer an approach to evaluation, which will necessarily relate the mechanism and context to regularities of outcome, and thus require to demonstrate by how much crime is reduced, the research in this thesis concentrates on just how and why programmes could affect participants. It is not concerned to evaluate the effectiveness of programmes. An original intention was to conduct comparative evaluations of the three selected programmes, but, as described in 3.4 and 8.4, it was not possible to obtain secondary data measuring outcomes: in particular, records of offending. To the extent that the programmes may have had an impact on crime reduction, the case study approach enables us to understand the process that contributed to this. It also enables an understanding of why the programmes may not have had such an impact.

The research builds on the author's previous work. An evaluation of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (WYSC) (Nichols and Taylor, 1996; Nichols, 1999a), and interviews with long-term drug rehabilitation clients who had attended a programme run by Merseyside Probation service (Nichols, 1999b), led to an understanding of the process

through which these programmes reduced offending. This process involved a redefinition in participants' self-concept, facilitated by a set of programme characteristics. The author's understanding of programme characteristics was enhanced by a further national survey of 'physically demanding' programmes for probationers (Taylor, et al. 1999). The theoretical basis for this mechanism of crime reduction is discussed fully in chapter 2 and related to theory in criminology and youth work. Also, in 1998/9 a survey of crime reduction programmes run by local authority leisure departments was conducted (Nichols and Booth, 1999a; 1999b). This showed that such programmes often lacked 'integrity' in terms of crime reduction, and this objective was sometimes 'added on' in response to funding opportunities. There was little evidence of the effectiveness of such programmes.

In a broader context, a positive impact on crime reduction has been a traditional justification of public subsidy of sports programmes run for young people (Gratton and Taylor, 2000: 66). However, it has been concluded that 'there is a lack of systematic evaluation of the claims made for the preventative and rehabilitative properties of sport with regard to anti-social behaviour' (Coalter, 1990: 14; 2000); and that 'there is not a sound theoretical basis for the use of sport and outdoor adventure activities to combat or prevent juvenile crime' (Robins, 1996: 26). Furthermore, it has been commented that 'advocates of such programmes are often propelled by a sort of aggressive optimism which acts as a defence against the helplessness felt when confronting the destructive nihilism of criminalised youth' (Robins, 1996: 26). The Government strategy for sport (DCMS / Strategy Unit, 2002: 60) similarly concluded that, 'the lack of empirical research means important practice issues remain unresolved'. It acknowledged the difficulties of providing such evidence, but that, 'there is still a widely-held view that sport can have value as part of a package of measures to tackle crime'. Crime reduction is only one of the 'social inclusion' outcomes of which one of the most recent reviews concluded that, '...there is little effective evaluation ...' (Long, et al., 2002: 81). However, the commentators above have acknowledged that there are individual success stories. Some programmes appear to work for some people in some circumstances; and this conclusion is shared by some criminologists (McGuire, 1995). This research aims to deepen an understanding of the process of such programmes.

From the author's 1998/9 survey of local authority programmes it was concluded that they could be placed on a scale between a direct and indirect impact on crime (Nichols and Booth, 1999a: 22), although they might all be part of a crime reduction strategy. For example, a 'direct' programme might work intensively with identified offenders, possibly to address a specific aspect of that offending. An 'indirect' one might provide sports facilities in an area of relative deprivation. Subsequently the author became aware of Brantingham and Fausts' (1976) categorisation of programmes as: 'tertiary', defined as working with identified offenders; 'secondary', directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of those in circumstances likely to lead to crime; and 'primary', directed at the modification of criminological conditions. Although it is not always easy to slot a programme into these categories, the value of this categorisation is to show that programmes can be placed on a continuum between those that work directly with relatively high risk offenders and those which work to reduce the probability of offending taking place. The previous programmes researched by the author were at the tertiary end of this continuum, while most of the local authority ones were in the 'secondary / primary' area. The three case study programmes for the present study were selected to span a range of the modified Brantingham and Faust scale and to examine if the mechanism which appeared to be important in the tertiary programmes was also apparent in the secondary / primary ones.

Thus, the research is in the context of a broader debate about the role of leisure as a policy tool and the difficulties of justifying policy with evidence. In spite of the lack of evidence that they are successful the political climate in the UK has recently swung towards favouring the introduction of crime reduction programmes of this nature. Such programmes are prominently promoted, for example, by Sport England (1999), and the Policy Action Team 10 (1999) in their report to the Social Exclusion Unit. In 2001 and 2002 there was an further expansion of such projects through Youth Justice Board funding, and this affected one of the case study programmes in this research.

However this research is not evaluative. It is not asking if programmes appear to achieve particular outcomes nor making a judgement on how effective they are at doing this with reference to particular objectives: in this case crime reduction. The research aims to increase understanding of how and why such programmes are likely to have an impact on

participants, with a reference to crime reduction, through contrasting the three case studies. The main focus has been on examining evidence for the crime reduction mechanism apparent in the previous studies of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling and the Merseyside programme — however the research has been open to other possibilities.

This rest of this chapter outlines the experience of the author which has influenced the direction of this study. It reviews the importance of programmes which use sport as a medium to reduce youth crime, both in terms of how many programmes there are and in the context of public policy. It then examines the evidence for benefits of sports participation and presents a synergy of models for understanding the process by which programmes might contribute to crime reduction. This concludes with a set of research hypotheses.

1.2 The background of the author

The background of the author contributes to his 'pre-understanding' (Gummesson, 2000). Pre-understanding derives from previous experience of the phenomena being researched. It helps the researcher determine the relevant questions to ask. For Gummesson (2000: 81) an over-reliance on academic theory as a starting point can lead to researchers directing time and effort towards asking questions which are irrelevant to practitioners. However, conversely, over-reliance by the researcher on 'pre-understanding' can limit his/her perceptions. Gummesson's main concern is management research, which seeks to make practical contributions to practice. His comments are a reaction to consultants who claim to advise companies, but with superficial experience of their work. The present research aims to build on academic theory and add to it, but Gummessons's observations illustrate that there is a balance between starting from a purely theoretical perspective and a practical one, and that one's previous experience will influence the questions one asks.

The author's previous employment and research interests, both reflect his values and have contributed to pre-understanding. The author worked for seven years as an instructor in outdoor centres which used activities as a medium for the development of young people. He then worked for three years as a sports development officer responsible for targeting disadvantaged groups with outdoor pursuits opportunities. As noted in

chapter 1, previous research has included an evaluation of the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (WYSC) programme (Nichols and Taylor, 1996; Nichols, 1999a), the impact of physically demanding programmes on probationers (Taylor, et. al. 1999, 2000) and the impact of a particularly physically demanding outdoor adventure programme on drug rehabilitation clients (Nichols, 1999b). The author had also made a national survey of local authority supported sports programmes which claimed to have an objective of crime reduction (Nichols and Booth, 1999a).

The contributions of this experience to pre-understanding are reflected in the review of what is known about the topic of this research. Experience is greatest in the understanding of how programmes can contribute to the development of disadvantaged young people, and the understanding of the context in which subsidy of sports programmes is justified through its claimed contribution to a reduction in crime. Experience is least in criminological theory. As noted in the introduction, the current research draws on these three areas. In particular, while the dominant theoretical perspective contributing to an understanding of how programmes might reduce youth crime proposes a juxtaposition of risk and protective factors (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996, Witt, 2000), the author's experience and theoretical work on adventure education (Nichols, 2000a) led to an interpretation of the positive impact of a sports counselling programme as value-directed personal growth (Nichols, 1999a).

1.3 The scale of public sector programmes which use sport as a medium to reduce crime

A survey in 1999 by the author (Nichols and Booth, 1999a) obtained responses to a one page questionnaire from 109 out of the 473 chief leisure officers in England, Scotland and Wales. The questionnaire simply asked if the leisure department supported a programme to reduce crime, and if it did, to provide a contact name and address for the programme manager. From this, sixty leisure departments provided contact names for a total of 116 programmes. If the officers who responded were a representative sample this suggests there may be as many as 500 crime reduction programmes run by the total sample of local authorities. This may be an over-estimate, as local authorities with a programme might have been more likely to respond. Further, in some cases while the

chief officer categorised a programme as crime reduction, programme managers might not. In addition, the survey included some programmes which did not include sport. However, this still leaves a considerable number of programmes which aim to reduce crime, use sport as a medium, and which are supported by a public subsidy. They may be run directly by a local authority or may be supported indirectly. Thus the present research is concerned with a significant phenomenon.

Similarly, a survey of the Probation Service areas in England and Wales in 1997 discovered 54 'demanding physical activity' programmes in 34 areas (Taylor, et al. 1999) although, as in the survey above, the reliability of responses depended on the accuracy with which respondents completed a postal questionnaire and the way they interpreted 'physically demanding'. The majority of programmes were run by organisations external to the probation service. From the report it is not possible to tell how many programmes in total used sport: 41 used outdoor adventure; 24, football; 17 swimming; 15 cycling and 8 boxing. However the overall picture again shows the importance of sport in programmes with aims of crime reduction.

1.4 A conceptual categorisation of programmes

As described above, the survey of local authority programmes concluded that they could be 'placed on a "direct – indirect" impact on crime scale' (Nichols and Booth, 1999a: 22). At the direct end were programmes which had a direct focus on crime reduction by working with identified offenders. At the indirect end were programmes which were still part of a crime reduction strategy, but which worked to reduce the chances that groups of young people would offend. For example, an early literacy programme run by Telford and Wrekin District Council was part of a general crime reduction strategy , based on the view that poor literacy skills contribute to social exclusion and are one factor predisposing an individual towards crime.

Subsequently the author became aware of Brantingham and Faust's (1976) conceptual model of crime prevention in which they categorised three levels of crime prevention. In this, primary prevention is described as being directed at modification of criminogenic conditions in the physical and social environment at large. Primary interventions will

alter those conditions so crime will be less likely to occur. Brantingham and Faust give examples of 'psychological immunization from certain types of behavioural tendencies, preclusion of criminal activity by redesign of the physical environment', and deterrence by 'exemplary sentences' (Brantingham and Faust, 1976: 292). Secondary prevention is directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals or groups in criminogenic circumstances. For Brantingham and Faust most interventions would be in this category. Examples are given of programmes to deal with school drop-outs, vocationally untrained and economically disadvantaged youth, and physically and mentally handicapped individuals. Tertiary prevention is directed at prevention of recidivism. It involves modification of behaviour, or where this is not possible, control of behaviour to protect society. This includes confinement.

The Brantingham and Faust categorisation was developed from an analogy with medicine. Although all three types had a common aim of crime prevention, Brantingham and Faust claimed that this categorisation would help 'to specify the most fruitful direction for the development of theory, research and programming in crime prevention' (1976: 284). They suggested that it would inform the most effective allocation of resources. Following the medical analogy that it might be more effective to inoculate the population against a disease than treat all those who contracted it, it might be more effective to direct resources towards primary interventions to reduce the probability of crime being committed than to spend resources later on tertiary interventions to prevent recidivism. They imply that this would be the case when they state that there is a 'widespread myth of available treatment' (1976: 292) of offenders and that less effort has been spent on primary prevention. They state that 'primary intervention...is the ideal objective'(1976: 292). However, they give no evidence for the effectiveness of primary or secondary interventions either. So they cannot take the step of arguing that one category of intervention will be more effective than another in crime prevention; rather they can just say that if we had equal knowledge of the effectiveness of different types of intervention we would be in a better position to allocate resources between them.

A further difficulty is the ease with which interventions can be categorised. The primary category appears to be focused on the environment, in terms of altering it so as to reduce the propensity of those in it to offend. However, in practice such environmental

modifications will usually be directed towards those most likely to benefit. For example, the early literacy programme run by Telford and Wrekin District Council is already directed towards those who the Council think will benefit most from it. Similar considerations have informed the allocation of sports facilities or programmes. It appears that some primary measures, such as exemplary sentences, will be targeted indiscriminately at all those who might offend. (One might consider public hangings in previous centuries in this way.) However, most other measures, even if not targeted at individuals, will be targeted by some other means to maximise their effectiveness. One could extend the medical analogy here to the example of giving inoculations for yellow fever or rabies only to people who were travelling to parts of the world where such diseases were prevalent.

One could apply examples in economic theory to primary interventions. Some interventions have the characteristic of a public good (Gratton and Taylor, 1991): where all can benefit from it, it is impossible to exclude people from this benefit, and the consumption by one person does not diminish its consumption by others. A classic economic example is public street lighting. Applied to preventative interventions, a public hanging also has these characteristics but the Telford early literacy scheme does not. Its supply is finite: if some benefit others can not. Thus it must be targeted at those who are most likely to benefit. As soon as primary interventions become targeted in this way it makes it much harder to distinguish them from secondary interventions.

This means that in practice there is an unclear distinction between primary interventions and secondary ones, 'directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals or groups in criminogenic circumstances' (Brantingham and Faust, 1976: 284).

There is also an unclear distinction between secondary and tertiary interventions. A principle underlying youth offending teams' (YOTs) work is that most young people who commit crime are not serious offenders. Early intervention will prevent a downward spiral of court appearances, criminalisation and further offending; with consequences both for the young person and the criminal justice system. A large proportion of the young people dealt with by YOTs are on a 'final warning'. They will be sent to court if

they commit another offence but technically they have not been convicted of one. Thus YOT clients do not fall neatly into Brantingham and Fausts' categorisation. They have offended, but have not been convicted. The situation is complicated by the need for the youth justice system to balance a welfare principle with one of retribution for offenders up to and including age 17. Thus tertiary interventions with this age group will inevitably include similar components as those in secondary interventions.

Thus the Brantingham and Faust categorisation is more usefully seen as a continuum between low and high risk target groups rather than as distinctive categories, as used by McCormack (2003) and Collins and Kay (2003: 167). At both ends of the continuum the design of the intervention will be informed by an understanding, whether supported by evidence or not, of a causal relationship with crime reduction. The research in this thesis has been designed to compare interventions at different points in this continuum to contrast the experience of participants.

1.5 The policy context

It is important to understand the policy context within which sports programmes aimed at crime reduction operate as previous research has shown that the major concern of programme managers is obtaining and maintaining funding (Nichols and Booth, 1999a). This may influence their approach to programme evaluation and design.

1.5.1 Poor evidence to support an economic / social justification

Crime reduction, or a more general reduction in anti-social behaviour, has been a traditional justification for public subsidy of leisure services. From an economic standpoint the rationale is that government intervention is required to correct an efficiency related market failure, where the welfare of society is not maximised by individual decisions (Gratton and Taylor, 2000). In this case public subsidy, usually channelled through local government, is directed towards programmes which provide sport and leisure opportunities, usually for young people. However, previous reviews of evaluations have concluded that there has been little evidence to show that programmes which aim to reduce crime through leisure have been successful (Coalter, 1995; Robins, 1990, 1996; Utting, 1996). One reason why evidence has been difficult to produce is that

programmes supported by leisure departments rarely have an exclusive objective of crime reduction (Nichols and Booth, 1999a). Objectives may be unclear, and that of crime reduction may be added on in response to funding opportunities, or may vary in relative importance over time. McCormack (2001) similarly criticised programmes as having either no clear aims, or too many vague and overlapping ones. Unclear objectives were also a characteristic of programmes in a national survey in the United States of America (Witt and Crompton, 1996: 12).

In the Nichols and Booth (1999a) survey, initial contact with chief local authority leisure officers clearly stated that the research was only interested in programmes which had a major objective of crime reduction. Of the programmes subsequently contacted by telephone, several programme managers did not regard crime reduction as a main objective, and for some the impact on crime was incidental. Three officers responsible for programmes declared that their programmes did not have a primary objective of crime reduction despite their chief officer's view that the programmes met this criterion. This showed that within the same authority the programme objectives were ambiguous. Telephone respondents suggested that reducing crime was only one of a number of important objectives behind a programme: these included drugs and safety education, fitness and health initiatives, improving sporting opportunities, developing community involvement, good citizenship, urban renewal and so on. These types of programme had multiple objectives, more broad than just crime prevention. They also indicated an understanding of the causes of crime, which might not be explicit, but which had influenced their design.

Thirty five percent of programmes had been operating for 4 years or more (Nichols and Booth, 1999a: 14). It is quite possible that during this time the objectives of the programmes had changed as programmes had evolved. A major reason for programmes evolving was their insecure funding: 55% relying on a fixed term grant. As a consequence, a major objective of programme mangers was to ensure continued funding. This meant that crime reduction may have been an 'add-on' objective: used as part of the rationale for a programme in order to attract public, official and/or financial support. For example, a programme manager reported that 'the money is basically there to make some sort of impact on reducing anti-social behaviour in the area, we manipulate that objective

to get sports development out of it. Everybody is reasonably happy' (Nichols and Booth, 1999b: 231). It may be that programmes previously labelled as being directed towards 'young people at risk', or targeted at areas of high social deprivation, are now more likely to be labelled as 'contributing to crime reduction' in order to attract resources. However, again, ambiguous, multiple and changing objectives make it more difficult to evaluate the success in achieving any one of them.

A further reason for a lack of evidence is the cost of producing it. Less than 25% of the programmes reported they had attempted to measure an effect on crime reduction. (In a comparable survey in the United States of America, 30% of 120 programmes conducted no evaluation [Witt and Crompton, 1996]). Research has a low priority when the main priority of managers is to ensure funding for the following year. Exactly the same situation was found in Long et al.'s (2002) survey of the impact on social inclusion of 14 sports and culture projects. Apart from a lack of resources, other reasons preventing research being conducted are the technical difficulties discussed in the next two chapters.

A fragile funding base, and the willingness to 'add on crime reduction' as an objective if it will attract funding, have negative implications for programme integrity and effectiveness in crime reduction. These add to those found by Gibson (1998) of the effects of fragmented and insufficient funding for programmes for disaffected youth, including staff insecurity and a lack of continuity of relationship between programme workers and participants. The implications for this research are that the programmes selected for study need to have a reliable funding base and crime reduction should be a major objective.

It could be argued that the need for conclusive evidence of crime reduction is not as great as commentators have suggested. In 1992 the average economic and financial cost of each youth crime was conservatively estimated at £2,800, and the cost recoverable to the public purse was £1,050 (Coopers and Lybrand, 1994: C14–15). Thus small scale projects would not need to prevent many crimes to repay their costs. In an evaluation where such a cost / benefit analysis has been conducted, Farrell, et al. (1996: 106) estimated that the 'amount of money invested in Milwaukee's Midnight Basketball League would maintain two Black males in prison for roughly one year', but the

programme reduced crime in the target area by 30%. Even if their estimate of crime reduction was significantly inaccurate, the programme only has to keep two participants out of prison to pay for itself. Nevertheless, it is possible that in some programmes the cost of evaluation research could exceed that of the benefit of a few crimes being reduced.

1.5.2 An increased emphasis on measurement of policy effectiveness and 'joined up' local government

In local (and national) government there is an increased emphasis on measurement of performance through the requirements of 'best value', introduced in April 2000 to replace compulsory competitive tendering. A principle is that policies will be evaluated through performance indicators incorporated into local performance plans. These will be published to cover five year periods. Thus one would expect a greater concern with attempting to measure the impact of programmes on crime reduction, or whatever their objectives are. However, in 1998, the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions' Best Value consultation document acknowledged that 'progress in measuring performance outcomes, as against inputs for example, has been slow, ... as a result it is sometimes difficult to make consistent judgement about success or failure' (Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions. 1998a: 4.11).

At the same time, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (Scanlon, 1998: 3) placed a joint responsibility on local authorities and the police, in England and Wales, to develop and implement local strategies to address the reduction of crime and disorder. The strategies were to be published by 1st April 1999 and were to include performance targets. Local authorities were also, for the first time, placed under a duty to consider the crime and disorder implications of all their policies. Thus, both Best Value and the requirements of a crime and disorder strategy put a greater emphasis on programmes that claim to contribute to crime reduction to produce evidence that they had done so. In general there is increasing political pressure for policy to be led by evidence (Long, et al., 2002).

1.5.3 The changing national policy priorities

As reducing social exclusion has become a political priority, reports from the Policy Action Team 10 to the Social Exclusion Unit (1999) and from Sport England (1999) on the value of sport have both concluded that sports based programmes can have a valuable role. It is not so much that a large amount of new evidence has been produced to show programme effectiveness; it is more an increased willingness to recognise the value of the limited evidence there is to show that sport can contribute to a major political objective of central government. As Sport England put it: 'research evidence to support the effectiveness of sport in reducing criminality among young people is limited by a lack of systematic evaluation. However, strong experiential evidence exists to show that sport has a part to play in preventing crime'(1999: 17). Both Policy Action Team 10 and Sport England support their reports with brief descriptions of programmes. But these give insufficient detail for a local authority manager to distil elements of good practice in programme design and evaluation.

The political context and the response to it in the UK appears to parallel the situation in the United States. In America a national survey of 'at-risk youth' programmes run by recreation and park agencies (Schultz, et al., 1995) concluded that in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s local leisure services were encouraged to reduce subsidy and focus on target markets with the ability and willingness to pay a larger proportion of the cost of the service. The public sector in America had became more focused on serving middle-class target markets as part of a more market oriented approach. However, since 1988 there has been a growing political pressure to 'do something about juvenile crime'. This has led to more support for recreation programmes directed towards 'at-risk' youth, but also has emphasised the need to produce evidence that they work. The change in policy emphasis on crime reduction and production of evidence had to be matched by changes in programme operation and skills of the staff.

Nevertheless, a recent review of 14 UK projects, most of which had local authority involvement and all of which had social inclusion objectives, concluded that '...there is little effective evaluation against social inclusion outcomes' (Long, et al., 2002: 81).

Thus it is hoped that this research will not only be able to contribute to an understanding of how and why programmes have an impact on crime reduction but will also contribute to understanding how evaluation of such programmes can be achieved.

1.5.4 The importance of value judgements and the legacy of the rational recreation movement

The lack of 'evidence' for programme effectiveness in reducing crime has meant that policy has been considerably influenced by value judgements of politicians, practitioners, and public opinion. This is not only the case for programmes aimed at preventing people at risk of becoming involved in crime actually committing it ('secondary prevention' in the categorisation of Brantingham and Faust [1976]) but also programmes aimed at preventing known offenders reoffending ('tertiary prevention'). This is the more so because the work of the youth courts is distinguished from work with older offenders by the need to balance retribution and preventing further crime with the welfare principle of considering what is best for the long term development of the young person (Gordon, et al., 1999).

Policy within public sector leisure provision in the UK has been considerably influenced by the legacy of the 'rational recreation movement' of the mid–19th Century. This involved the diffusion and promotion of modern sport, which had been codified through the public school system, to the mass of the population, who had recently experienced the transition to an urban industrial environment. This diffusion was inspired partly by the philanthropic aims of ex-public school boys, and partly by fear of the new vast urban proletariat (Holt, 1990: 136–148). It led directly to the first act of Parliament permitting local authority expenditure on recreation facilities, the Baths and Wash-houses Act 1846, and a succession of other permissive acts (Torkildsen, 2000: 256). These values that sport and recreation have a general beneficial impact on both society and the individual informed the 1960 Wolfenden Report, which led to the establishment of the Sports Council. Robins (1996: 26), as quoted earlier, has maintained that such values persist today in advocates of sports programmes aimed at reducing youth crime.

Conversely, public opinion can react strongly against the idea that tertiary (anti-recidivist) programmes for known offenders appear to be rewarding offending behaviour. This was illustrated by the press response to the publication of the Home Office report (Taylor, et al. 1999) on physically demanding programmes for offenders. This particular study was concerned with programmes which tried to have an impact on offending through positive, if demanding, regimes. The headlines in local and national newspapers on the day following the publication of the research report (19/10/99) included: 'No evidence that action holidays cure offenders' (Daily Telegraph, 19/10/99); 'Report questions value of holidays for hooligans' (The Independent, 19/10/99); 'Offenders' course could be a waste' (London Metro); 'Course for tearaways may be a waste' (Sheffield Star). So the policy context at the time was influenced by well publicised cases of offenders who had re-offended following intensive one-to-one interventions, including time spent abroad and, of course, politicians respond to public opinion through legislation and the allocation of subsidy.

However, in understanding the balance between the two competing value led positions — retribution and welfare / rehabilitation — a distinction can be drawn between secondary and tertiary interventions. In secondary interventions public opinion is not likely to be led by known offenders appearing to be rewarded with additional sports and leisure opportunities. In these programmes local politics may be significant in that local politicians and residents may be very keen to have a programme in their area. An example is the Parks For All programme run by Epsom and Ewell district council, which has spread within the authority as local residents have seen the benefits of the programme. Public attitudes have moved from being wary to enthusiastic (Osborne, 1999). In contrast, the press responses cited above were to tertiary programmes, directed towards known offenders.

Value judgements are not only relevant in understanding political reactions to the type of programmes which are the subject of this research: they also influence the evaluation of research 'evidence' by the public, press, politicians and academics — although academics claim to take the debate to the level of methodology (see chapter 3). In the USA, Witt and Crompton (1997: 56) state that, 'controlled studies [by which they mean the comparison of measured change in treatment and control groups] can provide

scientifically legitimate evidence. This type of evidence is less challengeable by stakeholders…'. In criminology, dominant value judgements have given greater weight to quantitative rather than qualitative research. For example, the preference of the UK Home Office for a quantitative approach led a research project the author was involved in to direct considerable resources to quantitative work, in spite of interim reports showing it was not producing results. However, the greatest understanding of how and why programmes had or did not have particular impacts on offenders was gained through qualitative interviews (Taylor, et. al. 2000). Even where both quantitative and qualitative methods are considered to be valid, research invariably has to allocate resources between them. This allocation will itself be the subject of value judgements.

Thus value judgements are very important in understanding the local and national policy context of programmes. This will influence the approach of programme managers to the design and evaluation of programmes. Value judgements also influence the methodological debate on what is valid evidence of the impact of the programme and the allocation of research resources.

1.6 The evidence for benefits of sports participation

Because all the programmes in the research involve sports participation it is necessary to discuss the evidence that sports participation confers particular inherent benefits and that it acts as a catalyst to the mechanisms by which programmes might be expected to reduce the propensity of individual youths to take part in crime. Therefore the consideration of the role of sport must necessarily overlap with the consideration of theoretical models of crime reduction discussed in more detail below.

1.6.1 Sport's contribution to physical fitness.

In a study of 10,000 young people in Scotland, Hendry et. al. (1993) found a significant relationship between participation in sport and perceived physical and mental health, for males. This was an especially strong relationship for males involved in team sports although the relationship was not significant for females. Hendry concluded that, 'a considerable body of empirical evidence now exists to support the idea that an active

leisure life can improve overall self-esteem and mental and physical health. Put simply, leisure has a big part to play in helping young people to make healthy and successful adjustments in this phase of their life' (p.72).

To have a positive impact on health requires vigorous exercise for at least three twenty minute periods a day (Sports Council / Health Education authority, 1992). Only 6% of adults do this. The most extensive longitudinal study of users of local authority sports facilities in the UK (Roberts and Brodie, 1992) concluded that while those who took part in sport three times a week improved strength and self-assessment of health, it did not improve cardiovascular health or freedom from illness. Those who participated, but for less than three times a week, only benefited in self-assessments of health. Participants thought they were healthier, but were not. This study concluded that sport has a niche in improving health, but that this is only part of activities which contribute to a more healthy life style, such as diet and smoking.

So, it appears that sport can contribute to physical and mental health. The relevance of this to crime reduction depends on the extent to which increased health is part of a mechanism through which the individual's propensity to take part in crime is reduced. The mechanism may also involve increased health contributing to other benefits such as self-esteem or employability.

1.6.2 Sport's contribution to increased self-esteem and sense of control over one's life

Research has indicated that increased physical fitness, as a consequence of sports participation, may enhance self-esteem (Trujillo, 1983). Sporting achievement may also offer a means of improving self-esteem. Self-esteem is especially important for adolescents, for whom a central concern is establishing their own sense of self-identity through social relations (Hendry et. al. 1993: 31–57). In their review of theoretical links between sport and juvenile delinquency, Purdy and Richard (1983) identified a set of studies that understood achievement in sport as giving individuals self-esteem that they were not able to obtain from educational achievement or from other sources of social status. As Fletcher (1992: 60) identified, while conducting research into amateur boxing, the sport can be a way for youths to maintain status and respect amongst peers without

actually having to fight on the streets. A boxer he interviewed explained 'It changes you, you don't have to fight, you're not really bothered... You don't need it anymore'. Sporting achievements may help to alleviate tensions between social expectations and the individual's ability to achieve them. However, by definition, status from excellent sporting achievement is only attainable by a few. Even for the successful achiever there may be difficulties of readjustment when the individual loses the capability to perform sport at an exceptional level.

Enhanced self-esteem was reported as a significant benefit to participants in the Solent Sports Counselling Project (Sports Council Research Unit, North West, 1990: 66–67) although this relied on interviews rather than longitudinal measurements, and the direct relation to sports participation is not clear. The evaluation of Solent Sports Counselling reported that, 'This aspect of the project was considered to outweigh all the other benefits that might occur'. A later study of Sport Solent clients also concluded that, 'after six months 67% reported improvements in general health and well being' (McCormack, 2000:275), although this was based on self-reporting methods for a limited number of participants. In the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling project (Nichols and Taylor, 1996), self-esteem was measured at three stages by a psychometric test previously used in studies of the impact of movements of young people into and out of employment (Warr and Jackson, 1983). The test suggested that self-esteem increased over the period of the 12 week programme but then fell slightly in the next three months, but still remained above its initial level. This quantitative result was limited by a small sample size, but was supported by qualitative interviews. However, it was still not clear the extent to which increased self-esteem could be attributed directly to sports participation. The case study participants had not achieved great sporting success, although they had often achieved coaching qualifications, and these stood out as one of the few socially recognised achievements in many of their lives. In this way, sport was a medium offering opportunities for achievements recognised by society, but not necessarily through competitive sport.

However, where the sporting achievement was especially arduous it could provide a great boost to self-esteem. A drug rehabilitation client interviewed by the author reported his feelings after completing an expedition to climb the 14 three thousand foot high mountains in Wales in 24 hours (Nichols, 1999b: 109):

> 'I was elated after we'd done. Once we'd got back to the centre it was just wanting to get into bed, obviously. The next day at the presentation it was, to be honest with you, it was like the biggest achievement of my life...'

Self-esteem could be linked to the concept of 'locus of control'. This concept is used to describe the extent to which individuals feel control over their experiences and the extent to which they feel powerless to influence outcomes that are primarily determined by external forces. Thus, locus of control can be measured on an internal-external scale. The concept has been refined to differentiate between three 'spheres of influence' (Paulus, 1983). These are: personal efficacy — control over non-social environment, for example, personal sporting achievement; interpersonal control — control over personal relationships; and socio-political control — control over social and political events and institutions. This differentiation can explain why an individual may feel that they have a considerable influence in one sphere of influence, for example, personal achievement in sport, but little influence in another, such as influence over government policy. Paulus (1983) found a significant positive relationship between sporting achievement and high 'internal' locus of control, although, as noted above, the capacity for sports participation in general to increase locus of control would therefore be limited by the competitive nature of the sport; only a certain proportion can be high achievers. Participants in predominantly individual sports are more likely to have a higher internal locus of control in the personal efficacy sphere, while those who play team sports are more likely to have a high internal locus of control in the interpersonal sphere.

A review of studies of self-esteem (Emler, 2001) has shown that measures of self-esteem also tend to produce results similar to measures of locus of control, self-efficacy and neuroticism. This suggests these attributes are all related or reflect the same underlying quality. Thus, the same people tend to have high self-esteem, believe they have control over their own lives, believe they have the capabilities to achieve what they want, and are unlikely to be insecure, guilt-ridden and miserable. The relationship between self-esteem and locus of control may be important for understanding why increased self-esteem might lead to a reduction in crime. It would seem likely that increased self-esteem would lead to increased internal locus of control. However the relationship is not likely to be that simple. If an individual achieved a more realistic view of their locus of control, this

might help them to recognise where apparent failure was not a true reflection of their own capabilities and therefore was less threatening to their self-esteem. For example, failure to obtain employment or educational qualifications might not have such a detrimental effect on an individual's self-esteem if the individual realised that they were significantly disadvantaged in the job or education markets. On the other hand, an individual who had experienced educational or social failure may have tried to protect their self-esteem by attributing their 'failure' to a system over which they had little control. In this instance they might underestimate their locus of control. A combination of increased self-esteem and realistic expectations of locus of control could allow the individual to be more selectively pro-active where they felt that they would gain the rewards of their own efforts. This increased pro-activity was exhibited by some of the case study participants in the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling project (Nichols and Taylor, 1996) who had been identified as 'success stories'.

This result is replicated in Maruna's (2001) interviews comparing long-term offenders who desisted with those who continued to offend. Detailed content analysis of 65 interviews showed that desisters had an optimistic perception of personal control over their destiny: they felt much more in charge. In contrast, persisters had a fatalistic attitude. They felt they could not escape from offending and were constrained by circumstances beyond their control.

Increased internal locus of control can be related to one of the sets of theories identified by Purdy and Richard (1983), explaining a link between sports participation and juvenile delinquency. These theories linked non-delinquent behaviour to a belief that the social system would deliver just rewards. Conversely, delinquency was related to a belief in the injustice of the system. However, an increased internal locus of control could increase a belief that the system was unjust, if it resulted in the individual attributing apparent failure to social forces that were beyond their control.
Thus, the relationship between locus of control and crime is also complex.

Similarly, Emler (2001) challenges assumptions that increased self-esteem is a good thing in its own right, or can lead to other benefits. He emphasises the need to understand the mechanisms by which self-esteem is linked to other outcomes, such as reduced crime.

If one wants to reduce crime and thinks that increased self-esteem has a role in this, one has to be precise about what that role is. An implication of Emler's analysis is that in some cases a reduction in self-esteem might be valuable, for example in reducing reckless behaviour. So different individuals, or perhaps groups involved in different types of offences, will need to be treated differently.

1.6.3 Sport's contribution to the development of cognitive competencies

Ross and Fabiano (1985) reviewed 50 programmes designed to reduce offending behaviour and which had been the subject of rigorous evaluation studies. They concluded that 21 of the 25 programmes that had been successful in reducing reconviction rates were characterised by attempts to develop participants' cognitive skills. From this, Ross and Fabiano developed an understanding of criminal behaviour as being predisposed by a set of cognitive deficiencies that were apparent in offenders. These included: an inability to solve interpersonal problems and deal with social relationships; a lack of self control; a lack of the ability to reason abstractly; low locus of control; and an inability to feel empathy with other people.

Ross applied this understanding of criminal behaviour to his own 'Reasoning and Rehabilitation' programme in Ottawa, and found it led to a significant decrease in offending (Farrington, 1994).

Atherton (1994: 44) related theory on cognitive competencies to his work with young people in an outdoor activity centre to show how such competencies were developed through participation in the activities as a member of a group:

> 'A few days (after the course) ... they normally have cause to reflect on their conceptions of rules and laws and their attitudes towards other people, particularly adults. They will have experienced the importance of following instructions on potentially dangerous activities, such as rock climbing and abseiling. They will have realised how dependent they are for survival and success in this alien environment on the instructor, an adult who has continually confronted their inappropriate behaviour, encouraged and talked

> them through moments of fear and apprehension, and helped them to sort out problems with the rest of the group. Hopefully they will have begun to trust and respect this person. They will also have realised how much easier it has been to work as a team rather than as a collection of individuals, sharing tasks and responsibilities, and respecting the different contributions each person can make to the group. At the same time, any personal and social deficiencies will have been exposed. Their accepted ways of thinking, their attitudes towards other people, their view of the world, will have been challenged in the most fundamental ways.'

However, this is an example of a particular type of sport — outdoor adventure activities — being used in a group context. Many other factors are at work apart from just the sport itself. However, it does illustrate how these could be used as a catalyst to develop cognitive skills.

Cognitive competencies have been recognised and measured by Huskins (1996) in his analysis of the social and personal development of young people through youth work. Independently of Ross and Fabiano he has identified a core set of social skills, the development of which are a central concern of youth work. Cognitive self-change programmes are widely used in Britain's prisons (Rose, 2002; Hedderman and Sugg, 1997).

1.6.4 Sport's contribution to new peers and role models

Another set of theories, identified by Purdy and Richard (1983), place importance on role models in understanding the relation between sports participation and juvenile delinquency: 'While delinquents may be learning delinquent behaviours and values from their peers, athletes are being socialised by values and behaviours more aligned with the conventional values and behaviours of society'(p,185). An example would be the positive role model provided by a sports coach or a boxing trainer. Purdy and Richards consider that the length of contact between the role model and participant is important. This conclusion is probably related to their emphasis on relations within sporting contexts. However, it is likely that a role model in a shorter, but more intensely

significant experience, such as a three-week Outward Bound course, will have a correspondingly significant impact on the participant. Evaluations of the Solent Sports Counselling Project (Sports Council North West, 1990: 68) and of the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling Project (Nichols and Taylor, 1996: 90) both emphasised the importance of the sports leaders in the projects as positive role models for the participants. An amateur boxer in Sheffield described his sparring partners, 'With the professionals here, you're sparring with top class people... these are the best no mistake. They are world class, Naz, he's going to be a world champion' (Fletcher 1992: 77). Sports leaders on the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling project felt that the opportunity to meet a new peer group was important for participants as it could help them break out of a way of life in which petty crime is intrinsic, through providing alternative norms of behaviour.

But peers may also provide negative role models, and sports leaders recognised that, whatever happens to the participant on the project, 'you can't get a person to drop all their old friends' (Nichols and Taylor 1996: 69). Examples of negative role models are provided in Collison's (1996) analysis of young males' search for a sense of self identity through drugs and crime. The author's interviews with former and present drug rehabilitation clients, in the course of researching the impact of an outdoor adventure programme, showed that the ability to start a new life with a new set of peers, usually in a new geographical setting, was crucial to being able to break out of a cycle of drug use and crime (Nichols, 1999b).

1.6.5 The role of sport in providing legitimate excitement

It has been argued, especially in relation to programmes designed to reduce offending behaviour, that risk in legitimate activities, such as sport, could be an effective substitute for risk in illegal ones. This understanding of the motivations for crime was implied by Lyng's (1993) concept of 'edgework'. Drawing on Katz's (1988) interviews with criminals, Lyng concluded that they seek situations where the outcome is unpredictable but they will have to draw on all their resources of will power and determination to achieve a successful outcome: 'The goal is to transport yourself and your victim to the limits of an ordered reality and then to use your transcendent power as a hardman to

control the ensuing chaos'. Katz's sample appears to have been taken from criminals with a well established criminal career, so his findings may be of limited relevance to programmes at the secondary level of intervention.

Roberts (1992: 11) has also remarked that, 'one underlying reason for much delinquency and all other riotous incidents is that such activities can be exceptionally good fun for the perpetrators. It can be exhilarating to be chased by police vehicles. Pitched battles with the police can be particularly rousing...'. Roberts was not hopeful that the relevant young people would be 'deflected by socially approved recreation'. Earlier, Rosenthal (1982) had developed a similar thesis that physical activity involving risk is invigorating, physically and mentally, and produces a state of well-being and elation. He claimed to have supported this by a study of 120 juvenile offenders, 60 of whom were sent to Outward Bound schools and 60 of whom were sent to conventional training schools. A one-year follow-up indicated that only 20 per cent of the Outward Bound group had reoffended compared to 42 per cent of the boys in conventional schools. However, it is not conclusive that the combination of physical activities and risk, involved in many of the Outward Bound activities, was responsible for this difference in reoffending rates.

The author's study of drug rehabilitation clients who had been involved in outdoor pursuits activities which had a high risk image concluded that, 'giving a new interest, and possibly leading to employment opportunities, appeared to be more important than excitement and risk as a direct substitute for drugs' (Nichols, 1999b: 110).

1.6.6 Sport as a 'hook' to attract youth involvement

However, while the excitement offered by the particular sporting activities in the probation service programmes studies by Taylor, et. al. (1999: 31) was not a direct substitute for that involved in drug taking, the apparent risks of the activities made them a significant 'hook' to get participants involved in them. Activities with this capacity to attract participants was a characteristic of successful programmes in the USA, noted by Witt and Crompton (1997). Programme managers in that study reported that the possibility of taking part in these activities attracted participants: this was important as only then could the programme do other work with them. The continued use of sport

accords with McGuire and Priestley's conclusion (1995: 3–34) that 'on balance the learning styles of most offenders require active, participatory methods'. However, they also note that, 'programmes need to match the styles of workers and clients'. This suggests that sport will not be the best activity for all clients.

1.6.7 The negative role of sport

Little has been written on the negative role of sport, which may reflect the legacy of the value judgements of the rational recreation movement, discussed above. Sports participation is unequal across divisions of ethnicity, gender, age, class, and those with different levels of education (DCMS / Strategy Unit, 2002), and all these factors inter-relate. Implications are that crime reduction programmes based on sport need to be aware of possible gender and class biases, and that the barriers for further participation may be the greatest for the most disadvantaged young people; those who are also at greatest risk of becoming involved in crime. Inequalities in sports participation can be seen as a dimension of social exclusion (Collins and Kay, 2003), although reducing them will not necessarily address the causes of such exclusion (Long, et al. 2002). While gender inequalities are claimed to be decreasing (Sport England, 2001), especially among young people, a strong 'cult of femininity' as part of a more general patriarchal hegemony is still seen to militate against young girls' participation (Scraton and Flintoff, 2002). There will remain the problem that young women may be less attracted by sport, and may find it more difficult to progress through levels of participation if they do take it up seriously. So sport is a more acceptable activity for males. As a disproportionate amount of crime is committed by young males (Audit Commission, 1996: 8) this supports the use of sport as an activity to gain their interest. However, this effect is limited by the rapid decline in sports participation by age, after 16–19, (DCMS / Strategy Unit, 2002: 23) and the greater participation by higher social classes. Even though sport appears to be more attractive to young males, it is still not an activity they are strongly motivated to do.

Further, Jupp (1995) makes the point that the relation between sport and crime may be negative. Crime in sport includes the use of performance enhancing drugs and violence on the field of play. Prominent sports people may provide role models of a competitiveness to win at all costs, including 'non-sportsmanlike' attitudes and

behaviour. Thus programmes also need to be aware of potential negative role models provided by prominent sports people, and may have to counter this with an emphasis on 'fair play'. The same point, of a potential negative influence of sporting role models, is made by Critcher (2000), extended to those leading sports activities. Jupp acknowledges that the extent of any negative impact of sport on participants in sports programmes to reduce crime is unknown. However, his and Critcher's, observations provide a qualification of the view that sport is necessarily a 'good thing'. An extension of this argument is that an increase in fitness does not necessarily lead to a reduction in the propensity to offend, and could perversely lead to fitter criminals. Thus the activity of participating in sport embodies no inherent pro-social values.

1.6.8 Summarising the potential role of sport in crime prevention programmes

As noted above, such a summary will be more complete once a consideration has been made of the theoretical understanding of how any programme might reduce the propensity of an individual to take part in crime. However, at this stage, the positive attributes of sport are that: it is relatively easy to take part in and to progress in; it contributes to general health and well being; it can offer recognised achievements which can enhance self esteem; this may lead to an enhanced locus of control; sport can be a valuable medium for increasing cognitive competencies, relations with new peers, and with new role models; and particular sports can offer attractive 'hooks' to encourage initial involvement.

However, while sports activities may be easier to incorporate into crime reduction programmes than other activities and may offer relatively easily accessible opportunities for further participation, it is not necessarily easy to encourage a person to play sport or to develop a long-term sporting commitment. Inequalities of participation by class, level of formal education, and ethnic background, reflecting dimensions of social exclusion, may make it harder to use sport as a medium with the young people many programmes are aimed at. Inequalities by gender may disadvantage young women. The focus of this research is on programmes working with young people, but the decline in sports participation by age means that this will also make it harder to use sport as a medium with people as they become older.

1.7 Understanding crime prevention achieved through countering risk factors with protective factors

Sections 1.7 and 1.8 discuss the theoretical models which underpin the understanding of how the programmes in this research might reduce the propensity of the individual to take part in criminal or anti-social activity.

The juxtaposition of 'risk' and 'protection' factors draws on a synthesis of previous criminological research and theory, and has a simplistic attraction. Its starting point is the identification of risk factors which appear to have a causal relationship to crime because they have a strong statistical relationship to recorded offending.

The research on risk and protection factors is summarised by Catalano and Hawkins (1996). They identify risk factors which predispose an individual towards delinquency and drug abuse [which are not defined terms]; as including: 'community norms favourable to those behaviours, neighbourhood disorganisation, extreme economic deprivation, family history of drug abuse or crime, poor family management practices, family conflict, low family bonding, parental permissiveness, early and persistent problem behaviours, academic failure, peer rejection in elementary grades, association with drug-using or delinquent peers or adults, alienation and rebelliousness, attitudes favourable to drug use and crime, and early onset of criminal behaviour' (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996: 152).

One source of the identification of risk factors is Farrington's (1996) statistical analysis of a longitudinal study of 400 London males, in which risk factors are deduced from their correlation with onset of offending. A limitation of this approach is that, while it provides a starting point in establishing a statistical relationship, it does not explain the process by which these factors interrelate. Farrington notes that 'any theory of the development of offending is inevitably speculative in the present state of knowledge' (Farrington, 1996: 105). As Farrington states, as social problems interrelate it is difficult to decide if any given risk factor is an indicator or a possible cause of anti-social behaviour (Farrington, 2000). A methodological criticism (discussed further in chapter 3) is that Farrington's

approach gives too much weight to the impact of circumstances and none to agency, the ability of the individual to react to these circumstances. However, as one of the few pieces of longitudinal research, it is valuable.

Theory also has to explain why the risk factors have a differential impact: that is, why it is that not all people subject to them become involved in crime. This explanation is provided by the notion of protective factors, which include: '(1) individual characteristics, including resilient temperament, positive social orientation and intelligence; (2) family cohesion and warmth or bonding during childhood; and (3) external social supports that reinforce the individuals' competencies and commitments and provide a belief system by which to live' (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996: 153).

While these protective factors are intuitively plausible, the evidence supporting them is much more limited than that supporting the risk factors. As Catalano and Hawkins acknowledge (1996), the understanding of the mechanisms by which the protective and risk factors interact is at present the subject of theory which needs to be substantiated by further research. They propose a 'social development' model which describes the process by which the individual is socialised into norms of behaviour. In general this involves four stages. The individual perceives opportunities for involvement and interaction in 'socialising units' of school, family, community institutions and peers. They then become involved in these and develop skills to do so. They receive reinforcement from the socialising unit in the role they take. This leads to a strong bond with the unit, an identification with its norms and values, which then become internalised and act as a control over the individual's behaviour. This can explain socialisation into pro-social or anti-social norms. In essence this model emphasises the influence and constraints of social structure on the individual, and gives little weight to personal agency: that is, the extent to which the individual freely chooses which 'social units' to interact and identify with. It does not consider how the balance between agency and structure will change at different times and circumstances. For example, although the social development model states that perceived opportunities for involvement and interaction pre-cede involvement in such units, the child has no choice of involvement in his family, which is a major source of norms and values. On the other hand, the adolescent has a very wide choice of 'social units' to affiliate to. However, the Catalano and Hawkins model is refined to

emphasise the role of different socialising units at four stages in a young person's development.

Implications of this model for interventions are that they have to operate to increase the influence of pro-social 'social units' at the various stages of development. An example is given of mothers carrying their babies in a device which gives more opportunity for baby-parent interaction than a normal child carrier. This is reported to have led to higher 'rates of secure attachment' (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996: 183). The support this gives to their general theory could be criticised as it is not clear how one could measure feelings of 'secure attachment' from the baby's perspective, and even if one could, the baby may be attached to a parent with strong anti-social values.

Similarly, Farrington, whose longitudinal research was influential in identifying risk factors, has proposed a model to explain involvement in anti-social activity. Farrington's model proposes three stages that lead to anti-social behaviour, which is a consequence of the interaction of 'energising', 'directing' and 'inhibiting' factors. Energising factors are: desires for material goods, status and excitement; boredom, anger and alcohol and drugs. The directing stage is where the motivations in the energising phase are not able to be met by legal means. In the inhibiting phase, 'antisocial tendencies can be reduced (or increased) by internalised beliefs and attitudes that have been built up in a social learning process as a result of a history of rewards and punishments' (Farrington, 1996: 109). Farrington describes how beliefs and attitudes would include the attitudes of parents and an empathy with parents' beliefs.

In common with Catalano and Hawkins (1996) this is a general theory of behaviour. Although Farrington (1996) acknowledges the interaction of the individual and the environment, his theory is not supported by qualitative research which attempts to describe how the individual perceives this interaction. In general, the explanation for offending is based on deductions from statistical relationships, so can be criticised as paying insufficient attention to agency.

Farrington advocates a wide range of interventions to reduce antisocial behaviour. These include adolescent pregnancy prevention, more home visits to pregnant women, pre-

school programmes to help children with education, parent training, reducing socio-economic deprivation, reducing contact with delinquent peers, teaching children to resist delinquency, making school more acceptable to children, and changing the local community. These interventions are extremely broad ranging. Farrington's model of how people become involved in crime is not precise enough to decide which of these many interventions might be most useful in any particular circumstance.

Both Farrington (1996), and Catalano and Hawkins (1996) have put forward behavioural models of how people become involved in crime. Their understandings of the processes by which people become involved in crime, avoid becoming involved, and desist, are mainly based on quantitative analysis which does not explore how individuals perceive their situation, and how this perception changes. This reflects an ontological position of deterministic causality — an emphasis on a single direction of causality, from the environment to the individual, rather than understanding a dynamic interaction.

The risk / protection factor model has been used as the basis of the 'Communities That Care' demonstration programmes, which are being piloted in the UK. These programmes are an adaptation of one under the same name which has been implemented in the United States but the UK version is only presently being evaluated (Crow, 2000). These programmes aim to promote protective factors and processes, including: strengthening bonds with family members, teachers and other socially responsible adults or friends; promoting clear and consistent rules and expectations about healthy and pro-social behaviour; giving young people opportunities for involvement and to feel valued; promoting social and learning skills; and giving young people recognition and praise. The risk / protection factor model has also influenced the development of programmes based on leisure and sport in the USA (Witt and Crompton, 1997).

1.8 Understanding crime prevention as achieved through personal growth directed by values

1.8.1 Development of the model

A second theoretical model of how particular behaviours develop is derived from the author's own research (Nichols, 1999a; 1999b) and a synthesis of previous contributions to understanding outdoor based personal development programmes Nichols, 2000a). It starts from a general understanding of the personal development of young people, drawing on the evidence of benefits of both crime reduction programmes and personal development programmes. It combines theoretical understandings of this process with the evidence of case study participants. It is related to Huskins's (1996: 1998) model of good practice in youth work.

The focal point of this personal development model is the participant's definition and redefinition of self-identity. This has been identified by Hendry et al. (1993: 31–57) as the major task facing adolescents and for Giddens (1991) as the major concern for everybody as a consequence of having to cope with greater uncertainty in our lives. Changed self-concept has also been identified as important in research into those who desist from offending. Graham and Bowling's research (1995), and Maruna (2001), found that desistance from crime involved a reappraisal of personal value systems.

The personal growth model proposes that self-development is facilitated by parallel increases in self-esteem, locus of control, and cognitive skills that are influenced or directed by values. These together enable the individual to become more pro-active; to take a more active and responsible part in their own development. In programmes which aim to reduce crime an increase in pro-activity and pro-social values will be especially important in situations where individuals are subject to a high level of risk factors. As noted abóve, many previous studies have identified a positive impact of such programmes as an increase in self-esteem. Self-esteem has been seen as critical in enabling development of self-image to occur through empowerment. In his discussion of youth work with young people 'at risk' Huskins (1996: 87–90) emphasises that projects must first help people develop self-esteem and a positive life attitude. This is the initial

requirement for encouraging participants to benefit from activities in which they increasingly take responsibility for themselves. Through these activities they can develop a range of social skills, including recognising and managing one's feelings, feeling empathy with others, problem solving, negotiation skills, values development, action planning and review skills. The development of these skills is progressive. Good quality youth work involves the progressive empowerment of the individual to become more pro-active (Huskins, 1996).
The social skills development, identified as being important by Huskins (1996) in youth work, corresponds to the 'cognitive competencies' identified by Ross and Fabiano (1985) as being developed by successful programmes aimed at reducing offending behaviour.

Theoretical work in understanding the process of adventure education is valuable because the focus of adventure education is the personal growth of the individual, especially young people (Hopkins and Putnam, 1993). It is mainly focused on young people, as it is believed they are at a particularly formative stage of development, but this does not preclude the approach being applied to adults. Although much of this theory has been developed with reference to programmes using outdoor activities with high levels of perceived risk, a more useful understanding of 'adventure' is as taking risks in self-concept. It has been argued that the pre-occupation with physical risk has obscured the understanding of adventure education (Ringer and Gillis, 1995; Ringer and Spanoghe, 1997; Nichols, 2000b; Brookes, 2003).

A comprehensive theoretical model of adventure education is provided by a synthesis of the ideas of Priest, (1991: 157; Priest and Gass, 1997:122), Mortlock, (1984) Hopkins and Putnam (1993) and Csikszentmihalyi (1992, 1991); summarised in figure 1.8.2. below, however it is first necessary to consider Priest's model of the 'adventure experience paradigm'. This model is concerned to show how an individual can be helped to attain a more realistic perception of his / her own capabilities in relation to perceived risk. This model built on Mortlock's (1984) four stages of adventure, see figure 1.8.1.

Figure 1.8.1 Priest's adventure experience paradigm (AEP)

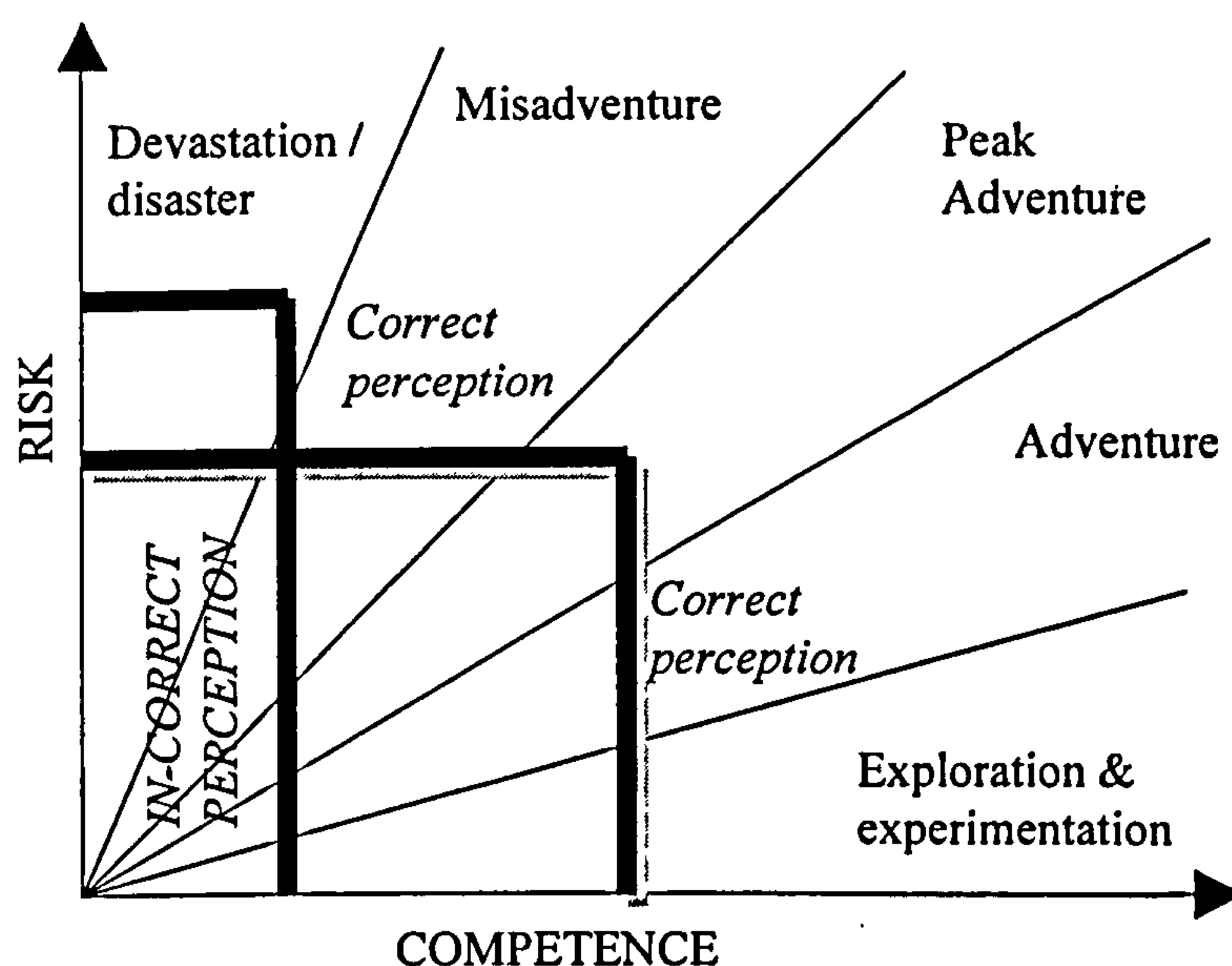


Figure 1.8.1 shows a subjective perception of the juxtaposition of risk and competence that is situation specific. Priest gives the example of a novice canoeist on a grade five rapid who would feel they were in the zone of disaster; their perceived risk far exceeds their perceived competence; but for an experienced canoeist the same rapid might merely represent an 'adventure' where perceived competence slightly exceeds risk. In contrast, if the novice canoeist happened to be an expert rock climber tackling a top grade of climb this might place them in the 'peak adventure' zone. Thus the position of the 'correct perception' will vary between participants and situations.

Priest uses the AEP model to illustrate how facilitated experiences can help the participant more accurately relate risk to competence. A timid participant may have an 'incorrect perception' of risk as too high and competence as too low, as in figure 1.8.1. By a "facilitated adventure experience" (Priest, 1991: 159) they can be led through their own perceived misadventure zone, and possibly disaster zone, and shown that they can achieve more than they thought they could. Thus their perception of the balance of risk and competence moves towards the 'correct perception' in diagram 1.8.1.

The categories of experience (adventure, mis-adventure, etc.) are adaptations of those devised by Mortlock (1984) representing situations in which the individual feels progressively less in control. The category of 'peak adventure' is similar to Csikszentmihalyi's notion of 'flow' (1992), a state of mind in which there is a merging of action and awareness, concentration is complete, and the individual is completely engaged in the activity. For Csikszentmihalyi, '...anything one does can become rewarding if the activity is structured right and if one's skills are matched with the challenges of the action' (1992: xiii). As in Priest's model, 'whether one is in flow or not depends entirely on one's perception of what the challenges and skills are' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992: 50).

An interesting implication is that through symbolic restructuring of information it is theoretically possible for an individual to construct any situation in such a way that flow can be achieved. Csikszentmihalyi believed that 'flow', and learning to achieve it, was important because in an ever more complex life flow experiences could give people a sense of control, which is important in describing leisure activities that are rewarding. It is possible that through experiencing flow in leisure, individuals may learn to structure their everyday lives in a way that will create opportunities for flow.

Thus for Priest the purpose of adventure education is to help people move to a more accurate perception of their own risk and competence balance, the 'correct perception' in figure 1.8.1. Presumably this could be applied to the overconfident as well as the timid. The purpose of such education is not to help people expand their capabilities, rather to give them a more realistic view of what they can achieve. Figure 1.8.2 takes this a stage further and adapts Priest's AEP to incorporate personal growth.

Figure 1.8.2 Personal growth through adventure

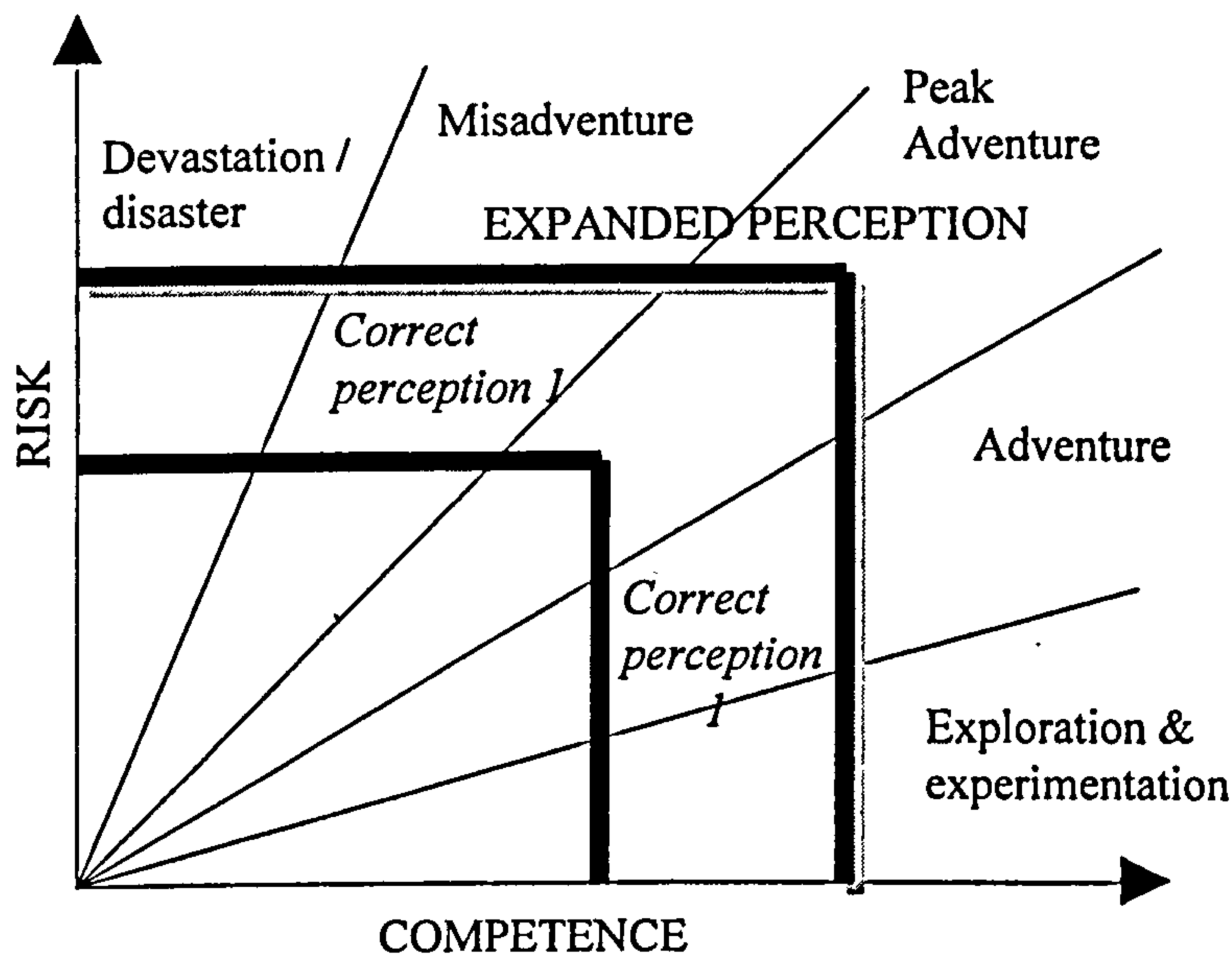


Figure 1.8.2 incorporates Hopkins and Putnams' objective of personal growth and the concept of flow by showing how an individual could grow in ability to take on more difficult situations. This is represented by a move from the initial 'correct' subjective perception of the juxtaposition of risk and competence (Priest's original model), to the expanded perception. As Mortlock (1984), Hopkins and Putnam (1993) believed, and Huskins (1996) advocates as good practice in youth work, this occurs through the facilitated progression through ever more demanding experiences. Consistent with their emphasis on growth of the whole person, risks include the social and the emotional as well as the physical. The most important aspect of growth is in the individual's view of themselves and the world. Learning about oneself is not just incremental but may involve a dramatic transformation (Putnam, 1985).

Personal growth enables the individual to become more pro-active in their own development through increasing resourcefulness – 'the capacity of individuals to use their own and social resources to develop interests and pursue activities which yield personal and social satisfaction' (Rapoport, 1982, in Glyptis, 1989: 161).

1.8.2 The importance of values in the process of personal growth

Flow theory has been criticised as failing to distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' states of flow (Mason, 1999). For example; it would fail to distinguish people involved in crime from those involved in charity work or sport. Secondly, its attainment is confined to the satisfaction of needs. 'There is nothing in flow theory which enables one to articulate the ethical ideal of attention to values which are separate from, or transcend, the satisfaction of needs' (Mason, 1999: 236). A crucial component of personal growth is the values that underpin it and give it direction.

The values of the programme staff, as role models and mentors, are influential in directing personal growth. This was apparent in the author's evaluation of a sports counselling programme (Nichols & Taylor, 1996) and in research into programmes run by UK Probation Services (Taylor, et al. 1999: 42). Programme managers consistently reported that high quality staff were essential, and in assessing the quality of staff they put much more emphasis on the values they portrayed than on their technical skills.

1.8.3 An overview of the personal growth directed by values model

The process of personal growth directed by values has been described in more detail in Nichols (2000a). As in the models discussed in section 1.7 it is a general model of personal development. It is hypothesised that it can encompass both programmes which aim to reduce crime through facilitating offenders' changed self-concept, and programmes which aim to contribute to the pro-social development of individuals who are subject to a high level of risk factors. That is, it can be applied at any level of Brantingham and Fausts' (1976) adapted categorisation: primary, secondary or tertiary. It can understand a dynamic process as it shows how a sports leader or mentor can guide a participant through more challenging experiences. As the participant grows in self-esteem, locus of control and cognitive skills, he / she has the personal resources to take on more challenging experiences, and an increasingly pro-active approach to seeking them out. However, this growth has to be directed, and similarly to Catalano and Hawkins's (1996) model, this is achieved through the value systems of significant others: mentors, sports leaders, peers and 'social units'.

This process of growth and change in self-definition directed by values is illustrated by case studies from previous research. "Mike" was a participant on the WYSC programme. To paraphrase his words, he felt that the major effect of WYSC had been to motivate him to do things, to become more proactive in taking charge of his life. He saw crime as addictive:

> 'To get out of it you have to first get away from friends who are committing crimes and then move to a new area. When you have little money it is very tempting to commit crime when you see friends walking down the road with new clothes and things they have got as a result of crime the previous night. Once you have got into crime you realise how easy it is. So it is hard to break out of it.' (Nichols, 1999a: 203)

This participant had attended four courses in sports leadership following the sports counselling programme. At first he did not feel confident enough to attend without the support of the sports leader but the courses led to voluntary work in a youth club. From this he had taken basic training in youth work and was planning to take further training to become a qualified youth worker, with the support of the full-time worker at his club. This particular case study illustrates the effect of the combination of increased self-esteem, the positive role model of the sports leader, new peers and new opportunities. It illustrates the cumulative effect of these in that his self-confidence had to be built up gradually until he was able to take training opportunities and become involved in voluntary work by himself. Mike had become both motivated and empowered to take charge of his own development. New peers were important in changing the norms of behaviour and value judgements that became integral to his new sense of self-identity. Thus the programme had offered Mike more than just the opportunity to take part in sporting activity.

A further example is from a study of participants on an outdoor adventure programme. One particular participant had become a drug rehabilitation worker, however, in the past he had been heavily involved in drug dealing and then become addicted. This led to a cycle of addiction and crime. During the course of a 9 month drug rehabilitation programme he experienced outdoor pursuits opportunities, but the activity that interested him most was conservation work. As part of his rehabilitation he was able to do

voluntary conservation work, and soon after completing the programme was able to gain employment in conservation work. However, to sustain this new identity as a conservationist rather than a drug dealer, he had to move away from his old home area. As he reported:

> 'I could not tell my friends and associates, 'that is a robin red breast there, and that does stay here in the winter, and that is a blackbird and that is a song thrush', that just would not have happened, it would not have gone down well, me street cred would have gone, so it was all suppressed, so coming here, people asking me, and what would I like to do personally, and it was like conservation, and it was great, there was no one judging me and saying, I don't like that.' (Nichols, 1999b: 110)

Although this example does not illustrate so much an increase in self-esteem and cognitive skills, which were already at a fairly high level, it does illustrate how the participant was able to be helped through a progressive set of new opportunities, directed by pro-social values, and which allowed him to sustain a new self identity in exactly the same way as desisters from offending interviewed by Maruna (2001). Both cases illustrate, how as the individuals developed new skills, they were able to become more pro-active in taking advantage of further opportunities. They illustrate the need to understand the dynamic interaction between the participant and the programme, and other life circumstances. They show how the participant changes during the programme, and as a result is able to perceive and take advantage of different opportunities.

Understanding programme effectiveness in terms of helping participants to redefine themselves can be related to the concept of 'critical choice points' in an individual's 'career' (Craine and Coles, 1995). At these critical points careers are influenced by key authority figures. Involvement in crime can be understood as a result of incremental choices in response to often difficult circumstances and decisions by key figures in their career path. The sports leaders in WYSC became 'key authority figures', in terms of offering new opportunities to participants, but their influence was the greater for the mutual respect between them and the participant. Thus the sports leader could offer the participant guidance in a way that would not be accepted from a probation officer. For example, a probation officer described the way a sports leader could reproach a

probationer with a long history of offences in a way that the probationer would 'not take off anybody else' (Nichols, 1999a).

Maruna (2001), through interviews of long term offenders and those who have desisted, comes to exactly the same conclusion that desistance can be understood by a redefinition of self. However, in his study the criminal justice system usually reinforced the self-perception as an offender. Likely catalysts for a change were the trust shown by another person, such as a partner or probation officer. An especially significant reinforcer of this change was official recognition: for example, when an ex-offender was supported in a court by the testimony of probation workers and others who testified to his changed character.

The personal growth model, illustrated by the previous case studies, implies that a set of 'success factors' will help a programme achieve an impact on crime reduction through the mechanism of long-term pro-social development. These include:

- an attractive activity to get participants initially involved;
- the ability to adapt a programme to individual participants' needs;
- the use of rewards of achievement, which will enhance self esteem;
- sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participants' needs and development;
- a good relationship between participants and activity leaders; leaders taking a mentoring role, such as they become 'significant others';
- the ability to offer long term follow-up and viable exit routes where the participant can become involved in activity and further opportunities for development independent of the original programme;
- sharing activity with pro-social peers;
- a clear set of values associated with the activity leaders and the ethos of the programme. These values are inconsistent with offending.

Witt and Crompton, as a result of studying programmes in the United States, provide a similar set of 'characteristics of environments that promote positive youth development' (2003: 6). Again, their model goes beyond the countering of risk with protection factors.

For them a simple 'deficit reduction approach' has been too limited and is replaced with 'positive youth development'. This seeks to 'increase the competency of all youth to meet the challenges of growing up' (Witt and Crompton, 2003: 5).

An implication of the personal growth model is that the redefinition of self-identity consistent with pro-social behaviour, or not offending, will be most difficult, and will involve most personal risk, for those most heavily involved in offending. Both of the case studies used as illustrations above were long term offenders. For secondary programmes; directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals or groups in criminogenic circumstances; the main concern may be to reinforce a pro-social self-concept rather than to change one. The personal growth model puts much greater emphasis on understanding the process of the programme and experience of participants. This is in contrast to McCormack's (2003) analysis of the role of 'adventure' in linking causes of delinquency with level of intervention (2003: 171) or the same analytical framework expanded to include 'constructive leisure', 'sport' and 'motor sport' as linking mechanisms (Collins and Kay, 2003: 168).

1.9 A synthesis of the two approaches and the role of sport as a catalyst

1.9.1 Combining the two models to provide the theoretical foundation for the research

Although the risk / protective factor model (1.7) and the personal growth model (1.8) are developed from two different starting points they have considerable points of convergence. The risk / protective factor model is based on the factors which predispose an individual to take part in crime, and the factors which appear to be able to nullify their impact. These need to be provided through the medium of a unit with which the participant identifies and which reinforces pro-social values. The personal growth directed by values model is developed from evidence of the benefits of participation in sport and outdoor activity programmes and theoretical understandings of this.

UNIVERSITY
OF SHEFFIELD
LIBRARY

Both models offer a general explanation of the development of anti- and pro-social behaviour. Both can be applied to secondary or tertiary interventions. Both models put a strong emphasis on the important influence of value systems of 'significant others', whether peers, programme leaders, or 'social units'. Both have an emphasis on understanding the behaviour of young people, and informing programmes directed towards them.

Both models need to take account of economic deprivation as a risk factor. While Farrington's longitudinal research identified economic deprivation as one of the factors that increased the propensity to take part in crime, the risk / protective factors model does not consider how this will be reduced. Neither does the Communities that Care project aim to increase local employment. The Commission on Social Justice (1994: 50.) stated that, 'unemployment does not turn a law-abiding citizen into a criminal. But whatever other factors are at work in rising crime, there now seems to be a clear association between unemployment and crime among young men between the ages of 17 and 25, who account for 70 per cent of all adults convicted or cautioned for a criminal offence'. Other studies have established a positive relationship between employment and self-esteem amongst young people (Warr and Jackson, 1983). Employment has been understood to give people a stake in society, which they could lose through criminal activity (Roberts, 1992). Therefore a programme is more likely to help a young person stay out of crime if it helps them gain employment, either directly, or through gaining employment skills. Several of the WYSC (Nichols and Taylor, 1996) case study participants selected by the sports leaders as successful had gained employment, sometimes as a result of qualifications gained through sports counselling. Thus a further long term success factor might the ability of the programmes to contribute to employability.

There is a strong convergence between the protective factors of the first model and the success factors of the second model, although the second model claims to explain more about the process through which these factors work. All of the protective factors promoted by the Communities that Care projects — strengthening bonds with family members, teachers and other socially responsible adults or friends; promoting clear and consistent rules and expectations about healthy and pro-social behaviour; giving young

people opportunities for involvement and to feel valued; promoting social and learning skills; and giving young people recognition and praise — are included within the success factors of the directed personal growth model.

Therefore, this research uses as its theoretical base the model of personal growth directed by values (1.8) refined by the risk / protection factor model (1.7). The refinements are that the risk / protection factor model helps identify individuals at the greatest risk of involvement in crime. It also explains that for the protection factors (or success factors of the personal growth model – the two are used interchangeably from now on) to operate, there must be significant identification with an organisation or individual which promotes pro-social values.

The personal growth model shows the mechanisms through which the protective factors and risk factors interact. This model is more detailed than the social development model of Catalano and Hawkins (1996) as it goes beyond this in its understanding of the process of personal growth. This involves the expansion of the individual's subjective perception of their capabilities and the challenges offered by their situation, leading to a more proactive approach to personal circumstances. In terms of social theory, this is a shift in focus from an individual dominated by the influence of social structure, to one who is more freely able to express him / herself through social action. An advantage of the personal growth model is that it helps understand how this has to be achieved through the individual being led sensitively through a progression of more challenging experiences, in a manner that accords with Huskins's model of good practice in youth work. It understands the changing interaction between the programme and the participant as the participant develops, which is consistent with the notion of generative causality (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). The more detailed understanding of the mechanisms of the process offered by the personal development model allow a more precise identification of the roles of sport and of the sports leader as catalysts.

Therefore the research must explore whether the success factors are present on which the process of personal growth directed by values model is contingent on. If they are, is there evidence of personal growth, and could this therefore be the mechanism through which the programme can reduce offending?

1.9.2 The role of sport within the model

The extensive previous discussion of the benefits of sports participation (1.6) indicate how sport could act as a catalyst to the process of personal growth. Sport can provide a valuable catalyst for forming significant relationships with new role models, whether sports leaders or peers. Participation can contribute to increased self-esteem, either through increased health, increased perception of health, or achievement. The achievement could be at a particular sport, but could more likely be the achievement of completing a programme based on sports participation. In some extreme cases, such as the Hafotty Wen 14 peaks expedition (Nichols, 1999b), self-esteem could be raised through achievement of a significant sporting feat. Such achievement may be very significant for participants who have not previously gained positive recognition at school or from other social units promoting pro-social values (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996).

Sport offers a medium in which there are many possible activities to meet the varied interests of participants. Through sport, programmes can offer a varied range of 'exit routes' for further development, either of personal skills or of leadership opportunities. Both can involve the individual taking greater responsibility for his / her own development. Sports participation can be a medium through which cognitive skills are developed. These may contribute to employability as well as to personal growth. Due to the large increase in sport and leisure related employment, sport is an area where personal interest is more likely to be able to lead to employment. It may lead to work in a field where sports skills can contribute, such as youth work. As a medium, sport has an advantage that it is relatively accessible to all at some level. There are a multitude of public sector facilities where frequently there are concessionary rates for low income participants. There is also a multitude of voluntary sector sporting organisations. Thus, if a participant becomes interested in organised sport it is a relatively easy activity to pursue. Some sports have the advantage of providing the 'hook' that initially attracts the participant to the programme, although these sports may not be the ones where it is easiest to sustain independent participation. Thus, the main function of sport is to provide a context for 'wider personal and social growth...' (Coalter, 2001: 28).

However, sport may not be the best medium for all participants. Its remaining gender stereotypes may discourage participation by young women and girls. The appeal of some sports, such as body building, to males may also be considered to be a negative influence to the extent that they reinforce gender stereotypes of masculinity; although again, there is the possibility that in this way sports achievement may provide an alternative route to attaining a socially accepted male identity to that offered by crime or drug use (Collison, 1996). The values promoted by sport are ambiguous. Although crime in sport (Jupp, 1995) is not likely to be a major influence, the numerous highly visible examples of playing outside the rules to win at the expense of fair play do not provide the model values that crime reduction programmes would want to promote.

Overall, while sport has many strengths as a medium for crime reduction programmes, it still may have less appeal for potential participants than many other leisure activities such as watching TV, or going to the pub. Even if a participant becomes involved in sport to the extent that it becomes a 'serious leisure' activity (Stebbins, 1997) characterised by a distinctive ethos and career structure, and offering a major life interest, studies of sports programmes for the unemployed have concluded that while the social and economic rewards of working are so much greater than not doing so, sports participation can not substitute for paid employment (Glyptis, 1989: 162). So, a further research question is: what is the role of sport as a catalyst to the process by which the programmes might reduce offending?

1.10 Implications for this study and a refinement of hypotheses

As stated in 1.1, the aims of the research are to explore 'how' and 'why' sports programmes working with young people and with explicit objectives of crime reduction affect participants.

It aims to refine understanding of what works for who in what circumstances. The theory discussed in earlier sections represents the 'design phase' of an explanatory case study (Yin, 1994: 27) and the hypotheses below the set of 'causal links' (ibid: 110). It is hypothesised that personal development directed by pro-social values will be the mechanism through which the programmes may reduce offending.

Case study programmes have been selected because initial enquiries suggested they might have the success factors in place to facilitate this mechanism. An objective of the study is to find out if these success factors are present. It is hypothesised that the mechanism of personal development directed by values will be relevant at all points on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum. To refine the understanding of what works for who in what circumstances, the three case study programmes have been contrasted by their position on this scale. Within these case study programmes, the research will seek to find out if the participants who have attended the most, and thus represent critical case participants, benefited in the way that the theoretical model predicts. Thus the research is focusing both on the programmes in which this mechanism is most likely to be apparent, and on the participants within them who are most likely to benefit in this way. If the personal development mechanism is relevant, it will be apparent in these cases.

1.10.1 The theoretical model provides several hypotheses

The numbers by the hypotheses are used in the description of research methods, chapter 3, to show how they articulate between the theoretical basis and the methods.
The programmes contribute to the personal development of young people, guided by values. This contributes to a reduction in offending. (h1)

This process involves a growth in self-esteem, locus of control, cognitive skills, and the establishment of a personal value system which makes the individual less disposed towards crime. This will contribute to personal growth such that the individual will be able to take a more proactive role in their own further development. (h2)

Key contributory 'success' factors to this process are:

- an attractive activity to get participants initially involved. (h3)
- the ability to adapt a programme to individual participants' needs. (h4)
- the use of rewards of achievement, which will enhance self esteem. (h5)
- sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participants' needs and development. (h6)

- a good relationship between participants and activity leaders; leaders taking a mentoring role, such as they become 'significant others'. (h7)
- the ability to offer long term follow-up and viable exit routes where the participant can become involved in activity and further opportunities for development independent of the original programme. (h8)
- sharing activity with pro-social peers. (h9)
- a clear set of values associated with the activity leaders and the ethos of the programme. These values are inconsistent with offending. (h10)

Sport is a catalyst to this process. (h11)
One would expect the mechanism of crime reduction through personal development of young people, guided by values to be most apparent at the tertiary end of the modified Brantingham and Faust categorisation although it would be relevant at all points. (h12)

Exploring the hypotheses above will help answer these questions:
1. Are the success factors present?
2. Do they lead to personal development directed by values as a mechanism by which the programme might reduce offending?
3. How do 1. and 2. vary at points along the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum as a contribution towards increased understanding of what works for who in which circumstances?

At the same time, although the hypotheses above represent the theoretical starting point, the research is exploring the mechanisms of the programmes, so it is open to alternative understandings of the relation to reduced offending and the role of sport.

Chapter 2 Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The research has taken a case study approach (Yin 1994), informed by scientific realism, as advocated by Pawson and Tilley (1997). The main objectives are to answer 'how' and 'why' explanatory questions. How does the programme affect participants and why does this happen? The focus is not on 'what' questions, such as how many participants have benefited in a particular way, or by how much has crime been reduced. The case study approach is also preferred because although the researcher has given feedback to the programme managers over a period during which they might change the programme, he is not able to manipulate the programme. Secondly, the programmes are contemporary, allowing for the use of systematic interviewing and direct observation. These characteristics of the type of question, the contemporary event, and the lack of direct control by the researcher, justify a case study approach (Yin, 1994: 6–9).

However, while a case study approach implies use of a triangulation of different methods, scientific realism gives this a philosophical foundation beyond Tashakkori and Teddlie's (1998) advocation of 'mixed methodology' on pragmatic grounds and because it 'eschews the use of metaphysical concepts (truth, reality) that have caused much endless (and often useless) discussion and debate' (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998: 30, brackets in original).

2.2 Scientific realism

Pawson and Tilley's application of Bhaskar's (1975) critical realism to criminology has mainly been seen as a criticism of the predominance of 'classic experimental research' in criminology. This, illustrated by figure 2.2.1 below, starts with two identical groups. One group is given the treatment, and one group is not. Research is looking for measurable outcomes of a programme in the experimental group, and comparing them to the control group who have not experienced the same programme. If the group that had the treatment

changes and the control group does not, it is deduced that the treatment caused the change. If numbers in the two groups are large enough, it can be ascertained whether the evidence of a causal relationship is statistically significant. Causation between the programme and intermediate effects, or the final outcome, is inferred from the repeated succession of similar effects after similar programmes.

Figure 2.2.1 *Classic experimental research design.*

	Pre-test	Treatment	Post-test
Experimental group	O1	X	O2
Control group	O1		O2

Source: Pawson and Tilley, 1997: p.5

An initial criticism is that this model implies deterministic causation: the programme seems to have caused a change — but it does not take sufficient account of agency. In contrast, Pawson and Tilley's epistemological position is that 'it is not programmes that work, but the generative mechanisms that they release by way of providing reasons and resources to change behavior' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: p. 79). This is termed 'generative causality'. Causation in a programme cannot be understood through deducing from statistical regularities how a programme works, which is the aim of the research model in figure 2.2.1. Rather, one has to understand why actors involved in the programme choose to change the way they act. Causality has to be understood as a combination of human agency and its reaction to new opportunities and resources. For example, to understand a programme offering sports activities to probationers, one would need to understand not only the new range of opportunities offered by the course, but also the resources and attitudes the participants brought with them, and how these changed as the course developed. Rather than a programme having an impact on a participant — the deterministic causality assumed by quasi- experimentation — it is necessary to understand the interaction between the programme and the participant; that is, between structure and agency.

This perspective takes into account the dynamic relationship between participant and programme. The participant changes in response to the programme, and therefore sees the programme in different ways at different stages of involvement. Practically, this

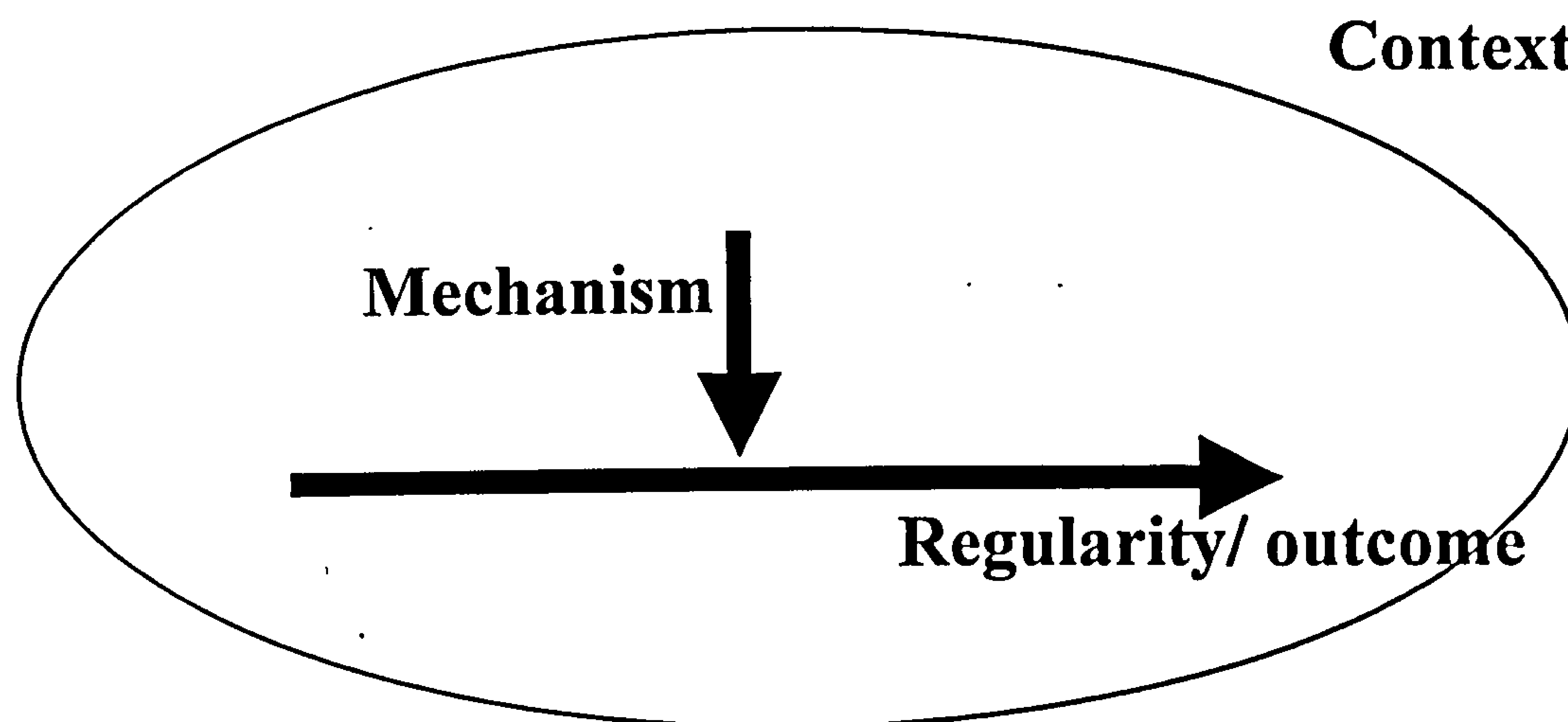
means that as involvement progresses, the participant may be able to take advantage of a greater range of opportunities offered by the programme, and may only see them as opportunities after some period of involvement.

The ontological position of scientific realism is that, following Bhaskar (1975), the social world has to be understood at different levels. Human activity has to be understood at a different level of nature from that studied by biology or physics (Collier, 1998). Pawson and Tilley extend this to stratifying social reality (1997: 64). If we are to understand causality as a combination of human agency and its reaction to new opportunities and resources, we need to understand the social world as perceived by the programme participant. We need to understand how the social actor sees the programme which is 'embedded' in their particular level of social reality. Only in this way can one understand the mechanism by which a programme has an effect. 'Social mechanisms are ... about people's choices and the capacities they derive from group membership' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 66).

The mechanism has to be understood as embedded in its particular level of social reality. This provides a context on which it is contingent. Some programmes will work with some participants, in some contexts, but not in others. An illustration of this is from the author's research (Nichols, 1999b) into the place of adventure activities in the rehabilitation of long-term drug addicts. It was found that a key to successful rehabilitation was the ability to start a new life among new peers in a new area. The area could be thought of as the context. If, having gone through rehabilitation (a process as long as 12 months) a former addict moved back to their former home area, then the pressures and opportunities to become trapped in a cycle of drug taking and crime were often too hard to resist.

While Pawson and Tilley's approach criticises the understanding of social reality upon which classic experimental research is based, it still seeks to explain regularities. The three elements of mechanism, context and regularity / outcome (CMR/O) are drawn together in Figure 2.2.2 below.

Figure 2.2.2 A context, mechanism, regularity / outcome configuration (CMR/O)



Source: Pawson and Tilley, 1997

Pawson and Tilley's approach implies a series of case studies of CMO configurations which 'add up' to a better understanding of what works for who in what circumstances.

Scientific realism, takes theory as the starting point of research. Theory informs hypothesis generation about context, mechanism, regularity configurations. This approach of starting from theory can be contrasted to the 'theory of change' approach to evaluation taken by Weiss (1998) which starts by developing hypotheses about the mechanisms of change by interviewing the client or those involved in the process. The 'theory of change' approach has an advantage of gaining acceptability of research methods by key brokers in the research situation: for example, programme leaders will be more willing to administer a questionnaire to participants if the leaders have had an influence in its design. However, this approach makes it more difficult for research to build on theory. Rather than starting from academic theory, the 'theory of change' approach starts by identifying 'a set of beliefs that underlie action' (Weiss, 1998: 55). This is, 'a set of hypotheses upon which people build their program plans. It is an explanation of the causal links that tie program inputs to expected program outputs', and will include both the activities and the mechanisms of change. The focus of the theory of change approach is on changing policy and practice: thus the approach requires the identification of key stakeholders in the policy community. These are then recruited into

a stakeholder group who approve both the hypotheses and the methods used to test them. Thus, consistent with the approach's objective of influencing policy, the stakeholders are the most important judges of the validity of the research. Again, this is a contrast with the methods of scientific realism.

Scientific realism allows hypotheses to be tested with a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, the combination of which is justified, as noted above, by the epistemological position that causation in a programme cannot be understood through deducing how a programme works externally through statistical regularities. In contrast to positivist criminologists (Farrington, 1998: 207), who state that 'it is not clear that ... verbal reports in general have any validity', scientific realism, in line with much of contemporary social science, is prepared to accept qualitative evidence. The validity of this evidence will be enhanced if it is substantiated by other verbal reports: for example, where a probationer, a probation officer and a sports leader all give the same account of the impact of a programme; or where it is juxtaposed with quantitative evidence.

A further criticism of the classic experimental research design, illustrated with reference to Farrington's proposals for evaluating the Communities that Care programme (Pawson and Tilley, 1998a), is that the complexity of programmes leads to a degree of process complexity that it is beyond the capability of the research design to deal with. Once the objectives of research broaden to consider why a programme has an effect, rather than just if it has an effect, then a more sophisticated model is required (see Figure 2.2.3).

Figure 2.2.3 *The elements of the process of a crime reduction programme in sequence (source: author)*

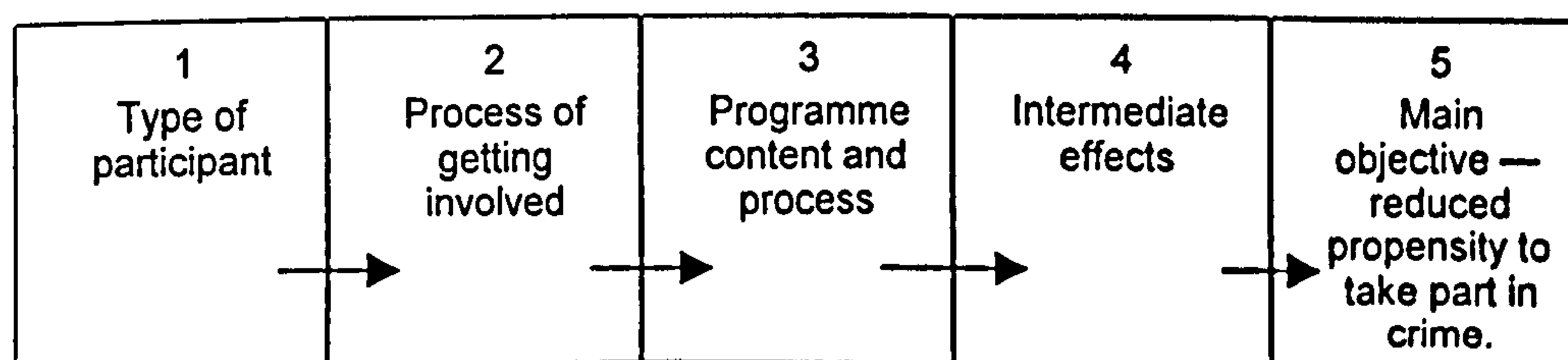


Figure 2.2.3 illustrates that research is trying to show a causal relationship between elements of boxes 1–5. But is not as simple as showing that participants on any one programme appear to experience a particular outcome, while non participants do not

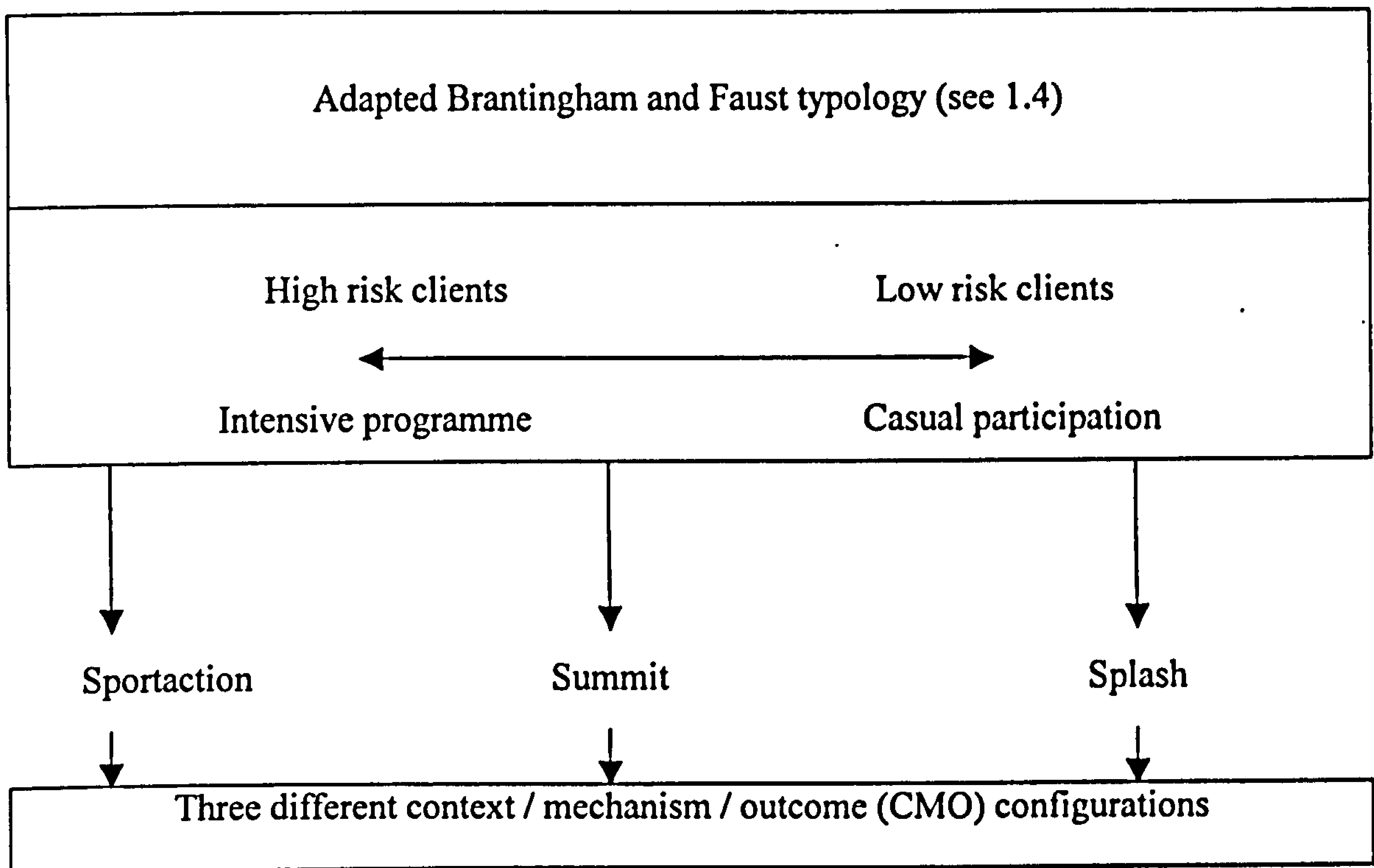
(Figure 2.2.1). The process of the programme is far more complex, and involves several different variables, but it is impossible to hold any one of them constant within the 'classic experimental research design'. For Pawson and Tilley (1998a: 82), scientific realism does not try to do this. Instead it 'seeks cumulation by identifying, more and more minutely, the conjunction of sets of mechanisms and contexts that will bring about a desired outcome'. Similarly, 'a case study enquiry copes with many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result, relies on multiple sources or evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation' (Yin, 1994: 13).

Bhaskar's position is that the researcher can move towards a more complete understanding, but, as in the natural sciences, we are dealing with probabilities. We will never be able to say with absolute certainty that 'a' causes 'b': we can say that understanding is moving towards reality, but we must recognize that reality, which exists independently of our knowledge, always has unexplored depths to it (Collier, 1998).

2.3 Implications for the present research design

The present research is based on three case studies (Sportaction, Summit and Splash), selected for their contrasting position on the adapted Brantingham and Faust typology, and because initial research suggested they were likely to exhibit the contributory 'success' factors to the process of personal development, described in chapter 1. The relation of these methodological perspectives to the research design is illustrated in Figure 2.3.1.

Figure 2.3.1 The design of the research as three case studies informed by scientific realism



The three case studies are linked by the theoretical framework. They represent 'theoretical replication' in that they are expected to 'produce contrasting results but for predictable reasons' (Yin, 1994: 46). In terms of scientific realism they represent three CMO configurations, linked by the 'abstract analytical framework' that provides a set of 'interlinked hypotheses' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 124) and are thus designed to provide a cumulative understanding.

However, the focus of the case studies is on 'how' and 'why' questions. Pawson and Tilley's scientific realism is an approach to evaluation research, in particular, in crime reduction programmes. As evaluation it has to concern itself with the outcomes: has the programme achieved what it said it would — although for Pawson and Tilley, this is meaningless without also understanding the mechanism by which these are achieved and the context on which they are contingent.

This research is not concerned with evaluation in this sense. Rather, it is exploring the three contrasting CMO configurations with a focus on examining the mechanisms of

each. It asks the questions: do programmes reduce offending through the mechanism of personal development directed by values? Is this outcome itself achieved by the success factors identified by theory? How do these mechanisms and outcomes vary according to the position of the programme on the modified Brantingham and Faust scale? The complexity of the research situation means that the focus has been on boxes 3 and 4 in figure 2.2.3; the process and content of the programmes and the intermediate outcomes. As in scientific realism, the research starts from selected theoretical standpoints from which are derived hypotheses. It proposes that the main mechanism by which the programmes will reduce crime is through long-term personal development directed by pro-social values, and the mechanism by which this in turn will be achieved is through the existence of certain success factors. However, the research is exploring CMO configurations to gain a better understanding of these mechanisms, in the same way as Emler (2001) advocates a more detailed understanding of the mechanism between self-esteem and crime reduction. It is not reporting on whether those outcomes have been achieved.

Thus, in general terms, the present research accepts the validity of the context, mechanism, outcome model and the notion of generative causality. Following this and the implications of a case study approach, it has used a triangulation of methods to understand CMO configurations; contrasted by their relation to a theory of programme categorisation. Pawson and Tilley's criticisms of the classic experimental design (1997: 5) are accepted, although had this been evaluation research more resources would have had to have been applied to the measurement of outcomes in relation to programme objectives: the focus is on what the CMO configuration is, rather than quantifying its outcome.

It is accepted that it is necessary to understand the 'social world' of the actor/s and how these interrelate: for example, the worlds of the youth offending team client and the sports leader. For research to build on theory, these need to be encompassed by the concepts provided by theory. As these concepts are available to the researcher and not to the actor, it is accepted that the researcher's understanding of the social world is more complete, a closer approximation to 'reality', than that of the actor.

From the cases further generalisations will emerge, but consistent with scientific realism, these will represent not an ultimate truth but a move in the "right direction". As in a case study approach, 'the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization)...' (Yin, 1994: 10).

More specifically, scientific realism has implications for the conduct of interviews as an exploration of the validity of the researcher's understanding through sharing it with the interviewee (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 157) for mutual understanding to emerge. A reservation is that Pawson and Tilley's model of interviewing does not take into account the relative power inequalities between interviewer and interviewee, which might distort the conclusions of shared understanding if not sensitively handled.

The broad acceptance of Pawson and Tilley's position, and acceptance of the value of qualitative data, has been influenced by the author's previous research experience, as outlined at the start of chapter 1. In the evaluation of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (Nichols and Taylor, 1996) a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were employed. These showed that the programme appeared to have an impact on crime reduction and the process by which this occurred. The research started from existing theory, and was able to add to it (Nichols, 1999a). The understanding of how the programme influenced participants was in terms of generative causality, as was also the case in research into the impact of the Hafotty Wen 14 peaks expedition on drug rehabilitation clients (Nichols, 1999b). In this, and in subsequent research into physically demanding probation service programmes (Taylor, et. al. 2000) some of the most valuable understanding was gained through qualitative interviews.

This experience has shown that a precise combination of methods to address hypotheses is useful. However, when the emphasis of the objectives is to understand the process by which programmes contribute to reducing the propensity of clients to become involved in crime, and which programmes are most effective with which clients in which circumstances, qualitative methods will be more valuable than quantitative ones (Taylor, et al. 2000). They are a more effective use of limited resources when the research is focused on these 'how' and 'why' questions. This conclusion is shared by Farrall (2002), in relation to understanding the impact of probation service work, and Mathews and Pitts

(2000), in relation to violence reduction programmes in prison. As Farrall quotes Mathews and Pitts (2000: 138), 'evaluation also needs to include more qualitative and intensive data gained from discussion with those who have actually participated in the programme', and adds his own view that, 'such an approach would not just provide information about whether a programme works, but how it works and how it works in specific contexts' (Farrall, 2003: 223).

Thus the research has taken a case study approach, informed by the insights of scientific realism. The main difference with scientific realism is that it has not attempted to measure outcomes, but rather to develop understandings of how and why programmes have an impact on participants. The focus is on the mechanism and context of CMO configurations. This is because, as noted above, the most useful insights from the author's previous research were gained through qualitative methods which built on previous theory. This was the most effective use of research resources. A further pragmatic consideration (discussed in chapter 3) was the difficulty of obtaining outcome data, such as conviction records.

As noted in chapter 1, three case studies were used because of the high attrition rate of such programmes: previous research had shown the typical lifespan of programmes to be short. In fact two programmes the research had hoped to use as case studies collapsed at an early stage of the research. However, this strategy of insuring against further programme collapse has a disadvantage. As Yin points out (1994: 45) 'the conduct of a multiple case study can require extensive resources and time beyond the means of a single student or independent research investigator'.

2.4 Some limitations of scientific realism

It could be argued that a weakness of the scientific realist position (Nichols, 2001a) is that it is unclear how one defines any one CMO configuration and when observations of outcomes are sufficient to constitute a 'regularity'. The range of contexts is infinite. The types of mechanisms are also infinite in variety, if considered in fine detail. The outcomes are also infinite in variety. What is unclear is the point at which scientific realism decides that understanding is sufficient for the level required. Further, when

considering the development of theory, it is unclear how different from the hypothesised position a result has to be to challenge the original theory. In the example of a drug rehabilitation programme only working when the participants were able to move away from the place where they were initially involved in drug taking (Nichols, 1999b), how far do they need to move away? This is exactly the same criticism that Pawson and Tilley level against Farrington of, 'fuzziness' in defining programme attributes (Pawson and Tilley, 1998a: 80). Could they move into another social context, but in the same location? Pawson and Tilley do not consider that the degree to which we discriminate between different context, mechanism, outcome permutation, is determined by views of what is 'adequate theory'.

This leads into a more general criticism of the scientific realist approach. The approach has mainly been seen as a criticism of the predominance of positivistic research in criminology, and those who favour this approach have engaged in fierce debate over the validity of qualitative evidence (Pawson and Tilley: 1998b; Farrington, 1997; 1998). However, one might equally well make a criticism from the interpretivist tradition that Pawson and Tilley assume that there is some sort of reality that the researcher can get closer to than the actor. This is implied in their use of the word 'stratified' in implying that the researcher understands a 'level of reality' superior to that of the actor, rather than just alternative to that of the actor. This may seem a reasonable view, given the researcher's superior knowledge of theory, and Pawson and Tilley argue that 'those commissioning evaluations must award contracts to those with the knowledge and competence to orient their studies realistically to what has been learned of CMO / CMR configurations previously' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 148) (presumably thinking of themselves!). But one could argue that Pawson and Tilley's understanding of 'reality' may be no nearer to an external, independent reality than the view of the actor. It could be no more than an alternative view, rather than one based in a higher 'stratum'.

To take this further, the very questions that Pawson and Tilley ask are framed within their own social reality and this is why they are important to them. 'What works', in other words the objectives of policy, are determined by Pawson and Tilley, and those funding the research. This approach might ignore some completely unexpected outcome of a programme because it was not looking for it. Pawson and Tilley tread a delicate line

between the positivist and the interpretivist position. They have avoided the social relativism of interpretivists at the cost of imposing their own conceptual framework on the research, in order to provide policy solutions, and build on theory.

2.5 Conclusion on the value of scientific realism

In spite of the limitations of scientific realism discussed in 2.4, the author accepts its epistemological position that causality is best understood as 'generative'. This accords with the author's previous analysis of participants' experiences in crime reduction programmes (Nichols, 1999a; 1999b). Further, it is accepted that an understanding of the mechanisms whereby a programme leads to an outcome must necessarily include an understanding of the participants' perceptions of the programme and the opportunities it offers them. The author accepts the value of scientific realism's initial theorising of mechanisms before designing research methods to focus on them (Pawson, 2003). Lastly, the author is in sympathy with the value judgements expressed by Tilley (2000: 110), when he stated that 'in my particular case, realistic evaluation has provided a way of dealing with two sources of contemporary unease: about that aspect of postmodernism which casts doubt on the possibility of objective knowledge; and about that aspect of modernism that promises universal unconditional truths'.

Chapter 3 Methods

3.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the selection of case study programmes, gives a description of the programmes selected, and then details of research methods by programme.

From initial interviews with programme managers three case study programmes were selected because they appeared to have most of the success factors required for the mechanism of crime reduction through the personal development of young people directed by values. They all had a stated objective of crime reduction, used sport as the main medium, and had a stable funding base, so were likely to remain in operation for the duration of the research. Within these programmes the participants were identified who had best records of attendance and were therefore expected to have benefited most from participation. These participants were used as case studies to examine if the success factors were present and if they operated in a way which corresponded to the theoretical model of the process.

A triangulation of methods at both the level of the programmes and individual participants were used. Where possible research resources were concentrated on particular 'critical cases' (Yin, 1994: 38) both at the level of the programmes and the level of individual participants. They were critical in the sense that theory suggested that these programmes had the optimum chance of success in reducing crime through the process of directed personal growth; and the case study participants were most likely to have benefited from this process by virtue of their degree of contact with the programmes. Selecting three case study programmes (rather than one) allowed for comparison in relation to their position on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum, but also provided an insurance against any particular programme ceasing to operate during the period of study: a major concern given the finding of financial insecurity in the previous survey (Nichols and Booth, 1999a).

3.2 Selection of case study programmes

Case study programmes were selected from a sample of 116 provided by the earlier survey of programmes in 1998/9 (Nichols and Booth, 1999). This survey design included an initial questionnaire completed by a local authority chief leisure officer, a second telephone interview with the programme manager, and a further more detailed questionnaire. From this study seven programmes were identified which appeared to offer the permutation of success factors suggested by theory and were also within reasonable travelling distance for the researcher. Further face-to-face interviews (see Appendix A, schedule A1) were conducted with the managers of the following programmes:

Parks for All, Epsom and Ewell Borough Council;
Moving Up Through Sport – Stockport Leisure Services;
The Oasis Project – N.E. Lincolnshire Council;
Oldham Football Community Link – Oldham Council;
Sportaction / Positive Futures – Southtownshire Police;
Splash and Summit Project – Easttown Council.

The interviews lasted from 45 to 90 minutes. With respondents' permission they were tape recorded to ensure the free flow of the interview and enable points to be checked later. As far as possible a quiet location was used and the interviewer was able to use his previous experience in 'simultaneously orchestrating the intellectual and social dynamics of the situation' (Mason, 2002: 67). The interview structure built on the questionnaire in the previous study by checking details of the programme. To this extent it was 'excavation' of knowledge (Mason, 2002: 68) and was designed to examine the following criteria for selecting cases:

1. A focus on crime reduction, reflected in targeting;
2. Prominent use of sport;
3. Programme managers have considered the rationale so have thought about how the programme works;
4. Success factors appear to be in place; including:
    - an attractive activity to get participants initially involved;
    - the ability to adapt a programme to individual participants' needs;

- the use of rewards of achievement, which will enhance self esteem;
- sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participants' needs and development;
- a good relationship between participants and activity leaders; leaders taking a mentoring role, such as they become 'significant others;.
- the ability to offer long term follow-up and viable exit routes where the participant can become involved in activity and further opportunities for development independent of the original programme;
- sharing activity with pro-social peers;
- a clear set of values associated with the activity leaders and the ethos of the programme. These values are inconsistent with offending;

5. Not programmes which are just over the summer holidays, participation needs to be over the whole year so a child could get regularly involved;
6. Willingness to co-operate;
7. Long term viability;
8. Within travelling distance from Sheffield.

Thus criteria for case study selection were a combination of the theoretical and the pragmatic. Of these latter, the two most important criteria were that the programme would be funded for the next three years, and that it was willing to co-operate with the research. This means that although presence of the success factors was a criteria it was not the deciding one, and even if it had been, these could not have been examined in depth in one interview. Thus examining the extent to which the success factors are present remained an objective of the research.

The primary aim of preliminary interviews was to elicit descriptions of the programmes. One objective of the interviews was to see if the programme managers had an understanding of how the programmes had an impact, as a clear programme rationale was one of the criteria for programme selection. The face-to-face interviews were valuable in gaining a more accurate and detailed picture of the varied programmes than had been obtained through the postal questionnaires and telephone interviews. For example; the Oasis project was an umbrella organisation which covered many different

projects in the N.E. Lincolnshire area. Crime reduction appeared to have been adopted as an objective in response to funding opportunities in a way that appeared typical of other programmes in the survey (Nichols and Booth, 1999b) but had not been clear until the face-to-face meeting. In spite of the questionnaire reporting that funding was secure, the programme manager reported that it was not, and he was on the point of leaving because of this. Similarly, the Oldham Community Football project had to apply for funding on an annual basis from the Health Education Authority, so its financial basis was also insecure. Its work involved helping local groups set up football clubs and its only relation to crime reduction was that it tended to operate in more socially deprived areas of Oldham. The Epson and Ewell Parks for All project involved the establishment of martial arts centres in two parks where there had been concern from local residents about young people. By establishing a presence in the parks these centres performed a policing function by deterring vandalism, and also fulfilled some of the functions of the former park attendants. Overall the objective was to make all local people perceive the park as a place of safety. Although this project worked with young people who attended the dojos (martial arts centres), the main mechanism by which the project addressed crime reduction was through deterrence — not the mechanism this research was focusing on.

This small number of interviews suggests that the results of the main postal survey may have under-estimated the fragile funding of programmes and over-estimated their focus on crime reduction.

One other programme was investigated for its viability as a case study. This was an activity club run at Woodthorpe School, in a disadvantaged area of Sheffield. This club was initially established in Easter 2000. It ran activities at an after-school club one day a week until the summer of 2000, when it ran a three day activity session in the summer holidays. Although this programme was local to the researcher it was not selected as a case study because the children it worked with were all at junior school age and after they left this school the project would lose contact with them. This programme was also unsure of its continuation because it would need to generate more support from local parents, which was not currently forthcoming.

The projects selected for further study were: Easttown Splash, Easttown Summit, and Sportaction / Positive Futures. The interviews conducted in the exploratory phase of the research provided valuable data which contributed to understanding how the programme managers and sports leaders understood the programmes, and also informed the final conclusions.

3.3 Programme descriptions

3.3.1 Sportaction / Positive Futures

Background information about Sportaction shows how Positive Futures was an extension of its work and reveals the scope for synergy between Positive Futures and other Sportaction programmes.

Sportaction was instigated by the Chief Constable of Southtownshire constabulary and a group of local businessmen in 1993. In October 1994 it became a registered charity with four trustees. A management committee has a representative from each of the major partners, which include: Southtown County Football Club, Southtown Evening Telegraph, Southtownshire Constabulary, Southtownshire County Council, Southtownshire Cricket Club, Southtown Storm Basketball Club, Protrade and Southtown City Council.

The trust mission statement describes Sportaction as 'working to create, within the communities of Southtownshire, sustainable sport and recreational initiatives that, develop citizenship, promote a healthy drug free lifestyle and provide diversion from crime; by giving young people a sporting chance'. The importance of crime reduction is embodied in the trust mission statement above, and reflected in the instigation and support of the project by Southtownshire constabulary. At the time of initial contact there were four full-time staff; two of these (the project manager and a development worker) were seconded from the police. The third (another development worker) was employed by the Trust, but this was underwritten by the constabulary. The fourth was funded through a 'modern apprenticeship', a government employment programme, and worked as a sports leader. As the most experienced sports leader he took this role in the Positive

Futures programme, which was working with Sportaction's most difficult clients. Other staff were funded by various grants and schemes. These included 'New Deal' and a Lottery grant. There was a pool of other sports leaders, some voluntary and some paid on a sessional basis. Most of the coaches involved had been trained through the project, so participants could progress to become voluntary or paid sports leaders.

The core funding and support to establish and run the project initially came from the police. By the time of the initial interview the major funder was the National Lotteries Charities Board, under their Community Involvement Poverty and Disadvantage Programme. This funding was for three years, from 1st January 2000. Other income has since come from user organisations and grants, which enabled Sportaction to diversify its work. For example, a golf training programme was funded by a local businessman.

The administration of Sportaction was originally split between a police station in Southtown and the County Sports Development Team at County Council Offices. It was all moved to Southtown early in the project.

The project ran a range of programmes: some just directed at young people at risk, and some at young people who have been excluded from main education. These included:

- summer road shows in priority areas, defined by high levels of crime and deprivation, which offered a taster of activities for three days;
- football coaching schemes;
- multi-sport schemes offered every Saturday in three locations in Southtown.
- a scheme to provide golf training to young people;
- work for special educational needs groups, who had been excluded from mainstream education through 'Step Forward', a charitable trust set up to offer alternative programmes for these young people. Sportaction contributed the sporting element of these programmes, providing about 2 hours of activities per week. Most work was with 15–16 year olds, but some were younger;
- work with young people referred directly from the local authority special education unit. From this they might go on to Step Forward, or directly back to main-stream schooling;

- Sports leadership training, including Football Association Junior Managerial awards, Community Sports Leadership awards, and Basketball awards.

Thus Sportaction had a changing permutation of staff and programmes which reflected a changing funding base. A major task for full-time staff was setting up and managing these partnerships. However, the senior manager reported that the most important level of the organisation's structure was its community sport action groups. These were groups of local volunteers which needed to be created to make the projects sustainable. The aim was for Sportaction to act as a catalyst to set these groups up and then to move on when they became independent. Thus the main focus of Sportaction's work was supposed to be the development of groups of local volunteers who would become independent and carry on the delivery of sports opportunities for young people. The summer road shows were planned as the initial catalyst for this development.

3.3.1.1 Positive Futures in Sportaction

The Positive Futures programme was a natural extension of Sportaction's existing work, following the pattern of attracting external funding for specific projects. Positive Futures was itself a partnership between Sport England, the Football Foundation, the Home Office Drugs Unit and the Youth Justice Board. It funded at least 24 programmes across England. These tended to be additions to the work of existing organisations, as was the case in Sportaction.

From April 2000 Sportaction had already been working with the newly established youth offending teams (YOTs). In January 2000 one of the sports leaders reported that a programme had been planned for 24 clients from Southtown and Southfield. These would be paid for by the YOTs. In March the Sportaction manager reported that, 'the YOTs are looking for good credible projects to refer offenders to'.

Sportaction started work with Positive Futures clients in October 2000. Clients were referred to Positive Futures by a Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) set up to work with the 50 highest risk young offenders in the SRB5 area of Southtown. Over the period 10/2000 – 7/2001, 21 clients were referred. From Sportaction's experience of the project it appeared that the referral process from the YIP involved very little contact with and

knowledge of the client. In some cases the YIP did not know the client's correct address and in several the client did not want to do the programme once Sportaction had contacted them, so did not start. Attendance was voluntary. In Sportaction the Positive Futures work took the form of one-to-one sessions with the full-time sports leader, Jimmy. As the case studies below show, these sessions would ideally progress from establishing interest, commitment and rapport with the client to helping them progress through voluntary leadership and obtaining sports qualifications. Most of the sports sessions with clients were led by one of Sportaction's most experienced sports leaders, although other staff were used. An administrator with a youth work background, Carrie, was also employed part-time for the first 7 months of the project. After the Positive Futures programme had been set up, a separate local voluntary group called Enthusiasm was established specifically to offer mentoring to young people at risk. This group was run by volunteers. It also had clients referred to it from the Youth Inclusion Programme. As the results show, some clients initially referred to Positive Futures were subsequently passed on to Enthusiasm.

From October 2001 (after the case study interviews had been completed for this research) the Positive Futures programme changed from one-to-one work to an open-access sports club. Clients were referred from the YIP, the youth service and Enthusiasm, but these organisations had the responsibility of contacting the clients and getting them to the sessions.

Thus the Sportaction / Positive Futures programme (from now on referred to as Sportaction) was at the tertiary end of the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum (1.4). The range of programmes offered by Sportaction meant that it was relatively easy to introduce Positive Futures clients into voluntary leadership, and potentially paid work as sports leaders, in the other programmes.

3.3.2 Easttown Summit

The Summit project is run by Easttown Recreation Department and places on it are sold exclusively to Easttown Youth Offending Team. It was developed by an Easttown Sports Development manager and a senior probation officer from Easttown's experience of

running West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (WYSC). Similarly to WYSC, it involved sporting activities taken part in on a one-to-one basis, with a sports leader. The Sports Development manager's review of WYSC, including the evaluation research, (Nichols and Taylor, 1996) led to several improvements. The initial referral meeting involved the probation client, the probation officer and the sports leader. This ensured that all three were clear about what the programme would involve, and that the expectations were realistic. Rather than a set number of sessions the programme involved specified hours of contact time. This means that, depending on the client's needs, time might be allocated in different lumps. For example, a three hour session might be appropriate for a particular activity. The initial plan meant that at any time in the programme the probation officer knew what the involvement of the client should be. After each meeting between client and counsellor details were sent back to the probation officer. This meant that it was easier for the probation or YOT officer to use the sports counselling experience as part of their overall supervision plan although this was not so relevant for YOT clients, who might not be in regular contact with their YOT officer. It also meant that if there were any problems, such as the client not turning up, the officer was immediately aware of this. Sports counselling was not intended as a substitute for probation or YOT supervision, but could be used to enhance it.

At any stage in the programme the client, probation officer, or sports counsellor could decide to finish the programme. If a client did not turn up on three occasions without providing a good reason their involvement was finished.

The project had been operating since April 1998. Up to April 2000, clients were referred from the probation service, as were clients of the previous programme. After April 2000 all clients were referred from the Youth Offending Team (YOT) who had contracted to buy 100 places in 2000/2001 on what was essentially the same programme. Between January 2000 and April 2002, 91 clients had started the programme. The present study focused on the post April 2000 period. The YOT clients were aged 14 – 17, younger than those from probation. When research started the programme was run by two sports leaders, Charlie and Alan. From April 2001, one full time member of staff, George, became responsible for administering the programme and working as a sports counsellor on it. All the case study interviews and the bulk of the research were done in this period.

George was supported by a pool of casual staff. Each client was allocated to one staff member.

Experience of the WYSC project showed that participants gained a boost in self-esteem from completion, but not many actually completed. For this reason the Summit project was broken down into 'bronze', 'silver' and 'gold' level awards. A bronze award required completing 5 hours worth of the programme satisfactorily, and the silver award required ten hours. This would normally take ten weeks. After this the client had the option of completing the 'gold award' level. To do this the sports leader and client agreed a further programme of activity, a characteristic of which was that the client had to show commitment to sports participation and took greater responsibility. Typically this might involve the clients arranging some of the activities themselves, making their own way to the venue and back, and possibly taking a course of instruction. The gold award was designed to encourage independent participation and involved a further 10 hours of activity.

Summit was one option YOT officer could offer clients. Participation was voluntary and the officer might not see clients after they had been referred, although officers interviewed in the Easttown YOT followed up clients with some home visits. A principle underlying youth offending teams' (YOTs) work is that most young people who commit crime are not serious offenders. Early intervention is intended to prevent a downward spiral of court appearances, criminalisation and further offending, with consequences both for the young person and the criminal justice system. A large proportion of the young people dealt with by YOTs are on a 'final warning'. They will be sent to court if they are apprehended for another offence but technically they have not been convicted of an offence. Thus the YOT clients on this programme did not fall neatly into Brantingham and Fausts' categorisation, which, as noted above, is most usefully seen as a continuum (1.4). These Summit clients had not been convicted of an offence, so were not tertiary. On the other hand, they had been recognised as offenders by their involvement with the YOT. So they were somewhere between the tertiary and secondary categories.

From February 2002, Summit negotiated a new contract with the Easttown and Northdale Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP). This was part of Northdale

and Easttown YOT and dealt with young people aged 10–17 who had been sentenced for a criminal offence on four or more occasions, served a term of custody and / or a court ordered community sentence. The Summit programme was part of the ISSP work with these clients, but attendance of these clients on Summit was compulsory. Between March 2002 and October 2002, 17 ISSP clients were referred to Summit. The work under this new contract was outside the study period of this research, but it illustrated the way programmes adapt in response to changed funding opportunities. It would have been interesting to contrast the ISSP work with Summit courses for the YOT as ISSP clients were firmly at the tertiary / high risk end of the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum. Compulsory attendance might have altered the relation between client and sports leader.

3.3.3 Easttown Splash

Splash was an open access sports activity programme, aimed at 8 to 18 year olds, targeted on the areas of Easttown which were most socially and economically disadvantaged. The sites used by Splash were playing fields, parks, and fields or hard surface areas adjacent to leisure and community centres. Up until 2002 the programme had been offered on each site for one week of the school summer holidays. The programme had been run by a partnership of Eastshire Police and Easttown Leisure Services for over ten years. From 2001 the sports development section, who were responsible for the programme, had been relocated into Easttown Young Peoples Services. Apart from its long-term continuity, as a consequence of core funding being established within the local authority budget, Easttown Splash was typical of many local authority run programmes (Nichols and Booth, 1999a).

A combination of a small core of full-time staff from the sports development section, and temporary staff employed for the summer, offered a range of sports and games. Participation was free. On site activities were complemented by a set of off site trips. Over the previous ten years there had been a degree of continuity in that the majority of sites had had Splash provided on them for one week of each summer holiday. At some sites, activities had also been offered at Easter and the rest of the year, mainly by the permanent sports development workers. This provided the potential for long-term

relationships to be built up between participants on particular sites and the worker allocated to that site.

In addition, Splash Forums had been run in three areas of Easttown. These were sports related youth groups, members of which were drawn from the regular Splash sites. These groups offered additional activities throughout the year and through them the young participants were encouraged to take roles of responsibility in organising and raising funds for the activities.

Initial research began in the summer of 2000. In 2001 the Youth Justice Board (YJB) provided extra funding to expand the programme to run it on three additional sites. As before, Splash was only run on each site for one week, but the number of sites was expanded and the funding enabled a three-day residential course to be offered at the end of the summer. In 2002 the programme was again extended, enabling 10 clusters of sites to each offer the Splash programme over five weeks of the summer holiday. Some sites were only used for one week, and some for two, but the geographical clustering of sites meant that young people could travel relatively easily from one to another. This opened the possibility that young people might attend for all five weeks of the summer. As in 2001, a three-day residential course was provided at the end of the summer at a Local Education Authority outdoor pursuits centre.

The Youth Justice Board (YJB) insisted that all the programmes it funded nationally were also called Splash. This was convenient, as the Easttown Splash had built up considerable brand loyalty over its years of operation and changing the name could have caused confusion. A limitation of the additional YJB funding was that it was only confirmed a few weeks before the programme was due to start. This led to difficulties in recruiting additional staff, buying and storing additional equipment, and arranging transport between sessions in a very short time period.

Thus the Easttown Splash programme was 'secondary prevention' in the terms of Brantingham and Faust (1.4), aimed at preventing people at risk of becoming involved in crime actually committing it. The participants were at lower risk than those in Summit:

they were not being targeted because they had offended, rather because they lived in a deprived area.

3.4 Exploratory interviews and methods subsequently rejected

In each programme a series of interviews were held with programme staff to discuss the programme in more detail and agree the research methods. The approach to the research changed considerably over this period as the programmes changed and some methods were found to be impractical. This led to a modification of objectives.
An original attraction of Sportaction was that in 1999 it had conducted a detailed analysis of crime incident data by police beats, matched to deprivation indices across all the wards in Southtownshire, as part of a strategic review of its work. This was intended to systematically target further programmes. This raised the potential of subsequent analysis plotting changes in incident data in the areas Sportaction was to work in. However, this initial analysis took several months to complete, and was conducted by one of the seconded police officers who had research training. Thus he had both the time to do it and access to the data. However he left early in 2000 so was unable to repeat the analysis, which would not have been useful anyway as Sportaction's work did not progress as anticipated. In Sportaction it was originally intended to study the road show sessions, which were supposed to lead to regular sports sessions supported by local community groups. These sessions did not develop as planned; and Sportaction proved to be unable to produce data on attendances at these sessions which staff originally suggested it could. An initial research plan was to identify the most frequent participants over a period of three years and use police data to track their offending. However, only at one site were detailed records kept of attendance; and these sessions, and records, were disrupted by staff changes. Had these sessions been run consistently they would have made an interesting contrast to the Easttown Splash programme.

Similarly, in the Easttown Splash programme, a potential approach to the research would have been to identify regular participants using records of attendance over three years and relate this to local police data on offending. In the summer of 2000 the sports leader co-ordinating the programme started to develop a database to record participation, partly

because its value as a marketing tool was recognised. However, this was not completed. It would have allowed a more systematic identification of regular attendees. In theory one could have retrospectively created a matched control group of non-participants from records of offending and compared offending rates. This would have been complemented by case studies of clients. However, Splash did not keep detailed records of participation, reflecting the difficulties of doing so in an open access programme (Nichols, 2001b). Although Splash was supported by Westshire Police they would not permit access to records of offending. Even if they had, the considerable work required for analysis might have produced insignificant results due to small sample sizes, as was the case in previous research (Nichols, 2001c).

In response to requests from Youth Justice, who funded the expansion of Splash in 2001 and 2002, Westshire Police produced incident data by basic command units corresponding to the new Splash areas. These compared incidents in 2000, 2001 and 2002. These are noted in the results of this research, although they are not central to the main research questions of how and why the programme had an impact on participants.

In the Easttown Summit project the local YOT was asked for ASSET records of participants. ASSET is a structured interview conducted by a YOT officer which is designed to produce a 'risk' score, as a measure of the client's degree of risk. The initial ASSET score is derived from the first interview between the client and YOT officer. This value of this score is limited by the ability of the YOT officer to develop a frank and trusting relationship with the client at an early formal meeting. However, it would have been useful in showing whether the Summit clients were relatively high or low risk. The YOT was unwilling to provide these scores. It would not have been possible to use changes in ASSET scores as a measure of the impact of Summit as Easttown YOT only completed second ASSET interviews for a small percentage of clients. Even so, a change in score could be attributed as much to the development of the relationship between the YOT officer and the client, in knowing and trusting each other better, as it could to any real change. This was confirmed by an interview with one of the Easttown YOT officers, who, when asked if changes in ASSET score could be used as a research tool, replied:

> 'I'd find it hard to say that that would show anything really', 'there is too much discretion in the way you fill it out', 'you and me could do the form and might score a kid totally different...'.

> 'And they are more honest with you (at the end of supervision) as well, they get to know you more and they are actually giving a different, more open view about what they are doing. I mean a classic case of that is the drugs issue isn't it? The first time you start mentioning drugs he goes "no I don't take them", when you get to know them "yes well actually I do, do a bit of whatever", because they are more relaxed with you and more open with you, or they trust you.'

As noted above, it was also not possible to access police records of offending in Easttown from which one might have conducted an analysis of comparative offending rates, as was done in the study of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (Nichols and Taylor, 1996). In the case of Sportaction the ASSET scores were not available from the Southtown Youth Inclusion Programme from which clients were referred. This was partly because the Youth Inclusion Programme had not conducted the necessary interviews with clients and had asked Sportaction to do this in some cases. In several cases the only information passed to Sportaction by the YIP was the address of the client. Even if records of offending or of ASSET scores had been available in Sportaction, the numbers involved were far too small to have produced a significant analysis.

In each case the data which could not be obtained would have given a more complete picture of context, mechanism, outcome configurations, by adding to information on outcomes. It would have enabled the research to take a more evaluative approach. Some of the difficulties were due to inherent problems in measuring the impact of open access programmes (Nichols, 2001b). Others were due to the relationship with key stakeholders and brokers who had not commissioned the research so were not as willing as they might have been to provide the data, despite the researcher's experience in this field. Some difficulties were just due to the inability of the programmes to produce certain data, even when one would have expected it to be available. However, even if records of offending had been available there is a strong argument that they are not a good measure of changes in behaviour, such as desistence from offending, as this is better seen as a process. Farrall

(2002) (who advocates a scientific realist approach), discussed how use of measures of offending to classify participants as reoffenders or desisters is too inaccurate. He suggested that a better definition of whether a programme works is 'a positive (or at least not negative) impact on the probationer which is wholly or in part attributable to some aspect of the intervention' (ibid.: 213).

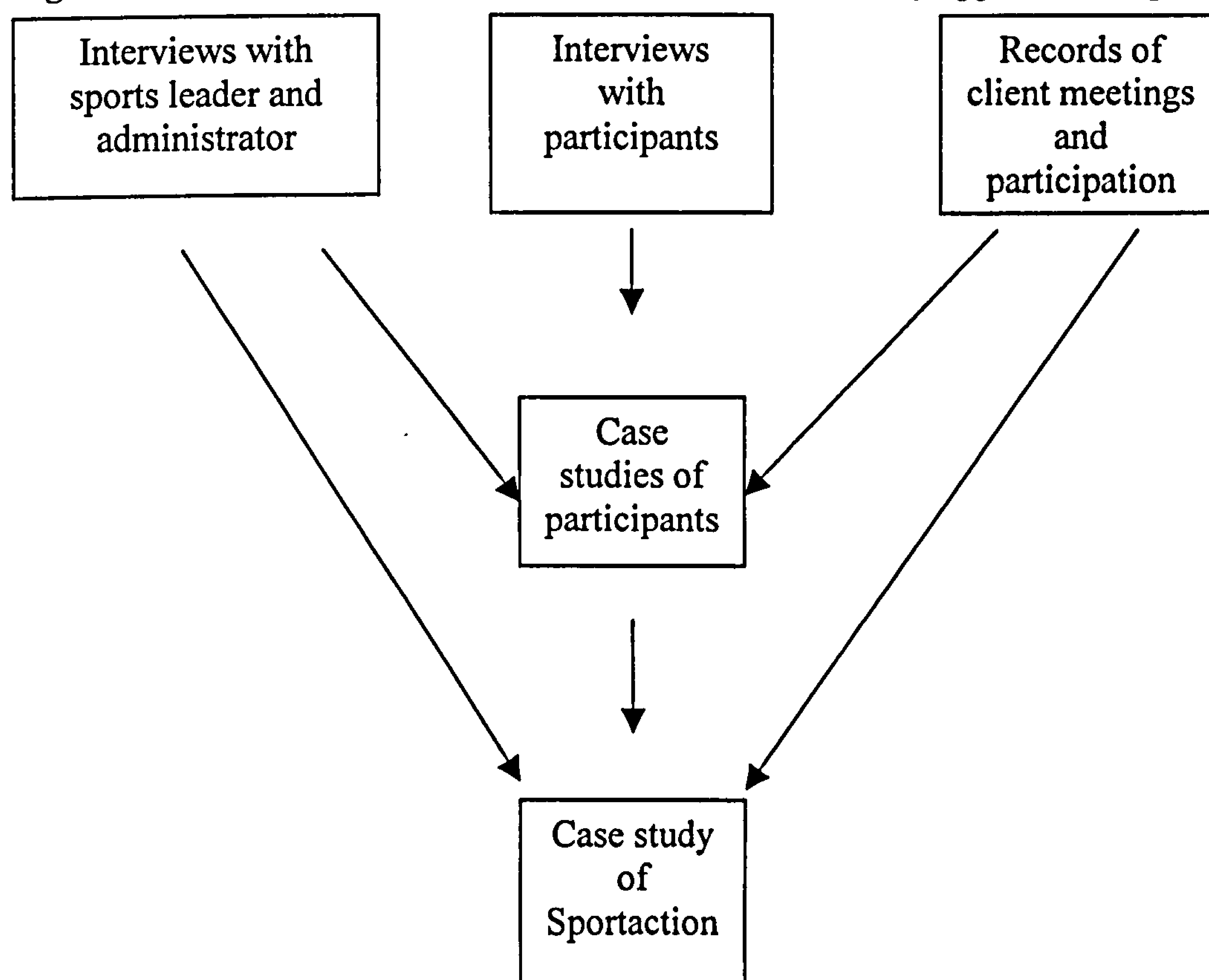
Thus the decision to take a case study approach was as much pragmatic as directed by the author's original objectives and methodological stance. Ideally, research would have explored complete CMO configurations. The difficulties of evaluating this type of programme are discussed in more detail in chapter 8. The link between the case study approach and programme evaluation is that 'case studies can explain the causal links in real life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies' (Yin, 1994: 15), i.e. how and why the programme influenced participants.

Although Yin (1994) suggested that a case study approach is justified by the researcher having little control over the research situation, the relationship between the researcher and the programme staff, over a period of years, meant that the researcher might have influenced the development of the programmes. The series of interviews with programme staff involved not only the researcher understanding the programme manager's ideas about how and why the programmes had a particular impact, but also a sharing of the researcher's understanding, derived from both theory and experience of other programmes. This is consistent with the interview approach advocated by Pawson and Tilley in which 'the researcher's theory is the subject matter of the interview, and the subject [stakeholder] is there to confirm or falsify and above all, to refine that theory' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 154). This approach also motivated the programme managers because they could learn from the researcher, and from other programmes. The research corresponded to Gummesson's (2000: 118) 'management action science', in which the research has goals of both contributing to the programme manager's work and to contributing to scientific knowledge, which, as Gummesson notes, is potentially a difficult role conflict.

3.5 Methods – Sportaction

Figure 3.5 shows the different methods used in researching Sportaction. While the focus of this study is on how and why the programme had an influence on participants, rather than how and why programmes were run in particular ways, the development of research methods has to be seen in the context of the development of the programmes. This is especially the case in Sportaction.

Figure 3.5 The triangulation of methods in a case study approach to Sportaction



3.5.1 Sportaction, records of client's participation

Sportaction kept records of attendance of each participant. This allowed identification of those who had attended the most, and thus informed selection of individual cases and patterns of attendance.

3.5.2 Sportaction, records of meetings with clients

As noted above, the sports leader, Jimmy, who worked directly with clients was relatively inexperienced, having started work with Sportaction through a work experience programme. He did not have formal training in youth work or sports development, and was 21 at the time of the research, so relatively young. In contrast, the part-time administrator, Carrie, employed specifically to work on the Positive Futures programme was an experienced youth worker and felt strongly that the work needed a tighter structure. The lack of this contributed to her resignation after seven months because she did not think the work was 'focused and systematic enough'. However in meetings in the early stages of the project she was keen to use a form of recording adapted from Huskins's (1996) structured approach to youth work. This was used successfully in the Summit research but Carrie found it impractical to implement with the Sportaction clients as she did not have a place to sit down peacefully with clients. It is possible that although Jimmy was less experienced, his contact as a sports worker with clients would have made it easier for him to do this; although the task was taken up by Carrie as more appropriate to her role. However, discussions with Carrie and Jimmy about the research probably sensitised Jimmy to think more carefully about the process of working with these clients and become more observant of their development of personal skills, their attitudes and willingness to take responsibility. These records provided useful information on the case study clients and could be examined for support of the research hypotheses (2.8.1). Jimmy's record keeping reflects Gummesson's (2000) comments on the interaction between the researcher and the organisation being researched: that is, to some extent, through influencing the data collection the researcher was influencing the process being researched.

Thus Jimmy provided 29 and 27 accounts of individual meetings with the two case study clients respectively.

3.5.3 Sportaction, interviews with clients

Consistent with the research strategy of concentrating on critical cases, the two clients who had had most contact with the Positive Futures programme were interviewed. Client 1, Adam, was interviewed in his home with his mother present for most of the interview.

The schedule (Appendix A2) was adapted to allow her to contribute. Client 2, Marvin, was interviewed in his flat with his girlfriend present. Interviews were recorded with the clients' consent.

The two interviews required different skills. Client 1 was very confident and articulate. He was willing to talk extensively about his involvement in the programme and needed little encouragement. Client 2 was much more reticent. In both cases, to put the client at his ease, the researcher was introduced by the sports leader, who clearly had a good relationship with the client. However, the sports leader then left the researcher with the client so that the client would not feel inhibited in talking abut the programme.

The interviews took a 'realist' approach in that the researcher came to the interview with a particular theoretical framework, which was reflected in the questions. As Pawson and Tilley (1997: 166) advocated, sharing the theoretical framework with the interviewee involves a teacher – learner relationship. This was more relevant to interviews with programme managers who wished to learn from the researcher's theoretical framework and understanding of other programmes. The interview would then move to a conceptual refinement stage in which the respondent considered how adequate the theoretical framework of the researcher was in explaining their own situation. Thus the researcher's theory is the subject matter of the interview, but in order for theory to develop, there must be the opportunity for the interviewee to make their contribution.

This 'realist' approach to interviewing is accepted as a more accurate description of the process than the traditional structured interview which attempts to draw information out of a respondent without influencing their perceptions of the situation or revealing the researcher's own theoretical constructs. It is also a more accurate description than that of the very open interview, which seeks to elicit the conceptual framework of the respondent, their subjective perceptions, again without influencing them. The realist approach accorded much more to the researcher's extensive prior experience of interviewing. However, the realist approach emphasises the need to skilfully elicit from respondents the degree to which they might challenge the interviewer's conceptual framework. This is more important than realists recognise, because it has to be placed in the context of the social relations of the interview situation — especially in what

Gummesson (2000; 118) termed 'management action science' or just where the interviewer is clearly older, more experienced, and has greater social status, than the interviewee — the interviewee will tend to regard the interviewer as an 'expert' and may therefore put more emphasis on the teacher – learner aspect of the interview than the conceptual refinement stage, in which they are required to criticise the 'expert's' view. While accepting the realist approach as a more accurate description of the interview situation, it is also recognised that the degree to which the teacher – learner and conceptual refinement aspects of the interview are achieved will depend on how far the interviewer and respondent see themselves in a hierarchical situation with regard to knowledge about the subject. Pawson and Tilley's approach automatically puts the researcher at the top of this hierarchy of understanding, as they are starting research from a developed theoretical position.

So, the interviewer must show humility and openness while trying to elicit criticisms of their own theoretical position, and this will be the harder the more the respondent has an expectation of a teacher – learner relationship. A different approach is required in interviewing the case study participants, who are less confident of their own views, and may be less willing to challenge those of the researcher. Therefore, the interviewer has to manage the social relations of the interview situation, so as to maximise the willingness of the interviewee to contribute, and especially to maximise the respondent's willingness to criticise the theoretical constructs of the interviewer. This emphasises the need to put the interviewee at ease and show a willingness and eagerness to learn from what they have to say.

A second difficulty, which Pawson and Tilley do not reconcile, is the point at which the researcher accepts a refinement of his own theoretical framework as valid. This is a general criticism of Pawson and Tilley's position as, as noted in chapter 2, it is not clear how different from the hypothesised position a result has to be to challenge the original theory. For example, in the current research, how many respondents would need to not mention the relevance of a particular success factor, hypothesised in the original conceptual framework as important, for it to be relegated as unimportant?

In spite of these reservations, this research accepted Pawson and Tilley's general understanding of the interview situation, with the proviso that special care was required to elicit the respondent's own views of the situation. In case study interviews this could be achieved by not revealing the interviewer's conceptual framework at the start of the interview, but exploring its relevance once the respondent had reported themselves what they felt were important aspects of the programme which had influenced their development. Thus the interview would move from a descriptive phase, when the respondent reported what was important to them, to an explanatory phase, when the interviewer and interviewee shared the interviewer's theoretical understanding and this led to a criticism of it. This structure was harder to achieve in the progression of interviews with sports leaders, as they would have been aware of the researcher's theoretical framework from the beginning. However, they might also have been more willing to criticise it. The progression from descriptive to explanatory was also important in setting the interviewee at ease and was improved as the interviewer became more experienced; for example, in the interviews conducted with Splash participants in 2002.

These general observations on interviewing informed technique throughout the research. The recorded interview only gives part of the data from the interview situation (Mason, 2002: 77) so, while interviewing participants, supplementary notes were made of impressions of the interviewee.
See Appendix B1 for a full transcript of the interview with Adam, and B2 for notes from an interview with Jimmy, the sports leader.

3.5.4 Sportaction, interviews with sports leaders and project administrator

As noted above, a series of 13 interviews were conducted with Sportaction leaders in the course of planning and reviewing the research, between September 1999 and June 2001. Most of these were concerned with research into the general Sportaction programme, which did not prove practical to study. While only a part of these interviews were specifically about the Positive Futures Programme, it has been possible to return to them to inform the general conclusions about the operation of the programme. Some have also been referred to in the general discussion in chapter 8.

Four interviews were conducted with the Positive Futures administrator, between January 2001 and July 2001. The first three were concerned with setting up the research methods and the last was a telephone interview in which she explained her reasons for resigning. Jimmy, the sports leader, was interviewed after the interviews with case study clients to compare his view with that of the clients. Table 3.5.4 summarises all Sportaction interviews.

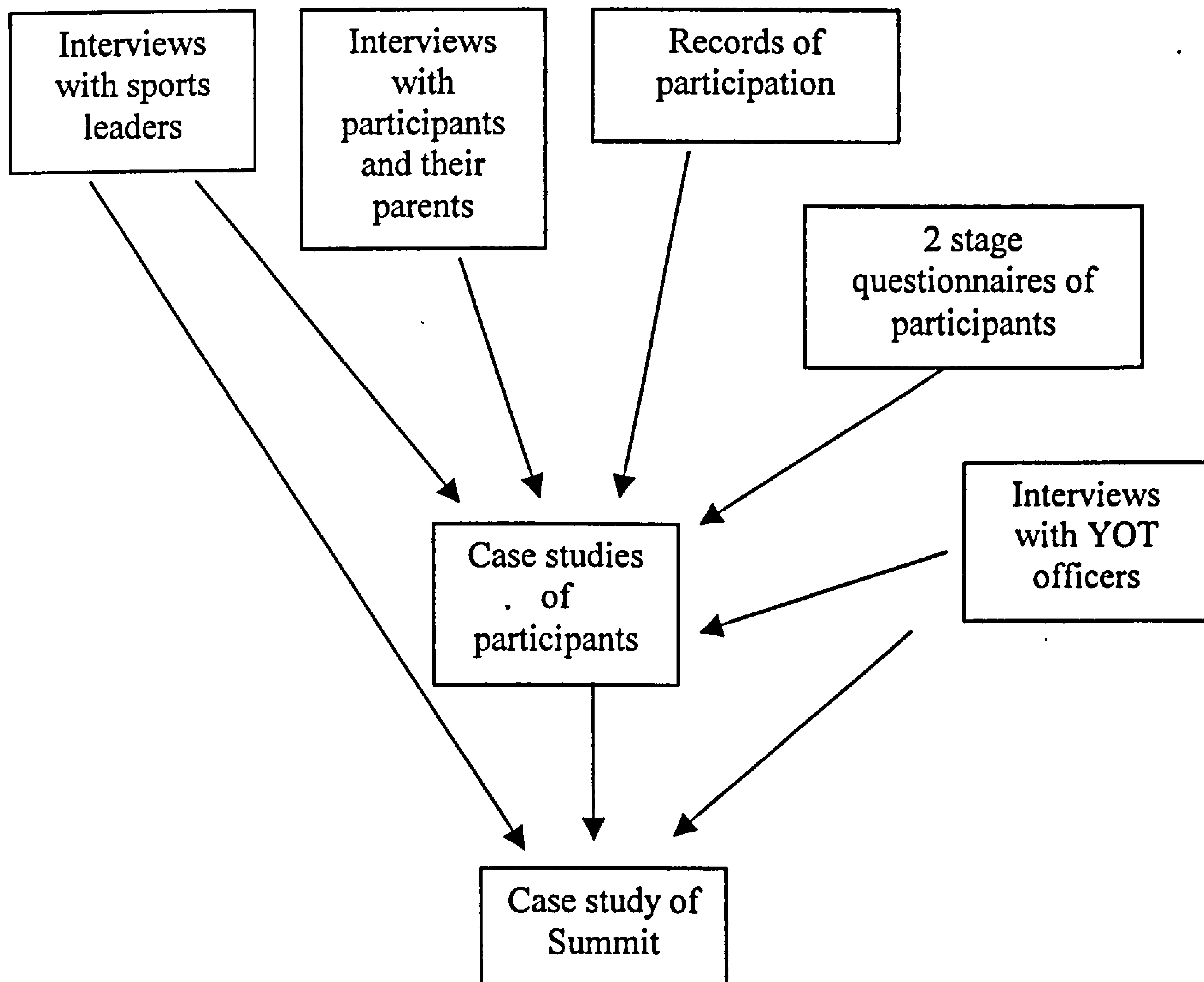
Table 3.5.4 Summary of Sportaction interviews

12 interviews with Sportaction staff planning research and exploring the background of the project	9/99 – 3/01
Concluding interview with development worker, reviewing the difficulties with the Positive Futures programme.	13/6/01
Face to face interviews with the Positive Futures administrator to plan the research	15/1/01; 5/2/01; 9/4/01
Telephone interview with administrator when she was leaving the project	10/7/01
Interview with client 1.	9/8/01
Interview with client 2.	2/8/01

3.6 Methods – Summit

Figure 3.6 shows the different methods used in researching Sportaction.

Figure 3.6 The triangulation of methods in a case study approach to Summit



3.6.1 Summit, records of attendance and performance

Summit records of each meeting with each client, and clients' achievement of bronze, silver and gold awards, were used to plot clients' progress through the programme. It was also possible to plot the number of clients who were referred but who did not attend. The attendance records allowed identification of the critical cases for interview. Summit also made ten hour action plans for work with each client which could be used to complement case study interviews.

3.6.2 Summit, questionnaire surveys

A two stage questionnaire strategy was adopted. Questionnaire 1 was completed by the client, but with the sports leader to help if necessary, in the second sports counselling session. It was used at the second session so as to prove less daunting for the client. This was decided in consultation with the sports leaders, as a result of piloting, and as questionnaires completed by clients had had such a poor response rate in the previous research into programmes run by the probation service (Nichols et al. 2000). The second questionnaire was completed by the clients when they finished at silver level. Originally a three stage questionnaire was planned with a third completed at the end of the gold award, or 12 weeks after the silver, if the client was not going on to gold, but was not practical to administer. The final versions of the questionnaires are included in appendices A3 and A4.

Each questionnaire asked the same question about sports participation and about self-esteem. The question about sports participation was to measure the extent to which independent participation in sport had changed while taking part in Summit. This is because participation in sport may give the inherent benefits outlined in chapter 1. It may also provide a central life interest and the context of a pro-social organisation. The precise benefits of sports participation would be explored in case study interviews. The question itself was adapted from the Allied Dunbar fitness survey (Sports Council / Health Education Authority, 1992) which asked about participation in the last four weeks and the degree of effort involved. This survey was designed to measure how much sport respondents did in relation to the amount which would have a positive impact on their fitness. To have a positive impact respondents would have to do sport for three 20 minute sessions per week at a level where they raised a sweat. The question could be used to see if such a level had been achieved including or excluding activities taken part in on Summit.

The measure of self-esteem is the Rosenberg scale (Rosenberg, 1965), currently being used in evaluation of a cognitive behaviour programme for young offenders. It was selected because of its simplicity, successful use with a similar client group, and because

self-esteem was one of the dimensions of self-development suggested as important by the theoretical model outlined in chapter 1, hypothesis 2.

The second questionnaire was designed to double as a review tool for the sports leaders, in that it asked not only if the client was taking part in any additional sport as a result of Summit, and what had helped them do this, but also if they would like any further assistance. The second questionnaire also asked about completion of the ten hour action plan, and what had made this difficult or helped it. Thus it related to hypotheses about the success factors (1.10.1).

The questionnaires were piloted on four clients. The pilot included a measure of locus of control which distinguished between three levels as another part of the personal growth model. This was not used in the final version as it was too complex for clients to complete. Similarly, a more complex measure of self-esteem was considered, but again this was not used as it proved too daunting. Learning from previous research, it was realised that any questionnaires must not be too onerous for clients to complete as this would present a negative view of the programme at a time when the priority was to get them involved and committed to it (Nichols et al. 2000).

Of a potential 70 clients who started the programme during the period of the research, 46 completed questionnaire 1; of these 70, 24 completed questionnaire 2, having finished at silver level. However, as some of those who completed questionnaire 2 had not completed questionnaire 1, this left 18 cases in which clients had completed both questionnaires one and two, and thus provided a matched pair. This is a poor response rate. The main sports leader was well motivated to administer the questionnaire, but it is possible that the other sports leaders were not.

3.6.3 Summit, use of Huskins's personal independence scale

In addition, at the same time as the first and second questionnaires were administered the sports leaders placed the client at a point on the Huskins dependence – independence scale, which is a measure used in his curriculum development model. The scale was incorporated into a short structured recording sheet for the sports leader to complete at

the same time as clients completed their questionnaires. See appendix A5. As noted above, this was piloted in Sportaction but the programme administrator did not find it practical to use. This scale has been developed for evaluation of youth work. 'It describes young people's progressive involvement in decision making through seven stages from first contact to independence' (Huskins, 1996: 12). Huskins defines the stages as:

Stage 1. Initial contact when the young person is testing the youth workers out [what have these adults to offer me? Can they be trusted?

Stage 2. Familiarisation [getting to know each other more, further testing, with the youth worker continuing the PR task of selling what the youth group has to offer]

Stage 3. Socialisation [the groups round the coffee bar, or watching TV] when the youth worker will be encouraging greater commitment and involvement in activities.

Stage 4. The activity level, taking part, for example, in a pool competition, and seeing it through to completion while being encouraged to move on to Stage 5.

Stage 5. When young people begin to take part in the planning and organising of the activities.

Stage 6. Is when they run the activities themselves.

Stage 7. Is the leadership or peer education level, when they take responsibility for others as well as themselves.

Although Huskins's curriculum development model is not based on academic research it is based on 20 years of experience in assessing youth work as an HM inspector and as an education consultant. In personal conversation with the author Huskins recognised that the theoretical model of the process of personal growth, and the role of sport or outdoor activities as a catalyst in it, converged with his own model. As the seven-stage model, and the method of recording them, has been developed specifically for work with young people, including those 'at risk', the model was considered a valuable tool for this research. As well as being an evaluation tool, its use could help the sports leaders improve their work. As Appendix 7 shows, it helps the sports leader identify how the client can advance from one level to the next.

Thus, strengths of the use of the curriculum development model were that it had been used extensively as a practical tool in youth work and the model converged with the process of personal growth outlined in chapter 1 as the theoretical basis for this research. Its relevance and practicality were also apparent to the sports leaders who were using it. Weaknesses were its academic credibility, and its reliance entirely on the subjective impressions of the sports leaders. As the model was being used for evaluation there may be a temptation to exaggerate the degree to which the young person had developed. Further, the sports leaders will only be seeing the young person in one setting, so while they may have developed to a higher level of independence while taking part in Summit, this does not necessarily mean that this level is replicated in the rest of their lives. It would be unlikely to, as the particular circumstances of Summit (for example, the mentor role of the sports leaders) may provide the catalyst for development that is not present in the rest of their lives.

3.6.4 Summit, interviews with sports leaders

As in Sportaction, several initial interviews with the two sports leaders running Summit when the study started, Charlie and Alan, were conducted to explore research methods and background to the study. These also overlapped with background for the Easttown Splash programme as the same sports leaders were involved in both. The interviews were exploratory and followed an agenda set by the development of the research methods. Charlie was able to give information on the first two case study clients who she had worked with. An initial interview was also conducted with Dick, a senior manager in Easttown Sports Development who was responsible for instigating the programme. This was the interview which led to the selection of this programme as a case. As in Sportaction it has been possible to refer back to these interviews in the conclusion of the research to put the programme in its broader context.

Table 3.6.4 Summary of interviews with managers and sports leaders responsible for the Summit programme

		Purpose
10/99	Dick (Summit line manager)	General background to Summit and Splash programme to decide if they were suitable case studies.
18/7/00	Charlie	Piloting use of questionnaires.
13/10/00	Charlie and Alan	Background on setting up the relationship with the YOT. Discussion of the problems clients face in independent sports participation. Information on some Summit and Splash clients who could be used as case studies.
15/11/00	Charlie and Alan	Further information on their views of important aspects of the programme. Planning use of data base for Splash participants.
28/4/01	Charlie	Telephone information on case study participant. Charlie resigning from post.
18/5/01	Dick and George	Review of research methods as George came in post.
3/8/01	George	e-mail exchange, George explaining the important aspects of the programme as he understands it.
30/8/01	George	Information on case study clients.
31/10/01	George	Introduction to client who was interviewed while at climbing wall.
6/11/01	George	Information on case study clients.
17/4/02	George	Information on case study clients and general understanding of the programme.

These interviews were a combination of extracting factual information, joint planning of feasible research methods, understanding the interviewees' understanding of the programme and sharing understanding with the researcher.

3.6.5 Summit, interviews with YOT officers

Interviews were held with three YOT officers in offices of the Youth Offending Team. These officers were selected because they had referred the most clients to the programme. They were all police officers seconded to the YOT. The interview schedule is in appendix A6 and a rationale is related to the hypotheses. As described in 3.5.3, the

interviews took a 'realist' approach, sharing the theoretical framework with the interviewee. A sample transcript is given in Appendix B3.

Table 3.6.5 Interviews with YOT officers

Date	YOT officer	purpose
11/7/01	YOT officer 1	Exploring hypotheses as in the interview schedule. Specific information on clients Gary and one Splash member (Splash pilot focus groups, 3.7.4.2)
13/7/01	YOT officer 2	Exploring hypotheses. Specific information on client Colin (see Appendix B3 for transcript).
23/7/01	YOT officer 3	Exploring hypotheses. Specific information on clients Mark and Colin.

These interviews closely reflected the realist model (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 165). The YOT officers were interested in the research and were keen to share the perspectives of the interviewer. Further, the interviewer felt that it was a valuable way of making the YOT officers open up about their own views. Thus the teacher – learner relationship and conceptual refinement process were both apparent. YOT officer 1 was interviewed because he had referred Darren, a case study client, but he had had little contact with him. YOT Officer 3 was interviewed because he had referred case study clients Billy, Darren and Michael. However, at the time of interview, these three had only been attending Summit for three or four weeks, so the officer could not comment on how it had affected them. It would have been more useful to have interviewed Officer 3 in November 2001, once interviews had been completed with the clients, but when the interviews with YOTs were arranged it was not clear how long it had taken between referral of these clients and their participation on the programme. These interviews were tape recorded with consent of the interviewees and transcribed.

3.6.6 Summit, case studies of Summit clients

Eight case study clients were selected by the sports leaders on the basis of their success in the programme. Interviews with sports leaders gave the background to the clients, which was supplemented by programme records, the questionnaire survey results, and

the record of progress on the Huskins development model. Clients and interview dates are shown in Table 3.6.6.

Table 3.6.6 Interviews with Summit clients

Client	Date Interviewed	Summary of client's involvement
Mark	4/01	Completed at silver level, was to go on to gold
Colin	4/01	Completed at gold level
Gary	8/01	Working on the gold level
Darren	8/01 and 10/01	Completed gold level
Paul	11/01	Completed gold level
Billy	11/01	Completed gold level
Michael	10/01	Half way through gold
Fred	3/02	Completed gold
Darren	3/02	Completed gold level

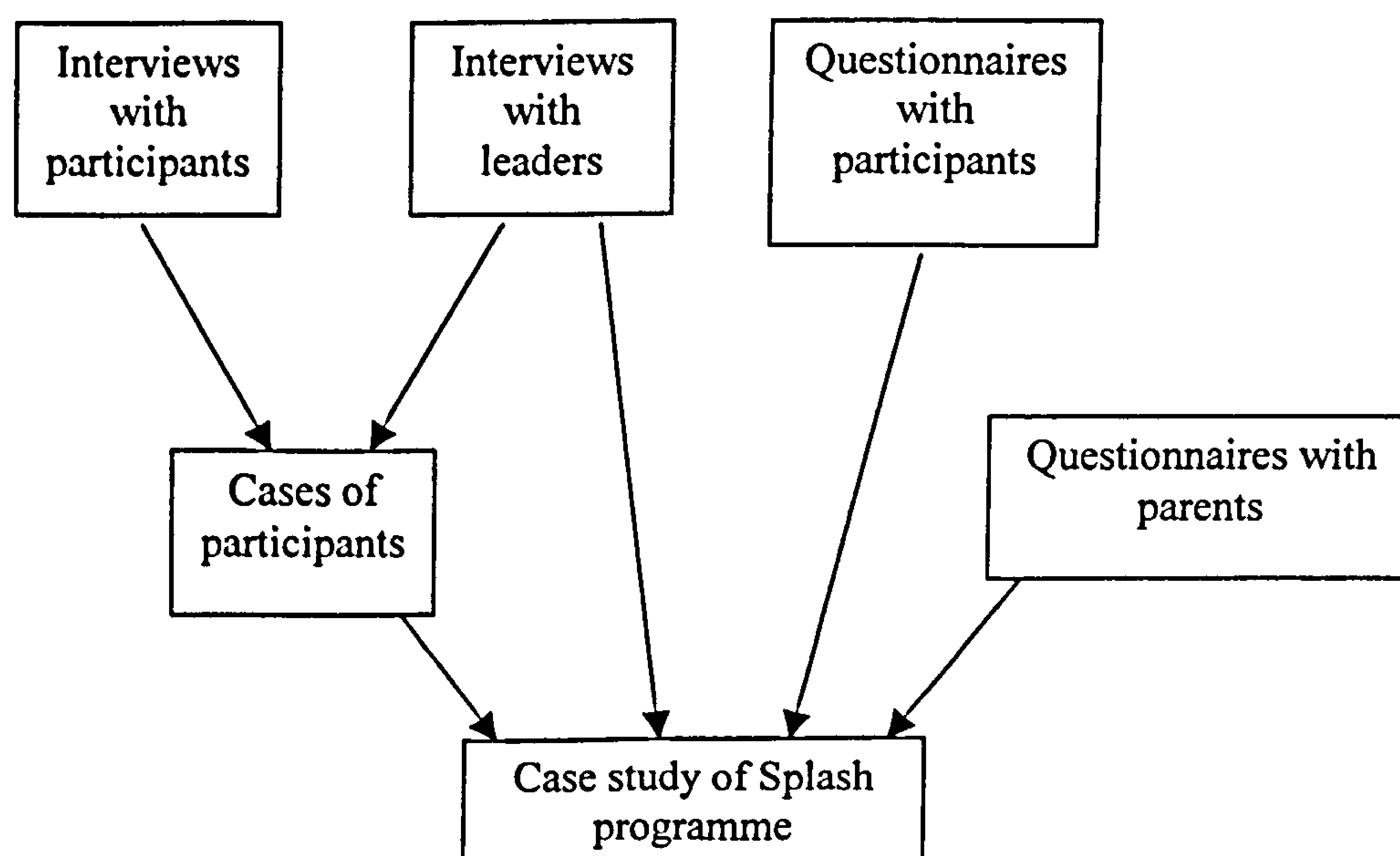
The interview schedule for client interviews, including rationale and relation to hypotheses, are included in Appendices 7 and 8. After the first 4 interviews it was decided to modify the schedule to version 2, Appendix 8, to move more gently through a progression from facts, feelings, findings (what they understood about the experience), to futures (how it might affect them). This was a more sensitive progression with interviewees who might not be very confident or articulate and might be shy in a new relationship. In two cases, interviews were held after shared participation in a sports session. Darren's second interview was conducted during a climbing wall session with him and Michael (the interviewer was a competent climbing instructor). The interview with Paul was conducted after a three way badminton session with Paul, the interviewer and the sports leader. (The interviewer was less competent at badminton.) Shared participation did seem to be a good way of developing a rapport with the interviewees and gave interviewees a second purpose for the meeting. It was not easy to arrange meetings with clients and on at least three occasions the interviewer attended at a pre-arranged time and place (the interviewee's house) and the prospective interviewee did not. This is a hazard in researching this client group (McCormack, 2000).

Interviews were tape recorded with permission of the interviewee, but were not transcribed. The recording was used as an aid while writing up the interview, which was done as soon as possible so as to also record impressions of the interviewee and the situation (Mason, 2002: 77). For example, one could record the confidence with which the interviewee booked a session at the climbing wall, which showed they had the ability to do this themselves.

For all the case study clients, the sports leader's impression of the impact of the programme on the client was also obtained. As noted above, in three cases this could be combined with the view of the referring YOT officer (3.6.5), although they might have little, if any, contact with the client after referral. In the cases of Darren, Billy and David, the clients' mothers were also able to contribute to the interview. In all cases the sports leader's records of participation (3.6.1) and structured records using the modified Huskins score (3.6.3) could be used. In some cases questionnaires were also available (3.6.2).

3.7 Methods – Splash

Figure 3.7 The triangulation of methods in the case study approach to Splash



Research in Splash included questionnaires completed by participants in 2000 and 2001, questionnaires completed by parents in 2000 and 2001, pilot interviews with participants in 2001, interviews with individual participants in 2002 combined with a brief questionnaire, and interviews with Splash staff. As noted in 3.4 it was originally intended to use records of participation but the programme was not able to produce these.

3.7.1 Splash, selection of Splash sites

Splash operated over 15 sites in the summer of 2000. At each site a programme was run for one week. Three teams worked on five sites each over the five week summer holiday period. As resources did not allow for the distribution of questionnaires across all 15 sites, the research was initially focused on ten. These ten were selected on the basis that during any one week of the programme's operation they were the two out of the three sites whose wards had the highest rank score on the Department of the Environment Transport and the Region's 1998 index of social deprivation (DETR, 1998b). In this scoring, wards are given a rank position out of a total of 8,620. Those with the lowest score are deemed the most deprived.

Table 3.7.1 Local deprivation scores of Splash sites, summer 2000.

Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
Site 1 * 520	Site 2 * 1799	Site 3 * 1750	Site 4 * 740	Site 5 * 1567
Site 6 * 615	Site 7 * 533	Site 8 * 533	Site 9 * 900	Site 10 * 1799
Site 11 4642	Site 12 2220	Site 13 3231	Site 14 6062	Site 15 2426

Source: DETR, 1998b

In all weeks the two wards with the lowest rank score were selected for study*. This was because one would have expected young people in these areas to have been most at risk. However, it was not possible to consistently research the same sites over 2001 and 2002, as anticipated, because some of the sites changed. This was not as important as it would have been since, as noted in 3.4, it was not possible to track the same participants over the three years of the research due to lack of participant records.

3.7.2 Splash questionnaires to parents

Questionnaires were sent to parents of Splash participants during the summers of 2000, 2001 and 2002.

3.7.2.1 Questionnaires to parents — 2000

In 2000 the questionnaire was designed to produce a risk score for participants and to obtain parents' views on the benefits of the programme (see Appendix A9).
Some questions and the method of administration, were piloted in the Easter sessions at Sportaction and Woodthorpe. As a result it was decided that the best way to administer this questionnaire was for participants to take it home on the Thursday of the week-long summer programme, but that a good introduction was required, and an incentive if the participant brought it back. The incentive was a voucher for food at a Macdonald's restaurant: this restaurant chain was sponsoring Splash. Prior to the sessions it was anticipated by the programme manager that 80 questionnaires would be required per site; a total of 800. Figures for attendances at the sites on day four were not available, but assuming 800 potential respondents, the response rate was 19%. As in all the questionnaires used for both parents and participants in the Splash research the researcher did not have control over distribution. In 2000 and 2001 distribution of the questionnaires to parents was conducted by sports leaders. They were asked to give all children attending on day 4 a questionnaire to take back to their parents; and to return it on day five. Thus the views of parents would be obtained at the end of the week long Splash sessions.

Table 3.7.2.1 Questionnaires completed by parents at the end of summer Splash 2000.

Site	Parents' questionnaire
Site 1	10
Site 2	26
Site 3	19
Site 4	16
Site 5	10
Site 6	22
Site 7	13
Site 8	6
Site 9	5
Site 10	21
Site unknown	2
Total returns	150

This questionnaire was personalised as the results were originally intended to be used as part of information on case study participants. Question five was an open one to elicit the parents' own reasons for sending their child to Splash. Up to two responses were recorded per parent. The lay-out of the questionnaire was arranged so parents would not see question 7, on protection factors, at the same time as they completed question five, thus ensuring, as far as possible, that their response was not prompted. Question 6 asked who made the main decision to attend, the child or the parent. This was valuable information for Splash, at it related to how they target their marketing.

Question 5 asked the main reasons for sending their child to Splash. This was to see if it was anything to do with crime reduction, and again, the protection factors. Question 4, on the school attended, was originally asked to open the possibility that regular attendance in Splash could be related to records at school. Again this was not practical due to lack of records on Splash attendance.

Question 7 involved 13 statements, each scored on a four point Lickert scale, relating to protection factors. This was adapted from questions evaluating the extent to which the UK Communities That Care programmes provide protection factors and was related to the success factors theory expected would be necessary to contribute to the long term

crime reduction mechanism of long term pro-social development (see chapter 1.10.1). The use of an adapted question 7 from the CTC programme evaluation meant that it had already been piloted.

The open ended question 8, on improvements, was coded. Up to two improvements were recorded per parent.

A limitation of this questionnaire was that it was possible that those children most at risk were least likely to: take the questionnaire home; their parents to complete it; and to then bring it back. This may just be because they lead more chaotic lives, and may not necessarily return to the same house each night.

Question 7 suffered from 'set response', with respondents not varying responses between the options on the Lickert scales, but this still meant one could see the relative importance of the protection factors.

3.7.2.2 Questionnaires to parents — 2001

In 2001 the questionnaire to parents was repeated, although completed by different parents, using the same method of distribution. It is reproduced in appendix 10.

Table 3.7.2.2 Questionnaires completed by parents of participants at Splash, 2001

Site	Parents' questionnaire
Site 1	8
Site 2	13
Site 3	0
Site 4	18
Site 5	7
Site 6	13
Site 7	4
Site 8	13
Site 9	4
Site 10	17
Total	97

Assuming the same attendance as estimated for 2000 this represents a response rate of 12%, with the same implications for validity of the results.

The questionnaire was modified from the one used in 2000 in that the protection factor score was omitted because of its limited validity due to set response. Question 4 was added to help Easttown monitor their marketing. Question 5 was repeated from 2000. Question 6, asking parents about the main reasons why they thought it was a good idea for their child to attend the Splash sessions, used closed options derived from the unprompted responses in 2000. Questions 6, 7, and 8 were to see the relation to crime reduction (hypotheses 1 and 2) and the factors that might contribute to that. In addition, to elicit the relative importance of reasons, question 7 asked for the two most important reasons. Question 8 followed this up by asking about the most important benefits of participation. This was asked as an open question. Questions 9 and 9a were included to ask directly about the impact on crime. In view of the results from the previous year's research it distinguished between an immediate impact on crime while Splash was on, a diversion effect, and a long term impact which might be associated with pro-social personal growth, the main initial focus of the research (1.10.1). Question 10 was asked to inform the development of the programme. A slightly modified version of the 2002 questionnaire was distributed to parents again in 2003 but the response rate was so poor that results were not used. This was due to the expansion of Splash in 2003 funded by Youth Justice. Youth Justice monitoring required completion of so many questionnaires by participants that this severely limited the capacity or willingness of the sports leaders and the programme to distribute any more.

3.7.3 Splash questionnaires to participants

These were distributed in 2000 and 2001.

3.7.3.1 Questionnaires to participants in 2000

This questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 11.

Table 3.7.3.1. Questionnaires completed by Splash participants 2000

Site	Children's end of summer Splash questionnaire
Site 1	21
Site 2	20
Site 3	32
Site 4	19
Site 5	17
Site 6	16
Site 7	21
Site 8	28
Site 9	15
Site 10	18
Site unknown	0
Total	207

The questionnaires were administered by two work experience students who were working for Splash over the summer. Sample selection was not systematic (for example, every nth child). This would have been difficult to achieve given the open access nature of the programmes. Instead the sports leaders asked participants if they would like to leave the sports sessions briefly to take part in the survey. From observation on two days there were very few refusals and the work experience students, who had both taken part in Splash when they were younger, were sensitive in asking the questions. However, there is always the possibility that sports leaders allocated the most enthusiastic participants to take part. The number completed represents approximately 20% of participants.

Questions 1 and 3 were to find out the extent to which participants had attended before, therefore the extent to which Splash was a regular part of their school holiday. This would show for how many people Splash provided a significant experience in terms of the amount of participation which one would require for the longer term impact on crime reduction. Questions 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8 were for Splash's own purposes to gain feedback on the programme. Question 7 was designed to test the extent to which Splash provided the protection or success factors theory suggested were consistent with the process of long term pro-social development (1.10.1). As in the parents' questionnaire this question was

adapted from the CTC research. This was considered preferable as it had already been piloted with young people of a similar age. The relationship to the hypotheses of the present research are indicated in brackets on the questions.

It was not easy to interpret answers to question 3 as it was not clear which other sessions participants had attended. A closed question would have been better. Question 7 was affected by set response, as in the similar question in the parents' questionnaire.

3.7.3.2 Questionnaires to participants in 2001

This questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 12.

Table 3.7.3.2 Questionnaires completed by participants of Splash, 2001

Site	Participants' end of summer Splash questionnaire
Site 1	37
Site 2	30
Site 3	39
Site 4	35
Site 5	17
Site 6	41
Site 7	28
Site 8	20
Site 9	7
Site 10	26
Total	280

Again this represents approximately 20% of participants. The expansion of the programme with use of Youth Justice funding in 2001 applied to other sites. The participant questionnaires were distributed in the same way as in 2000, with the same limitations affecting the validity.

Question 1 just asked if respondents had attended Splash in 2000 as it had proved too difficult to gain accurate responses to the more detailed questions of previous participation in the 2000 survey. Questions 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8 were used for Splash's

purposes, to inform marketing and the development of the programme. Question 6 was asked as an open ended question to test for the success factors (1.10.1). This was felt to be a more valid question than the closed question 7 used in the previous year.

3.7.4 Splash interviews with selected participants

Interviews were conducted in 2001 and 2002. Those in 2001 acted as a pilot for the following year, but still, in themselves produced useful data.

3.7.4.2 Splash interviews in 2001

Five Splash participants were interviewed together in a focus group during the end of summer residential course at Hatfield Water Park. These five were all involved in Splash forums, and had experience of Splash over as long as ten years.

Six individual interviews were conducted with Splash participants from the three sites where additional funding from Youth Justice had allowed a five week programme to be delivered. These were conducted at Doncaster Dome, again during a residential. Similarly, these participants had been identified by sports leaders because of their long term involvement with Splash.
Both of these research methods could build on findings from the previous year. In particular, they explored the simple diversion mechanism, whereby Splash kept participants 'out of trouble'.

Focus group interview — 2001

The participants in the focus group had all been on the 3-day residential trip for a day and a half. The weather had been excellent and immediately prior to the interview they had been involved in a 2 hour canoeing session. Thus they were prepared to sit down for a while and discuss Splash although the period spent on the interview was still limited by their desire to re-join the afternoon activities.

A separate room was prepared which had as comfortable places for the participants to sit as could be arranged (it was a small dormitory with bunk beds). The interview was

recorded and the respondents reassured that their responses were confidential and only for the research.

A schedule was used, as Appendix 13. This was designed to start with specific facts, such as participation, and then progress to feelings before going on to the more sensitive issues of crime reduction. A flip chart was used and participants were asked to all write down their answers to question 2 as a means of drawing them all into the discussion. It had been anticipated that this would be difficult and they would be reticent to discuss issues around crime, although, at the same time, one had to move to these relatively quickly to ensure they were covered in the limited time available. Thus care had been taken in the preparation of the interview and the role of the moderator was carefully considered (Morgan 1993; 1997). At the same time the interview still followed the scientific realist structure (Pawson and Tilley, 1997) although with this age group, and given the time constraints, there was a tension between the moderator unduly leading the responses and encouraging the participants to say what was important for them.

In practice it was found that there was no reticence at all in the participants expressing forthright views. The greater concerns were the ability of the moderator to keep the discussion focused and that the tape recorder was inadequate for picking up all the responses. While this had been checked, as Mason (1997) advised, it was difficult to place it in a unobtrusive position in a relatively small room and to distinguish between different speakers. One improvement would have been to ask each respondent to introduce themselves first, thus matching their name to their voice.

Notes were taken during the interview and these were summarised with the aid of the tape recording as soon as was practical. The focus group interview was valuable in understanding the relation between the programme and crime reduction and in learning that it was relatively easy to get respondents to discuss this, but that groups of two or three would be easier to moderate.

Individual interviews — 2001

The schedules for these and the rationale is given in Appendix 14. As in the focus group interview a balance had to be struck between 'leading' the interviewees and obtaining

their views on the most important and sensitive points in a short period of time. These interviews were held in a separate room in a sports complex. In some instances a sports leader was present where it was considered this would be advisable for security reasons. It is unclear if this inhibited respondents. Again interviews were tape recorded and written up as soon as possible after the interview. As in the focus group interview the schedule was very open, offering plenty of opportunity for the interviewer to explore relevant issues in more depth.

The focus group and the individual interviews provided useful contrasts in that it was much easier for the interviewer to manage the social interaction (Mason, 2002: 75) in the latter. In neither was there difficulty building a quick rapport with the interviewees, rather the main difficulty was in keeping the interview focused and drawing out the details on of individual experience. This led to the development of the approach to interviews in 2002.

3.7.4.3 Splash Interviews in 2002

During the summer of 2002, interviews were conducted with 63 Splash participants at 7 Splash sites and at the residential course, held during the last week of the school summer holidays.

Table 3.7.4.3 Splash participant interviews by site 2002.

date	Site	interviews	Questionnaires to participants who had attended for two years.
1/8/02	Site 16	9	9
16/8/02	Site 7	7	7
16/8/02	Site 1	2	2
20/8/02	Site 17	8	
21/8/02	Site 18	10	
22/8/02	Site 3	6	2
22/8/02	Site 12	4	
29/8/02	Residential course	17	17

Selection of sites

The considerable expansion of Easttown Splash in the summer of 2002, made possible by support from Youth Justice, meant that several new sites were used this year, and on some previous sites work had been extended. The sites used in 2002 were in ten geographical clusters. Each cluster comprised three or four sites. Thus, participants were able to attend for five weeks over the summer, if they moved around the sites in their local cluster. Where possible, interviews were conducted at sites where research had been conducted in 2000 and 2001; however, these sites were now part of a cluster of 3 or 4 and interviewing within this cluster would be expected to pick up the same participants.

Selection of interviewees

Interviewees were selected by the sports leaders on the basis of length of participation in Splash. This was so that the long term impact of Splash could be examined. There was no independent method of selecting interviewees by this criterion as records of participation were not available from previous years. In 2000, site leaders produced a list of regular participants, who were also considered to be at risk. Again this was a subjective selection but where possible participants from this list were interviewed in 2002. In practice this was not a practical selection method as when sites were visited some of the participants on this list were on off site trips and at other sites they were not there at all. Of those who were interviewed, many had attended for three or more years, but were not on the list produced in 2000.

The difficulty in meeting those identified in 2000 as long-term participants and at risk might have been because:

a) there is a natural period of attending Splash and some of those from 2000 no longer attended as they were too old.

b) those at greatest risk are least likely to continue participating, so it was easier to interview regular participants who were at lower risk.

Conduct of interviews

Interviews were conducted in groups of one, two or three participants at a time. This allowed some interaction between interviewees, but at a level easily controllable by the interviewer — a learning point from 2001. It also meant that the young people had peers for reassurance and thus were less likely to be intimidated by the interview procedure. Interviews were conducted in a place away from the other participants so they would not be overheard or interrupted. However, good weather meant that they could nearly always be conducted in the open air, within sight of sports leaders and other participants, although out of hearing. This was important because it removed potential security issues of being alone with interviewees, where they were interviewed individually. Interviewees were told that what they said was confidential: it would not be attributed to them personally. They were told that the purposes of the interviews were to find out what people got out of Splash and how it could be improved and that interviews were being done as part of the Youth Justice monitoring and for the interviewer's own research.

Interviews were not recorded. In the first interview this was attempted, but it stultified responses and the tape recorder was a distraction. As in similar research with this age group into Street-Sport in Stoke on Trent (McCormack, 2000), it was found more effective to take notes corresponding to the interview structure, and then write them up as soon as possible after the interview. In studying the Sport Solent project McCormack had used a 'life history' method, in which participants recalled significant events in their lives in relation to risk and protection factors, and involvement in crime. This was not possible in the Splash research as, although an attempt was being made to discover the long term impact of Splash, participants were younger and might have had no involvement with crime.

Where the Splash site had no indoor accommodation interviews were conducted in the open, but in no cases were they prevented by bad weather. (At one site bad weather meant no participants were there to be interviewed.)

Although the interviewees were selected as critical cases in terms of the mechanism by which Splash might reduce crime through long term pro-social development, the interviews could build on the questionnaire results from participants and parents over the summers of 2000 and 2001, indicating that the main impact of the programme on crime reduction was through giving young people 'something to do' to alleviate boredom in the school holidays.

Introductory questionnaire

The 32 participants who had attended for two years or more were asked to initially complete a questionnaire (Appendix 15). This asked for details of attendance and introduced topics which were to be covered in the open discussion. It ensured that basic factual information was collected, such as length of participation, but also meant that all interviewees had written initial responses to the more open discussion questions, making it easier to bring them into active participation in the discussion by referring to the written responses they had already made.

Questions 1—4 were to gain information on participation to check how regularly interviewees had attended. Questions 5 and 6 were to examine if there was evidence of any mentor relationship with the sports leader (1.10.1, hypothesis 7). Seven and 8 were to examine long term follow up and viable exit routes (1.10.1, hypothesis 8). Nine was to examine the relation to crime and 10 was an open question to allow them to say what was best about Splash.

Completion of the questionnaire was followed by the interview in groups of 2, 3 or sometimes with just one participant. This led from simple factual questions to the most sensitive ones regarding the impact on local crime (Appendix 16). Questions 7 and 8 were concerned with the relationship between the programme and crime reduction (1.10.1, hypothesis 1). The focus was on these hypotheses because the research up to now had indicated that the most significant impact on crime was by simple diversion from boredom. In the limited time available for interviews it was not practical to explore

all the research hypotheses. Interviews took about fifteen minutes as this was as long as most of the young people were interested in talking and they wanted to return to activities. However, the structure allowed for the interviewer to probe further on any one topic and develop the interview if the interviewee was willing to do so.

In addition, where participants had attended for two years or more they were asked to take a questionnaire back to their parents to complete, to provide the parents' perspective on the participants responses and gave further triangulation by case. However, few of these were returned (3.7.2.2). The programme was suffering from 'evaluation overload' with many other questionnaires being completed as part of YJB requirements. Thus the main method was focus groups interviews, although the normal approach (Morgan, 1993; 1997) was adapted for this age group and circumstances. In addition, during visits to the sites, observations were made and open interviews were conducted with sports leaders.

One exception to the interview procedure above was an interview with a long-term participant who had become a volunteer. This was conducted individually and tape-recorded as the interview was longer and there was more detail.

Analysis

Results where written up by participant and site. The responses to the 280 participant questionnaires were also summarised together, although the main purpose of this method, as noted above, was to provide background for the qualitative discussion groups. A summary of the interviews, with names changed, was provided to Splash for them to submit to Youth Justice as part of their monitoring. This summary is reproduced in the results.

Review of interviews 2002

As implied above, the adaptation of methods to the research circumstances led to certain limitations. The sample of participants were not randomly selected, but selected by the sports leaders on the basis of regular attendance. There is always the possibility that they might have been selected to give a more favourable picture of the programme. The restricted length of interviews meant that they lacked depth. However, the skills of the interviewer in building up a quick rapport and setting a comfortable atmosphere meant

that interviewees often responded with considerable candour about sensitive issues, such as their involvement in crime. Interviewing two or three participants together worked well as it allowed them to interact and express themselves with greater confidence than individually, while at the same time the interviewer was able to manage the interactions both between interviewees and between them and himself. The interviews achieved a good balance of focus: building on understandings from the last two years, and allowing scope to follow up tangents.

Recording the interviews immediately in note form meant that a certain amount of analysis was conducted at this point. This included both literal data, interpretation of what this meant, and some reflection on the interviewer's role. The literal data (for example, previous attendance) was 'excavated' from the interviews and the reflexive data showed that knowledge was being 'constructed'(Mason, 2002: 78). Thus although the recording method necessitated selection of literal data at this point, and some interpretation, it meant that interpretive analysis could use all the impressions from the interviews, observation of the site, and interviews with the sports leaders.
Examples of recording of the interviews are illustrated in the Appendices B4, B5, and B6. These show how the pre-interview questionnaires completed by interviewees were incorporated into individual case studies and how observations of the sites were recorded.

3.7.5 Splash interviews with sports leaders and programme managers

As in the other programmes, several interviews were held in the process of setting up the research methods over the three years. However, some of these were also valuable in understanding how and why Splash had an impact. These were:
Dick: manager of sports development section, 6/10/99
Omar: manager of Splash, 17/2/00
Alan: senior sports leader, 17/4/02

Table 3.6.4 also shows the interviews primarily concerned with Summit, but which also gave information about Splash.

3.8 Conclusions on methods

Each programme is a case, in which a permutation of methods has been used to address the research questions. How and why do the programmes influence participants? Do the programmes contribute to the personal development of young people, guided by values as a mechanism by which they therefore reduce offending? Are the success factors in place which will contribute to this? How does this vary at points along the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum (1.4); and thus add to an understanding of what works for who in which circumstances? The methods are related to the individual hypotheses, derived from the conclusion of the literature review (1.10.1).

As implied above, a story could be written about the contact with each programme and what has been learnt about attempts to evaluate the impact of them on crime reduction. Although chapter 2 concluded with a general acceptance of the scientific realist approach, inherent practical limitations of the research situation restricted the ability to measure outcomes.

In the Sportaction programme access was not provided to participants' offending records, which might have been a useful complement to case studies of participants in relating any changes in number and seriousness of offences to their experience in the programme. A comparison of offending records with a control group, or with predicted rates, would have been meaningless for such a small sample. If a series of two or three interviews with each participant had been conducted over six months one might have been able to use self-reporting of offending, in a similar way as in Farrall's (2002) research with probationers. However, it was difficult arranging any interviews with participants due to their unreliability. Even if one had succeeded in interviewing all the participants in Sportaction after they had been in contact with the programme for four weeks, the poor retention rate (see Table 4.1) means that very few would have been available for subsequent interview. The researcher was not able to persuade the sports leader to record changes using Huskins's personal independence scale (as used in Summit, 3.6.3), perhaps because the leader did not have a background in youth work.

In the Summit programme access to offending records would not have been of value as the participants had such a limited record of offending. It would have been very difficult to see any significant change. The ASSET scores, compiled by the YOT officers at an initial interview, were not repeated to show changes, but as noted in 3.4, any apparent change would be as much a measure of a changed relationship between the YOT officer and participant as a valid measure of changed behaviour or attitudes.

In Splash the difficulties of defining and measuring 'participation' in an open access programme, combined with those of administering any 'before and after' measures, limited measurement of change. The local crime data (discussed in 6.3.7) was limited as a measure of change because its unit of collection, 'Police Basic Command Units', may not match the areas covered by the Splash sites, and because small numbers may make any change insignificant. Further, a small change in any one area could be due to just one or two persistent offenders moving in or out of the area. These inherent limitations of the ability to measure outcomes, as part of any CMO configuration, are reviewed in more detail in 8.4, in relation to the programme's position on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum, and in 8.6, in relation to the ability of policy to be led by evidence.

Thus the research limited itself to questions of how and why the programmes had an impact on participants; and used a case study approach, contrasting cases by their position on the modified Brantingham and Faust typology. Both at the level of the programme, and the level of individual participants, cases were selected as 'critical' in the sense that they represented the circumstances in which the mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social development was most likely to occur. An approach which was open to inductive as well as deductive insights developed understandings of the relationship between these sports related programmes and crime reduction.

3.9 A critical review of national research into Positive Futures and Splash

While the author's research was being conducted, national research was being developed into Positive Futures and Splash, consistent with an increased emphasis on measurement

of performance (1.5.2). A critical review of these at this point is relevant to showing why similar methods were not employed in the author's own research.

3.9.1 National research into Positive Futures

In September 2001, Sport England commissioned Leisure Futures (a commercial consultancy) to carry out a review of impact and good practice on both its Active Communities and Positive Futures projects (Sport England, 2002a; 2002b). The time-scale and resources allocated to the research meant that it was limited to 12 site interviews and 12 projects researched by phone calls. It was aimed to telephone a lead officer from each project and three other people who were involved, including partner organisations. Thus 24 projects were covered in total. This included Sportaction, which was researched by telephone interview.

The research was necessarily superficial on any one project. Evidence of crime reduction was derived from the respondents' own reports, but in most cases the data was provided to the research team. In nine projects this showed reductions in local crime rates, and in two projects reductions in offending records for individual participants. All but one of the projects where data was provided showed a decrease in crime. Several projects commented on the difficulties of attributing changes in local crime data to specific projects because several projects might be working in the same area. The overall results were reported in a misleading manner in Sport England publicity (Sport England, 2002c): in a publicity report released on 11/7/02 Sport England stated that there was 'a reduction of up to as much as 77 percent in recorded crime in every area where Positive Futures are happening'. This is misleading because crime data was only provided for 11 of the 24 areas, so only in those areas would one have been able to make a statement about crime. Only in one of these 11 areas did an apparent reduction equate to 77%.

The general conclusions of the report need to be read with care; because Leisure Futures would probably want to produce results favourable to Sport England who were paying them, Sport England would want to publish favourable results, and the 24 projects interviewed would all want to give a favourable impression of their work. For example, the general conclusion that 'there is strong evidence to show that Positive Futures is having a real impact in terms of increasing regular participation in sport amongst

participants to the programme and that a number of these are developing their sports skills…' (Sport England, 2002a: 22) gives a very favourable impression. However, the conclusions noted that the skills and enthusiasm of project leaders were crucial. Also that longer term funding is required to give attract and retain the right calibre of staff and give them time to build up relationships of trust with young people.

In relation to outcomes, the report states that, 'given the number of other influences and interventions at play in any area, it should also be recognised that it would be both unrealistic and inappropriate to try and isolate the Positive Futures Project as the "cause" of a social change relating to the Positive Futures project objectives' (Sport England, 2002a: 22). It then goes on to state that the qualitative evidence is strong.

It is interesting that despite the bold headline figures of the Sport England press release, the report cautions against making claims for the effectiveness of Positive Futures in terms of increasing sports participation, reducing crime and reducing drug use. The main qualitative finding is the importance of the skills and enthusiasm of the project staff.

3.9.2 National research into Splash

The Youth Justice Board (YJB) funded an expansion of Easttown Splash in 2001, and again in 2002. It insisted that all the programmes it funded nationally were also called Splash. This was convenient, as the Easttown Splash had built up considerable brand loyalty over its years of operation and changing the name could have caused confusion.

The Youth Justice Board asked programmes they had supported in 2000 and 2001 to compare police records of crime and incident data of the categories most associated with youth offending in an area where a scheme has been provided with the previous year when it was not. One difficulty with this method is that the geographical areas used in the collection of police records, called Police Basic Command Units (BCU), may not match the areas covered by the Splash scheme. Secondly, collating the evidence requires considerable additional time and effort for the police. Thirdly, small numbers may make any change insignificant. A small change in any one area could be due to just one or two persistent offenders moving in or out of the area. It might be possible to identify this if one also had accurate records of the movement of known offenders.

These difficulties are illustrated by reports on the YJB funded programmes in 2000 and 2001. The Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young (2001) report on the 2000 YJB funded schemes reported that of 102 schemes only 73 had provided 'final reports', and of these only 43 had provided comparative crime statistics; although producing such evidence was a condition of funding. Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young were the 'national supporter' (2001, p.1) of the YJB programme. According to a separate commentary by Gaber (2002) they ran the scheme as well as producing the evaluation report, and their main business is as a computer consultancy. The report on the 2000 schemes says that, 'comparing August 2000 with August 1999, figures where we have a large enough sample to be confident in the results show: a reduction in domestic burglary of 36%, a reduction in 'youth crime' of 18%' (Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young, 2001, p.3 and p.8). However it is not clear how many of the 43 schemes that were able to produce crime data also showed a large enough sample to be 'confident in the results'.

In monitoring the 2001 programme, the 2002 Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young report (2002) compared changes in reported crime in seven categories of offence between the increased number of Splash scheme areas and high crime BCUs, (Table 3.9.2).

Table 3.9.2 Changes in crime 2000 – 2001

Crime / incident category and sample	High crime BCUs % change 2000 — 2001	Splash BCUs % change 2000 — 2001	Differential – Splash BCUs vs High Crime BCUs
Motor crime (70 schemes)	39%	**-11%**	**-50%**
Burglary	16%	4%	-12%
Robbery	19%	16%	-3%
Criminal Damage	N/A	4%	N/A
Juvenile Nuisance (46 schemes)	N/A	**-16%**	N/A
Drug Offences (76 schemes)	N/A	**-25%**	N/A

Source: Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young (2002) *Splash 2001, final report* London: Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young p:21

The table shows how many of the 145 schemes were able to provide data for these categories of crime. This ranges from 76 to 46, but for three other categories of crime it does not report the number of schemes which provided data. The commentary implies that the data in bold is that which is statistically significant. From this we can deduce that the number of schemes providing data on burglary, robbery and criminal damage were too small to produce significant findings. It notes that 'as expected, schemes which ran in 2001 for the first time, achieved even greater reduction in two of the three statistically significant categories: motor crime, 13%; juvenile nuisance, 22%; and drug offences, 24%. (2002, p. 21). However, it goes on to say that: 'the sample size of schemes running in both 2000 and 2001 and variations in data reported by schemes each year, rendered the results statistically insignificant' (2002, p.21). So, it is not clear which data in table 3.9.2 is significant. This finding is not related back to the previous year's report, which, as noted above, commented on a significant reduction in two types of crime.

Thus, the reports by the organisation that ran the national Splash scheme in 2000 and 2001 show the difficulties of obtaining local crime data, which may reflect the problem of matching it to Splash areas; and the problems of small numbers, either of schemes with data, or of crime figures in individual schemes.

Interestingly, a Home Office Briefing Note on the 2000 Summer Splash Schemes (Loxley, et al. 2002) (although including a disclaimer that the views in it were not necessarily those of the Home Office, nor did they reflect Government policy) reported that, of the six schemes the researchers examined, only three were able to produce detailed crime and disorder incident data. Of these, one showed a decline in incidents from 1999 to 2002. This was on a site where there had been little provision in 1999. In the other two there was 'no impact on crime and disorder'. This report questioned the need to target crime reduction resources in August as in only two of the three areas that provided crime data was there an increase in crime in August, and this was very slight. Thus this report also confirms the difficulty of collecting crime data and that even when it is available, changes in individual areas may be very small.

These problems were apparent in Easttown where figures comparing crime in 2000 and 2001 for the three sites funded by the YJB in 2001 were too small, even if there had been a positive change, to show anything significant. Any change could have been due to one or two regular offenders moving in or out of the area. This illustrates a third limitation, that such data does not tell us why any change might have occurred. It is assumed that it is related to the schemes.

3.9.3 Conclusions on national research into Positive Futures and Splash

The results from these two national evaluations were being produced at the same time as the present research was being conducted, thus were limited in their ability to influence it.

These two national research projects both show the difficulties of producing quantitative data on outcomes (reviewed in chapter 4) for programmes of this nature. The conclusion of the report into Positive Futures supports the scientific realist criticism of the classical experimental design (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: p.5) in that many variables may be relevant and it is impossible to isolate the impact of one.

This is not to deny the value of quantitative results and, as noted in chapter 4.8: if they had been more readily available this research would have used them in the construction of CMO configurations. It is interesting that both research reports could be seen to reflect the pressure for policy to be led and justified by evidence, but in both cases value of the evidence produced has been inflated by those who wish to promote the projects, and the funds they attract.

Chapter 4 Results: Sportaction

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 report results by each programme. Consistent with the case study approach data is triangulated onto certain critical cases in each programme; participants who have had most experience of the programme; and then at the level of the programme itself. Chapter 7 reports results across all three programmes.

A limitation of this sample is that if the programme had been shown to benefit these clients, it could be argued that this was as much a consequence of their own personal qualities which had prompted them to both volunteer for the programme and to commit themselves to attending, as it was of the impact of the programme itself. However, the detail of the case studies allows discrimination between these two influences.

4.1. Records of attendance

Table 4.1 shows the very variable success of the programme in making contact with clients and then maintaining it. It allowed the identification of cases 3 (Marvin) and 16 (Adam) for intensive study as the clients who had participated the most.

Table 4.1. Sportaction. Records of work with clients – 10/2000 to 7/2001

Case	Hours completed	Achievements of client	Comments
1	17	Attended youth games	Now mentored by Enthusiasm *
2	8		Moved out of area
3	85	Basket ball level 1, Community Sports Leader Award (CSLA), assisted with coaching	Marvin
4	3		*Reason for leaving not known*
5	6		Chose to leave programme
6	11	Canoeing	Moved out of area
7	8		Chose to leave / refer to Enthusiasm.
8	7		Mum sees programme as a treat, so has not continued.
9	42	CSLA, basketball level 1, volunteer coaching.	Sent to detention centre
10	14		Now mentored by Enthusiasm
11	26		Now mentored by Enthusiasm
12	0		Moved out of area
13	2		*Reason for leaving not known*
14	0		*Reason for not starting not known*
15	0		*Reason for not starting not known*
16	121	CSLA, Junior Team Manager (JTM), Basket ball level 1, voluntary coaching	Adam [subsequently sent to detention centre]
17	0		No response to correspondence
18	0		*Reason for not starting not known*
19	0		Shows no interest
20	0		Shows no interest
21	0		Wrong address given

Source: Sportaction

*Enthusiasm was a separate local voluntary group, established specifically to offer mentoring to young people at risk. (3.3.1.1)

4.2 Case study of Adam

Sources:

- Interview with Adam, 9/8/01 at his home with his mother (Appendix B1)
- Information from Jimmy, sports leader
- Records of attendance 24/7/01
- Further information from interview with Jimmy 10/10/01 (Appendix B2)
- Detailed record of each session, 29/1/01 — 9/6/01.

Adam was on the Youth Inclusion Programme as one of the 50 highest risk young offenders in the SRB5 area of Southtown. He was 16 when he started working with Positive Futures in January 2001 and had not attended school since September when he was expelled for being abusive. He lived at home with his mother and a younger sister, who had also been referred to Positive Futures. His father had been in prison for some years. His mother was very supportive of his involvement with Positive Futures.

4.2.1 Involvement with Positive Futures

Between January 29th 2001 and July 2001 Adam had attended 121 hours with Positive Futures, the most for any one client. This reflected his enthusiasm and also his natural ability. After a few sessions it was clear he had natural sports leadership ability. He was confident, articulate and was able to build a quick rapport with groups he worked with. By March, he was identified as a potential future mentor to work with Sportaction and from April he was helping coach regularly at the Saturday morning sessions at the local YMCA, run by Sportaction. He was keen to take sports qualifications and registered for a Football Association (FA) Junior Managers award and a level one basketball coaching award a month after he started with Positive Futures. He passed both of these easily, as well as a first aid certificate. He was identified as the best student on the basketball course. He also took a Community Sports Leader Award (CSLA), but did not complete it at the first attempt. The sports leader felt he may have been upset about something. He returned to finish it, with the sports leader. However, in general his attendance record on Positive Futures was very good.

Adam had no qualifications, although he had been boxing at a local gym since he was ten. He had trophies from this and the only paper qualification he had was his licence to box. He had also taken part in football, basketball, tai kwando and karate. Before taking part in Positive Futures he wanted only to be a professional boxer. From the first session with Positive Futures he expressed a desire to become a sports coach.

However, throughout his involvement in Positive Futures the sports leader noted Adam had difficulty controlling his temper and could easily be 'wound up'. He had a record of violent offending. This included assaults and car crime since he was 13/14. He was arrested for assault in April 2001. At the time he was interviewed, in August 2001, he was waiting to appear in court for an assault on a police officer. This assault occurred when the officer came to Adam's house to arrest him for a crime which evidence suggests he is not likely to have committed and he knocked the officer's teeth out. The descriptions of the men wanted for the crime did not match Adam. Subsequently Adam was sent to a detention centre for six months, but should have been discharged in December 2001 if his behaviour was satisfactory.

This illustrates one of the difficulties of the Positive Futures programme. As clients are on their last warning, a lot of work may be invested in them but they only need to be convicted of one offence and they will be sent to detention. Positive Futures was keen to resume work with Adam on his release.

Although Adam showed great potential as a sports leader, and would have been offered some paid work with Sportaction over the summer of 2001, they were not able to employ him because of his arrest for assault on a police officer. This was a particularly difficult situation for Sportaction, which was managed by seconded police officers.

4.2.2 Analysis in relation to hypotheses

Adam had a long term interest in sport, especially boxing. He was fit, handsome, and took a pride in this. His sporting interests made the Positive Futures programme immediately attractive to him, although the YOT offered him alternatives.

The one to one counselling and the other range of Sportaction sports sessions enabled the work with Adam to be adapted to fit his needs. An initial action plan was for him to take a Community Sports Leader Award in August but this was brought forward to March. Similarly, as soon as Adam's natural skills at sports leadership became apparent he was given leadership responsibility. This occurred as early as the fifth time he attended, and he was given responsibility for a warm up session with younger children on 7th April. The progression through coaching courses and leadership experience also illustrates Jimmy's skills in matching the progression of activities to Adam's needs and the ability to do this through Sportaction.

Adam already had high self-esteem and illustrated Emler's (2001) point that this does not necessarily lead to reduced offending. He was confident to go directly into sports leadership roles, such as the session he helped run only a month after he started. The sports leader's report for the 5th session stated that Adam 'displayed great listening and communicating skills', and by 14th March the sports leader reported that, 'in the future I hope he ...will be able to attend as a mentor'. But his self-esteem combined with his temper had led him into trouble. Jimmy reported that Adam's offending at the ages of 13 and 14 was,

> 'car theft and violent assaults when he was a young lad, but I think that was mainly due to his boxing, he would always find himself at the wrong place at the wrong time...'.

It appeared his reputation as a boxer had led him into situations where he was either expected to defend friends or might be goaded into fighting. Jimmy reported several occasions where he was concerned about Adam's temper and had to counsel him about it. So the combination of boxing skills, high self-esteem and volatile emotions had contributed to Adam's offending.

However, although Adam did not appear to gain significant self-esteem from his achievements on the programme, which were considerable in terms of gaining sporting qualifications, he had gained the recognition and respect of the Sportaction workers. This mattered to him, and especially the fact that it could lead to paid employment with Sportaction (discussed later).

Adam viewed Jimmy as a mentor. 'I like Jimmy a lot, he's all right man'. Specifically, 'I've got a better relationship with Jimmy (than with my YOT Officer) because I know him better. He's taken me out and we've had talks. We just get on well.' This was illustrated by Adam discussing problems he had been having with his girlfriends with Jimmy at the end of March, two months after he had started. The mentor relationship extended to Adam aspiring to do Jimmy's job, 'my goal was to do what Jimmy is doing in the future'. The mentor relationship had developed sufficiently by late March that Jimmy could talk to Adam about controlling his temper, and later about the implications of being arrested.

Jimmy: 'He asked me "am I going to get sent down". I told him he would, he respected me for telling the truth.'

Sportaction was in an excellent position to offer Adam long term follow-up through a progression of voluntary and then paid sports leadership opportunities. Adam also felt he could obtain similar work in other organisations.

Jimmy understood that negative peer influence had led to a lot of Adam's offending:

Jimmy: My personal opinion, ... is he associates with particularly one young lad who is one for just firing up explosively, at the spur of the moment, he will be walking down the street and the lad he is with will just explode, for whatever reason. And cause something to do with crime, and Adam has known this lad since he was a toddler and gets caught up with whatever goes off,...

Researcher: Did you try to counsel Adam about this?

Jimmy: I did, every time I saw him, trouble was always associated with this other lad. This lad was on the run from the police, throughout the time Adam was with me...

Researcher: So all Adam's offending was associated with this other kid?

Jimmy: Yes.

Recognising this, Jimmy had attempted to refer this peer to the programme but was unable to do so as he lived outside the relevant area. This is supported by Adam's own account of how the programme had prevented him offending:

> 'It did keep me out of trouble because I was enjoying it and all my time was on that. I wasn't on the streets with bad influences and messing about. I was doing my different courses every now and then, I was going coaching and I spent a bit more time with Jimmy and things like that.
>
> ...when you are bored and you are just sitting about that can lead to trouble because you've got nothing to do and then when you are out on the streets and there is a group and you've got nothing to do, you might get yourself into mischief, but if you've got something to do then you are not really thinking about going out and messing about and doing this, that and the other, and you've got a goal, you want to be doing something, so you can't really be messing about.'

Thus sharing activity with pro-social peers, or at least being away from anti-social ones, was an important part of diverting Adam from offending. However, although he attended at least 28 sessions over less than 6 months, some of these taking all day, there were still the opportunities to offend at other times.

Another positive influence of Sportaction might have been that it promoted pro-social values. There is evidence that Jimmy attempted to counsel Adam on controlling his temper, for example, in sessions on 21/3/01. This shows that although Jimmy was relatively young and not trained in dealing with offenders, the understanding he gained of Adam though the long- term contact and position of trust led him to a deeper understanding of the factors leading to Adam's offending. This is similarly illustrated in Jimmy's attempt to refer Adam's anti-social peer. There is evidence of Jimmy counselling Adam in ways to avoid offending. For example, in April Adam was arrested for assault. He explained to Jimmy that he was only defending himself, but Jimmy argued that he might have been better not to put himself in that position in the first place. Adam began to identify with Jimmy, such as he aspired to do his type of work and he was prepared to ask Jimmy about sensitive issues, such as the impact of his offences.

However, it is difficult to conclude whether this represents an identification with the pro-social values of Sportaction, in the way that Catalano and Hawkins, (1996) understand a programme providing a 'protection factor'. It might just represent a concern with the implications of how Sportaction viewed his offending for his employment prospects.

Jimmy records that Adam was concerned that an offence in April might have led to him being dropped from the programme. Again, at the time of interview, Adam had not been able to take the opportunity of some paid coaching work with Sportaction over the summer because of his recent assault on a policeman. Adam was concerned about being dropped from the programme not because he identified with its values but because he enjoyed doing it and it would have led to paid work.

Adam: 'What I really need to do is start getting some income. I need some work and coaching was going to be my thing. I was going to start getting paid this six weeks holiday, then everything mashed up and that isn't good at all, so now I'm sitting here watching my television all day.'

Researcher: 'So the major incentive would really be to get paid work in it then?'

Adam: 'Yes.'

Overall Adam was upset that it had turned out like this and regretted being 'in trouble'. Again, talking with reference to not being able to obtain work, he reported:

> 'I'm not bad and I don't go out there looking for trouble. So I'm just a name and a number and if I am in trouble, I am in trouble and that's the way they look at it. I don't even like want to be doing this, I'm not really a trouble kind of person, and it all mashed up, I don't know why it mashed up, but it did.'

His mother supported this:

> 'I think that if he hadn't got in trouble this time by now he would have been settled and quite happy with what he had got before him, because he'd been offered two days work a week hadn't you?'

> 'And other people were definitely interested as well, so by now he could have probably been working three or four days a week, enjoying what he was doing and getting a bit of money.'

So, had Adam not reoffended in the way he did, he might have gained employment, which could have led to more. As Jimmy, the sports leader reported:

> 'I think employing him would have done him the world of good. He would have got a bit of extra cash, recognition for what he had achieved, more recognition off other bodies, such as the city council, as his name would have gone into a database. And he would have been able to, if police checks had let him, be employed throughout.'

4.2.3 Adam – conclusions

Sportaction was immediately attractive to Adam because he had always been interested in sport, and he quickly saw it could lead to qualifications and possibly employment doing something he enjoyed. The intense one to one counselling and Jimmy's skills enabled a mentor relationship to be established in the course of which Jimmy could understand better the problems that had led to Adam's offending and try to address them through the sports counselling; although Jimmy had no formal training in this. Sportaction provided Adam with a diversion from offending opportunities and anti-social peers. It contributed to his personal development to the extent that he developed skills through the sports coaching courses he attended. However, there was no need to develop his self-esteem and the counselling could only have a limited effect on his self-control. Thus it could not keep him from his particular pattern of re-offending, involving impulsive violence. For Adam one of the major potential benefits of the programme might have been paid employment, doing something he enjoyed and using the skills he had. Jimmy regarded Adam as a natural sports leader and this was proven by his success in quickly leading sessions with children only slightly younger than himself. But, paradoxically, his assault on a policemen, prevented Sportaction offering him this opportunity. Sportaction might have had a stronger effect on reducing his offending if he had been involved in paid sports leadership earlier and understood that this position was conditional on not re-offending.

4.3 Case study of Marvin

Sources:

- Interview with Marvin, 2/8/01, in his flat
- Interview with Jimmy, sports leader, 2/8/11
- Further information from Jimmy 10/10/01 (Appendix B2)
- Records of the number of times Marvin has attended up to 24/7/01
- Detailed record of each session, 5/2/01 – 30/6/01.

Marvin was also on the Youth Inclusion Programme as one of the 50 highest risk young offenders in the SRB5 area of Southtown. He was 15 when he started working with Positive Futures in October 2000, as one of the first clients.

The Southtown YOT had not made an ASSET form available, so it was not possible to obtain an ASSET score or record of Marvin's particular difficulties. The sports leader said that Marvin had originally lived in Wolverhampton but been thrown out by his parents after being involved in a robbery. He had come to live with an aunt and uncle in Southtown, but his relationship with them had been strained by his behaviour of staying out very late at night. He had left them and been living with friends. He had not attended school since living in Southtown. He was due to attend the Step Forward programme for young people excluded from school, but he did not. In late March he had moved into a flat provided by NACRO. This address allowed him to claim benefit from April, although he lived most of the time at a girlfriend's house nearby. The flat had nothing in it except minimal furniture, cooker and fridge. Since January 2001 he had been involved in assault, two robberies and vandalism.

4.3.1 Involvement with Positive Futures

From October 2000 to July 2001 Marvin had attended 85 hours of activity with Positive Futures. Marvin attended and passed a Community Sports Leader Award in January. He passed a basketball level one coaching award in February, and a Football Association Junior Manager Award in June. At the beginning of February he started on a Step

Forward programme, which involved activities each week day and attending Positive Futures on Saturdays. However he only attended the Positive Futures activities. From April 7th he started helping as a voluntary leader at Saturday morning sessions run by Sportaction for younger children at the YMCA in Southtown with the intention of helping regularly. However, he did not maintain this and attended only two more sessions in this capacity up to the end of June. Marvin had been accepted on a full time course in sports and leisure at the local college, due to start in September 2001. This one year course is attended for 14 hours per week. It includes some basic business skills and more coaching qualifications. Marvin applied for this while with Positive Futures.

Apart from his personal circumstances the major difficulty identified by Sportaction staff was his aggressive behaviour in groups of peers. This was erratic and unpredictable. It meant that Marvin had to be introduced into different social situations with care, and also had to be warned about his behaviour on several occasions. His aggression toward the sports leader almost led to him being removed from the programme in June, and it meant that he needed careful supervision whenever he was in a coaching role. However, he appeared to enjoy coaching younger children and got on well with them. At the time of interview Marvin was due to attend court for a further offence. This was part of an incident in which several peers were involved.

4.3.2 Analysis in relation to hypotheses

Marvin had originally been interested in the programme because he had played basketball at school (client interview). As with Adam, the programme had been adapted to meet his needs and progress through new experiences. The sports leader explained how he had to build up Marvin's skills and match them to the courses he attended.

Researcher: Was this progression planned?

Jimmy: It was planned to do courses as and when they came up, depending on how far he had got down the programme. Depending on attitude and how he developed in himself, as obviously those courses take a lot of brain power and concentration. When I first met him he would not have been

capable of doing a course like that. As they came about he was capable of doing them, so we paid for him and I took him, and off he went.

Researcher: Is that a concern that if he was not ready for it, it would not be the right thing for him to do?

Jimmy: That's right – have to careful not to push him into something, or any of them. Put them on a course with lots of different people they have not met, especially someone like Marvin, they would have found it very difficult to communicate with those people on the same sporting level.

Researcher: Is that the more challenging part for Marvin, relating to the other people on the course?

Jimmy: That's right, no problems with his confidence in delivering what's on the course, but the people what run the course are very astute, the other people (on the course) can be very intimidating for someone like Marvin. [This was confirmed when Marvin was interviewed. He was shy and found it difficult to articulate his ideas.]

Researcher: So more a matter of checking he can cope with the social challenge rather than the intellectual?

Jimmy: Yes, he can tackle the intellectual bit, it's integrating with people that challenges him the most.

This shows that the sports leader had carefully matched the challenges he presented Marvin with to Marvin's developing ability. He felt the Community Sports Leader Award had built Marvin's communication skills before he had to coach specific sports at the Saturday sessions. By October 2001 Marvin had built up the confidence to challenge the Positive Futures staff at basketball. The sports leader reported, 'he wants to play us,

not we want him to play, but I don't think he would have been like that it we had not given him so much support...'.

Marvin also had to be guided carefully in the voluntary work. After the CSLA course he had to complete a certain number of voluntary hours, so these were scheduled to be completed at the Saturday morning sessions, also run by Sportaction. The sports leader described how, while other coaches were running the sessions:

> 'I just stood and supervised him solely. Did not take part in much coaching, just watched him and looked at his progression. Then spoke to him after, listened to his views, and the problems he found with it, such as difficult questions the children asked him and different coaching techniques he may not be aware of. So he did ask questions and I was there to answer him, whereas other people may not have had time.'

However, Marvin's erratic behaviour made it difficult to give him greater responsibility for sessions.

Marvin's self-esteem was not at as high as Adam's and this was confirmed by his approach to the personal interview; however, it was boosted by his achievements on the programme. He was also far less articulate than Adam, with less developed communication skills. Marvin felt satisfaction from his achievements in passing the coaching awards which he was apprehensive about. He was proud of his score in the football manager course in June: 'I got 28 [out of 40] so it was all right'. He also appeared to gain from the relationship with the children he coached. He reported: 'started in the voluntary and the kids were all right'. Jimmy described how: 'He assists with the coaching of young people there, does a good job, the kids love him'.
As noted above, the sports leader felt an indication of his increase in self-esteem was his willingness to challenge the staff at basketball. Through taking part in sports coaching awards other skills had been developed. Jimmy reported that:

'CSLA built up his communication and involved team building exercises, so he learnt to communicate effectively before he had to coach anything specific. CSLA builds confidence and ... organisation skills.'

As with Adam, Jimmy had developed a mentoring role with Marvin. Carrie, the project manager who worked administering the programme but not directly with the clients, reported she did not have the same quality of relationship with Marvin as Jimmy, the sports leader. Marvin said Jimmy was one of the few people he could phone up about problems and Jimmy confirmed he had done this: 'yes, he talks to me about personal things, mostly it's just a bit of advice, how to deal with a situation. He text messages me rather than calls me'. Jimmy felt his relationship with Marvin was not as a role model, but more as a 'mentor, friendship type thing, someone he can go to for support'. This was in contrast to, 'a lot of the other agencies working with him, the people are sort of corporate minded, its all about statistics, and you need to be telling him what to do...'.

This led to Jimmy taking a much broader role in supporting Marvin. The records of contact show that the major needs were recognized as housing, the ability to claim benefit, the need to eat, and the need to comply with the demands of the justice system. For example, problems with accommodation had prevented him attending a session on 12/3/01. Records show how the sports leader had attended and arranged meetings to deal with all these aspects of Marvin's life. He had taken him to his Step Forward interview, new accommodation in March, social services, housing office, and his solicitor. Once Marvin had been claiming benefit (made possible by his permanent address) the sports leader recorded how: 'Marvin has fallen into the habit of expecting me to pay for all of his food, despite the fact that he is now receiving benefit' (1/6/01). Jimmy confirmed specifically that Marvin would not have obtained the NACRO flat unless he had helped him do so (interview 10/10/01). In comparing Adam and Marvin, Jimmy confirmed the work was completely different (10/10/01) 'With Marvin it was supporting his housing, college and money situation, with Adam it was his sports, which is what it was meant to do'.

This illustrates the difficult balance between establishing a mentor relationship and as a result of this recognising and helping deal with a lot of the client's basic needs; and the

sports leader using sport to contribute to personal development. In addition, there is always the possibility that the client may just take advantage of the sports leader's willingness to act as a mentor and the sports leader's genuine concern for his welfare. As the researcher and Jimmy were leaving the interview with Marvin, Marvin successfully asked Jimmy for £5 on the basis that it was to buy a mother's day card.

In a telephone interview when she was leaving the project (10/7/01) Carrie (the project administrator) noted that 'Jimmy is keen, but is only 21, so may not have the skills to deal with these difficult clients'. In an earlier interview (9/4/01) Carrie gave example of clients with totally chaotic lives and raised the difficulty of deciding where the role of Positive Futures staff ends. 'Where do they put responsibility back to the other agencies and where can they act as a one stop shop?'. 'We need to be clear what our roles are'. She noted that it is valuable if one person has a responsible adult who can act as a broker to help young people find their way around other agencies. But this role was not clear at the outset of the project. The project development officer, in an interview (13/6/01) as he was leaving the project, similarly had the view that given the type of clients, 'Carrie and Jamie need further training for working with high risk clients. One difficulty is knowing where to make allowances for clients' problems and where to urge them to comply with the requirements of the programme'. Thus a mentor role is difficult to define and limit.

With Jimmy the mentor role extended to advising Marvin on his personal behaviour, such as the aggressive way he reacted to other clients. Records of meetings show Marvin's aggression was a concern and that the sports leader spoke to Marvin about it. The behaviour became challenging to the extent that Marvin hit the sports leader twice during a session in June and the sports leader felt he had to respond by hitting Marvin back in a very controlled manner. This had no negative effect on Marvin's relationship with the sports leader but appeared to be a 'last resort to defending myself' (15/6 notes). The sports leader felt some unease about having to deal with Marvin in this way. It was a last resort, maybe the only way of maintaining Marvin's involvement, which would have had to have been curtailed if he persisted in his violent behaviour. However, while there is evidence that guidance to Marvin on his personal behaviour might have had an immediate effect, for example in the way he reacted to other clients or the sports leader, there is no evidence of long term impact. Even when interviewed four months later

(10/10/01) Jimmy reported that, 'he still gives me the odd dead leg now and again and gets a bit feisty, but that's something you will always have to watch with Marvin'. There is no evidence that a mentor role developed such that Jimmy was perceived as a role model by Marvin, in terms of his values.

As with Adam, Sportaction offered long term viable exit routes of sports coaching, although this was not viable in Marvin's case until he controlled his aggression. However, it had led to enrolment on a college course. The research was concluded before this started, so it is not known if Marvin actually attended.

4.3.3 Marvin – conclusions

Again Sportaction was attractive to Marvin because of his interest in sport. The one to one counselling enabled a mentoring relationship to be established and developed. As a result of this the sports leader became more aware of Marvin's needs and that unless these were met the effect of the sports counselling would be insignificant and they would prevent his full participation. Thus the sports leader's work became diverted from providing sports opportunities, which he felt was his proper role, to one he was unqualified for, but felt obliged to fill. However, this did make a difference: in particular, it led to stable accommodation and the ability of Marvin to claim benefit.

It appears that Marvin had gained in confidence and social skills as he progressed through the coaching awards. It is not so clear if it made him any less likely to be involved in crime. The most direct evidence came from Adam (9/8/01) who commented that: 'I'm proud of Marvin because he was bad, bad, but now like he loves his coaching and he's doing something with his life you see, and it's all right now'. Unlike Adam, Marvin was not explicit about the impact of the programme on himself, although he said that for people in general it might reduce crime because it, 'reduces boredom – something to do, keeps them off the streets and things'. In the long run, if it leads to a college course and subsequent employment, it will contribute to financial security. The development of confidence and social skills may have helped in this, but we can't be sure they were decisive.

4.4 Sportaction – analysis at the level of the programme

Given the desire to inform practice it is tempting at this stage to divert from the thesis objectives to consider the organisation of the programme: the extremely poor referral mechanism from the Youth Inclusion Project; the consequent need to spend considerable time just contacting prospective participants only to find that many were not interested; the skills required by project staff and which they might not have; the balance between a structured programme and one which had no structure at all in an attempt to be flexible in responding to the needs of clients; the balance between synergy with existing programmes and objectives, and the need to meet the conditions of the new pot of funding; in turn, Sport England's willingness to grab a pot of funds with crime reduction objectives and add to it their own of developing sports participation; etc...

However, as Yin reminds us, a danger of the iterative nature of explanation building in an explanatory case study is that the 'investigator may slowly begin to drift away from the original topic of interest' (Yin, 1994: 111). The main focus is the hypotheses at the end of chapter 1 (1.10.1); have the participants benefited in ways consistent with reducing offending and which 'success factors' appear to have contributed to this? What are the implications for the position of this programme on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum of working relatively intensively with high risk participants? (1.4; 2.3.1).

4.4.1 Crime reduction through diversion

Both Adam and Marvin acknowledged the simple mechanism of crime reduction through diversion from boredom. Both had nothing else to do as they were not at school or employed. Adam's mother and Adam confirmed that had Adam been able to gain employment in sport this would have acted as a diversion from offending.

4.4.2 Crime reduction through personal development directed by values

The main hypothesis of the research was that long term pro-social development would be the mechanism by which offending was reduced. This would involve a growth in self-

esteem, locus of control, cognitive skills, and the establishment of a personal value system which makes the individual less disposed towards crime. These will contribute to personal growth such that the individual will be able to take a more proactive role in their own further development (1.10.1).

Adam already had self-esteem and relatively high social skills, such as good communication, although skills were being built up further through the sports coaching courses. He did not have control over his temper or a job, and he did have a close peer who led him into offending. The programme did not modify his temperament although Jimmy addressed this directly with him on several occasions. There is no evidence that Adam changed his value system as a result of participation in Sportaction. It did keep him away from his anti-social peer while he was on it. It would have led to part-time employment over the summer of 2001 had he not offended in a way which made it too difficult for the programme to employ him. Knocking a police officer's teeth out made it too difficult for Sportaction, run by the police, to be seen to offer him employment. In contrast, his earlier offence of assault in April had not led to him being removed from the programme.

Adam illustrates 'generative causality' in that the 'generative mechanism' that the programme released, 'by way of providing reasons and resources to change behaviour' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: p. 79), was the new resources of the coaching qualifications and contacts with Sportaction, combined with the desire to obtain paid work as a sports coach. In this sense he illustrates a changed locus of control as he gained the ability to obtain paid employment doing what he enjoyed. But this was frustrated by his most recent offence.

Marvin had a more complex related set of problems which sports participation could not solve, and which themselves would prevent participation in the programme if they were not addressed. Housing and the ability to claim benefit were more important. Nevertheless, he did gain in self-confidence during the programme. For both Adam and Marvin, the experience of sports coaching introduced them to something they had an aptitude for and could get immediate feedback for doing well. There is evidence that Jimmy attempted to address values related to offending, or at least behaviour (emotional

volatility and aggression) with Marvin, but there is limited evidence that this had an effect. Adam reported that Marvin was less 'bad' than he used to be.

Thus, to a degree, the programme contributed to personal growth directed by values in both case study clients. And this in turn could have led to the opening of further opportunities: employment and college attendance. The original hypothesis was that personal growth would enable the individual to take a more proactive role in their own further development (1.10.1). In terms of generative causality, 'it is not programmes that work, but the generative mechanisms that they release by way of providing reasons and resources to change behaviour' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: p. 79). The programmes provided resources in terms of coaching qualifications and experience; associated skills; opportunities to progress in this area; and the resource of the sports leader as a mentor. For Adam it provided a goal, in that the sports leader became a role model in terms of employment; 'my goal was to do what Jimmy is doing in the future': being paid for what he enjoyed doing. With Marvin, the causality was not so clear; although it is very likely that the experience of Sportaction affected his motivation to apply for the college course and provided him with valuable coaching experience.

But Adam and Marvin continued to offend, illustrating the limited potential of the programme to divert high risk participants from offending totally, although it probably reduced it.

4.4.3 How important were the success factors and were they present?

Both participants were attracted by sport. Both benefited from the great flexibility of the programme and the skills and ability of the sports leader to match their needs with a progression of activities. However, while this was in respect of the demands made by the particular courses and leadership opportunities, the progression was not so clear in terms of taking personal responsibility, for example, for their own behaviour or for attending sessions. As Carrie commented in April 2001, when asked 'what has been important in getting them (clients) to keep attending?: 'I think the fact that Jimmy knocks on the door and puts them in the car has a lot to do with it'. But perhaps this willingness to give

clients responsibility for a 15 minute warm up sports session, but not making their own way to it, shows the sports leader's skills in matching expectations with capabilities.

In this programme the links with all the rest of Sportaction's work was a major practical advantage in ensuring the availability of a structured route into sports leadership roles and long term exit routes. The one-to-one counselling was important in adapting the programme for participants and also in developing the mentoring relationship, which was good. The coaching courses offered the satisfaction of achievement, which in the case of Marvin had contributed to self-esteem. In Adam's case self-esteem was already high and a contributory factor in offending.

For Adam keeping away from anti-social peers was important. It is hard to see a clear set of values associated with the activity leaders and the ethos of the programme, which are inconsistent with offending, as a major factor. There is evidence of Jimmy confronting particular behaviour, but not of participants affiliating with pro-social values of the programme or leaders, in the way that Catalano and Hawkins, (1996) understand a programme providing a 'protection factor'. Rather, Adam's affiliation was pragmatic rather than affective; he wanted a paid job from it.

4.4.4 The role of sport

Sport was an effective medium in terms of providing an attractive activity for Marvin and Adam, who were willing to become involved in the programme. However, Carrie confirmed (10/7/01) that the YIP had no knowledge of most of the people it referred as it had not been able to meet them itself. Thus it is probable that many had no interest in sport. This led to a situation where, 'of the 6 people referred by the YIP on 12/6, 3 did not start, 1 could not be contacted as Sportaction were given the wrong address, and 2 were picked up (detained by the police before they could be contacted), (Carrie, 10/7/01). Thus sport attracted Adam and Marvin because they were already interested in it.

For Adam and Marvin sport provided a medium for developing a mentor relationship. (Jimmy described how he had gone three boxing rounds with Adam!). It provided the medium for a structured progression through nationally recognised coaching awards

which themselves involved the development of the package of social skills associated with programmes to reduce offending. It offered practical exit routes.

4.4.5 Implications of working with clients at the high risk end of the Brantingham and Faust modified continuum

The first implication, as illustrated by table 4.1, was that it was hard to contact clients and get them involved. The programme administrator reported (9/4/01) that the referral form did not even record the phone number of the client, just the address. It did not say which sports clients may be interested in. It did not tell of any particular offending history. This meant that a lot of time was spent trying to initially contact the client at their house: 'Positive Futures has to spend 56% of its time chasing up people and making contact' (10/7/01). However, once involved, intensive work was justified. This allowed the development of a mentor relationship with those who attended; which in turn led to a greater appreciation of the underlying problems leading to offending. The open ended nature of the Sportaction programme, and the sports leader's concern to do a good job, meant that he became involved in dealing with these problems. Although unqualified, it was probably better that he attempt to deal with them than have nobody doing it, but this in turn took up a great deal of time. It could also be argued that as he was relatively young (21) and inexperienced, he might find it harder to draw the line between helping clients and being used by them, for example in the way that Marvin used him for food money. Thus the programme staff were pulled away from their official role as sports leaders.

Ideally the sports leader might also have been qualified and experienced in youth work with 'at risk' young people, in which case he might have been able to develop a more tightly structured programme for each person in terms of a progression of responsibility and social skills, while at the same time liaising with the other services which were responsible for other aspects of their welfare related to the causes of offending. Sports participation, sports coaching qualifications, and sports leadership could all have a valuable contribution to make to the long term process of personal growth directed by values but could have been used more precisely to do this.

4.4.6 A broader perspective on Sportaction

The case study clients were critical in the sense that they were those who had experienced Sportaction the most. If it did not have a positive impact on them, it would probably not have on others who experienced it less. It did have a positive impact on them, not to the extent that it prevented them reoffending, but clearly it probably had less impact on the 6 out of 21 clients who attended for fewer than ten sessions (Table 4.1) and none on the 8 who attended none at all. If one was going to comment on the overall performance of the programme this indicates failure. However, given the conservative estimate of the average economic and financial cost of a youth crime in 1994 as £2,800, (Coopers and Lybrand, 1994) it is still possible that the work with Adam and Marvin could justify the whole project.

As discussed in 4.4.5 the sports leader had no expertise in youth work directed towards offenders, which raises the question of the relationship he, or any of Sportaction management, thought there might be between their work and crime reduction.

Farrall's (2002) research into the impact of probation on 199 probationers indicates the importance of Sportaction's ability to offer employment or lead to it. He understood this as important in enabling probationers to overcome the factors which pull them towards re-offending, and a way of increasing their social capital as a resource. Farrall quoted Hagan and McCarthy (1997: 229) for whom social capital:

> ...originates in socially structured relations between individuals, in families and in aggregations of individuals in neighbourhoods, churches, schools and so on. These relations facilitate social action by generating a knowledge and sense of obligation, expectations, trustworthiness, information channels norms and sanctions.

For Farrall, legitimate employment, 'will in turn help to foster the sorts of ties and social contacts which allow for the development of social capital' (Farrall, 2002: 226). This is very similar to Roberts's (1992) argument that employment provides a stake in society which is not worth losing. For Adam, the possibility of employment was potentially a major impact of Sportaction. For Marvin, his projected college course could enhance his employment prospects.

Chapter 5 Results: Summit

As in chapter 4, initial analysis of Summit is through case study clients. This is followed by analysis of the two stage questionnaire surveys and the Huskins's personal independence scale. All these sources are then combined with further analysis of the interviews with sports leaders and YOT officers to culminate in a general analysis at the level of the programme, triangulating all the sources of data (3.6).

5.1. Records of attendance

Records of attendance have been divided into two periods, January 2000 – 5/3/01; and 15/3/01 – April 2002. These correspond to a change in sports leader managing the project and to some degree a change of methods. The running of the programme was reviewed in April 2001, although the programme itself remained the same.

Table 5.1 Summit participants who started 1/00 – 4/02

Start period	no shows	started	finished silver	finished gold
1/00 – 5/3/01	4	34	15	7
15/3/01- 4/02	10	38	21	7

Data was collected up to November 2002 so all those starting in April of that year would have had time to complete at the gold level. From these figures have been excluded all those who were recorded by the sports leader as 'on hold' or 'referred'. It was presumed that these had not actually started the programme, perhaps because they had completed their period of referral to the YOT before they could be found a place on the programme. In the second period two clients were also recorded as 'terminated' before they had started. The reason for this is not clear. Table 5.1 shows the start rate is far higher than that for Sportaction (4.1).

5.2 Case studies of clients

The nine participant case studies included all those who had completed the gold award during the period of the research. As noted in chapter 3, focusing on these relatively 'successful' participants was a strategy to maximise the value of research time: they would have most to report about the impact of the programme and if it had not had an impact on them, it would be unlikely to have had an impact on those who had attended less. As in the analysis of Sportaction case study clients, the detail of the case studies allows discrimination between the influence of the programme and the personal qualities the client brought to it.

5.2.1 Case study of Colin

Sources:

- Interview with Charlie, sports leader, 6/4/01 and 28/4/01: summary points.
- Interview with Colin and his parents at their home, 4/01: full transcript.
- Interview with Easttown YOT officer, 13/7/01: full transcript.

Colin lived in a rural location and was 15 at the time of interview. Charlie (sports leader) had an initial meeting in a café with him, having picked him up from his home. This was because she wanted to make sure he wanted to do the programme rather than his parents wanting him to do it. However, she also talked to his parents and they had a good relationship with her. Colin felt he had a good relationship with Charlie,

> 'got on with Charlie all right, she was good with me and I was alright with her. I got on all right with Alan (another sports leader) as well.'

Initially Colin did not want to do the programme — however, he decided he wanted to do it after the first session, which was scuba diving.

Researcher: So at what point did you think, after not being sure, well I will do this then.

Colin: I don't know, I just felt like doing something instead of getting into trouble all the time so I thought I'd do it to keep me out of trouble.

Researcher: So after how many sessions into it did you think this is alright then, I'll do this?

Colin: The first one, scuba diving.

He completed at gold level by organising a mountain bike trip for 4 Easttown Leisure Service staff and another client. The trip took an hour and a half to plan, although he did this with Charlie. Colin enjoyed this, in contrast to other non-active sessions which bored him.

Colin's YOT officer felt that Colin had been a 'major success of the programme'. In general he described the benefits of taking part in the programme and related these particularly to Colin:

> '...giving somebody hope again and something to work on. Long-term I'd say there is a major improvement in their health ... they are doing something that generally they enjoy doing and they are experiencing a different style of life because they are suddenly going to different places, different locations to do whatever sport it is, and that's number one it's a healthier vision. Number two, they are actually physically healthy ...and thirdly really it's about broadening your outlook on life generally. Its giving them ... somebody to copy or aim for like your peer, your role model or whatever, it gives them something to look up to and to aim for.'

> 'Very supportive parents trying their hardest, but he was going down the wrong track. Now over the weeks and the months that he was involved with Charlie, ... she motivated him to basically do things off his own bat, which he had never done before and he worked out a cycling route/map thing. Basically that was done, because over the weeks and the months she worked with him she raised his confidence up but she made him realise that he could do something down to himself rather than having everything done for him. The

> sport and the activity were allowing him to become independent really and produce something that he wanted to do, ... before, when he was at home, he was still the lad who was being told what to do, ... and it gave him the independence to do something I think.'

However, at the time of interview, Colin had finished Summit and it had not led to any other activity. Charlie was aware there were no more activities he wanted to do in his local area and had considered seeing if he could be re-referred to Summit to continue activities with her help. She had encouraged him to join the local football club (he had formerly won several trophies playing for a team coached by his father before moving to this area), and had offered to take him to the local school's Duke of Edinburgh award group, and to the local school gym, which could be used for weight training. The fact that he was not doing anything was frustrating for his parents. They felt that he was not making an effort to get involved in things he could, such as the local football team, but that the things he said he wanted to do were not practical. His father said Colin was very good at motor mechanics. He would help his father maintain his car and was enthusiastic about the prospect of having his own motorbike. Colin said: 'Something to do with cars or motorbikes that is what I want really.' His parents would have liked him to get involved in a well supervised motorbike club which taught maintenance and responsible driving. If there was one, they would have taken Colin to it, but they did not want to buy him an old bike he would restore then drive over the fields.

In many respects his parents were very supportive. This was confirmed by Charlie and the YOT officer. They would strongly encourage him to get involved with an activity they thought was right for him. Perhaps, as the comments by the YOT officer suggest, Colin's real need was to feel he had made independent choices about his leisure activity and therefore nothing his parents suggested, including the local football team, would be satisfactory. As his parents and Charlie acknowledged, the relative geographical isolation of where he lived meant that local opportunities were very limited and others would involve a long and costly bus journey. Those that were available, he was not interested in. So the programme had not led to independent sports participation. This was followed-up in the interview with Colin's YOT officer:

> 'But you could argue that, all right, to my knowledge, he hasn't re-offended but is he any further forward than what he was before he went on it. All right we have done a bit of work because he hasn't offended since we've had him on it and that's good, but is he any further forward, I'm not sure.'

So, for this YOT officer, while the experience Colin had had on Summit was excellent, a general problem was that it did not lead to anything else. The gold award did not appear to be a particular source of satisfaction. Although there were several football trophies Colin had won before he moved to this area displayed in a cabinet, there was no evidence of the gold Summit award and he did not know where it was.

5.2.1.1 Colin — conclusions

Thus Summit had motivated Colin to do things he had not done before, but all with the support of the sports leader. The initial scuba diving session had made him willing to take part in the programme and the range of activity had maintained his interest but the gold award was not seen as a major achievement. He developed good relationships with the sports leaders, which were important to him and contrasted with that with his parents, who although supportive, also found Colin difficult to motivate. He had taken part in activity with the sports leader, but had not progressed to independent participation. One could argue that this reflected limited opportunities in a relatively rural environment. On the other hand, the local football team appeared an ideal opportunity given his previous involvement in football. Colin was subsequently re-referred to Summit from the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (3.3.2) so he must have become involved in further offending.

5.2.2 Case study of Darren

Sources:

- Interview with Darren and his mother, 30/8/01: summary notes.
- Follow-up interview with Darren at a climbing wall session, 31/10/01: summary notes.
- Interviews with George, 30/8/01 and 6/11/01: summary notes.
- Interview with YOT officer, 23/7/01: full transcript.
- Action plan, 30/5/01 and updated, 26/7/01.
- Sports leader's structured record of development, week 2 of the programme.

Darren was 14 when he started the programme and 15 at the time of a second interview, conducted at a local climbing wall. He had been involved in a mass vandalism offence, along with two other Summit clients, but he and his mother said this was the first offence he had been involved in.

Prior to involvement in Summit he had played regularly for a local football team, and had done so since he was 8. His mother was dissatisfied with his previous team and had hoped that a long term result of Summit would be that Darren would join another local team. By the second interview Darren, or his mother, had found another local team themselves and he had started playing in it. Darren's mother was keen for him to do Summit as it was 'something to do' and might lead to more sports participation. She was initially concerned that 'all sorts of kids would be there, all types of thieves, so I were a bit worried. But then when it started I saw it was just him and George, and I thought he needs to meet more people really'. She felt the YOT officer was 'really nice' when he visited. She was generally keen on Darren and her other children taking part in sport. 'They always go swimming, it keeps them off the streets'. The local pool was a short bus ride to their house; Easttown offered free swimming to children in the school holidays and Darren was swimming the first time the researcher tried to interview him. Darren had also taken part in the summer sports activity sessions run by Easttown Recreation Department over the previous 4 or 5 years.

Darren's bronze and silver sessions involved golf, snooker, climbing at an indoor wall, pool, badminton, a football competition, and mountain biking. The sports leader's plan was for Darren to try a range of activities before settling on one for the gold award. After the last session Darren decided he would like to take a climbing course for the gold award, although he had to wait over a month before it started. The course ran for 6 weeks. Darren attended with another Summit client who lived close to him. The sports leader's aim was that they might continue to go together.

Darren passed the course which gave him a card allowing him to attend a junior club by himself. The club met two evenings a week, 5.30 – 6.30. Here he could borrow the necessary equipment. The sessions cost £1.50 and the centre was a short bus ride from Darren's house. It was at the same location as the swimming pool. Darren was aware of all these details and felt it was practical for him to attend. He had not done so at the time of interview, as the club was closed for the prior two weeks. However, he was clearly enthusiastic about climbing, attempting difficult climbs and asking details about equipment during the course of the second interview. He had also gained competence in the necessary basic techniques and was keen to use them. At the start of the second interview session he confidently used his own membership card to book himself and the researcher into the climbing wall. Darren reported that not everybody on the climbing course had passed and it appeared he had some pride in passing it himself.

Darren's mother, when interviewed after the silver award but prior to the climbing course, said he had enjoyed the sessions: 'every week he has looked forward to going'. George (the sports leader administering Summit) reported, 'that he had improved his climbing skills such that he can do it himself'. He seemed more confident in himself, and in his climbing ability.

Darren, as the sports leader noted, 'knew from the beginning what he wanted to do and was well motivated.' He had a very supportive mother, had a history of active sports participation, and although only 15, had enough self-confidence to come to the climbing sessions himself. When asked what he had done through Summit that he would not have done otherwise he said he would have been interested in climbing anyway, as he had done it once before. However, Summit introduced him to this climbing wall and paid for

him to do this course, allowing him to take part independently, so it is unlikely that he would have done this himself. On the other hand, he, or his mother, found the new football team he joined independently.

5.2.2.1 Darren — conclusions

The overall impression is that Darren was a low risk client, with a high chance of independent sports participation anyway. He had used his own initiative to join a football team and had maintained motivation for a month while waiting for the climbing course to start. Summit just gave him an extra set of opportunities. In particular, the climbing wall course was local, affordable, at a familiar venue, his mother was strongly supportive; and thus it was likely to lead to further participation. The Summit sessions covered the period over the summer school holidays, so this may have been fortuitous in giving him something else to do and look forward to in this period.

5.2.3 Case study of Billy

Sources:

- Interview with Billy and his mother at their home, 22/11/01: summary notes.
- Action plan, 7/6/01 – 14/8/01.
- Sports leader development score and questionnaire at second week.

Billy was only 12 when he started Summit. His YOT officer made a special case for him to attend as clients are supposed to be 14. He had been playing regularly for a local football team for 2 years. He lived with his parents and other siblings. At the second session George felt he was,

> 'quite able to think for himself and say honestly what he wants to do in terms of activities. He also realises some of the things he has done are wrong'.

At the bronze and silver level Billy took part in snooker, canoeing, golf, climbing, mountain biking and squash. He was enthusiastic and his mother confirmed that he enjoyed the sessions and he had not missed any. For the gold award he took the same 6 week climbing course as Darren, above. Thus, as with other participants, the bronze / silver level acted as tasters for an activity he could concentrate on. He passed the

climbing course, so could now attend the climbing wall by himself. After the first climbing course session he attended without the sports leader but with a friend who was not on Summit. He has since been to the climbing wall with this friend, who has his own equipment. He was also aware of the climbing club he could attend. The programme has led to a new sporting interest, although it was too early to say whether it will be sustained. He did not mention any feeling of satisfaction at completing at the gold level.

Billy's mother felt strongly that the programme was too much of a reward and not balanced sufficiently by a punishment.

> 'He undoubtedly enjoyed it. For the crime that he committed, it's like he got rewarded, as it has to be a certain degree of crime for the YOT to do a report and to get a final caution, so it's like he is rewarded for the crime, where is the punishment?'

She felt that it could send the wrong message to other young people. They might see Billy being given a choice of sporting activities and paid to go on a climbing course and think that this is what they will get if they offend. 'Kids who are good don't get that'. She reported that:

> 'It has not taught him a lesson. That's not addressing his offending behaviour'.

5.2.3.1 Billy — conclusions

Summit has opened the practical opportunity for Billy to do a new sport he had not done before, and he may continue with his friend. He has the ability and confidence to go to the climbing wall sessions and borrow the necessary equipment, although he is only 13. This is partly because he went with a friend to the course. Although climbing looks a practical future activity, Billy could have chosen any of the others he did at silver level to continue at gold. There might have been less chance of him continuing independently in squash, canoeing or golf because of the cost and distance to travel. Both Billy and his mother thought the activity could be a diversion from offending, but the sessions were only for a relatively short period, although again, by chance, they helped fill the summer holidays. This case again shows that Summit has the potential to lead to a long term interest. However, the comments of Billy's mother indicate a potential negative impact of

the programme in the message it gives to young people about the consequences of offending.

5.2.4 Case study of Paul

Sources:

- Interview with Paul, 22/11/01: summarised.
- Interviews with George 30/8/01 and 6/11/01: summarised.
- Action plan 6/6/01 – 13/8/01.
- Sports leader development score and questionnaire at second week.

Paul was one of the older clients, being 16. He had left school but was 'not doing anything particular' at the time of interview although he had recently enrolled himself on a life skills course run by the local chamber of commerce. The sports leader reported that Paul had a difficult home life. His father was alcoholic and lived away from home. His mother had 5 or 6 children to cope with. One reason for conducting the interview at a sports hall was because the sports leader thought his home would not be suitable.

Paul took part in a local football team, playing on Sundays and training on Wednesdays. His initial questionnaire confirmed that he had done this in the last 4 weeks. He had wanted to do Summit because of 'the different sports'. At the bronze and silver levels he had taken part in snooker / pool, badminton, tennis, and mountain biking. At the gold level he did badminton. For two of the badminton sessions he was encouraged to bring a friend, which he did. This friend was very keen on badminton. They had been to the sports centre to play by themselves once since Paul had completed at gold level, four weeks before the interview. Paul thought this was practical as he could get the bus to the sports centre, 'it costs £1.50 to get in and a pound for the racket hire – it's not a lot'.

Paul reported that the difference between bronze, silver and gold levels was that at bronze he was picked up and dropped off. At silver George picked him up for a bit, then expected him to make his own way there. At gold he had to find his own way there. Clearly Paul enjoyed playing while he had a game of badminton with the researcher prior to the interview. He also appeared to have a good relationship with the sports leader.

From the interview he agreed that he would not have booked the badminton by himself before coming on Summit. He did not report any sense of achievement at completing at the gold level, 'give you a bit of paper and a letter, didn't feel it was a big achievement, just felt it was all right'.

The sports leader felt that Paul was a good example of a client who had benefited from having a role model:

> 'His family is quite unstable, his officer says he struggles to get on with people, his father is in Oxford, mum's got 5 or 6 kids to cope with, he had nobody he can relate to. I've got to know him and he is really doing well at the moment. So, having a role model is quite important.'

5.2.4.1 Paul — conclusions

Paul felt the programme might have a diversion affect, 'send you on it to keep you out of trouble, keeps you out every day and stuff.' Summit had introduced Paul to a new sport he could do himself. This was helped by his ability to find a friend who was willing to do it with him. There was some progression of responsibility from bronze to gold, although limited to independently getting to the sessions. Paul had the confidence to book the badminton court himself, and he knew it was practical for him to do this; in terms of the cost of admission, equipment hire and access. However, it is not clear that Summit had increased his confidence in general, as he had already demonstrated this by enrolling himself on the life skills course run by the Chamber of Commerce. The sports leader might have provided a role model, although he and Paul did not elaborate on the impact this might have had. Paul already played football twice a week; more times than he was likely to play badminton. So while doing Summit may have provided him with an activity to keep him away from offending while he was doing this, future badminton participation is not likely to make a major impression.

5.2.5 Case study of Mark

Sources:

- Interview with Mark at his home, 4/01: full transcript
- Interview with YOT officer, 23/7/01: full transcript
- Action plan covering 11 sessions between 1/11/00 and 22/2/01.
- The sports leader was Charlie, who left soon after the interview with Mark, so a follow-up interview was not possible.

Mark was aged 15. He lived in a relatively isolated community. The offence Mark had been involved in was related to a friend of his (Colin, above) driving his friend's' mother's car. Prior to taking part in Summit Mark had been playing and training regularly with a Rugby team only a quarter of a mile from his house. At the time of interview he was still training with this club and was clearly a keen rugby player. 'Well, I do a lot of sports...football, rugby and basketball. Rugby I do outside of school with the local club up the road...I've got a game this Saturday. Play every Sunday...we have won the league'. The YOT officer reported that he had no other interests and it 'at the time he actually offended, I think it was the summer time, not as much to do...'.
When the YOT officer suggested the Summit project to Mark he 'thought I'd try it because I thought I would enjoy it'. He was not particularly enthusiastic but just thought, 'I'd give it a go'. He thought it might be good because he already did a lot of sports.

After Mark had agreed to participate, there was a three way meeting between Mark, the YOT officer and Charlie at Mark's house. Charlie also spoke to Mark's parents. She felt this was important to reassure parents that although the programme was aimed at offenders their child would not be in an environment where he was mixing with people who might be a bad influence. This was a common concern of parents.

Mark completed at the silver award level. At the bronze level he did sessions in snooker, badminton, scuba diving (twice), weight training, and a 3 hour mountain bike course. Following another 3 hour mountain bike session he did not take part in a badminton session due to a twisted ankle, was not at home for a meeting to discuss the gold award, and had one final meeting about this award. The plan for the gold award was for Mark to

work with the youth development officer at Easttown professional rugby club, helping train younger children. However, although this was arranged in February 2001 at the time of interview (April) Mark had not taken it up. He said this was because it was on a night when he was doing something else. When prompted, he said it was playing rugby; 'and then she didn't pick me up for it, so I didn't do it in the end'. Its not clear if the problem was that it clashed with a formal rugby training session at this club. If it did it is not likely that the sports leader would have arranged it for that night. It might have clashed with informal playing: Mark did this frequently with friends as the pitch was very close to his house. It is more likely that not being taken to the session, and perhaps not being supported directly by the sports leader, prevented him taking up what otherwise looked like a good opportunity to develop coaching skills. The meeting to discuss the gold award was the only session he did not turn up for, so perhaps he was not committed to it.

Clearly, getting to Easttown was a practical problem. For all the other sessions he had attended Mark had been picked up by Charlie. As Charlie and another sports leader had pointed out, in a general interview (15/11/00), one of the major barriers to independent participation was transport. Mark's home was on the outskirts of a rural community, 25 minutes walk from the centre, and he would then have had to have relied on a bus to get to Easttown and back. This did not appear practical for a 15 year old attending an evening session. Mark had continued to visit the gym at the local school where he had done the weight training, but it was not clear how often.

For the YOT officer, Mark was one of the more successful clients he had referred. He thought he had 'a new interest, something to do with their time and maybe a new set of mates.' He knew that 'the majority of time that he (Mark) spent doing anything was rugby oriented'. But, 'he was mixing with the wrong crowd and that crowd have actually gone on'. 'I honestly think it made a difference to him'.

Although the YOT officer felt Mark had benefited he knew that Mark already had a strong interest in Rugby, and felt that his offending may have been linked to having less to do out of the rugby season and mixing with a particular group of people, including the other Summit client he committed the offence with. This was supported by Mark's

account of the offence, where he was not the instigator but was with the other person who had driven the car. However, although Summit offered Mark a new set of things to do, he was actually taking part in Summit during the rugby season. The YOT officer also acknowledged that most of the people he mixed with who were the 'wrong crowd' had moved on anyway. The gold award challenge, of helping with rugby coaching, looked a good opportunity, but it was not practical without transport to and from Easttown. From impressions interviewing Mark he was quite shy, so perhaps a coaching role was too challenging for him anyway.

In this case it is hard to see how Summit made anything but a marginal difference although Mark enjoyed it while he did it:

Researcher:	Has doing the Summit made any difference to any other sports you've done since then or do you just keep doing the stuff you were doing before...?
Mark:	Keep doing the stuff I was doing before.
Researcher:	...it is thought that doing something like this will make a difference as to what they (participants) do in the long run...can you see any way it would do that?
Mark:	No
Researcher:	You can't really see a difference?
Mark:	No.

5.2.5.1 Mark — conclusions

Mark was attracted to Summit because he thought he might enjoy it because it involved sports. Charlie was sensitive in introducing him to the programme and reassuring his parents that it would not involve mixing with offenders. So to this extent the relationship with the sports leader was good, but it did not appear to extend to a mentoring one. There is no evidence Mark gained self-esteem from the programme and it is possible that the proposed progression to a coaching role in rugby was something he was not ready for. He

did not speak of it with enthusiasm, rather making excuses for why he did not attend. However, the practical difficulties of getting to the coaching sessions were far too great and illustrate how geographical isolation limits exit routes. He had continued with weight training, but this was local and complemented his rugby. The YOT officer suggested that offending was related to mixing with people who led him into it. Summit might have prevented him doing this, but the sessions were only for about 15 hours in total, and this was in the rugby season when he was also playing and training regularly. So it is hard to see how Summit could have been a direct diversion from offending, or from offending peers.

It is interesting that the YOT officer had an unrealistic impression of what Mark was doing as a result of Summit and had limited contact with Summit clients after they had been referred.

> YOT officer: The majority of them I've kept in touch with either by phone call or visits ...
>
> Researcher: So that might be about four or five weeks into it?
>
> YOT Officer: Yes.

When prompted as to what difference Summit had made to Mark's sports participation he conceded that, 'I suppose he could have been doing it anyway'.

5.2.6 Case study of Dennis

Sources:

- Interview with Dennis and his mother: 1/3/02: summarised.
- Interview with George 17/4/02: summarised.
- Action plan 2/3/01 – 12/2/02.
- Sports leader development score and questionnaire at second week and end of silver award.

Dennis was aged 17, in his first year of A levels at a 6th form college when interviewed. At the time of interview he had finished the gold award two weeks previously. This

involved completing an introduction to climbing course at Easttown sports centre, which enabled him to use the climbing wall and attend a junior club there. Although he started Summit in March of 2001, after an introduction, a meeting, a tour of the Easttown sports Centre, and one canoeing session, work with Dennis stopped from April to July (action plan). This was because of a shortage of staff to reallocate him to after Charlie left. George reported that Molly, the sports leader who was also working with Dennis, was a casual worker who also worked on the Splash programme. George explained that the casual workers were not able to give clients the regular sessions he might be able to. The period over which Dennis had no sessions makes it appear that Molly was only used to work with him when she was also employed to work with Splash, and confirms he was considered a low risk client.

Unlike most other participants Dennis had not been involved in sport before the programme. His mother felt that there was insufficient choice at school for people who were not interested in football.

Prior to involvement his mother was initially concerned about the one-to-one ratio with the sports leader rather than taking part with other young people; and also the type of people he might mix with. She was 'not keen on him mixing with the bad boys' and was keen to make the point to the researcher that, 'he's not bad you know'. She was reassured about the programme by Charlie and Molly (sports leaders) who came round to visit her before the programme. She thought they were 'absolutely brilliant, really nice' and so did Dennis. He reported that 'Molly has been brilliant, and then George came and he has been at a lot of things when Molly has taken me, and he has been really good too'. Thus there was evidence of an excellent relationship between the sports leaders and both Dennis and his parents. For Dennis, 'the difference between them [sports leaders] and teachers at school is that they talk with you rather than to you'. So, in common with other clients, such as Colin, it was important to reassure Dennis's mother about the programme, and she had a lot of respect for the sports leaders.

Dennis appreciated the wide range of sports available. He had never tried climbing before, but after a couple of introductory sessions was sure he wanted to do the climbing course for the gold award. He had to wait six weeks before he could get on it. This, his

continued enthusiasm over a 4 month gap in Summit, and his 100% attendance record, confirm his enthusiasm and low risk.

For the climbing course Molly picked him up and took him home for the first few sessions, then he had to get there and back himself. This was one bus ride. At the time of interview, two weeks after the course had finished, Dennis was very keen to continue climbing. 'I am definitely going to go rock climbing again, definitely. I have the discount card you get when you do the course for a shop at Easttown so I'm going to buy a harness'. He knew he could get the bus to the sports centre, using his bus pass. He knew about the junior club and thought the sessions were 'reasonably priced'. However, he did not have a specific friend to go with. Molly had said she would give him some extra information.

He did not have any other idea about how he could pursue the sport, although his mother was very supportive and commented that 'it's a good interest to encourage and when he goes on to university he might meet other people who are like minded and might go on rock climbing'. When asked how practical it was for him to continue the sport George responded:

> 'His interests, no problem; a problem, as with a lot of sports, is he needs a partner to go along with, so I think with Dennis, getting someone involved with sport it's down to him to a certain extent. Looking back I think we could have taken him down to the club for a couple of sessions post the course. Get him involved in that and give him a bit more confidence. If Molly had taken him down and got him involved, its up to him if he wants to get involved.'

When asked if there was any way Summit could have helped him take part in sport more Dennis commented, 'think they've done all they could, don't think there is much more they could do'.

Links had not been made to other sports opportunities and his mother felt that he could do with a club at school: 'there is nothing like this, that would be really good, there is not provisions for youth', implying that she would like further opportunities. At the end of

silver Dennis was committed to climbing, but also recorded that he 'wanted more information on cost and different venues'.

George thought Dennis would not have got involved in climbing if it were not for Summit and that Molly's enthusiasm was important.

> 'I don't think he would have tried climbing, don't think he would have tried the other things. Think its mainly the motivation of Molly that got him involved in sports. It sparked an interest in climbing.'

Dennis confirmed that a general benefit of Summit was that it had 'got me interested in a sport and it might get other people interested rather than hanging around on streets and things'. With respect to the relation to crime reduction he said, 'can't really tell, it's helping isn't it, 'cos it's finding other things you are interested in rather than hanging around and meeting new friends as well'.

George reported that:

> 'By the time [Dennis] got to the end of the course he had gained a lot more confidence, especially talking to me...he developed all the skills of climbing, so he got more confidence in his own ability'.

His mother confirmed that climbing had: 'built up his self esteem when he realised he could do it'. His self-esteem score rose slightly from 32 to 34 over the 7 months between the second session and the end of the silver award, but it would be difficult to attribute this to Summit because of the time involved and the small degree of change.
At completing at gold Dennis reported, 'it was a bit sad really, 'cos it's the end really, it's over and done with'. His mum added, 'and you build up a relationship, and then it's over'. So although Dennis had previously told the interviewer he had got the gold certificate, the main feeling for him at completion was sadness that it had finished rather than a boost in self-esteem.

5.2.6.1 Dennis — conclusions

Summit introduced Dennis to a new sport that is practical for him to continue because of its cost and location; given him the skills required through the climbing course; and enthused him to continue it, although not providing him with a partner or new peer group to do it with. Thus Summit has moved towards providing a long term exit route, but it has also been clear where its responsibility ends, and this might have been too soon to make sure all the elements for independent participation were in place. The relationship with sports leaders was good, and different to that with school teachers, but there was no evidence Dennis needed an alternative mentor. As with other clients the nature of Summit allowed it to be adapted to fit his needs. Attending the climbing course involved some progression in terms of getting himself there, but this was as much a progression in independent sports participation as it was in personal development. While Dennis has gained confidence from Summit, he was a low risk client, confirmed by his allocation to casual staff and his attendance record.

Dennis was committed to full-time education; his mother was very supportive; and he had the enthusiasm to remain committed to Summit through 3 months of inactivity and the period he had to wait to attend the climbing course.

Dennis was a relatively advantaged and very well motivated client. He was 17; so more independent, which made exit routes more practical; and had become enthused about a specific sport. Given all these factors he would be very likely to continue participation, but as George acknowledged, one or two extra sessions introducing him to the club at the sports centre might have been valuable. Apart from this obvious exit route, climbing is not an easy sport for a young person to pursue.

In terms of the relationship to crime reduction George felt:

> 'in all cases it depends on their past offending. Don't think Dennis was involved in regular offending, he started off in a reasonable position and I think we sort of just bumped him along to keep him in positive lines, he were already in college anyway, so that strikes me he has ambition to get along in education, sort of positive. I think we just helped him along and got him

involved in sport as much as we could, so ...there could have been a risk of him being involved in crime afterwards, but it were pretty low, and we probably lowered it a little more by offering him an alternative'

5.2.7 Case study of Gary

Sources:

- Interview with Gary at his home: 30/8/01, summary points.
- Interview with George, sports leader: 30/8/01 (prior to meeting with Gary) summary points.
- Interview with YOT officer: 11/7/01, full transcript.
- Action plan, covering 17 sessions, 2/1/01 – 12/8/01.

Gary started Summit when he was 13: one of the youngest clients. He came from a single-parent family, living off benefits (YOT officer). He started sessions with Alan and was transferred to George. In the first eight sessions he did canoeing, weight raining, mountain biking, tai kwon do, climbing and golf (twice). Up to the time of interview he had attended 6 golf sessions, either having tuition or at a driving range, as part of the gold award.

It was difficult to get Gary to discuss much about the programme but he felt that the sports leaders were 'sound' and someone he could talk to. The relationship was different to that with the YOT officer who he did not talk to. On the other hand, he would not have phoned George to ask for a different session, so he would probably not do so to discuss anything else.

Researcher: If you wanted to do something different would you phone up George, do you ever phone him up?

Gary: No, he always gives me an appointment card.

Thus the quality of relationship with the sports leader did not extend to that of a support figure. Gary felt Summit was good as it could, 'get you started off in something'. He said, 'I enjoy it sometimes, sometimes it's a bit boring when I can't be bothered to go'.

This suggests he might not be quite as keen as the sports leader thought and the two sessions he cancelled, or was not in for, may have been when he just did not want to attend.

Gary was always picked up from his house to do the sessions (Gary and YOT officer). He reported he only had 2 or 3 sessions to go to get his gold award. George accepted that golf would be a difficult activity for Gary to sustain independently. He would like to find a friend to go with. He would not be able to get to the golf course himself, and the cost, £12 a session, would be prohibitive. His mother had offered to take him to the course, but he only wanted to go with George. Gary also agreed it would be hard for him to continue with golf.

The YOT officer was pleased that he had taken up golf and saw it as a good opportunity:

> 'you know obviously ... golf is something that a kid living off benefits could never try, well you would imagine they would very rarely try, and now they go up to the golf driving range, so actually getting to the golf driving range, because there is not one ... where he lives, getting to one at Easttown or wherever there is a golf driving range is quite difficult anyway for these young kids, and they haven't got a lot of money to spend on things like that, so its something new for him and apparently he's taken to it quite well, he's quite into it.'

However, while Summit had enabled Gary to try something new, the YOT officer also realised it might be difficult to continue playing independently, and this was related to the longer term problem of how clients would be supported.

> 'Apart from the two that have gone into such as the (Splash) Forum and things like that, yes it's hard to see so far into the future of what's going to happen to them, because obviously, we have been talking about Gary doing golf and David doing mountain biking, they all cost money. The young people are still at school I mean Gary is very young in fact he is one of the youngest on it. So it is going to be a while before he starts work yet and will

> have any money to play golf or to buy golf equipment, so it could be some way down the road before you see any real benefit from what he has done.'

> 'We would be looking for Summit to perhaps sort something out at a local golf club or whatever for a juniors' team or something like that. It would really be them who would be looking at that, not us it's not something that we would have any inroads into.'

> 'So it's a twelve weeks thing, but you see what happens after the twelve weeks is quite important. But what happens after the twelve weeks really depends on the exit routes that they can set them up with from the Summit. So it's good that they can link into Splash, because of the other things that you can link into, and ideally through the sports development networks they can get into another activity, that's good, and then presumably you'd know about this through talking to the client and you can use it I suppose as part of your ordinary work with the clients, talking about what they do in the interview, what they are getting out of it, but you wouldn't have a capacity to lay on it yourself.'

This shows that the YOT officer ideally wants Summit to lead to long term independent sports participation (discussed in more detail in 5.4.6 and chapter 7), he realised that this would be difficult: the YOT do not have the capacity or expertise to help here, but Summit does. However, as the cases of Mark and Dennis show above, Summit does not have this capacity either. It also indicates that the YOT officer feels continued sports participation is good in itself as an objective of the programme, but Summit can also be used as a point of reference in 'ordinary' YOT work.

Gary was very enthusiastic about motor-biking. The questionnaire he completed at the second Summit session showed he had been motor biking in the previous 4 weeks; and at the interview he spent some time discussing the researcher's motorbike. The researcher discussed this enthusiasm with the sports leader, who examined whether it would be possible to incorporate formal motorbike training into Gary's programme, but he was too young. This illustrates George's willingness to adapt the programme as far as possible for the client's needs.

Gary felt that Summit had 'kept me out of trouble'. He was 'on his last warning' and thought that in general, if it got people involved in sport they would not get into trouble because they were doing sport most of the time. Gary's YOT officer supported this view and thought that Gary had got away from peers he had committed crimes with and was finding new friends in new sports.

> 'I think it is beneficial because obviously it's a way of meeting new friends. Perhaps the group of friends that they were with, it's like [another client] and Gary were friends who committed crime together, but they have got away from each other now and they are actually finding new friends in new sports, so that's the way that I look at it that if you can break that circle of friends that they have got, if they have got a bad circle of friends where they are committing crime and petty thieving and things, if you can break that circle then obviously you can stop them doing it.'

> '...its like saying prison doesn't work, but when they are in prison they are not committing crime are they? When you are playing sport you are not committing crime and obviously when Gary, David, John and Lee are out playing sport, or being involved in sport, then they are not actually out committing crime, and they are all with a different group of lads than what they usually hang around with, because obviously you have got Gary doing the golf, David doing the mountain bike course, they are not doing these round home, they are not out on the estate with the same group of friends doing it, they are doing it with different people, so it's a way of them actually meeting other people.'

Again this illustrates the YOT officer's rationale for Summit. He believed that Summit was a simple diversion from crime, and it also introduced clients to new peers, or diverted them from old ones. However, the diversion effect, both from crime and anti-social peers, seems limited as it was only in effect when Gary was attending the sessions.

5.2.7.1 Gary — conclusions

Gary's case, as others, shows how the sports leader has concentrated on one activity at the gold award level to aim towards independent participation. It shows how Summit has given the client an opportunity to do a sport he would otherwise not have been able to do, but in this case those barriers to participation will not be overcome at the end of the programme. It was difficult to see what viable exit routes there were for a 13/14 year old with little money. There was a considerable willingness to adapt the programme to Gary's needs, although it was not possible to offer Gary the activity he was most enthusiastic about. Summit may have temporarily diverted Gary from offending and from anti-social peers but this effect was limited to when he was attending, and again, would only continue if golf was a viable exit route. Gary's relationship with the sports leader was different to that with his YOT officer, but this does not imply he saw him as a mentor figure.

5.2.8 Case study of Mickey

Sources:

- Interview with Mickey, 31/10/01, after session at climbing wall: summary notes.
- Interview with George, 6/11/01: summary notes.
- Record of development and questionnaire at end of silver award.
- Action plan, 16/6/01 – 4/8/01.

Mickey was aged 14 at the time of interview, half way through his gold award. He had been involved in the same mass vandalism case as Darren, above. Although he had not done sport before he had been attending army cadets twice a week for one and a half years. This prevented him taking the same climbing course as Darren.

At the bronze and silver award levels he did sessions in mountain biking, pool, swimming (twice), orienteering, and badminton (twice). He missed two sessions as he forgot to come. He was half way through his gold award, which involved planning mountain bike trips: 'Mickey has to get involved in finding out about the routes and planning them. Its not been possible to ask him to meet at venues as they are all too far away' (sports leader). He had previous interest in mountain biking, but had no bike: 'The

interest was there, he had had bikes before but had managed to ruin them' (sports leader). The YOT officer had kept in touch with his parents and suggested they get him one for Christmas.

George reported it had been 'a bit of a struggle' finding something for him to do at the gold level. However, he was well motivated and often suggested ideas rather than waiting for the sports leader to do so. Once the interview had been conducted at the climbing wall he said he wished he had chosen this activity rather than mountain biking as his gold award, although he lacked confidence in it.

Mickey felt that the main benefit of the programme was, it 'keeps me out of trouble and I'm not on the streets'. George confirmed this was the main mechanism by which Mickey would stay out of trouble. As with Darren, the majority of the programme corresponded with the summer school holiday when boredom would have even more of a problem. Mickey seemed pleased he was on the gold award, but not that it was a major achievement.

George felt that Mickey had changed his attitude to offending. 'Its in his own mind that he does not want to get into trouble ... he has developed a stronger negative attitude on offending'.

George gave an example of where Mickey had found a mountain bike. He told George who advised him to inform the YOT officer. He was going to do this, but before he did, someone claimed it back anyway. George implied that in the past Mickey would just have kept the bike and not told him about it.

5.2.8.1 Mickey – conclusions

Mickey would not have done the Summit activities independently, and they did give him something to do, so to a point they might act as a diversion from offending for the limited time he was doing them. This was probably not as great as the time he was already spending with the army cadets. From the available evidence it is hard to see how Mickey developed as a result of being on the programme. George thought that his attitudes had become more pro-social — however, it is not clear where the gold award could lead him

in terms of independent participation. Even if he obtained a mountain bike, as a YOT officer observed, this type of activity is individual and casual, in contrast to being in a football team or attending a climbing club. In addition, he was having to be taken to the venues while on the programme. The nature of the offence he was involved in suggests he was not a high risk offender.

5.2.9 Case study of Fred

Sources:

- Interview with Fred; 1/3/02; summarised and main points.
- Interview with George: 17/4/02.
- Action plan 31/7/01 – 12/01, completion of gold award.
- Sports leader development score and questionnaire at second week and end of silver award.

Fred started Summit in July 2001. He took part in pool, canoeing, bowling, climbing and gym before settling on attending a gym to complete the silver award, and then another 12 gym sessions to complete at the gold level. The gym sessions were the ones he enjoyed the most and he expressed an interest in these in the second week of the programme (development score record). His attendance was good.

He said he had intended going to the gym with a friend before involvement with Summit, and thought he would have gone irrespective of Summit.

Researcher: Do you think it was the fact it was on the Summit that made you go to the gym, or would you have gone anyway?

Fred: Probably gone with my mate anyway.

George thought that he would probably have liked to have gone to the gym, but doubted if he would have by himself.

At the gold level he went sometimes with George and said he also went with a friend. George disagreed with this and reported that he 'never got round to' going with his friend, although Fred had said he had a friend who was interested.

George: 'I pinned him down to a day and time, so it was easy for him, it was me telling him what to do, with his friend, to be honest he would be a bit shy, it just never really worked out.' 'Did 8 sessions [at gold; the action plan records 13], plan was for 5 sessions just with him, then to go with friend and we would pay for it, till he got to gold, then he'd just continue with his friend hopefully, but he got to 6 or 7 and he had not arranged it with his friend, after a couple more I arranged a project he could do by himself or with this friend (for the gold)'.

Fred reported he had been to the gym a few times since finishing at the gold award, but that the cost, £8, was prohibitive. This was the only restricting factor.

Researcher: What would make it easier to go if you wanted to go more often?

Fred: Probably the price.

Price may be a factor, but it did not cost £8. George reported that the price for two people was £8. 'That (£8) was double price – I paid for him and me, so (he might have) got the impression it was £8, its about £3.50. quite expensive. When we set this up he were working so he would have the income.' Fred had since returned to being a student.

This suggests that Fred either had not used the gym independently since Summit as he would then have known the price, or that he was lying about the cost as he wanted to make an excuse for not attending more often. It seems more likely he had not been to the gym by himself.

When questioned about the possibility of introducing Fred to the Easttown concession scheme George said that this would only reduce the cost from £3.50 to 3.20 a session and the clients would have to apply for the scheme and get a passport photo:- 'It could be a

session we could build into Summit but if I gave them the leaflet I'd expect them to do it themselves.'

George did not have details of the concession scheme; and if Fred would be eligible for it now he was a student again:

Researcher:	So there might be a concession scheme applies to students?
George:	There might be.
Researcher:	Do you have details of these concession schemes?
George:	I think the Easttown passport is the one we encourage people to go for, again I'm not sure, maybe something I should be looking into a bit more, the eligibility I'm not sure about, but I know they have reduced the concessions and taken off the student concession, and then reintroduced it as a gimmicky thing to get students to use it.

The management of Easttown leisure facilities had recently moved to a trust, which had changed concession arrangements. So while George did not introduce the Summit clients to the passport scheme this was partly because he did not think it was a significant benefit, but also because he did not have details of it. He agreed that ' I think we need to look at it'. At interview Fred said he was not aware of any concession scheme at the gym, which was in Easttown sports centre; but on his second questionnaire he recorded that a passport would help as it would make it cheaper. Fred said he had some weights he used at home. It is not clear how much he used them.

The progression to the gold level just involved Fred getting to the sports centre himself. If it involved Fred paying for the session himself he either lied in the interview when he reported the price at £8, or his friend did actually attend without George knowing. Fred reported that at the gold level he was aware of setting different weight levels and exercises, so he had developed this knowledge of the activity. However, it was not clear if this was due to the work at the gym, as he also claimed to have his own set of weights at home. Between week two and the end of silver award the sports leader reported no

change in level of development although he did note at week two that Fred lacked confidence. George felt his self-esteem was very low; the first thing he reported about Fred was:

> 'I think he lacked a load of confidence when he first started, and he still lacks confidence now. During the programme he was coming out of his shell a little bit – then we went to the gym, and that was something he wanted to do, a way for him to build up his self confidence and feel better about himself. ...he developed a lot more confidence in talking to me, he became a lot more open...we had more than three word conversations'.

He also recorded this lack of confidence at the second session:

> 'Fred is very quiet and does not seem confident about talking openly. He rarely starts off conversations and will answer any questions with short responses. He does seem quite comfortable with me and with being on Summit though. I think his lack of confidence is down to self-esteem'.

Over the 4 weeks between completing the first and second questionnaires Fred's self esteem score rose from 20 to 25. However, at the end of the silver award George still recorded:

> 'Still finds it difficult to suggest ideas himself. He is still reliant on me asking him what he wants to try. He has chosen his sport though and wants to stick to it.'

Initially Fred was attracted by the range of activities which he felt looked interesting. He felt George was 'half way between the YOT officer and a mate', although he had not discussed anything with him apart from sport, so there is no evidence of a mentor relationship.

Researcher: Did you discuss anything else with George or was it just sports stuff?

Fred: Pretty much just sports.

He had had no contact with George since finishing Summit. He did not gain particular satisfaction from completing at gold:

Researcher: Did you feel it was important to complete it at the gold level or would you have been happy just to complete it at the silver level; did it make a lot of difference to you?

Fred: No, it did not make a lot of difference.

Although he had played football in a Sunday team up to two seasons ago his YOT officer had not known this so this was not a factor in recommending Summit to him. Fred reported that he had considered taking up football again but had not as he had a Saturday evening / night job which finished late.

Fred felt that attending Summit was a diversion from crime, even if it was only once or twice a week.

5.2.9.1 Fred — conclusions

It appears that Summit made a difference to Fred's sports participation while he was on the scheme. Although he said he had intended going to the gym independently with a friend it is unlikely that he would have done so. Although Fred said he had been to the gym independently since, this is not likely. Further participation appeared to be limited by cost. However, Fred was not informed about, or helped to gain, a concession card, although he had mentioned the need to do this at the end of the Silver award. Again this illustrates both where Summit could have taken one more step to promote further sports participation, but also the difficulty of determining when support should end and the client should take responsibility.

The range of activity made the programme attractive, although Fred said knew he wanted to use it to do the gym at the start, and this aspiration was recorded by George at the second week. The relationship with the sports leader was different to that with his YOT officer, but was not developed to a mentor role. Fred did not develop a new set of peers. The development from silver to gold was in terms of taking responsibility for attending.

The self-esteem scores showed a slight increase from the start to the end of the silver level, and this was noted by the sports leader:

> 'Whereas with Fred, I think its quite a big thing to start seeing a stranger...and get to know them on a one-to-one basis. And even that encouraged self-esteem to build a little bit, involved in physical activity and getting better at a certain sport, encourages self-esteem...'.

There is no evidence that sport was a diversion from crime for Fred, although he felt it would keep people out of trouble. As he was at college, the Summit period from July to November would have included a summer holiday, although he did not mention this specifically.

5.3 Two stage questionnaire of participants' changes in independent sports participation, self-esteem and Huskins's development score

As noted in 3.6.2, the responses to the two stage questionnaire (appendices A3 and A4) were not good, leading to only 18 paired answers. The questionnaires were completed by participants at the second session and at the end of the silver award. Thus, if the programme followed the usual format of one meeting per week, they would have an 8 week gap between them. They were returned to the researcher over a considerable period, right up to January 2003, and it appeared they were usually implemented by the main sports leader, George, with whom the researcher had had most contact. Results are in table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 *Changes in independent sports participation, self-esteem and Huskins's development score*

1. Client code	2. Sports participation	3. Self esteem change	4. Development	5. Development : Sports leader's comments	6. Client's reported problems / needs
C23	+2	+4	n/a	n/a	cost
4	n/a	+2	4 — 5	B	Info on cost and venues
7	0	- 4	2 — 3/5	B	info
10	+1	0	1 — 3	C	
12	0	- 4	2 — 4/5	A	Info
16	0	+ 5	1/2 – 1/2	A / B	Leisure passport
17	0	- 5	3 — 4	A / B	Info
26	0	- 3	2 — 4	B	
28	-3	- 2	2 — 3	B	
30	0	+ 4	2/3 — 5	B / A	Info
53	0	+ 4	2 — 5	B /A	
57	0	- 2	2 — 4	B / A	Info
61	-1	+ 8	1/2 — 5/6	B / A	Info
62	+3	+ 6	2 — 3	B	
83	n/a	- 7	2/3 — 4	B	
107	-1	0	2 — 4	B	info
109	0	+ 9	2/3 — 2	B / C	
110	0	+ 1	2 — 5	B	info

Change in sports participation (column 2) was measured in reported times the clients had taken part in sport over the last 4 weeks, for 20 minutes or more, sufficient to get out of breath, and independent of Summit. A positive change might show that Summit had led to increased independent sports participation, with attendant benefits (1.6). There is no evidence of this effect. The case studies of clients above, (5.2) most of whom had completed at the gold level, showed that one would expect the impact on sports participation to be small.

Column 3 shows net changes in the Rosenberg self-esteem score (3.6.2). Nine clients appeared to gain in self-esteem, seven declined, and two remained the same. Given the limitations of this small sample, there is no evidence of an overall change. Considering the problems of defining self-esteem (Emler, 2001), it is possible that even if there was an increase it might have just represented the respondent feeling more confident in the presence of the sports leader. As Emler (2001) points out, and the case of Adam (4.2) shows, high self-esteem may not necessarily be associated with reduced offending.

The sports leader's perception of the stage of development of the client in terms of the Huskins's dependence – independence scale, which is a measure used in his curriculum development model, is shown in column 4. This scale, from one to seven, has been developed for evaluation of youth work (3.6.3). In 15 cases it records an increase in independence: in none is there a reduction. The care with which the sports leaders were using this scale is reflected in the attempts they made to make fine distinctions between stages and is supported by the analysis of the sports leaders' comments, indicated in column 5. These were categorised as: A, primarily concerned with sports development; B, primarily concerned with personal development; and C, reporting an aspect of the client's lifestyle which was related to offending. However, it was not always easy to distinguish these categories, as illustrated by the following examples:

> Client 26. '...is at a stage where he is keen to set aside time for sport. He was also keen to have a structured project with which to complete a gold project. He has identified his own needs to get fitter and stronger and this has now been evident in his aims for the gold project. He needs to complete his gold project overall. More specifically he needs to be able to motivate himself to take part in sport without encouragement from his counsellor. His programme for gold reflects this. He will attend the gym with a counsellor for the first 5 sessions...the following five will be alone or with a friend.'

This shows a goal of independent sports participation, but to achieve this the client needed to develop his own motivation and take responsibility to attend the sessions independently.

> Client 53. '...is quite able to trail around Easttown and into the town centre. His wish is to complete a climbing course with another Summit client. They are both at a stage where I feel confident they will be able to see through the course and continue participating independently. I think it is a case of ensuring they are clear about the climbing course and that ...maintains a level of maturity. I will sit down with him to explain this and I feel that if he can understand this it will be a positive opportunity for him...'

Again this shows a concern with personal development as well as development of independent sports participation. The two overlap.

While the results appear to give evidence of personal development through sport they might also indicate the influence of the researcher on the work of the sports leaders. Through introducing the concepts of the personal development model, and through discussing how personal development was reflected in the progression from the bronze to gold awards in the succession of meetings with the sports leaders (table 3.6.4) the researcher might have altered the sports leader's understanding of his work. In the same way as Pawson and Tilley describe a 'realist' interview as developing new understandings, both for researcher and interviewee (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 165), the involvement of the researcher in data collection, sharing the rationale for that with the sports leaders, and gaining their commitment to it, will alter the way the sports leaders understand their work with clients.

Column 6 shows clients' reported needs and barriers to participation on their second questionnaire. It is interesting that the most frequent need is for more information on sports venues and opportunities to participate, indicating that Summit has developed this interest.

5.4 Summit – analysis at the level of the programme

Analysis at this level triangulates all the data sources on Summit (3.6).

5.4.1 Crime reduction through diversion

One hypothesis of this research was that the mechanism by which the programmes would reduce offending would be through long term pro-social personal development, and sport would be a catalyst to this (1.10.1). However, the case studies in Sportaction drew attention to the more simple mechanism of diversion, and this was again apparent in Summit. It was especially strongly supported by the interviews with YOT officers. As noted in 1.10.1, 'although the hypotheses above represent the theoretical starting point, the research is exploring the mechanisms of the programmes so it is open to alternative understandings of the relation to reduced offending and the role of sport.'

In the short run there is limited evidence of a diversion from offending. Colin, Paul and Gary all thought the programme would keep them 'out of trouble'. For Billy it gave him something to look forward to and his mother felt it was a diversion.

However Darren would have been involved in sport anyway and the amount of time clients are actually involved in the programme is minor. Summit might provide something to look forward to, and (as for Darren and Billy) a structure, but that is only for 20 weeks as a maximum period.

Summit's greatest impact with respect to a diversion mechanism would be through a long term influence on sports participation but there was only evidence that 3 of the 9 case study participants were progressing to independent sports participation and one of these would have done so anyway. Records for Summit showed that of the 82 clients who started the programme up to April 2002, only 14 completed at the gold level, so only about 12% of those starting the programme could be expected to gain the maximum benefit from participation.

All three YOT officers supported the simple diversion mechanism. A YOT officer reported:

> 'I'm in favour of Summit because while they are on Summit generally they don't get involved with crime. While they are actually working on the Project itself to me they don't appear to get locked up again.'

All three YOT officers interviewed agreed that long term involvement in sport was the ideal outcome:

> 'It's twelve weeks or twelve sessions and the thing about it is, or the way I view it is, it's there, it's a building block, it's a stepping stone for if they are keen enough and want to move on themselves then there are other avenues'.

However, they also conceded that this might not be achieved:

> 'I think that's probably the weakness of any sports project, or any project, is that when you come to an end, ... there are loads of expectations, loads of things been happening, then suddenly then we say, right, for whatever reason we have come to an end, ... what are we going to do now?'

The sports leader estimated that 50–60% of clients went on to independent sports participation, but this was just based on what clients said when they had finished, not any follow-up contact.

Thus, evidence for crime reduction through diversion is limited. The YOT officers have faith in this mechanism, to be achieved mainly through further sports participation, but there is little concrete evidence. As discussed below, the potential of this mechanism in the long run is limited by the degree to which the programme can meet sports development objectives and overcome barriers to participation.

5.4.2 Crime reduction through pro-social development directed by values

As noted in 4.4.2, the main hypothesis of the research was that long term pro-social development would be the mechanism by which offending was reduced. This would involve a growth in self-esteem, locus of control, cognitive skills, and the establishment

of a personal value system which makes the individual less disposed towards crime. These will contribute to personal growth such that the individual will be able to take a more proactive role in their own further development (1.10.1).

Table 5.3 gives no support to a positive impact on self-esteem from the limited number of two stage questionnaires. Where case study participants suggest evidence of a change in self-esteem it is not clear the extent to which this is specific to confidence to participate in the particular activity (such as Dennis in climbing, Paul booking the badminton sessions) or generalised to other situations. Similarly, it is not possible to pick out changes in locus of control or individual cognitive skills. There is not clear evidence that as a result of Summit clients took a more proactive role in their own further development such that they did something they would not have done before. This may be because it has not been possible to conduct the case studies in such detail as to be able to show that; or the programme is less intense than Sportaction so it would inevitably be more difficult to show a causal relationship in any one case. This is a contrast to the earlier analysis of Sportaction (4.4.2). However, it is just as likely that there is just not such a relationship. Clients such as Darren and Paul took the initiative to join a new football team and enrol on a Chamber of Commerce course prior to their involvement in Summit, so there was no evidence Summit had developed their capacity to do this.

There is also not clear evidence of a change in personal value systems which makes the individual less disposed towards crime. The only case where there was an indication of this was Mickey. However, unlike Adam and Marvin on Sportaction, Summit clients were low risk, so a large change in personal value systems is not required to reduce offending. Such a change is more likely to be associated with a more intensive programme, such as the ones which contributed to the development of the hypotheses in 1.10.1; and in which, as Catalano and Hawkins (1996) suggest, the individual may come to identify with the values of the programme, organisation, or as likely, the leaders.

Thus having initially considered the evidence for the intermediate effects of the programme (box 4 in figure 2.2.3) the research now has to focus more on the process and content (box 3).

5.4.3 How important were the success factors and were they present?

The initial attractiveness of the activities had helped motivate clients. At the start of Summit they were presented with a very long list of activities they could try. All felt they had ample choice and this was confirmed by their parents. The case studies above confirm the importance of attractive activities; for example, Colin was attracted by scuba-diving. The case studies also show how the range of activities could be used as far as possible to match the programme to clients' interests and lead them into ones where independent participation was practical. This was a conscious strategy of the sports leader and was done sensitively. It was illustrated in several cases where participants were encouraged to try a range of activities at the bronze and silver level before concentrating on one for the gold award.

However a progressive juxtaposition of challenging experiences with participants' needs and capabilities was both very limited, and restricted to that directly related to the goal of independent sports participation. Typically this might involve the participant making their own way to the venue, attending a course or booking themselves into a session. Sport is not being used as the medium for a more general process of personal development; it is the purpose of development. On the other hand, the care with which the sports leaders reported the Huskins development score for clients (5.3) and the comments made to justify these, showed an awareness of the relation between further sports participation and personal development.

Although the bronze, silver and gold stages in Summit had been designed to maximise boosts to self-esteem from their achievement, the case study participants did not show this had happened. Darren had some satisfaction from completing the climbing course. The mother of Dennis, who had also completed the climbing course, reported that, 'it built up his confidence and self esteem when he realised he could do it'. However, at the end of the gold award this client reported that, rather than a sense of achievement, 'it was a bit sad really, 'cos it's the end really, its over and done with'. Thus the gold award itself did not provide a great sense of achievement; a greater sense was from achievement in the sport. This impression was supported by the sports leader (17/4/02):

> '...some people do see it as a big thing, some (clients) recently have said their mum is going to frame the certificate and put it on the wall. (However), you get certificates for everything now, if they attend school they get certificates for various things, and all the exams and that sort of thing, ... so they don't see it as a (major achievement) in comparison. Maybe we need to change the gold award to something a bit different.'

As discussed above, the ability to offer long term exit routes and support clients after the programme is limited. This was partly because the sports leader realised that he had to allocate his time carefully to meet the requirements of the YOT contract. There was no additional time to give to clients after the programme, although in Colin's case above, the sports leader clearly felt he would benefit from a second programme. There is again little evidence of the programme offering a new set of pro-social peers. Colin's YOT officer suggested this was the case, and there was similar evidence for Mark and Gary, but an initial concern of parents was that Summit would involve their child mixing with offenders. For example, Dennis's parent reported that she was 'not keen on him mixing with the bad boys', and parents needed reassurance over this point. The extent to which the programme will change a peer group is limited to its ability to offer a long term significant interest. In the cases above it was merely a removal from old peers while attending the programme. Even if a new independent sports interest leads to new peers one then has to assume that the new peer group is 'better' than the old, and there was no evidence of this.

The general relationship between the nine clients interviewed and sports leaders was good, as one would expect from those who had maintained voluntary contact with the programme for its duration. The cases reported above, and others, also show the excellent relationship with clients' parents and the importance of this in gaining their confidence in the programme. However, to what extent did it extend beyond this to a mentor and role model relationship? The sports leader, and the YOT officers, felt that the provision of a positive role model was an important benefit. The sports leader reported:

> 'It gives clients 'a chance to air their views with people other than those at home. I don't think they see me as part of the system, as I'm not part of the YOT or a teacher or anything, but they do see me as someone, they would not

want to think I think bad of them. They will tell me things they have done, but they have a sort of reliance on me, so I don't think bad of them. Initially they all see you as someone who is from an organisation who is come to sort you out and whatever. Once they get past bronze (they) definitely see you not necessarily as someone to look up to, but someone they can talk to more openly, perhaps they can not talk to their parents, maybe it's the parent causing the problems.'

YOT officers confirmed that a strength of Summit was 'building that other relationship that they might not have at home' and they all felt the Summit staff were very good at engaging young people.

The importance of the relationship with the sports leader as a mentor and role model will vary between clients. For Paul it was probably more important because of his family circumstances, and Colin clearly felt it was an alternative to the strained relationship he had with his parents. The ability to go beyond this was limited by the length of the programme and the skills of the sports leaders, who realised they were not experts in dealing with offending, discussed further in 5.4.6.

5.4.4 The role of sport

The use of a wide variety of sports enabled activities to be offered which were attractive to participants to gain their involvement. The potential range has also helped the selection of practical exit routes; although the inability to offer motor biking to Colin or Gary illustrates the limitations of this. Further limitations are cost and geographical isolation. Shared sports participation did help to build a mentor relationship. Sports leaders were aware of this and how it helped break down barriers between them and clients.

Early in the research (15/11/00) Charlie and Alan described this process. They both felt that once a client has established a good relationship with them as a mentor / friend, and has become committed to the project, attendance is much more reliable. They reported that things that help this process include: they are younger than other authority figures

such as YOT officers; they dress informally; they share their own experiences with clients to make them see they are human; and they are 'prepared to take the piss out of themselves' so 'they get to see you as normal'. In sports activities Charlie and Alan had 'to make an effort not to beat clients but, without it being obvious, let them win so it builds up their confidence, and does not put them down'. Charlie gave examples of trying really hard to lose at badminton or even pool. 'Sometimes they can't pot it even when it is right over the pocket.' In this respect Charlie thought canoeing was good for her, as she did not want to do it, so the clients saw she was afraid of it. At the end of this interview Charlie and Alan commented that 'many clients end up wanting to do their job', suggesting that a mentor relationship had led to identification with the sports leader.

However, Charlie and Alan were only sports leaders at the initial part of the study, and dealt with Colin and Mark. When George took over in April 2001, with pressure to meet YOT targets of throughput, he adopted a policy of more limited client contact, restricting them to just what was in the contract with the YOT. This would have limited his ability to make a mentor relationship.

Potentially sport might have led to a wide range of exit routes, such as sports coaching, which might have been the medium for personal skills development and personal resource building, as in Sportaction. But it did not. By April 2002 only two clients had started on CSLA awards. The sports leader noted (17/4/02) that only two had been suitable, however, the two much higher risk clients in Sportaction had taken these awards. The sports leader also acknowledged that the links to other sports development work had not been developed. There is also no evidence that participation in Summit led to greater personal fitness through increased participation (Table 5.3).

5.4.5 Implications of working with clients at this point of the Brantingham and Faust modified continuum

Summit provides a contrast with Sportaction in that it was working with lower risk clients on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum (1.4). As in Sportaction this had implications for the mechanism by which it might reduce offending, the main focus of the hypotheses in this thesis. However, the mechanisms of crime reduction are related

to the different designs of the programmes, which also reflected the type of clients on them.

The clients were easier to motivate to attend Summit (compare take up rates, Tables 4.1 and 5.1). This is partly due to the better referral process for Summit, but the referral process from the YIP to Sportaction was limited by YIP's lack of knowledge of the clients, some of whom it had been unable to meet; a reflection of their high risk.

As the work with Summit clients was less intense and over a shorter period there is less chance that it could provide a direct diversion from offending, although the clients would not have been offending so much anyway. There is less ability to build up a strong mentor relationship with the sports leader and to use the characteristics of the programme to contribute to pro-social personal development. There is less ability to guide the clients through a progression of experiences in which they can develop and exercise increased responsibility. Overall it becomes harder to distinguish the programme from one with sports development objectives, discussed below. The Summit clients have fewer personal difficulties associated with offending, so it will not be as necessary for the sports leader to attempt to address them. Thus the sports leader will have less need of specialist skills to deal with the causes of offending. On the other hand, the sports leader will have less chance to find out what these causes are.

5.4.6 A broader perspective on Summit

The quote below shows not only the sports leader's explicit acknowledgement of his limited ability to address the causes of offending, but also a recognition of the strengths and limitations of the programme in this respect (17/4/02):

> 'I think if you start looking at trying to reduce crime as being the main aim you will fall down with Summit, ...it is difficult to address all the issues there are for a young person starting to offend... boredom, parenting, peer groups, funding drug habits; it's difficult to have an action plan which will work towards stopping you going out with your friends you have been involved in, being nice to your parents all the time, and making sure you are doing

something all the time. So, ...to try and organise an action plan to stop offending, you would struggle. Yeah, it's easier to go through the sport avenue, but it is more effective, because you are offering alternatives, and they are deciding, "I want to do this instead of being involved in crime". And again, if you address it through crime, you are saying, you can't do crime, and you are making the decision for them, whereas you are offering an alternative and they are making the decision. They can go through the sport line, they may continue offending while they are doing the sport, but if you offer that sport, and it is positive, and they can get involved in something on a regular basis, its something they can decide to do rather than being involved in crime.'

For the sports leader, the relation between sport and crime was:

> 'a bit iffy...of course its all speculation, but I think it's the alternative route that the young person can sort of travel down that addresses ... crime reduction'.

So for the sports leader the major objective was sports development. He realised that if he was to work systematically on crime reduction the programme would be much more complex and beyond his capacity to deliver. But he believed that the link to crime reduction was that long term sports participation offered an alternative.

The YOT officers had a similar belief, as illustrated by the quotes above in the cases of Colin and Gary, and illustrated in the quotes above in 5.4.1.

Thus Summit is run by sports development staff, with sports development skills rather than those of crime prevention. And while the YOT officers have crime reduction objectives, they think these can be achieved mainly through sports development. So, at this position on the Brantingham and Faust continuum there is less direct emphasis on crime reduction and greater willingness to use a programme with objectives which are considered to be compatible.

Another implication for the research (discussed further in chapter 8) is that the lower the risk level of the clients, and the less intense and specialised the programme, the more difficult it is to establish a clear causal relationship between the programme and crime reduction. In Sportaction, because of the intensive work with individual clients, case study material was more easily able to disentangle the process of generative causality. It was possible to show the extent to which a change could be attributed to the experience of Sportaction and the extent to which an outcome might have been the consequence of attributes the client brought to the programme. This is always a difficulty in attributing an effect to a programme where participation is voluntary. It was possible to show the 'generative mechanism' that the programme released, 'by way of providing reasons and resources to change behaviour' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: p. 79) (4.4.2). In Summit the less intensive work with clients meant that less detailed understandings could be developed of individual cases.

This is a paradox for the research because it could be argued that rather than the mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social personal development not existing in Summit, one just cannot produce evidence for it because of the very nature of the programme. Thus, even though the research strategy has been to focus on clients where one might be most likely to find evidence of this mechanism, not finding it does not mean it does not exist.

As noted above, if the emphasis of the research is on how and why the programme has an impact on crime reduction it still has to shift focus from examining intermediate effects which previous theory has linked to this outcome (through the mechanism of pro-social personal development, box 4, in figure 2.2.3), and has to focus more on the process and content, box 3. In either case, the research design had been developed from theory (1.9) and, similarly to deciding when to reject a CMO configuration as valid (2.4) one has to decide at what point one can reject, or modify the theory that a particular process and content, leads to intermediate outcomes, which in turn lead to crime reduction (figure 2.2.3). These points are discussed further in chapter 8.

A policy implication of the prominent sports development objectives is that it would have been reasonable to support some selective follow-up work with clients from the sports development budget of the local authority, to build on that justified by crime reduction funding from the YOT.

Chapter 6 Results: Splash

The results for the Splash programme are reported in a structure corresponding to the methods used (3.7). Results from the questionnaire surveys are considered first, and then those from the interviews: the two main methods used in this case. Each method is related to the hypotheses (1.10). The results are then triangulated. Because the interviews with project managers and leaders were conducted over a period of more than 3 years (3.7.5) they have not been reported separately but have been used to complement and interpret the other data sources where appropriate.

6.1 Questionnaires with parents and participants

These were used in 2000 and 2001. The questionnaires and summary results are in Appendices A9–12. The methods, and limitations of these, are described in chapter 3 (3.7.2.1, 3.7.2.2, 3.7.3.1 and 3.7.3.2.).

6.1.1 Attractiveness of the activity (1.10.1, h3)

The programme was attractive enough for young people to participate voluntarily, to want to attend again, and to want more of it. The 2000 and 2001 surveys of parents (A9, A10) showed that in 85% and 74% of cases respectively it was the child who had made the decision to attend. In 2001, 91% of children intended to come again the following year (A12). When asked the three best things about Splash (A12, question 6; table 6.1.1.1) the most popular response from children was that it was fun; second, to meet new friends / new people; third, playing the games / activities; fourth, meet my friends; and fifth, off site trips or a specific trip.

Table 6.1.1.1 Participants' best things about Splash

Best thing about Splash	Total
Its fun	145
Meet new friends / new people	126
Playing the games / activities	89
I am not bored or Something to do in the holidays	79
Meet my friends	55
The off site trips / a specific trip	48
The Splash staff	38
Range of activity	30
Keep me out of trouble, or keep me off the streets	15

Source: Participant questionnaire, 2001. Unprompted. First three responses from any one respondent (not all made three responses). 280 participants responded.

Parents supported this view of the benefits of Splash, as shown in the unprompted responses in table 6.1.1.2 below.

Table 6.1.1.2 Parents' view of the main benefits from Splash

Main benefit	Total
They enjoyed it	23
To mix with other children / make new friends	13
Learning new sports / trying new activities	10
Not bored / something to do in the holidays / kept busy	9
Gives parents free time / allows parents to work or do other things	7
Getting them out of the house	6
Because it is a safe environment	6

Source: Parent questionnaire, 2001. Unprompted. First two responses from any one respondent (not all respondents gave more than one answer). 70 respondents.

The attractiveness of the activity is also confirmed by parents' most important reasons for their child attending, table 6.1.1.3; where enjoyment is the second most important reason.

Table 6.1.1.3 Parents' two most important reasons for their child attending Splash.

Most important reason	2000, %	2001, %
To relieve boredom / something to do in the holidays	53	56
Because they enjoy it	24	40
To gain benefits of mixing with other children	13	15
To keep out of trouble	11	12
To learn sporting skills	5	31
To keep them off the streets	5	14
Because it is a safe environment	3	21
To learn skills of playing with other children		8
Other. Please specify...		2

Sources: Parents' survey, 2000 and 2001. (2000 open question; 2001 closed / prompted)

Parents' major suggestion for improvement was extending the period Splash was run over the summer, or the length of individual sessions. Thus Splash is attractive to young people, they participate voluntarily, and their parents want more of it. Parents have confidence in the way Splash is run. There were very few negative comments and the vast majority were complimentary of the service (of course, this could be biased by those who responded). Responses from the open ended question on the reasons parents thought it was a good idea for their child to attend Splash (A9, question 5,) included:

> 'To take part in organised activities with responsible team leaders in a safe environment near to home, ...Thanks a lot.'

> '...opportunities to enjoy themselves, occupy them for some of the holidays, explore a variety of sporting activity with peers, anything to do with sport, M couldn't wait to attend each day, C gained confidence.'

> 'There's not even a good park for the children around Windybank estate, so it would be good for it to be 2 or 3 weeks, it keeps them off the streets.'

> 'I think Splash should expand instead of being in one area for a while then moving on – if there were more volunteers then maybe we could have a Splash in every area all the holidays, thank you Splash.'

Thus the programme is popular with both children and parents, and has parents' respect, although it could be argued that these survey results reflect those who have decided to attend anyway.

6.1.2 Ability to adapt the programme to individual participants' needs (1.10.1, h4)

The one week summer sessions offered a wide variety of activities: over 20 different games on the sites, complemented with up to 12 activities participants could be transported to at other venues. While some 'off site' activities were more popular than others, in general the children's nominations of best and least liked activities were well distributed, indicating that a wide variety was required and provided to meet all needs. This variety would be important in retaining the commitment of as wide a range of children as possible and attracting them initially. However, it does not in itself show that the programme was adapted to allow a progressive development of responsibility, as described in 1.9. So it does not support the mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social development, hypothesis 1 (1.10).

6.1.3 Rewards of achievement, increased self-esteem (1.10.1, h5)

In the 2000 survey of parents, 96% responded to a prompted question that their child was proud of what he/she had achieved at Splash and 84% that their child grew in confidence through Splash (A9, question 7). However, in response to an open question, gaining self-esteem was not one of the reasons why parents thought it was a good idea for their children to attend or cited as one of the main benefits (table 6.1.1.3, A9, A10 and table 6.1.1.2 above).

Self-esteem / confidence was mentioned as a benefit for a few individuals, as illustrated by the quote below:

> 'D needs to build confidence in sport and to be shown the various sports, as his school does not, and when they leave for high school I don't want D to be picked on as he is still developing.'

So overall, increased self-esteem from a sense of achievement was not a major benefit from Splash, although it may be significant for some. It may be an outcome from long term involvement in the fora or in volunteering.

6.1.4 Sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participant's needs and development (1.10.1, h6)

This is only relevant if participants had a sustained involvement in Splash, during which a sports leader could guide their development (1.9). However Splash did not keep accurate records of participation, either in the Splash sessions or the forums.

To obtain information on participation a question was used in the participant questionnaires. In 2001, 53% of young people said they had attended Splash sessions in the previous year. This figure was 70% in the 2000 survey; the difference in figures possibly being attributable to the ambiguity over what constitutes a Splash session and the slightly changed wording in 2001 to make it more precise. In 2001 the question was focused on the previous summer sessions, not any others during the year. Results may be biased if those who have attended most were more likely to return the questionnaire. This still does not give accurate enough information to show for how many young people the mechanism of pro-social development was possible. However, the main research question is if this mechanism was relevant to some young people, did Splash have the potential to deliver it? This hypothesis, in relation to this mechanism, was not revealed by the questionnaires.

6.1.5 The role of the sports leaders as mentors (1.10.1, h7)

The instigator and overall manager of Splash put a very strong emphasis on staff selection and training as he felt they had an influence as role models (interview with programme manager, Dick, 6/10/99). He thought this was especially important for the full-time workers, and casual staff employed throughout the year, as a young person might come in contact with them over the whole year. For this reason it was preferable to employ casual staff who lived locally and who had previous experience of Splash because they had, 'an understanding of the ethos'.

'... the kids on Splash see you at the site, they build a relationship with you, but you also start to understand why you are going there' (Dick, 6/10/99 manager).

The project manager strongly supported the idea that sports leaders were role models:

'I think they (participants) see them as a role model, the role model thing is quite powerful and I think we underestimate how powerful that is in making people either do something or not do something. We've got a volunteer working for us now on Splash, in his local area, that was excluded from school from 13 and hasn't been back to school since. He's working with us as a volunteer and he has a lot more influence in that area and in getting kids there than we could ever do. And I don't think there's any doubt how powerful that is. Fifty percent of our employees on Splash last year started off as participants. Some of them were only eight or nine eleven years ago, but now they're working on the scheme as leaders and as casual employees. We also get the exact same amount of people volunteering on Splash, properly volunteering and going through the process, as we do paid employees, and we employ 25' (Dick, 6/10/99)

While 97% of parents in 2000 (A9, question 7) agreed with a statement that 'the Splash leaders were people their child could talk to with confidence' and 63% of participants strongly agreed with the statement that, 'I felt I could talk to the sports leaders like a friend' (A11, question 7c), this was not a benefit of participation that came out of parents' unprompted responses to open questions.

In 2001, children were asked an open question about the three best things about Splash. Seven percent cited the staff as one of the best things, which was the 6th most significant response, however this might imply just a respect for the enthusiasm and personal qualities of the staff, rather than necessarily a strong mentoring relationship. One would expect this to be a more significant benefit for the regular attendees at the fora and activities over the rest of the year (see 6.2.5). The positive views of staff indicate the potential for such a mentoring relationship even if it is not actually developed.

6.1.6 The ability to offer long term exit routes (1.10.1, h8)

In 2000 91% of parents agreed that 'Splash could lead to other opportunities for my child to take part in sport'; (A9, question 7g) 41% strongly supporting this view. In 2001, 66% of parents thought that 'to learn sporting skills' was a main reason for their child attending (A10, question 6), and for 31% this was one of the two most important reasons (table 6.1.3). In the same survey parents reported that 'learning new sports / trying new activities' was one of the main benefits of their child attending Splash (A10, question 8). Thus these parents were keen for their children to develop sporting skills and felt Splash could lead to further participation.

In response to prompted statements in the 2000 questionnaire (A11, questions 7a and 7f) 85% of participants said 'Splash made me more interested in doing sport' and 85% that it could lead to other opportunities for me to take part in sport.

These responses appear to support the hypothesis that Splash could lead to exit routes, in the form of further sports participation. This was one aim of the project manager, who reported that, '...our key role out there with young people is to find out what they want to do, give them some opportunities and see how we can sustain that activity' (Dick, 6/10/99). He reported the two key objectives of the programme as, 'to break down those barriers of why people don't take part through social exclusion' and 'crime reduction is still there as a secondary one'.

However, the results above only go as far as reporting aspirations, not whether participants did actually go on to further sports participation as a result of involvement in Splash. This would be difficult to show, but the case studies of Summit clients who one would also have expected to have had access to sports development opportunities showed very limited success in achieving this objective, even in this more intensive programme (5.4.1).

6.1.7 Sharing activity with pro-social peers (1.10.1, h9)

In response to an open ended question in 2000 and a closed one in 2001, 13% and 15% of parents respectively reported a reason for attending Splash was to mix with other

children (table 6.1.1.2 above). For 45% of children in 2001 one of the best things about Splash was meeting new friends (A12, question 6, table 6.1.1.1).
Parents' open responses included:

> 'They have enjoyed having children their own age to play with in a safe environment. They have also enjoyed being introduced to new sporting activities'
>
> 'Enjoyed it and met new friends – as a parent I knew where my child was and it got her out of the house.'
>
> 'He has enjoyed it and I know he is safe and not been led into trouble.'

68% of parents strongly agreed with the statement that, 'my child feels safe at Splash' (A9, question 7l). However, it appears that by 'safe' parents mean safe from 'trouble' as much as they mean physically safe. It does not necessarily imply that the new peers at Splash are any more pro-social than others, although in response to open ended questions asking about possible improvement only a few respondents from one site in 2001 suggested removing disruptive children. It is more likely that what is important for parents is the supervision of the Splash staff to ensure a 'trouble free' environment.

6.1.8 Promotion of pro-social values (1.10.1, h10)

In 2000, 95% of parents agreed with the statements that, 'there are clear rules if a child misbehaves at Splash'; 67% strongly agreeing with this (A9, question 7l). There was similar agreement with the statement 'the Splash leaders are prepared to tell children when they are doing the wrong thing' (A9, question 7j).
Participants agreed to the same extent with the same statements (A11, questions 7i, 7j).

6.1.9 Splash as a diversion from crime

Although Splash was selected as a case study because it was thought characteristics of the programme were more likely to facilitate a crime reduction mechanism of pro-social development (1.10, hypothesis 1) as the research progressed, and as noted above, it became apparent that the simple mechanism of diversion was just as significant.

Table 6.1.7 shows that 'to keep out of trouble' and 'to keep them off the streets' were two of the important reasons for parents wanting their child to attend Splash. It is interesting that almost the same percentage reported 'to keep out of trouble' in the open and prompted versions of the questions, confirming a valid response. The most important reason in both years was 'to relieve boredom / something to do in the holidays.' In 2001, 28% of children responding to an open question (A12, question 6) asking the three best things about coming to Splash said, 'I am not bored / it is something to do in the holidays.' This was the fourth most significant response. Five percent said it was good because it kept me out of trouble / off the streets.

Qualitative responses from parents included:

> 'So not on streets annoying neighbours, plus interacting with other children.'

> 'The main reason was that rather than my child running about being bored he was able to take part in some sort of sport activity which kept him out of trouble.'

> 'I thought it would be good for him to be able to mix together and at the same time be safe – not having to worry about where he was.'

In 2001 parents were asked directly if they felt Splash 'has no impact' on crime in the local area, 'reduces crime while Splash is on', or 'reduces crime in the long term'. Twenty two percent thought it had no impact (A10, question 9, table 6.1.9) but the 61% of parents who said it reduced crime while Splash is on support the diversion mechanism.

Table 6.1.9 *Parents' views of the impact of Splash on crime*

	%
It has no impact	*22*
It reduces crime while Splash is on	*61*
It reduces crime in the long term	*19*

Source: Parent's questionnaire, 2001

When asked why Splash had an effect on crime 39 parents made a response that represented this mechanism. For example:

> 'It reduces crime because they are at Splash when they could be smashing windows'

> '...the children have other things on their mind rather than looking for trouble'.

For 21% of parents Splash being a safe environment was one of its most important benefits and, as noted above, the responses suggest that they mean safe from getting into trouble. However, both parents and participants recognised the diversion impact was limited. A parent:

> 'When Splash ends most kids will get bored again and go back on the streets for something to do, therefore most will end up in trouble before school starts up again'. 'One week of the kids hols is not really enough to make a real impact.'

This diversion effect is only relevant if the children at Splash are the ones who would otherwise be involved in crime; four parents specifically said that this was not the case. It might be possible to match records of Splash participation with those of young people known to the local Youth Offending teams. This would show if Splash was working with known offenders. But Splash might prevent young people becoming involved in offending at all. A parent reported:

> '...young children are tomorrow's criminals if they are left to their own devices and they get caught up in the wrong crowd of older children. Best to get them while they are young!'

Twenty eight percent of Splash participants felt that one of the best things about Splash was that it prevented them being bored or was something to do (2001 questionnaire, question 6; table 6.1.1.1); and this was the most important reason parents gave (56%) for their child attending Splash (2001 questionnaire, question 7; table 6.1.3). This supports the mechanism of crime reduction through a diversion from boredom.

6.1.10 Splash as contributing to long term personal development (1.10.1, h1, h2)

For Splash to have had a long term impact there would have had to have been long term contact, such that it was possible for participants to identify with pro-social values of Splash and be led through a process of pro-social personal development (1.9). The discussion in 6.1.4 shows both the limitations of the questionnaires in discovering if Splash had the capacity to provide long term contact and if this could lead to pro-social development. However, some support for this mechanism of crime reduction is provided by the 19% of parents who thought Splash 'reduces crime in the long run' (table 6.1.9, A10, question 9).

6.2 Interviews with participants

As noted in 3.7.4, one pilot focus group interview with 5 participants, and six individual interviews with participants were conducted in 2001: 62 individual interviews were conducted in 2002. In addition, one volunteer, John, was interviewed in 15/8/02 and sports leaders described long-term work with two clients at an interview in 13/10/00 (3.6.4). Information on one of these clients, Jane, was supported by school projects completed by the client in 1997 and 1998, and the other was a member of the pilot focus group in 2001. These different sources of information provided some triangulation on these individual cases. This section uses all these sources which were analysed by content relevant to hypotheses (1.10). The limitations of these methods are also noted in 3.7.4; in particular, the extent to which these interviewees were representative of participants and the limited ability to explore issues in depth. The selection of participants who have had greatest contact with the programme is consistent with the research strategy of selecting critical cases. The inability to conduct longer interviews with participants is an inherent problem of the research situation. However, as some of the quotations below illustrate, and recording of interviews in appendix B, even limited interviews were able to elicit frank comments about participation in crime and thus contribute to understanding the mechanism by which the programme influenced it.

Recording of the interviews is illustrated in the Appendices, as listed below. For the 2002 interviews these show how the pre-interview questionnaires completed by interviewees were incorporated into individual cases and how observations of the sites were recorded.

As noted in 3.7.2.2 an attempt to elicit questionnaires from interviewees' parents in 2002 was not successful. Only one is used as supporting evidence in 6.2.1.

Appendices relevant to 6.2

B4. Recording of Splash participant interviews at Site 7. 16/8/02

B5. Recording of Splash interviews at Mirfield. 21/8/02

B6. Recording of Splash interviews at the residential, 28–30/8. Example interviews.

B7. Examples of recording from pilot interviews conducted in 2001.

B8. Recording of interview with Splash volunteer, John, 15/8/02.

B9. Two Splash participants described by sports leaders Charlie and Alan 13/10/00.

6.2.1 Attractiveness of the activity (1.10.1, h3)

In 2002, when the bulk of participant interviews were conducted, a larger number of 'off site' trips were offered for the older participants. This was made possible by additional funding from Youth Justice. These trips included; climbing, canoeing, go karting, mini motor bikes, and a DJ workshop. Younger participants, aged 8 – 10, could go to a mining museum and horse riding. 27 interviewees in 2002 remarked on the popularity of the off-site trips, and they were valuable in keeping participants' interest. For example: a respondent commented on the horse riding, 'it were wicked, I ran the whole field by myself' . However, while the trips could be used as a reward for regular attendance, their popularity, combined with the restricted number of places, meant that allocation of trips had to be seen to be fair and if it was not, this could be a de-motivator. Younger children wanted to go on the trips reserved for older ones: 'it was tight 'cos big uns do canoeing and climbing and motorbike riding – I'd like to do it too'. And older ones sometimes felt they were not allocated fairly. A parent responded: 'I also think that every child should have the opportunity to participate, the reason is that only so many children were picked to attend horse riding, camping, etc. You need to alternate each week. As I have spoken to some children in my area and they found it upsetting'. However, this parent went on to say; 'I thank you for giving this opportunity for my children to attend' (parent of interviewee on residential course).

Of course, the research has only interviewed those who attended, and as attendance was voluntary, they must have been attracted by the activities. However, the off site visits were especially important in maintaining interest over the longer five week period Splash operated over in 2002 (extended with Youth Justice funding, 3.3.3). Interviews at the residential and towards the end of the five week period showed that a significant number of respondents had travelled around the Splash sites in their geographical cluster to attend every week. Some respondents noted that they would like more variation in games or the off-site trips, however, overall the activities were attractive enough to gain and keep participants' interest.

6.2.2 Ability to adapt the programme to individual participants' needs (1.10.1, h4)

As noted in 6.1.2, this is only relevant if contact with the programme is sustained. Although the sports leaders had been asked to select interviewees who had been regular participants for the 2002 focus groups, only 23 out of the 63 interviewed had attended Splash for three summers or more. Of these, 8 had attended other Splash sessions after school and the fora. Another 12 had attended at least the previous year as well as this. This regular attendance gives Splash the potential to make a long term impact. But, as noted above, it was not possible to analyse Splash records to show attendance patterns as they were not sufficiently detailed.

Some of the individual interviews with long term participants conducted in 2001, although short, were able to show how these participants had been able to progress through voluntary leadership. For example, client RH (B7) helped organise football tournaments over the whole year. Client LP (B7) had attended Splash for three years overall. In 2000 he was a volunteer for all five weeks and in 2001, when he was 16, he was employed as a casual worker. In 2001 he left school and started a two year modern apprenticeship with Easttown Recreation Department. This will involve two days at college a week and three days practical work. He had also been involved in a Splash Forum. This case demonstrates a progression of responsibility, although not necessarily the sport's leaders' ability to match it sensitively to the client's needs.

The volunteer interviewed in 2002; John; (B8) shows how a participant who has been attending the same site for 11 years and who has recently been involved with the YOT, has been guided through voluntary leadership (at this stage only with younger children) and towards taking a community sports leader award. The details of this case demonstrate potential exit routes and the ability of the sports leaders to match sensitively a progression of responsibility with this participant's ability. As noted in B8, this led to a miscalculation of John's ability to accept trust, when he was not able to take responsibility for money he had access to.

The two participants described in interviews with sports leaders Charlie and Alan (13/10/00, B9) show a long term involvement in Splash and a structured progression. Both participants moved through increased involvement in voluntary leadership.

Thus the cases above show the ability of the programme to offer a structured increase in responsibility, in terms of voluntary and paid leadership, including involvement in the Splash forum, although this depends on sustained contact with the programme and sports leaders.

6.2.3 Rewards of achievement, increased self-esteem (1.10.1, h5)

Two significant achievements were available for young people taking part in Splash in 2002. If they were 16 they could take a community sports leadership award (CSLA). None of those interviewed were old enough to do this, but three at a site where Splash had been run continuously for ten years (including John, B8 / 6.2.2) intended to do so.
For participants too young to take formal leadership awards a 'Mayor's' award was available in 2002 for those who helped with younger children in the morning sessions. In theory the morning session was for younger children aged 8–10, but older ones could come along as helpers. Seven participants made it clear they were doing the Mayor's award. Of these 4 felt this would be valuable experience in applying for jobs or training. One reported, 'it could start you off if you want to work with kids, would give you experience with kids' (Site 3). She thought she would probably work as a Splash volunteer when she was 16. Both the Mayor's award and the CSLA offer a structured

progression of responsibility and were important enough for participants to mention them unprompted, although this does not necessarily mean they are a source of self-esteem.

Further evidence of rewards of achievement which enhance self-esteem was from John described in 6.2.2 (B8). He had been referred to the Youth Offending Team and as a result of this had attended Summit. He then received a community service award, part of which involved volunteering with Splash. When interviewed he was in his fourth week of volunteering that summer. He discussed with great enthusiasm plans he had to develop more interesting sessions for the younger children. 'I think there should be more trips for the young ones as this year there is only the mining museum and horse riding, apart from play bus, ...I was talking to (sports leaders) to see if we could get a grant for a trip that everyone likes doing, especially the little 'uns, which is golf. For little 'uns it would be something sporting...'.

This participant, who had gained little achievement from formal education and had been involved in offending, had gained self-esteem from the opportunities for leadership responsibility offered by long term involvement in Splash.

A further example, illustrating growth in self-esteem, skills and locus of control (h2) is Jane, appendix B9. Through involvement in Splash this participant had developed from someone with a low academic achievement and no interest in sport to achieve a place on a college course to study sport, through volunteering in Splash. (Interview with sports leaders Charlie and Alan, 13/10/00; participants' reports on summer work 1997 and 1998).

These examples were picked by sports leaders to illustrate the potential benefits of Splash; which also indicates the examples which they regarded as a success. One of the senior sports leaders felt that for young people who progressed to involvement in volunteering in Splash:

> '...it gives them a sense of purpose and identity, self-belief, self-esteem,...they feel better people for attending Splash' (Alan, 17/4/02).

This shows that for this sports leader the aims of the programme were this long-term development. The examples show that perhaps the boost to self-esteem is greatest for those who have fewest other achievements.

6.2.4 Sensitivity of staff in matching a progression of activities to participant's needs and development (1.10.1, h6).

Evidence for this has been discussed above in the context of the ability to adapt the programme for participants' needs, 6.2.2. It has to be noted that a few cases can not be taken as evidence that this skill and ability is generally present in sports leaders.

6.2.5 The role of the sports leaders as mentors (1.10.1, h7)

The questionnaire completed by participants prior to the interviews in 2002 (A15) asked if they thought of their favourite sports leader as like a teacher, parent, friend or policeman. Of the 40 who responded 30 regarded the sports leader as a friend. Some gave specific examples of where a sports leader had helped them. From observation, relations between sports leaders and participants were excellent. The only exception was on one site where two girls had stopped volunteering because they did not like the way a particular leader had treated other children. They had raised this and he had told them not to come to the site in the mornings. The main sports leader at this site thought that an improvement in the programme might be to offer the chance for sports leaders to rotate around sites over the five weeks as 'kids can get to know you too well so they don't respect you' (discussion with Sports leader, Site 3).

The ability of a sports leader to become a mentor figure depended on how much contact they had with the participant and the time they were prepared to give to this role. It is interesting that the cases reported by sports leaders Charlie and Alan (B9) as exemplary participants were ones where they had both had a lot of contact with the clients and a mentor role was clearly developed. For example, the participant Jane, when she was 14, described in her school project for the summer of 1997, how Charlie had helped her abseil:

> '...we were both totally and utterly frightened, we waited until everybody else had come down then we went to the top of the bridge and when we were going up to the top of the bridge, I was saying that I was not going to do it so Charlie said that we were both as frightened as each other but if she did it I had to do it. Charlie got over the bridge and she looked like she could die on the spot but she got down to the bottom, then over I went. I was so frightened I didn't want to do it, but I had to for Charlie, because I promised that if she did it then I did. I got to the bottom and Charlie untied me and told me that I looked like a ghost when I was coming down, so I thank Charlie for talking me into it, she's a buddy!'

This represents a mentor relationship, and while describing their work on Summit (5.4.4) Charlie and Alan had described how they used sport to develop this type of relationship. However, they also reported that they had been told that they did too much with participants and took the relationship beyond what was a reasonable part of their job: Charlie spending a lot of time talking to her about problems at home on the telephone over Christmas (interview, 13/10/00, B9). This illustrates the potential for a mentor relationship to be developed through Splash; but also the difficulty of structuring this in to the programme formally rather than relying on the commitment of individual sports leaders. If the same level of commitment was shown for all participants as Charlie showed for Jane there would be little time left to do the rest of the job.

6.2.6 The ability to offer long term exit routes (1.10.1, h8)

Of those interviewed in 2002 only 6 said that involvement in Splash had led to sports participation elsewhere. Five of these cases were at one site where Splash had been offered continuously over several years with the same leader. Links had been made to a local rugby club.

On some sites; for example, Site 16 and Site 1; there was the potential to use local sports centres — warm and dry venues adjacent to damp, windswept fields used by Splash — but arrangements had not been made to hire these. The opportunity was lost to introduce young people to a local facility, and in some cases a message was being given that it was

not for them. At the Site 16 site participants wanted to come into the sports centre but knew they could not, and this was because for Splash to hire it would have cost £35 an hour. One participant was observed enquiring about use of the weights room in the centre, but was told by centre staff that as he was not 16, he was too young to use them (record of Site 16 focus group). At one other site there was evidence of a previous working link between a local rugby club and the Splash sessions, which had resulted in some Splash participants joining the club in the past (record of Site 3 focus group). At Site 12, a local football team were training, but there was no link to the Splash sessions at the same time.

Following the report to Splash by the researcher on the 2002 interviews, the main sports leader responded that considerable efforts had been made to make links with local sports groups, but these had not been successful. The interviews conducted in 2001 gave one case of Splash stimulating further sports participation. This was also apparent in the case of the long term participant described by sports leaders (13/10/00).
As noted above, participation in Splash had led to voluntary sports leadership with Splash for some participants, but this was not an independent activity.

6.2.7 Sharing activity with pro-social peers (1.10.1, h9)

The interviews did not give evidence of sharing activity with pro-social peers. In one case a respondent said that taking part in Splash kept people away from peers who got them into trouble. 'Most people are bored so they get involved in crime when other people ask if they want to go along and do a job' (Site 1). However, this was difficult to distinguish from the much larger number who made a comment indicating Splash was a general diversion from crime (6.2.9).
On Site 18 there was strong evidence that participants might otherwise be involved in offending (see below, 6.2.9) but this had prevented others from attending. A difficulty of this is problems it poses for the sports leaders in both leading the activities for these young people who are more disruptive, and maintaining the interest of the other children. Two younger children at this site said that, 'when we play with the older ones they

swear' and, 'sometimes the big ones spoil our games'. Another, that 'it would be better if more kids who were not young offenders came. This has put off some of my friends.'

Thus, while on this site Splash had been effective in targeting offenders, this meant that for other young people participation in Splash led to mixing with anti-social peers.

6.2.8 Promotion of pro-social values (1.10.1, h10)

Limited observation meant it was difficult to see the extent to which sports leaders actively promoted pro-social values. In interview a sports leader reported specifically how he had intervened to prevent an Indian participant calling some Asians 'pakis' and how he had to selectively ban particular participants, but also how he had to be flexible about this to maximise participation. One participant who had been banned from this site (Site 17) remarked on how good he thought the staff were and that they did not pressurise him. The willingness to ban participants from sites might confirm the impression from questionnaires (6.18) that staff were prepared to enforce standards of behaviour, or it might just indicate that in order to maintain the ability to run the sessions they had to exclude disruptive participants: a difficult decision if an objective is crime reduction.

As the example of Site 18 above shows, obviously it will be harder to promote pro-social values the more anti-social participants there are!

6.2.9 Splash as a diversion from crime

In the interviews conducted in 2002, 30 participants reported that Splash reduced crime either at exactly the same time as it was on, or generally over the period of its provision. Crime reduction was explicitly linked to a reduction in boredom for participants. One of the best things about Splash was to, 'get out of the house when bored', and it was:

> 'boring at home'. 'When you are at school its, yeah, it's the holidays, but after a while you get bored, but when they have been doing Splash, there is something to do in the 6 week holidays, its may only be for a week, or 2, but its something to do'.

Discussing their own involvement in crime was obviously more sensitive than discussing that of participants in general but at least 13 participants in 2002 made remarks from which one could infer that they themselves had been prevented from getting in trouble. For example, Splash 'takes us off the streets, gives us fun when there is nothing on, keeps us out of trouble', or, 'if Splash wasn't here I would probably get into trouble'. More explicitly, some reported that; 'we used to go out twocing cars and bricking windows. Other kids would ask us if we wanted to do it. Splash prevents us getting involved'. Or when asked if Splash reduced crime, 'definitely, 'cos it is exciting'. It was, 'summat to do instead of doing mischief'. It was 'better than chasing' (chasing is when one breaks a window to see if someone will chase you).

Although numbers interviewed at each site were small the diversion impact was reported particularly strongly at some sites. The following responses from 6 different respondents were all from Site 18 (see Appendix B5):

> '...think it does [reduce crime] 'cos it gets them away from doing bad things by doing sports and things.'
>
> [It does not reduce crime because] 'older kids, when doing crime and that, don't do it 'till late'.
>
> [The impact on local crime was] 'no, not much'. 'Some kids nick cars, oh yeah, all big kids get into trouble all the time but some of the car nickers are not here'.
>
> [It would be better] 'if more kids who were not young offenders came. That has put off some of my friends'. 'Yea, I think it does [reduce crime]. Before this summer a series of cars were set on fire here and since then its been better, there has not been one. I can see the site from my bedroom window'.

Researcher: Does it keep kids out of trouble?

Participant: Yeah, 'it gives us something to do.

Researcher: Does it reduce crime?

Participant: No, all the trouble starts at night.

Researcher: Would it make a difference if Splash went on longer?

Participant: It would have to go on 'till 1.30 at night'. 'Half the trouble makers don't come anyway.

At this site the programme has successfully attracted some people who would otherwise be involved in crime, in particular, car crime. At this site some of the participants interviewed were noted being abusive to staff, and unusually, two interviewees declined to give their names. Unusually, two younger children said that, 'when we play with the older ones they swear' and, 'sometimes the big ones spoil our games'.

On this site Splash's work with young people who were involved in offending had made it harder for the sports leaders to maintain control over the sessions and prevent these participants from disrupting the activities for others.

On another site, although the evidence of crime reduction was less strong from interviewing participants, the sports leader reported that it does reduce crime in the local area, 'as otherwise the kids just hang around the shops and get into trouble' (Site 3). He gave an example of a specific young person who was known to the local police but who had been attending regularly. The local CCTV camera has been stolen several times, indicative of the level of crime in the area.

Over the whole sample of interviewees in 2002 only twelve respondents specifically thought that Splash did not reduce crime while it was on. This might be because those involved in crime do not come to Splash, or, because Splash is not on long enough during the day: 'makes no difference really ... (they) can still do crime when they leave here'. The interviewees in 2001 also strongly supported the diversion mechanism, but again, pointed to the limited impact of this when Splash was not running.

> '... keeps kids out of trouble 'cos they've got something to do during the day instead of going out causing trouble'

Splash keeps people out of trouble, but, 'only during the day, not in the evenings'. 'Then they may do anything they want'. This respondent gave examples of young people vandalising a building. Similarly, when asked if it kept kids out of trouble other

participants reported: 'yes it does — it does during the day, but not at night cos Splash finishes at night'.

> 'It does and it doesn't, you could be causing so much trouble during the day, but when you got Splash like , you won't be causing trouble, but when they're not then, then you can be making trouble'.

Again, the interviews in 2001 showed that the major problem for participants in the holidays was boredom. The main things the pilot focus group participants did in the holidays when not attending Splash were:

> S: hockey and football (S plays hockey in a club) get drunk / hang about.
>
> L: fishing, work, chill out.
>
> D: work, TV, hang about.
>
> A: sit on street corner, get up to no good, watch TV.
>
> W: muck about, play rugby, drive round in mates' cars, just got a job.

Overall the interviews, both in 2001 and 2002, confirmed the results of questionnaires conducted with parents in 2001 that Splash provides a diversion from crime when it is on, either directly, or as a relief from boredom.

6.2.10 Splash as contributing to long term personal development (1.10.1, h1, h2)

The evidence above shows that only 23 out of the 63 participants interviewed in 2002 had attended Splash for three summers or more. Of these, 8 had attended other Splash sessions after school and the forums. This is in spite of attempts to interview those with longest participation.

If one examines those who have participated most, as critical cases, Jane (B9) shows strong evidence of increasing in self-esteem, locus of control and social skills. Her involvement in Splash and development of a mentor relationship with Charlie, became the major relationship in her life for a period, such that she spent all her summers for at

least two years volunteering for Splash and relied on Charlie to discuss personal problems with (6.2.5). Nevertheless there is no evidence that this personal development through intense involvement in Splash prevented involvement in crime. The next most significant involvement was client 1 (B9 and pilot focus group 2001), although there is less detail to show how his personal development can be directly attributed to Splash, and as in the case of Adam (Sportaction) he had continued to offend.

From the 2002 interviews, 4 of the 6 who had attended the Splash Forum were from Site 8, as were 5 of the 6 who reported Splash leading to sports participation elsewhere. This was also the site where John (B8) had been led through sports leadership opportunities and where 2 of the 5 participants who intended taking the CSLA were based. This reflects the work of particular sports leaders, Alan and Charlie, who had worked consistently at this site for several years. This suggests that a key factor in Splash achieving pro-social personal development is the continuity of sports leaders who see this as an objective and are committed to it. This is reflected in the interview with these leaders (B9).

Thus some participants illustrate that Splash has the potential to achieve pro-social personal development, which may in turn reduce the propensity to offend, but this relies on the mentor relationship and commitment of key staff; which may be beyond the requirements of their job. It is interesting to compare this with the approach of the Summit sports leader, George, who was aware of a need to carefully ration his time to meet the demands of the YOT contract (5.4.4).

6.3 Splash – analysis at the level of the programme

Analysis at this level triangulates all the data sources on Splash (3.7).

6.3.1 Crime reduction through diversion

While examining this mechanism was not an original objective of the research there is strong evidence from the questionnaires and interviews that Splash provides a diversion from offending through a relief of boredom during the school summer holidays. This will be most effective while Splash is actually running, and as some participants pointed out, will not have this effect either at times it is not, or if potential offenders are not attracted to attend. Splash will have a greater diversion effect than Summit because participants are involved in it for longer. On the other hand, this only applies to the extent that it is attended by potential offenders.

6.3.2 Crime reduction through pro-social development directed by values (1.10.1, h1, h2)

There is little evidence of this mechanism. This is because in few cases was there sufficient contact with the participants to enable a structured progression of skills, self-esteem and opportunities for taking responsibility to take place. This does not mean that the programme has no impact in this respect: it had this impact on participants such as Jane (B9) and John (B8). For others, the opportunities it offers for voluntary leadership, responsibility in the Splash forum and developing a mentor relationship with sports leaders, may all be a step in this direction. But they will only have maximum impact with the intensity of involvement of a participant such as Jane and continuity and intensive involvement of sports leaders. Some support for this mechanism was provided by the 19% of parents who thought Splash contributes to crime reduction in the long run.

6.3.3 How important were the success factors and were they present?

With respect to the mechanism of pro-social development directed by values, the potential for long term contact with Splash is important. For this to be able to happen it is important that Splash operates every year on the same site and is linked to other sessions

through the year. A second significant factor is the ability and willingness of this long term contact to include a mentoring relationship where a sports leader can guide the participant through a set of experiences, such as sports participation and voluntary leadership. Both these factors were most apparent at Site 8 where Splash had been working for several years (see Appendix B4), had offered sessions all through the year, at Easter and after school on a hard flood-lit surface; and Charlie and Alan had provided mentoring support. At this site the largest number of participants in the interviews conducted in 2002 were involved in the CSLA. This was the site where most young people had become involved in the Splash Forum and local sports clubs. Four of the five participants in the pilot focus group (2001) came from this site. Of these, three had been canoeing regularly (the main sport of the sports leader), taken part in canoe polo matches, a tournament, and a 26 mile sponsored canoe. Clearly this long term contact between this particular sports leader and these forum members had developed a strong relationship of trust and respect. The sports leader was able to give details of each young person's involvement and personal circumstances, illustrating an understanding he must have gained through having their confidence. Five of the 6 individual interviewees in 2001 also came from this site (B7). This was also the site where a long-term volunteer was interviewed (B8), also illustrating a long-term mentoring relationship. One could argue that those interviewed in 2001 were selected by Alan to illustrate this process, but on the other hand, the interviews conducted across sites in 2002 showed that this site was the one where this process was most evident. Thus, these factors are important.

The continuity of work on this one site, supported by a sports leader who was able and willing to develop a mentoring relationship, shows the full potential of Splash. This was not apparent to the same degree on other sites because either they had not had other activities offered for the rest of the year, Splash had not been offered consistently at the site, or the same sports leader had not been present to build up a mentor relationship with young people and lead them through a progression of responsibility.

To support this mechanism the opportunity for structured progression through voluntary sports participation was important. Taking part in voluntary leadership may contribute to self-esteem, especially if a participant has few other achievements, such as John, (B8). While this was the site where exit routes to independent sports participation were most

apparent there is no evidence of their role in contributing to crime reduction through the mechanism of pro-social development.

For a mechanism of pro-social development to be possible participants must initially be attracted to the programme and in this respect the attractiveness of the activities at Splash was important as participation is voluntary and the young people are those who are primarily making the decision to attend. The off-site activities were especially important to maintain interest when Splash was extended to five weeks in 2002. The range of activities also helps attract participants and maintain interest.

However, the more significant mechanism for crime reduction was the simple diversion from boredom, for which attracting participants via the activities was essential. In this respect a good relationship with sports leaders was also important, but it does not need to extend to the depth of relationship as between Charlie and Jane. Even if the relationship is poor with one sports leader, as at Site 3, (6.2.5) this may not prevent participants attending.

With reference to the mechanism of diversion, there is very little evidence of Splash providing a route to independent exit routes, such as sports participation. These were not well developed and the non-use of local sports facilities, such as at Site 16 and Site 1, might have deterred participants from future use. Splash is seen by parents as a 'safe' environment for their children, meaning primarily safe from involvement in 'trouble'. However, paradoxically, the more successful Splash is at targeting potential offenders, the greater is the problem of non-offenders being deterred by their presence. This also makes it harder for the sports leaders to promote pro-social values, or at least not to let anti-social ones prevail.

6.3.4 The role of sport (1.10.1, h11)

Sport can offer a wide range of activities and thus appeal to a wide range of participants. It offers a medium in which voluntary leadership can be exercised. It can be a catalyst to the development of a mentor relationship with sports leaders, (6.2.5). In Splash there is little evidence it provides a viable exit route for independent participation.

development section of the Leisure Department, so they have sports development rather than crime reduction expertise. This is not to say that in this case the crime reduction objective has been tacked on to gain funding, rather that, as in many local authority programmes, there is more than one objective. Alan explained (17/4/02) that while in 2002 the main objective was crime reduction, as it had been funded by Youth Justice, however,

> 'Sports development has always been key to me. ...when we were in Leisure, sports development was our main focus, but it's quite easy to see that the steering group's main focus was crime reduction. You never go out with one single focus.'

This illustrates not only the overlap between objectives but also that they change in response to funding sources. Thus, while Loxley et al. (2000) are making recommendations for improving the programme from a crime reduction perspective, there may be some conflict with maximising the sports participation of disadvantaged young people. If the programme focused more on offenders it would deter more non-offenders, and thus reduce its ability to prevent young people getting involved in offending in the first place. Similarly, Loxley, et al. (2002, p.2) suggested a pragmatic pricing policy, tailored to 'need, capacity to pay, and supply and demand'. This is considering efficiency — the need to achieve crime reduction at the lowest cost. But it is difficult to see how this could be applied in the Easttown situation, where participation is currently free, without significantly reducing involvement of those the scheme wishes to target the most; so it would reduce the effectiveness of both the crime reduction and sports development objectives. In any case, it is not practical in an open access programme.

6.3.7 The limitations of local crime data

Section 3.9.2 discusses the use of local crime data in national evaluations of Splash, as funded by the Youth Justice Board in 2001. In relation to the objectives of this research the data does not show how or why the programme might have an impact on crime and has other limitations. These problems were apparent in Easttown where figures comparing crime in 2000 and 2001 for the three sites funded by the YJB in 2001 were

too small, even if there had been a positive change, to show anything significant. Any change could have been due to one or two regular offenders moving in or out of the area.

Table 6.3.7 shows changes in recorded crime between August 2001 and August 2002 for the 8 Splash areas which received additional funding from Youth Justice in 2002. This enabled them to offer a five week programme rather than one week, and thus would have been expected to increase a diversionary effect. August is used as this is the month in which the impact would have been expected to be most significant.

Table 6.3.7 Changes in recorded crime between August 2001 and August 2002 for the 8 Splash areas which received additional funding from Youth Justice in 2002

Area	All crime 2001	All crime 2002	% change	Youth incidents 2001	Youth incidents 2002	% change
Site 8	87	47	-50	77	81	+5
Mirfield	108	98	-9	117	120	+2
Site 17	69	101	+46	79	135	+70
Dram	76	81	+6	81	89	+10
Dtown Moor	72	142	+97	111	162	+46
Site 12	109	129	+18	92	116	+26
Brackenhall and Site 5	103	149	+45	114	142	+24
Crossland Moor	66	87	+31	124	78	-63
Easttown total	**13191**	**14464**	**+10**	**2335**	**2494**	**+7**

Source: Eastshire Police

'All crime' is that recorded in the Home Office categories. Youth crime is 'other youth related incidents'. In April 2001 a new standard for recording crime was introduced to achieve national consistency, but this should not have affected comparisons between August 2001 and 2002.

The table allows a comparison of the areas in which Splash operations were expanded in 2002, with the trend for Easttown overall. The Easttown totals show an overall crime increase, expressed as a percentage. Overall this shows that in 5 out of 8 areas youth

related incidents have increased by a higher percentage than the Easttown total. Thus the recorded crime statistics do not support a diversion effect but it does not mean that such an effect does not exist. The evidence above suggests without Splash the youth related incidents would be higher than they are. However, this is masked by several other factors. As a sports leader reported; '...there are too many other factors within the young persons' lives to take into account which may have an impact on their criminal make up and profile, we are just one part of it'. So, Splash is only one influence on their lives, there may be others predisposing them towards crime, and possibly other local initiatives which reduce it. So attributing an impact of Splash on the statistics is very difficult, as in scientific realism's criticism of the classic experimental research design, 2.2.1.

From the perspective of scientific realism the most convincing evidence of the effectiveness of Splash in reducing crime would be a combination of a reduction in the crime figures (the outcome, or regularity of the CMO/R configuration) and evidence of the process by which Splash had contributed to this, as provided in this chapter (the mechanism and context in the CMO/R configuration).

Chapter 7 Analysis across the three programmes

This chapter analyses the results across programmes; structured by the hypotheses in 1.10. It examines the relationships between the programme and crime reduction, the factors that contribute to this, the role of sport, and the implication of the position of the programme on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum. The case study approach to both programmes and participants was used to ask 'how' and 'why' the programme had an effect on participants. For reasons outlined in the introduction and 3.4 the research is limited in its ability to measure outcomes, but to the extent that the programmes may, or may not, have had an impact on crime reduction, the case study approach enables us to understand the process that contributed to this.

7.1 What is the relation between the programmes and crime reduction (h1 and 2)?

7.1.1 Personal development of young people, guided by values

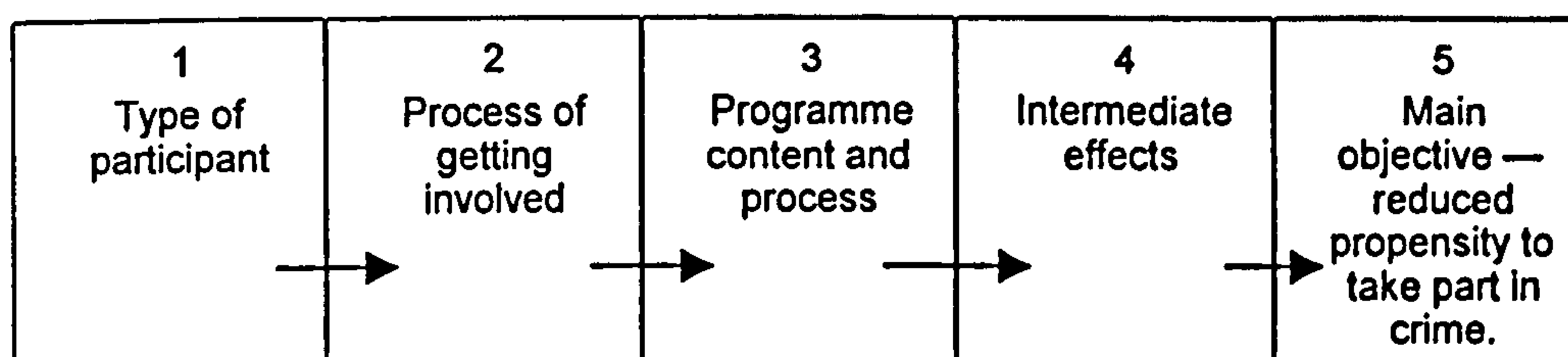
The original hypothesis was that the programmes contribute to the personal development of young people, guided by values. This contributes to a reduction in offending. This process involves a growth in self-esteem, locus of control, cognitive skills, and the establishment of a personal value system which makes the individual less disposed towards crime. These will contribute to personal growth such that the individual will be able to take a more proactive role in their own further development.

Case study programmes were selected because initial enquiries suggested they might have the success factors in place to facilitate this mechanism. Within these, critical cases of participants who had most contact with the programme were selected. If this mechanism was relevant to anybody, it would be most relevant to them.

The mechanism examined by this thesis, by which the programme is related to crime reduction, is represented by boxes 3,4 and 5 in figure 2.2.3, reproduced below. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were concerned with the reduced propensity to offend and

intermediate effects of the programme (boxes 5 and 4). Hypotheses 3–11 were concerned with the programme content and process, discussed in 7.2.

Figure 2.2.3 (reproduced from chapter 2) The elements of the process of a crime reduction programme in sequence (source: author)



The mechanism of personal development of young people guided by values leading to reduced crime was most apparent in the two case study clients Sportaction worked with (4.4.2). Adam illustrated 'generative causality' in that the new resources of the coaching qualifications and contacts with Sportaction, combined with the desire to obtain paid work as a sports coach, led to a changed locus of control as he gained the ability to obtain paid employment doing what he enjoyed; although this was ultimately frustrated by his most recent offence. Similarly, Marvin had made the decision to apply to a sports based college course. Through involvement in Sportaction he had also met his need for stable accommodation, which although not included in the original hypotheses as a success factor, was likely to contribute to reduced offending, as it enabled him to claim benefit. It is reasonable to conclude that the development of these two Sportaction clients contributed to a reduction in their propensity to offend, although it is not easy to distinguish the long–term development from the diversion mechanism.

While Adam was attending Sportaction it kept him away from a specific peer who had led him into offending (4.2.1). Jimmy had counselled Adam on the effect of this peer, and Adam's need to control his temper. Adam and his mother confirmed that Sportaction had been a direct diversion from offending. Thus Sportaction was both a contribution to Adam's development and a diversion from this peer and boredom. With respect to other aspects of Adam's development, his social skills were already at a high level; Sportaction helped apply them to sports leadership. His self-esteem was also high, and linked with his volatile temperament, was a contributory factor to his offending. It is unclear the

extent to which his value system was influenced by identification with that of Sportaction or if he was mainly concerned with how his offending would impact on his chances of employment with the organisation.

Marvin's development of social skills and confidence through Sportaction helped him gain coaching qualifications. These would have contributed to his ability to successfully apply for a place on a related college course, although one can not tell if they were decisive. The college course would have contributed to a diversion effect. Thus, in both these cases, the overlap between development and diversion makes it difficult to distinguish them.

In Summit there was little evidence of the mechanism of value directed personal growth leading to crime reduction (5.4.2). There was no evidence of an increase in self-esteem beyond the greater confidence with which participants could take part in specific activities. There was no evidence of increased locus of control. In two cases participants had taken initiatives to join a new sports club and a chamber of commerce skills course, but these could not be attributed to participation in Summit and so do not provide evidence of generative causality. Similarly there was no evidence of a change in value systems. As noted in 5.4.2, and discussed in chapter 8, lack of evidence could be attributed to the inability of the research methods to produce such detail, but interviews with the sports leader (5.4.6) suggest it is more likely that this mechanism does not apply; or does so only to an imperceptible degree.

In Splash a few case study participants illustrated a process of personal growth, (4.6.2); for example, Jane (B9) and John (B8) (6.3.2). These cases were characterised by sustained work with a participant; through a forum, regular volunteering at Splash, or other sessions during the year. Thus these critical cases demonstrated that this outcome was possible. However, even in these cases there is little support for this reducing the propensity to be involved in crime. Indirect support for this mechanism was given by the 19% of parents who thought Splash reduces crime in the long run.

7.1.2 Diversion from offending

Although the research design was based on the hypothesis that long-term pro-social development would be the most significant impact on crime reduction it became apparent that simple diversion — either directly in terms of time and place, or indirectly in terms of relieving boredom — was likely to be a significant mechanism. This was most significant in Splash (6.3.1), strongly supported by responses from parents (6.1.9) and comments of participants (6.2.9). Evidence was strongest on a site where most offenders were present but also from participants who specifically stated that participation prevented them getting involved in offending.

There was no evidence of a diversion from offending in Summit (5.4.1). In the short term the contact with the programme was insufficient to provide a significant effect. In the long term, independent sports participation might have given a few participants an interest which provided an alternative to crime: this was the hope of the YOT officers. However, in only a few cases was there evidence that independent sports participation was likely (5.4.3) and that this could be attributed to Summit. Further, these were cases where the risk of re-offending did not appear to be high.

In Sportaction the much more intensive work with the two case study participants meant that they were involved with the programme for a significant amount of time which may have reduced their propensity to offend. There is no direct evidence of that, but, as noted above, there is evidence that if Adam had been employed as a sports leader it would have reduced his propensity to offend (4.4.2) and this is supported by Farrall's (2002) conclusions of his study of probationers.

7.2 How important were the 'success factors' to this process (h3–10)?

This section discusses the process and content of the programmes which were important in leading to the intermediate outcomes. As noted above, if one started from the assumption that the mechanism of crime reduction by pro-social development; represented by boxes 3,4,5 figure 2.2.3, was valid, the evidence of the process and content represented by hypotheses 3–11 would be sufficient to imply that the programme

would lead to crime reduction. However, an outcome of this thesis is to challenge this mechanism, and 7.1.1 has already been critical of the achievement both of the intermediate objectives and of an impact on crime reduction.

7.2.1 Factors contributing to personal development of young people, guided by values

Where there was evidence of long term pro-social development it was linked to a mentor relationship with a particular sports leader. In Sportaction this was to Jamie. There was little evidence of this in Summit, reflecting the limited contact with the sports leader. In Splash it was linked to sites where Alan or Charlie had worked as a sports leader or through the fora.

The activities were important in attracting those who attended. In Sportaction it had been difficult to attract the high risk clients. Both of those who became involved had previous sporting interests. Thus, unsurprisingly, sport was important in attracting those who were interested in sport (h3). This does not show that anything else would have been any more or less attractive to all those who were referred and did not attend. For example, a chance to play computer games as an introduction to development of computer skills might have had equal appeal. In Splash it is interesting that one of the participants chosen by sports leaders as a major success (Jane, B9) was not initially very sport oriented. So, while previous research has suggested sport is a particularly attractive activity to gain involvement (Taylor, et. al. 1999: 31; 1.6.6) and that activities with this capacity to attract participants were a characteristic of successful programmes in the USA (Witt and Crompton, 1997) this does not seem to really go beyond noting that people who like sport are attracted to the sporting activity. It would be more significant if it could be shown that those who offended had a particular affinity to sport. McGuire and Priestly conclude (1995: 3–34) that 'on balance the learning styles of most offenders require active, participatory methods' (1.6.6) but this is different to saying that such activities will make programmes with sport especially attractive to offenders.

It was important that staff had the ability to guide participants carefully through a progression of opportunities to take responsibility, in the way described by Huskins as

good practice in youth work (1996, 1998) (h4, h6). However, for this to happen staff must have both long term contact with the participants and the opportunities to match their developing capabilities and interests to appropriate opportunities. This was very important in Sportaction where all the other sports sessions run by the organisation made it easy for Jimmy to guide Adam and Marvin through leadership opportunities at the right level for them (4.3.2). Similarly, in Splash, where contact had been consistent with a sports leader who had this developmental perspective on their work, there were opportunities for voluntary leadership within the programme. The case of Jane (B9) shows how Charlie guided her through these (6.3.3). Again, in Summit, the participants were guided through different stages of taking responsibility, but this was mainly aimed at the objective of developing independent sports participation (5.4.3).

The opportunities there were to take greater responsibility were all related to voluntary sports leadership. In the same way that one could argue that the sports activities will only appeal to those interested in sport, one could also argue that if a participant was not interested in voluntary sports leadership, their opportunities for taking responsibility were limited. However, Splash also offered the Forum; a sports based youth club; in which young people could take responsibility for fund raising and organising activities for themselves. This is much more like a youth work approach and could be enhanced by Splash's recent relocation from Sports Development to the Young People's Service of the local authority.

These were the most important factors. Rewards of achievement which boosted self-esteem (h5) were not so relevant, although there is evidence in Sportaction that this was a reward for Marvin. For Adam a more appropriate exercise of his relatively high self-esteem, achieved through development of skills of self-control, would have been more useful; confirming Emler's conclusion that the relation between self-esteem and a reduction in offending is unclear (2001).

The ability to offer long term follow-up and viable exit routes where the participant can become involved in activity, and further opportunities for development independent of the original programme (h8) did not appear to be important in the cases in Sportaction and Splash. In Sportaction this may be because although work had been intensive with

these clients their development was still at a low level and they were high risk clients; so it would take a lot of work to progress them to independent activity. However, if Marvin went to college (4.3.3) it would have achieved this. In Splash there is always the possibility that some participants might have found a long-term independent sports interest beyond Splash and these participants were not amongst those interviewed because they were doing sport elsewhere. However, those that were interviewed suggest this is unlikely (6.2.6).

Apart from the case of Adam, there was little evidence that sharing activity with pro-social peers was important to this mechanism (h9) or the pro-social values of the leaders and ethos of the programme (h10). This could be because the research methods were not sensitive enough to identify this. Even with the detail in cases such as Adam and Marvin; where detailed records of work were kept over 8 months; it was not possible to identify a change in the client's value system, and even if it had, attribute this to Sportaction.

Thus the most important factors contributing to personal development of participants were the mentor relationship with a sports leader and consistent contact over a period of time, leading to a guided progression through responsibility.

7.2.2 Factors contributing to diversion from offending

The research was not designed to examine factors contributing to diversion from offending, however, clearly factors overlap with those of the mechanism originally hypothesised.

As noted above, the strongest evidence of diversion was from the Splash programme (6.3.1), although in the same way as the methods available for researching high risk clients were more able to show a developmental mechanism, one could argue that the methods used in Splash were more suitable for revealing diversion. There was little evidence of this mechanism in Summit (5.4.1). In Sportaction it would have been significant for Adam if he had been offered summer employment (4.2.3).

For this mechanism to work the evidence from all programmes was that the programme had to be attractive for participants. In all cases it was they who made the main decision

to attend. The attraction of Splash was confirmed by the 91% of participants who intended to come next year (6.1.1). The range of activities was important as participants' favourite ones varied considerably. 'Playing the games, activities' was the third best thing about Splash. In 2002 the additional off-site activities, offered to maintain interest in the five week programme (6.1.1; 6.2.1), were also very popular. However, again it could be argued, as above, that we only know Splash was attractive to those who attended.

The strongest evidence of the diversion effect was at Site 18, (6.2.9). This was a site where offending was known to take place, in the form of burning cars late at night, but it is not known if location was the main reason why Splash was particularly successful at attracting offenders. However, both here, and at other sites, participants responded that Splash was only an effective diversion when it was on (6.1.9; 6.2.9).

Thus, as Loxley et al. (2002) argue, the effectiveness of such programmes in crime diversion depends on targeting by time, place and people.

If one considers diversion in the long run, as depending on the ability of the programme to enthuse and equip a participant for independent sports participation, then Summit is the best example of this, reflecting the objectives of the sports leader (5.4.6). To achieve this he tried to identify viable exit routes during the early sessions of the bronze award, concentrated on these in the gold award, encouraged the participant to get to the session independently, and if possible, put them in touch with a peer they could do the activity with. Examples are Darren (5.2.2), Billy (5.2.3) and Paul (5.2.4).

7.3 What is the role of sport (h11)?

Sport, and the range of sports offered, were able to act as an attraction to the programme; a 'hook' to get participants involved (Taylor, et. al. 1999: 31). However, as noted above, it is not known if anything else would have been better, and if sport was especially attractive to potential offenders.

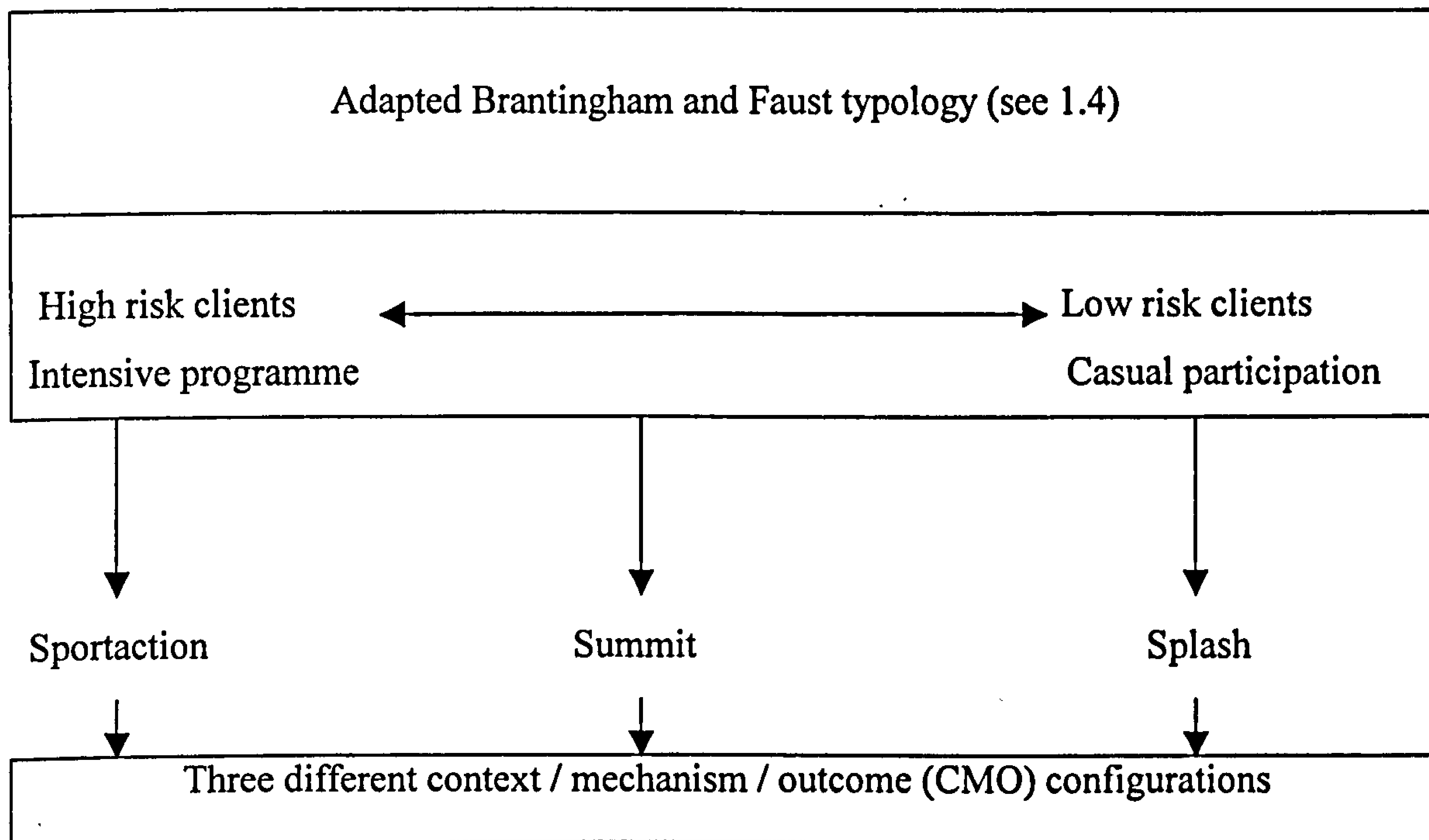
All three programmes showed that shared sports participation provided a catalyst for developing a mentor relationship (4.4.4; 5.4.4; 6.3.4); one of the most important factors for the mechanism of pro-social development. This was even apparent where the participant had little ability in the particular sport, and may even have been greater in these cases (6.3.4). The researcher put this insight into practice by using shared sports participation to develop a relationship with participants prior to interview (3.6.6).

Sportaction and Splash showed sport offering a structured progression through voluntary leadership, which is valuable to the extent that voluntary sports leadership is a suitable means by which to develop young participants. Potentially sport might have led to a wide range of independent exit routes, but for whatever reason, there is no evidence of this, apart from a few Summit participants. Only if programmes had achieved this could they have led to other benefits associated with regular sports participation (reviewed in 1.6): general health and well being; a medium for increasing cognitive competencies; relations with new peers, and with new role models. Although, as Critcher (2000) notes, this may not necessarily have any impact on values which reduce the propensity for crime.

7.4 Implications of the position of the programme on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum

The three case studies are linked by the theoretical framework (Yin, 1994: 44) of the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum (Figure 2.3.1). They represent three CMO configurations, linked by the 'abstract analytical framework' that provides a set of 'interlinked hypotheses' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 124) and are thus designed to provide a cumulative understanding.

Figure 2.3.1 (reproduced from chapter 2) The design of the research as three case studies informed by scientific realism



It was hypothesized that the mechanism of crime reduction through personal development of young people guided by values would be most apparent at the tertiary / high risk end of the continuum, although it could be relevant at all points. While reporting on this objective, it is difficult to disentangle the differences which are a consequence of the position on the continuum, and those which just reflect the way the different programmes worked and were organised. To a point the organisation of the programme is a function of the risk level of the clients, but it also reflects different management skills. Thus, this inevitably also raises suggestions for how the management of the three programmes could have been improved. Thus, while the main focus of this section is to address the hypothesis that the mechanism of crime reduction through personal development of young people guided by values would be most apparent at the tertiary / high risk end of the continuum, it inevitably also comments on the design of the programmes. General implications of the continuum for programme design are covered in chapter 8.

Sportaction shows that a consequence of being at the high risk end of the continuum was that it was harder to gain the initial interest of the offenders (4.4.5). This end of the

continuum demands a much more sophisticated referral process, but Sportaction did not have this, there were few clients to work with, and the sports leader could devote a lot of time to those who did attend. As a result of this intensive work, the sports leader was able to develop a mentor relationship but also to guide the clients through a set of experiences where they were gradually given more responsibility (4.2.2; 4.3.2.). This was facilitated by the ability to offer leadership experiences in an incremental way and under careful supervision within the rest of Sportaction's work.

The sports leader had no particular skills in dealing with offenders or the many factors which influence offending. However he was drawn into helping with issues such as housing and legal support because these had to be addressed before the client could progress in sports participation or leadership. He had the time to offer this support, but did not have the expertise. Obviously the need to deal with these issues will be greater at this end of the continuum, and the mentor relationship developed as a result of intensive sports counselling will make the sports leader more aware of what they are. However, as he can not be expected to have the expertise to deal with these, which are factors related to offending, he needs to have contact with the other relevant agencies. One would have expected addressing the causes of offending to be the role of the YOT officer, but the mentor relationship developed through sports counselling means the sports leader may have a better understanding of them and also the confidence of the client.

Sportaction's position at the high risk end of the continuum means that it had more potential to reduce crime through the mechanism of personal development of young people guided by values (1.9) but this would have been diminished considerably if all 21 clients referred to the programme had attended. Sportaction also illustrates a difficulty of working with these high risk clients as it was unclear at what point Sportaction would stop. It was not offering a defined programme, but rather an open ended support mechanism. Thus there was always the possibility that a few well motivated clients might absorb a disproportionate amount of the resources. If the work had developed further there should have been a set of other agencies that Sportaction could refer clients on to. This could have included Enthusiasm, to offer mentor support; but it would need to be clear when responsibility was being handed to them.

However, the mechanism of diversion is still relevant to Sportaction. Obviously the more time clients spend on the programme the less they have to offend in. Had Sportaction been able to offer Adam employment in the summer holidays it would have made a considerable difference to his propensity to offend.

The Summit clients were lower risk. It is possible that this impression is biased by the clients completing the gold award and who were thus selected for interview: it would have been useful to check this with a comparison of ASSET scores, which the Easttown YOT would not give access to. However, clearly those referred by YOT have only been involved in a minor offence compared to the seriousness of offending of those referred to Sportaction by the Youth Inclusion Project. As a consequence the Summit clients were easier to contact and work with. George did not have to deal with the physical abuse that Jimmy did. He was aware that clients had underlying problems which contributed to offending, but also that he did not have the capacity to deal with them; and accepted that it was not his job to do so (5.4.6). The programme was designed building on the experience of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling, in that the one-to-one counselling was seen to be important, but the programme was broken down into smaller awards to try and maximise a sense of achievement (3.3.2). However differences with WYSC were that the clients were lower risk (all the WYSC clients were on probation and for several WYSC was seen as the last of several supervision programmes) and the structure of the programme was much more tightly defined. One criticism the manager responsible for WYSC and the design of Summit had, was that the WYSC sports leaders became involved in an open ended mentoring relationship with some clients and this was not being paid for by the probation service, as in Sportaction. Summit was designed to try and strike a balance between achieving the benefits of mentoring, which would achieve a progression to independent sports participation, and running a programme which delivered what the YOT were paying for. This was the specified number of sessions and time at the different levels. This restricted the ability of Summit to achieve the crime reduction mechanism of personal development of young people guided by values as it did not have time for the long term contact. Further, a mentoring relationship could be built up, but not to the same extent as in Sportaction or WYSC. The achievement of the 'gold award' did not confer the same levels of esteem because it was relatively easier to

gain for clients who had fewer problems, and had a less stark contrast with clients' lack of previous achievement.

Thus in Summit the mechanism of personal development guided by values was less apparent, but it could have been developed if the programme had offered longer contact and capitalised more on the potential links with other sports development work. For example, participation could have been linked to volunteering on the Splash scheme. The sports leader acknowledged the considerable overlap with sports development objectives, however these are not followed up by offering support to achieve them beyond the specified contact time of the programme.

Splash operated at the low risk end of the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum. The most important mechanism by which it reduced crime was simple diversion, especially when it was extended to five weeks of the summer holiday in 2002. There was potential to develop long term contact with clients, a mentoring relationship, and a progression through structured responsibilities for voluntary leadership. But this only occurred where there was the potential of continuity of contact through the Splash forum, or regular sessions at a site; and where a sports leader took a mentoring role. However, this was a 'hit and miss' process. There is no evidence that sports leaders targeted particular high risk participants to develop in this way. It depended as much on the willingness of the participant to become involved. There is greater emphasis on the objective of reducing social exclusion through targeted sports development.

The hypotheses was that the mechanism of crime reduction via personal development would be most apparent at the high risk end of the continuum. This was the case. However, as noted above, it is hard to distinguish between the mechanism which is attributable to the risk level of the participants, given that this will have influenced the design of the programme anyway; and that which is attributable to accidental circumstances: for example, the failed referral process in Sportaction or the dedication of particular sports leaders in Splash. Further, the great detail allowed by the case studies into the high risk clients in Sportaction, made possible by the intensity of work with them, meant that it was easier in these cases to show the relevance of this mechanism. In the Summit cases it was more difficult to show both a causal relationship between

participation and outcomes, and that this was related to reduced propensity to commit crime. Thus one could argue that the position on the Brantingham and Faust continuum determined not only the design of the programme but also the extent to which case studies could be conducted in sufficient depth to show a causal relationship between the programme and crime reduction, or even just the process of personal development, discussed further in 8.5. Thus, research findings are as much a function of the data made available by contrasting programmes as they are evidence that the programmes involve a different mechanism.

If one asks to what extent did the sports leaders on any one programme attempt to influence crime by the mechanism of personal development, strong evidence comes from Splash. The sports leaders, Alan and Charlie, chose as illustrative cases those who demonstrated long-term development (B9), although for most participants the diversion affect was more relevant. And different sports leaders might have had different objectives. The Summit leader acknowledged he was limited to providing sport as a diversionary activity (5.4.6); but this was a long-term objective, to be achieved through the sports development aim of independent sports participation. Jimmy, the Sportaction leader, was not so explicit about the relation of the programme to crime reduction, but the way he structured the programme for Adam and Marvin showed it was designed to help their development.

However, if one just examines the mechanisms which were apparent in the different programmes, personal development was most prominent in Sportaction and diversion in Splash. Thus, the point on the continuum will determine the prevalent mechanism and the intensity of work with participants; discussed further in chapter 8.

7.5 Conclusions on how and why the programmes have an impact on crime reduction

Scientific realism (2.2) directed the research to examine mechanisms and contexts, and justified a range of qualitative and quantitative methods. It advocated research starting from theory (as outlined in chapter 1) and adding to it. The theoretical position was influenced by the work of criminologists who had evidence of statistical relationships between 'risk' factors and the propensity to commit crime, but whose theories on prevention were, as Catalano and Hawkins acknowledge (1996), the subject of theory which needs to be substantiated by further research. It drew on the author's own previous research into the impact of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling and outdoor adventure courses, especially with long-term drug rehabilitation clients. The focal point of this explanation for a change in behaviour was a change in self-concept, described by Maruna (2001) in his interviews with disasters from offending.

The mechanism the research expected to find was represented by boxes 3–5, figure 2.2.3: a set of success factors would facilitate long-term personal development directed by values; which would lower the propensity to commit crime. In terms of the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum this understanding was derived from those at the very high risk end. Thus it is not surprising that this mechanism is confirmed most strongly by the Sportaction clients; those at highest risk and with whom intensive work was undertaken. However, even with these clients the change was slow, and there is little evidence of a change in self-concept.

In Summit, the relatively low risk clients had less change in self-concept to make to allow them to reduce the propensity of being involved in offending. This also meant that they had less self-esteem to gain from the awards on the programme, in comparison with the WYSC clients. And in Splash, even less so. This does not mean that Summit and Splash did not give clients a 'nudge in the right direction'. But for the vast majority it was just a nudge, and imperceptible to the research methods.

Exceptions were the Splash clients where more intensive involvement over a substantial period, guided with a mentor, had a more significant effect. But this was not the norm and relied on the input of particular dedicated staff.

Where this mechanism was significant the mentor relationship of staff and their ability to guide participants through a progression of experiences was most important (7.2.1). But the research showed the significance of the much more simple mechanism of diversion from offending. While it looked for the importance of one mechanism, it found another was more important.

Chapter 8 Understanding the relationship between sport based programmes and crime reduction

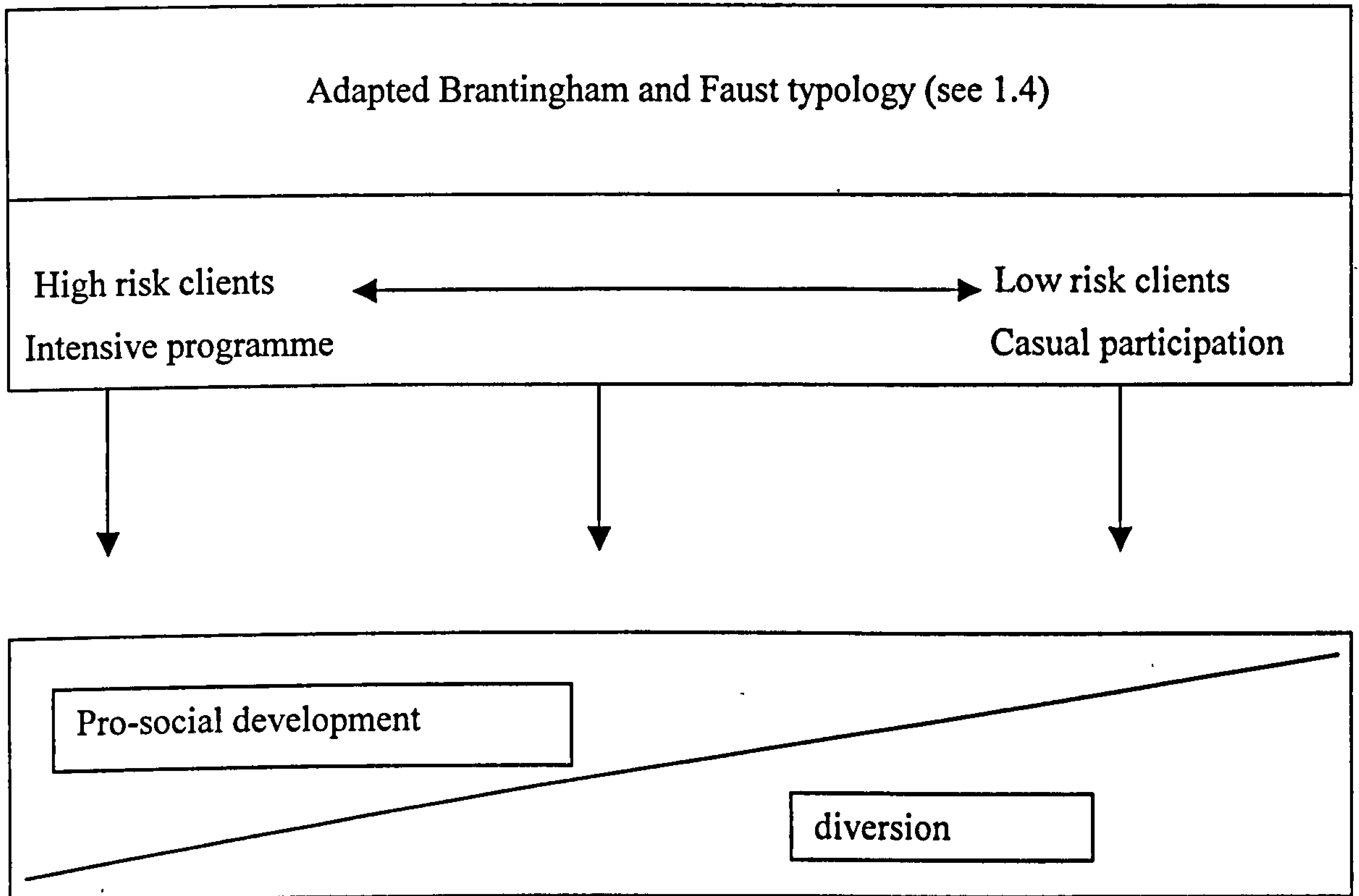
This chapter places the findings from chapter 7 in the context of the issues raised in chapter 1 and chapter 2. While chapter 7 concentrated on results from the research directed at the hypotheses, and made conclusions in relation to these, this chapter is a more general discussion, but still draws on the experience of the three case study programmes. It extends the general application of the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum to understanding the balance between different mechanisms in programmes; the overlap of programme objectives; programme design; the relative difficulty of obtaining evidence of effectiveness, and thus basing policy on this evidence; and the influence of values of policy makers and researchers. It also considers the strengths and weaknesses of critical realism.

8.1 Programme mechanisms

While 7.4 considered the relationship between the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum and the mechanisms in the programmes studied, this section considers this more generally.

Figure 8.1 shows that the degree of risk of the participants determines the appropriate mechanism for the programme to focus on. This is especially so where youth justice has to balance the objectives of retribution and welfare (Gibson, et al. 1999), so work with young people (aged 10–17 inclusive) will include an element of welfare provision. At the low risk end the programme will be focused more on diversion and at the high risk end on pro-social development. However, there is an overlap between the two mechanisms. The intensive work with Sportaction clients had a diversionary effect as well as contributing to development. The work of Splash is primarily focused on diversion but could still contribute to long term development, even for those who only attend for one summer.

Figure 8.1 *Programme mechanisms*



Of course, the degree of risk also determines the concentration of resources on clients. The intensive work of Sportaction or West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (WYSC) (Nichols and Taylor, 1996; Nichols, 1999a) and Hafotty Wen (Nichols, 1999b) justified a concentration of resources which facilitated the personal development mechanism.

There may be other relevant mechanisms. In Splash it was evident that a mechanism of direct deterrence might be relevant when Splash was running on sites where offending might otherwise take place. This was the case at Site 18 (6.2.9; B5) although would have been even more direct if the programme had been run in the evening when most offending appeared to occur. Thus, there might be an overlap between the three mechanisms: development, diversion and deterrence; and others are possible.

8.2 Overlapping and changing objectives — the influence of funding

As a major objective of programme managers is to obtain external funding to, at the least, allow them to continue running (Nichols and Booth, 1999a), many programmes have experienced a change of objectives in response to changing funding sources. While a criticism of many programmes has been that they have been short term, a reflection of short term funding, the case study programmes showed how they bid for new funding sources, and were successful in obtaining them. This reflects a preference of external funders to allocate their funds to a programme which already has a credible management and record of delivery. Therefore, changes in objectives will occur in response to funding opportunities. This may happen quickly. The three case study programmes illustrate this, and the need of funders to allocate funds quickly to credible programmes.

Sportaction, as an organisation, bid for funds from Sport England to run the programme in this case study funded by the 'Positive Futures' scheme (3.3.1.1). This scheme itself was a partnership between Sport England, the Football Foundation, the Home Office Drugs Unit and the Youth Justice Board. The aim was stated as 'to use sport to reduce anti-social behaviour, crime and drug use among 10–16 year olds within local neighbourhoods' (Sport England, 2002a: 1). Thus there were objectives of encouraging sports participation, reducing anti-social behaviour, reducing crime and reducing drug use; and Carrie (5/2/01) reported this was what Sport England had told her they wanted evidence of. Sport England had to allocate their funds in a short period of time, so were keen to find credible programmes. This was confirmed by an informal telephone call received by the author from Sport England to ask about the competence of Sportaction to deliver the programme before funding was allocated.

Summit had changed its client group from probationers, to YOT clients, to the higher risk ISSP clients. Thus while its objectives had remained as crime reduction through sport, the type of clients group it worked with had changed. When YOT was introduced Summit was in a good position to gain work from them as there were few alternative programmes they could buy. Easttown Leisure Department had substantial credibility with the YOT due to its work on Splash; several YOT officers had been involved with

Splash; and Dick (Easttown sports development manager) knew the YOT manager personally. The need for Easttown YOT to find a credible programme deliverer was confirmed by an interview with one of the YOT officers:

Researcher: ... on what basis does the Youth Offending Team make a judgement about if they are getting value for money from Summit or not, compared with other Projects?

YOT officer: Well I think the value for money for me for Summit is that you see the person introduce themselves to it, to the youngsters, and get on with it, and it starts off straight away. As soon as you refer you are talking within a couple of weeks they have met the youngster, they have met the family and they are moving it forward. That to me is the big plus, because there are so many other things that take so long to get going, so I think the good value for money from my point of view is that if a referral is made it happens. Now obviously the vibes from that is that other Projects that you are putting through are a bit more wishy washy and not happening as much as what they should do, probably the case, so for one I think there needs to be that doing element.

This supports the view that a reason for Easttown YOT using Summit was that they believed it would be delivered, rather than any evidence of effectiveness in terms of outcomes.

Splash was initially set up as a crime prevention programme using sport, called Youth Against Crime, as a partnership between Eastshire Police and Easttown Sports development. Dick reported that:

> 'I can get money to work with young people if I say that they're potential criminals but I can't get money if I say they're all kids let's go for it. I hate having to say the other one but as you can imagine it's much easier to get money when you say you're going to stop crime occurring or you're going to

> do things like that. But it does actually tab all young people as potential criminals. And we all know that's not the case. (10/99)'.

Dick reported that the objectives now were:

> 'tackling the social exclusion agenda using sport at that level. That's number one. But I still think crime reduction is still there as a secondary one.'

In the summer of 2001, in response to national concerns over racial crime, additional funding was received from the Youth Justice Board to run Splash on additional sites, targeted at reducing racial tension. In 2002 further funding was also given, still focused on crime reduction. Thus the focal objective became crime reduction, but as Alan pointed out, (6.3.6) sports development was still important. Easttown Splash was targeted by Youth Justice as a recipient of funds only a few weeks before the summer programme was due to start in 2002. Easttown were told to accept the additional funding for 2002 or the extra funding they had received in 2001 would be withdrawn. Again, this reflects a funder's priority of allocating funding in a short period of time, to organisations they trust to deliver the programmes.

Thus Splash had had successive objectives of sports development, crime reduction, achieving social inclusion and reducing racial tension. The balance between these had changed in response to political imperatives and the objectives of funders.

These examples all show that objectives and participants may change with funding sources. This can happen at short notice because funders have short periods in which to allocate funds; funds tend to get allocated on the basis of reputation; and the programmes themselves may have a set of changing objectives. Multiple and changing objectives are a practical necessity. This makes the criticism of unclear objectives easy (McCormack, 2001; Witt and Crompton, 1996) although this fails to recognise the programme's development.

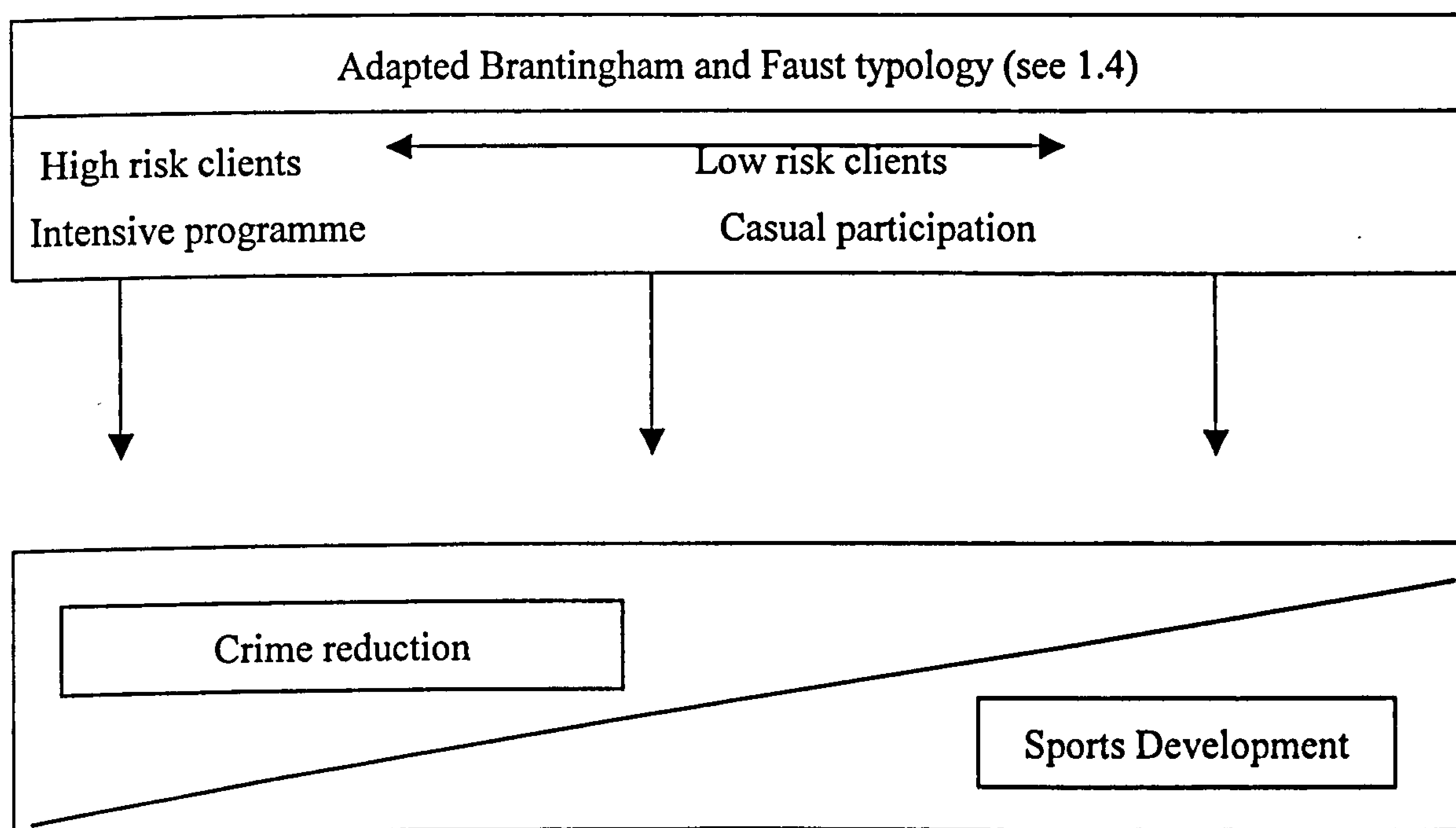
But does this necessarily lead to a lack of programme integrity; a mismatch of objectives, resources and delivery methods; or is it a demonstration of synergy? The research has shown a synergy between objectives of sports development and crime reduction through

either diversion or pro-social development. In the short run a programme like Splash can both introduce socially disadvantaged young people to new sports opportunities and contribute to crime reduction through diversion. To the extent that programmes target the socially disadvantaged there is also an overlap with objectives of reducing social exclusion. In the long run, if any of the programmes lead to long term independent sports participation, this will also contribute to a diversionary effect (7.2.2). The examples in the case studies showed the potential for developing sports leadership skills and responsibilities to contribute to pro-social development through increasing self-esteem, social skills and locus of control. Thus, there is a further overlap between sports development and crime reduction via the pro-social development mechanism.

So, in the same way as 'partners' may have synergy between their objectives, so there will be synergy between objectives in any one programme. This has implications for programme design and evaluation, discussed below.

Figure 8.2 shows that where a programme had both sports development and crime reduction objectives, while they overlap, one would expect the emphasis to be on crime reduction with high risk participants and on sports development with low risk ones. Thus Splash had a greater emphasis on sports development and Sportaction more on crime reduction.

Figure 8.2 *The overlap of sports development and crime reduction objectives in relation to the risk level of programme participants*



The overlap of objectives has consequences for programme design and evaluation, discussed below.

8.3 Programme design

Programme design will be influenced by a combination of the risk level of the participants and the mechanism by which one expects the programme to have an influence on crime reduction.

Figure 8.3 *Programme categorisation and mechanisms*

	Low risk clients		**High risk clients**
Main Mechanism	**(primary)**	**(secondary)**	**(tertiary)**
Diversion	Easttown Splash	Summit	
Deterrence	Easttown Splash, on specific sites.		
Pro-social development	Easttown Splash, with specific participants		Sportaction

Figure 8.3 introduces a third mechanism, deterrence, which is applicable in Splash sites where there is high crime, to the extent that the presence of Splash might act as a direct deterrent. An example would be where Splash is on a school site and prevents vandalism occurring while it is there. As noted above, other mechanisms may also apply.

Figure 8.3 has implications for programme design. For example, the major mechanism of Easttown Splash is diversion, so simply extending it from one week of the summer holidays to five, as was possible with Youth Justice funding, will magnify this impact, as long as young peoples' interest can be maintained. In 2002 this was achieved by adding a series of off-site trips. Although it is targeted in areas of social deprivation it could be targeted even more precisely at sites which suffer extensively from vandalism. For example, Site 18, used by Splash in 2002 had been used often by youths to set fire to stolen cars on.

If the main mechanism is diversion, and the programme is targeted at young people at relatively low risk, the programme could be run at the time and place where it will have the greatest diversionary impact. Splash shows how the main mechanism can be extended. Situating Splash on sites such as schools, where vandalism might otherwise take place, could provide a direct deterrent. Splash also has the potential to contribute to long term pro-social development, through participants initially acting as volunteers to help the younger ones, and this leading to potentially taking sports leadership awards.

Summit was aimed at diversion through sports participation both in the long and short term. The clients were relatively low risk so the sports leader did not need skills of dealing with offenders, which he acknowledged he had not got (5.4.6). However, they had offended to a sufficient degree such that one-to-one counselling was justified.

Sportaction was dealing with much more high risk clients. This justified a much greater concentration of resources on these clients and on the mechanism of pro-social development. Ideally this would have involved the use of staff who were specialists in dealing with this type of client and facilitating their development. They would also need support from others who could help deal with the causes of offending: for example, problems with housing, benefit, personal behaviour, etc. The mentoring skills of the sports leaders are especially important. With a small number of clients the programme could be adapted to take into account the particular circumstances of their offending: for example, separating Adam from his peer who was associated with most of his offending (4.2.2).

However, if one adds sports development objectives to figure 8.3 the situation is more complex; one has to consider how both objectives may be achieved and potential conflicts.

To the extent that there is an overlap of sports development and crime reduction objectives, based on the assumption that sports participation will provide a long term alternative to crime, the barriers to overcome include all those associated with social exclusion and low sports participation (Collins and Kay, 2003). These were recognised by the sports leaders, Alan and Charlie (13/10/00) as: transport; lack of parental support;

cultural barriers preventing young people becoming involved in organisations that are dominated by middle class participants; and funding for kit. Of these, Alan and Charlie put particular emphasis on the cultural barriers. These are more likely to apply disproportionately to those involved in offending, where offending is related to social disadvantage. Transport, and the cost of this, is especially relevant in Easttown, which is semi-rural. For Summit clients Colin (5.2.1) and Mark (5.2.5) geographical isolation certainly limited their opportunities.

Thus, if an objective is sports development, one will need to design the programme to overcome the barriers to sports participation. George was aware of this in the way he designed individual Summit programmes to lead to viable exit routes, including attempting to link participants with people they could play sport with after they had finished Summit.

Splash illustrated a potential conflict between sports development objectives and crime reduction. Loxley et al. (2002), making recommendations for increasing effectiveness in crime reduction, suggest that police records of youth related disturbances could show the times and places at which most take place, and therefore inform when and where programmes are delivered. However, if programmes were targeted more effectively at offenders, as appears to have happened at Site 18 (6.2.7; 6.2.9), it will present greater problems for the sports leaders in managing the sessions. It may deter non-offenders and the parents of non-offenders, who want to send their children to a 'safe' environment. Thus, if Splash was targeted in the way Loxley et al. suggest, this would conflict with sports development objectives. Loxley et al. (2002, p.2) also suggest a pragmatic pricing policy, tailored to 'need, capacity to pay, and supply and demand'. It is difficult to see how this could be applied in the Easttown situation, where participation is currently free, without significantly reducing involvement of those the scheme wishes to target the most. It would conflict with the objective of reducing social exclusion, and it would probably deter offenders from attending. As Splash is an open access programme, charging could only be applied to the off-site trips. This would completely alienate children who's parents could not afford to pay for them. One could speculate that it might even increase crime if some offenders stole to gain money to pay for the trips!

Programme objectives will determine structure. Programmes which aim to achieve pro-social development need to decide the limits of their involvement with the clients. Sportaction appeared to have an open ended relationship with Adam and Marvin. It was not clear where their involvement would end. Similarly, in describing her work with Jane, Charlie (13/10/00) reported, 'only now do I feel I can let go and she will be alright'. This was over three years since she had started working with Jane.

In contrast, Summit was an example of a very tightly structured programme, in that it just involved the sessions for the different awards. This enabled the sports leader to manage his resources effectively in terms of achieving the outputs that had been sold to the YOT. This was measured in terms of the amount of work done with the number of clients and the levels they had completed. This effectiveness in delivering the programme was one of its selling points to the YOT (as discussed 8.2). However, this missed the synergy with more general sports development objectives. A little extra work with clients, paid for from the sports development budget, could have enhanced their chances of long term sports participation.

So, programme design should consider the level of risk of the clients, the main mechanism by which this might reduce crime, and the overlap with other objectives. It should be prepared to capitalise on synergy between objectives but recognise that they may have conflicting implications for programme design and delivery. Where the mechanism is pro-social development the role of staff as mentors is especially important, along with their ability to offer a progression of experiences (7.2.1). However, given that without funding there will be no programme, it is inevitable that programme managers will be led by the changing policy objectives of funders.

8.4 The design of research and the ability to produce evidence of a causal relationship to crime reduction

Section 1.5.1 and 1.5.2 reviewed the lack of evidence for the effectiveness of sport related programmes in reducing crime but also noted the increasing emphasis on 'evidence led policy'. This section discusses the particular difficulties of producing evidence on which to base policy.

If research is to start from theory, as recommended by scientific realism or any deductive approach, the mechanism theory suggests will be prevalent will influence research design. Further, the higher the point of the clients on the modified Brantingham and Faust scale, in terms of risk; the more focused the programme will be on crime reduction (8.2) and the easier it will be to show a relationship between the programme and this objective. Conversely, programmes with low risk clients will be more likely to have other objectives, such as sports development. For these programmes it will be harder to show the relationship with crime reduction through pro-social development, but this does not mean that this mechanism does not exist. In programmes at all points on the modified Brantingham and Faust scale one can also examine for the mechanism of diversion, but again, it will be harder to produce conclusive evidence in programmes for low risk clients. In general the more objectives a programme has, the harder it will be to produce evidence of effectiveness in achieving any one of them. This is different to recognising the value of multi-modal programmes in achieving a single objective (Crow, 2001).

The greater difficulty of producing evidence that programmes with low risk clients have an impact on crime is accentuated by the requirements of scientific realism to understand generative causality as a causal mechanism: sections 8.4.1 and 8.4.2 discuss this in more detail with reference to the need to gain an understanding of the changed perception of the actor. The relation of 'proof' to methodological positions is discussed in 8.4.5.

8.4.1 Programmes with low risk clients

Firstly, examining a programme such as Splash, working with low risk clients, if one wanted to measure the process of pro-social development one could attempt to measure changes in self-esteem, locus of control, social skills and value systems (box 4, figure 2.2.3). To do this one would want to apply validated research instruments at two points for each individual participant. However, the open access nature of the programme means that at any one time it is impossible to predict which participants will continue to participate over the study period. Only at the end of a study period, for example, two years, can one identify the group of participants who one would expect to have benefited. Given the large number of participants in many of these open access programmes, the

physical environment in which the programme operates, and the resources required, it is not practical to conduct 'before' measures with a large sample, many of whom will not become regular participants over the two years. To obtain an adequate sample size one would need to sample a very large number of participants to obtain initial measurements because of the drop out rate from the programme. Thus, much of the data collected at the start of the study would be wasted; even if it could be collected (discussed further below). A further practical difficulty is that there is no defined start point, so one would have to decide when to make the initial set of measurements with any particular participant.

If one wanted to measure changes in offending (box 5, figure 2.2.3) there are similar problems. One would want to identify regular participants and examine how their offending had changed over a defined period. However, in an open access programme; which is a typical characteristic of those working with low risk clients; there are unlikely to be accurate records of attendance. Again, one would need to produce a sample large enough to achieve statistically significant results. Previous analysis by the author of offending rates using the Offender Group Reconviction Score (Copas and Marshall, 1998) in a programme with high risk clients has shown the practical difficulties of doing this, even from a sample which initially appears to be adequate (Nichols, 2001c); although such an analysis was also conducted with a positive result in the evaluation of West Yorkshire Sports counselling.

In measuring either intermediate or final outcomes of the programme, if one wished to apply the 'gold standard' of evaluation methods as implied by the classical experimental design (figure 2.2.1) one would need to produce a matched control group. However, one would only be able to identify the sample group at the end of the defined period over which one had expected change to occur. One could set up a control group, matched by age, gender and history of offending, to see if those attending the programme regularly had changed significantly in relation to those who had not; and to compare records of offending. If this was done prospectively, at the start of the study period, control group members who were matched with original participants who did not complete the study period, and thus did not qualify for the sample group, would be wasted. If the matched control group was set up retrospectively one would have to make the match by the

relevant participant characteristics, as they were at the start of the study period. It was not possible to match a control group by either of these methods in the present study.

Any use of offending data only records those who have been 'caught' and the omission of non-recorded offending would be likely to significantly affect results with low risk clients, if one just wanted to record if they had offended or not over a given period. However, this is not in itself a more significant problem for low risk clients as use of the Offender Group Reconviction Score as a control would take this into account. Farrall (2002) used outcome measures of probationers' self-reported changes in offending, and the impressions of their probation officers. He did this because re-offending data is not a good reflection of desistence, which is better seen as a process. Again, use of these reports is easier to use with participants at the higher end of the Brantingham and Faust risk scale. As they have been more heavily involved in offending a move to desistence will be more apparent. For a Summit client who has been involved in one offence, or a Splash participant who has not officially offended, the impact of the programme is more likely to be a small but imperceptible nudge in the right direction. It will be less apparent than the changes noted by Farrall in probationers, although it may apply to a lot more people.

Some of these problems are those identified by Pawson and Tilley (1997) in their general criticism of the classical experimental design; the impossibility of creating the ideal research environment where all variables but one are held constant. However, if one accepts their notion of generative causality, even if one could produce statistically significant results from the analysis above, one would still need to understand causality as a combination of human agency and its reaction to new opportunities and resources. To understand the mechanism we need to understand how the actor sees the programme, which is 'embedded' in their particular level of social reality. 'Social mechanisms are ...about people's choices and the capacities they derive from group membership' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 66). This implies the need for qualitative research and; in contrast to Farrington's view (1998: 207) the acceptance of the actor's account of their experience as valid research data. However, in a programme with low risk clients and where crime reduction is not a major objective, as the interviews with Splash participants

show, it is difficult to gain evidence of the mechanism of long-term pro-social development through generative causality.

Thus, in an open assess programme working with low risk participants there are inherent problems of researching a mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social development.

Secondly, if in a programme such as Splash one wanted to examine the mechanism of diversion, using the classical experimental design, one could measure youth related offences in the areas and period of time when Splash was running, and as a control compare these to areas and times when it was not. This is the approach taken by the national evaluation described in 3.9.2. The figures produced for Youth Justice monitoring by Easttown Splash are reported in 6.3.7. Given the problems of matching Splash areas of influence to the areas covered by police basic command units, and the additional work required by the police to produce this data, these results can be produced. But from the perspective of scientific realism they tell us nothing about the mechanism. However, the interviews reported in 6.2.9 show that it is possible to produce evidence of this mechanism through the actors' understanding of the situation, combined with the views of participants' parents. In this case this contrasts with the evidence from the crime statistics, which do not clearly show a fall in youth crime associated with the presence of Splash.

So in this type of programme it is easier to examine a mechanism of crime reduction via diversion than by pro-social development, however, if one wants to use qualitative data to examine this mechanism, one still has to accept that it will be 'shallower' than in programmes with high risk clients.

If one wanted to examine a deterrence mechanism in Splash one might compare records of vandalism to premises used by Splash for school holiday periods when Splash was operating and when it was not. Splash managers claimed to have done this some years ago; the collection of data was through insurance claims made by the education department for damage to schools, so was data already collected for another purpose; however the results were not made available to the researcher. Again this reflects the

classical experimental design and from the perspective of scientific realism, one would want to interview those likely to cause the damage, and school caretakers, to confirm the mechanism.

Thus, an overall conclusion is that in a programme with low risk clients such as Splash it is more practical to examine the diversion and the deterrence mechanisms than the mechanism of pro-social development.

8.4.2 Programmes with high risk clients

In contrast, in programmes for high risk clients it is easier to examine the mechanism of pro-social development and; if research is starting from theory; this is the mechanism figure 8.3 suggests will be most relevant.

The relatively intensive work with each client means it is easier to apply 'before and after' measures; although this is also easier if the programme has a defined period of working with clients; such as West Yorkshire Sports Counselling (Nichols and Taylor, 1996) or Summit, in contrast to Sportaction. It is also easier to analyse offending data. With high risk clients who have already offended it is easier to produce a matched control group, either directly, or indirectly through the use of the Offender Group Reconviction Score analysis. Both these methods were used in the previous study of WYSC.

The intensity of work with high risk clients means it is easier to obtain the rich qualitative data which supports an understanding of generative causality. This is especially so where the participants have a long history of offending and their achievements and experience of the programme is a considerable contrast to their previous experience of life and the criminal justice system. This was demonstrated in the previous studies of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling, the Hafotty Wen programme for long term drug abusers (Nichols, 1999b) and Maruna's interviews (2001) with long-term offenders who had desisted. In Sportaction, although the participants did not have such a long record of offending, the record they had and the length and intensity of the work with them meant qualitative interviews could show evidence of generative causality. This

was supported by the detailed records of meetings with clients, again made possible by the intensity of the work. However, the numbers in Sportaction were too small for any quantitative analysis.

While the focus of research with high risk clients would be on the pro-social development mechanism, one could still research a diversion effect through qualitative interviews and records of offending. However, it would be very difficult to apply the sort of analysis used in Splash, using area based data of recorded offences, unless the clients all came from the same area and were all on the programme for the same time. In this type of programme a deterrence effect would be irrelevant. Thus it is more practical to research the mechanism of crime reduction via pro-social development in an intensive programme working with high risk clients.

8.4.3 Conclusions on the relationships between the position of the programme on the risk level / mechanism matrix (figure 8.3), the design of research, and the ability to establish a causal relationship with crime reduction

Thus, if research starts from theory it will be designed to explore the mechanism which theory suggests will be most relevant to the position of the programme on the adapted Brantingham and Faust continuum. It will be more practical to research the mechanism of pro-social development in intensive programmes with high risk clients. The mechanism of diversion can be researched in programmes at all points on the modified Brantingham and Faust continuum. At the high risk end research will focus on offending records of individual participants, and at the low risk end, crime figures for the areas where the programme is targeted. But focusing on area based records of crime is less accurate because of all the other factors that might affect crime.

There are two dangers here. Firstly, if the research is focused on only one mechanism one might overlook another which is relevant, but that the research instruments are not designed to explore. One needs to be aware of this possibility. Thus the present research started with methods which were designed to explore the mechanism of long-term pro-social development but found that the mechanism of simple diversion was more

important in Splash. One reason this was possible was because of the interview method implied by scientific realism, in which the researcher shares understanding with the interviewee (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 164). However, other mechanisms such as deterrence, or the ability to offer employment, and through this, income and a stake in society (Roberts, 1992) might also be important . Secondly, research might be led to explore the mechanism it is easiest to research. For example, the national research into Splash concentrated on the diversion mechanism because it could do this using secondary data, which the programmes were obliged to collect as a condition of funding. This would miss any impact a long running programme, such as Easttown Splash, might have on long-term pro-social development.

This leads to more general implications for 'evidence led policy'. A programme such as Splash, working with low risk participants, and as a consequence running an open access programme targeted geographically on areas of disadvantage, will find it harder to produce evidence of an impact on crime reduction. This will be made even more difficult where programmes have other objectives, such as sports development or social exclusion. But this does not mean they have no impact on crime reduction. It is quite possible that the overall impact on a large number of participants is considerable. But it is harder to show this and requires considerable resources to do so, especially if one is to explore generative causality. A recent review of projects to reduce social exclusion found that crime reduction was only one of the 'social inclusion' outcomes '...there is little effective evaluation against...' (Long, et al., 2002: 81) but that programmes were keen to gain advice on how such evidence could be produced. Programmes want to produce evidence, but are frustrated in their ability to do so.

8.4.4 Gaining the co-operation of the programmes in producing evidence

A further constraint on the choice of research methods is the willingness of the programmes to co-operate. While the discussion above has suggested that researching the mechanism of pro-social development might ideally involve the use of validated instruments to measure self-esteem, locus of control, social skills and value systems, even in programmes which worked on a one-to-one basis with clients higher on the risk scale, it is not practical to use these. This is because they take too much time to complete

and may be counterproductive to the need to quickly establish a good relationship between client and sports leader. This limitation was identified by unsuccessful attempts to use such instruments in a large survey funded by the Home Office (Nichols, et al. 2000) and confirmed by the design of instruments for use in Summit.

The instruments used had to be acceptable to the sports leaders, and ideally seen as helping them do their job. Thus the use of the adapted Huskins record of level of development (3.6.3) was used by the main sports leader of Summit, although he had been less successful in persuading his colleagues to use it.

Consistent with the approach of scientific realism the research would have liked to have gathered more evidence of outcomes: both the intermediate outcomes of changes in self-esteem, locus of control, social skills and value systems, and the outcomes of changes in offending (boxes 4 and 5, figure 2.2.3). This would have allowed the research to become evaluative, saying how well these outcomes had been achieved, rather than a case study approach, asking how and why the programme had an effect on participants. However, apart from the difficulties of measuring the intermediate outcomes, the YOTs in Easttown and Southtown would not release ASSET scores on participants or records of offending (in Southtown they had not managed to interview most participants to collect an ASSET score themselves) and Easttown Police would not allow access to records of offending. The data on crimes in Easttown, by Splash areas, was produced by Easttown Police, but passed on to the researcher by a sports leader.

Thus a further factor influencing the research design, and the very research objectives, is the data it is possible to collect, and which will be made available. The politics of the research situation and the relationship of the researcher with brokers of information and stakeholders will vary (Easterby-Smith et al. 2002: 60) but they can influence the research questions.

8.4.5 The relationship of research problems to the philosophy of research

The difficulties of researching programmes which use sport in an attempt to reduce crime (and this is a general point applying to all research) are related to the epistemological and ontological position of the researcher.

The classic experimental research design as criticised by Pawson and Tilley (1997) is underpinned by a positivist epistemology and an objectivist ontology (Bryman, 2001). If one accepts this position the problems of producing before and after measurements and statistically significant differences to those of a control group are important. This appears to be the perspective that has informed much criticism of research in this area (Coalter, 1990, 1995: Robins, 1996).

Alternatively, an interpretivist epistemological position, which requires the researcher to achieve empathy with the actor's system of logic, combined with a constructionist ontology, asserting that the social world is constructed by social interaction, would imply that research should be conducted through detailed qualitative methods. These would be difficult to apply to a programme such as Splash. The low intensity of participant's involvement in the programme would mean there was little experience for the research to focus on and the experience of participating in an in-depth interview would be disproportionate to the relation of the experience of participating in the programme. The interviews of Splash participants (appendices B4,5 and 6) show how far one can go in this respect. However, the interpretivist approach would remove the need for quantitative measures of outcomes and control groups.

Scientific realism's epistemological position (see chapter 2) is that causation in a programme cannot be understood through deducing how a programme works just through statistical regularities (as in positivism and objectivism). One has to understand 'generative causality': why actors involved in the programmes choose to change the way they act. Causality has to be understood as a combination of human agency and its reaction to new opportunities and resources. The ontological position of scientific realism is that, as in positivism, 'there is an external reality to which scientists direct their attention' (Bryman, 2001: 13) but unlike positivism, 'scientist's conceptualisation is

simply one way of knowing that reality'. Bryman quotes Bhaskar, the philosopher who founded this approach, (1975: 250): 'science then is the systematic attempt to express in thought the structures and ways of acting of things that exist and act independently of thought'. Scientific knowledge has a particular status because of the systematic way in which data is collected. But we still need to understand the different levels of social reality. Any mechanism has to be understood as embedded in its particular level of social reality. This provides a context on which it is contingent. In common with interpretivism and constructionism, we need to understand the system of logic the actor uses to understand the world, so we can understand their own rationality within this.

Scientific realism demands methods which will both lead to an understanding of the internal logic of actors, and quantify outcomes in context, mechanism, outcome configurations. It may well use both qualitative and quantitative methods. Thus evaluation research, which is the primary concern of Pawson and Tilley (1997) would involve a mixture of methods. It is unclear if this sidesteps the need to use a control group and achieve statistically significant differences in outcomes (Nichols, 2001a). To the extent that qualitative research is required to produce evidence of 'generative causality', as noted above, it will be easier to produce this in programmes working intensively with high risk clients, such as Sportaction. However, if one is going to explore context / mechanism / outcome configurations one needs some measure of outcomes. In his study of probationers, based on a scientific realism approach, Farrall (2002) used self-reporting of probationers and probation officers' impressions. As noted above, this might have been possible in theory with Sportaction clients, but in practice they had no contact with probation officers. It was not so practical with those at the low risk end of the Brantingham and Faust scale (8.4.1).

An approach which sidesteps some of the difficulties caused by the epistemological and ontological questions above and has been used in evaluation research is the 'theory of change', as espoused by Connell et al. (1998). This puts explicit emphasis on the perceptions of policy makers and has been used in evaluation research. The 'theory of change' approach starts by identifying 'a set of beliefs that underlie action' (Weiss, 1998: 55). This is, 'a set of hypotheses upon which people build their program plans. It is an explanation of the causal links that tie program inputs to expected program outputs', and

will include both the activities and the mechanisms of change. This corresponds to Pawson and Tilleys' CMR configuration but does not arise from previous theory. In researching the impact of a programme the hypotheses would be derived from interviewing programme staff and managers. They would describe the type of participants they worked with, the outcomes of the programme, and how they thought their programme contributed to these.

The contribution of Weiss's version of the theory of change is to focus on the process. For Connell the focus is to change policy and practice. To do this it identifies key stakeholders in the policy community. These stakeholders are the most important judges of the validity of the research methods and results. The key stakeholders are consulted, both to agree the initial hypothesis, but also on how the research must be conducted to provide valid results. Jim Connell made the following points in discussion in 1998, with Rowan Astbury at the Charities Evaluation Services:

> 'The theory of change is a prediction about what leads to what; plausibility to relevant people is critical. They validate in advance; face validity is always important but especially where change [produced by the intervention] is likely to be small. Credibility of result is related to stakeholders having agreed not only ultimate outcomes, but also interim ones – i.e. if they agree at the start that activities abc, properly done, should lead to outcomes xyz – then if abc and xyz all occur as expected, they will have confidence that the outcomes are due to the interventions. Stakeholders agree in advance the standard of evidence which will convince them.' (personal communication).

Thus Connell's version of the theory of change helps to side-step the philosophical debates on methodology, especially in evaluation research, by accepting that the most important judges of validity are the stakeholders who are going to use the results. This is one approach to evaluation, but it does not meet the criteria of PhD research, which has to be built on a justified academic methodological position.

The purpose of contrasting these methodological positions is to show how they will determine which of the problems encountered in research into crime prevention programmes using sport are significant. For example; the classical experimental research

design, arising from positivism and objectivism, will be more easily applied to studying the mechanism of diversion in a programme with low risk participants, such as Splash; by using comparative crime records. An interpretivist / constructionist position will more easily be applied to researching the mechanism of pro-social development in a programme working with high risk clients; such as Sportaction. The methodological position held will also determine criticisms and evaluation of research results. An awareness of both these points could lead the cynical researcher to adopt a 'philosophical' position consistent with overcoming the practicalities of the research situation, thus evading practical difficulties and enabling criticism of results to be deflected as based on contestable assumptions about epistemology and ontology.

8.4.6 Applying a retrospective view of the inter-relation of the position of the programme on the risk level / mechanism matrix; the design of research; the ability to establish a causal relationship with crime reduction; the need to gain the co-operation of the programme; and the relation to research philosophy; to a critical review of the conduct of this research project

This research was developed from the position of scientific realism. Ideally one would have liked to have conducted evaluations of the three programmes, as comparative analyses of context / mechanism / outcome configurations. A model was provided by the previous evaluation of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling, conducted by the author (Nichols and Taylor, 1997). However, as described above, the collection of data on outcomes was restricted both by the nature of the programmes and the unwillingness of key stakeholders and brokers to produce it. In addition, previous research by the author had recognised the difficulties of applying validated measures of intermediate outcomes in a way that was consistent with the programme's need to build a good relationship with participants.

As a consequence, while still adhering to the philosophical assumptions of scientific realism, the research restricted itself to asking 'how' and 'why' questions within a case study framework. This was more suitable for researching generative causality through the mechanism of crime reduction via pro-social development in Sportaction, where detailed

case studies could be assembled of the two participants the programme had worked with intensively. It was not so suitable for researching the same mechanism in Summit or Splash; working with lower risk clients and where the experience of the programme was less intense. In Summit, measures of change in self-esteem and sports participation were used. Records of the sports leader were analysed to show evidence of participants' personal development (table 5.3). Ideally, in Summit, a research instrument more acceptable for all sports leaders could have been devised for measuring change in social skills, locus of control, self-esteem and values. After the research had been designed the author became aware of Neill's 'Life Effectiveness Questionnaire' (Neill, et al. 2003) which might have been a suitable tool. Similarly, an evaluation of the Fairbridge programme in the UK (Astbury and Knight, 2003), which was being conducted concurrently to the research in this thesis, was able to develop a simple measure of change in personal skills, which was both acceptable to programme leaders and could be internally validated due to the large sample size. The difficulties of researching the mechanism of pro-social development do not mean it is irrelevant to programmes with low risk clients: in particular, in Splash it was relevant to some participants who had been worked with intensively. However, the qualitative approach was also able to show that while this was a general intention of Splash the combined objectives of sports development and crime reduction meant that these benefits of intensive mentoring were not necessarily targeted on those most likely to offend.

The predominantly qualitative approach taken in this research was valuable in firstly revealing the significant mechanism of diversion, and then, in the case of Splash, showing how this had implications for programme design, given the other objective of sports development. In the case of Splash it was possible to gain some data on outputs, in terms of crime data for the Splash areas; but if this had been the only data collected it would not have shown how and why Splash reduced local crime, and the quantitative data itself would have concluded Splash had no effect.

More generally, starting research from hypotheses derived from a theoretical understanding of a specific mechanism gave it a valuable focus and structure, as reflected in the design of research instruments and recording of results.

Starting research from theory could be criticised as being insensitive to other potential mechanisms. However, a value of the scientific realist approach to interviews was to draw attention to the mechanism of diversion, which was followed up over the period of the research. A Yin notes (1994: 111) 'the final explanation may not have been stipulated at the beginning of a study' and ' evidence is examined once again for a new perspective, in this iterative mode'. The research did not follow-up the possible mechanism of deterrence. This was partly due to limited resources.

The adapted Brantingham and Faust continuum provided a useful theoretical link between the three cases, allowing a comparison by this dimension (Yin, 1994: 44). Another pragmatic reason for the use of three case studies was the high attrition rate of such programmes. Even so, two programmes the research had hoped to use as case studies collapsed at an early stage of the research: McCormack (2000) experienced the same difficulty in researching similar programmes. This strategy of insuring against programme collapse had a disadvantage of limiting the resources one could direct at any one programme: 'the conduct of a multiple case study can require extensive resources and time beyond the means of a single student or independent research investigator' (Yin, 1994: 45). However, it is difficult to see where additional effort could have been most valuably applied.

The case studies of clients in Sportaction might have been augmented by interviews with clients' YOT officers, but in only one case did the client have contact with this officer. An extension of the research period would have allowed follow-up interviews with Adam and Marvin 8 months later to confirm the impact of their experience with Sportaction, assuming they could be contacted. Again, as McCormack's (2000) study and others have confirmed, it is hardest to retain contact with the highest risk clients. There was only one other case study client with whom Sportaction had worked for a significant period of time (42 hours) and he was in a detention centre (Table 4.1). Evaluation research could have interviewed those participants who dropped out of the programme to find out why they did this, and those who never attended but were referred. This would be very difficult and expensive in time as a major reason for non-attendance was that the Sportaction staff could not contact them either. An analysis of offending rates would not have been useful for just two clients unless it had shown a significant reduction

coinciding with programme participation. A comparative analysis with a control group would have been worthless. However, it might have been possible to use self-reports of offending, similar to those used by Farrall (2002). This would have required additional interviews with the three Sportaction participants who attended regularly, once they had been identified as doing so.

In Summit, access to ASSET scores would have shown the relative risk levels of the Summit clients compared to those in the YOT as a whole, but this data was denied, and anyway would have been unreliable as the score is based on an initial interview where the client may not reveal all their personal problems to a strange, new authority figure. As noted above, design of a method of researching change in participants which, although not academically validated, was designed with Summit staff and recognised as valuable to their work, could have produced better results. This design of methods with stakeholders is a characteristic of the 'theory of change' approach. If Summit research had been concerned with evaluation one could have analysed records of offending and created a control group of YOT clients who had not attended Summit, matched by factors known to influence offending, or by their ASSET scores. However, access to ASSET scores and offending records were not made available (3.4). Those that completed Summit would have provided a very small group for purposes of comparing offending. One would still have required qualitative case studies to disentangle the causal effect of characteristics of participants (which might both lead them to volunteer for Summit and complete the programme) and the impact of the programme itself.

In Splash, if the focus had been on evaluation, there would have been more systematic analysis of the local crime data, although this was only made available through a sports leader rather than directly from Eastshire Police. There would still have been a need to conduct qualitative interviews to examine the mechanism. If resources had allowed, methods could have been extended to interviews with local police officers, more interviews with sports leaders at each site, and a systematic structured observation of sessions to observe and record evidence of success factors.

Observation of sessions would have had to overcome the problem of the observation itself affecting the behaviour of sports leaders and participants.

One factor preventing the expansion of methods was the need to spread resources around three programmes, which Yin (1994) notes is a draw-back of multi-case studies. However, these enabled the comparison which has led to much of the discussion in this chapter.

The use of scientific realism meant the research started from the researcher's pre-understanding of the mechanisms (1.2) in an attempt to base research on theory. An advantage of the 'theory of change' approach would have been to conduct preliminary interviews to find out the main mechanisms the sports leaders thought linked their programmes to crime reduction. These could then have been refined, using academic theory, at this stage of the research. Research methods could still have been designed based around CMO configurations and reflecting the methodological implications of scientific realism. If this approach had been taken the research would have been designed to examine the diversion mechanism as well.

8.5 The influence of values on programme design and evaluation of evidence

8.5.1 The influence of practitioner and policy makers' values on programme design and evaluation of evidence

If one accepts the commentators' view that there is a lack of evidence of programme effectiveness in crime reduction, combined with the emphasis on evidence based policy, a reasonable research question would have been why are such programmes funded and run? Section 1.5.4 discussed the role of value judgements in directing policy and evaluating research.

The programmes in this study were managed and run by sports enthusiasts. Splash and Summit were run by the sports development section of the local authority, and by staff who had been employed for sports development skills. All the Sportaction staff were also sport enthusiasts. This enthusiasm directed their work; and may have been an important characteristic in the ability to develop a mentoring relationship with young people;

although Robins (1996: 26) has described it as 'a sort of aggressive optimism which acts as a defence against the helplessness felt when confronting the destructive nihilism of criminalised youth'. This optimism can extend to positive interpretations of evidence and beyond that to a willingness to acknowledge that the evidence was just not there, but the programme was still worthwhile. For example; Alan, the leading Splash sports leader, commented on the use of local crime data:

> 'You (are) never ever going to be 100%, tying down the diversionary activities to the crime rate because there's too many other factors within the young persons lives to take into account which have an impact on their criminal make up and profile, ... we are just one part of it, and therefore we can keep chipping away at the block, but you are never going to know.'

> '...If you want what indicators and measures I would use to show you (we) had been successful I'd look for anecdotal outcomes of young people being involved in sports clubs. Young people that I know have reduced their criminal behaviour...evidencing that, providing true measures of if those things happen, it's one or two anecdotal cases, one or two examples, the only thing we can say categorically, 100%, is that it's a diversion for the time they are with us, there is nothing else you can concretely claim. We can't evidence that there is such a percentage come through that are involved in this, we do know that young people do go through our schemes, and they do gain employment as a result of it. That does happen, but for 3 or 4 cases. We can't identify the fact that Johnny Bloggs from Mfield did Splash, improved at everything, but he did not take up employment with us, so we don't know if he took employment up somewhere else. Did he have a bit more confidence to get that job because of Splash? We can't have any evidence of that, he can't say that, but I'm sure if the examples of the young people who come to us are anything to go by, we have a similar impact on young people who go to do jobs elsewhere. But we can't evidence that.' (interview 17/4/02)

This shows how Alan, an extremely committed sports leader, and one of the two Splash leaders who presented greatest evidence of a mentoring relationship, acknowledged it

was not possible to produce the evidence justifying his work to an outside agency, but that for him, anecdotal evidence was sufficient.

However, he was still keen to produce the monitoring data demanded by Youth Justice as a condition of funding, although, from his point of view, even if the crime figures showed a decrease, this was not conclusive evidence of the impact of Splash, or vice versa.

Similarly, all three YOT officers interviewed in relation to Summit acknowledged frankly the limited evidence to justify Summit and that support was based on their own experience of the programme:

Researcher: As a Youth Offending Team are you able to make judgments about if you think Summit is a good idea or something else is a good idea...?

YOT officer 1: I would say, yes stick with it. Because I think it gives young people a good outlook and from one of my main cruxes is build another relationship and give that young person other views and ideas that they've maybe never thought about before.

Researcher: clearly you yourself think it's successful because of the number of people you refer and you keep on referring them. You've talked to me about how you think it's good. I was just wondering if the Youth Offending Team itself had a more formal way of deciding is that a good idea or not...

YOT officer 1: No not really. It's got to really be a matter of the sort of collective opinion of the officers who have sent people round.

Researcher: How does the YOT decide that Summit is a good idea?

YOT officer 2: The person who has obviously decided that we would pay into it again this year is Roy Smyth (YOT manager) and I don't

know what criteria he has used for that. He obviously knows how many people we have referred.

Researcher: I was just wondering if he had some very rational system of working this out, ...

YOT officer 2: Well he certainly hasn't come to me about it, he hasn't spoken to me about it, but he will know the same as you know. I mean you know from your list how many we have referred and he will have the same list I am sure. So he obviously knows that we are making good use of it and we are getting value for money.

YOT officer 3: You are talking to a chap here Geoff that you might be wishing you had never spoke to him, because you see in this field of work it's all controversial isn't it, because its all about selling a project and saying the project is doing well with crime figures.

Researcher: Absolutely, I mean one great difficulty with any sort of Project like this is saying well how do we know if it's any good or not, what has it achieved, and when you get down to it, its incredibly difficult to actually produce what people might regard as solid evidence...

YOT officer 3: That's right, yes I agree.

All three YOT officers; interviewed because of the large number of clients they had referred to Splash, were also sports enthusiasts. These quotes together show an acknowledgement both that evidence is limited, and that this is because it is hard to generate. Thus, these respondents have to rely on their own experience. However, similarly to the 'theory of change' approach to evaluation, these respondents recognise the need to produce evidence in a form that will satisfy the policy makers and programme funders. Alan produced the crime data required by Youth Justice, even

though he believed it was not strong evidence. One YOT officer acknowledged the need to 'sell' the project with figures; and a second that the YOT's judgement of how good Summit was was based on the number of people they had referred to it. Again, this is reflected in George, the Summit main sports leader's, focus on a tight structure to the work to make sure specific numbers of clients came through the project.

Thus, the limited evidence available to practitioners and policy makers means they are likely to be influenced by their own value judgements, but also extensive experience of the programmes. One might criticise their views to the extent that they reflected the value judgements but their experience has value, especially when it is reflected in their commitment to their work.

8.5.2 The influence of academics' values on evaluation of evidence

Section 8.4.5 has shown that the methodological assumptions held by academics, whether openly acknowledged or not, will determine their evaluation of research findings. This was suggested in 1.5.4. It is difficult to distinguish the extent to which evaluations are purely a reflection of the methodological assumptions of academics, or are also a reflection of their desire to assert their own academic position. A positivist / objectivist, wedded to the ideals of the classical experimental research design, might evaluate the qualitative findings of a interpretivist / constructionist or those of a scientific realist in terms of how well the research methods had reflected the author's methodological position, while accepting it was based on different assumptions; and vice versa. They might reject the research findings on the grounds that they were based on philosophical assumptions they thought, but could not prove, were wrong. Or they might reject them to defend their own academic position as a leading researcher in this area or one who wished to be seen to preserve academic standards. Academics holding any views on the philosophical basis for research might reject the theory of change approach to evaluation because they value the fact that research should be based on a methodological position, rather than ignoring these philosophical questions in a desire to achieve 'policy relevance'.

It is not possible to distinguish these motivations for criticism. When Farrington (1998: 207) criticises Pawson and Tilley by stating that 'it is not clear that ...verbal reports in general have any validity', to what extent is he basing this criticism on an assertion that his methodological assumptions are superior, and to what extent is it a reflection of a battle for supremacy in the academic world of programme evaluation? To what extent are the so called 'paradigm wars' (Crow, 2001: 52) a dispute about methodology or status of the protagonists?

Further, when Witt and Crompton (1997: 56) state that 'controlled studies [by which they mean the comparison of measured change in treatment and control groups] can provide scientifically legitimate evidence. This type of evidence is less challengeable by stakeholders....', are they going beyond stating that their methodological assumptions are superior (and at the same time claiming the value laden label of 'scientific') to also make the point of 'theory of change' exponents, that what matters most is the value judgments of policy makers?

Section 8.4.5 has argued that particular combinations of mechanism and position of programme on the modified Brantingham and Faust scale (Figure 8.3) will be particularly vulnerable to criticisms from particular methodological positions because of the inherent difficulties in conducting the research. For example, from a positivist / objectivist perspective it will be difficult to produce satisfactory evidence of the mechanism of pro-social development, and especially so when researching programmes with low risk clients, such as in box 2. This is because of the inherent difficulties of producing 'before and after measures', with significantly large sample and control groups. From a interpretivist / constructionist perspective it will be difficult to produce evidence of diversion or development mechanisms in programmes with low risk clients because of the lack of detailed information on any one case to build up a convincing set of qualitative data.

Scientific realism is in a better position to examine all the mechanisms in 8.3 because it can use a methodologically justified combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to complement each other.

So, the point of this section so far is both to argue that the values of academics themselves will influence the evaluation of research evidence and that particular mechanisms will be more vulnerable to criticism from particular methodological positions.

A third point is that from whatever methodological position one comes from the interpretation of evidence will be coloured by ones own values. A lot of the evidence on crime reduction programmes could be interpreted differently depending on if one is an optimist or pessimist / cynic: In other words, if one 'tends to view beer glasses as half full or half empty'.

This thesis has openly acknowledged its limitations, but the author's interpretation of results is that the programmes did make a positive contribution to crime reduction (7.5), based on evidence from the participants and sports leaders, rather than statistical measures of outcomes. Some authors have criticised leisure research as being preoccupied with the constraints of capitalism and ignoring leisure as an expression of individual freedom (Coalter, 2000). Scientific realism's understanding of generative causality itself illustrates an attempt to balance social constraint with social action; and specifically in the mechanism of crime reduction through pro-social personal development, to show how the participant can be helped to take greater control over their own lives; and this implies that they could also not choose to do this. Thus, to use a specific example, the Summit client Colin (5.2.1) was constrained by geographical isolation and to some degree, lack of funds. But there were opportunities he could take if he wished; playing for the local football team; using the gym in his local school; or just some other opportunity he created from his own resources. While acknowledging constraint it can be too easy to ignore the actor's efforts, or lack of, to make the best of them. On the other hand, a general conclusion from the Summit case was that the recognition of an overlap of crime reduction and sports development objectives could have justified some additional follow-up work with clients to help them in further sports participation (5.4.6). Thus, the research findings have not been interpreted with undue emphasis on constraints, but the perspective of scientific realism itself emphasises the way programmes open new opportunities, which may, or may not, be taken.

8.6 Implications for policy

There might currently be an emphasis on justifying policy by evidence, but the section above has illustrated that it is not clear what counts as valid evidence and how much of it is required. In terms of convincing policy makers, the 'theory of change' exponents judge evidence to be of sufficient quality and quantity if it does this. This is the approach programmes themselves use when attempting to obtain funding.

The discussion above has shown that while some mechanisms may be important, it requires substantial resources, and in some cases the overcoming of significant research problems, to produce the evidence. In 8.4 the inherent difficulties in producing measures of outcomes were discussed in detail. These are compounded by the changing objectives of programmes (8.2) and the need to strike a balance between objectives, such as crime reduction, sports development (Figure 8.2) and social inclusion. Thus, while 1.5.2 noted the pressure from central government to justify policy by evidence, it is reasonable to question if programme continuation should be 'based on their ability to offer at least prima facie evidence that they are doing what they set out to do, or is this the tail wagging the dog? If we only do what we can measure will we lose the programmers which [are] ...most difficult to evaluate?' (Nichols and Crow, 2004).

Given this, it is sensible to give value to the opinions of experienced practitioners who do not necessarily have a vested interest in promoting their own particular programme, but have shown personal commitment to it because they believe it works. Thus the sports development officers in Splash, the Summit sports leader, and the YOT officers who refer to Summit, all had considerable experience of their work and showed personal commitment to it. This does not mean they should not be prepared to critically revue their own work, and the willingness to engage in debate with this research was a demonstration of this. It also does not mean that research should not continue. Further detailed case studies could refine understanding of programme mechanisms.

Given that the conservative estimate of the average economic and financial cost of a youth crime in 1994 was £2,800 (Coopers and Lybrand, 1994), a programme does not have to stop many of these to pay for itself. Thus, if one was attempting to justify the

Easttown Splash programme one could estimate how many crime preventions would be required, and if this was relatively small, one would be prepared to accept less 'solid' evidence that the programme did in fact reduce crime.

Figures 8.2 and 8.3 have drawn attention to the overlap of programme objectives. The pattern of programme funding makes this inevitable. Funders have to accept this and look to the greatest degree of synergy between their objectives and those of existing programmes. It will often be more effective to accept synergy with an existing programme than to establish a new one with the associated costs of establishing it.

Programme managers need to accept the same position and implications for programme design, implementation and the production of monitoring objectives (to fit the funder's objectives). Given the insecurity of funding it will always be tempting for programme managers to bid for funds marginally linked to the objectives of their existing programme. To re-quote Dick (Splash manager): 'I can get money to work with young people if I say that they're potential criminals but I can't get money if I say they're all kids let's go for it'.

However, the analysis in 8.3 shows that an appreciation of the objectives of the programmes and the mechanisms by which these might be achieved can help managers improve their design.

8.7 The application and limitations of scientific realism

This research was based on the assumptions of scientific realism as it was believed these most accurately represented reality. In particular, the notion of generative causality and the implications for interview design accorded with the author's previous experience. It was not the objective of the research to add to the philosophy of social explanation, but, in reflecting on the research, it is worth making some observations on the value of the scientific realist approach.

One attraction of scientific realism was its approach to interview conduct (Pawson and Tilley, 1997: 164). This proposes that an interview is a sharing of understandings to gain

a refined understanding. However, this does not take into account the different status of the researcher and interviewee with respect to knowledge of the subject. The situation will be different if one is interviewing an academic peer, a programme manager, a YOT officer, a sports leader or a participant. As one moves further down this scale, in terms of the degree to which the interviewee views the researcher as an 'expert', it will be harder to achieve the open sharing of ideas. The farther down the scale, the more the interviewee will tend to be led by the opinions of the researcher, so the more careful the researcher must be to avoid this. However, another factor is the relative power relationship. The more powerful the interviewee the more the researcher will feel they have to share their own perceptions to gain trust and co-operation. Thus, in discussing mechanisms of crime reduction with a YOT officer or programme manager, it is tempting to be more open about one's own understanding, because obtaining this is one reason they have granted the interview. This leads to a danger of leading the interview too much with more powerful interviewees.

A solution is for the interviewer to be aware of both these possibilities. When interviewing the non-expert, take care to help them express what is important to them. When interviewing the powerful interviewee, be prepared to open up and share ones own ideas, but only after you have given them a good chance to express their own. Further, an awareness of the implications of these relationships between interviewer and interviewee could inform a 'reflexive' analysis of data (Mason, 2000: 78). This refines the skills required to conduct qualitative interviews and puts an emphasis on the ability to consider the social relationship of the interview, and analyse its content, at the same time as conducting it.

The notion of generative causality was valuable in understanding the experience of participants. (In cases such as Adam and Marvin who had long term contact with a programme such that it became a significant experience for them, it showed how the programme helped them develop their own resources such that they could see new opportunities, such as Adam's desire to work as a sports leader.) It was also relevant to the mechanism of diversion through Splash, in that participants saw a new set of opportunities offered by Splash and took them, consequently being drawn away from the opportunities to commit crime through boredom. Scientific realism makes one design

hypotheses around CMO configurations, although, as noted above, it might be helpful for preliminary research with practitioners to explore the mechanisms first.

But this still raises questions about the application of the general CMO model, raised in 2.4. How does one define a CMO configuration? At what point would one have to bring boxes 1 and 2 of Figure 2.2.3 into consideration as part of a configuration? If the modified Brantingham and Faust scale is a continuum at what point does one say programmes working with different clients are different CMO configurations? At what point does one reject any CMO configuration as not valid? When is evidence sufficient enough to disprove it? Related to this, how often does one have to observe an outcome for it to be a regular occurrence and thus support the configuration?

These are all unresolved questions, at least for the author. But as noted above, while scientific realism was a valuable methodological position to base the research on, the objective of the research was not to add to the philosophy of social explanation.

References

Astbury, R. and Knight, B. (2003) *Fairbridge research project —final report* London: Charities Evaluation Services.

Atherton, J. (1994) *Outdoor Pursuits Courses and Young Offenders* Unpublished dissertation submitted for M.Phil. Criminology, University of Cambridge.

Audit Commission (1996) *Misspent youth* Abingdon: Audit Commission.

Bhaskar, R. (1975) *A realist theory of science* Leeds: Leeds Books.

Brantingham, P. and Faust, F. (1976) A conceptual model of crime prevention *Crime and delinquency* 22 (3) 284 — 296.

Brookes, A. (2003) 'Adventure programming and the fundamental attribution error. A critique of neo-Hahnian outdoor education theory', in Humberstone, B., Brown, H. and Richards, K. (eds.) *Whose journeys? The outdoors and adventure as social and cultural phenomena* Penrith: The Institute for Outdoor Learning.

Bryman, A. (2001) *Social research methods* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young (2001) Summer Splash 2000, final report London: Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young .http://www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk/policy/summer_splash_2000_final_report.pdf accessed 12/02.

Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young (2002) *Splash 2001, final report* London: Cap Gemmini Ernst and Young. http://www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk/policy/splash_2001.pdf accessed 12/02.

Catalano, R. and Hawkins, J.D. (1996) 'The social development model: a theory of antisocial behaviour', in Hawkins, J.D. (ed.) *Delinquency and crime* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coalter, F. (1990) 'Sport and anti-social behaviour', in J. Long (ed.) Leisure, health and well being, LSA Publication No. 44 Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, pp. 145–154.

Coalter, F.(1995) *Sport 2005 working papers, Sport and Anti-Social Behaviour — a Literature Review* Edinburgh: Scottish Sports Council.

Coalter, F. (2000) Public and commercial leisure provision: active citizens and passive consumers? *Leisure Studies* 19 (3) 145–162.

Coalter, F. (2001) *Realising the potential of cultural services: The case for sport* London: Local Government Association.

Collier, A. (1998) 'Critical Realism', in *Routledge Encyclopedia ofphilosophy* London: Routledge.

Collins, M. and Kay, T. (2003) *Sport and social exclusion* London: Routledge.

Collison, M. (1996) In search of the high life *British Journal of Criminology* 36 (3) 428–444.

Connell, J.P. and Kubish, A.C. (1998) 'Applying a theories of change approach to the evaluation of comprehensive community initiatives: progress, prospects and problems', in Fullbright-Anderson, K., Connell, J.P. and Kubish, A.C. (eds.) *New approaches to evaluating community initiatives: theory, measurement and analysis.* Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

Commission on Social Justice (1994) *Social Justice, Strategies for National Renewal* London: Vintage.

Communities that care (no author) (1997) *Communities that care* London: CTC (UK).

Coopers and Lybrand (1994) *Preventative strategy for young people in trouble* London: ITV Telethon / The Prince's Trust.

Copas, J. and Marshall, P. (1998) The offender group reconviction scale: a statistical reconviction score for use by probation officers *Applied Statistics* 47 (1) 159 – 71.

Craine, S. and Coles, B. (1995) Alternative careers; youth transitions and young people's involvement in crime *Youth and Policy* 48. 6 — 26.

Critcher, C. (2000) Sport is damaging to your health *Recreation* December 2000 17–20.

Crow, I. (2000) 'Evaluating initiatives in the community', in Jupp, V., Davies, P. and Francis, P. (eds.) *Doing criminological research* London: Sage.

Crow, I. (2001) *The treatment and rehabilitation of offenders* London: Sage.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. and Csikszentmihalyi, I. (1991) 'Adventure and the flow experience', in Miles, J. & Priest, S. (eds.) *Adventure Education* P.A.: Venture Publishing. State College.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. and Csikszentmihalyi, I. (1992) *Optimal Experience: psychological studies of flow in consciousness* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) / Strategy Unit (2002) *Game plan: a strategy for delivering Government's sport and physical activity objectives* London: Cabinet Office.

Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions. (1998a) *Modernising Local Government, Improving Services through Best Value, Consultation Paper* London: Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions.

Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions. (1998b) 1998 *Index of local deprivation* London: DETR.

Easterby-Smith. M, Thorpe. R. and Lowe A. (1991) *Management research* London: Sage.

Emler, N. (2001) *Self-esteem, the costs and causes of low self-worth* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Farrall, S. (2002) *Rethinking what works with offenders: probation, social context and desistance from crime* Devon: William Publishing.

Farrell, W.C., Johnson, J.H., Sapp, M., Pumphrey, R.M. and Freeman, S. (1995) Redirecting the lives of urban black males: An assessment of Milwaukee's Midnight Basketball League *Journal of Community Practice* 2 (4) pp. 91–107.

Farrington, D. (1994) Early developmental prevention of juvenile delinquency *RSA Journal* November 1994.

Farrington, D. (1996) 'The explanation and prevention of youthful offending', in Hawkins, J.D. (ed.) *Delinquency and crime* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farrington, D. (1997) 'Human development and criminal careers', in *The Oxford handbook of criminology* Maguire, M., Morgan, R., and Reiner, R. (eds.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Farrington, D. (1998) Evaluating 'Communities that Care' *Evaluation* 4 (2) 204–210.

Farrington, D. (2000) Explaining and preventing crime: the globalization of knowledge – the American Society of Criminology 1999 Presidential Address *Criminology* 38 (1) 1–24.

Fletcher, M. (1992) *An Investigation into Participation in Amateur Boxing* Dissertation submitted in part requirement for the degree of MSc in Sport and Recreation Management, University of Sheffield.

Gabor, I. (2002) 'Every picture' The *Guardian* July 31, 2002.

Gibson, A. (1998) Disaffection, young people and public policy: the challenge facing us *Local Governance* 24 (2) 143–153.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and self-identity* Cambridge: Polity.

Glyptis, S. (1989) *Leisure and unemployment* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Gordon, W., Cuddy, P., and Black, J. (1999) *Introduction to youth justice* Winchester: Waterside press.

Graham, J. and Bowling, B. (1995) *Young people and crime, Home Office research study 145* London: Home Office.

Gratton, C. and Taylor, P. (1991) *Government and the economics of sport* Harlow; Longman.

Gratton, C. and Taylor, P. (2000) *Economics of sport and recreation* London: E.&F.N. Spon.

Gummesson, E. (2000) *Qualitative methods in management research* London: Sage.

Hagan, J. and McCarthy, B. (1997) Mean streets Cambridge; Cambridge University Press in, Farrall, S. (2002) *Rethinking what works with offenders: probation, social context and desistance from crime* Devon: William Publishing.

Hattie, J., Marsh, H.W., Neill, J. and Richards, G. (1997) Adventure education and outward bound: out-of-class experiences that make a lasting difference *Review of Educational Research* 67 (1) 43–87.

Hedderman, C. and Sugg, D. (1997) *Changing offenders' attitudes and behaviour: what works? Part II: the influence of cognitive approaches: a survey of probation programmes. Home Office Research Study 171.* London: Home Office.

Hendry, L.B., Shucksmith, J., Love, J.G. and Glendinning, A. (1993) *Young People's Leisure and Lifestyles* London: Routledge.

Huskins, J. (1996) *Quality Work with Young People* Kingsdown: Huskins .

Huskins, J. (1998) *From disaffection to social inclusion* Kingsdown: Huskins.

Hopkins, D. & Putnam, R. (1993). *Personal growth through adventure* London: David Fulton.

Holt, R. (1990) *Sport and the British* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jupp. V. (1995) The crime and sport equation: sport's contribution to crime reduction. Unpublished address to the ILAM national conference.

Katz, J. (1988) *Seductions of crime: moral and sensual attractions in doing evil* New York: Basic Books. In Lyng, S. 'Dysfunctional risk taking: criminal behaviour as edgework' in Bell, B and Bell, W. (eds.) (1993) *Adolescent risk taking* London: Sage.

Long, J., Welch, M., Bramham, P., Butterfield, H., and Lloyd, E. (2002) *Count me in* Department for Culture Media and Sport. http://www.lmu.ac.uk/ces/lss/research/countmein.pdf accessed 2/03.

Loxley, C., Curtin, L., and Brown, R. (2002) *Summer Splash schemes 2000: findings from six case studies. Crime reduction research series paper 12.* London: Home Office.

Lyng, S. (1993) 'Dysfunctional risk taking: criminal behaviour as edgework', in Bell, B and Bell, W. (eds.) (1993) *Adolescent risk taking* London: Sage.

Mathews, R. and Pitts, J. (2000) 'Rehabilitation, recidivism and realism: evaluating violence reduction programmes in prison', in Jupp, V. et al. (eds.) *Doing criminological research.* London: Sage.

McGuire, J. and Priestley, P. (1995) 'Reviewing what works: past, present and future', in McGuire, J. (ed.) *What works: reducing offending* Chichester: Wiley.

McCormack, F. *(2000) Leisure exclusion? Analysing interventions using active leisure with young people offending or at risk* Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the award of Doctor of Philosopy, University of Loughborough.

McCormack, F. (2001) 'The policy of outreach interventions for young people to achieve community development and social inclusion through leisure', in McPherson, G. and Reid, G. (eds.) *Leisure and social exclusion* Publication 73, Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association.

McCormack, F. (2003) 'Adventure as an intervention for young people at risk of offending: the construction of a framework to enhance the theoretical underpinning for claimed outcomes', in Humberstone, B., Brown, H. and Richards, K., (eds.) *Whose journeys? The outdoors and adventure as social and cultural phenomena* Penrith: Institute for Outdoor Learning.

Mason J. (2002) *Qualitative researching* London: Sage.

Mason, S. (1999) Feminist ethics of leisure *Leisure Studies* 18 (3) 233–248.

Maruna, S. (2001) *Making good* Washington: American Psychological Association.

McFee, G. (2001) Partnering is such sweet sorrow: some perils of partnership *Leisure Studies Association Newsletter* 60 November 2001, pp. 12–18. Eastbourne: Leisure studies Association.

Morgan, D. (1993) *Successful focus groups — advancing the state of the art* London: Sage.

Morgan, D. (1997) *Focus groups as qualitative research* London: Sage.

Mortlock, C. (1984). *The adventure alternative* Milnthorpe: Cicerone Press.

Neill, J. T., Marsh, H. W., and Richards, G. E. (2003) *The Life .Effectiveness Questionnaire Development and Psychometrics* Sydney: University of Western Sydney.

Nichols, G. (1999a) Developing a rationale for sports counselling projects *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 38 (2) 198–208.

Nichols, G. (1999b) Is risk a valuable component of outdoor adventure programmes for young offenders undergoing drug rehabilitation? *The Journal of Youth Studies* 2 (1) 101–116.

Nichols, G. (2000a) A research agenda for adventure education *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education* 4 (2) 22–31.

Nichols, G. (2000b) Risk and adventure education *Journal of Risk Research* 3 (2) 121–134.

Nichols, G. (2001a) 'A realist approach to evaluating the impact of sports programmes on crime reduction', in McPherson, G. and Reid, G. (eds.) *Leisure and social inclusion, new challenges for policy and provision,* LSA Publication No 73 .Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, pp. 71–79.

Nichols, G. (2001b) The difficulties of justifying local authority sports and leisure programmes for young people with reference to an objective of crime reduction *Vista* 6 (2) 152–163.

Nichols, G. (2001c) The use and limitations of reconviction rate analysis to evaluate an outdoor pursuits programme for probationers *Vista* 6 (3) 280–288.

Nichols, G. and Booth, P. (1999a) *Programmes to reduce crime and which are supported by local authority Leisure Departments* Melton Mowbray: Institute of Sport and Recreation Management.

Nichols, G. and Booth, P. (1999b) Crime reduction programmes supported by local authority leisure departments *Local Governance* 25 (4) 227–236.

Nichols, G. and Crow, I. (2004) Measuring the impact of crime reduction interventions involving sports activities for young people *Howard Journal* 43 (3) 267–283.

Nichols, G. and Taylor, P. (1996) *West Yorkshire Sports Counselling, Final Evaluation Report* Halifax: West Yorkshire Sports Counselling Association.

Nichols, G., Taylor, P., Crow, I. and Irvine, D. (2000) Methodological considerations in evaluating physical activity programmes for young offenders *World Leisure and Recreation* 42 (1) 10–17.

Osbourne, M. (1999) Marshalling youthful energies *Recreation* December 1999. 26–28.

Pawson, R. (2003) Nothing as practical as a good theory *Evaluation* 9 (4) 471–490.

Pawson, R. & Tilley, N. (1997) *Realistic evaluation* London: Sage.

Pawson, R. & Tilley, N. (1998a) Caring communities, paradigms, polemics, design debates *Evaluation* 4 (1) 73–90.

Pawson, R. & Tilley, N. (1998b). Cook book methods and disastrous recipes: a rejoinder to Farrington *Evaluation* 4 (2) 211–213.

Paulus, D. (1983) Sphere-Specific Measures of Perceived Control *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 44 (6) 1253–1265.

Policy Action Team 10 (1999) *A Report to the Social Exclusion Unit* London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport.

Priest, S. (1991) 'The adventure experience paradigm', in Miles, J. and Priest, S. (eds.) *Adventure Education* P.A.: Venture Publishing. State College.

Priest, S. & Gass, M. (1997) *Effective leadership in adventure programming* New Hampshire: Human Kinetics.

Purdy, D.A. and Richards, S.F. (1983) Sport and Juvenile Delinquency: An Examination and Assessment of Four Major Theories *Journal of Sport Behaviour* 6 (4) 179–193.

Putnam, R. (1985) *A rationale for outward bound* Rugby: Outward Bound Trust.

Ringer, M. and Gillis, H.L. (1995) Managing psychological depth in adventure programming *Journal of Experiential Education* 18 (1) 41–51.

Ringer, M. and Spanoghe, F. (1997) Can't he see me crying inside? — managing psychological risk in adventure programs *Zip Lines* Summer 1997, 41–45.

Roberts, K. (1992) 'Leisure responses to Urban Ills in Great Britain and Northern Ireland', in Sugden, J. and Knox, C. (eds.) *Leisure in the 1990's: Rolling Back the Welfare State* Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association.

Roberts, K. and Brodie, D. (1992) *Inner-city sport: who pays and what are the benefits?* Voorthhuizen: Goirano Bruno Culemborg.

Robins. D. (1990) *Sport as Prevention: The Role of Sport in Crime Prevention Programmes Aimed at Young People, Occasional Paper No.12* Oxford: Centre for Criminological Research, University of Oxford.

Robins, D. (1996) Sport and crime prevention; the evidence of research *Criminal Justice Matters* 23 Spring 1996.

Rose, D. (2002) 'It's official – prison does work after all' Observer 5 May 2002 20–21.

Rosenberg, M. (1965) *Society and the adolescent self image* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rosental, S,R. (1982) The Fear Factor *Sport and Leisure* 23. p.61.

Ross, R. and Fabiano, E. (1985) *Time to Think: A Cognitive Model of Delinquency Prevention and Offender Rehabilitation* Ottawa: T3 Associates.

Scanlon, D. (1998) *The crime and disorder act 1998: a guide for practitioners* London: Callow.

Schultz, L., Crompton, J. and Witt, P. (1995) A national profile of the status of public recreation services for at-risk children and youth *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration* 13 (3) 1–25.

Scraton, S. and Flintoff, A. (2002) *Gender and Sport: a reader* London: Routledge.

Gummesson, E. (2000) *Qualitative methods in management research* London: Sage.

Sports Council Research Unit, North West. (1990) *Solent Sports Counselling Project Final Evaluation Report* Sports Council: London.

Sports Council / Health Education authority (1992) *Allied Dunbar national fitness survey* London: Sports Council.

Sport England (1999) *Best Value through sport; the value of sport* London: Sport England.

Sport England (2001) *General Household survey: participation in sport – past trends and future prospects* Wetherby: Sport England.

Sport England (2002a) *Positive Futures, a review of impact and good practice, summary report* London: Sport England.

Sport England (2002b) *Positive Futures, a review of impact and good practice, Individual project reports* London: Sport England.

Sport England (2002c) *Sport is getting youngsters away from crime and helping fight drug abuse, new findings reveal.* http://www.sportengland.org/press_release/pf_report.htm accessed 12/02.

Stebbins, R. (1997) Serious leisure and well-being, in Haworth, J. (ed.) *Work, leisure and well-being* London: Routledge.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (1998) *Mixed methodology* London: Sage.

Taylor, P., Crow, I., Nichols, G. and Irvine, D. (1999) *Demanding Physical activity programmes for young offenders under probation supervision* London: The Home Office.

Taylor, P., Crow, I., Nichols, G. and Irvine, D. (2000) Methodological considerations in evaluating physical activity programmes for young offenders *World Leisure and Recreation* 42 (1) 10–17.

Tilley, N. (2000) 'Doing realistic evaluation of criminal justice', in Jupp, V., Davies, P. and Francis, P. (eds.) *Doing criminological research* London: Sage.

Torkildsen, G. (2000) *Leisure and recreation mangement* London: E & FN Spon.

Trujillo, C.M. (1983) The effect of weight training and running exercise intervention programs on the self-esteem of college women *International Journal of Sports Psychology* 14 162–173.

Utting, D. (1996) *Reducing criminality among young people: a sample of relevant programmes in the United Kingdom, Home Office Research Study 161* London: Home Office.

Warr, P. and Jackson, P. (1983) Self-esteem and unemployment among young workers *Le Travail Human* 46 (2) 355–364.

Weiss, C. (1998) *Evaluation* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Witt, P. (2000) 'Positioning, protection and proof', in *Sport versus youth crime* Morgan, D. (ed.) Bolton: Bolton Institute.

Witt. P. and Crompton, J. (1996) *Recreation programs that work for at-risk youth* Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing.

Witt, P. and Crompton, J. (1997) The at-risk youth recreation project *Parks and Recreation* January, 1997.

Witt, P. and Crompton, J. (2003) Positive youth development practices in recreational settings in the United States. *World Leisure Journal* 45 4–11.

Yin, R. (1994) *Case study research* London: Sage.