Leisure exclusion?
Analysing interventions using active leisure with young people offending or at risk

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LEISURE EXCLUSION? ANALYSING INTERVENTIONS USING ACTIVE LEISURE WITH YOUNG PEOPLE OFFENDING OR AT RISK.

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MSc Loughborough University

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

August 2000

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Abstract

This research considered the role of active leisure based interventions with young people at risk of offending. It examined some of the claimed outcomes of participation for young people, and the types of provision which can support positive outcomes. A central feature of the research was an analysis of the impact of interventions on leisure behaviour and attitudes in the medium term. This was underpinned by three stages of research to ensure the appropriateness of the main longitudinal case studies and the framework diagram.

Stage One comprised of a review of active leisure interventions and included quantitative evidence from 54 schemes operating at primary, secondary or tertiary levels and offering adventure, sport, motor sport and constructive leisure use programmes. From this review six schemes were selected for short observation visits during which interviews were conducted with staff and participants. From these Stage Two visits it was possible to test the validity of the framework diagram, and use it to assess the theoretical basis of claimed rationales and outcomes.

Stage Three was a qualitative study based on two schemes operating at contrasting levels of intervention, to assess the impacts of active leisure intervention on young people at different points in their offending histories. This evidence was used, as part of an ethnographic study of schemes at both pre and post offending levels, to consider the most effective methods for the delivery of active leisure based interventions which seek to achieve long term changes in leisure behaviour.

Street Sport sessions in Stoke on Trent were observed every six weeks over a one year period. In depth interviews were conducted with participants, staff and community representatives from each of the three case study sessions: Bentilee, Cobridge and Stanfields. The results provided an insight into the potential for primary level community based leisure intervention to improve leisure experiences for young people at risk of
offending, and to reduce friction in the community, which was shown to affect perceived levels of youth crime.

Hampshire Sports Counselling was observed for two years through regular visits to three sites, Southampton, Portsmouth and Aldershot. Due to the maturity of the participants, it was possible to use life history profiling to produce a clearer picture of the relationship between childhood leisure experiences and life events, including offending. Fifteen detailed life history profiles were completed. These profiles demonstrated that chaotic family background and upbringing, mental health problems, the impact of institutional care and drug or alcohol abuse had significant impacts on both the development of leisure patterns and offending behaviour. The progress of 21 participants was followed up regularly during the scheme, and thirteen male participants were contacted for at least one year after they had completed the scheme. This provided evidence regarding the medium term impacts of, and outcomes from, participation in the Sports Counselling Scheme.

The research was structured to clarify the theoretical position, by considering the causes of, interventions in and claimed outcomes from active leisure based interventions aiming to reduce juvenile delinquency. The conclusions related to the development of two tools for analysis in this area, a theoretical framework for rationale and claimed outcomes and the use of life history profiles. The longitudinal case study evidence provided further conclusions regarding the nature of leisure experiences for young people at risk of offending.

Furthermore, the results of the follow-up study of young people and communities were analysed to identify key aspects of provision that supported positive outcomes. These were shown to be: consistent, stable provision, positive relationships with the sports leaders, consultation with young people regarding the design of the activity sessions, accessible activities, and long term contact. The study demonstrated the benefits of primary level intervention and the importance of leisure education, or counselling, in changing the leisure experiences of young people at risk of offending.
I would not have been able to start this study without the initial encouragement and interest of Professor Glyptis, who found a research supervisor for me and directed the early years of my research. I would like to thank my research supervisor Mr. Collins for his support and guidance throughout this study, and all the other staff at Loughborough University who contributed to a supportive research environment.

My employer, Buckinghamshire Chiltemns University College provided the necessary financial and practical support to allow me to undertake this study, and I would like to thank Mrs Fisher, Dean of the Faculty of Leisure and Tourism, for her commitment to my research.

I would also like to thank all the staff and participants at Street Sport and Hampshire Probation Service Sports Counselling Scheme for allowing me to observe and share their experiences. In particular, I would like to thank the managers, Kevin Sauntry and Keith Waldman, for allowing me access to these projects. I would also like to thank the many organisations who responded to my enquires, questionnaires and requests for interviews.

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INTRODUCTION

This study considers the role of active leisure based interventions with young people at risk of offending. It will examine the outcomes of participation for young people and the type of provision which can support positive outcomes. The term active leisure will be used throughout the text to describe this area of intervention generally. Active leisure interventions reviewed in this study encompass adventure activities, sports, motorsports and constructive leisure programmes.

The Contemporary Importance of this Study

The role of active leisure opportunities and interventions in preventing juvenile delinquency has been the focus of public debate, media interest, central and regional policy decisions and academic research throughout the last century. In Britain, at the start of the 21st century the debate continues. Despite many attempts to provide empirical evidence to support various of theories, there remain little consensus regarding the effectiveness, style and timing of interventions. Attempts throughout the 1990s to establish a clear link between active leisure interventions at tertiary level and recidivism have been inconclusive. The criminological research conducted by the University of Hull (1994) which measured the extent of recidivism of probation clients attending a sail training course suggested that there was no significant difference in recidivism between those attending and those who did not attend. A longitudinal study in New Zealand (Begg, 1996) suggested that some active leisure intervention may actually encourage delinquency.

Despite this lack of evidence, government policy continues to demonstrate an inherent belief in the power of sport, constructive leisure activity and adventure to socialise young people and reduce offending, for example the DCMS report for PAT10 (1999) stressed the importance of sport and recreation. This is demonstrated in the Secretary of State’s intention to offer all sixteen year olds an adventure experience. This was based on the assertion that
INTRODUCTION

"Schools gained enormous benefits when outdoor and adventure activities option in physical education was adopted by schools 'with a discernible impact on pupil's behaviour and relationships'"


Other government agencies continue to stress the importance of sport and physical recreations in juvenile crime prevention as part of social inclusion. For example, at the Sport versus Youth Crime conference in November 1999, Paul Bolt (Deputy Secretary for Policy and Information) presented DCMS plans to emphasise sport as part of community regeneration in the light of the PAT 10 report. Also Lord Warner, Chairman of the Youth Justice Board, stressed the important role sport would have within the work of local Young Offending Teams. Sport England have announced 17 'show case' projects as part of the Active Sport programme of which 11 projects target young people at risk of offending.

The concern expressed at these and previous policies was that the evidence was poor, usually based on simple anecdotes; as confirmed by Coalter (1996)

"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"


Indeed in their study of the use of physical recreation among probation services, Taylor and Nichols concluded that

"most projects claimed to monitor their effectiveness; 13 did not. Fifteen programmes claimed to measure reoffending rates of programme participants"

(Taylor & Nichols, 1999, p. iii).

Their research demonstrated a frequent reliance on simple quantitative data such as attendance and completion levels, which is a satisfactory output measure but cannot be used to provide evidence of effectiveness or outcomes. Other schemes used qualitative personal examples, which were generally seen to reflect selected success stories rather than a systematic review of the project outcomes. The most significant evidence to support a sports counselling intervention was the reconviction study of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling by Nichols (1996). This study used a reconviction prediction score based on personal characteristics and offending history.
"This showed that for the 49 participants for whom the score could be applied over a two year period, the average predicted reconviction rate was 63.8%. Only 49% of these participants had actually been reconvicted during the two year period."
(Taylor and Nichols, 1996, p.iii).

However, this evidence related to a specific style of intervention at tertiary level and relied on young offenders stopping their offending behaviour completely. In their report in 1994 Coopers and Lybrand argued for a different perspective on the effectiveness of recreational interventions. Their research suggested that

"To be cost effective in terms of crime prevention, the youth work projects we examined would need to prevent between 1 in 5 and 1 in 14 of their participants from committing one offence... ...If, however, it is assumed that participants have the same propensity to commit crime as known re-offenders... ...the projects would be cost effective if they prevented between 1 in 22 and 1 in 75 of their participants from pursuing any criminal activities over a 12 month period."
(Coopers and Lybrand, 1994, p.6).

Their report went on to suggest that projects may provide many other benefits for young people and society.

Reasons for this Research
From a personal perspective, initial interest in this area of study was derived from three years spent working in adventure based interventions with young people at risk of offending. In common with many residential interventions, contact was lost with young people on completion. Frequently workers were left to speculate on the longer term impact the intervention may have had on the lives of participants. My role in these interventions centred on the development of social skills. I was therefore interested to consider not only the effectiveness of intervention, but also to consider other approaches to intervention within the field of active leisure, which were designed to give longer support in the development of these skills.

The resulting research project was started five years after I had left this type of employment. In the interim period I had developed an academic interest in youth and community recreation, through my lecturing experience in Higher Education.

The research was conducted on a part time basis over a six year period from 1994 to 2000. During this period both the political and economic environment in Britain changed.
INTRODUCTION

While maintaining the original focus, the research project inevitably evolved to reflect critical changes in policy, in particular the growing interest in community based interventions at primary level, that is changing the physical, economic and social environments likely to be crimogenic.

This research project acknowledged the current policy themes which stressed the importance of active leisure interventions as part of community development, crime prevention and personal development processes. It examined the impact of leisure interventions on young people at risk of offending’s leisure behaviour and attitudes in the medium term. This was unpinned by a qualitative study of the leisure life history experiences of young offenders, designed to increase understanding of the process by which young people at risk of offending develop anti social leisure patterns. This evidence was used, as part of an ethnographic study of schemes at both pre- and post-offending stages (ie. primary/secondary and tertiary level), to consider the most effective method for the delivery of active leisure based interventions which seek to achieve long term changes in leisure behaviour.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 sets the context of young people, youth crime and criminal policy. Chapter 2 seeks to clarify the theoretical position by considering the causes of juvenile delinquency, the levels of intervention and the benefits associated with participation in active leisure. This literature review concludes in Chapter 3 with a new framework, to allow the analysis of the rationales and outcomes of schemes. Chapter 4 provides the methodological background for the primary research, which was carried out in three stages:

Stage 1: a broadly based national study of provision
Stage 2: a smaller detailed sample of working practices across all aspects of provision
Stage 3: two detailed longitudinal studies of pre and post offending interventions.

Chapter 5 presents the results of Stages 1 and 2, which contribute a unique overview of four types of active leisure provision at three levels of intervention, identified in Britain in 1994/5. This gives an important context for the ongoing belief in the usefulness of leisure based interventions with young people at risk of offending and facilitated the selection of
two Stage 3 case studies, Street Sport in Stoke on Trent and Sports Counselling in Hampshire Probation Service. Finally, the Stage 3 documentary evidence of outcomes and monitoring procedures is reviewed to provide an alternative context for the analysis of participants outcomes in Chapter 6.

The results from Stage 3 are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 6 the results of extensive qualitative interviews and follow up with participants and young people at risk of offending provides a unique context for leisure interventions in terms of understanding the leisure experience of young people at risk of offending. This demonstrates the relationship between benefits of participation and the causes of delinquency. Chapter 7 demonstrates the importance of key aspects of scheme management to the achievement of positive outcomes for young people. Finally, Chapter 8 provides conclusions, highlighting the main findings and their contribution to theory and practice this area.

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Begg, D (1996) Sport and Delinquency: an examination of the deterrence hypothesis in a longitudinal study Journal of Sports Medicine, 30: pp 335-341


1.1. The Study

With growing pressures during the 1980s to extend non custodial sentencing and a search for solutions to combat juvenile delinquency, a variety of sports oriented projects for young people were introduced. The work of these organisations provides help in the form of activity programmes for inner city young people at risk of offending. The courses are designed to provide challenging and demanding activities at or from inner city centres using predominantly outdoor pursuits as a method of capturing imagination and building trust between individuals and instructors. The work of such projects and their value for the young people concerned has become the centre of much debate as inner city areas face growing levels of youth crime.

The rationale for providing recreational programmes for young people at risk of offending can be traced to a range of sociological, criminological and leisure studies theories which explain why young people offend. It has been suggested that juvenile delinquency is a direct result of boredom in free time. The concern that, unless guided in their leisure time, humans will naturally pursue anti-social activities has been an important theory influencing leisure policy since industrialisation when the idea of a 'work ethic' and Rational Recreation were first introduced. The belief that 'the devil makes work for idle hands' was basic to Cyril Burt's statement in his study *The Young Delinquent* (1925)

'So long as there is neither school nor work, mischief fills the empty hours'

(Burt, 1925, p.29).

The Scarman Report (1982) into the causes of the inner city riots centred around Brixton in London, identified in a contemporary situation this need for constructive leisure opportunities to prevent young people being drawn into anti social behaviour in their
free time. A theoretical base for the use of recreational programmes is therefore to offer constructive recreational opportunity.

However in a previous study of another group with large amounts of free time, unemployed people, Sue Glyptis (1989) concluded that constructive recreational activity programmes could not serve to replace the role of work in filling time, producing income and offering challenges and achievements. If delinquency is linked to factors other than simply boredom, such as a need to achieve status, then this may question the validity of sport and recreation provision in preventing delinquency.

The boredom theory, however should not be viewed in isolation; boredom alone cannot be used to explain the very complex motives behind the problem of delinquency. This study will therefore seek to examine the main theories used to explain delinquency before establishing a relationship for these causation theories, with intervention techniques which include active leisure. The study will therefore address the hypothesis that sport and recreation is an effective tool with which to instil values and behaviour accepted by society in general, and which helps young people to develop self respect, and a sense of physical well being and that recreational programmes can be effective at all levels of intervention as a diversion from delinquency.

1.2 Young People in Britain in the 1990's

If this study is to consider the nature and extent of juvenile crime in the 1990's it is important first to consider the social context of young people in Britain. This analysis will consider demographic features, the concept of adolescence, youth leisure patterns, family structure, education, employment, and social welfare. All of these factors will be important in developing an understanding of the pressures, needs and lifestyles of young people in Britain.

The proportion of young people in Britain has declined over the last 150 years, and by the census in 1991 only 6% of the population were in the 10 -14 year age group. This decrease is also demonstrated in the 15-19 age group which had experienced a 25% fall in numbers over the decade 1981 -91. The decline was not consistent in all backgrounds
however, during the period 1986-8 49% of those from a Bangladeshi background were under 16 years. Indeed the proportions of young people were significantly higher in Pakistani, Indian and Caribbean backgrounds than white groups. Therefore youth are becoming a smaller and more culturally diverse group within society and provision for young people will need to be responsive to the needs of ethnic minority groups as the proportions of young people in these groups rise.

Adolescents are defined as people between childhood and adulthood. The time of adolescence has been described by Hendry (1993) as:

"a time set aside for waiting, developing and maturing and for accomplishing the rites of passage between childhood and adult status"

(Hendry, 1993, p.1).

Adolescence is not a new concept for the 1990's, although it has become a well used media cliché. Hendry suggested that adolescence, at one time a short stage in the lifecycle, has expanded, with young people entering it earlier and leaving it later. Children, he suggested, reach puberty earlier than their parents did and are exposed to family and society's problems through a stronger media presence and a more open family structure. At the other end, those factors which indicate adult status such as leaving home, financial independence and gaining employment are attained later.

Through the method of changing foci Coleman (1979) identified the process of transition during adolescence by considering relationships in the form of age related issues. This suggests that young people cope with the psychological and social adjustments required during the transition from adolescence to adulthood by focusing only on certain relationship patterns at any one time, each of which can be seen as coming into and out of focal importance at particular ages.

1.2.1 Youth Leisure Patterns
Hendry (1993) used Coleman's ideas to suggest focal points for youth leisure patterns during adolescence. At thirteen he suggested that young people are more interested in groups and clubs, organised activities. By fifteen years of age they are more likely to be involved in casual leisure activities such as hanging around. By seventeen years young people are more strongly influenced by commercial leisure activities. This pattern is
supported by his research, the Young People's Leisure and Lifestyles Project which was conducted over four years in Scotland. During the study (1987, 1989, 1991) 10,000 young people were surveyed through questionnaires, regarding many aspects of their life including leisure, family, sport and friends. The team also interviewed a panel of 250 young people to provide qualitative information. The results for boys use of leisure time are shown in the Table 1.1 and support Hendry's suggested leisure patterns.

By combining these findings regarding boys leisure preferences at different ages, and accepting Coleman's focal issues idea, Hendry believed that it may be possible to consider in detail the possibilities of leisure and recreation as prevention of juvenile delinquency. The propensity to 'hang around' in unstructured leisure from 14 -16 years, combined with the importance of peer group status may help to focus on how leisure and recreation patterns may influence developing delinquent behaviour. This period of time when hanging around is important may be extended for those young people most at risk of offending, since unemployment may prevent some young people progressing to the third stage of adolescent leisure patterns, that is involving commercial activities as illustrated by pubs and discos in Table 1.1. This of course involves money and leisure involving consuming can be problem for young people on low income or benefits. Unemployment was shown to have a profound effect on young people's leisure. Hendry commented that:

"Amongst adolescents the ultimate effect of youth unemployment seems to be on the transition to adulthood. Being unable to find work appears to frustrate expectations of post-school patterns of work and leisure."

(Hendry, 1993, p.53).

Table 1.1: Boy's Leisure Participation

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<tr>
<td>Youth club/group</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports club</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanging around</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discos</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pubs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Hendry, 1993)
The YPLL project considered involvement in sport separately from other leisure activities. Although the results showed that for males regular weekly participation declined, in the 19 to 20 years age group weekly participation remained at 67% of the sample, showing that sports are both acceptable to, and enjoyed by many older adolescents. The decline from the 13 to 14 age group was 29%, but what was less clear was whether those who drop out of sport are also those at greater risk of delinquency. It should be noted at this stage that regular sports participation in this context could vary from spectating through recreative participation to competition. The amount of non participative involvement, i.e. spectating, increased with age, while competitive and recreative participation remained fairly constant. The most popular form of involvement at all ages is competitive, showing that young people are attracted to competition and the implied possibility of status achievement.

In an Audit Commission report (1996) young offenders also acknowledged the importance of leisure. In the survey 13% said that sports participation and 11% said that leisure activities would prevent other people offending. Since leisure patterns appear to have such an important impact on young people’s life styles there may be support for the idea of leisure education. Given the increased level of free time experienced by young people, particularly through unemployment, should education not only prepare young people for work but also for leisure (Bacon, 1981). This concern about the preparation of young people for leisure was reiterated by Roberts (1983):

"Are today’s young people being better prepared for their futures? ... ... we have still not developed effective means of delivering recreational interests to all young people, especially girls, and male and female early school leavers, mainly from working-class homes."


In a review of school and community sports provision in Britain Roberts (1996) suggested that schools improved their sports facilities in the years up to 1994 and by this time:

"young people were playing more sports in and out of school than in the past"

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However within this change there also exists a change in the type and range of sports played, the limited repertoire of team sports traditionally associated with schools has changed to reflect:

"'trends in young people's leisure styles because schools and local authorities have been sensitive to what works'" (Roberts, 1996, p.47).

The basis however for active leisure interventions in juvenile delinquency is based on traditional theories, where outcomes are linked to traditional provision of physically demanding activity, self discipline and competition.

1.2.2 Status - Education, Training and Employment Opportunities

The education and training system offered to young people has important effects on their future status. The decades since 1980 have witnessed a continual reassessment of policy and qualifications. Staff in schools, higher and further education have been under pressure, reducing opportunities for staff contribution to extra curricula activity. Despite these changes, the number of young people at 16 years of age in full time education or training schemes rose from 38% in 1974 to 75% in 1989/90 (Smith, 1992, p.9). By 1997 this had increased further, with 83% of males and 87% of females estimated to be in education and training (Social Trends, 1999).

Public concern has been expressed over the high level of truancy experienced by many inner city schools and links have been suggested between truancy and delinquency. Hendry's research showed a higher propensity to skip off school among boys than girls. In his 15 to 16 years age group 36% of boys admitted to welcoming any excuse to skip school, whereas only 25% of girls in the same age group did so. Truancy was also considerably higher among boys from parents with manual skills or unemployed parents as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non Manual</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to those playing truant from school there were growing concerns about levels of exclusion from both primary and secondary education. In 1996/7 12,668 pupils were permanently excluded from school, of whom 10,522 were male (Social Trends,
Although a small percentage of the total population, the impact of exclusion on these young people was to remove structure and recreation opportunities in their lives, and further establish a route to long term unemployment.

For those young people not interested in following an academic course of study after leaving school the opportunities for apprenticeships have been reduced to almost nothing. Young people therefore who leave school wanting to train for skilled or semi skilled manual employment will be faced with either a practical course at college under the BTEC, City & Guilds or NVQ award systems, or accepting a place on a Youth Training Scheme. The former could cause financial problems for young people whose parents are unable or unwilling to support them through a full time course of study, and the second although providing practical experience, as with the former, offers no certainty of employment at the end of the scheme. During the 1980's concerns were expressed regarding the effectiveness of Youth Training in achieving employment status and skills for young people. With a new Labour government in 1997 came a new direction in youth policy. The New Deal was the youth element of the Labour government's 'welfare to work' programme. It offers four options to young people aged 18-24, who have been unemployed for more than six months, described by Tonge (1998) as

"A job with a public or private sector employer; work with the voluntary sector; work with an environmental task force; full time education or training"


It reintroduced the concept of subsidies to employers to assist in job creation, and can been seen as the means by which

"Labour aimed to fulfil an election pledge to transfer 250,000 young people from benefit into work"


It is likely that this initiative, as many before, will simply provide a short term solution to a long term problem. Despite being launched as a radically new approach, Tonge's analysis suggested that:

"as a solution to the problem of unemployment, the novelty of the New Deal lies more in packaging than substance"

The Labour Market Quarterly Report May 2000 showed a small decline (5.3%) in numbers of young males, 16-17 years, in paid work from December 1998 to February 2000. Unemployment among males in the 16-17 year group had risen from 15.4% in 1991 to 21.6% in 1999 (Social Trends, 2000). Unemployment among young people is however much higher in those groups already potentially suffering low self esteem and perceived lack of status, since 30% of unemployment was attributed to those with no qualifications (Bridgewood & Sawage, 1992). Youth unemployment is also higher amongst certain ethnic minority groups. In 1998-9 the level of economic activity for young males in the 16 to 24 years age group overall was 79%, whereas the proportion for young black African males was 53%, for Chinese 31% and for Indians 60% (Social Trends, 2000). The differences for young women were even greater; in 1998-9 71% of white females (16-24 years) were employed, however only 34% of black African women and 37% of Pakistani women in the same age group were employed. These differences can be explained in part by the different numbers in Higher and Further Education, but by 24 years there was still 10% less employment for black African males.

Higher levels of unemployment among at risk groups of young people will have obvious effects on their opportunities for independence and financial security. If these young people fail to achieve perceived independence, then problems of frustration and poverty may further increase a propensity for delinquency.

1.2.3 Independence and financial security
Young people are faced with greater problems of affordable rented accommodation; the supply of council properties was reduced in the 1980's with the government policy of allowing tenants to purchase their council houses. Rents in the commercial sector increased alongside substantial rises in property prices, while the quality of accommodation has fallen. In 1996 the government introduced a new restriction on housing benefit for single people under the age of 25 living in privately rented accommodation. For some this further reduced the amount of housing benefit received.

It is therefore increasingly difficult for young people to find a home and independence. This may explain why more young people are marrying later. Nonetheless, cohabiting has
increased in the 18 -24 age group. Possibly as a result of this, 78% of births to women under 20 were outside marriage in 1988 (Smith, 1992).

The financial problems faced by young people in the 1990s have also worsened for those on the margins of society. The 1988 changes to benefits extenuated the problem of youth unemployment and ability to undertake full time training courses by raising the age of entitlement from 16 to 18 years. This effectively left young people dependant on parents for longer and unable to attain independence. From this an increased problem of juvenile homelessness has resulted, particularly for those experiencing relationship problems at home.

1.2.4 Family background
Young people in Britain today are increasingly unlikely to experience a stable nuclear family background, in 1990 estimates suggested that 1 in 5 children would experience parental divorce by the age of 16 (Smith, 1992, p.10). The family structure is also changing with a move towards mothers working: for example 49% of families in Liverpool in 1987 did not have the father as the main bread winner (Roberts, 1983, p.87). The number of single parent families also doubled between 1971 and 1987, when 14% of families with dependant children were single parents (CSO 1991, p38). By 1999 Social Trends reported that:

'Despite the growth in lone parent families, most dependent children live in a family with two parents; four fifths of children in Great Britain lived in such families in Spring 1998'  
(Social Trends, 1999, p.43).

The home setting for those most at risk has also deteriorated, as illustrated by the fact that in 1979 18% of children were living close to or in poverty and by 1987 this figure had increased to 30% of all children (Smith, 1992, p.13). Social Trends (2000) reported that 47% of children living with non working single parents and other benefit groups were in the bottom fifth of families by disposable income in 1997-8. Many children are also experiencing poor quality housing and overcrowding as local authorities struggle to cope with the demands for public housing. The number of children housed in bed and breakfast accommodation rather than a family home has been a cause for concern among welfare groups.
Further to problems with family structure, substantial numbers of young people spend their youth in local authority care. Frequently this involves regular changes and moves, reducing the opportunities for them to develop stable relationships. Cases in recent years have also highlighted problems regarding abuse and violence in these homes and institutions, leading to a high level of running away.

1.3 Crime and Contemporary Society

Increased media coverage of crime can, in part, be seen as the trigger of growing public concern in the community about the risks and extent of crime. To some extent, recent research shows that these fears are exaggerated, and that the risk of falling victim to violent crime is very low. However there are some areas, often inner city housing estates, which have become crime 'black spots' and where the offending rate is considerably higher than the national average. This general concern about crime and the problems of these 'blackspots' has led to the common belief that the more lenient sentencing policy advocated during the 1980's was misled. By 1993/4 there were cries for a tougher policy on youth crime. The amended Criminal Justice Act proposed to increase the powers of the courts to incarcerate young offenders and provided the means for this through the construction of new secure units modelled on those found in Northern Ireland.

These proposals to build more secure units was met by considerable debate and depth of feeling from interest groups such as NACRO, youth justice interests and social workers. Residents and victims welcomed the policy, hoping that, at last, justice could be seen to be done in the sentencing of young offenders, and that a tough approach would act as sufficient deterrent to others. Other professional groups such as probation officers and youth workers greeted the proposals with disappointment. More recent research has shown positive results for Family group Conferences combined with cautioning and reparations. (Muncie, 1999, p.161). It is also doubted, based on the experience of similar centres in Ireland, whether the tougher approach will achieve a change in behaviour, or whether on release recidivism will be as high or higher.

The conference Community Based Sentencing - The Use of Outdoor Challenge (1987) invited comments from David Faulkner, at the time Deputy Secretary responsible for
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Home Office crime statistics. He reported that crime rates had increased consistently over the last thirty years but that violent crimes were still very rare. However, he warned of the potential outcry which may herald a change in sentencing policy:

"Fear and anger are now quite widespread, sometimes quite deeply embedded in some of our communities, particularly those where there are high crime rates."

(Faulkner in Community Based Sentencing Conference Report, 1987, p.8).

The findings of the British Crime Survey 1998 (Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998) regarding the fear of crime supported this warning:

'People tend to over-estimate the crime problem: although crime fell between 1995 and 1997 according to both police recorded crime and the BCS, only 6% of people are aware of this - the BCS shows that about a fifth of crime is violent but 58% of respondents believe that violent crime accounts for half or more of the total.'

(Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998).

The results of detailed analysis in 1992 showed that 23% of people were worried about having their car stolen and 21% about having it broken into. Burglary caused great concern for 19% of the sample and 18% were worried about mugging and robbery. Indeed, the findings of the International Crime Survey (Mayhew, 1992) revealed that anxiety about crime in England and Wales was high compared with that in other western countries. This study supported a cause for concern in some areas: risks of thefts of and from vehicles and of burglary were higher than the European average. However other offences were on par or below the average. The results of the British Crime Survey 1992 also revealed a significant perception that crime was increasing in their area, when more than 50% of those questioned believed this to be the case.

Since many car crimes are associated with juveniles and images of joy riding have been reinforced by the media, communities have been expressing doubts about the effectiveness and fairness of the juvenile justice system. These concerns have often been increased, fuelled by press coverage of soft treatment of young offenders, which risks a reduction in the use of non custodial or community based options for sentencing. The rising crime rate over the last thirty years is, of course, a cause for concern, but for this study it is important to consider how far young people are involved in these figures. In short, over half the crime solved in 1987 was traced to an offender under 21 years old.
Criminal Statistics suggested that recorded crime rose by 900% from 1950 to 1991, from a rate of about 1,100 per 100,000 in 1950 to just over 10,000 per 100,000 in 1991. Therefore the number of reported crimes witnessed a rapid increase while the number of convictions fell from 555,000 in 1980 to 509,000 in 1990 (Home Office, 1992). The Audit Commission’s report (1996) Misspent Youth suggested that

"A disproportionate amount of crime is committed by young people, especially young males. In 1994, two out of every five known offenders were under the age of 21, and a quarter were under 18”

(Audit Commission, 1996).

The basis for this assertion will be considered in the next section.

1.4 The Young Offender

The introductory lines of West's book The Young Offender (1967) suggested

"The offences committed by young people differ in kind and motive from the typical crimes of adults."


He justified this statement in terms of maturity and criminal responsibility. Since youth is a time of development and learning then there has to be some age, or point in development, prior to which a child cannot be held responsible for their actions. This concept is commonly recognised by modern legal systems as the age of criminal responsibility. However, any concept based on maturity is difficult to quantify, since children develop at different times depending on numerous social and physical factors. Nevertheless, if the law is to be applied to juveniles, then an age of criminal responsibility must be set. In Britain criminal responsibility begins at ten years.

At ten years of age, despite being considered responsible in the eyes of the law, many would recognise that this involves a child who has still considerable development before attaining adult status. For this reason, adolescent crimes can be committed solely to show off to friends or to rebel against parents. Crimes committed by young people under 17 years are still treated differently from adult crimes, in a juvenile court. Under this philosophy offenders between the ages 17 -21 are also given some consideration for still lacking true 'adult status'.

12
It is important to consider the personal profile of young offenders in Britain, taking into account age, gender and ethnic background. In addition to Home Office Statistical Sources, the following studies will be referenced:

COOPER (1989): An in-depth study of the extent of juvenile crime which used a multi agency (schools, police and youth service) approach to collate detailed information on the extent, nature and perception of juvenile offending. The study selected three contrasting areas: a seaside town in Essex, a small Yorkshire town and inner city areas of Greater Manchester. Information was gathered from police data and a questionnaire distributed to school children aged 14 to 16. The study provides a useful insight into the profile of young offenders, their motivations for delinquency and their peer group’s perceptions of crime.

WEBB & LAYCOCK (1992): A report into the specific issue of car crime, frequently linked to juvenile offenders. The contents and conclusions draw on Home Office Statistics, research and surveys. The case studies were conducted during January and February 1990; Greater Manchester: 86 male car crime offenders, of whom 50% were under 20 years of age & Northumbria: 56 existing offenders, all male and 70% under 20 years old.

BRIGGS (1991): questionnaire survey to 200 males under 17 years with a past history of taking without consent.

TRAVIS (1994): reported on the work of a study into juvenile crime by the Dutch Ministry of Justice: the information was gathered from a self report study.

1.4.1 The age of young offenders

If the term young offender is defined by the age of criminal responsibility, any young person between the age of 10 and 20 who commits a crime is a young offender. One of the causation theories to be studied in the following chapter suggests that juvenile offending is phasic, and therefore offences would be expected to peak around 14 -16 years of age and to decline with the onset of maturity.
The Home Office *Statistical Bulletin 1992* shows an increase in conviction with maturity. In 1991, in England and Wales, young people sentenced for indictable offences were 192,000 aged 14 to 16 and 920,000 aged 17 to 20. This data ignores juveniles under 14 years. To obtain a clearer picture of these activities the Home Office *Criminal Statistics* revealed that in 1997 46,300 juveniles were sentenced for indictable offences. In 1997 3,200 10-13 year olds were cautioned or convicted of an indictable offence. This compares to 43,100 in the 14-16 age group.

Webb & Laycock’s study of car crime in 1992 clearly revealed that initial participation in car crime begins around 13-15 years. Other studies such as Cooper (1989) supported this finding for motor and car crime. Studies of other types of juvenile offending reveal slightly lower initial involvement ages. Cooper (1989) showed that shop-lifting peaks at 13 years and drops dramatically between 14 and 16 years.

### 1.4.2 Gender and young offenders

Cooper (1989) identified, from the police data, a clear distinction between female offending and male offending. The percentage of total females who had been convicted was between 4% and 7%; whereas for males 44% to 49% had been convicted. The highest rate for offending was for boys in the Greater Manchester area, and the lowest risk group was girls in Kirklees.

The higher level of male juvenile offending was confirmed by Home Office Criminal Statistics for 1997. These reveal that from a total of 43,100 juvenile convictions at 14 to 17 years, only 5,300 were female. This allows the conclusion that males are significantly more likely to become young offenders. However, Home Office research in 1995 suggested that for self reported criminal activity,

> "Females age 14-17 are nearly as likely as males to be involved in offending"


Therefore it is possible that young men are simply more likely to be caught.
1.4.3 Ethnic background of young offenders

As young people are ethnically diverse, it is interesting to consider whether young offenders are more likely to come from any particular racial or cultural background. The main source of information in this area is found for a minority of convicted juveniles under custodial sentences. The Home Office research conducted in 1995 regarding self reported crime among young people concluded that

"Young Asians are less likely to commit offences and/or use drugs than whites and Afro-Caribbeans"

(Graham & Bowling, 1995, p.1).

1.4.4 Types of offences

In terms of the offences, shop-lifting was the most common amongst both genders. Car crime was an almost exclusively male preserve according to Cooper (1989). His questionnaires sought to investigate the motivation for these activities, and perceptions of law breaking among the peer group. The results varied considerably, with interviews in Manchester indicating that peers were involved in car crime most frequently, whereas in Kirklees under age drinking was cited as the most common offence. Statistically however, shop-lifting was the dominant activity. Further information about types of juvenile crime are provided by the Audit Commission study *Misspent Youth* (1996).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handling Stolen Goods</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Theft</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurt with Weapon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bike / Motor Bike Theft</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from School</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from and of cars</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used Stolen Cheques</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Audit Commission, 1996
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'Most offences by young people are property related. Those who persistently engage in offences such as taking cars are not disproportionately engaged in the most serious crimes. Only a few young offenders commit the most serious types of crime: in January 1996, only four were being held in secure care or custody for the murder or manslaughter of other children'

(Audit Commission, 1996, p.8).

This is supported by the statistics in Table 1.2.

Travis (1994) showed that most frequently committed crimes were vandalism, fare dodging, fencing stolen goods, driving without a licence or insurance, group fights, public order offences and soft drugs offences. Other media reports suggest a concentration for solved crimes being in theft, shop lifting, burglary and motor offences.

1.4.5 Extent of juvenile crime
The proportion of offenders who were juveniles in 1980 was 54%; by 1990 this figure had dropped to 46%. This presents a considerable social problem. It has been suggested that we can assume that 1 in 3 of the male population will have a criminal record by the age of 30. This statement, true at a basic statistical level, does not consider a second more serious trend in juvenile crime. It has been established that frequently a single young offender can be responsible for large numbers of reported crimes:

"Six percent of known offenders are responsible for seventy percent of known crime"

(Faulkner, 1987, p.9).

Therefore, when considering the problem of juvenile crime, it is essential to realise that to reduce the proportion of total crime a small group of persistent offenders needs to be targeted for detection, indictment and treatment. The great majority of young people (80%) will not reoffend after the first offence.

1.5 Juvenile Crime Management
The management of juvenile crime in England and Wales is controlled by a combination of agencies and approaches aimed at preventing reoffending. The powers of these organisations have been outlined in legislation developed mainly since the middle part of
The application of these provisions is controlled mainly by the juvenile courts, but in the case of cautioning by the police.

1.5.1 Legislation

According to Pitts (1988), the development of the juvenile justice system in England and Wales during the twentieth century has followed two main political philosophies, depoliticisation and repoliticisation. Many of the debates in recent years regarding the treatment of juvenile offenders have been based on developments which have affected the juvenile system since 1960. It is therefore important to consider the legislation regarding juvenile justice since this date.

The first important ideal was established in 1960 as a result of the Ingleby Committee in 1956, on the working of the juvenile court in England and Wales. This report made the important suggestion of a connection between class, crime and justice. Pitts (1988) reports that the committee:

"argued that delinquency might be an indicator of social deprivation"

(Pitts, 1988, p.1).

This connection led to the creation of family advice centres and the first broad concept of treatment rather than punishment. This theme was expanded further by the work of the 1964 Labour Party Study Group which, in the Longford Report (1964), advocated that there should be a response to the cause and not to the crime. This led to the idea of a therapeutic centre. The work of these committees should be seen in their political context. Labour policy under Harold Wilson was the depoliticisation, or decriminalisation, of social issues. This aimed to treat and eradicate them as social anomalies. From this, four key themes can be identified which dominated juvenile policy in the late 1960's: depoliticisation, decentralisation, treatment and decriminalisation. Decentralisation placed more stress on the provision of preventative intervention through welfare information and advice from local authorities close to home. Treatment led to the establishment of diagnostic clinics to identify the individual causes of delinquency.

These general philosophies and themes were documented in the White Paper The Child, The Family and The Young Offender (1965) (cited in Pitts, 1988) which considered the welfare provision aspects mentioned above. This was followed in 1968 by Children in
Trouble, which concentrated on aspects of treatment. They have been interpreted to have polarised the ideals of welfare and treatment. This was to pave the way for the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act. This was the most important attempt by the Labour Government to radically alter the legal framework for the treatment of young offenders. The Act's basic aim was to provide treatment and abolish imprisonment for juveniles through three main changes:

- It wished to give social workers the power to execute any order, therefore creating a buffer in the criminal system and was seen as a move to reduce the power of courts and magistrates to a rubber stamping process

- The act also sought to curtail the power to imprison by introducing Intermediate Treatment Centres and removing Attendance and Detention Centres

- Finally, it sought to raise the age of criminal responsibility to 14 years.

These dramatic moves were seen as:

"an attempt to keep the abolition of imprisonment for children and young people in England and Wales on the political agenda. It came at a time when faith in the capacities of governments to effect positive and constructive social betterment was waning and it came too late" (Pitts, 1988, p.16).

The change of government in 1970 meant changes to the proposed Act. The age of criminal responsibility was not raised and courts were not prevented from giving custodial borstal sentences. The Act was closely followed in 1970 by the Social Services (Reorganisation) Act which combined social work and the junior penal system to form the juvenile criminal justice system. This move gave rise to a power struggle between the two sets of organisations. During 1973 to 1977 the number of juveniles imprisoned rose dramatically, while the number referred to social work declined. The penal system appeared to have gained control.

There are three main theories to explain this dramatic increase in incarceration of juveniles; the justice backlash theory, professional entrepreneurism, and the collusion and cock up hypothesis. These three theories were considered by Pitts, who suggested that the justice backlash theory explains the rise as a reaction by the penal establishment to social work, which it regarded as ineffectual, through the use of custodial sentences. The professional entrepreneurs theory on the other hand, suggests that the move was a result
of social worker’s attempt to annexe delinquency as their domain. Finally, and possibly most likely, Thorpe (1980) explained the increase as collusion and cock up:

"It was the decision makers - policemen, social workers, probation officers, magistrates and social services administrators - who effectively abandoned whatever potential for reform the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act contained. Quite simply, cumulatively these disparate bodies of professionals made the wrong decisions about the wrong children at the wrong time"

(Thorpe, 1980, p.3).

Despite the failing of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, it did create an environment for change, and this was continued by the Heath government in the 1970s. The 1972 Criminal Justice Act introduced the concept of Community Service Orders for adults, a first step in the direction of cost effective crime management. Community Service Orders were a non custodial approach to sentencing designed to ensure that offenders made a positive contribution to the community through completing a supervised and structured programme of work on a regular basis over a set number of weeks. The Younger Report (1974) Young Adult Offenders (cited in Thorpe 1980) introduced this reinforced supervision mode.

By 1980, however, the philosophy of depoliticisation was reversed, and acts in response to crime rates were re-politicised by the new conservative government. William Whitelaw introduced the concept of the ‘short sharp shock’ for young offenders, altering the regime in two young offenders institutions to imitate the American ‘boot camps’ to one based on deterrence and punishment through curtailing personal freedom and enforcing a physically and mentally demanding disciplined environment. Leon Brittan drafted the important White Paper Young Offenders in 1980 (cited in Thorpe 1980) based on this regime and philosophy. The 1982 Criminal Justice Act sought to strengthen the law relating to juveniles and young offenders aged 15 -21, and to limit the extent of imprisonment. This was achieved through the introduction of Youth Custody Sentences, Community Service Orders, Secure Care Orders and Night Restrictions.

Youth Custody Sentences require young offenders to enter a young offender institution with a regime similar to a prison. Secure Care Orders usually relate to young offenders under 16 years and require them to enter secure local authority homes. Night restrictions
or curfews have been introduced as an attempt to remove young people from situations, mainly in the evenings, when they are most likely to commit further offences.

The 1990s were dominated by the Criminal Justice Act of 1991. Jason-Lloyd (1993) summarised the contents of this Act with reference to young offenders as:

- The introduction of probation orders for 16 year olds, which previously were restricted to those 17 years of age
- The use of Curfew Orders for offenders from 16 years old, the monitoring of whom by electronic tagging was abandoned after experiments showed it to be ineffective
- Supervision Orders could be used for offenders up to 18 years
- Young people would appear in youth courts until 18 years of age
- Financial penalties and the binding over of parents of offenders could be imposed for 18 year olds and 16 year olds respectively.

Juvenile courts reserved the right to administer a custodial sentence or a non-custodial community based sentence. In Misspent Youth the process of dealing with young offenders was described as

"complicated and may take months to complete"


This system is not cheap, the Audit Commission gave the following cost estimates:

"Identifying a young offender costs the police around £1200. It costs a further £2500 to prosecute an offender successfully"

(Audit Commission, 1996, p.44).

In 1998 the new Labour government launched a change in policy regarding law and order. It was contained in the Crime and Disorder Act and was described in the media as

"The biggest shake-up for 50 years in tackling crime"


In terms of its impact Muncie (1999) pointed out that

"many of its provisions are explicitly directed not only at young offenders, but young people in general"

(Muncie, 1999, p.147).

The rationale for this legislation was based on the assertion of Jack Straw (Home Secretary):

"Today's young offenders can too easily become tomorrow's hardened criminals. For too long we have assumed that they will grow out of their offending behaviour if left to themselves... an excuse culture has developed..."
within the youth justice system... it excuses itself for its inefficiency and too often excuses young offenders who come before it, allowing them to go on wasting their own and wrecking other people's lives... offenders are rarely asked to account for themselves. Parents are not confronted with their responsibilities. Victims have no role and the public is excluded”

The main outcomes of the Act were to create a Youth Justice Board to oversee the processes and promote good practice through the creation of Youth Offending Teams. YOT's are inter agency initiatives, which operate at local level to focus on early youth crime prevention, as well as the management of young offenders. By 1999 there were managers appointed to 141 of the proposed YOT's (Youth Justice Board News, November 1999). Their initial work was to establish youth justice plans. The proposals included the creation and funding of Pathway projects to demonstrate best practice in youth crime prevention and Youth Inclusion Programmes operating at primary level intervention. For persistent and serious offenders the Act introduced a fast track sentencing programme and the new system for the allocation of suitable places in secure custody.

In his analysis of this latest change in legislation, Muncie suggested

"Labour's new strategy offers few alternatives to that which we have witnessed before.... it is more likely that the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act will only serve to exacerbate the very problems it purports to address and to deny young people access to those very rights it claims to protect”
(Muncie, 1999, p.172).

1.5.2 Sentencing
The Audit Commission report identified the range and frequency of measures taken by the courts with young people; this is shown in Table 1.3.

**Custodial Sentences:**
Custodial sentences in 1995 could run for a minimum of 22 days and a maximum of one year. The new Criminal Justice Act increased this maximum to 2 years, and reduced the age for which a custodial sentence can be applied to 12 years. For grave offenders a longer sentence is allowed. Upon release from detention, usually in a young offender institution, the young offender is supervised by a probation officer or a local authority social worker. Under custodial sentences, young offenders are sent to centres such as
Feltham Young Offenders Institution which in 1992 received strong criticism from Judge Stephen Tumin, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons. The institutions are often understaffed and ill equipped, and offer little opportunity for developmental youth work. Due to prison over-crowding and concern that in such settings young offenders merely become confirmed criminals rather than reformed, a policy of non-custodial sentencing was advocated during the 1980s. For male young offenders, the numbers continued to fall until the second half of 1993 when figures began to rise once more, according to the Home Office (1993).

By 1996 the Audit Commission reported that

"The use of custodial sentences for 10-17 year olds has fallen in recent years: from two per thousand in 1984 to one per thousand in 1994. The average length of these sentences is also shorter: 95% of custodial sentences on young people are now less than one year, with an average sentence of five months."


In 1997, Dee Cook in her book *Poverty, Crime and Punishment* gave the following costs:

- Open Youth Establishment £2071 per month
- Closed Youth Establishment £1730 per month

(Source: Cook, 1997, p95).

**Table 1.3: Disposals Received by Young People Prosecuted for Offences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disposal</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discontinued or withdrawn</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charge Dismissed/ Acquitted</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute or Conditional Discharge</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision Order</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fined</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Centre Order</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custody</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Service Order</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation Order</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crown Prosecution Service 1996

**COMMUNITY SENTENCES**

The community based approach to sentencing of juveniles offers a programme of measures to educate or socialise young offenders away from crime. Attendance Centre orders involve regular commitment to sessions which are compulsory and investigate
among other things the problems of criminal behaviour. Other options include community service, curfew orders or a structured programme with a probation officer. The use of non-custodial sentences for indictable offences increased in the period 1986 to 1991 from 29.3% to 32.2%. In 1996 the Audit Commission reported 6% use of custodial sentences.

The rationale behind community based sentencing is complex but includes important economic and financial factors for the tax payer. In 1997 Community Service Orders cost £140 per month, Probation Orders £190 and Supervision Orders £180 per month. At a time of government concerns for controlling public expenditure, non custodial sentencing for less dangerous first time offenders seems to have a strong case. The strength of this case is however weakened by public perceptions of punishment. For the community at large it may prove important to see justice done, a punishment to fit the crime. Many non-custodial sentences do not deliver the 'pound of flesh' in the public's eyes. Punishment should also act as a suitable deterrent in both terms of recidivism and in the prevention of first time offending. If young people see the non custodial options as soft or as a reward, the deterrent will not be effective.

These concerns over the effectiveness of non custodial sentencing may be the cause of the higher than average number of juveniles receiving custodial sentences in Britain than in Europe. A closer investigation shows that, although across all offenders Britain has a detention rate of 95.3 per 100,000, compared to Germany's 87.9 and France's 84, 23% of our prison population is aged under 21 years, or approximately double the proportions in France and Germany. Therefore, a future policy of increased custodial sentencing of young offenders will take us even further from the standards of our European neighbours.

Whether custodial or community based sentencing is adopted as the policy towards juvenile crime, the process must be shown to be effective in terms of rehabilitation or of deterrent. In terms of personal development, challenge and activities may be required to achieve a change in the behaviour and attitudes of young offenders. Recreation and sports may have an important role in this process whether custodial or community based
sentencing is used. The system developed must ensure that young offenders are socialised into mainstream society and not into a delinquent subculture.

1.5.3 Cautioning
A final approach to juvenile offending which has been much used recently, but is now under scrutiny, is that of police cautioning. During the 1980s police were encouraged to caution first offenders, as it was considered that the experience of being apprehended acts as sufficient deterrent in many cases to prevent further crime. This practice, however, may have helped to mask statistics of youth crime over the last decade.

1.6 Levels of Intervention
This picture of juvenile crime should help to structure suitable policy decisions and effective management of interventions and responses. The options for responses are complex and varied. A conceptual model was proposed by Brantingham and Faust (1976) which suggested that interventions can be at three levels; primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary responses aim at crime prevention through improving the social and physical environment. Secondary responses involve projects aimed at potential offenders and tertiary responses deal with existing offenders. Although apparently simplistic this model has certain advantages as identified by Geraghty:

"It is atheoretical - i.e. it does not make any assumptions about the underlying cause of criminal behaviour and thus can accommodate a variety of approaches"

(Geraghty, 1991, p.3).

Primary prevention will identify conditions in the social and physical environment which may encourage or offer potential for delinquency. Primary intervention therefore works with and for the whole community. Recreational projects could be included as part of primary prevention as in the Splash projects, which offer school children holiday activities where nothing previously existed, and where children might be led to delinquency in a search for activities to occupy them. Other primary preventions could include community sports centres, youth clubs and local sports coaching to offer diversion from crime, if not a solution to underlying causes.
Secondary prevention involves identifying groups and individuals at risk of offending. The intervention seeks to provide changes which will render them less likely to become involved. Secondary intervention may seek to alter the effect that these factors have on behaviour, or to alter the factor. In terms of recreation or sport as a secondary intervention, it may be possible to offer projects as employment training as Comsport did in Northamptonshire, a Sports Council National Demonstration Project. Alternatively it may be possible to provide a more supportive environment or to alter uncontrollable behaviour by the discipline self imposed through participation in many sports.

Tertiary prevention relates to those who are already delinquent and offending. Any intervention will seek to alter ingrained behaviour patterns, seek to offer acceptable alternatives to crime. Sport and recreation could assist in this process as part of a process of self development, increasing self esteem and self control. Alternatively sport and recreation can be used as an attractive environment for other therapeutic work, as is found at Bryn Melyn where recreational opportunity is provided for severely disturbed young people to create a positive enjoyable environment for counselling and therapy.

1.7 Conclusions

Adolescents present a significant sector within the population who have experienced changes in their education, opportunities and supporting environment. The period of adolescence has never been easy, physically or emotionally, and for many this period has be extended. However, despite adolescence being longer than in previous generations, Hendry suggested:

"Young people do experience a great deal of aggravation and stress, yet the majority come to a reasonable resolution of their problems in relation to identity and the development of self esteem"

(Hendry, 1993, p.19).

Adolescence is a problematic stage in the lifecycle; some young people find the challenges over whelming and fail to develop self esteem and identity without delinquency. The social condition of young people may help to identify pressures which lead to delinquency. Juvenile crime management has undergone several changes in legislation and philosophy during this century but juvenile offending still presents a significant proportion of total crime in Britain. The management of existing offenders
CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT - YOUNG PEOPLE, CRIME AND POLICY

will depend upon agreed policy and communication between all groups involved in order to develop a strategic approach. This is reflected in the Blair government’s concern to form ‘joined up’ policy (*Bringing Britain Together*, Social Exclusion Unit, 1999).

Whether this is achieved in future through a policy of custodial or community sentencing, an approach will be required to ensure that both justice and rehabilitation are achieved. Statistics show that the majority of juvenile crime is committed by a minority of persistent offenders. It is therefore paramount to ensure that sentencing will reduce long term recidivism in these groups. As part of interventions, sport and recreation may discover its niche as a complementary tool in this rehabilitation process.

References:


CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT - YOUNG PEOPLE, CRIME AND POLICY


CHAPTER 2 THEORIES ABOUT CAUSES OF AND INTERVENTIONS IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

This chapter will analyse in turn theories regarding the causes of delinquency and methods of intervention in the delinquency process. The literature reviewed in this section brings together a wide spectrum of academic disciplines. The three main disciplines are sociology, criminology and leisure studies, but the analysis also refers to research in psychology and other human sciences when appropriate. It is essential for a comprehensive analysis of the rationale for active leisure as intervention in juvenile delinquency that the theoretical background is not limited to a single academic field: this research is of a multi-disciplinary nature. The sources referenced in this review encompass theories developed from research in the fields sociology, criminology and leisure studies to develop a thorough understanding of the causes of delinquency, the benefit of active leisure participation and the methods of intervention.

2.1 The Theories about the Causes of Juvenile Delinquency

To achieve an adequate examination of the role and value of active leisure in the prevention and rehabilitation of juvenile delinquency it is important to understand the theories which seek to explain the causes of delinquent behaviour in young people. Through this analysis, it may be possible to identify areas where active leisure may offer a solution or positive contribution.

There are two main schools of thought to be considered: firstly the American School, which has historically concentrated on the theme of gang membership. American experiences have been based around sub cultures, where delinquency was closely linked to the membership of a gang whose values were different to those of the dominant middle class culture. The gang structure was usually based around ethnic sub groups, often Italians, Latin Americans and Blacks, as an underclass fighting for status and recognition.
The British School, on the other hand, has concentrated on working class culture. Britain has until recently not had an ethnic underclass, and thus delinquency was studied among the working class whose culture and values were different from those of the dominant middle class. Delinquency in Britain was generally associated with socialisation into working class value systems rather than gang membership. Therefore, in the past it has been argued that the American School of theories can offer little to understanding British youth. The reason offered for this is that the ethnic underclass which has dominated American theories has existed within that culture for several generations. Indeed Michael Brake, in his comparative study, suggested:

"The British social structure is more class conscious ....... Britain lacks the neo-colonial immigrant past of the United States. It's non-white groups are recent immigrants, and it does not have a long history of nationally born, impoverished, ethnic minorities who contribute to the myth that the poor are non-white"

(Brake, 1985, p.58).

This argument may well have been valid in the 1960s, but Britain is now home to third and fourth generation ethnic minority citizens who are developing their own youth cultures. This paper will therefore seek to evaluate the main theories from both the British and American Schools, in order to construct as full a picture as possible of potential causes of delinquency.

In order to fully understand these theories it is first important to examine the concept of deviance. Deviance was described by Albert Cohen as

"any act that violates the institutional expectations which are shared and recognised as legitimate within the social systems"

(Cohen, 1955, p.13).

This definition is useful, since it highlights the important consideration that delinquency may depend upon a cultural perspective. What is deviant in one culture may conform to the accepted value system of another. When a dominant value system enforces rules, this can lead to minority cultures seeming to break these rules and become labelled as deviant. Delinquency is also commonly defined as law breaking. Society ensures that shared expectations are adhered to by enforcing a structure of rules. Albert Cohen offers a further definition for deviance in terms of leisure and social activities:
Research in both America and Europe has sought to identify theories to explain the motivation behind delinquent behaviour in young people. According to Giddens (1997) the theories have suggested that motivation can be due to one or a combination of biological, psychological and sociological factors. He identified biological explanations derived from the work of early anthropologists, such as Paul Broca, who looked for abnormalities in the skull and brains of criminals to explain deviant tendencies. Research into the genetic make up of individuals has also been conducted, but these theories are now discredited. More recent theories developed by Sheldon in the 1940s regarding physique are now the most relevant biological explanation for this discussion. He suggests that the muscular active build, a mesomorph, is more likely to be deviant. However, these assertions can also be explained by the labelling theory which suggests that certain types may be labelled 'violent' and as a result they live up to society's expectations.

Psychological inclination to deviance through early development was explored by Freud, and may be linked to poor parenting in the early years. The sociological factors identified by Giddens (1997) are differential association, anomie and labelling. In addition to the factors suggested by Giddens, I will include those theories offered by the criminologists which do not appear to fall into the previous groupings. The factors identified in the literature to be discussed in detail in this chapter are the explanations offered by criminology, sociology and psychology. The criminological theories of poverty and urban deprivation, and a search for entertainment and challenge. The sociological theories were divided into six categories by Bynun (1998): Social Strain, Cultural Transmission, Social Learning, Social Control, Labelling and Radical and Conflict theories. Analysis of these categories suggested that for this research, related to the use of active leisure, the following headings would be used; the social residential setting, attempts to conform to negative labelling by society, peer pressure and group dynamics, a search for status and recognition, a phase of rebellion against society, a breakdown in public morality.
The psychological explanations have some links to Bynum's categories and for this study will be discussed as a lack of early parental guidance and control and an expression of boredom or frustration. Although these are the most common headings for causation theories they are sometimes known under different titles, as shown by Bynum (1996). In particular Purdy and Richard's (1989) analysis of their application to sport considered differential association, control, strain and labelling theories. To assist the analysis later in this chapter Purdy and Richard's groups will be described under their parent groups as shown above. Since it has been already noted that many factors may influence the individual, it is important at this stage to acknowledge an important debate in modern sociology.

Giddens (1982) offers a critique of the agency versus structure debate, first introduced by Durkheim. This debate may be critical to assessing the causation theories of deviance quoted here. Durkheim suggests that our individual actions are not so much influenced by our personality or physical make up (internal factors) but by the society in which we live. Societies, he suggested, exert social constraints over our actions. Social structure constrains our activities and thus sets limits to what we can do as individuals. However, critics of this theory would argue that we are also the creators of our society, and not just creatures of it.

In the theory of Structuration Giddens was seen to provide a new analysis replacing the 'orthodox consensus' of positivist logic, functionalist methodology and the notion of an industrial society. In addressing the demise of this theoretical view, Giddens stressed the need for social theory to consider the role of humans individually and as groups. This approach led to an analysis of human agency and social action.

The concept of agency is related to issues of intent, responsibility and purpose. In the Structuration theory Giddens incorporates the accountability of human beings into a theory of the relative influence of structural influences on social behaviour. Agency is defined in this theory not simply as intention but in terms of two facets of human behaviour: capability and knowledgability. Agency relates to human ability to control
individual behaviour based on conscious decisions based on our knowledge of the impact.

In his critique of the Structuration Theory, Dallmayr (in Giddens (ed.), 1982, Chapter 2) summarised the main issues as

"the theory of the subject involves a break with the Cartesian cogito and with the modern focus on consciousness and subjectivity, but a break which simultaneously seeks to recover the human subject as a reasoning, acting being"


Structure is defined by Giddens as 'non temporal' and 'non spatial', in contrast to the 'orthodox consensus' that defined systems in terms of time and space. These attempts by Giddens to redefine action and social systems as agency and structure have been criticised in terms of lacking a precise definition as

"occasional half heartedness or vacillation"


However the Structuration Theory of Giddens has been widely accepted as meeting the challenge of incorporating the lessons of ontology and post structuralism without abandoning the concern with knowledgability and accountability of actors


Therefore, according to Giddens, neither the human being (agent) nor society (structure) should be considered to have primacy. In terms of the theories of delinquency, it may be useful to present the factors as either structure (external) or agency (internal). The argument regarding their interaction suggests the supremacy of structure, although individuals can exhibit free choice and action against structure. In deviant groups this may demonstrate how crime begins and give an insight into the interaction between interventions and individuals.
In the light of this analysis the causes have been grouped under internal and external factors as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXTERNAL</th>
<th>INTERNAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and urban deprivation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The social residential setting</td>
<td>An expression of boredom or frustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A breakdown in public morality</td>
<td>A search for status and recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lack of early parental guidance and control</td>
<td>A search for entertainment and challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attempt to conform to negative labelling by society</td>
<td>A phase of rebellion against society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer pressure and group dynamics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 Poverty and Deprivation

Traditionally, some adult crime has been explained as a way of satisfying a material need. In his assessment of this theory West (1967) dismissed this as not relevant to modern society, due to the existence of the welfare system. However, with many young people now not entitled to benefit and living on the streets, this argument may find new evidence to support it. A Home Office report by Cooper (1989), details of which are found in section 1.4, used a survey of young people in Manchester, Kirklees and Tendring to show that shoplifting and other types of theft were predominant in all four sample areas. Further qualitative analysis, however, shows a link to status attained and amusement gained as a cause or motive, rather than just satisfying a physical need.

In the above study, however, there was a correlation between higher levels of theft and low income in deprived areas, such as within Manchester. Many car thefts in Manchester were shown to be financially motivated. It can be seen therefore that urban deprivation and poverty have contributed to a social and economic setting which fosters juvenile delinquency, as indicated by Superintendent Russ Horne of the Youth Service of the Metropolitan Police, who described the following scenario:

*The estate suffers from anonymity, lack of personal responsibility for the environment, and no sense of ownership of home or personal space*  
(Horne in NAOE, 1992, p.1).
This situation, he suggested, is a foundation for high rates of juvenile crime. Although some statistics show higher levels of juvenile crime in depressed inner city areas, there has been little evidence to support a conclusive theory based on poverty and deprivation. The presence of high levels of juvenile offending in such conditions may not be related simply to poverty, but to a combination of related factors such as status, frustration and poor parental control.

The Audit Commission 1996 reported that deprivation is a growing problem:

"The percentage of children living in households with less than half of the average national income, after housing costs, rose from 16 to 33 per cent between 1981 and 1992"

(Audit Commission, 1996, p.60).

The lack of income not only creates material deprivation but also places stress on relationships. In their survey of 103 young offenders the Audit Commission’s results showed no money was the self reported reason for offending in 24% of the sample.

Consumerism in the 1990s places a huge pressure on young people to achieve status through obtaining material goods. For those young people living in poverty this pressure may result in crime to support their consumer needs as explained by Roberts (1985)

"there is a contradiction between the 'good life' of cars, motor cycles, audio equipment and fashionable clothing, and the predicaments of young people who cannot afford the bus fares to claim their social security. Should we be surprised if some of these young people use the meagre resources at their disposal to construct contra- cultures within which to preserve some dignity and self respect"

(Roberts, 1985, p.144).

Therefore poverty and deprivation, together with environmental factors, should be acknowledged as an important contributory factor in juvenile delinquency, but evidence cannot conclusively support its impact in isolation.

2.1.2 The social residential setting (Socialisation Theories)

An alternative approach towards understanding the motivation behind deviant behaviour is found in the predominantly American socialisation theories. These argue for three distinct explanations:
Culture Conflict  
Anomie  
Cultural Transmission.

CULTURE CONFLICT

The theories of culture conflict seek to explain deviant behaviour in terms of differences or conflicts in the behaviour between cultural groups. Deviant behaviour is identified either when a dominant culture finds a difference between its members behaviour and that of another culture, or when each culture measures the behaviour of others against their rules. For example, white working class culture and West Indian culture in Britain have established different levels of acceptable behaviour from the dominant white middle class culture. However, it is the latter’s standards against which other cultural groups behaviours are judged, and when they do not conform, are labelled delinquent or deviant by the dominant society. For example, smoking cannabis in Britain is illegal; resident West Indian groups view this behaviour as accepted and important to their culture. Therefore, the young West Indian smoking cannabis is breaking the law of the dominant white culture while conforming to his own traditions. Behaviour which may offer status and recognition in one culture may be deviant when judged by another.

If this theory is to be established as a cause of delinquency among juveniles in Britain, then evidence is required to support significantly higher levels of offending among white youth who are not middle class. The ethnic cultural difference may not lead to different offending behaviour, since Home Office Statistics show that 76% of Asian males had no previous convictions, whereas the same was true of 63% of white males. Asian cultural values do not differ from dominant values in Britain in a way such as to create a greater likelihood of offending. However, the same statistics show that only 48% of Afro-Caribbean males had no previous convictions (Home Office 1994).

The theory is difficult to substantiate; statistics are inconclusive. Despite Afro-Caribbeans being more likely to have a conviction, it is impossible to prove that this is due to a culture conflict. For example, a conviction for theft could be associated with poverty, disproportionately experienced by this ethnic group. A greater number of convictions is sometimes related to increased police interest in a particular cultural group who they consider to be more likely to offend. Although there is a common sense...
argument that delinquency can simply result from difference in behavioural expectations, little evidence can be found to support this theory.

**ANOMIE**

The breakdown in the development of society which leads to deviant behaviour is termed 'Anomie' or alienation from society and disagreement with its values. This theory has been developed by many sociologists and criminologists and their findings can be expressed by the work of Cloward and Ohlin (1960), who suggested that it is the mismatch between expectations and actual achievement which leads to deviant behaviour. This is because failure to succeed leads to discontent, which in turn facilitates the adoption of a new set of values. The perceived injustice in a system of opportunity leads to socially deviant behaviour. Many of the studies which lend support to this theory will be considered in more detail under the sections on status seeking and frustration (sections 2.17 & 2.18). Low self esteem and low achievement in school and the workplace however do appear to promote new, sometimes delinquent methods to achieve status (Farrington, reported in Social Policy Research 93). Links may be established between the features of 'Anomie' and control theories which attribute delinquency to the existence of a weak social bond. An examination of these two theories would indicate that where Purdy and Richard (1983) in particular refer to control theories we can associate their comment with this analysis of 'Anomie'.

**CULTURAL TRANSMISSION**

The earliest socialisation theory to be discussed in this chapter was formulated in the 1920s at the University of Chicago, and is commonly termed cultural transmission theory. The basis for this theory is that deviant behaviour is taught and nurtured through the transmission of culture in a particular social setting; this is also referred to as differential association by Purdy and Richard (1983) and Coalter (1996). Therefore, run down urban areas with fragmented families and severe household pressures, such as over crowding and financial problems, may be more likely to result in deviant cultures.

This theory has been applied to some extent in British studies by Mays (1954) in Liverpool. His study of 80 boys involved in the Liverpool University Settlement Project
was conducted through unstructured interviews. He discovered that delinquency was linked to local traditions and values. The boys interviewed showed that petty crime was normal behaviour among their 11 to 15 year age group. Mays concluded that in Liverpool the sub culture was not so much

"a symptom of maladjustment but adjustment to a sub culture of the city as a whole"

(Mays, 1954, p.56).

The study, although useful at the time, is now dated, and a more recent investigation might highlight changes both in the ages and the severity of the offences. Nevertheless, Mays did establish some evidence to support the theory of cultural transmission in the British social setting. However the evidence can be criticised for lacking a control group for clear comparison. Mays also failed to explain why some young people in the area were not delinquent, and why many grew out of offending in early adulthood. These weaknesses clearly undermine the usefulness of his study for understanding motivation for delinquency. To be of more interest, it would be necessary to identify the crucial differences between offenders and non offenders. Farrington (1996) reviewed current findings on youth crime and suggested that community influences were significant risk factors but this research failed to establish whether the delinquency was a result of direct influence or a reaction to the environmental stress of deprived areas. Therefore, the cultural transmission theory cannot be fully accepted until these are more clearly understood.

2.1.3 A breakdown in public morality

A popular media explanation for the problem of juvenile crime is related to allegedly falling standards of public morality. It is suggested in many newspapers that such evidence as a reduction in religious influence, increased illegitimacy and divorce, growing sexual promiscuity, and reduced belief and involvement in civic responsibility point to a new environment for children, which fails to emphasise right and wrong. This may contribute to the socialisation and attitude developments in children, and lead to more of them becoming delinquent.

This hypothesis was examined by West (1967) who considered evidence from research by Mays and Grimble. Grimble, a venereologist, considered medical records at Guys
Hospital for young males with venereal disease between 1932 and 1962. This comparison showed that the rate of infection in the under 20 year age group had actually dropped, he concluded that, as regards sexual morality:

"There is no factual reason to assume that changes in public sexual morality have any relevance to the incidence of dishonesty in young people"


However, if moral codes are considered as part of child development, then it is possible that future research will provide empirical evidence to support the hypothesis that a reduction in community responsibility and moral value teaching contributes to increases in juvenile delinquency.

2.1.4 A lack of early parental guidance and control

Delinquent behaviour has been explained through psychogenic theories. These suggest that all children are born with rebellious or delinquent tendencies stemming from the 'Id'. Given the correct guidance and training during childhood, they will develop the power of restraint or prudence called the Ego, which is incorporated into an ethical system and a conscience, the Super Ego. The Ego and the Super Ego commonly control the Id, and most young people learn to refrain from delinquent behaviour. If, however, children are not given sufficient support and guidance, the Ego will fail to develop, and the Id will dominate, leading to delinquent behaviour. Thus, poor parenting and upbringing can be suggested as a cause of delinquent behaviour.

This psychogenic theory was discussed by Cohen (1955) in his analysis of gang membership and behaviour. Rather than suggesting that gang membership resulted in a breakdown in the influence of the family, his research suggested that membership of a gang or delinquent subculture is the result of:

"ineffective family supervision, the breakdown of parental authority"

(Cohen, 1955, p.31).

His argument suggests that the recruitment to a delinquent subculture will be facilitated where there is a breakdown in parental control, or where parents are unable or unwilling to discipline their children. However, his argument was presented with little supporting
evidence, so it is important to consider whether other research supports this theory. This commonly held view was summarised in a study of the sociology of youth as

"the common sense view that juvenile delinquency is caused by bad families and broken homes"

(Frith, 1984, p. 27).

Ferguson's results (1952) of a study of delinquency among a group of 1349 Glasgow boys who left school in 1947 at 14 years considered all aspects of their social setting, leisure and occupational situation. Glasgow police provided records of delinquency in the sample from age 8 to age 17 years. Interviews were conducted regularly over the timespan and only 34 boys lost contact during this time. The results of the study showed a higher level of offending in boys whose parents had both left home or who were both dead. The lowest level of offending was found among boys where both parents were alive and at home after the boys had left school. This data can also be criticised now for being dated, and therefore should only be used as evidence to support the possible effects of reduced parental influences. Society has changed too dramatically during four decades for these statistics to offer any conclusive evidence for the theory in the 1990s where youth unemployment is much higher, school leaving age is now 16, and divorce and separation within families are now much more common place. However Farrington's review of youth crime (1996) reported that young people living in a home affected by separation or divorce were more likely to offend than those affected by the death of a parent. The reported suggested that:

"it may not be the 'broken home' that creates an increased risk of offending so much as the parental conflict that leads to separation"

(Farrington, Social Policy Research, 1996, p. 3).

More recent evidence is required to support lack of parental control in the 1990s. The 1992 study of juvenile car crime by Webb and Laycock included reference to a study in Greater Manchester (details of the survey are shown in section 1.4) which showed that of the sample of car offenders the respondents suggested that the following factors would have prevented initial involvement in car crime:

- greater control and punishment (9%)
- more family support (5%).

The theory of juvenile delinquency being related to lack of good parenting and control was popular in the 1990s. Indeed government policy has attempted to make parents
more aware of their responsibility by making them responsible for the financial aspects of sentences. Marshall (1994) also supported the theory, showing that young people in care, away from parent support and control have a much higher rate of offending. This is further supported by frequent anecdotal evidence in the media regarding children, often in single parent families, who are out of control. For example an article in the *Sunday Times* (Sawyer, 1994) tells of a mother's vain attempt to exert control over her delinquent son.

It is difficult to produce this anecdotal evidence in a more acceptable format, since poor parenting has yet to be defined in any agreed fashion. Without a definition it is impossible to produce firm evidence to support the theory of poor parenting. The need for parental discipline and the correlation between juvenile offending and a lack of this discipline was established in the General Accident questionnaire survey of 980 young people of 14 to 16 years in Guildford and Crosby, where 61% stated that offending was a direct result of a lack of parental discipline.

The most recent attempts to assess to influence of parenting was presented in the Audit Commission report *Misspent Youth* (1996) from a survey of 103 young people on supervision orders. From this sample 63% said that parents were the most important influence in their lives. The survey quoted Home Office attempts to measure levels of attachment and styles of parenting for young offenders. The results showed that

> "21% of young people aged 14-25 had a weak attachment to their family and nearly half (47%) went on to offend, compared to only 29% of those with a strong attachment. Over half (56%) received a low or medium level of supervision from their parents, of whom 42% went on to offend, compared with only 20% of those who received a high level of supervision"


Farrington (1996) concluded that poor parental supervision was a major risk factor for youth crime:

> "harsh or erratic parental discipline and cold rejecting parental attitudes have been linked to delinquency and are associated with children's lack of internal inhibitions against offending"

(Farrington, Social Policy Research, 1996, p.3).
Parenting is critical in the development of young people, but a clearer general definition of poor parenting correlated with the profiles of young offenders would be required to offer conclusive evidence in support of the theory.

2.1.5 An attempt to conform to negative labelling by society

The societal reaction theory suggests that deviance is a natural response to negative 'labels' or expectations inferred by the dominant society. In other words, society will often tag particular members as 'criminal' or 'bad'. How important, therefore, is the label in affecting behaviour? The work of Becker entitled 'Outsiders' (1963) analysed the activity of smoking marijuana and is still quoted as a 'classic text on labelling' (Muncie, 1999 p.159). He argued that crime should be defined not in terms of behaviour but as a labelling process. Muncie (1999) summarised Becker's theory regarding crime as

"a consequence of social interaction, a result of a negotiated process that involves the rule violator, the police, the courts and lawmakers who have labelled that person's behaviour criminal. It is not behaviour itself that constitutes crime"


This process of labelling and reaction was seen to start a process which increased the delinquent conduct rather than reducing or deterring further activity. The criticism most commonly levelled against this theory is that it gives no indication of how far labelling will have such affects, in terms of time or severity. The theory suggests that if juveniles are labelled by the media and society in general with negative expectations, then this stereo-typing as deviant will lead them to conform to these expectations. Therefore, in both prevention and rehabilitation, it will be important to provide solutions which can break or minimise the effects of such negative labelling.

In Britain the societal reaction theory has been studied by Stan Cohen (1980), who completed an important study of the mass media treatment in the 1960s of two sub cultural youth styles, mods and rockers. These groups were clearly identifiable through dress and style, and therefore much of the label was considered to be self defined. However, Cohen suggested that this label was developed and extended by the media to infer rebellion and hooliganism to society. The groups therefore gained a reputation through media presentation of clashes with the police. Cohen suggested that the labelling of these groups by the media led to indiscriminate prosecution and over-reaction by
‘respectable’ society. He demonstrated this theory through reference to media reporting from this period, which used emotive headlines to encourage a general moral panic about the activities of this group. Intensive police activity and media responses, he suggested, encouraged these groups to conform to what he called the ‘folk devil’ image. Another application for this theory could be made for football hooligans in the 1980s, and the negative media images of youth in the 1990s.

The problem with this theory is that when young people choose to conform to a style, it is difficult to prove that it was media images of the group that led to delinquent behaviour. It can be argued that the media, although frequently sensationalist, only report the activities which have occurred. However, media images certainly reinforce negative aspects of youth within society, and this may contribute to delinquent problems. Muncie (1984) reported that after the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill Gate:

"The image of the menacing and violent teenager had become neurotically imprinted on adult consciousness"

(Muncie, 1984, p.105).

Labels, whether imposed or accepted, may lead to being fired, or to difficulties getting a job, and to increased friction with the police and the community. Labelling appears to be a difficult theory to substantiate, but self concept is an important factor in the behaviour of adolescents as reported by Hendry (1993).

2.1.6 Peer pressure and group dynamics
Status seeking is a common motivation for juvenile delinquency in the 1990s, and it is important to consider connected influences which may either encourage initial interest in status, or provide an environment which offers status opportunity. This theory is connected to theories of youth sub cultures. A. K. Cohen (1955) developed a theory which explains delinquency for male juveniles in terms of membership of a delinquent sub culture. The basis for this theory is

"that delinquency is neither an inborn disposition nor something the child has contrived by himself"

(Cohen, 1955, p.11).

The idea that a basically good boy will develop delinquent tendencies through membership of a sub culture as a result of the influence of his peer group and a search for
peer status has frequently been used to explain why boys from 'good' backgrounds become young offenders. Cohen identified this process as

"children learn to become delinquents by becoming members of groups in which delinquent conduct is already established and 'the thing to do'" (Cohen, 1955, p. 11).

Therefore, once exposed to the delinquent cultural pattern, background is of little importance; Cohen asserted that

"the only important difference between the delinquent and the non delinquent is the degree of exposure to this delinquent culture pattern... ...Delinquency, according to this view, is not an expression or contrivance of a particular personality; it may be imposed upon any kind of personality if circumstances favour intimate association with delinquent models" (Cohen, 1955, p.13-14).

This theory assumes that delinquent behaviour is not inherited, but that children learn to be delinquent in order to conform to and be accepted by their peer group. The influence of a subculture will not act in isolation, since the term 'sub' indicates that it is part of a wider culture. The theory therefore suggests that the degree of delinquency experienced may be proportional to the extent of exposure to the delinquent sub culture. Here we can see a connection to cultural transmission theory. A boy who is brought up in a rough area surrounded by widespread and persistent deviant or delinquent behaviour is more likely to be affected by it. The dominant delinquent sub culture will teach delinquent values to young people and so it will be perpetuated, as suggested by the theory of cultural transmission.

If, however, the premise that there is no such thing as a naturally delinquent child is accepted, then how do delinquent sub cultures survive? The explanation must lie in the dynamics of the group involved. Cohen suggested that, although no one in isolation would be delinquent, the interaction of the peer group and the search for status will lead to group acceptance of delinquent values. Since these values are not shared by society in general, the group members must remain in order to retain status; hence the sub culture is self perpetuating.

Downes' (1966) study in London, however, raised certain problems with the idea of delinquent subcultures. The study consisted of informal observation and a statistical survey conducted with police records for boys aged 14 to 17 from the London districts.
of Poplar and Stepney for one year in 1960. Much of this status seeking theory requires the existence of a gang philosophy. An American gang consisted of a large group usually of 20-30 members. Downes identified an average group size in East London of 4-5. It is doubted therefore whether this is large enough to offer satisfactory status. This was supported in his study by interviews with boys in East London who rejected gangs as outdated teddy boy culture. However, new gangs may be identified in the 1990s, as reports of gang style drug related crimes are reported more frequently.

The importance of peer pressure in influencing delinquent behaviour has been illustrated in the Home Office report by Webb and Laycock (1992) on car crime. The respondents were asked what would have prevented them becoming involved in crime. The majority (53%) of the sample indicated that not being influenced by others would have been the most important factor in preventing their initial involvement in car crime (Webb & Laycock, 1992, p23).

The most recent studies are reported in the Audit Commission's report (1996). Their own survey of 103 young offenders showed that

"One of the main reasons for committing crime, according to the young offenders who were interviewed is having family member and friend who offend"

(Audit Commission, 1996, p.75).

From the sample 41% stated that peer and family influence was the major cause of delinquency for them.

2.1.7 An expression of boredom or frustration
Psychogenic theory seeks to explain delinquency in terms of frustration or other mental conflict. As explained by Cohen (1955):

"it views delinquency as a symptom of, or a method of coping with, some underlying problem of adjustment"

(Cohen, 1955, p.15).

Part of this problem of adjustment may include a sense of alienation. This is commonly represented through the nature of occupation. Many delinquents are in jobs or have prospects of work with very low status or suffer long term unemployment. In Downes' study of East London boys this theory of alienation was argued to have little relevance in Britain in the 1960s. He identified that boys generally protect themselves from this
problem by using work only as a way to gain money. Other aspirations are rewarded through non work opportunities. Thus Downes identified a situation of dissociation, not alienation. In the contemporary situation, unemployed young people no longer have the opportunity to earn money to satisfy status through their non work opportunities, and may now experience status frustration, as they cannot afford to use leisure as a replacement for status offered in work.

The complex subcultural theories have been ignored by some modern writers, politicians and administrators who have sought an apparently simpler explanation for the delinquency problem. This explanation rests with the idea that delinquent behaviour is a direct result of boredom in spare time. This was identified by Clarke and Critcher (1985) and rests on the work ethic, the socially accepted values which implies that leisure is reward for work, and the belief that "the devil makes work for idle hands".

Politicians and government policy in recent years have embraced this theory. The Scarman report (1982) suggested that the Brixton riots were closely linked to a lack of constructive leisure opportunities for young people. In the 1990s this argument must be considered in the context of high levels of youth unemployment, which leaves thousands of young people with no direction, little money and plenty of free time. This has led young people to hang about on street corners and in shopping centres in search of amusement or entertainment. This search for amusement and fun may lead them into delinquent behaviour. The search serves many purposes, but results in activities which are often designed to fill time and to vent anxiety and frustration. At this point, the theory of boredom as a motivation seems closely connected to the psychogenic theories, but the strength of this hypothesis is difficult to demonstrate, and would need substantial qualitative analysis and observation including control groups to provide an empirical base.

The report by Webb and Laycock (1992) supported this theory, where 28% of respondents suggested that crime could have been prevented if they had something to do, work or money (Webb & Laycock, 1992, p.23). Further evidence can be found in the report by Cooper (1989) on young people in Manchester, Kirklees and Tendring, where
9% of the sample gave boredom as the major motivation for delinquency. Marshall (1994) reported that the General Accident survey showed equally positive support for the theory of boredom and frustration, since 81% of its respondents gave boredom as a reason for delinquent behaviour.

The Audit Commission results showed that 10% of their sample stated nothing to do as a cause of delinquency. However this needs to be viewed in the context of free time and leisure behaviour. Most of this sample stated that they spent their free time with friends or at home and said that the influence of family and peers was a significant influence. Therefore lack of constructive activity may facilitate the development of delinquent behaviour.

This accumulation of evidence suggests that boredom and frustration should be considered as a relevant theory for the causation of delinquency. However, questions still remain regarding the precise nature of boredom. Boredom is not necessarily a result only of free time, but of a state of mind which is hard to quantify, since it is both personal and subjective. There is a correlation between higher levels of undirected free time for young unemployed and truants and high levels of crime. It remains, however, to establish why free time leads to perceived boredom and to crime in some cases, but not others.

2.1.8 A search for status and recognition

The motivation for status in society is the driving force for many people and the barriers for working class children can appear insurmountable. Their reactions may be to lower their goals and satisfy themselves with lower status, or to construct their own goals in order to 'kick back' at respectable society. The theory explains delinquency in terms of status frustration and the resulting creation of sub cultures.

What can the delinquent sub culture theory offer to the understanding of the motivation for juvenile delinquency? The use of this theory has been most clearly explained by Cohen (1955):

"The delinquent sub culture, we suggest, is a way of dealing with the problems of adjustment we have described. These problems are clearly status problems: certain children are denied status in respectable society because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system. The
In order to support this hypothesis, Cohen used the study of lower class divisions in American youth by Whyte (1943). This study indicated that a group of boys who fail at school will often react against middle class values portrayed there. To achieve this, they create their own values which offer short term group status. The study was conducted through observation of street corner boys in New York during the 1940s.

To examine the theory of status seeking behaviour, Downes (1966) included a survey to assess status frustration in his detailed study of boys in East London. Evidence was registered on the following continuum shown in Figure 2.1.

**Figure 2.1 Downes' Continuum for Status Frustration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No problem of adjustment</th>
<th>-------------------------------</th>
<th>-----------------------------</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Satisfaction with type of job</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tolerance of middle class people and institutions</td>
<td>Active resentment or antagonism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. No self image as failure</td>
<td>Feeling failure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. No desire for change of membership group</td>
<td>Thwarted desire for change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Insulation from middle class values</td>
<td>Some internalisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Downes, 1966, p.230)

The results of this study show little support for Cohen's status frustration hypothesis. Downes concluded that the majority of respondents were content with their status, and although economic concerns were voiced, control groups showed that this was not a factor unique to delinquent groups. In conclusion, Downes suggested that these results would alter with changes in their perceptions. At the time of Downes' study, boys considered the divide as 'them' and 'us'. This may have provided them with a feeling of unity and membership.
If the young people interviewed had felt that they were members of an underclass, failures in society, rather than legitimate members of a strong working class group in society, they may have been more likely to experience frustration with their status. Since Downes' study, expectations and social mobility have increased, to some extent, undermining the membership and the 'them' and 'us' situation.

In a contemporary situation, opportunities are increased for social progression within the class structure and this may have led to a new notion of 'success' and 'failure', rather than 'them' and 'us'. Young people remaining in the working classes may feel more like failures than part of a legitimate group, seeing those who have moved to other classes as successes rather than non members. In this case, the results may show support for the status frustration hypothesis. Downes' study was particularly useful as it attempted to apply the important delinquent sub cultural theory to Britain. However, the results may now be invalidated by changes in social structure and expectations.

The market driven notion of the classless society in the 1980s and 1990s may therefore result in greater frustration and unfulfilled expectations among young people. This can be illustrated by using results by Webb & Laycock (1992) on car crime in Manchester:

"Heroics and showing off was mentioned by 25% of the Greater Manchester sample"


Cooper's (1989) study of juvenile delinquency in Manchester, Kirklees and Tendring also included a survey of car crime in Manchester. This showed that 22% of respondents suggested status seeking as a major factor. It also concluded that

"To make money was closely linked to status in qualitative follow up since having money also enhances status"

(Cooper, 1989, p.22).

Recent evidence displayed above, therefore, indicates support for the status seeking motivation of juvenile delinquency. However Cooper's study was small scale and anecdotal. From the results it is difficult to see how the evidence was collated. The results may easily have been biased by leading questions. Nonetheless, it would appear the status seeking behaviour is a common motivation for juvenile crime.
2.1.9 A search for entertainment and challenge

The use of cultural and psychogenic theories was criticised by Cohen (1955) for failing to go deep enough and address the question, why do the subcultures survive? He suggested that this is essential in order to apply the theory. Delinquent sub cultures are 'negativistic', rather than simply a set of codes and values contrary to the norms of respectable society. The delinquent behaviour is rarely restricted to one type of offending but closely linked to a range, for example truancy, theft and vandalism. This behaviour is frequently characterised by short term enjoyment, activities are rarely planned in order to achieve long term goals. Cohen referred to this characteristic as 'short run hedonism'.

The delinquent youth, he suggested, will act impulsively and resist organised or supervised activity, but delinquent behaviour is only an element of the quest for fun.

This particular motivation for delinquency is associated with youth crime. It has been identified as a major cause for adult moral panic about the behaviour of young people. Most adult criminal activity is pursued for personal gain, whereas the youth concept of hooliganism is simply for pleasure as defined by Frith when he was examining the rise of moral panic in the 19th century:

"Hooliganism seemed to be enjoyed for its own sake, and hooligan gangs were a source of contamination - innocent youngsters were being drawn into their activities, cut off from adult influence and criminalised"

(Frith, 1984, p.26).

Joy riding and motor crime surveys in the 1990s support this theory:

"Excitement was the most common reason in both areas with 32% in Northumbria mentioning it first and 67% mentioning it at some point in Greater Manchester"

(Webb/Laycock, 1992).

This is further supported by Cooper (1989), who suggested that joy riding in essence was the basic motivation for 26% of his sample's delinquency. The General Accident Study (Marshall, 1994) also found that 73% of the sample committed offences to 'get a buzz'.

The quest for fun and excitement is closely linked to the previous theory of boredom and as such, although difficult to prove conclusively, should be considered as an important influence on juvenile delinquency. To make better use of the theory, however, it would be useful to understand why other young people find their quest for fun and
entertainment satisfied by constructive, non delinquent activities. Other factors must influence the need to turn to delinquency in this quest.

2.1.10 A phase of rebellion against society

It must however be acknowledged, that delinquency may simply be an aspect of the phase of adolescence. For some young people, this may be restricted to deviance from social norms but not actual law breaking, but for others will result in delinquent behaviour. In time young people may mature and accept society's values. If this is the case, then it is even more important to heed the warnings of the societal reaction theory and avoid labelling young people which may make it more difficult for them to move on from this phase. This theory has been supported by the research of Mays, whose results suggested that

"delinquency is generally phasic in character and dies out in late adolescence and early adulthood"

(Mays, 1972, p.44).

A survey of young people involved in car crime in Greater Manchester showed a peak of recruitment between 13 and 15 years. After age 14 the number of first convictions fell significantly (Webb & Laycock, 1992). Indeed Home Office statistics revealed that the majority of young people only offend once: using this may show that offending is curtailed in later adolescence, but it does not conclusively prove that the cause of this is linked to maturity. Nor does it explain why many other young people survive this phase without delinquent behaviour.

2.1.11 Summary

The empirical evidence to support these theories has for the most part been developed in the early to mid twentieth century, and may now be criticised for being out of date. The most significant early research includes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Theory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mays (1960s)</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>Socialisation / parenting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downes (1966)</td>
<td>East London</td>
<td>Status Seeking / Frustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Cohen (1960s)</td>
<td>Mods and Rockers</td>
<td>Labelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson (1952)</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Parenting / Social Setting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This work can form a basis for establishing the potential validity of each hypothesis. However, there have been significant changes in the social structure and ideals of British
society in recent years. The 1980's witnessed greater cultural diversity among second and third generation British ethnic groups, growing long term youth unemployment, changes in the social security regulations for young people which left them more dependant on family or homeless, under increased pressure from consumerism reinforced by powerful media images, and involved in increased levels of divorce and illegitimacy. These changes have led young people to enjoy fewer employment opportunities, less stable family backgrounds and greater pressure to consume in order to achieve perceived status. Amongst second and third generation non whites an underclass may have emerged who resent their low status afforded in a predominantly white society. These points were strongly raised by Janet Paraskeva (1993) at an ILAM conference:

"We have in many senses disenfranchised them systematically increasing unemployment, reducing available benefit and decreasing their chances of participating in society on equal terms as young adults."

(Paraskeva, 1993, p.2).

This may lead to the conclusion that, although no single theory can offer a complete explanation, further contemporary evidence is required to offer a satisfactory basis in the 1990's. Research by Cooper and Webb & Laycock supported the theories of a search for fun and entertainment, of boredom and frustration, of status seeking behaviour, and of peer pressure and poor parenting. Cooper's study supported the theories of entertainment seeking, boredom, peer group and status. Their evidence also indicates that changes in the social structure may lead subcultural theories, previously not seen as applicable in Britain, to have more current importance. Recent Home Office crime surveys support the theory that most juvenile crime is phasic, and make the correlation between a higher propensity to offend and poor parental control, lack of moral teaching, social setting and poverty.

The Audit Commission suggested the main risk factors for delinquency in the 1990's were

"inadequate parental supervision, aggressive or hyperactive behaviour in early childhood, truancy and exclusion from school, peer pressure to offend, unstable living conditions; lack of training and employment; and drug and alcohol abuse"


From the theories we have considered, it is possible to identify those which appear to be supported by recent evidence as significant current means of causation. They can be
considered in two broad areas, those related to expressed needs of young people, and those relating to external influences on them. Young people can become delinquent out of a feeling of boredom or frustration, a perceived need for status, a need for challenges and excitement, and a need to belong or conform to their peer group. However, not all young people presented with these needs become delinquent. Therefore the secondary external influences may help to explain those who do. External factors such as a lack of parental control, their residential setting, poverty and lack of moral guidance have been shown to be important influences on those who do become delinquent.

These theories can be combined to increase our understanding of the factors which may lead young people to engage in delinquent behaviour. It may be possible to identify ways in which active leisure can be used to reduce or remove the effect of any of the contributory factors and help to prevent delinquency. It may also be possible to identify ways in which active leisure can be used to rehabilitate those young people for whom delinquent behaviour has already developed as part of their subculture.

2.2 Levels of Intervention

In considering the value of active leisure schemes, it is important to have a framework for assessing the basis for intervention in juvenile crime. So, this section seeks to critically evaluate theories of intervention. The roots of intervention are commonly considered in terms of primary, secondary and tertiary interventions, as previously noted in section 1.4 on youth and crime. This framework suggests that interventions can be categorised into three distinct levels:

"Primary prevention - 'the modification of criminogenic conditions in the physical and social environment at large'
Secondary Prevention - 'early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals and groups in criminogenic circumstances'
Tertiary Prevention - 'the prevention of recidivism'"


For the individual, crime prevention can be focused at pre offending and offending individuals, through secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention, on the other hand, is not directed at individuals, but at the environment and social structure which may encourage crime and delinquency. At the secondary level, crime prevention is based on theories of preventive intervention before offending occurs, for example, directed at
socialisation (affecting positive attitude development), diversion and deterrence. At tertiary, or post offending phase, the intervention theories are based most commonly on deterrence, punishment, rehabilitation, education and diversion. The conceptual framework proposed by Brantingham and Faust would, therefore, appear to offer a useful structure for this analysis.

2.2.1 Primary interventions

Welfare philosophy, based on treating the external, or structural, factors causing delinquency, such as poverty and the social residential setting, is the basis for primary intervention. One major example of this is Area Intervention schemes directed at all residents in a specific residential area, which were analysed by Lundman (1993). He suggested that the basic philosophy behind these projects was that:

"it makes little sense to focus primary attention on individual juveniles. They are the symptoms rather than the cause. Instead, preventative attention must be directed at high delinquency neighbourhoods generally and delinquent beliefs and traditions in particular"

(Lundman, 1993, p.18).

In Britain a welfare approach to juvenile delinquency was established by the Wilson government as part of an attempt to depoliticise delinquency. Social reforms were introduced to provide an egalitarian system of opportunity. These provisions included pensions and social security to stop stealing. Welfare advice centres were set up in order to treat the cause of juvenile problems rather than punish the effects. This welfare approach was weakened during the 1970s, and by the mid 1980s political direction in Youth Justice had returned to the punitive rather than a welfare approach. The current welfare situation for young people was reported by Janet Pareskeva. (1993) as failing to provide social welfare for many in the 16 to 18 age group, exacerbated by the fact that local authority care often runs out at 16 years of age, leaving some young people on the street and vulnerable to the lure of crime.

Recent youth training schemes to provide employment and training for school leavers were criticised by Muncie (1984) as merely keeping young people off the street and away from crime in the short term. These schemes provide neither a true prospect of employment nor a living wage. Despite changes to these programmes illustrated in section 1.2, a critique offered by Muncie would seem equally relevant today:
In essence YOPs (Youth Opportunity Programmes) acted as a form of social control by attempting to reassert the value of the work ethic to those who find work unavailable"  

(Muncie, 1984, p.44).

If this criticism accepted, then it offers an important insight into the desired format of primary intervention. The welfare approach must be a long term and true effort to alter the environment or circumstances which may lead to crime; not a disguised exercise in social control and short term diversion. To this extent, Glyptis' study of recreation provision for the unemployed (1989) echoed a similar lesson in primary intervention. In this case she concluded that recreation could not be a substitute for work in the long term and acted simply as diversion.

Another area of primary interventions in Britain has been provided through education. The provision of education and schooling in inner city areas seeks not only to offer opportunity, but to socialise and control the young people. The education system is designed to instil discipline. The education system as a primary intervention has generally been criticised for failure, since its aims have been rejected and resisted in high delinquency areas. Indeed the school system could be seen as the root of many sub cultures created to meet the needs to low achievers. The long term unemployment faced by people in many deprived areas further weakens the use of education as a method of primary intervention. Young people in such areas find it increasingly difficult to see the value of education when faced by poor employment prospects. Education has previously been linked to primary interventions through the provision of after school recreation and informal education via the statutory and voluntary youth services. Changes in teaching contracts have resulted in cuts in after school provision, and separate financial cuts within statutory youth service provision further undermines to effectiveness of education in primary intervention.

Nonetheless, local initiatives continue to be important, particularly in deprived inner city areas. These projects are frequently voluntary initiatives supported by some public money, for example City Challenge. The case for area projects is further supported in Britain by the rise in importance of community development work in social policy. This was demonstrated in the findings of the Policy Action Team's report (PAT 10) and the
strategy of the Social Exclusion Unit for neighbourhood renewal (*Regeneration Through Sport Conference*, 1999). The initiatives have attracted funding from Single Regeneration Budget, City Challenge and the urban programmes. A report on Sport and Social Exclusion identified that:

“The English Sports Council has given priority in its lottery funding to deprived districts and wards where a quarter of the population live under its Priority Areas Initiative”

(Collins *et al*, 1999, p.18).

Traditionally, recreational projects have been included in this type of intervention with the aim of offering opportunities and facilities for local residents, improving the social environment by reducing the number of bored young people on the streets. Finally during the second half of the 1990s primary level intervention returned to the concept of leisure education, as described in this chapter, by introducing some aspects of this into the secondary curriculum. This welfare and education philosophy attempts to ensure that all young people are aware of the opportunities and the method to access these activities.

**2.2.2 Secondary intervention**

Secondary interventions aims to identify and offer opportunities for individuals or groups of young people who may be termed at risk of offending in the future. At risk factors were classified by John Huskins (1994) as:

- lacking family support
- subject to racism, sexism or homophobia
- truanting
- having mental or physical disability
- having learning disability
- in local authority care
- beyond parental control
- homeless
- abusing alcohol or solvents
- suffering child abuse
- gambling
- unemployed.

Collingwood (1997) took a more holistic, general approach to definition which may help to explain the overall situation faced by at risk young people:

“I define at-risk youth as kids who live in a negative environment or lack the skills and values necessary to thrive in our society, placing them at risk from developing serious problem behaviours such as substance abuse,"
delinquency, violence, emotional disturbances, and educational and vocational difficulties”

(Collingwood, 1997, p.3).

This context generally demonstrated destructive relationships, feelings of futility, learned irresponsibility and a loss of purpose. By combining the social, personal and behaviour attributes identified by Huskins, and the context provided by Collingwood the term at risk of offending can be more clearly understood. Witt & Crompton (1997) clarified the relationship between these two approaches, by categorising these features as risk factors, risk behaviours and health and life compromising outcomes as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: The Relationship Between Risk Factors, Risk Behaviour and Health/Life Compromising Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Risk factors</th>
<th>B. Risk Behaviours</th>
<th>C. Health / life compromising outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>Illicit drug use</td>
<td>School failure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate Opportunity</td>
<td>Drunk driving</td>
<td>Legal trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Models for deviant Behaviour</td>
<td>Tobacco Use</td>
<td>Low work skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low perceived life chance</td>
<td>Delinquency</td>
<td>Unemployability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low self esteem</td>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>Disease/ Illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk taking propensity</td>
<td>Unprotected sex</td>
<td>Early childbearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor school work</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latch key situations</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amotivation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crompton & Witt, 1997, p.4

Secondary interventions therefore attempt to identify specific problems for individuals, which may encourage or lead to criminal activity at a later stage. Under this heading various philosophies of intervention can be identified:

- Socialisation
- Diversion
- Deterrence.

Socialisation and individual treatment seeks to alter, direct or develop attitudes and behaviours which will allow individuals a greater chance of resisting the criminal urge. These were defined by Crompton and Witt (1997) as protective factors, those elements which are present in the lives of resilient youth, who display risk factors but do not offend. The protective factors identified were interested and caring adults, neighbourhood resources, school and club involvement, high control against deviant
behaviour, models of conventional behaviour, positive attitudes to the future, value on achievement, ability to work with others, ability to work out conflicts, sense of acceptance, church attendance, quality schools and cohesive family. The socialisation approach to prevention has been delivered through schools, police, social work, youth service and play services. Intervention can include individual treatments with counsellors.

The most famous individual intervention was the Cambridge Sommerville Youth Study which was introduced in Massachusetts in 1937. The aim of this study is best summarised by Lundman (1993):

"to provide ten years of uninterrupted treatment to juveniles identified as headed for trouble with the law"


The collection of information aimed to provide evidence of the positive influence of adult counsellors on potentially delinquent young people. The intervention provided an adult counsellor to support, help and develop the young people providing guidance during their emotional, physical and social maturing process. The hypothesis was explained by Lundman that

"assignment of adult counsellors to work with juveniles in improving school performance, personality development, and family functioning would prevent juvenile delinquency"

(Lundman, 1993, p.41).

The scheme ended in 1945, two years earlier than planned due to the pressures resulting from the 2nd World War. The young people in Cambridge therefore failed to receive 10 years of formal mentoring, and the results cannot reflect this original aim. Certain details, however, can be used to assist in the provision of similar treatments today. Young people at risk were identified by any of several agencies including playground attendants, school teachers, police and social workers, promoting the need for multi-agency co-operation.

The age for admission onto the study was on average 11 years, indicating that individual treatment before delinquency needs to concentrate on a younger age group. Indeed, modern statistical evidence suggests that most young people who become involved in crime do so by 15-16 years of age.

In essence, this type of project attempts to intervene in the socialisation process of young adolescents when traditional social and family structures are unable to provide satisfactory support. The case for individual intervention is therefore strongly supported
by causation theories which seek to explain delinquency in terms of lack of parental control and poor socialisation. The question remains regarding the type of intervention. Detached youth workers in Britain commonly provide this type of support on an individual and group basis. The context for youth work intervention is often a recreational or leisure setting to encourage participation by the young person.

In Britain individual treatment can be characterised as ineffectual because of the number of different agencies involved. There is a strong argument that the single focus model of the Cambridge Sommerville study led to greater success, since problems cannot be seen in isolation. When many agencies are involved, lack of effective communication can result in reduced value for the young person; for example a youth worker, social worker, educational therapist, and psycho-analyst may all be in contact with one child. The need for better inter-agency work and 'joined up' policy has become the focus of secondary provision in the 1990s, the results of Cooper's study (1989) support the need for cooperation and dialogue between agencies.

Alternatively, secondary interventions can seek to divert the young people or person at risk of offending towards non-delinquent activities. The basis for the theory of diversion rests with the causation theories which regard delinquency as a result of boredom in free time and as quest for fun and excitement. The diversion theory builds on this to conclude that if young people lack excitement and constructive leisure opportunities are offered the situations which lead to delinquency will be reduced. Diversionary schemes have become increasingly popular among charities and police. Summer holiday schemes such as SPLASH have been shown to offer a significant contribution to reducing juvenile crime. Evidence such as the report by Chief Inspector John Kelly of Avon and Somerset Police on its SPLASH scheme supports the diversion theory:

"About 80% of the target group took part and we saw significant reductions in juvenile offenders coming to our attention from the area."

(Crime Concern, 1992, p.2).

The provision of youth and community centres and youth services contribute a less structured approach to diversion. However, cuts in funding for these services may reduce their scope and effectiveness. For older adolescents organisations such as Fairbridge
provide short courses, and longer term support, designed to help young people after school leaving age to develop a positive lifestyle and interests.

Finally, under secondary interventions, the theory of deterrence should be considered. Deterrence theory suggests that crime can be prevented by demonstrating the personal costs to the perpetrator. Three main forms of secondary deterrence can be identified in Britain. The most common is the cautioning process adopted by police. In this situation, young people see the process and the real threat of punishment, but are diverted from the system by a caution for a first offence. In many cases cautioning has proved effective, supporting the deterrence theory. The Audit Commission Report (1996) suggested that seven out of ten young people cautioned for their first offence did not offend in the following two years.

Other small scale projects involving deterrence have been tested. Firstly, by introducing young people to existing adult prisoners, a visit to a prison can act as a significant deterrent for young people who may see crime as a positive life style. Finally, deterrent media campaigns in schools and other areas where young people considered at risk gather, can highlight the dangers of delinquent activity such as drug abuse. Secondary deterrence theory is supported by some positive anecdotal evidence, but little empirical data has been provided, since in terms of prevention it is impossible to confirm what may have happened without such measures in place.

To summarise, secondary intervention is based on theories of diversion, deterrence and individual treatment. All of these methods have been extensively tried in both Britain and America, yet there is scant empirical evidence to support any one as a solution. Further analysis of anecdotal evidence and case studies indicate that with all of these secondary interventions there is a problem of identifying and targeting those individuals at risk. Analysis of the causation theories highlighted that young people can become delinquent due to a feeling of boredom or frustration, a perceived need for status, a need for challenges and excitement, and the need to belong or conform to their peer group. These factors would support the theoretical basis for diversion. Since not all young
presented with these needs become delinquent, secondary external influences may help to explain those who do.

External factors such as a lack of parental control, their residential setting, poverty and lack of moral guidance have been shown to be important influences on those who do become delinquent. Residential factors may be helped by primary intervention, but the need for parental control and support will require individual treatment as prescribed by secondary interventions. The case for deterrence, however, seems to be more deeply rooted in the expectations of society that wrong doing should be punished. Surveys into juvenile crime such as by Webb and Laycock (1992) showed that few young people saw punishment as a deterrent to initial involvement. Some evidence does suggest that cautioning can be effective as a means of deterring first time offenders.

2.2.3 Tertiary intervention

The problems mentioned above over identifying candidates for intervention do not exist at a tertiary level, since it involves existing offenders. For this group, there is a structured approach to intervention provided by the Juvenile Justice System. The purpose of this section is not to outline the workings of the system which were outlined in Chapter 1, but to analyse the rationale that led to its development.

There are three cores to the concept of prevention, dealing with circumstance, author and definition. The circumstance is identified as the opportunity to commit a crime and intervention at this core will therefore seek to remove the opportunity; it is commonly represented in the justice system as custodial sentences. The second core is the author or person, and intervention theories seek to treat or rehabilitate the person, these theories are often referred to as atonement. Finally, prevention can be considered in terms of defining the crime or offence, so that treatments can work at developing a better awareness of the effects of the acts, or, in the case of motor sports projects work to offer a legitimate opportunity for the desired activity. Prevention in the tertiary stage is also concerned at two levels: firstly preventing further offences and secondly preventing a delinquent career from developing. If the second is accepted as most important, then the
argument against custodial sentences in which young people become criminalised and labelled seems more compelling.

Interventions at the tertiary stage can work alone, or on one or more of four routes identified by Lundman (1993). Firstly they can work with individuals or group counselling sessions focusing on why future crimes may occur. These sessions are held at Attendance Centres (see Chapter 5 Squire Lucas Day Centre) or by specialist organisations such as Sherborne House (Chapter 5, Figure 5.1). Secondly, 'techno-prevention' is based on anticipating types of crime at certain times or in certain places. A practical example of this theory can be seen in the curfew and the use of CCTV surveillance, which seek to identify times or places where crime is likely to occur and remove them from the life of the offender. The pro-active approach seeks to reduce crime in groups, also demonstrated by group sessions at Sherborne House and by initiatives such as Crime Concern Youth Action in Sunderland. Finally, diversion from a criminal career is essential. Lundman identified diversion at tertiary stage with measures to avoid the theoretical effects of negative labelling by society. As we have seen, the labelling theory as expanded by Becker (1963) is difficult to prove. In Britain the only evidence which could be used to support the theory are the higher rates of reconviction among people with custodial rather than non-custodial sentences. However, this evidence is flawed due to inherent differences in the two groups of young people and the number and severity of their crimes. Nonetheless, keeping offenders away from the criminal label, has been an important philosophy of the British and American situation.

There seems to be two major principles at work, atonement or retribution. Retribution calls for wrong doing to be punished, and in the legal system this means curtailing freedom or imprisonment. The theory of retribution considers that by paying the price for a crime, an offender will be deterred from further offences. West (1967) described these measures as punitive deterrents, teaching young offenders a lesson in criminal responsibility. He goes on to criticise this approach as lacking evidence to substantiate its effectiveness. Retribution was identified by Pitts (1988) as politically acceptable but he criticised it for ignoring social factors. He classed it as an authoritarian reaction. He also
identified evidence of a 'punitive obsession' in Britain, citing the fact that we imprison more people than any other West European country.

The alternative to retribution and punishment was referred to by Pitts (1988) as the social work intervention, which seeks to improve the quality of adult relationships. This intervention has its roots in the theory of atonement or reparation. West identified four main applications to express atonement with the British juvenile justice system; Psycho-Therapy, Reality and Group Therapy, Therapeutic Communities and Behaviour Therapy. Examples of reality and group therapy confront individuals with the potential disaster in much the same way as secondary interventions. Therapeutic communities such as Bryn Melyn in Wales work at developing long term attitude changes in a new and stable environment (Chapter 5, Figure 5.1). Finally, behaviour therapy rewards good behaviour.

Muncie (1984) analysed the interventions available under the juvenile justice system and suggested that detention centres, youth custody centres and secure units operate mainly under the punishment or retribution theories, offering strict regimes which attempt both to remove the threat from society, and to control that threat. Punishment does not seem to create better attitudes or behaviour upon release, the young people involved frequently develop a serious history of crime and have high recidivism rates. Comparison to community routes of correction is therefore not straightforward.

Those interventions which support the atonement principle include a range of community corrections and, to some extent, community homes. Community corrections include Attendance Centres which stress education and exercise as well as discipline. Supervision orders offer social casework on an individual basis. Intermediate Treatment is based on the philosophy of the 1969 White Paper Children in Trouble and seeks to achieve preventive care through bringing:

* the young person into contact with some constructive activity*

(Muncie, 1984, p.56).

This objective links to the causation of boredom in spare time, and suggests that constructive activity is needed to offer an alternative. The following section will evaluate
various forms of constructive activity which can be provided as a recreational component.

2.2.4 Summary
At the preventive levels, primary and secondary, the dilemma is one of achieving a balance between intervening to improve the situation, and intervening as a form of social control. At tertiary levels of intervention, there exists a dilemma, to punish or to rehabilitate. The question remains whether these two philosophies are mutually exclusive, or whether some satisfactory compromise can be achieved. Both have merits and some supporting evidence. In a society conditioned to expect punishment for wrong doing, the policy of radical non-intervention or reparation is frequently seen as unjust not least for the victims. Media headlines exposing young delinquents 'rewarded' with holidays to exotic places increase public concern to see some punishment for wrong doing. Nonetheless, evidence also shows that the punitive regime of custodial sentences often acts as a school for delinquents, releasing more hardened criminals into society. What is more interesting for active leisure, is that both the punitive and atonement regimes utilise sport and recreation during their processes.

To summarise the findings of this section the following philosophies have been identified under the broader headings of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention:

- **Primary**
  - Welfare

- **Secondary**
  - Socialisation
  - Diversion
  - Deterrence

- **Tertiary**
  - Retribution
  - Atonement (diversion and socialisation)
  - Diversion

Next I will consider why active leisure is seen as effective under two such contrasting philosophies. At all levels, examples can be found to show sport and recreation as an important facet of a total strategy of crime prevention. The rationale for the use of active leisure in crime prevention links the accepted causes of delinquency with the basis for
intervention and provides a useful tool in this process. The theoretical basis for this method will be considered in the next section.

2.3 Benefits of Active Leisure Participation

There are several issues that are critical to any study of the role of active leisure in intervention for juvenile crime. The first is to define the actual nature of intervention that is being considered: for example team sports or expeditions. Active leisure is a broad field and within this area there is a need to identify elements which have their own theoretical background and uses. From an American perspective McKay (1993) suggests:

"Investigations of the contribution of recreation to alleviating juvenile delinquency can be classified under four main headings: (1) wilderness challenge programs and outdoor education/recreation and camping; (2) community based multiple intervention programs; (3) sport; and (4) leisure boredom"

(McKay, 1993, p.27).

In Britain a further category has become popular for intervention, schemes involving motorsports.

Coalter (1996) reviewed the role of sport in preventing juvenile offending. In his initial analysis of the contemporary situation he suggested that there are a number of questions that need to be considered related to conceptual clarity. He identified the need for clarity in the definition of sport.

In this research active leisure will be used to describe the interventions or projects generally. This will include adventure, sport, motor sport and constructive leisure. Active leisure was selected as the best general description of these types of intervention since by definition it infers activity in free time.

2.3.1 Adventure and outdoor recreation

Outdoor activities and adventure are titles often used for the same or sometimes different activities identified by Hopkins (1993) to bring together three facets which form the product, whose most well known version is Outward Bound courses. The main facets which require definition at this point are: 'outdoor', 'adventure' and 'education'. Most of the projects under this heading use the outdoors as the location for their activities.
Sometimes this is in the local countryside, but in other cases it is used to provide a novel environment, and also to provide natural challenges from the elements rather than competition from other players. **Adventure** was defined by Hopkins (1993) as:

"an experience that involves uncertainty of outcome"

(Hopkins, 1993, p.6).

The concept of tackling the unknown is of crucial importance in achieving the benefits of participation. Finally, the term education is frequently used to describe, or to offer credibility for, outdoor recreation programmes. Hopkins again offered a satisfactory definition of education in this context:

"a process of intellectual, moral and social growth that involves the acquisition of knowledge, skills and experience"

(Hopkins, 1993, p.6).

This infers that outdoor activities will have benefits in terms of personal development. These terms are combined to offer many titles for outdoor projects including: adventure education, development training, outdoor education, outward/outdoor bound activities, adventure based counselling, outdoor pursuits and outdoor development.

The basis for using outdoor activities and adventure in the personal development of young people can be found in the theories developed by Kurt Hahn, founder in 1934 of Gordonstoun School. The school was based on the philosophy of education to:

"develop the righteous and the active citizen, with a strong emphasis on leadership and service"


These objectives were to be achieved through the use of expeditions into the hills and on small boats, as well as through physical training and community service. However, the application of these theories were not restricted to public schools. Hahn developed the Moray Badge scheme, a forerunner of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. Hahn's theory, centred on the power of adventure, used the experience to satisfy the needs of adolescents in their transition to adulthood. Basic to this philosophy, and that of Outward Bound, was that using adventure could be common to all, and was not a reflection on physical ability. A second major influence in the development of outdoor recreation for young people was Baden Powell, with his emphasis on outdoor activities for character building within the Scouting and Guiding movements.
The use of outdoor activities has therefore an important link with the concept of adventure. The concept of adventure has been expanded from both a philosophical and a romantic perspective, by ancient writers such as Plato and many modern educationalists. It is however, the philosophical view that can be used to establish a theory for the use of adventure activities. Mortlock (1971) was important in placing these philosophies regarding adventure into a theoretical framework. His definition gives an indication of the potential of outdoor adventure in the prevention of delinquency:

"Adventure is a state of mind that begins with feelings of uncertainty about the outcome of a journey and always ends with feelings of enjoyment, satisfaction, or elation about the successful completion of that journey...." (Mortlock, 1973, p.4).

The impact of adventure on individuals was also summarised by Everard as cited in Hopkins (1993) as the development of self concept. The positive development of self concept is central in evaluating Outward Bound projects. Unfortunately, self concept is difficult to define and to measure, particularly in the long term. The benefits of improved self concept are often seen as self esteem, reduced anxiety and improved self confidence. Many attempts have been made to offer empirical evidence in support of these claims. Roberts, White and Parker (1974) concluded in a study of the ‘character training industry’ that:

"Following their training most young people feel "different", more mature, self confident, and better capable of handling relationships"

(Roberts, White and Parker, 1974, p.2).

The use of adventure as a therapeutic tool for social work and counselling has been predominantly developed in America. Gass (1993) explained the rationale for the use of adventure in the 1990s from a sociological perspective. Taking the basic idea from Kurt Hahn, that young people who feel unneeded will behave in a variety of inappropriate ways, Gass considered the role of adolescents in western culture. He suggested that they require certain life skills such as self confidence, self discipline, judgement and responsibility. However, the social structure of the 1990s no long offers the same opportunity as previous decades for these skills to develop naturally. In analysing this problem he concluded that:

"Outward bound and its derivative, wilderness therapy, can be seen as educational processes where adolescents are initiated into prosocial values that form the basis of western culture"

(Gass, 1993, p.19).
To conclude, the basis for the use of adventure education with young people is found in the ideals of Kurt Hahn. Adventure education offers opportunities for the development of self-concept and provides opportunities to mature to adulthood. Furthermore, the work of Gass would suggest that adventure offers the opportunity for socialisation into western culture and values. Based on these benefits, Blunkett, the Minister for Education, announced proposals in January 2000 to offer adventure activity weeks for all sixteen-year-olds through the national curriculum (The Guardian, 3/1/2000, p.1). However, can these benefits contribute to a reduction in delinquency? In Chapter 3 the benefits will be compared to the factors which may contribute to delinquency, in order to establish links which would support their use as intervention with young people at risk of offending.

2.3.2 Sport and physical recreation

For the purpose of this analysis, sport will be defined as exhibiting the following features:

- they must involve a symbolic test of physical or psycho-motor skills;
- there must be a competitive framework; which requires:
  - specific codified rules which constitute the activity;
  - there must be a continuity over time - a tradition of past practices

(Haywood, 1989, pp52-3).

In Britain, the value of sport in terms of socialising young people was identified by the headmaster of Rugby School, Thomas Arnold, in the early 1800s. A concept of 'Muscular Christianity' was evolved as an attempt to quash immoral activities through introducing a vigorous programme of athletics and team sports. This policy was successful in reducing the occurrence of unsuitable behaviour in the School, and led to the realisation that sport could be effective as a tool in the socialisation process.

The rationale to support this idea is found in the definition of sporting activity as physical recreation which involves developing physical or psycho-motor skills and which takes place within a competitive but rule-bound structure. From this, participation can be seen to require acceptance of rules and authority as necessary. This acceptance by young people, it is suggested will lead to a general acceptance of the need for rules within society. H.R.H Prince Philip echoed this idea:
'This is the essence of the principle of the rule of law in society as a whole, so that games and sports are object lessons in the need to abide by the law, to apply it fairly and to accept the decisions of those who are employed to enforce it' 

(HRH Prince Philip, 1994, pp 6-8).

This hypothesis has been expanded by Snyder and Spreitzer (1978):

"Sport is a social institution which has its primary functions in disseminating and reinforcing the values regulating behaviour and goal attainment, solutions to problems in the secular sphere of life. This channelling affects not only perspectives on sport, but it is commonly assumed, affects and aids in regulating perceptions of life in general" 

(Snyder / Spreitzer, 1978).

This more recent assessment can be linked to the early theories of 'muscular Christianity' with a strong emphasis on its power to develop a moral code. An acceptance of fair play in sport will, in theory, lead to a general acceptance of society's moral code. This theory was identified in the Order Model outlined by Horton (1966). It takes a view of society which places emphasis on the aspects of society, such as the acceptance of authority and rules, fitting together, for which a socialisation process is required. This process will provide adaptation to society's dominant values, offering stability and a normative order.

The role which sport can play in this socialisation process comprises the transmission of social values, mastery of skill and good character, moral definition of behavioural problems and thus facilitating social order.

The value of traditional sports was not solely exploited for the expected moral results of Muscular Christianity, and adherence to a moral code, but also the importance in constructive opportunity to use up surplus energy. The Surplus Energy Theory, developed by Herbert Spencer (1855), stressed the need to burn excess energy not used at work. Sport would offer a satisfactory medium for this release and without a suitable outlet such as sport, the energy would be released in pursuit of 'dysfunctionality in the form of delinquent behaviour' 

(Robins, 1990, p.12).

Since delinquent behaviour can sometimes be represented in displays of uncontrolled aggression and violence, a further reason to suggest that sport will be a useful tool is that it allows channelled aggression and physical strength. The game of rugby for example, allows in its laws for aggression and physical dominance in ways which would be
regarded as delinquent in normal society. Matza (1969) suggests that the opportunity for a test of physical strength and channelled aggression will offer a satisfactory alternative to delinquency. However, problems recently with uncontrolled aggression in sport may lead to this evidence being dismissed as unsuitable for the wider aims of rehabilitative sports projects. Furthermore a substantial research project in New Zealand produced results which suggest that sports participation may in fact increase offending behaviour (Begg, 1996).

From this summary of the rationale and development of the use of sport and physical recreation as an intervention in juvenile delinquency, it is possible to identify the following qualities or benefits from the sports experiences, which may contribute to a reduction in the potential for delinquency:

- Acceptance of the need for rules
- Acceptance of the ideals of fair play, a moral code
- A opportunity to expel surplus energy through legitimate means
- An opportunity to vent aggression constructively
- An opportunity for players to respond to the inherent need for discipline
- Opportunity for team work, belonging, accepting the needs of others
- Opportunity for status within a peer group
- Improved physical and mental function to cope with stress
- Improved self esteem.

With increasing policy emphasis on community development initiatives there have also been attempts to establish links between sports participation and community development which often focus on young people. In a review of the theoretical benefits of sports provision Long and Sanderson (1998) identified to following:

"Enhanced confidence and self esteem
Empowering disadvantaged groups
Improving the capacity of the community to take initiatives
Reduction in crime, vandalism and delinquency
Increased social integration and co-operation, promoting a collective identity and increasing cohesion
Encouraging pride in the community
Improving employment prospects
Generating employment and income
Increasing productivity with a fit workforce
Improving health
Environmental improvements"

(Long and Sanderson 1998, pp299/300).

Therefore, as the Hillary Commission report concluded,
"We are now, however becoming more aware of the social value of sport as a means of building better and safer communities”


In 1996 the results of a longitudinal study in New Zealand of the role of sports participation in delinquency of adolescents aged 15-18 years showed that:

'high involvement in sporting activity, but not team sport, was associated with a subsequent increase in delinquent behaviour'

(Begg, 1996, p.1).

It therefore remains important for sports based interventions to provided evidence of its effectiveness at each stage of intervention.

2.3.3 Motorsports

It is important to consider the benefits of motorsports separately despite their undoubted relationship to sport, since it is thought that, in this context, they can offer benefits to specific young offenders. The additional benefits of motorsports participation have been focused on those specifically at risk of involvement in car crime, in particular joy riding. In addition to the general benefits of sports participation, motorsports allow young people to be educated in motor skills which will, it is hoped, reduce their desire for dangerous and illegal activities.

2.3.4 Constructive Leisure

Constructive leisure activity is a very broad area but for this research it will be defined as leisure activity that conforms to society’s norms and offers benefits to the participant. It has developed from rational recreation which was an early attempt to control the activities of the working class, through their leisure time, by instilling the Protestant work ethic: leisure as a reward for work, to be used to improve oneself. Hargreaves (1986) summarised the early philosophy of rational recreation as:

"'improving', 'educational', respectable and more refined than the boisterous and dissolute pursuits of popular culture. The alternative model offered was a more privatised family centred recreation and wholesome entertainment, catered for by respectable institutions under the supervision of dominant groups"

(Hargreaves, 1986, p.22).

Almost a century later, contemporary applications advocate the power of constructive leisure activities as a tool for teaching social skills to young people at risk of offending.
This relies on the concept that recreation is an effective tool with which to instil the values and behaviour accepted by society in general, and which helps young people to develop self respect and a sense of physical well being. Examples such as the Scouting movement are used to support this idea. Constructive leisure behaviour can therefore be defined in terms of activities which offer positive impacts for the individual and society; examples can be either participating, such as swimming, or creative such as arts and music. Non constructive use of leisure time includes activities which harm society or the individual such as vandalism and drug abuse. Constructive leisure behaviour continues to be encouraged through public sector subsidised provision and contracted services from private companies.

Politicians and government policy in recent years have embraced this theory. The Scarman Report (1982) suggested that the Brixton riots were closely linked to a lack of constructive leisure opportunities for young people. In the 1990s this argument can be supported by the high levels of youth unemployment in Britain, which leaves thousands of young people with no direction, little money and plenty of free time. However preparing young people to benefit from this free time has generally been ignored both by schools and the youth service. This left the responsibility for leisure education to the family. In most families this was adequately provided. However in often chaotic family structures of many socially excluded communities this process cannot be relied upon. For these young people the assimilation of positive and constructive use of leisure time from a supportive family is unlikely. Many socially excluded families will have little experience of the choices and process by which leisure opportunity is accessed.

The process of leisure education became unfashionable in the 1980s since it was viewed as importing or teaching what is worthy or wise use of time. This has been conceived from the concept of rational recreation developed in the 1800s to support the provision of leisure services, particularly for young people. However the approach to leisure education currently reflects

"A total movement to enable individuals to enhance the quality of their lives in leisure"

(Mundy & Odum, 1979, p.2).
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“increasing the individuals’ options for satisfying quality experiences in leisure”

(Mundy & Odum, 1979, p.13).

What leisure education no longer seeks is to

“Communicate predetermined standards concerning what is good or bad, worthy or unworthy uses of leisure”

Neither does it seek to advocate

“a leisure-style for everyone”


Mundy identifies two philosophical premises which are fundamental to the implementation of effective leisure education programmes:

1 The essence of leisure is freedom therefore, leisure education must above all else, facilitate individual self determination.

2 The leisure experience is a uniquely individual experience; therefore the individual should be the primary focus: recipient of values, evaluation of outcomes; and agents of the leisure education process”

(Mundy, 1998, p.9).

By providing an individual development model Mundy suggests that greater understanding of the impacts of leisure choices not only on their own lives but also on the community will be achieved. She proposed a three tier process for leisure education to involve leisure awareness, self awareness, leisure skills.

Constructive leisure participation offers benefits in terms of interest, opportunity for self expression, and social interaction. Unlike sport and physical recreation, constructive leisure need not test physical ability, nor offer an enforced sense of competition. Examples of leisure education and community based constructive leisure can be found in the USA as identified by Witt and Crompton (1996). Their study included the example of Madison School Community Recreation department who through providing multiple strategies for reaching at risk youth demonstrated improvements in a number of protective factors for at risk young people including greater participation in activities, attention to school study and increased the amount of time spent with adults and peers in positive activity.
2.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the theoretical causes, drawing on sociological, criminological and leisure studies research in both Britain and America. This has provided an extensive list of potential causes of delinquency. Research suggests that no single theory would provide an answer to the problem of delinquency, and it is likely that young offenders demonstrate many different combinations of these causes. These causes relate to both aspect of structure, the environment in which the young person exists, and agency, personal factors related to the individual. It has been demonstrated that both personal and social factors will contribute to delinquency.

Secondly the philosophy for intervention in Britain has been explored. This revealed both similarities and differences in approach at various stages in the offending cycle. These stages were identified as primary, secondary and tertiary interventions. Finally the benefits of each aspect of active leisure provision has been considered. This has demonstrated the potential for common benefits across the range of active leisure interventions, including improved self esteem, a vehicle for therapy or informal education, team work and self confidence.

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CHAPTER 3 ACTIVE LEISURE AS INTERVENTION IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

3.1 Introduction
The previous chapter established the theories which are important ways to explain why some young people become delinquent. These theories were divided into two broad areas, those related to expressed needs of the young people and those relating to external influences on them. Theories which seek to prove that sport or recreation can act as effective intervention for juvenile delinquency will need to contribute to a reduction in some of these causes. These theories will be compared to the benefits of the use of sport, adventure, constructive leisure and motor sports programmes in prevention. Coalter (1996) identified the difference in process and outcomes of varying forms of physical activity. He also questioned whether sport participation prevented delinquency or acted as a therapy in rehabilitation. He also questioned the nature of the causal mechanisms which result in changes to behaviour.

This chapter will review these aspects of the theoretical relationship. Based on the evidence provided by Coalter (1996), McKay (1993) and Taylor & Nichols’ (1999) study of tertiary level intervention for the Home Office, four main areas of sport and recreation invention theories will be analysed as follows: adventure and outdoor education/recreation projects, traditional sport, motorsports and community based leisure activity. The theory, development, application of each type of intervention and the potential benefits were analysed individually in the previous chapter. In this chapter these benefits will be compared to the causes of delinquency, outlined in Chapter 2. Finally, for each type of recreation, the potential for their use at different stages of intervention will be established.
3.2 The Application of Active Leisure to the Causes of Delinquency

Having identified several theoretical benefits of recreation participation and examined the existing empirical evidence to support them in section 2.3, it was possible to conclude that participation in active leisure confers some positive outcomes for individuals generally. In order to consider the potential for active leisure activity as an intervention in juvenile delinquency it is now important to examine the potential relationship that these claimed benefits may have with the theoretical causes of delinquency as identified in section 2.1. This analysis will consider each activity under a separate heading, and then in conclusion, the pattern of relationships between causes of delinquency and positive benefits of recreation will be analysed.

3.2.1 Adventure

Adventure education or activities can offer benefits, which may combat or alter some of the conditions which cause delinquency:

A SEARCH FOR EXCITEMENT AND A RESULT OF BOREDOM

Some theories explaining the motivation for delinquency suggest that an acceptable diversion and excitement is required to lessen its attraction. The solution would need to be physically and mentally challenging for the individual, and offer personal thrills and excitement. The most popular solution both in Britain and the US has been the use of adventure or outdoor activity courses. Adventure activities are freer, with fewer rules and structures to impose. The challenge is offered on an individual basis by a non personal force, the land and the weather conditions. It is therefore not necessarily a show of personal strength which wins against another, but the endurance of the individual against the unknown which offers all participants an opportunity to succeed in the activities.

Adventure activities are frequently dangerous, the level of risk can be controlled to some degree by training, equipment, activity session design and venue; mountaineering, abseiling and water sports all present some degree of excitement through the experience. The question which must be addressed is whether this excitement will be sufficient to overcome the ‘buzz’ of delinquent behaviour.
Day (1967) reported that in the results of a Rainer Foundation experiment with boys under detention in 1960:

"it would be an over simplification to suggest that rock climbing or any other outdoor activity can give exactly the same combination of thrills and satisfaction, but these present alternatives which do not meet with the same censure"


From this Day concluded that adventure can have a role in demonstrating to young people that some thrills and excitement can be achieved legitimately.

SOCIAL RESIDENTIAL SETTING AND POVERTY

Traditionally, adventure activities take young people away from their own environment for a short time. This has led to the major criticism of the use of outdoor pursuits, that they fail to address the social setting, and therefore the most persistent and influential factor in the development of delinquent behaviour. Although the adventures may be exciting and effective in short lived attitude behaviour changes, they fail to address long term problems, and therefore once returned to the home environment the young people will return to their delinquent sub cultures. There are now two different responses to this criticism; firstly, that by going somewhere different, young people can adjust their horizons and see a wider perspective on the opportunities presented in society. Unfortunately, there is little evaluation to support this argument. The second response is to create adventure in the home or urban environment, which may be continued.

SOCIALISATION OR PROCESS OF MATURATION (DELINQUENCY IS PHASIC)

Developmental youth work stresses the need to develop the following abilities within the socialisation process:

"- identify and develop their capacities - physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, social and emotional;
- recognise and accept their responsibilities, as individuals, citizens, group members;
- evaluate the context in which they live and act accordingly"

(Huskins, 1992, p.5).

These skills must be developed if young people are to fully integrate into adult society and avoid delinquency. Adventure activities have been identified as a way of developing these skills. Firstly, since adventure activities are non-competitive, young people can develop an understanding of their own capacity in a positive way, not in comparison to
other people which had often been demeaning for them previously. Secondly, since many adventure activities cannot be undertaken alone, young people can develop an understanding of the importance of working as part of a team, co-operating with others and trusting each other. It is more difficult to see how adventure can achieve the third objective of a better understanding of their own home environment, whilst away on an adventure.

**PERCEIVED NEED FOR STATUS**

Although adventure will not confer status on any individual in conventional terms (scholastic, employment or community recognition), it is suggested that through the development of self concept, young people will develop a more realistic and optimistic view of themselves. This new self concept may help young people to rationalise their need for perceived status, and the adventures themselves may give self confidence. From this young people may no longer need to strive for recognition and status through delinquent means, since their improved self confidence will reduce feelings of status frustration.

**NEED TO BELONG OR CONFORM TO THEIR PEER GROUP**

Adventure activities can address this in two main ways; firstly, by removing youngsters from a delinquent peer group, or secondly, by altering delinquent aspects of their peer group. Adventure, if used individually, removes the young person from their peer group and introduces them to a new groups of people. By successfully completing an adventure, the young person will develop team-work skills and will develop a sense of belonging to a new peer group. However, the weakness with this principle is that on returning to the home environment, the young person will be subject again to strong pressures to conform to the original peer group. Adventure activities can also be used to alter the attitudes and behaviour of the peer group. Through a group adventure experience, the young people can learn to work together closely, and to value new or different qualities within their members.
A LACK OF PARENTAL CONTROL AND LACK OF MORAL GUIDANCE

Adventure alone will not replace a lack of parental control, nor will it seek to offer moral education in a formal delivery. However, the environment of adventure can be used to develop trust and respect for adult leaders in young people. These strong relationships can produce adult role models for young people when such models are lacking in family life. However the short term nature of most residential adventure experiences would indicate that although role models may appear, and their short term influence be very strong, the long term influences will be negligible or will diminish. McKay (1993) suggested from one American longitudinal study, that recidivism after five years is at the same level amongst those who have been on such a programme as those in custody.

The theory of adventure experiences as developed by Gass (1993) stresses that the experience, process and environment will contribute to:

"individuals who have not had the opportunity to develop a strong set of prosocial values. Given exposure to the proper experience, they will develop self worth, personal responsibility, and a sense of connection to society and others."

(Gass, 1993, p.19).

Adventure activity offers a tool for personal development, a legitimate opportunity for physical challenge and excitement and, in the short term, offers relief from boredom. The use of adventure as an intervention in juvenile delinquency has both statistical and anecdotal evidence to support these outcomes, which will be demonstrated when it is considered in terms of intervention.

3.2.2 Sport and physical recreation

Purdy and Richard (1983) considered the application of four delinquency theories to the use of sport and recreation. These were the labelling, strain, differential association and control theories, as described in section 2.1. They were assessed in terms of their contribution to the use of sport as prevention for delinquent activities. The authors indicated that there was a lack of sound methodology and theory in this area which has left much existing empirical evidence based on correlation, and open to criticism.

Coalter (1996) reviewed the rationale for the use of sports as an intervention in juvenile delinquency. In his study he reviewed the relationship between sports participation and
the theories of differential association, blocked aspirations, and the social psychology of adolescence. Their assessment of the delinquency theories led to the following conclusions:

**THE LABELLING THEORY**
This suggests that juvenile delinquency may be a result of a reaction to the negative expectations of society, described in section 2.1. Purdy and Richard claimed some connection to sports participation, suggesting that the positive label and potential for notoriety of an athlete may lead to a more lenient approach when apprehended for delinquent behaviour. This however, does not suggest that sport will necessarily prevent delinquency, but may alter the treatment of young people once apprehended.

**STRAIN OR STATUS SEEKING BEHAVIOUR**
We have seen in section 2.1 that this theory suggests that delinquency is motivated by a desire for membership and status within the community. So, this can be used to justify sport as a method of offering status within the community and a sense of identity. Participation in sports, and successes enjoyed, can offer status within the peer group, or an opportunity for social mobility. This idea was formulated by Schaffer (1969) who suggested

> "athletics often served as a channel for upward mobility, especially for boys from lower class and ethnic backgrounds"

(Schaffer, 1969, p.112).

This theory has frequently used examples of successful young black sportsmen, previously at risk of offending, such as Frank Bruno in Britain, to offer evidence in support of its claims. However, it seems that the examples offered illustrate their weakness, because the success stories are notable for being rare. The majority will never attain this level of recognition. However, Schaffer's research went on to suggest that sport can play an important role in youth sub cultures. His investigation in American High Schools showed that:

> "more boys reported they would rather be remembered as an athletic star than a brilliant student; athletic success was found to be the primary criterion for popularity and leadership"

(Schaffer, 1969, p.113).
Coalter (1996) identified low success and status from school and work as a problem for many at risk adolescents he suggested that

"in such circumstances sport might be regarded as a functional alternative-a way of providing alternative avenues of achievement, status and self esteem and securing allegiance and conformity to conventional norms of behaviour"

(Coalter, 1996, p.8).

It remains to be proven whether limited success and identity offered by local and amateur as opposed to national or professional sports participation will offer satisfactory status to reduce the motivation for offending behaviour. Anecdotal evidence is available, for example in Taylor & Nichols' study of physical recreation for young offenders (1999), there are a number of cases such as the use of Duke of Edinburgh award ceremonies to confer success and a formal recognition for participants. This is one area where further evidence will be required through interviews with targeted young people to validate the claim.

**SOCIALISATION, SOCIAL SETTING AND PEER GROUP PRESSURE (DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION AND CONTROL THEORY)**

This was considered by Purdy and Richard under the title of differential association, suggesting that delinquent behaviour is learnt through a social group or setting. They concluded that participation in sports will offer a different social setting from normal, and improve the possibilities of socialisation. Indeed research in the United States by Schaffer showed a positive correlation between participation in team sports and lower delinquency rates.

The criticism of this view is that it considers only the needs of society and ignores the needs of the individual. With delinquents, it may be more difficult to adopt this approach, since youth sub cultures are often deviant and anarchic, and will resist getting involved in organised sport. The basis of research in this area in Britain is weak, and can show little more than correlation. To be proven better empirical evidence will be required.
The control theory proposes that delinquency is a result of a weak social bond, and concludes that sport can offer opportunities for stronger identification and bonding within a social group. From their analysis, Purdy and Richard (1983) conclude that

"while all of these theories seem to have some degree of relevance in explaining the relationship between involvement in sport and juvenile delinquency, a merging of the elements from the control theory and differential association, with a small degree of labelling theory, may provide the most comprehensive explanation"

(Purdy/Richard, 1983, p.189)

NEED FOR EXCITEMENT OR A RESULT OF BOREDOM IN FREE TIME

Further to the desirable qualities developed through sports participation and a suitable release for surplus energy, it has been favoured through the contribution it makes to the constructive use of leisure time. By offering sport as a diversion, the problem of delinquency will be reduced. Several projects in Britain seek to target activities at young people during such times as summer holidays. These projects have been evaluated individually and can be shown in the short run to reduce offences by young people. OXSport, an outreach sports programme provided by Community Recreation in Oxford, was linked to a reduction in reported crime (see Chapter 5). The Staffordshire holiday programme SPACE was linked to a reduction in the observed increase in crime during school holidays (Heal & Laycock, 1987). Many of these schemes are provided by the police and youth services and may be more effective if the police involvement is reduced since a police presence may be off putting to young delinquents.

LACK OF PARENTAL CONTROL

This theory states that young people need guidance in order to develop a socially acceptable level of behaviour and attitudes. The family has traditionally been seen as the main provider of this help. However, with growing rates of family breakdown and the incidence of young people living on the streets or in care, other sources are required. Sport requires the development of self discipline, and can be seen as a positive contribution. However, more importantly sport offers positive role models in the form of sports heroes and coaches or older team members. So long as these influences are positive role models, then sport may have a positive impact. Unfortunately, not all sporting role models conform to society's expectations, and become involved in
aggression, cheating, and recreational or performance enhancing drug use, which weakens this case.

3.2.3 Motorsports
As part of sport and physical recreation the use of motor sports may offer similar links to the causes of delinquency. However, in terms of labelling, it can be argued that motorsports does not present the same positive label as other sports participation and labels may be more readily linked to 'bikers' and 'hells angels' sub cultural groups. The motor schemes involve sessions to educate young people on the impact of illegal driving and a better understanding of how vehicles work. Motor sports participation also offers the following specific benefits: a legitimate opportunity for the challenge and excitement of fast cars or bikes, through supervision, guidance and control, and status through competition success and through skills acquisition. Motor sports projects are targeted at those young people specifically interested in joy riding and car crime, and vary significantly in nature. Therefore not all projects will offer all of the benefits in terms of training and competition, but they all share an objective to offer a legitimate outlet and to offer guidance for young people interested in motor sports.

3.2.4 Constructive leisure
Participation may include both adventure activities and sport, and will therefore share the benefits of these activities, but most importantly constructive leisure will act as diversion from boredom and a search for excitement. This explanation rests with the idea that delinquent behaviour is a direct result of boredom in spare time. High levels of youth unemployment have led young people to hang about on street corners and in shopping centres in search of amusement or entertainment. This search for amusement and fun can lead them into delinquent behaviour. The activities serve many purposes, but are often designed to fill time and to vent anxiety and frustration.

3.2.5 Summary
A diagram will now aid a summary of the points discussed in this section. Figure 3.1 shows the relationship of the benefits of recreation to the causes of delinquency.
From Figure 3.1 it is possible to see that generally recreational projects have established benefits linked to the following causes of delinquency:

- socialisation / social setting
- parental control
- status
- boredom
- excitement
- peer group pressure.

Figure 3.1 The Relationship Of The Causes Of Delinquency To The Benefits Of Participation In Active Leisure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of Delinquency</th>
<th>Active leisure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential setting</td>
<td>Constructive Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer group</td>
<td>Adventure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boredom</td>
<td>Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status seeking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excitement</td>
<td>Motor Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motorsports projects are more specific and seem to concentrate on four particular benefits. Constructive leisure programmes are more general, and may involve both sport and adventure, sharing the mix of benefits from each.

3.3 Recreation and the Levels of Intervention

The use of sport and recreation within a strategy for juvenile crime prevention will be considered under Brantingham and Faust's (1973) three level framework.
3.3.1 Adventure

PRIMARY INTERVENTIONS

At the most simple level, it is difficult to envisage how adventure programmes can contribute to primary prevention, that is interventions which seek to improve the factors which may contribute to crime such as poverty, unemployment and poor housing. Indeed, it would be naive to suggest that adventure and outdoor activity courses can improve the residential setting, though they do offer an opportunity to widen horizons for the participants. For disaffected young people, living in a run down environment, an opportunity for adventure, visiting somewhere different may help to inspire renewed enthusiasm for life. There little evidence to support this theory, and even those anecdotal references involving feedback from participants, have been seen to show only short term positive effects. Therefore, it is clear that there is a need to follow up such experiences in the home environment, an issue that the Blunkett proposals (The Guardian, 3.1.2000) do not appear to incorporate. The provision of adventure playgrounds, for example, can assist in improving the physical environment. This proposition was supported by research into the role of recreation and adventure activities by HM Inspectorate in 1990.

Reporting on these findings John Huskins suggested:

"if young people are to grow up and achieve their full potential they need love and affection, stimulus and encouragement, positive role models and the support of a range of adults whom they can trust. Even under ideal conditions these are not easy to provide - in many urban areas they prove almost impossible"

(Huskins, 1992, p.32).

Alternatively, adventure expeditions can reinforce the opportunities to survive and enjoy life with little in the way of material possessions. Education policy introduced in January 2000 will offer an adventure experience to all sixteen year olds. However, given that many young people are already involved in offending behaviour and excluded for education, these measures may fail to reach young people at risk of offending.

SECONDARY INTERVENTION (PRE OFFENDING)

Intervention at the secondary level identifies individuals or groups at risk of offending and either seeks to offer a diversion or alternative to change behaviours and attitudes in order to reduce the likelihood of delinquency. Adventure education offers benefits which are useful in each approach. In terms of diversion, adventure activities seek to replace for
young people with time and little perceived leisure opportunity, needs for excitement and challenge through delinquent means. Adventure can satisfy the search for excitement and stimulus, negating the need to joy ride and abuse drugs in this search.

Outdoor and adventure activities also can be used to develop self esteem and self confidence. These changes can help to support adolescents' personal development and reduce those behaviour patterns which may lead to delinquency. The HM Inspectorate report (1990) concluded that:

"adventure activities further the personal development of many young people"

(HMI, 1990, p.1).

This study centred on adventure experiences for young people in urban areas and assessed the impact of several different projects over a four month period. The findings summarised above, therefore could be criticised as lacking sufficient time to truly assess any significant lasting impact on young people's behaviour and development.

Research reviewed by McKay (1993), often American, showed that rather than conventional team sports, most delinquents prefer adventure activities. These findings are supported by the theory which seeks to explain delinquency as a search for challenge, excitement and adventure. It appears that conventional sports are less popular with confirmed young delinquents, but adventure activities may offer a satisfactory diversion. This idea can be traced to the early part of this century when Thrasher as long ago as 1935 suggested

"the common assumption that the problem of delinquency will be solved by the multiplication of playgrounds and social centres in gang areas is completely erroneous. The physical layout of gangland provides a realm of adventure with which no playground can compete"

(Thrasher, 1935).

**TERTIARY INTERVENTION (POST OFFENDING)**

Tertiary intervention may seek to rehabilitate or to punish offenders. The effectiveness of adventure activities in altering behaviour patterns is difficult to assess, but studies of Outward Bound courses in America have attempted to consider other factors than purely recidivism and include studies of psychological factors and self esteem. The results of the
Cooperstown - Outward Bound Summer School measured changes in self-deprecation, sociability, achievement, motivation, social consciousness, hopelessness and self confidence. The results show improvements in all aspects except achievement motivation (Sakofs, 1988). This study, however, was based on observations during the attendance on the project. In order to really understand the value of these projects, there is a need for post course evaluation and observation.

The use of outdoor activities and adventure has been developed over several decades by the British probation service. Maitland (1986), reporting on the Inner London Probation Service's use of these experiences, explained its rationale for addressing deficiencies in the offenders lives which were:

"often lacking legitimate outlets for energy and excitement. The use of client's leisure was often described as being over-reliant on money-consuming, mechanical sources of entertainment, which were without challenge and unable to provide a lasting source of satisfaction"

(Maitland, 1986, p.147).

The courses were used as a way of working with clients as therapy:

"such activities would appear to be a useful way to facilitate the client / officer relationship"


They were also used as a measure of diversion from delinquent activities through widening their horizons. Maitland concluded that, as part of a rehabilitation programme, adventure activities can offer benefits to a wide range of clients. These include one-off experiences to improve client / officer relationships and longer term participation to develop social skills, which may contribute to overcoming a history of lacking self confidence or violence.

Taylor & Nichols (1999) reported on the use of physical activity with probation clients. Their study of probation services in 1997 showed that

"Outdoor activities are the most commonly provided but there are no clear cut theories or evidence that they are better or more effective than other activities for changing offending behaviour"


However the more detailed research suggested that these experiences were
At a tertiary level, in a rehabilitation process, adventure activities provide evidence to support their use as both diversion and as a forum for individual and group therapy. Although modern practitioners shy away from terms such as 'character-building', the adventure experience in certain physically severe conditions can meet one requirement of advocates of a punitive regime. Where adventure experiences stress physical endurance, challenge and lack of home comforts their use has been established within the punitive regimes of character building.

An early experiment by the Rainer Foundation in 1960 and 1961, can offer evidence to support this role. Day (1967) reported that adventure activities can help to reinforce young people's acceptance of the need for discipline, since the circumstances are created by natural dangers not arbitrarily imposed from without. The experience was restricted to boys between 14-18 years who were physically fit and not severely disturbed. His research concluded that:

"a period of outdoor activity away from the normal school setting could be a beneficial part of reformative training."

(Day, 1967, p.188).

3.3.2 Sport

Sports projects are implemented in the prevention of juvenile delinquency at all levels of intervention.

PRIMARY PREVENTION

Research mentioned previously by Schaffer in American High Schools (1969) indicated that there was a strong correlation between taking part in college athletics and non-offending. Such use of correlation statistics can be criticised, since the evidence is only suggestive, and a counter argument can be constructed that young people who are naturally attracted to sport are less likely to become delinquent. Sports provision within the community will help to reinforce a satisfactory moral code, and with the declining influences of religion and the stable family group, other influences must increase in their importance. Sport can offer a sense of community and cohesion, as a part of an area project which considers other social welfare issues.
SECONDARY PREVENTION
The role of sport in developing acceptance of rules and moral codes may be proven for a long term preventative approach throughout childhood. Indeed, American research by Schaffer, quoted above, shows a positive correlation between participation in team sports and lower delinquency rates. However, secondary prevention involves identifying young people at risk of offending and providing either treatment or diversion. Group or individual treatment may be successful in using sport to instil socially acceptable behaviour patterns, if the young people targeted are not already in or on the edges of delinquent sub-cultures. This is because the values of sportsmen and women, which stress perseverance, success through competition and rewards for hard work, fair play and loyalty, may put off potential delinquents as they would

"wish to avoid small scale replicas of the larger order in the guise of conventional sports"
(Sugden & Yiannakis, 1982, p.114).

For this same reason, sports projects as diversion may also be unsuccessful. However, sport does offer opportunities for excitement, release from boredom, potential status and a feeling of belonging. Therefore, if resistance, on the basis just identified, can be overcome, then sport projects may be successful. Indeed, anecdotal evidence such as presented by Robins (1990) on the Walsall Wood Amateur Boxing Club sustains this view:

"I firmly believe that a lot of lads in here now, would have committed crime had I not got hold of them from an early age ... PC Watson"
(Quoted by Robins, 1990, p.54).

It appears that if sports are to be successful in secondary prevention either as diversion or treatment, young people at risk must be targeted while they are young and before they are involved in the edges of delinquent sub-cultures. This presents a targeting problem in practical management terms.

TERTIARY PREVENTION
Post offending interventions with juvenile delinquents have used sports based projects as part of punitive regimes and rehabilitation. In terms of punishment, hard physical exercise and its inherent discipline have been frequently used in custodial sentences. However, in efforts to rehabilitate offenders, the use of traditional team sport faces
problems of acceptability, identified under secondary prevention. Sugden & Yiannakis (1982) drew a comparison between sports structures and the wider structures of society. Sport with its hierarchy, rules and authority represents a microcosm of everything which the young delinquent resents in society.

The most significant study into the use of sport with the probation service was conducted in the 1990s by a team at Sheffield University. In their in-depth evaluation of the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling Programme, Taylor and Nichols (1996) considered the effectiveness of an individual sports mentoring programme which included mainly individual sports and leisure activity. The results in terms of recidivism were positive, the process demonstrated a lower rate of reoffending among those on the scheme. However it remained unclear how much this related to activity or the input of the counsellor. Their study of the use of physical recreation within the probation service revealed 54 programmes of which 31% involved sports counselling and 44% involved football.

3.3.3 Motorsport

**PRIMARY PREVENTION**

By offering communities opportunity to participate in and learn about motor sports, many projects can be seen in terms of primary intervention. However a closer investigation of these projects may in fact reveal a higher degree of targeting than is at first obvious. The projects, however, do offer education and skills training which will benefit the whole community.

**SECONDARY INTERVENTION**

As mentioned in the previous section, many motor sports projects actively target those young people at risk of joy riding and car crime, through age, residential setting and gender. The projects act at this level as diversion from offending, some going on to offer legitimate opportunities to drive fast. They also work at individual level by offering education to help young people develop a responsible attitude to cars and motor bikes.
CHAPTER 3 ACTIVE LEISURE AS INTERVENTION IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

TERTIARY INTERVENTION
Motor sports projects have also been targeted specifically at young car crime offenders. The projects do not offer retribution or punishment, and have been criticised in the media for feeding a bad habit and rewarding anti social behaviour. Advocates of the schemes argue that participation in motor sports projects for existing offenders can work at several levels; providing skills education and legitimate opportunities, rather than reinforcing delinquency.

3.3.4 Constructive leisure
PRIMARY PREVENTION
The Scarman Report (1982) repeated the need for constructive leisure opportunities to prevent young people being diverted into anti social behaviour in their free time. The objective in using leisure education programmes is to offer constructive recreational opportunity as part of community development work, improving cohesion, morale and young people’s ability to make positive leisure choices. This ability to adopt constructive leisure patterns requires skills and knowledge, which are often left to parents or communities to communicate to young people. Although this process has been shown to be effective in the majority of communities, socially excluded, deprived environments may fail to nurture these basic skills in young people.

SECONDARY PREVENTION
Once young people at risk of offending have been identified, then secondary intervention will either seek to divert or treat these individuals. Constructive leisure is primarily used to divert young people away from delinquent activities. However, the provision of socially acceptable leisure opportunities can also be used to provide a conducive forum for effecting long term changes in attitude and behaviour through therapy, mentoring and leisure education.

Many young people identified as being at risk of offending may suffer from low self esteem. Raymore, Godbey and Crawford (1994) published the results of an American study of the role of self esteem as a constraint to leisure participation. Their findings assert that leisure behaviour in adult life is connected to childhood and adolescent
experiences. In support of the use of constructive leisure behaviour, their research shows a correlation of high self esteem and high leisure participation. However, if the targets of secondary prevention are groups with low self esteem, participation may be resisted and difficult to encourage.

**Tertiary Prevention**

Constructive leisure activity provision has little place in the punitive aspects of tertiary prevention. The use of these programmes seeks to introduce young offenders to alternative interests to occupy spare time and to improve their job prospects. An example of a thoroughly evaluated tertiary scheme is the Solent Sports Counselling project. The results are some of the most important British evidence to date of medium term benefits. Its monitoring process considered reports from Probation Officers and Sports Leaders. The probation reports can offer insights for the longer term, such as:

"the scheme has given K190 a considerable boost in confidence and self esteem and the change has been noticeable to see. I am sure it helped her gain employment and has given her a more positive view of life" (Extract from Probation Officer's reports on completion of the scheme) (Hampshire Probation Service, 1993, appendix 2).

**3.3.5 Summary**

Analysis shows evidence to support the use of sport and adventure activities in preventing delinquency since participation can offer favourable benefits which may counter the established causes of delinquency. The activities may be of use at all three levels of intervention as identified by Brantingham and Faust (1979). However, some types of recreation are more suited to particular levels and styles. Theory suggests that the structure of the activity at secondary and particularly at tertiary level must provide comparable experiences to offending. This concept links offending behaviour to excitement, status and boredom in free time. According to this concept adventure is often more readily acceptable for tertiary level than formal team sport, though Solent and others certainly use this. Existing research into car crime has established the search for excitement, a ‘buzz’, to be a significant causation factor (Webb & Laycock, 1992). The significance of the activity will be considered in this research.
Figure 3.2 shows the relationship between the benefits of types of recreation and the objectives of different levels of intervention. The main link between the benefits and the objectives is found at both secondary and tertiary levels in the form of diversion, however certain characteristics of each type of recreation make it compatible with other objectives such as atonement and education or treatment. The weakest connection is between the objective of retribution at a tertiary level and it is for this reason that such schemes have been subjected to media criticism in recent years.

Figure 3.2 The Relationship Between Active Leisure Participation and the Objectives of Intervention
3.4 The relationship between the causes of delinquency, levels of intervention and benefits of active leisure

To conclude this chapter, it is important to combine the three main issues discussed, the causes of delinquency, the objectives of intervention and the benefits of sport and recreation. This may be most conveniently and appropriately covered in a diagram as shown in Figure 3.3. This illustrates the main relationships which link the benefits of various recreational programmes to both the causes of delinquency and the objectives of various forms and stages of intervention.

The most frequent relationships can be identified from this as:

- As diversion from delinquent activity at both secondary and tertiary stages, through offering legitimate opportunities for challenge, excitement and status; thus providing relief from boredom
- As a form of informal education and treatment at both secondary and tertiary stages of intervention to counteract poor socialisation, parent support and peer group pressure; through improved self esteem and therefore perceived status and worth
- To improve the residential infrastructure as part of a welfare based community development initiative at the primary stage of intervention. The provision of recreation programmes may improve cohesion and self esteem within the community to counter problems related to labelling and the residential setting.

It will be important to produce further qualitative evidence that these projects may be of use in introducing conventional values and behaviour patterns to young people at risk of offending in a more palatable form than other means. What is quite clear is that many schemes claim more benefits than analysis would suggest that they could claim or prove.
Figure 3.3 A Framework to Link the Causes of Delinquency, Benefits of Recreation and Philosophies of Intervention
CHAPTER 3 ACTIVE LEISURE AS INTERVENTION IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The framework represents a unique attempt to provide a solution to the problems identified by Coalter (1996) regarding the causal links between recreation, delinquency and intervention. Its value as an analytical tool will be demonstrated throughout this research. This chapter has also provided a contemporary analysis of the role of sport and recreation as intervention. There are several issues related to the nature and management of schemes, which have been raised in this analysis and the literature:

- Given growing concern about the level of female involvement in juvenile delinquency, do these interventions attract young women whose participation in sport nationally is lower?

- Most of the interventions rely on grant funding and limit the length of contact with participants. For example Taylor and Nichols (1999) identified that within the probation service the average length of session was four hours. Almost half of the sample offered over 12 sessions. Their previous research had suggested that the number of sessions was critical to success. In the evaluation of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling their research (1996) showed that the programme was only effective when eight or more sessions were completed.

- The role of sport or other physical activity in preventing delinquency may be a direct result of participation. However it may also be a result of the process and particular the relationship between the counsellor or sports leader and the young person. There is currently little research evidence which explains this relationship for active leisure based interventions. However Gibson (1998) emphasised the importance of the 'human face' or mentor in connecting with disaffected young people:
  
  'This mentor can be the touchstone for young people's progression out of isolation, disaffection and alienation'


- The support at national and local level for active leisure interventions is not consistent. The notion of leisure as a reward leads to debate about its application to young offenders. In 1999 Taylor and Nichols highlighted the importance of political support for local government interventions.

- The cost of interventions and more acutely cost effectiveness is difficult to establish. In 1994 Coppers and Lybrand produced a report on the cost effectiveness of interventions which considered benefits of reduced offending with these associated costs. They calculated that an average cost of one crime was £2300, and used this as the basis for cost effectiveness. By 1999 the Research and Statistics Directorate Report on Reducing Offending emphasised the continuing problem of establishing cost effectiveness:
  
  "evidence of effectiveness and more particularly cost effectiveness is currently limited"

  (Nuttall, 1999, p.3).
• Research throughout the 1990s suggested the importance of multi-agency initiatives. This was emphasised by Nuttall (1999):
"multiple interventions are generally more cost-effective than initiatives with a single focus. For example, prevention programmes for young people should target risk factors affecting all aspects of a child's life"
(Nuttall, 1999, p.3).

From these key issues regarding provision and the literature review the following questions are to be addressed in this research:

1. What are the personal outcomes for participants in leisure based interventions, and are these linked to the causes of delinquency?

2. What is nature of the leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending? Are there links between boredom, frustration, parenting, peer group, deprivation and social environment (all established causes of delinquency) and current leisure patterns?

3. What factors in scheme management and rationale are important to achieving continued recreation habits in young people?

4. Is there a model of community recreation at primary level that can support positive outcomes for young people and their communities?

According to Seagrave and Hastad (1984) research that addresses these questions will make a unique contribution to the field. By concentrating on the theme of leisure time, behaviour and attitudes, greater understanding can be achieved regarding the importance of informal or formal counselling for young people in socialising them into pro social leisure patterns and recreation activity. By examining young people's attitudes to leisure and leisure patterns prior to the programmes it is possible to evaluate the relationship between various causal factors (boredom, frustration, parenting, peer group, deprivation and social environment) and leisure patterns and delinquency. The methodology and research design are presented in Chapter 4.

References
CHAPTER 3 ACTIVE LEISURE AS INTERVENTION IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY


HMI (1990) Adventure Experiences for Young People From Urban Areas. DES, London


Seagrave, J & Hastad, D (1984) Future Directions in Sport and Juvenile Delinquency Research, Quest 8 pp 37-47


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This chapter considers the selection of an appropriate approach to achieve the research objective, which was to analyse the relationship between leisure patterns and offending in young people. This chapter will briefly review potential research paradigms, as this is critical in the validity of research findings. It will then justify the approach adopted for this study, before presenting the details of the research design.

4.1 Approaches to Research

Existing researchers in this area, identified in Chapters 1, 2 & 3 have generally relied on basic statistical evidence or anecdotal evidence. There are frequent calls for more scientific research in this field. However attempts to design scientific evaluation processes have often been flawed by the environment for most sports based interventions. Coalter (1996) quoted the example of the Sports Council’s evaluation of Solent Sports Counselling. The research findings suggested that 50% of the sample did not re-offend after the course. However the results fail to explain why the course only worked for half the sample, and what aspects of the intervention reduced its effectiveness for the other 50% who did go on to re-offend. Therefore this approach to research left as many questions unanswered as it answered. It appears that an attempt to scientifically monitor re-offending from interventions cannot increase understanding about the dynamics of the relationship between sports participation and reoffending. Indeed Coalter (1996) concluded that

"Although sport is rarely the solution, in many circumstances and used diagnostically, it can be part of the solution"

(Coalter, 1996, p.16).

Since sports interventions are rarely used in isolation, scientific attempts to measure the outcomes of these interventions on behaviour and attitude are difficult and provide little to enhance understanding about sport’s role within the overall process.

There are examples of many different approaches to evaluation and monitoring in sports based interventions. The most comprehensive review of these measures was provided in
CHAPTER 4 : METHODOLOGY

1999 by Taylor and Nichols' report on physical recreation within the probation service. The report identified the use of both quantitative (attendance, recidivism) and qualitative (individual case history feedback) methods. The report also highlighted that attendance, a commonly used indicator for internal monitoring, could not be seen as a measure of effectiveness. The study found few actual attempts to monitor recidivism. The other main tool to monitor effectiveness was attitude scaling. Many schemes contacted by this study identified alternative outcomes or indicators; these were life opportunities created or certificates and awards achieved.

The approach for this research project was influenced by three key factors: the objectives, the theoretical background and certain external factors. The objectives sought to analyse participants views and establish details about their leisure patterns. This type of research is influenced by ethnography which according to May (1993).

"leads to an empathetic understanding of a social scene"


Ethnography was widely used in the research identified in Chapter 2, most significantly by Whyte (1984). It has a long record of application to youth studies including juvenile justice and youth culture. It is an increasingly important approach for many aspects of social enquiry. The main emphasis in ethnography is participant observation and in depth, unstructured interviews, and therefore qualitative methods formed the main emphasis for the research. However recreation schemes which target reducing offending comprise a very broad area, and initial work was required to identify secondary and tertiary schemes as defined in Chapter 2. For this collection of background information a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used.

The theoretical background reviewed in the literature search in Chapter 2 led to a number of influential factors in selecting an approach. The literature review revealed a lack of British research, which presents problems for analysing the situation here, and there are doubts about the quality of existing research findings. Coalter (1990) identified a lack of methodological rigour in the definition of evaluation criteria of such schemes. To investigate this quality issue further the proposals of Seagrave and Hastad (1984)
were important pointers. When considering future directions in sport and juvenile delinquency research they suggested that

"To gain further insight into the dynamic processes underlying the association between sport and delinquency new theoretical and methodological perspectives are needed"

(Seagrave & Hastad, 1984, p.37).

These authors dismissed much of the existing research because they felt that it offered only limited insights by considering the relationship simply in terms of quantitative factors. Thus delinquency had been viewed as a neutral, scientific issue rather than as a moral issue. This according to Seagrave and Hastad has prevented discussion of many critical issues. In reviewing existing studies of both scholastic sports and outward bound programmes they concluded that this approach led to descriptive results, revealing a negative association between sports participation and delinquency. The research has produced data about the epidemiological aspects of the relationship between sport and delinquency. However it has contributed little to understanding the 'social aspects' of the relationship between sports participation and delinquency such as the links between delinquency and the role and meaning of recreation in young people's lives. To provide research on this social aspect, they proposed a number of pathways to more clearly assess the relationship between sport and juvenile delinquency.

In completing the research a 'positivist' paradigm was rejected since research of this style cannot increase understanding of 'how' or 'why' recreation has a relationship with delinquent behaviour. A phenomenological position provided an alternate paradigm for developing such understanding. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggested that there are three main issues that must be addressed if a qualitative approach is to be adopted. First, the research is based on the analysis of words not numerical information, and consequently an issue of subjectivity may arise in interpreting these words. They believed that a distanced objective approach is not always desirable in this paradigm. Thirdly, they pointed to a change in the research design process, moving away from testing a hypothesis towards research to enhance knowledge by communicating discoveries.
The methodology needed to reflect a concentration on the more dynamic relationship between leisure patterns and delinquency. In their review, Greenaway and Barrett suggested that:

"The humanistic and qualitative approaches employed by researchers in other fields of UK research offer a more promising way forward"

(Greenaway & Barrett, 1995, p.44).

Based on criticisms of previous research and on recommendations for future work, it was decided to adopt a qualitative approach underpinned by a phenomenological paradigm which was suited to increasing understanding of the complex relationships between the causes of delinquency, methods of intervention and the benefits of recreation.

4.2 Research Design

4.2.1 Factors influencing the design

Certain external factors were considered during the design. A national study was deemed inappropriate for in depth analysis and therefore a case study format was selected. Working in isolation, part time and with personal and professional commitments also influenced the use of some telephone interviews and follow up questionnaires to supplement face to face in-depth interviews. The research was also conducted over a six year period, this had advantages for longitudinal study but also meant that changes in policy, provision and existing research occurred throughout the process. The research process was described in a flow diagram (Figure 4.1), to clarify the components required in 1994, to address the research questions.

The literature review revealed a confusion of theory and outcomes, which it was suggested had lead to poorly constructed schemes which lacked rationale. Therefore initially the research process addressed the need for a clearer rationale for provision which had been identified by sociologists (eg. Coalter, 1996), leisure studies (eg. Taylor and Nichols, 1999) and criminologists (eg. Robins, 1990). This led to the design of the theoretical framework presented in Figure 3.3. Since this framework represented a new approach to the problem of rationale within schemes, it was important to test whether it could be applied across the full spectrum of provision.
4.2.2 The field research process

The field research process involved three stages as shown in Table 4.1. The first stage of the research produced a multi-disciplinary review of provision and identified some key features of existing provision (providers, activity, attendance type, client background, scheme duration and claimed outcomes) that could be explored in further stages of the research process. The findings from Stage One created a sufficiently large sample to allow a smaller sample to be selected for Stage Two, this provided a test bed for the reliability of the theoretical framework.

The Stages used a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods, although the main section of the work was predominantly qualitative in nature, since this provided the best tools to assess perceptions, values and opinions. Quantitative methods were used to support the mainly qualitative base, and to ensure that the research was sited within the national picture. Therefore questionnaires were used at two points in the research process, firstly to identify intervention schemes in Stage 1 and secondly to collect a larger sample of
feedback regarding the schemes to enhance the sample of detailed interview data in Stage Three.

Table 4.1 The Stages of Field Research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - Overview</td>
<td>To identify the scope of provision in England</td>
<td>Postal Survey, Letters to providers and agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 94 - August 95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - Examples</td>
<td>To gain a more detailed insight into types of schemes</td>
<td>Site visits; interviews and observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Longitudinal Case Studies</td>
<td>To trace life histories for participants, To evaluate tertiary evaluation techniques, To evaluate participant perceptions of the scheme, To assess scheme management</td>
<td>Life History Profiles, Interviews, Observation, Questionnaires, Documentary Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Sports Counselling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 - 1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Street Sport</td>
<td>To assess leisure patterns for young people at risk of offending, To evaluate primary intervention techniques, To evaluate participant perceptions of schemes, To evaluate management of schemes</td>
<td>Observation, Interviews, Questionnaires, Documentary Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January - December 1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3 Case study design

Case study was a dominant feature of this research; the approach was taken since it was considered to be the most appropriate to develop understanding about the dynamics of the relationship between leisure behaviour and offending in young people. This was a complex situation and Yin suggested that

"The case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context"

(Yin, 1993, p.3).

However it was acknowledged that case studies were not universally accepted as a rigorous research method. According to Yin (1994) case studies have been viewed as a weak relation of other research methods. He suggested, however, that this stereotype is wrong, and that case studies are most appropriate for certain conditions:
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"In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within some real life context"

(Yin, 1994, p. 1).

This view was used to judge the suitability of case studies for this research. The research aimed to explore the dynamics of the relationship between recreation participation, attitudes to leisure time and delinquency. From the criteria for case study approaches developed by Yin (1994), it was possible to identify many features that suggest the appropriateness of the case study method. The subject area was contemporary, and one for which the researcher had little control over the context. Furthermore, the research examined how the assumed relationship between recreation and delinquency actually affected the participants.

The importance of this criterion for selection was emphasised by the complex nature of the relationship between leisure patterns in young people and their propensity to offend. The interventions offering sport or recreation could not be easily be viewed in isolation, but needed to be considered in the context of lifestyle, social situation and total leisure experiences. Yin (1994) suggested that a case study approach allowed the inclusion of contextual variations. However the inclusion of these elements presented problems with the number of variables and range of data collection techniques required. Yin pointed out that

"The richness means that the study cannot rely on a single data collection method but will likely need to use multiple sources of evidence"

(Yin, 1993, p. 3).

The research questions directed the type of case study to the use of an explanatory study, since the objective was to increase understanding about young people at risk of offending and their leisure patterns; this would then be related to the outcomes and management of active leisure based interventions. This required evidence to be produced related to the cause and effect relationship; therefore theory was central to establish the working framework for the case studies and the selection of appropriate projects or interventions.

The relationship framework diagram (Figure 3.3, Chapter 3) was applied to potential case studies to ensure that the theoretical basis for intervention was linked to potential outcomes. Quantitative surveys in stage 1 supported the selection of appropriate case
studies. The type of study was then considered. The application of the framework diagram to potential studies offered a unit of analysis, which is considered key to the success of a case study approach,

'No issue is more important than defining the unit of analysis'

(Yin, 1993, p.10).

The research was based around understanding good practice, and so the research design concentrated on the selection of exemplary cases. To achieve this, extensive case screening was required to ensure that the selected studies were truly exemplary. The comments regarding potential dangers in case screening by Yin were considered. The results of this screening process are provided in Chapter 5, and represent an important testing phase of the research. They provide an important overview of approaches to provision, which was considered in the final analysis, since alternative contexts were identified. The process was crucial in testing the framework diagram for its appropriateness and robustness in diverse case study situations.

In designing the research, first the question of a cross sectional versus longitudinal study was considered, as it was fundamental to the research approach. The research required the causal relationships described in the previous chapter to be examined in depth. Bryman (1988) identified two main approaches to causality: experimental and cross sectional. Experimental methods are closely related to a scientific research process under controlled conditions where variables can be introduced as required. Obviously a social situation such as the effect of programmes on attitudes and behaviour rely on the existing context and do not lend itself to experimental processes. Therefore a cross sectional approach was considered. A cross sectional approach could cover a wide variety of schemes operating nationally, but the results would present simply one-off snap shots of perceived operations and behaviour. Since the study was concerned with changes in attitude and behaviour over time this approach would be unsatisfactory. To cope with measuring changes a longitudinal study was more appropriate.

Longitudinal studies allow a wave of observations to be tracked which will allow for changes and observations of the influence of aspects of provision on the benefits or outcomes for young people. The benefit of using a longitudinal study can be summarised as
In order to create a study to measure change, a panel survey was adopted since May (1993) suggested this can measure

"Points in their lifecycle to see how their attitudes, opinions, values and so on change over time"

(May, 1993, p.87).

The method was time consuming therefore the scale of the investigation had to be limited. In order to track a sufficiently large cohort to maintain a viable response rate over time large scale case studies were adopted.

Before a long-term case study approach was started certain questions regarding case study selection were considered. Research started in 1995 at the first case study, Sports Counselling in Hampshire Probation Service. When the second was selected in 1998, research at Hampshire Probation Service had been completed and therefore research at the two sites did not happen concurrently. This was beneficial in allowing greater time to be devoted to each study. The second scheme selected was the community recreation team Street Sport project in Stoke on Trent. This scheme represented a unique attempt at primary intervention, and as yet unevaluated, using sport and recreation to divert young people from offending as part of wider reaching youth work objectives. The case study was selected to enhance understanding about the need for leisure education and support among young people at risk of offending and the impact of this on behaviour, attitude and community.

In the previous chapters links have been proposed between the causes of delinquency, intervention and recreation. The social and psychological factors explaining delinquency were central to this research. However the study attempted to address needs identified by Barrett and Greenaway (1995) for

"new research which focuses on young people themselves"

(Barrett & Greenaway, 1995, p.54).
Therefore, within the project case studies, individual life history case studies were used to achieve a depth of understanding from the participant's perspective. To collect this information questionnaires were considered inappropriate, as they do not allow the researcher to explore young people's views and experiences in sufficient depth. Individual life history information was gathered through a series of semi-structured interviews, maintained for more than one year after completion with participants in Hampshire Probation Service Sports Counselling Scheme. In the Street Sport, an outreach sports project targeting the 14 to 18 age group, long term individual follow up was impossible due to the open access nature of the project. In this study sessions in three locations were observed over the period of one year, and contact maintained throughout with 14 participants. The young average age of participants in Street Sport made life history profiles more difficult: there a sample of non participants in the same area was used to develop a picture of leisure patterns of young people not involved in Street Sport.

An important issue was how many case studies to select. Yin (1994) highlighted the options available: either a single case study or multiple case studies. The single case study, although a common feature of social research, has been shown to be particularly appropriate when testing formulated theory, or when multiple examples do not exist. Single case studies can be used for the pilot stage of any case study based research.

A single case study could be criticised for providing too narrow a view of the subject area, given that so many different types of scheme and level had been identified in stage one. Yin (1994) highlighted the common criticism that single case studies are susceptible to flawed inference which leads to poor validity of the results. Replication helps to avoid subjective bias influencing the generalisations. In addition a single case study left the research open to failure if conditions changed dramatically during the research period, which happened in the first study, Hampshire Probation Service Sports Counselling. The research needed to consider different levels of intervention to adequately address all four questions, an example of both pre and post offending intervention would provide important detail about appropriate methods and different impacts on young people. A decision was made to select a secondary or primary and a tertiary study.
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The main reason to choose multiple case design was to give the results the strength of replication. By selecting schemes operating at different levels, a greater understanding of the relationship between recreation and delinquency might be achieved, including a review of the relative benefits of introducing positive recreation before and after offending. The first case study was selected to consider the most topical and emotive aspect of the use of recreation as an intervention to prevent delinquency, a leisure based intervention at tertiary level. The second case study was selected to consider whether the process of leisure based interventions could be applied effectively at a primary, community recreation, level. To allow the advantage of replication for this multiple case study design it was decided to monitor whenever possible the same information from the same variables. In this way, Bryman (1988) suggested that it will be possible to draw causal inferences and maintain the explanatory emphasis of the research. It was decided to adopt an embedded approach to the design, drawing on several units of analysis to provide a triangulation of evidence, which Bryman (1988) stated is an important feature of case study design. Therefore both case studies involved evidence from three sites within the main case study areas.

Research methods theory for sampling is mainly linked to scientific, quantitative research. Since the Third Stage of this study was mainly qualitative, these principles were less easily adopted. Therefore focused sampling was adopted, Hakim (1987) suggested the suitability of this method in case studies since it is

"the selective study of particular persons, groups or institutions, or of particular relationships, processes or interactions that are expected to offer especially illuminating examples or to provide especially good tests for propositions of a broad nature"

(Hakim, 1987, p.87).

According to Hakim the strength of focused sampling lies in the combination of detailed case study information following the generalised findings of a national study. The research design incorporated these elements in all three stages. The questionnaire results in Stage One allowed a short list of potential studies which exhibited clear rationale with regard to reducing delinquency. The Second Stage visits served to confirm or refute the existence of this clear rationale.
The selection criteria used to select case studies was firstly that they were able to demonstrate a clear rationale for provision. This was identified through interviews with staff and managers and documentary analysis. The key documents were prospectuses and internal proposals for the scheme's development. The second selection criteria was the life span of the scheme. The case studies should be in a mature phase of development, in order to assess planning and management over time. It was decided to identify case studies that had three years start up history and at least one year in an established phase.

4.3 The Research Process

The research process reflected the research design described in Table 4.1. The process was conducted in three distinct stages, which will be reviewed individually since the techniques and issues changed in each stage.

4.3.1 Stage 1: National Survey

In order to select appropriate case studies based on environmental factors it was important to identify the levels and styles of provision of active leisure interventions in England. This would provide information on a number of factors that differentiate projects and ensure that case studies were selected from and viewed within this overall framework. There was no existing, comprehensive study of provision across all of the areas established in the literature review. Therefore, a national study was required, which initially involving a postal survey of the English probation services, and the opportunity was taken to conduct a conference delegate survey of secondary level providers. These were followed by postal and telephone enquiries and interviews with national agencies.

**Postal Survey of English Probation Services**

In March 1994 a self-completion questionnaire was distributed by post to all of the head offices of the English Probation Services as listed in the 1994 NAPO Probation Directory. The questionnaire sought to combine some multiple choice (closed) and open comment questions to offer a chance for elaboration and opinions to be expressed.

The topics covered by the questionnaire were as follows (See the full questionnaire in Appendix 1):

Questions 1-5: established the use of recreation schemes, project names, contacts and providers.
Questions 6-11: covered basic details for each project including activities, attendance, target participants, referral process, duration, frequency cost and size. Questions 12: explored the effectiveness in terms of recidivism and evaluation of the schemes.

To achieve a good rate of return, self-addressed postage-paid envelopes were enclosed. Unfortunately, it was discovered only after distribution that the Association of Chief Probation Officers required permission to anyone seeking to conduct a national survey. The ACPO did not subsequently approve the completion of this study. However, 47 questionnaires were distributed and 32 returned, giving a response rate of 68% which was satisfactory for the analysis. There were 10 forms returned incomplete (31%); the remaining forms showed:

- Not using recreation: 6, 19%
- Starting a Scheme: 1, 3%
- Using recreation: 15, 47%

SECONDARY LEVEL PROVIDERS: CONFERENCE DELEGATE SURVEY

In order to measure the scale of provision for schemes operating at secondary level, a survey of delegates at the Basecamp and NAOE conference in April 1994, *Adventure Based Interventions for Young People At Risk*, was carried out. The survey sought to compile information about the extent, type and rationale of providers in the outdoor education and adventure activity field. Separate questionnaires were designed for the conference and the weekend, since pre-event documentation showed that slightly different audiences were expected at each. Question design involved multiple choice answers for quantitative data and a final open question for opinions.

The conference delegate questionnaire was targeted at referring agencies and questions covered the following areas:

- Personal details (Question 1)
- Organisation details (Question 2)
- Clients (Question 3)
- Current use of recreation (Question 4)
- Future plans for the use of recreation (Question 5)

The study weekend questionnaire was targeted at adventure and recreational project providers and covered the following areas:
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Personal Details (Question 1)
Organisation Details (Question 2)
Clients (Question 3)
Current use of adventure activities and links to other youth work (Question 4)

Copies of the questionnaires are found in Appendices 2 & 3. Self-completion questionnaires were distributed with the joining pack at each event. Returns were posted into a collection box during the events. Responses received totalled 23 from the study weekend (out of 140) and 26 conference delegates (out of 93). There was significant overlap between delegates since 56 attended both the study weekend and conference; in total 74 organisations with an interest as either referring agencies or providers were represented. Thus 49 responses were gained from a possible 74 organisations, a 64% response rate, which was deemed satisfactory.

NATIONAL AGENCIES

Finally, other schemes were identified both through secondary sources and letters sent to relevant organisations. The following contacts were made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Contact Details</th>
<th>Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports Council</td>
<td>Information centre, London</td>
<td>Visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Concern</td>
<td>Head Office, Swindon</td>
<td>Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Office</td>
<td>John Graham, Principal Research Officer</td>
<td>Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Youth Agency</td>
<td>Head Office, Leicester</td>
<td>Visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divert</td>
<td>National Conference, Bolton 1994</td>
<td>Visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILAM</td>
<td>Information centre, Berks</td>
<td>Visit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information was collected from telephone interviews, letters and visits covering the following topics:

- Details of known existing schemes.
- Details of existing evaluation and research.

The results of these searches were combined into spreadsheets depicting provision and categorised firstly by level (secondary or tertiary) and secondly by type: adventure, sports, motorsports and constructive leisure. The resulting charts were then used to select representative case studies to form a schedule for follow up visits in stage 2. These results are presented in Chapter 5.
4.3.2 Stage 2 One day visits

From the results of the broad typology derived from Stage 1, a detailed picture of provision style and management was created through visits to a full range of examples (motor sport, constructive leisure and recreation, secondary and tertiary, and summer schemes). This allowed for a quite detailed review of the structure, staffing and management styles which in turn were considered in the light of the theory to explain the rationales behind the schemes, as provided by the causation framework diagram (Figure 3.3), derived from the literature review. This provided a much-needed insight into the operation of such projects and tested the assertion by Robins that

"a gap exists between straightforward assertions about the capacities of sports and outdoor adventure programmes to ameliorate social problems such as juvenile delinquency, and the scale, scope and variability of what happens on the ground"

(Robins, 1990, p.88).

The schemes visited are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Case Study Visit Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trax, Oxford</td>
<td>Motor Sports</td>
<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>Probation Officer, Project Manager, Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairbridge, Medway</td>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>Manager, Activity Leaders, Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampshire Sports Counselling Scheme</td>
<td>Constructive Leisure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manager, Activity Leaders, Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squire Lucas Day Centre, Leicester</td>
<td>Constructive Leisure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manager, Activity Leader, Probation Officer, Volunteer, Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Sport, Stoke on Trent</td>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manager, Sports Leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ox Sport, Oxford</td>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manager, Project Officer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same format was used in each visit that lasted between three and six hours depending on the scale and duration of the project. Interviews were conducted with three groups of people for each scheme: managers, recreation providers and participants. The objectives of the visits were to gain greater information regarding the management,
content and outcomes of each scheme. Appendix 4 shows the semi-structured question format used on each occasion.

After considering the mix of questions, it was concluded that at this level descriptive questions were most appropriate, but towards the end of each interview some evaluative questions were used. To supplement the notes from structured interviews, where possible, sessions were observed and notes recorded. There was no attempt at covert participant observation, since there appeared to be little advantage in such a short, one off occasion. The main areas of interest were:

- Types of activities offered
- Attitudes of participants to the activities
- Interaction between participants and sports leaders.

Each visit was then written up using the framework described in Chapter 3, Figure 3.3 to assess the interview data and produce appropriate evaluation criteria. By carrying out this sample of mini case studies the research attempted to avoid the criticism levelled by Coalter (1990) that evaluations lacked methodological rigour in defining the concepts to be measured. The linking of projects to the diagram of causes, interventions and recreation initiatives examined the rationale for the projects to avoid selecting main case studies, which could be criticised for falling into the category of

"Programmes frequently lack a clear rationale"

(Nichols, 1995, p3).

The results of Stage 2 are presented in Chapter 5, which demonstrates the importance and validity of the theoretical framework in the analysis of scheme outcomes. Stage 2 also made initial links between specific aspects of scheme management and evidence of successful outcomes, to address the question about the relationship between scheme management and positive outcomes for participants, which was central to this research.

4.3.3 Stage 3 Longitudinal Case Studies

The results of Stage 2 demonstrated firstly that the framework used for assessing the rationale and therefore developing evaluation criteria against causation and intervention theories (Figure 3.3) could be successfully applied to a variety of schemes. Secondly, it produced a more detailed review of the potential for schemes to be evaluated in the
medium term. Medium term evaluation required the researcher to identify stable well-established schemes. New schemes did not have the potential for historical document analysis, nor the through-put of participants required to analyse the dynamics and the short term outcomes of the schemes. The schemes needed to demonstrate evidence of consistent management, since the operating environment, although not necessarily static, needed to demonstrate a stable policy context for longitudinal comparison of the handling of participants. Having reviewed the range of schemes, it was decided to select those which targeted constructive use of leisure time through recreational activity in the community, rather than intensive or highly specific activities such as motorsports.

Chapter 2 reviewed the topical debate about the need for leisure education, linked to the causation theories of boredom, lack of parental control and frustration: this was identified as an important aspect of recreational interventions with at risk young people. It was decided that two case studies with a similar theoretical base, operating at different levels of intervention would allow analysis of scheme outcomes and management features in the well established area of tertiary intervention and the increasingly popular area of primary, community based intervention. The framework diagrams and notes for each day visit were reviewed to establish these links and two studies selected to address the research questions.

Although the research at Street Sport was conducted second, as an example of primary level intervention, it will be considered first in all subsequent sections.

**Street Sport - Stoke on Trent Community Recreation**

Street Sport was an example of an outreach sports intervention operating at primary level. It provided single two hour sports sessions across the city, where young people were known to gather. The sessions were held each week and young people could attend free of charge for as long as they needed. This project was selected in particular to address two of the research questions posed by this study. Firstly, observation of young people in their communities and the sessions, combined with interviews, addressed the nature of the leisure patterns of young people at pre offending levels. Having identified
Street Sport as a primary level intervention, an analysis of the management and provision addressed the question regarding community recreation at primary level.

Table 4.3 Street Sport Evaluation Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 1997</td>
<td>Initial Meeting with manager</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1998</td>
<td>Visit session</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1998</td>
<td>Submit proposals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1998</td>
<td>Agree working practice</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1999</td>
<td>Documentary analysis</td>
<td>2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Staff Meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visit sites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interview sport leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February - March</td>
<td>Design</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1999</td>
<td>Pilot visit</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1999</td>
<td>Sessions observation</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews with community leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1999</td>
<td>Sessions Observation</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playscheme Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NACRO &amp; Neighbourhood project interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1999</td>
<td>Sessions Observation</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community follow up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1999</td>
<td>Inter agency meeting</td>
<td>2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Management Review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leisure Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Street Sport was provided by the Community Recreation team at Stoke on Trent City Council, in response to residents concern about the number of young people hanging about on street corners with nothing to do. It received three years funding from the West Midlands Sports Council as a pilot sports outreach service for young people within their communities, from 1993 to 1996.

The evaluation was conducted over six visits each lasting 3 days over a one-year period (1999). The visits were spaced 8 to 10 weeks apart as follows: February, March, May,
Table 4.4 Interviews Conducted in Stoke on Trent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those Involved in Running the Scheme</th>
<th>Manager</th>
<th>Full time worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Sauntry</td>
<td>Community Recreation Manager</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Outreach / Street sport Full time worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Wright</td>
<td>Outreach / Street sport Full time worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Roberts</td>
<td>Community Development Manager</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>Play Services Manager</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 workers</td>
<td>Street Sport</td>
<td>Part time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Local Community</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phil Eagles</td>
<td>Cobridge Community Centre Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllr Jean Edwards</td>
<td>Stanfields Councillor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise Travers</td>
<td>Stanfields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community A</td>
<td>Cobridge Grange mother of participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative A</td>
<td>Stanfields Community House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative B</td>
<td>Stanfields Community House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Drosdzowski</td>
<td>Bentilee Volunteers Mother/ youth worker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Service Providers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Jefferies</td>
<td>Haywood High School Head teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant Taylor</td>
<td>Cobridge LPU Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil Hanson</td>
<td>Youth Action Youth Worker / Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carol Goodwin</td>
<td>Mitchell High School Detached Youth Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janet Mason</td>
<td>Willfield CEC Youth Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Gibson</td>
<td>Leisure Services Recreation Key Office</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Young People</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moves Project</td>
<td>Willfield CEC 7 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Action</td>
<td>Mitchell High School 3 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Abbey Hulton</td>
<td>Sports Court 3 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentilee Volunteers</td>
<td>Willfield CEC 2 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Bentilee</td>
<td>Sports Court 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Sport</td>
<td>Stanfields 11 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Sport</td>
<td>Cobridge Grange 5 young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Sport</td>
<td>Bentilee 5 young people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These were not included in the final statistical analysis due to the age and amount of standard information collected.

July, September, and November. Contact was maintained with the sports leaders between visits by regular reviews of documented diary evidence. Visits were made Monday through Wednesday which allowed three sessions to be observed at the same sites, Stanfields, Bentilee and Cobridge. The days were used for interviews and focus...
groups where possible although some were required in the evenings. The schedule for the evaluation is shown in Table 4.3.

Interviews were used to get in-depth information from all key people within the community and the projects. Where possible, the interviews were tape recorded and transcribed later. Interviews were conducted with the representatives shown in Table 4.4. The average interview time was 30 minutes.

Three community groups, working with young people were identified during the study, NACRO Moves, Bentilee Volunteers and Youth Action. These community based projects were not leisure based interventions but provided other support mechanisms for young people at risk of offending. Visits to these projects contributed the views of non participant young people on the potential of Street Sport, and more general leisure profiles.

The structure for each group of interviews was designed to gain a similar range of information while allowing flexibility. The check lists for the interview questions are shown in Appendix 5. During the interviews with local police the recorded crime rates and beat reports were considered. However this analysis was problematic and any conclusions deemed unreliable due to a number of factors:

- The Local Policing Unit areas did not correspond directly to the catchment areas for the sessions.
- The sessions were short, only two hours duration, compared with the time for each beat or shift.
- The weekends and late evenings were peak times for reported crime and therefore lower rates were expected during the activity times.

Overt observation of Street Sport sessions was used to assess group dynamics and peer pressure at the Street Sport sessions. A number of sessions for each group were observed and any patterns or changes derived from the records. A session observation proforma was used to note details in a consistent format.

**Hampshire Probation Service Sports Counselling Scheme**

The Sports Counselling scheme was one of the first of this type in the UK and has been used as a model for the design of subsequent schemes, notably West Yorkshire Sports
Counselling project. There was extensive external evaluation data available for the period until 1990 (Sports Council Monitoring Team, 1990), which provided interesting scope for analysing the effects of the many organisational and philosophical revisions to its provision since the report was produced. The project had a stable management style and maintained good manual records, which facilitated follow up. The scheme was an example of large scale tertiary intervention by the county probation service, but it also linked with the use of volunteers, local clubs and leisure services which provided an opportunity to review multi agency approaches to provision.

The scheme was selected as an example of tertiary interventions and provided the opportunity to examine three of the research questions. By considering life histories, the project provided a retrospective view of leisure patterns for young people at risk who developed offending patterns. The process of follow up and the longitudinal nature of the research also allowed participant perspectives on continued participation to be considered.

The scheme was one of the largest identified in Stage 1, both in terms of physical numbers and in the number of different geographic locations. It operated throughout Hampshire, served major city sites in Southampton and Portsmouth with smaller towns such as Gosport, Basingstoke, Aldershot, Andover and Fareham. The Sports Counselling Scheme used sports and recreation to achieve constructive use of leisure time and covered a good range of recreational activities. Outdoor pursuits, expedition and motorsports were occasionally offered. The scheme was selected since it covered to some extent all the activities identified in the literature review. It can be seen to address various causes of delinquency as shown in Table 5.5. From this there was scope to evaluate the following areas of performance, which were central to the objectives of the scheme:

- Perception of leisure opportunities
- Life style
- Self esteem and well being
- Use of leisure time.

Evaluation took place in three ways, firstly statistical information was analysed about the total number of referrals in terms of age, gender, offending history, residential area and
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Ethnic background. This was used to ensure that the sample drawn was representative. Then an in-depth study of a sample of clients was used to consider their perceptions of the programme, leisure life history and leisure patterns, through semi-structured interviews during their programmes. There was also a follow up after completion to monitor whether their responses while on the course are still valid after completion. This included a retrospective view of what the clients felt the programme did to help them, how it affected their lives subsequently and whether they had continued to participate in activities introduced during the Scheme. Reports from probation officers gauged their opinions on the value of the programme for their clients. This was conducted through a simple questionnaire, administered when possible on the telephone, otherwise by post. Finally, individual and group sessions were observed throughout the research period. A timetable was constructed for conducting the research and ensured that each stage was completed and logged, as shown in Table 4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 1995</td>
<td>Initial visit</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1996</td>
<td>Follow up visit</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1996 - January 1997</td>
<td>Documentary analysis Phase 1 participant sample</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1997</td>
<td>Site visits Sports Counsellor interviews Participant interviews</td>
<td>4 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1997</td>
<td>Phase 1 participant follow up Document follow up</td>
<td>2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1997</td>
<td>Session observation Follow up</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1997</td>
<td>Phase 2 participants sample</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1998</td>
<td>Pilot life histories</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March - April 1998</td>
<td>Life Histories</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May - July 1998</td>
<td>Follow up</td>
<td>2 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September-November 1998</td>
<td>Follow up</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1998</td>
<td>Management Review</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emphasis in this study was to investigate the medium term impacts of a tertiary constructive leisure scheme on participants life styles and leisure patterns. A detailed
follow up study was designed to track participants progress, attitudes, lifestyles and past leisure life histories over 18 months. The purpose was to increase understanding of the need for leisure education, the process of sports counselling and its impacts in the short to medium term. This could be used to evaluate the potential of leisure education in reducing offending among young people on the margins of society.

The process of tracking participants during and after the scheme included the following procedures:

- Initial interview during the scheme
- Observation of one activity session
- Exit interview
- 2/3 follow up surveys (phone, questionnaire or face to face)
- Probation officer feedback
- Sports Counsellor feedback
- Regular analysis of tracking information during the project.

The target for this stage of evaluation was to follow between 25 and 30 participants for between 12 and 18 months. It was estimated that this would require that 50/60 participants were initially interviewed: this was based on an estimated drop out rate of 40/50% before completion. Due to the scheme folding before the anticipated end of the evaluation the results relate to 21 individuals. During the initial interviews a leisure life history profile was completed as shown in Appendix 6. The final sample did not include any females which, although not completely representative, does reflect the very strong bias to male participants on the Scheme as a whole. Two females were interviewed and observed during the project but follow up failed to maintain contact. The issues raised by these interviews have been included in the results, since they identify some important points for female participants.

4.4 Research Methods

The methods used in the case studies combined quantitative and qualitative techniques so as to gain the broadest and most in-depth information. The variety of methods also provided some scope to use triangulation to support the results. The qualitative tools selected for considering participant perceptions and leisure patterns in this project were life history analysis, through the medium of in depth and semi structured interviews. The main weakness of this method for an individual part time researcher was the time
commitment required to create each participant profile. This was further exacerbated by
the nature of the target groups, whose members were unlikely to keep appointments.

To achieve one completed participant profile an average of three interviews were
arranged on each day of fieldwork. This allowed for 'no shows', which was estimated in
the pilot stages at two thirds who would fail to attend a set meeting. Therefore realistic
expectations had to be set for how many of these profiles could be achieved. Further more, critical issues considered were the validity of information and the self-
selection of interviewees. Many young people interviewed were compulsive liars, who
often found it difficult themselves to differentiate between fact and fiction, and so
stringent checks were made through third parties such as probation officers and sports
counsellors, and through documentary evidence to detect the degree of truth in the
responses. When key events were confirmed such as custody, leaving school or marriage
then the remaining data was viewed as reliable. When a number of key events were
incorrectly presented, the data was viewed with less confidence. In addition to this a
concern was that those who self selected and turned up for interviews had positive
experiences with the schemes. To overcome this, interviews were sometimes arranged at
activity sessions or participant's houses.

Life history has been little used in this area of leisure research and allowed life events,
perceptions and leisure patterns to recorded together to provide a matrix of the factors
which were crucial in mapping these young people's leisure habits and life styles.

4.4.1 Questionnaires
Questionnaires were used for follow up during the third stage. Interviews had already
been conducted with many of the respondents and they were therefore familiar with the
research. When questionnaires were used for participants without preceding interviews
they involved a mix of open and closed questions as demonstrated by the follow up
questionnaire used in Hampshire (Appendix 7) and Street Sport (Appendix 8). In all
cases they were kept as short as possible while achieving the quality of response
required. Each questionnaire was piloted before use and changes made as required.
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One of the weaknesses of questionnaires is their low response rates. In these studies the response rate was likely to be very low as a result of the nature of the participants and their life situations. Two strategies were used to improve the response rate: either each questionnaire was sent with a return stamped envelope or the forms were sent to the probation officers. Even with these methods and follow up calls, the response rate was often as low as 20%.

A participant follow-up questionnaire sought to assess the attitudes of participants, and after consideration of both rating and Likert scales, a five point Likert scale was adopted because it was a well-established tool for attitude scaling. The data was intended to supplement interviews rather than to stand-alone. It was understood that people would interpret the scale differently and therefore the tool was only used as a follow up to more in-depth interviews. To further reduce confusion over interpretation statements were used, rather than simply asking youth to agree or disagree with items. The analysis also allowed for the fact that respondent's mood would affect the reply.

4.4.2 Life History Profiles

One of the best examples of life history methods in leisure research is provided by the City Sport Challenge project (Brodie, Roberts and Lamb, 1991). An earlier example on which this drew was found in Personal Leisure Histories (Hedges, 1986). According to Bryman (1988):

'\textit{the method entails the reconstruction of the lives of one or more individuals}'

(Bryman, 1988, p.49).

The two main data sources for life history are diaries and autobiographies. With the participant group in each case study, the absence of diaries led to the use of long semi-structured interviews to partially reconstruct the history. The interview format covered broader leisure behaviour, leisure biographies and motivations or constraints. These were supplemented by additional interview questions. The construction of questions is covered in the next section, discussing the use of semi-structured interviews.

As with the City Sport analysis, participants were asked to report the patterns of their leisure behaviour from 10 years old. Activities earlier than this may be distorted by
memory and are mainly influenced by external forces. Each proforma was entered into a database and processed using the spreadsheet package Excel. Individual proformas were then analysed, and factors related to changes in leisure behaviour were mapped. This gave a picture of both life events and leisure patterns, and could be used to analyse relationships between at risk factors, leisure and offending. Life history charts derived from Hedges (1986), as shown in Appendix 6, were used to record the interview and provide a visual map.

4.4.3 Interviews

Interviews were used as the main data collection tool in the third stage and, as with the 2nd stage, occurred with three groups: managers, sports leaders and participants. However since follow up and assessment of the value of the schemes was required, a fourth phase was introduced which involved interested parties such as youth workers, probation officers, community representatives and leisure providers. Whenever possible, interviews were conducted at the project site, in person, or, in the case of participants in Hampshire, at their homes. Although, for participants the home might provide the most relaxed atmosphere, this was frequently not possible because of the nature of the accommodation and the wide scatter of locations. Probation offices were avoided for participant interviews in Sports Counselling, as this was considered too formal and potentially threatening. Managers and sports leaders interviews were conducted at their work places. Other interested parties were often interviewed by telephone or in person at their work place. In each case brief notes were made about the interview environment as this has been shown to affect responses.

In Stoke on Trent interviews with young people were conducted during the sessions observed in July and September. This timing was identified to allow some trust to have been established with both staff and participants, it was also likely to provide the best weather for outdoor interviews. The new youth bus, a mobile youth centre was used to attract interest in the research (Figure 4.2). It was driven as close to the session site as possible and soft drinks or coffee were provided. The entrance to the bus was used to introduce the research topic through a series of exhibition boards (Figure 4.3).
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Figure 4.2 The Stoke on Trent Youth Bus

Figure 4.3 Display boards on the Youth Bus
A video made two years before, which covered similar issues, was also played to provoke discussions in a group situation.

Whenever possible, interviews in both studies were taped and transcribed afterwards but since this was not always possible, all options were reviewed. There are three main methods; tape recording, note taking during the interview and note taking after the interview. The advantage of tape recording is that it leaves the interviewer free to talk with confidence that the details will be available for analysis. However, the presence of a tape recorder may be off putting for the respondent and may damage an early rapport. Tape recording can also lead to talking for the 'record' rather than an open flow of true information. For the interviewer the transcription of a tape may be time consuming. Note taking during an interview adds formality and changes of pace which may inhibit responses. For these reasons some interviewers prefer to make notes after the interview which leaves the interview free from distractions, but depending on the time lapse and the amount of information gained, the write up may be neither accurate nor complete. Taping interviews was piloted but rejected because the young people involved associated taped interviews with the police. Furthermore, many interviews were conducted during sports sessions and in locations where back ground noise was a problem. Therefore a method was developed for interviewing young people which combined retrospective notes with some prompt notes based on key words during the interview. Detailed notes were used during adult interviews.

As noted previously face-to-face interviews were not always possible. To supplement individual interviews some telephone interviews were adopted for follow up. The disadvantage of this was the loss of physical prompts and body language. The telephone can also appear more harassing and was therefore only used for participant follow up and structured interviews with managers, staff or other interested parties. In these cases either the participant would be familiar with the study or the respondents would be less threatened by a telephone medium.

Certain strategies were employed to improve the success of interviews based around the construction of questions. In interviews all questions were 'open', except for those
related to life histories. According to Foddy (1993), open questions have been claimed to have certain benefits including the freedom of the respondent to use their own words. However, he pointed to the importance of probes in maintaining or destroying the benefit of open questioning. Here recording of interviews helped since all verbal probes were recorded and offered a context for analysing. To improve the quality of open questions, the following guidelines were used:

- Respondents were guided back to the subject if they were deviating too far from the topic
- At the start of the interview, respondents were guided as to the depth of responses required in order to avoid incomplete questions.

Other problems considered in question design included the recall of information in long-term memory and reducing question threat. The life history questions relied on recall over 10 years for some participants. In these cases the salience of 'milestone' events, or links to people or places, like clues, were used to improve recall. However, results may still be somewhat inaccurate or incomplete. To improve recall, Foddy (1993) suggested asking questions in a number of frames or ways to ensure cues are provided. However, negative events are likely to be under-reported and positive events over-reported. Therefore it must be assumed that to some degree past constructive leisure participation was over estimated, but less socially acceptable activity was under reported. The methods of reducing question threat may have reduced the under reporting of negative activity.

The questions identified as threatening involved offending behaviour, alcohol and drug use. To reduce question threat the following strategies were adopted from Foddy (1993):

- Adopting a casual approach
- Placing questions of greater threat at the end of interviews

- Adopting a knowing approach to questions about offending or negative activity among probation clients, and lessening the imputation of deviance among non-probation clients.

To avoid confusion and misinterpretation, question design was simplistic and key words were clarified at the start of the question. Hypothetical questions, negatives, multiple ideas or subjects, two questions in one and qualifying phrases were avoided to reduce
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Confusion. Filters were used to ensure the appropriateness of questions for individuals. An interview plan was used to guide the interviews. A prompt chart was also used to record current leisure patterns, as shown in Appendix 9.

4.4.4 Observation

Participant observation was defined by Lofland & Lofland (1984) as:

"the process in which an investigator establishes a many sided and relatively long term relationship with a human association in its natural setting for the purpose of developing a scientific understanding of that association"

(Lofland & Lofland, 1984, p.12).

According to advocates of participant observation such as Whyte (1984), the benefits include

"learning opportunities that cannot be duplicated by any other method"

(Whyte, 1984, p.23).

However even enthusiasts admit that the method has certain shortcomings, in that single event generalisations can lack external validity, results can be coloured by the observer's views, the observer may become too familiar and take behaviour for granted over a long period of data gathering and the method is time consuming. Therefore, if participant observation was to be used in this study, the contact needed to be long term, which was not possible in a fixed length course such as Fairbridge Medway (Chapter 5). To help decide whether participant observation would be appropriate in the case studies, Bruyn (1966) provided six indices of adequacy: time, place, social circumstances, language, intimacy and social consensus. Time is only one of many contributing factors when considering adequacy, but Bruyn did connect greater time with increased adequacy.

The role of the observer is important including how (s)he reacts within a group and the method adopted for conducting observation. If the observer is to be a true participant then (s)he needs to gain acceptance. This acceptance will be shaped by differences in his/her cultural background and race. Evident differences between the observer's background and that of other participants may delay or reduce acceptance. If there are
great differences, such as occurred in this research, then the best that can be expected is to become

"Friendly sympathetic observers"

(Whyte, 1984, p.28).

The problem of acceptance of differences may be offset, according to Whyte, by the advantage that the observer is less likely to become immersed and lose objectivity. The approach taken by the observer while gaining entry to the community will necessarily be shaped by these differences. Three different methods can be used: overt, semi-overt and covert. If overt observation is used than the observer is completely open about the nature of research being completed. However, this may alter the behaviour and responses of the group. Semi-overt research allows the researcher to enter in a working role and to observe as one of the community but in a role other more than simply a researcher. Covert research occurs where no explanation is given and the observer becomes a complete participant. According to May (1993) this offers the benefit of more accurate information and understanding. However this latter is likely to be unsuccessful in communities which resist this unexplained intruder. Since observation was only one facet of the Stage 3 design, an overt approach was adopted, and interviews were used to validate the observations.

Greater adequacy will also be achieved if appropriate observations are logged. Whyte suggested that the focus should be on the structure and leadership, who does what with whom, not why. The logging of such data may then offer another facet to analysis. According to Whyte

"although field observation provides much information that does not lend itself to quantification, it is a serious but very common) error to assume that observation is simply a qualitative method"

(Whyte, 1984, p.88).

He suggested that this could be achieved through the tabulation of roles within the group and the creation of a map of these changing roles. Analysis of the observations may not be ongoing, but done after the fieldwork has been completed. May (1993) suggested that there are in fact four stages to participant observation which together achieve the objective:
"to categorise collected data in order that events, relationships and interactions observed may be understood or explained within the context of a developed theoretical framework"


For valid research, he suggested that an understanding of the social setting and data available is required. Then these should be placed in a theoretical framework, as was done for this study in Chapter 2. Secondly, the frequency and distribution of observations should be logged. These are then used to construct a social system model, and the findings placed into a generalised model. The final stage is to withdraw from the field and write up. Table 4.6 shows the proforma for logged observations.

It was concluded that participant observation was a useful tool in this research but could not stand alone. May and Whyte both advocated the use of unstructured interviews to assist in validating observations. By adding interviews to the process, additional information obtained, which can enhance the depth of analysis and validate the results.

Table 4.6 Observation Proforma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>PLACE (name, short description, location)</th>
<th>STAFF</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS (name, age, number of sessions)</th>
<th>ACTIVITIES OFFERED</th>
<th>DIARY OF SESSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4.4.5 Documentary analysis

Since both Hampshire Probation Service Sports Counselling Scheme and Street Sport had been running for a number of years, time was initially spent on documentary analysis. Both computer and manual records were studied. At Hampshire all participant records for the year 1996-97 were studied and the results recorded and analysed using the spreadsheet package Excel. This allowed for an overall picture of motivations and expectations to be mapped against final achievements.

The procedural documents were studied and issues of definition and interpretation were covered with individual staff and managers during subsequent interviews. This allowed
the clarification of scheme objectives and gave important insights for comparing feedback from participants.

4.5 Pilot Studies

The methods were piloted during a 10-day outdoor activities course at Fairbridge Medway which gave important indicators to the appropriateness of various techniques including interviews, observation and document analysis.

The life history proforma and age charts were piloted in Hampshire during February 1998. Arrangements were made to contact four individuals, but unfortunately none of the targeted participants showed up for their interviews, highlighting an important problem in achieving the interview targets. From this it was decided that some of the interviews would be set up either at the participants' homes or arrangements be made to collect them. Due to the time constraints and travel costs incurred in this pilot phase, piloting was eventually carried out at the Orchard Lane Centre for young offenders on the counsellor's initial interview day. It was therefore inappropriate to test the follow up questions, but the proforma was used.

This revealed that some alterations to the list of leisure activities were needed to more closely reflect the interests of the target group. The current leisure patterns proforma was amended to include board games, computer games, running, skateboarding, rugby, martial arts, basketball, fishing, and 10-pin bowling. Cricket, darts and motorsports were removed from the list. The life history proforma was amended to include youth groups, after school clubs, summer holiday activity schemes, and gambling was included to cover amusement arcades. Computer and board games were added to the leisure section and rugby, martial arts and fishing were added to the sports lists. The changed proforma more realistically represented the interests of the target group and reduced the use of a miscellaneous category.

4.6 Techniques of Analysis

The design process produced three stages of results, each stage covering managerial issues, activity provision and participants. The first stage covered the widest number of
schemes in the least depth using mainly quantitative methods. The second stage covered fewer schemes but in greater depth using mainly qualitative methods. The third stage consisted of the main two case studies in great depth using techniques from both qualitative and quantitative methods. In this way both the demands of breadth and depth of study have been satisfied. There remained, however, issues regarding the choice of techniques for analysis of such wide-ranging information types and from this a consideration of both the strengths and limitations of the final results.

The research produced different data types to analyse; which was beneficial in reinforcing the validity of findings by triangulation of data sources. However, the varied data sources required that different techniques were used in their analysis. The main data types were in depth interviews, structured interviews, questionnaires, life history profiles, observation pro-formas and documentation.

The data was predominantly of a qualitative nature, and thus there was no requirement for statistical analysis. When the document analysis or questionnaires produced quantitative evidence this was recorded using the Excel spreadsheet package, since the volume of data did not justify the use of statistical packages such as SPSS. The techniques adopted to analyse the data were selected to satisfy the initial research objective of increasing understanding of the relationship between leisure behaviour and delinquency and so qualitative techniques were considered appropriate for both interviews and questionnaires.

Interactionism theories influenced the type of interview used. Silverman describes these as:

"Interviewees are viewed as experiencing subjects, who actively construct their social worlds; the primary issue is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences"

(Silverman, 1993, p.91).

He suggested that this type of data is most commonly achieved through in-depth interviews using open-ended questions and backed up by observation. Therefore the data generated, although guided by key categories, was lengthy and varied in its structure and content. This variety provided the benefit of depth of information, which should not be
lost in the analysis of the data. Therefore the structured coding environment of software packages such as Nudist was rejected in favour of hands on familiarity with the texts. But this style of analysis will be subject to contextual influences, including the researcher's relationship with the respondents and the social environment. The researcher's empathy with the respondents cannot be overlooked; in such a longitudinal study consisting of a series of in-depth interviews the researcher will form ideas about the respondent which may influence the data collected. The relationship between the researcher and the respondent was inevitable and was therefore acknowledged in the records by personal comments reflected in the data. To assist with validation of these interview findings, semi-structured interviews were used towards the end, sometimes administered by phone to cross check emerging themes in a more positivist framework.

The following response levels were achieved:

**STAGE 1** produced 6 hours of semi-structured interview data from four national agencies to gain a more general view of provision. The details of this process were covered in section 4.3.1. The response to these initial enquiries was good, and only one agency contacted, the National Association Motorsports projects, failed to give an interview or a postal response.

**STAGE 2** produced semi-structured interview data from 6 projects and a range of respondents in each case. This amounted to approximately 21 hours of interviews recorded manually within a standard format. All of the projects contacted responded positively to the request for visits and interviews, though the range of respondents at each site varied as shown in Table 4.3. The high response rate was achieved by following up representative schemes identified in the stage 1 surveys.

**STAGE 3** produced the most significant volume and depth of interview data. In Stoke, interviews were used to follow up introductory questionnaires for community, staff and participant respondents. The questionnaires were administered by post for community contacts and despite including a pre paid return envelope, the response rate was low. Thirty questionnaires were distributed and seven responses were received, a rate of 23.3%. From these, telephone contact and follow up letters, interviews were conducted with community representatives and other agencies. These were semi-structured and provided approximately 15 hours of interview data as shown in Table 4.7.
Table 4.7 Young People’s Sample for Stoke on Trent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street Sport participants</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Sport spectators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACRO Moves Project</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Action, Mitchell High School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bentilee Volunteers, Willfield CEC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Hampshire management and staff interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format to allow direct comparison of the results from individual to individual and generalisation of the key trends. This represented approximately 12 hours of interview data. The participant data collection was completed in two distinct phases:

Phase 1 - Quantitative Study of 228 referrals to Sports Counselling in 1996
Phase 2 - Qualitative Study of 21 referrals to Sports Counselling 1997/8.

The Phase 1 sample consisted of the data analysis of tracking forms for 228 referrals, (208 male and 20 female). Of these only 121 started the scheme and 50 completed four or more sessions. All of the completions were contacted by questionnaire, and 30 responses were received regarding their perceptions of the Scheme and continued participation. Ten participants who failed to completed the Scheme were interviewed to establish reasons for drop out.

The process of tracking the Phase 2 sample is shown in Table 4.8

Table 4.8 Data Collection for Phase 2 Qualitative Sample for Sports Counselling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Referral Data / Initial Interview</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session Observation / Scheme Interview</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life History Profile</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exit Review</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow Up After 6 Months</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow Up After 12 Months</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow Up after 18 months</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviews with participants were combined with responses to questionnaires and therefore a mix of structured, semi structured and open interviews were collected for 13 participants over a 12 month period, giving approximately 4 hours of structured and
open interview data per participant. The inclusion of open interviews was important to
gain the confidences, depth of insight and understanding of the perceptions of these
participants. There was inevitable drop out in the monitoring of both Phase 1 and 2.

In Phase 2 participants were chased through the sports counsellors, follow up calls and
letters, and through their probation officers. However, they had usually changed address
and finished both the Scheme and their probation orders. Those who failed to respond to
the life history interview, generally did not attend at the arranged time, and they were
contacted by phone where possible. Finally, 16 participants, all male, completed the
retrospective view of the Scheme and continued leisure pattern survey. Unfortunately,
the Scheme’s early end meant that it was impossible to complete the sample with full
long term follow up including any female participants.

The observation data was collected using written field notes, supplemented by
videotapes and photographs. The advantage of video was that both sound and activity
could be recorded and reviewed a number of times. The main disadvantage was that the
dynamics of the session were altered by the presence of the camera, a fact revealed when
taped and none-taped sessions with the same group were compared. For this reason the
majority of the sessions were observed and notes recorded using a pro-forma to
standardise key results. These notes were then transcribed using the 'Word' word
processing package. This method was selected for its compatibility with other parts of
the data collection process. Notes could be transferred, merged and sorted from one
session to another with ease. The computer software package Nudist was considered at
this stage but although it would allow data to be stored in tree structured index systems
the other search features relevant to my analysis did not represent sufficient return for the
time required for highly structured data input. The word processor was used to identify
recurring themes and to count the frequency of occurrences in the same way as Nudist
could be used. Although the structure of the word processing system was less complex it
was used to achieve the desired analytical information to identify key themes.
Coding of the observation data was considered since it potentially allowed the assurance of standard information and made the recording process faster. Silverman (1993) suggested:

"Items may be assigned to more than one category in order to maximise the range of hypotheses which can be generated" (Silverman, 1993, p. 37).

The sessions were coded into broad categories. The records not only collected what was heard but also described the setting or environment features since these were important influences. The results of the coded session data were used to compare the actual delivery with the claims and perceptions of the providers and participants revealed in the analysis of interview data.

The life history proforma were analysed by transcribing the evidence collected from each respondent onto a one page graphical representation as shown in Appendix 6. In addition, a linked Access data record was created for each long term follow up participant. When all the sheets were collated, key themes could be identified manually. Initially the life events were scanned against changes in leisure patterns. This allowed links to be identified between changes in everyday life such as unemployment and changes in leisure activity. These links were then explored with the participants in follow up interviews, when possible. Changes in leisure profiles were also compared to national data on leisure patterns to establish whether general patterns were reflected in these groups.

Document analysis was conducted in both case studies. Key themes were identified manually from the background literature. Diaries for the sessions in Stoke and participant referral forms in Hampshire were recorded using standard headings on Excel spreadsheets.

4.7 Strengths of the Research Data

Yin (1994) stressed the importance of good case study design in order to achieve credibility for the findings. He suggests that a case study is a research strategy, not simply a method. The results have satisfied many of the initial objectives of the research
project. It is important to acknowledge the quality of the results in relation to existing research in this field. The information provides a longitudinal view of the impacts of constructive leisure interventions firstly on young offenders, and secondly on at risk young people and their communities. It provides detailed evidence regarding the role and impact of leisure in the lifestyles of at risk young people from their perspective. The results offer these profiles for a significant number of young people completing the tertiary scheme (15%), giving for each the impact of the scheme during approximately 12 months after completion and retrospective insight into the factors which have affected their leisure lifestyle choices. A medium term view of the impact of a preventative intervention on the young people and their communities was produced. Therefore the results can offer a valuable addition to existing statistical data to enhance understanding of how and why leisure and recreation provision impact on the offending behaviour of young people, particularly those at risk.

In terms of criteria for judging the quality of research designs Yin (1994) described four tests: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. Construct Validity is concerned with:

"the use of instruments and measures that can accurately operationalize the constructs of interest in a study"

(Yin, 1993, p.39).

It was recognised that clear operational definition was required to satisfy construct validity. Therefore multiple measures were carefully defined. These were leisure life history proforma, current leisure pattern proforma and a standard questionnaire for follow up perceptions of each scheme. This ensured that the same tool was used to measure each individual at various stages. Then multiple sources of evidence were used as follows:

- individual participant interviews
- probation officer reports (case study one)
- sports counsellor or outreach worker reports
- administrative records.

Finally, at the end of each interview data recorded on the proforma was reviewed by the respondent.
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Internal validity was achieved through the careful piloting of all data collection methods and the use of interview schedules to allow inferences to be drawn from the data, which reflect causal relationships. External validity was achieved through the replication of the framework diagram in Stages 2 and 3 of the research and the selection criteria for both case studies in Stage 3.

Finally the reliability measure aims to minimise the potential for bias and errors by producing explicit research protocol as demonstrated in this chapter. The protocol is considered by Yin (1994) to be ‘a major tactic in increasing the reliability of case study research’; and consists of a guide for the researcher, which states the process and rules for data collection.

4.8 Limitations of the Results
This chapter has reviewed the research design process. It demonstrates and attempts to justify why key decisions, such as the choice of case study techniques, were made. Difficulties which arose in the design process included identifying two stable long term case studies for analysis. This was achieved through the detailed research in Stages 1 & 2, and was reasonably successful. However in the case of Sports Counselling, the probation service agreed to back the project from the end of the demonstration project and when selected for this study had provided funding and support for over five years. It was therefore anticipated that the project would survive for the duration of the research. Unfortunately after two years of research the project underwent dramatic changes, altering the emphasis from sport and leisure to basic literacy skills. Therefore the research was concluded 5 months prior to the anticipated date of completion with new clients, although follow up continued for all the existing clients. The result of the change was to reduce the total number of individual long-term follow-ups from 30 to 21 clients.

However, much can be gained from the 16 completed studies which represent approximately 15 hours contact, interviews and observation over 6 to 18 months per participant. This forms the focus for the analysis, although interviews with management, probation officers and staff provided over 20 hours of qualitative data. It was also difficult to gain an adequate sample of in depth interviews given the unreliability of many
participants on non-compulsory schemes. In the case of Hampshire, more interviews were arranged than required to cope with drop out. In Stoke the use of the Youth Bus attracted the attention of young people. Then soft drinks encouraged them to stay long enough to gather basic information. It was important to design a flexible approach to data recording that would allow forever-changing locations and environment, but provide consistency of results. Manual records transcribed onto spreadsheets and word processing key headings maintained flexibility, while allowing consistency in data analysis. Retrospective note taking worked well in creating a comfortable atmosphere for young people to gain confidence and communicate accurately.

The limitations of the results are that only two case studies were selected from a national array of schemes. There will be regional differences that reduce the possibility of generalisation, but the physical and environmental features of the scheme's were carefully logged to reduce this impact.

4.9 Conclusions

The research questions were addressed in the design were as follows:

What are the personal outcomes for participants in leisure based interventions, and are these linked to the causes of delinquency? This was initially explored in Stages 1 and 2 through the claims and evidence of outcomes provided by the schemes identified. In Stage 3 the experiences of participants on both pre and post offending interventions were analysed using qualitative methods. These outcomes can be analysed in terms of the framework and causes of delinquency identified in Chapters 2 and 3.

What is nature of the leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending? Are there links between boredom, frustration, parenting, peer group, deprivation and social environment (all established causes of delinquency) and current leisure patterns?

Young people identified in the Stage 3 case study Sports Counselling constructed a life history profile which was used to identify the development of their leisure patterns throughout adolescence. Young people contacted in Stoke on Trent were both participants and non participants in Street Sport, and their interviews were used to
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construct a picture of leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending, including their perceived constraints.

What factors in scheme management and rationale are important to achieving continued recreation habits in young people? Young people were interviewed in both case studies in Stage 3 to gain their feedback about the scheme and the style of provision. The Schemes were both studied for over one year, with regular visits and staff interview to give a detailed analysis of the internal dynamics of the provision. The initial visits to schemes in Stage 2 gave a context for these observations.

Is there a model of community recreation at primary level that can support positive outcomes for young people and their communities? By selecting Street Sport as an example of primary intervention in Stage 3, it was possible to observe the advantages and disadvantages of intervention at this level, from both a management and young person’s perspective.

The findings for the first and second questions are presented in Chapter 6 and the findings for the third and fourth questions are presented in Chapter 7. Chapter 5 presents the broader context for questions, and an analysis of potential outcomes from which to address the first question.

References


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Robins, D (1990) Sport as Prevention Centre for Criminological Research, University of Oxford


CHAPTER 5 THE RATIONALE FOR AND PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS

In order to identify two case studies that were both suitable for a longitudinal study and representative of the interventions currently provided, it was essential that adequate preparation in the selection process was undertaken. This chapter reviews the preparation process in Stages 1 & 2 of the research. It highlights areas where these findings contribute to existing knowledge, and considers their role in addressing the research questions.

5.1 Stage 1 The National Perspective: A Review of Provision

This work produced significant results that provided the only ‘multiple level and type’ review of provision in the period 1994/5. Existing research included a review of adventure interventions with at risk young people (Barrett, 1993), a survey into the style but without named examples of recreation provision in the probation service (Probation Circular 72, 1994) and Robin’s review of sports as prevention (1990); these were referenced in Stage One.

Although in Britain there has since been a larger review of probation schemes (Taylor & Nichols, 1999), a review of motor sports interventions (Sugg, 1998) and a review of leisure services programmes that target young people at risk of offending (Nichols & Booth, 1999) the results of Stage 1 still represent the only attempt to construct a table of provision at primary, secondary and tertiary levels that use sport, adventure, motor sports and constructive leisure. The review of provision can be used to analyse common themes that reoccur across all provision and thus indicated aspects of management to consider in Stages Two and Three.
The following agencies were identified as having substantial existing commitment to juvenile delinquents or young people in general: schools, police, juvenile justice and probation, youth services (statutory and voluntary), leisure services and social work. Information concerning the scope and philosophy of their recreation intervention with young people was gained through surveys, interviews and the analysis of reports. Two major surveys were carried out during the period March to May 1994. These provided information regarding the scope of the various agencies' provision.

The results of the survey of delegates at the NAOE 'Young People At Risk' conference in 1995 described in Chapter 4, showed that adventure activities were still common within secondary prevention. The survey results show that statutory and voluntary youth service, education and adventure providers were most commonly involved in this type of provision. The primary and secondary scheme providers identified the outcomes of adventure based interventions as diversion, fun and personal development. The majority of work concerned older adolescents in the age group 15 -17 years. In terms of activities provided, most respondents used more than one activity. Multi activity courses were most popular (60%) and sailing adventures seemed to be least evident (9%). None of the respondents used these courses in isolation, the trend main method was to use these interventions as part of a developmental youth work programme (77%). Some had in-house teams to carry out these courses, while others mentioned partnerships with local authorities, charitable trusts and voluntary or youth groups. Of the respondents 18 provided the courses themselves, 3 used partnerships with the youth service and 5 had other partnerships.

For the second survey in March 1994, a self completion questionnaire was distributed by mail to all of the head offices of the English Probation Services as listed in the 1994 NAPO Probation Directory. The details of this are given in Chapter 4. The survey showed that 47 % of respondents used active leisure programmes as part of their work with juvenile offenders. Fifty three percent of the provision combined in-house services and those of external organisations. Most of the respondents used a wide range of activities with no single respondent using only one intervention. Sail Training was the least popular possibly due to the more costly nature of the activity and lack of awareness.
of opportunities. Analysis of the activities suggested that they may reflect the interests of the officers. Other activities mentioned included work with disabled groups, leisure education, Community Sports Leaders Award and the Duke of Edinburgh Award.

At tertiary level, schemes are part of the sentence, but recreation projects in the survey showed a marked trend for voluntary attendance (67%). Of those who indicated that some attendance was compulsory, two gave no further details and three gave an indication that motor sports projects were sometimes compulsory. The question which arises from this is why were so few projects compulsory? It may be explained by the rationale that active leisure programmes will be more effective if entered into freely.

A criticism of many residential recreation interventions is that long term changes in client behaviour can only be achieved beyond the short term project. For probation services, shorter projects may be used as part of the counselling process with an officer. The survey showed great variety in the duration of recreational intervention ranging from a one week residential to a ten week programme, which must also be seen as short term. The questionnaire also sought to establish whether recreational projects were a regular feature of an organised programme or used on an 'ad hoc' basis as opportunities arose: 42% were provided continuously, the remainder were limited to either a number of courses per year or related to a specific opportunity.

In terms of the cost of provision there was generally a lack of information and what was collated showed a wide range. The details given ranged from £200 per month for 30 clients, or £6.60 per client per month. Another indicated an annual budget of £1000. The cost of a residential course was £750 and of a non residential week was £70. One respondent suggested that since activities were directed to encourage constructive use of leisure, all activities were low cost and could be continued after the projects. The survey also sought to establish the extent to which young offenders were referred to these programmes, and the take up rate. The average number of referrals to a project was 154, of which 60% attended. If these projects are to be encouraged then it is essential to identify the reasons for a 40% drop out rate.
The consensus was that active leisure interventions could contribute to positive self esteem development and facilitate legitimate leisure patterns. Despite operating under fixed budgets and increasing pressure for accountability, little evaluation of the projects was identified. Of the 15 respondents only three had carried out a formal evaluation, and one had just started the process. The other eleven had carried out no formal evaluation. This is a serious problem if probation services are faced with increasing pressure to produce evidence on the effectiveness of their programmes. The Solent Sports Counselling Project’s annual reports outlined several individual case studies which supported the effectiveness of the project. However, the monitoring report for Humberside Sail Training failed to substantiate any claims to significantly reduce reoffending among participants (Bottomley, 1994).

Further to these surveys informal discussions were held with the National Youth Agency, Fairbridge, Divert and Bryn Meyln. Information regarding specific schemes was also provided by Prof. Bottomley of Hull University on the Humberside Sail Training Project, Gloucestershire and Oxford Youth Service on Youth Action, the Sports Council regarding the Motor Sports Projects and The Home Office about holiday schemes. The review is shown in Table 5.1 and reflects these findings. From this review it can be seen that the key aspects of provisions are:

5.1.1 Providers
There are many providers of active leisure based interventions for young people at risk of offending. The research identified probation, youth and leisure services as the main public sector providers, but a significant proportion of provision is through independent organisations, some commercial, many operating with charitable status. Some public sector providers create in-house teams to offer specialist active leisure courses. The advantage of this was reported to be the ability to create their own programme. However these programmes, usually outside statutory provision, were vulnerable to budget cuts. Organisations which used external providers stressed the benefits as a more professional experience and greater cost effectiveness. Although there were examples of partnerships there was little evidence of multi-agency provision which was highlighted by Cooper (1989):
## Table 5.1 Review of Provision 1994/5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PROVIDER</th>
<th>ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>ATT. LEVEL</th>
<th>CLIENTEDUCATION</th>
<th>DURATION</th>
<th>COST</th>
<th>REFERENCETOBASAL EVALUATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxford Re-Active</td>
<td>PS LS</td>
<td>LS,TS</td>
<td>V C</td>
<td>12 PO</td>
<td>NO Cont</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Open 15 P.M. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trax</td>
<td>PS LS</td>
<td>MS,OP,ART</td>
<td>V C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ALL 8 Weeks</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>90 75 37% recid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsport</td>
<td>LS TS</td>
<td>LS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ALL Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Open Crime Rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer in the City</td>
<td>LS LS</td>
<td>LS, MULTI</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>AT RISK</td>
<td></td>
<td>Open Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortus</td>
<td>Probation Award Scheme</td>
<td>PS, YS</td>
<td>DOE,OP,TS,</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ALL Cont</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner London</td>
<td>Fairbridge</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>GP,IS,TS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherborne House</td>
<td>PS REHABILIDS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insight Arts</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ART</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>LS LS</td>
<td>LS, STS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthesia</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer Outdoor pursuits</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton Road Motor Sports</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td>MS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansham &amp; Fulhams &amp; Chelse FC</td>
<td>TS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Cont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Varies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>A Sporting chance</td>
<td>PS, COL IS, CSLA</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO 10 Weeks</td>
<td>£100 P.C</td>
<td>25 12 25% recid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northants Banks</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td>OP, IS</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO,SO Varies</td>
<td>Unknown Yes</td>
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<td>Northants Assoc of Boys Clubs</td>
<td>PS, YS, LS</td>
<td>MS, OP,TS,IS,ART</td>
<td>V C</td>
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<td>£200 P.M</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>PS</td>
<td>OP, ST, ART</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ALL OFF</td>
<td>Vases 1 Staff Code 200 100 No</td>
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<td>PS</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>13 FO, PO</td>
<td>110 D 97 % Res Unknown Unknown No</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>PS</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO</td>
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<td>Work shop</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>C</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>PS &amp; Youth</td>
<td>multi agent</td>
<td>Work shop</td>
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<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teeside</td>
<td>Drive</td>
<td>multi agent</td>
<td>Work shop</td>
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<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Langbaurgh</td>
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<td>Work shop</td>
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<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>500</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury</td>
<td>West Yorkshire</td>
<td>Multi agent</td>
<td>Work shops</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsall</td>
<td>West Midland</td>
<td>NACRO</td>
<td>Driving</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>Fairbridge Medway</td>
<td>Charity</td>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>AT RISK</td>
<td>10 Days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucestershire</td>
<td>Youth Action</td>
<td>YS, LS</td>
<td>MULTI</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>AT RISK</td>
<td>Cont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>Bryn Meyh</td>
<td>Charity</td>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>PO, SO</td>
<td>Resident Cont</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| KEY : |
| PS : PROBATION SERVICE |
| LS : LEISURE SERVICE |
| YS : YOUTH SERVICE |
| SS : SOCIAL SERVICES |
| V : VOLUNTARY |
| TS : TEAM SPORTS |
| IS : INDIVIDUAL SPORTS |
| MS : MOTOR SPORT |
| OP : OUTDOOR PURSUITS |
CHAPTER 5 THE RATIONALE FOR AND PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS

"The juvenile offender oriented approach had some key requirements - that local multi agency groups should work together"

(Cooper, 1989, p.2)

5.1.2 Activities

Some programmes involved numerous activities from sport to adventure, offering a complex array for participant’s choice, including Sports Counselling, Hampshire Probation Service. Others provided a single specialist activity or a number of separate programmes each offering one type of active leisure; for example the Inner London Probation Service accessed seven active leisure programmes.

5.1.3 Attendance

The majority of active leisure interventions operating across levels were by voluntary attendance. The only compulsory attendance was at tertiary level as part of a court order. This applied to motorsports provisions and day centre attendance which provided an integrated programme of rehabilitation including forms of active leisure. In most examples of compulsory attendance there was an opportunity to continue after the compulsory element was complete, for example at TRAX and Oxford Probation Service. The most significant differences were that compulsory schemes were rigidly structured programmes with fixed duration and they experienced lower drop out rates. There was no evidence that compulsory schemes were better evaluated.

5.1.4 Clients

The majority of schemes identified targeted either pre offending or post offending young people. There were very few examples of schemes that combined offenders and non offenders. The best examples of multi level interventions were the independent providers such as Fairbridge. The Fairbridge programmes fully integrated offenders and non offenders on their courses. There were reported advantages of single level provision: in particular a recurrent theme was that when active leisure programmes were provided as a means of informal education, young people at risk of offending displayed different entry characteristics to young offenders. However providers of integrated programmes stressed the benefits for young offenders of removing the delinquent peer group.
5.1.5 Duration
The nature of active leisure programmes varied from fixed length to continuous interventions. The format of the programme often reflected the content, for example adventure interventions were generally residential. Although there were some examples of continuous provision at tertiary level, for example REACTIVE, a drop in recreation session for Oxford probation clients in partnership with community recreation, most were of fixed length. This may reflect the nature of specified probation orders for young offenders. Generally continuous programmes lacked any evaluation of outcomes and monitoring was restricted to participation rates. The example of the Probation Award Scheme in Hertfordshire, however, suggested that continuous interventions can monitor outcomes: this programme suggested a 21% reoffending rate (over two years). There were more attempts to monitor the outcomes: for fixed length interventions, for example Inner London Probation Service’s Sherbourne House indicated the reoffending was reduced by 17% for participants over two years. Providers of continuous programmes claimed that this was a more participant centred approach, and better able to meet client needs. Critics suggest that the lack of exit route will create client dependence (K Waldman, Hampshire Sports Counselling, interview May 1997).

5.1.6 Claimed Outcomes
From the previous discussion of programme monitoring and evaluation, it is clear that many interventions have difficulty in substantiating claims for their outcomes. The most common claims were self esteem, qualifications gained, reduced recidivism, and personal development. The NAOE and probation surveys suggested several outcomes from active leisure interventions as shown in Table 5.2.

Despite these claims, there was little evidence to support them; only three probation services had recidivism data, and all of these were one off studies, not ongoing evaluations. The remaining evidence relied on anecdotal case studies.

From this analysis of the findings for Stage One, six case studies were selected for a follow up visit. The purposes of these visits were to observe the reality of the management issues raised in Stage One, and to construct selection criteria for the
longitudinal studies. Having produced a unique theoretical framework, and identified from the national survey information, a lack of ability to demonstrate the claimed outcomes, these Stage Two case studies also provided the opportunity to test the validity of the framework across a range of provision.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>% Schemes Claiming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social interaction</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New experiences</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self awareness</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved confidence</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team work</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recidivism</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self esteem</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New skills</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Stage 2 Case Study Visits : The Application of the Theoretical Framework

This section presents the results of Stage 2 of the research conducted between April 1994 and August 1997 comprising a set of five one day case study visits and one ten day course (Fairbridge Medway). The rationale of each scheme was explored through interviews with managers, staff and participants. The findings were matched to the relational framework diagram, Figure 3.3 in Chapter 3, which gave a framework for potential evaluation criteria. Visits were made to the following sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Name of Scheme</th>
<th>Type of activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford Sports Development</td>
<td>Oxsport</td>
<td>Physical recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoke on Trent</td>
<td>Street Sport</td>
<td>Physical recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary :</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairbridge</td>
<td>Medway Team</td>
<td>Adventure Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford Probation</td>
<td>TRAX</td>
<td>Motor sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary :</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester Probation</td>
<td>Squire Lucas</td>
<td>Constr. Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampshire Probation</td>
<td>Sports Counselling</td>
<td>Constr. Leisure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5 THE RATIONALE FOR AND PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS

The next section will provide evidence about the development and structure of the case study interventions. The results will be presented for primary, secondary and tertiary interventions.

5.2.1 Primary level interventions

Both examples of primary intervention in delinquency were provided by the community recreation teams in leisure services departments. They both relied on grant funding for survival and were linked to summer holiday play or activity schemes. Although examples of primary intervention, both schemes targeted deprived areas within the city.

OXSPORT: OXFORD CITY COMMUNITY RECREATION

This primary intervention demonstrated the broadest aims at this level of intervention. Aims were often vague and ill defined, perhaps due to the variety of work covered in these initiatives. Therefore the ability to demonstrate measurable objectives through applying the relational framework was particularly important if a primary level intervention was to be used for longer term evaluation. The technique was initially applied to the projects provided by Community Recreation in Oxford. These operated through group sessions on a ‘drop in’ basis. They were by voluntary attendance and free or at low cost to participants. They operated in the communities and sought to reach all young people, but particularly those at risk of offending.

Community recreation was provided by the sports development team, based at the Northway Sports Centre on the eastern outskirts of the city, their primary function was sports development, targeted at non-participants. A small team of full time workers was dedicated to community projects. There were usually five people but only two female workers and one male manager were in post in May 1997.

Their approach was developed from the rationale of Action Sport; they provided support to set up initiatives with a view to eventually withdrawing from them. However, the two primary interventions did not substantiate this philosophy when scrutinised. Oxsport (Outreach sports initiatives for young people in the community) was described in the Business Plan as:
CHAPTER 5 THE RATIONALE FOR AND PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS

"A project initiated by Oxford City Council's Sports Development Team to redress the recreation deprivation that exists within some areas of Oxford. This is by means of community outreach work with teenagers through the medium of outdoor sports activity."

(Business Plan, 28/3/96)

Summer in the City (Summer activity programme for school age young people in Oxford) was defined as:

"A financially accessible programme of activities for young people throughout Oxford city"

(Community Recreation Manager, May 1997).

The methods used were outreach sports services and programmed community provision. Oxsport had been introduced by a member of the recreation team who had worked on the Street Sport project in Stoke on Trent and consequently shared overall features with Stoke on Trent. However the loss of this staff member left the initiative without focus and leadership. There were three distinct areas of work: outreach, sports sessions and venues.

It was developed as a natural progression from the successful holiday activity project, as seen in the Business Plan:

"During the school holidays Sports Development arrange holiday activities that are very popular so surely the next stage is to offer a weekly session"

(Business Plan, 28/3/96).

The project used outreach work to liaise with young people and local residents to ensure that their needs were considered and requirements met. At the time of the visit all sessions had been suspended, due to low staffing levels and lack of funding. In principle a two hour weekly sports session was provided at a series of established venues, the proposed areas were Sunnymeade, Jericho, Blackbird Leys, Barton, Rose Hill, Crowley Marsh, Botley Park and Northway. These all had been identified as areas of 'recreational deprivation' (Business Plan, 1996). In pilot sessions these used mobile resources such as flood lights, goal posts and minibuses. The longer-term plan was to provide a purpose built sports area with lights and sports courts marked out. There were plans for nine such venues subject to a pending lottery funding bid. The project had been piloted at Sunnymeade with positive results:
"Two outreach workers provide a weekly sports session on the recreation ground. The pilot was launched in January and has a minimum of 15 young people attending each session."

(Business Plan, 1996).

Due to this success the project was then expanded to four sites during 1996. However the sessions had not run since Christmas 1996, due to staff shortages. It was planned to restart the scheme once lottery funding was secured in April 1997.

The Summer in the City holiday activity programme offered a range of activities throughout the summer holidays. There were activities for a six week period, provided at a low price or free, so as not to exclude any young people, in some cases, such as canoeing an additional charge was made. Others, however, such as basketball, were totally free. The average attendance on sessions was 12. Young people could opt into any number of the activities during the holiday period. The total expenditure on this scheme was £2871, which provided 114 sessions throughout the city.

In the 1996 Business Plan for Oxsport the aims were identified as

"To provide activities and recreation facilities to local communities.
To bridge the gap between teenagers and adults within our communities.
To help young people of Oxford achieve a positive outlook of self worth by investing time, expertise and energy.
To reduce the number of potential offenders within the youth age groups by encouraging at risk young people to divert their energies into sport rather than crime.
To develop a new sporting initiative."

(Business Plan, 1996).

For this analysis the fourth aim was the most significant, the diversion of young people from crime. The rationale for this aim was linked to an earlier Home Office initiative 'Safer Cities' which identified several related issues: the exclusion of young people from society, frequent young offenders, poverty and unemployment, high levels of school exclusion and the stigmatisation of areas. Despite identifying this research, little attempt had been made to assess the potential for Oxsport to address these issues. The only evidence of crime reduction was from the pilot site where:

"active involvement of significant young people in the project accompanied a fall in crime locally."

(Business Plan 1996).
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STREET SPORT: STOKE ON TRENT

Street Sport was the result of a successful funding application to the West Midlands Sports Council. In April 1994 outreach services were launched with a three year start up grant. However the roots of the project were developed in the 1970s, through detached youth work provided by the Hanley Youth Project. This voluntary youth organisation had received grant aid for the post in order to assess the needs of young people within the communities. The dedication of this worker had led to extensive dialogue with young people in establishing their needs. From a one year, one worker project in 1971, the team had expanded by 1986 to a team of 16. The philosophy of this work was summarised in June 1997 by Kevin Sauntry, Manager of Community Recreation as

"there is a negative lagoon of drugs, crime, prostitution and victimisation. Youth work must be preventative and work upstream of this lagoon, with the objective of getting inter generational talking going and a network of community support"

The response to this need was a combination of community development and recreation services as he described in the same interview:

"There was a programme of activities including play schemes, play training, community events, establishing residents associations and formal community networks"

By 1986 the initiative faced difficult development choices, it could either:

"stop, or take 2 years full funding and then no promises or become part of leisure services"

(K Sauntry, Community Recreation Manager, 15.7.97).

The third option was agreed, and after some lengthy negotiation, the City Council created Community Services, employing all of the Hanley Youth Project. The package also included extensive vehicle replacement to support the new department and a fleet of vans were purchased to support the community work.

There had already been friction between the voluntary Youth Project and the statutory Youth Service provided by community education. The move into the City Council’s structure lead to more formal objections to Community Recreation providing detached youth work, since this area already existed in the Community Education. Therefore, unless a new focus could be found, Community Services’ work would be restricted to Play Services, Community Events and Parks.
The introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering in leisure services in 1991 resulted in a new struggle for survival. The manager lead a rally of supporters to a City Council meeting regarding its future:

“They were admitted to the meeting to listen but not to comment, however the volume of support for the work of community recreation succeeded in retaining the service provision in a separate area - Community Recreation”

(K Sauntry 1999).

In order to overcome these conflicts and to gain available funding, the concept of Street Sport was developed in a report of the Director of Leisure and Recreation in September 1993. The existing work was reviewed as

“The Leisure and Recreation Department, through it’s Community Recreation Section, has been taking initiatives to increase the opportunity for expanding usage of its parks and open spaces for a broader range of Sports and activities. This has been achieved primarily by using the Play scheme service which provides for 26,000 children throughout the year, linking with community groups and residents associations in 40 areas of the city”

(Leisure and Recreation Committee 14/9/93).

This introduction was impressive but an area was identified that had not yet been addressed:

“We have become increasingly aware of the ever widening gap between adults and young people”

To address this the report identified a number of initiatives including skateboarding and ‘Sport Asian’. The concept of Street Sport was developed from the ‘participation’ level intervention described by the Sports Councils document ‘A Policy for Young People and Sport’(1989). This emphasis on sport not only provided an effective hook for young people, but also a funding opportunity with the West Midlands Sports Council.

The concept of Street Sport was defined as:

“Intended to provide an insight into the effectiveness of recreation outreach work on young people in terms of deflecting negative behaviour into constructive activity.
A pilot project directed towards exploring ways of using play as a gateway to introducing sport to infants and juniors so that they may develop an appetite for it through their lives.
A project directed towards exploring methods of using recreational activities with young people as an approach to promoting harmony in communities.
Intended to offer a valuable indication as to how we can have a significant effect on improving relationships between communities and adolescents in our further recreational strategies”

(Leisure and Recreation Committee, 14.2.95).
CHAPTER 5 THE RATIONALE FOR AND PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS

There were also clear guidelines to what should be expected of Street Sport:

"Street Sport is not...
A mass participation in sport scheme
At this point in time a service available in all areas of the city.
A quick fire, immediate problem solving project.
Able to meet the total recreational needs of all young people in the City"

(Leisure and Recreation Committee, 14.2.95).

The Sports Council (West Midlands) provided a 50% contribution of £40,000 to the annual budget of £80,000 for the three years from 1993 to 1996. The final year funding was subject to a satisfactory review. This inspection awarded the final year of funding and reported that

"The scheme addresses issues on the subject of often repeated themes within political and professional aims; namely to help the disadvantaged through providing recreation opportunity to improve the quality of their life, and thereby reduce the risk of their involvement in anti-social behaviour"

(M Carey, Senior Regional Officer, March 1995).

By this time Street Sport had received an important endorsement by its inclusion in the 1994 report ‘Sport and Recreation - Towards the Millennium: a strategy for leisure provision in Stoke on Trent’. In reviewing this newly launched partnership between Community Services and the Sports Council West Midlands, the report described the rationale for Street Sport as:

"The approach recognises that the greatest chance of achieving success in the development of sporting activity with young people comes from being part of what they do. The activities have to fit in with what already exists using street venues and meeting places"

(Stoke on Trent City Council, 1994).

More importantly for the project, the report gave the following assurances in the recommended policy statement, that

"the City Council recognises that the current Street Sport programme is designed to lay the foundations for a city wide initiative and that it will seek to make funding available for the continuation and expansion of the Street Sport Initiative when the Sports Council funding ceases"

(Recommended Policy Statement 33, 1994, p.25).

When the West Midlands Sports Council’s funding ran out, the Director of Leisure and Recreation proposed (Committee Report 23/3/95) that the City Council should fund the project to the financial year ending March 1997. This was supported by the policy statement but also by a more general commitment that
"It is clear that investment in sport and recreation for young people makes financial sense whether measured in physical or social terms."

(Stoke on Trent, 1994, p.24).

This interim funding was approved, and a second proposal, submitted to the Leisure and Recreation Committee in 1997, recommended the permanent establishment of the Street Sport staff posts and its expansion to other areas in the city. On the basis of the report regarding the impact of Street Sport, and linked to the recommended policy statement, it was said that:

"The City Council believes that investment in sport and recreation activities for young people will produce a reduction in damage to property, reduced crime and reported incidents of nuisance and so makes social and economic sense."

(Stoke on Trent City Council, 1994, p.24).

The recommendations for Street Sport were agreed in August 1997. The establishment of ongoing City Council funding resulted in more focused objectives, since the project was no longer a research or demonstration initiative. Internal documentation illustrates this change in 1997 when the concept of Street Sport was defined as:

"To provide opportunities for alienated young people to develop lasting links with their neighbourhood through recreational activities in locations and environments in which they feel comfortable."

(Internal Document 'Street Sport', 1997).

Although Street Sport did not provide a regular head count for sessions, diary entries and observations suggested that average attendance was 12 participants. There were 7 sessions a week, weather permitting. This would imply an average of 84 young people a week involved in Street Sport, and total annual attendance of 4200 based on operating 50 weeks per year.

The sessions were operated on a drop in basis. No formal records were maintained and young people could attend as regularly as they wished. There was no ‘exit route’ from the scheme and young people could remain with Street Sport for a number years as described by Ian Wright the full time outreach worker:

"Young people can join the sessional and leave the session whenever they wish, although most come on time and play for the full time. There is no upper age limit or cut off point so long as they are not detracting from the effectiveness of the session for other players."

(Ian Wright, Outreach Worker, interview February 1999)
CHAPTER 5 THE RATIONALE FOR AND PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS

The sessions had some basic codes of conduct which were upheld by the outreach workers. These were described by Ian Wright as

"No drink, drugs, racist or sexist remarks, ... in terms of language we try to lead by example confronting potential offensive language or behaviour".

Street Sport was not actively marketed, it did not aim to bring more young people out on the street. It aimed to contact, and provide for the recreational needs of, young people already on the streets. In this way it directly addressed a significant cause of community friction in young people hanging about. Such young people are often seen as the cause of friction and crime but they are also vulnerable to becoming victims of crime. Street Sport sessions were provided in locations around the city from Monday to Friday evenings all year round and additional day time sessions throughout the school holidays.

As an outreach initiative Street Sport used mobile sports equipment, such as temporary football goals, to facilitate these sessions on any agreed site. The evening sessions were supported through the use of a converted transit van equipped with gas powered telescopic spot lights as shown in Figure 5.1. The Community Services Department was also responsible for parks and playgrounds. This led to the concept of Sports Courts, multi purpose hard courts developed from the concept of 'Kick About Areas' reported in the Sports Council research working paper 20 (Boothby et al, 1981). The Stoke on Trent sports court design included a hard court area marked out for various sports including football and basketball, fixed goals, basketball posts and timed lighting for evening use. The courts also include a seating area for young people. They were funded by community bids for lottery grants and SRB funds and were used by the Street Sport sessions once developed, thus freeing the transit van to support new sessions. The sports court at Abbey Hulton, and a the hard court at Bentilee are shown in Figure 5.2.
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Figure 5.1 Adapted Transit Van Provided Lighting for Street Sport Sessions

Figure 5.2 Sports Courts: Abbey Hulton and Bentilee
5.2.2 Secondary interventions

FARBRIDGE - MEDWAY TEAM

The project was visited in March 1996. Fairbridge is a national charity specialising in working with young people at risk from urban locations throughout Britain. It used adventure and recreation as a forum for developing of personal and social skills. Although the work was structured in short courses, Fairbridge provides ongoing support for young people through drop in activity, counselling and follow on courses. The organisation claimed, from their own follow up, that six out of ten young people make constructive use of their time, either through training, employment or other work, upon completing a course. The organisation targeted young people at risk, and therefore worked at both secondary and tertiary levels of intervention. The Medway team had a well established relationship with Kent Probation Service, although all contact with participants was made directly, to offer a more personal approach and encourage young people to take control of their lives.

Fairbridge's Medway centre is situated in Chatham, Kent; serving a large catchment area, with young people often travelling some distance to attend courses. This may present some problems in terms of 'drop in' follow up work. The centre was situated in the Historic Dockyard and was adjacent to the River Medway. There were administrative, social and activity rooms at the centre, but many activities and courses were completed away from the base, for which minibus transport was used.

There were a number of instructors to run the courses, both male and female. In addition there was a manager and administration staff. Follow up was completed thoroughly by a dedicated staff member for approximately three months after completion of the basic course.

The Fairbridge programme operated through an induction day when young people were offered an opportunity to view the opportunities and to decide whether they wished to commit to the basic course. Participants on the basic 8 day course were asked to contribute to the cost, usually £15. Personal commitment was central to the Fairbridge philosophy, courses must be undertaken on a voluntary basis. The basic course involved
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three days of local activity, offering an opportunity for team building and challenge. The course team then planned and executed a wilderness expedition, which gave young people the opportunity to develop social skills and improved control of their environment. On completion of the course certificates were awarded and follow up began.

This section will provide a general analysis of the concept and content of a Basic course at Fairbridge in Medway. In introductory literature, the activity structure was described as:

"Thursday : Introduction, tour and safety, ice breakers, swimming pool, initiative games, small abseil.  
Friday : Harrisons Rocks  
Saturday : Kit talk, pack, big abseil, menu planning, food sketch, initiative games  
Sunday : Big pack, final review, depart... arrive at expedition site  
Monday: Climb, orienteering, search and rescue, lateral thinkers  
Tuesday : Hill day, initial exercises big tidy- up gorge walk, final review  
Wednesday : Travel back Clean kit  
Thursday : De brief, presentation of certificates, introduction to DC"

(Fairbridge, Annex A).

Viewed in isolation this would appear to be a multi activity course and therefore the expected outcomes would be strongly linked to theories of diversion through offering challenges, release from boredom and removing the peer group. However Fairbridge offered these activities as more than simply diversion, its sub title describes the organisation as 'motivating and training young people at risk' (Fairbridge Logo / Letterhead). Further publicity information described its role as:

"We provide the encouragement needed to help young people gain the skills and confidence to become self directed, responsible for their actions and to make a positive contribution to their community"

(Fairbridge Brochure).

These claims were reinforced by the rationale behind the choice of activities, not simply challenging or exciting leisure pursuits, but exercises designed to provide personal development. The programme of activities was backed up in the initial part of the course by the following notes on development training needs:

The course content and delivery was assessed through the observation visit. The first three days of the course were seen by the staff as critical in developing the skills required for a successful expedition, activities during this time were introduced to develop the participants in the following areas: sociability, trust, teamwork, empowerment, communications, expectations, stress, and responsibility. The participants were given increasing levels of responsibility throughout the course but in carefully controlled doses to increase their confidence rather than their stress and with staff back up. Most importantly, attendance on the course itself was a demonstration that they were taking responsibility for themselves, turning up on time, in the right place with the right equipment. For many this may have been the biggest test of all.

The follow up attempted to offer an action plan for further development. The follow up instructor could provide education and careers support. In addition, Fairbridge offers the opportunity to follow up any chosen activities, including more adventure expeditions. Contact ends when the participant no longer wishes to maintain contact. Fairbridge set it’s aim as ‘Motivating and training young people at risk’ (Mission Statement, 1996).

This broad aim was translated into three phases of objectives: induction, basic course, follow up. Despite this clear structure and detailed participant tracking, there was an apparent lack of measurable objectives which were linked to the intervention’s likely impacts. Evidence was in the form of through-put data and anecdotal case studies.

**OXFORD PROBATION SERVICE: TRAX (MOTOR SPORTS)**

The project was visited in March 1995. It evolved in 1992 in response to concern among the general public, police and local business about growing problems of youth disorder and joy riding in some areas of Oxford, particularly the Blackbird Leys Estate. Two
factors indicated the extent of the problem in 1992, firstly, the Thames Valley had a higher rate of car crime than London and secondly, in 1991 cars were stolen in the area valued at £6.4million.

Original support for the project came from Fox FM (a local radio station), Unipart, Rover, Oxfordshire Police and the county Probation Service. The project mixed voluntary secondary level attendance and compulsory tertiary attendance. Attendance in 1995 at tertiary level included 30 compulsory and 45 voluntary participants. Budgetary information was unavailable.

Trax was set up as a company with charitable status with senior motor company executives on its board. There were 3/4 staff including a workshop manager, a project manager, one female staff member and another support person. The project was funded through sponsorship from 14 local businesses and also received support from a number of public sector organisations including Health of the Nation, Heart of England Enterprise Council, The Home Office, Oxfordshire Probation Service, Oxford City Council, The Princes Trust, Social Services, Youth Service and The Road Safety Group of Oxfordshire County Council, and Thames Valley Police.

There were a number of projects within the Trax initiative:

- **Community Teams**: Attendance was voluntary with young people arriving through self referral, youth service and social workers. The project aimed mainly at secondary prevention for residents of Oxford City. Two teams could each take 16 young people for under 17 and over 17 age groups. There were 3 girls in the under 17 team. The sessions ran in the evening and consisted of working on cars to prepare for banger racing events. Having worked on the cars, young people could compete in events. There were 2 sessions of 5 hours a week and attendance which usually continued for about 6 months. There were no records to demonstrate drop outs from this voluntary project.

- **Probation Group**: Courses ran for young people convicted of car related offences throughout Oxfordshire. Attendance was for 8 weeks, three times a week for three hours, normally afternoons or evenings. There were three components: offending behaviour sessions, workshop sessions preparing the cars, and opportunity sessions considering employment, leisure, health and the individual. The sentence did not include actually driving cars, but once it was completed young people were able to join the community teams. Evaluation
had been conducted on reconviction rates, showing a high rate of 37% after 6 months. Oxford Probation Service was about to commence an extensive reconviction follow up. Police records also showed a reduction in car crime since the project started.

- **DIAL - driver re education programme:** This was designed for probation clients with driving related offences but with a provisional licence. The programme sought to instil driving skills and responsible attitudes to road using over 6 weeks.

When the visit was conducted Trax had recently relocated to a new site in central Oxford within five minutes walk of the railway station. The site provided room for car storage and car transporter parking outside. Inside there was a large parking area plus 4 fully equipped workshop bays. In a separate building there were offices, a group room and a large activity room. Trax provided all of the safety equipment for racing.

The stated aim of Trax was to provide

"a car orientated Youth Club which channels the energies of young people on its programmes into legitimate pursuits which are fun"

(Trax Brochure, 1995).

The literature stressed that

"motor vehicles are our means not our objectives"

(Trax, 1995).

The objectives, although not clearly identified, were related to personal development. Community teams provided intervention at secondary level; it appeared that the main area of work was diversion through offering legitimate access to motor cars. However, since young people were required to work for considerable time on the cars, the environment may also be seen to act as an educational framework, ensuring a more mature and experienced attitude to motor safety. The Probation Group scheme should be seen within the sphere of atonement, an educational process for which motor cars provided a focus for therapeutic activity. In addition, by using a car related focus and the potential for continued participation, the scheme offered some scope for diversion by offering an alternative to car crime.
5.2.3 Tertiary Level Interventions with Young Offenders

**SQUIRE LUCAS DAY CENTRE LEICESTER - LEICESTERSHIRE PROBATION SERVICE**

The centre was situated on a small industrial estate on the northern segment of Leicester city's inner ring road. The centre was fairly difficult to find as there was no clear signpost to indicate the entrance. In terms of accessibility for clients, the centre was approximately one mile from the railway station and bus station.

The project was visited in April 1995. The Squire Lucas Day Centre was the county base for activity centred probation work with offenders. It was mainly a compulsory attendance scheme which operated fixed length courses continuously. The duration was dependant on the court orders, but ranged from 20 to 60 days. The cost of provision was £70 for the leisure aspects each week. There were over 250 referrals a year, from which 150 young people started the programme. Squire Lucas provided specialist staff to work in both group therapy and activity sessions.

At the time of the visit plans were being prepared to alter the programme, which appeared to lack any specific rationale. In its literature the centre claimed to provide

"specialist staff with particular skills in group work and activity based probation practice"

(Squire Lucas Information Pack, 1994).

During the visit there were two probation officers, one male and one female, but there were plans to increase this number to three. The activities were mainly run by volunteers, who seemed unaware of the philosophy of provision.

The centre's literature suggested that a varied activity programme was provided, but the visit revealed that activities were dictated not only by funding constraints but also the interests of current volunteers. At that time clients were encouraged to participate in various indoor games, photography and weight training. The county's outdoor centre at Glen Parva was used occasionally for outdoor pursuits and some links were established with the Youth Action Motorsports project. Little contact existed with City Council leisure services. Using Duke of Edinburgh was considered too difficult for the clients,
and although the Community Sports Leaders Award had been used in the past, funding was difficult.

During the visit the new programme was discussed which would considerably improve what seemed a poorly structured project. It proposed to include: outdoor pursuits; sport; creative arts; educational visits; community, culture and environment; music and drama workshop; computing and indoor pursuits. This new range seemed to be an unmanageable selection, which might prove impossible for staff.

Generally the Scheme was poorly managed, and lacked clear planning or rationale, so it was difficult to identify the links to theory and outcomes. The way the activities were used suggested they were simply intended to fill time as diversion from crime and were not particularly challenging. However, if the activities were more closely linked to group sessions they might become part of a programme of treatment. The outdoor pursuits were only offered occasionally and although they provided short term excitement there was little opportunity to follow them up after the experience. The motorsports projects appeared to be the most well-structured and may have provided therapy for motor offenders.

The aim of the day centre programme was identified as

"to provide an intensive and structured community-based approach to tackling the particular needs and risks presented by serious and persistent offenders"

(Squire Lucas Internal Literature, 1995).

This was developed into four objectives:

"To challenge problematic behaviour and enable new behaviours to be learnt and practised in a demanding but supportive setting.
To enable offenders to acquire the necessary personal and social skills to increase their opportunities for survival in the community without further offending.
To raise the self-esteem and positive psychological health of programme members to levels which enable them to develop and maintain commitments to change.
To introduce offenders to legitimate and socially constructive ways of spending unoccupied time"

(Squire Lucas Internal Document, 1995).
The final objective for the programme was of key interest to the research. Although the documentation identified clear headings for work towards this objective including use of leisure time, leisure facilities and loneliness, there were no attempts to set measurable objectives in these areas. According to Mr Bellingham, Project Manager, no evaluation had been carried out.

**SPORTS COUNSELLING: HAMPSHIRE PROBATION SERVICE**

The project was the brainchild of a committed local businessman and magistrate in the Solent area. He was convinced that many of the young people referred to him through the courts needed support for constructive leisure and an opportunity to burn up energy through physical activity. With the support of a Methodist minister in Portsmouth, he set up the Solent Sports Counselling Project in 1983. This project could be seen as political protest against the growing lobby for harsher penalties for young offenders, and reflected the political ideology of the founders. It gained the support of the Manpower Services Commission, which funded one staff post.

The Scheme operated from a judo hall in Southampton, where young people could drop-in or attend activity sessions such as uni-hoc and archery. During 1983 the project's aim was

"to secure longer term funding and raise the project's profile"

(Tungatt, 1999).

Through monitoring attendance, participant observation, attitude surveys and some assessment from the Probation Service, the project achieved this objective in 1985 when it was awarded the status of a Sports Council National Demonstration Project for three years. This allowed the creation of a Steering Group and expansion to include two teams of MSC-funded workers in Southampton and Portsmouth. Through the Steering Group a more formal relationship with the Probation Service was created, and the work expanded to include outreach work and leisure facility visits.

Therefore by 1985 the objective of the scheme had changed to

"justify the new approach and develop longer term impact measures to influence the probation service"

(Tungatt, 1999).
With the support of the Sports Council Southern Region and the Steering Group, the project team worked with the Police Crime Prevention Unit to measure the Scheme's impact on a sample of participants.

By 1987 longer term funding, a three year grant, allowed the appointment of full time staff. It had succeeded in creating formal probation involvement with the introduction of client referrals. The evaluation was more clearly defined by an action research project operated by the Sports Council, involving a longitudinal study of individual participants. This resulted in a detailed final evaluation report in 1991, whose findings concluded that

"We believe the Solent Sports Counselling project has done the groundwork for the Probation Service to play a significant role in sports development, particularly amongst young unemployed people, and for sport to play a major role in the mainstream work of the Probation Service"  
(Tungatt, 1991, p.87).

By 1989 the project was well established, with a clear referral system and set of objectives for participants. Having secured ongoing Probation Service funding the project was 'mainstreamed' into service delivery. It now promoted its work as an example of good practice, particularly through a national conference. The process of development had successfully evolved one man's belief in social justice and the power of sport, into a nationally renowned mainstream probation intervention. This path had not been easy, and the project was frequently a victim of its own success, as shown by the comments of two key funders:

"If it's so successful why don't the Home Office do it- why do we need to be involved?"  
(Sports Council Regional Director, cited in Tungatt, 1999).

From the Sports Council's National Director, part way through the three year evaluation

"we shouldn't be leading this - let's recommend that the Probation Service takes it on board now"  
(Cited in Tungatt, 1999).

By 1990 the wishes of the Director were achieved, and Hampshire's Probation Service took over responsibility for the project and its staff. For the first four years the Scheme remained virtually intact. However, by April 1992, the management had bowed to budget cuts, calls for higher productivity and concerns about clients dependence on sports counsellors, and the number of sessions was reduced from twelve to eight.
When contact was first established in 1994 the Manager, Keith Waldman, identified the broad aims of the scheme as follows:

"The Sports Counselling Scheme aims to encourage and enable offenders aged 14 and upwards to make constructive use of their leisure time: in particular to participate in sporting and leisure activities with the emphasis on developing links with other participants within the local community"
(K Waldman, Base Camp Conference Ambleside, 1994, p.109).

From 1995 to 1998 the Probation Service gradually reduced the funding allocated to the Sports Counselling scheme, in 1995 the number of sessions were further reduced to four and the building in Southampton was lost. The administration of the Scheme was moved initially to probation head office in Winchester, and in early 1997, moved again to probation offices in Southampton. This could be seen as further integration and mainstreaming of the sports counselling. However by late 1997 the Probation Service was facing more severe funding cuts which threatened redundancy for probation officers. In this climate it was decided to incorporate the objective of constructive leisure into a streamlined youth referral process. In an interview with the Manager in February 1998, he explained these changes as follows:

"it is sad to see such a successful and well known scheme disappear, but the financial climate which is creating redundancy in the probation service, combined with the new political climate for young unemployed people, created by the New Deal meant that a complete rethink was needed. There is still potential for leisure counselling within the community links referral and there is less chance of young people missing out since this is an automatic process”

By February 1998 the sport counsellors had been retrained in basic literacy counselling and in March 1998 the Sports Counselling Scheme was effectively stopped, merging any attention to leisure patterns with a compulsory Community Links Assessment process as shown in Appendix 10. The new scheme consisted of three sessions with the Community Links officers. In session one there was a health assessment and the City Council’s leisure pass scheme were explained and issued. If further support was required then the volunteer system was used to provide a leisure mentor. Attendance is shown in Table 5.3.
Table 5.3 Attendance Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Referral</strong></td>
<td>380</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Started</strong></td>
<td>380</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Completed 4+</strong></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Completed 8+</strong></td>
<td>153</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5.2.4 Rationale and claimed outcomes in the six schemes

This section presents the findings from applying the theoretical frame work to the six case studies. The results of the analysis of the relationship between causal factors for delinquency and the interventions are presented in the chart Table 5.4, which shows three common links to the causes of delinquency. All of the sample had the potential to address peer pressure as a cause of delinquency. There were three key methods: firstly the intervention could target the whole group (only feasible at primary level), or secondly a new peer group could be established, which was usually linked to the third option of removing the current peer group for a short period.

All of the schemes addressed boredom as a cause of delinquency, active leisure offered young people something to do in their free time and thus could reduce boredom. All of the schemes also addressed the lack of parental control, evident in the lives of many at risk young people. The interventions offered interested adults to contribute as role models or mentors to the participants’ lives. A framework was created for each scheme. These were used to demonstrate the potential outcomes from participation. In these diagrams the level and philosophy of provision were added to the results of the causal analysis (Table 5.4).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHEME/CAUSE</th>
<th>POVERTY</th>
<th>SETTING</th>
<th>PARENTS</th>
<th>PEER GROUP</th>
<th>BOREDOM</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>EXCITEMENT</th>
<th>LABELLING</th>
<th>REBELLION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OXSPORT</td>
<td>free / low cost ongoing activities</td>
<td>local provision</td>
<td>leaders mentoring</td>
<td>group sessions</td>
<td>accessible activities</td>
<td>no 'buzz' but enjoyable activities</td>
<td>not hanging around</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STREET SPORT</td>
<td>free / low cost ongoing activities</td>
<td>local sessions &amp; sports courts</td>
<td>community development</td>
<td>group sessions</td>
<td>activities to target hanging around</td>
<td>involvement in community consultations</td>
<td>no 'buzz' but emphasis on fun</td>
<td>not hanging around</td>
<td>inclusion in community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAIRBRIDGE</td>
<td></td>
<td>new setting</td>
<td>self discipline &amp; role models</td>
<td>new peers</td>
<td>follow up support and courses</td>
<td>empowerment</td>
<td>adventure experiences involve 'buzz'</td>
<td>course breaks down pre-conceptions</td>
<td>empowered to operate within the social system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAX</td>
<td>low cost continued provision</td>
<td>mentors</td>
<td>new peers</td>
<td>continued opportunities</td>
<td>team work and competition</td>
<td>legitimate driving in banger racing</td>
<td></td>
<td>diverts rebellion into responsible uses of cars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQUIRE LUCAS</td>
<td></td>
<td>therapy &amp; life skills</td>
<td>peer group removed</td>
<td>new activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPORTS COUNSELLING</td>
<td>low cost activity profile</td>
<td>improved knowledge of local provision</td>
<td>mentors</td>
<td>integration into new groups</td>
<td>new activities</td>
<td>client centred completion targets</td>
<td>some adventure activities but also recreation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 The relationship between interventions and the causes of delinquency
These diagrams and the potential outcomes identified are shown below.

Figure 5.3 The Theoretical Framework for Ox Sport.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY</th>
<th>ACTIVE LEISURE LEVEL/INTERVENTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential setting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boredom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status seeking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excitement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Diversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The identified outcomes for Ox Sport were related to primary diversion. The scheme might change leisure patterns from hanging around to constructive activity, this in turn might alter community perception of young people. Secondly the scheme might alter attitudes and behaviour through mentoring, improved self concept and communication skills.
Street Sport sessions had several outcomes for both young people and for their communities. Firstly Street Sport and the provision of Sports Courts diverted young people from street corners into positive activity. This process removed young people from peer pressure and other delinquent influence. It offered them a new perspective on opportunities and provided fun and entertainment. For communities, this process reduced the perceived threat posed by young people and reduced community friction. The sessions offered outcomes in terms of education and skills development through an alternative mentor or interested adult. The specific outcomes for young people from this process might be improved confidence, awareness and communication skills. The position of this intervention within community development also gave young people the opportunity to change their view of communities and increase citizenship.
The identified outcomes for Fairbridge were increased self esteem, self confidence, self discipline and communication skills. These might counter lack of parental control, status seeking and peer pressure. The process of skill development might enable young people to exert greater control on their life style and to realise that alternatives to delinquency exist and are accessible for them.
This motor sport intervention may result in the following outcomes for participants. Firstly the education process of controlled access to cars should alter attitudes to enjoying motor vehicles safely. The influence of interested leaders might provide the adult control to alter behaviour and attitudes. Finally the structured process from restoration to competitions allowed young people a staged sense of achievement and status.

The outcomes for the active leisure element of this day centre intervention were the hardest to define of all the schemes. The activities were used to fill time and break up the therapy sessions.
The sports counselling process aimed to alter leisure behaviour. This was achieved through several benefits:

- Improved self confidence
- Greater knowledge of leisure opportunity
- Improved awareness of health and life style choices.

These were achieved through the mentoring process of sports counselling and the support of individually designed programmes.

There were a great number of projects around the country aiming to use recreation as an intervention with young people at risk of offending. The range of activities and duration varied considerably, but a common theme could be detected throughout - a lack of clear rationale and lack of attempts at evaluation. By considering a selection of case studies in greater depth it was possible to use the matrix system developed in Chapter 3 to analyse their rationale. This appears to work for the six very varied case studies. From this work it should now be possible to evaluate the medium term performance of two projects through qualitative methods. The projects selected for a medium term detailed evaluation were Hampshire Probation Service Sports Counselling, a well structured, mature tertiary
scheme "with an emphasis on constructive leisure but drawing on many different recreation interventions, and Stoke on Trent’s Street Sport, a mature and possibly unique example of primary intervention.

5.3 Stage 3 Claimed Outcomes, Project Monitoring and Existing Evidence at the Main Case Studies

The ability to produce evidence to support claims of success was crucial to each project. Initially in Stage 3 the evaluation and monitoring processes were observed, discussed with managers and sports leaders, and studied through documented reports. The results of this analysis demonstrated clear differences between the documented measures of effectiveness and the potential outcomes identified in 5.2.4. Together the case studies illustrated different approaches to internal evaluation, but they both demonstrate an over reliance on snap shot personal case histories to demonstrate success. The Sports Counselling scheme also relied heavily on basic statistical information reflecting Home Office pressure for quantitative evidence on completion rates. The weakness of these statistics was that they gave little insight into the dynamics of the project.

The Sports Counselling scheme set the clearest objectives for evaluation on an individual basis for each participant. However, these were difficult to collate to provide information about trends and patterns.

In addition to this information, there was an assessment of the participants’ progress on the project which was completed by the sports counsellors and returned to the participants’ probation officers. The measures for this had been developed for the 12 week programme during the initial evaluation process, and were:

"i. To introduce the client into a sports / leisure club.
ii. To introduce the client to 4 new sporting / leisure activities
iii. to give the client advice re: health, sickness and diet.
iv. to introduce the client into appropriate agencies.
v. to provide a regular contact point.
vi. to change specific attitude in the client.
vii. to increase ability level in the client.
viii. to motivate the clients' interest.
ix. to show the client how to make use of local leisure facilities.
x. to increase confidence / motivation through sporting activity"
(Tungatt, 1991, p.31).
The provision of such detail was closely scrutinised during the research, since this currently represented the most obvious attempt by the projects to measure outcomes.

To measure the success of the Hampshire Sports Counselling Scheme for individual participants, the objectives were translated into some measurable outcomes. These were recorded on each individual referral form as shown in Appendix 12. Firstly, the probation officers were asked to select their desired outcomes from participation in the Sports Counselling Scheme for each of their clients. These could be selected from constructive use of leisure time, sense of achievement/improved self image, improved relationships with authority figures, to be of help to the community, increased knowledge of local facilities, increased knowledge of health issues, relaxation/excitement, meeting new people and getting fit. Secondly, the participants were asked at the initial interview what they wanted to gain from the Scheme. Although the check list for participant objectives was worded slightly differently to the probation officer’s objectives, there was a direct correlation between them, as shown in Table 5.5.

Finally, the sports counsellors recorded their assessment of participant outcomes on the referral for each individual using the same set of objectives. The sports counsellors generally saw outcomes in terms of constructive use of leisure time, improved self-esteem, and improved knowledge of local facilities, relaxation and getting fit. This reflects the most easily quantified outcomes listed. The sports counsellors found the other objectives difficult to quantify or measure. The existing outcomes or objectives were not clearly defined: for example how, without psychological testing, could counsellors assess improved self-esteem or relationships with authority figures? The results from analysing probation officer and clients initial objectives against outcomes is shown in Table 5.5. The sports counsellors assessments of the outcomes differed from counsellor to counsellor in 1996. After addressing this issue with the counsellors and manager, agreed criteria were introduced. This allowed success to the measured in a similar way for every site.
Table 5.5 Analysis of Objectives against Outcomes in Hampshire Sports Counselling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECTIVE/ OUTCOME</th>
<th>PROBATION OBJECTIVE %</th>
<th>PARTICIPANT OBJECTIVE %</th>
<th>POSITIVE OUTCOME %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF LEISURE TIME</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPROVE SELF IMAGE</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPROVE LONINESS/ DEPRESSION</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPROVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH AUTHORITY</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HELP COMMUNITY</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCREASE LOCAL KNOWLEDGE</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCREASE HEALTH AWARENESS</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELAXATION/ EXCITEMENT</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEET NEW PEOPLE</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GET FIT</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 shows that the most frequently achieved outcomes, according to the sports counsellors assessment, were constructive use of leisure time and increased knowledge of facilities. Qualitative research with participants in Chapter 6 will demonstrate to what extent this is validated by the participants’ perceptions.

The Street Sport project had less formalised evaluation criteria and, although it produced persuasive quarterly reports, could demonstrate little consistency in its evaluation process. The play schemes produced detailed statistical evidence after each holiday. Similar statistics were produced for the daytime, holiday Street Sport sessions. This information mainly concentrated on the numbers and demographics of attendees. The evening sessions were recorded in a diary retrospectively by the full time staff. There was no format for the diary entries, and therefore the information varied in quality.

When asked about measuring the success of a session, staff gave similar feedback including:
- Regular attendance
- Sessions are fun
- New faces join
- No friction occurs.

The attendance profile was recorded as a basic measure of success in the diary system, although numbers alone could not measure the impacts of the service. The positive outcomes identified by the staff for young people and the community may be more significant for evaluation such as personal development, leisure patterns, pride in their
community and self-confidence.

In both case studies the evidence provided was related to participant outcomes. The Sports Counselling had produced recidivism data during the Sports Council’s evaluation. This was summarised as follows:

"Almost half the clients have maintained a trouble free record since being involved with the project and a further half dozen clients appear to have reduced their previous rates of offending."

(Tungatt, 1991, p. 61).

The evaluation also produced a detailed analysis of the intervention’s potential to directly impact offending behaviour; from this it was decided that three weeks was

"the minimum period in which any impact might reasonably have resulted."

(Tungatt, 1999, p. 59).

Therefore any attempts to relate subsequent offending patterns to the scheme when it was reduced to only four sessions would only be seen as tenuously linked to the intervention.

Street Sport produced occasional anecdotal evidence related to a general reduction in juvenile crime rates in the targeted areas. These claims were explored with police and community members. Generally the police valued any diversion, which reduced

"Calls related to disturbance and vandalism."

(Sergeant Taylor, Burslem LPU, September 1999).

However the police could not find direct links between the provision and more serious crimes such as burglary, assault and car crime. Therefore crime related statistics which can withstand scrutiny are problematic for projects at all levels of intervention, and it may be more appropriate for interventions to monitor personal impacts to demonstrate their effectiveness.

5.4 Conclusions: Rationales and Claimed Outcomes

The results presented in this chapter have given a unique review of the levels and styles of provision of active leisure interventions in the mid 1990s. From this it was possible to identify key factors: providers, activities, attendance, clients, duration and outcomes, that differentiate the projects. From these factors it was also possible to identify general
issues, common throughout provision, such as a lack of evaluation. Stage 2 examined six case studies in more detailed, which allowed these key aspects to be covered in more detail. This process led to an analysis of potential outcomes using the framework diagram created in Figure 3.3.

The two main Stage 3 case studies were selected to represent large, well established interventions at pre and post offending levels using the criteria described in Chapter 4. Research in Stage 3 began with an investigation of their actual and claimed outcomes, through interviews, observation and documentary analysis. As demonstrated in section 5.3 the Schemes demonstrated many anomalies between potential outcomes, claimed outcomes and evidence of outcomes. From this confusion of claims and evidence Chapter 6 will review the actual outcomes for participants, comparing the impacts of pre and post offending interventions. These results include an assessment by participants of the aspects of the Schemes that they consider important in achieving positive outcomes. Chapter 7 will then unravel the structures and styles of provision and management evolved to enable and encourage these outcomes.

References:
Fairbridge (various) Publicity Documentation and prospectus
Leicestershire Probation Service (1994) Squire Lucas Centre prospectus, Leicester
Stoke on Trent City Council (1994) Sport and Recreation -Towards the Millennium - A Strategy for Leisure Provision, Stoke on Trent
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

6.1 Introduction

The review of provision in Stages 1 & 2 (Chapter 5) led to the selection of two major case studies. They demonstrated the potential impacts of two levels of intervention, by linking the causes of delinquency to philosophies of intervention, and addressed the research questions identified in Chapter 4. Both case studies aimed to achieve sustained diversion by creating constructive leisure opportunities that addressed in particular boredom, search for excitement, and peer pressure as causes of delinquency. The interventions were also related to the causation theories of the influences of social setting and lack of parental support, and also addressed that of peer pressure.

This chapter will review the profiles, histories and attitudes of young people in each both case study samples. The extensive interviews with at risk young people in Stoke on Trent and the life history profiling with young offenders attending the Sports Counselling scheme will address the research question about the leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending. Then the impact of the schemes on the causes of delinquency identified in Figure 3.3 will be assessed. These results will be linked to the overall objectives of intervention; diversion and education. Finally the perception of young people about the effectiveness of key aspects of the interventions, such as activity profile, staff and methods of delivery, will be presented. To conclude, a review of the key features of the Schemes, as identified by young people, will introduce the discussion in Chapter 7 on the important features of managing effective provision for young people.
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

6.2 The Young People

In both case studies significant importance was placed on the voluntary nature of attendance. This was explained in both cases to be linked with the intrinsic nature of leisure and freedom of choice. Therefore in both studies the participants attended through self selection and so were more interested in active leisure than young people at risk of offending may generally be. This self selection may therefore give a more positive view of the potential for active leisure as an effective intervention in juvenile delinquency than if the projects were applied to all young people at risk of offending.

It was also noted that self selection resulted in marked gender bias; both schemes, although not exclusively so, were male dominated. Statistics presented in Chapter 1 indicated that young males were at greater risk of offending than young women, but the trend also demonstrated a growing level of delinquency among girls. The evidence provided by the case studies gives little indication regarding the potential for active leisure based interventions with young women, since very few completed the schemes or research process. Feedback was recorded from females regarding each scheme and is presented in this chapter. To attract more girls the perception of activity provision was seen to be critical, the presence of female workers was less important.

6.2.1 Street Sport profiles

In Chapter 2 at risk factors were defined in terms of personal, social and environmental factors (Huskins at NAOE conference 1994 and Witt & Crompton, 1996). The young people living in each of these case study areas demonstrated a number of these features. All the areas had high levels of unemployment, associated poverty and poor housing. On the Bentilee estate a detached youth worker suggested that key issues for young people were drugs, unemployment and a lack of leisure opportunity.

Bentilee was the largest council housing estate in Europe when it was built in the post war years. It is still a large and sprawling development of mainly terraced and semi-detached houses. The estate consists of a number of 'villages' and recent initiatives have centred on this theme to encourage a stronger sense of community spirit. The
area suffers from particularly high levels of unemployment and most of the young people contacted had experienced short or long term unemployment, either personally or in their families. The estate also had a large proportion of young single parents. This may be a contributory factor in explaining the lack of young women at the sessions. If many of them had children, their leisure opportunities were significantly reduced. During one observed session two young women both with children under five watched as their partners played. Although they expressed no desire to take part in this male-dominated session, they also suggested that free time for leisure was almost non-existent due to a lack of childcare facilities. If Street Sport was to target young women, then it would need to consider both the need for accessible creche provision and perceptually acceptable activities such as netball. In recent years housing associations, which now dominate the estate, have invested to improve the quality of housing and address the problems of drugs and burglary, which had become so prevalent that some areas were considered 'no go' for most families.

There were a number of play schemes and youth clubs which addressed the needs of the younger children, but as they grew out of these activities, there was no acceptable alternative. Hendry (1993) showed that for his sample of young people the transition from structured leisure activity at 13 or 14 presented similar problems:

"This seems like the classic no win situation. A number of respondents claim that the rules at leisure clubs, youth clubs and sports clubs were too strict. On the other hand lack of supervision was clearly not appreciated"

(Hendry, 1993, p56).

This resulted in young people hanging around areas such as the shops, causing a disturbance for other residents. This situation was reiterated by Phil Hanson at the Youth Action Project in the local High School:

"young people in this area suffered from the effects of poor housing, low parental support, poor leisure opportunity, drugs and unemployment", which, led to 'a culture of low aspirations and poor expectations"

(Interview, P. Hanson, May 1999).

There was a similar situation in Cobridge, which was further strengthened by negative media coverage of young people:
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

"young criminals are making life a misery for families on the Grange estate in Cobridge"

(The Sentinel, September 7th 1999).

The situation was further complicated by the multi-cultural nature of the community in Cobridge. The young people from ethnic minorities were seen to be breaking away from the strict family control that had been especially associated with these communities and were now:

"Involved in petty crime and the drug dealing, as well as some cross cultural conflict"

(Phil Eagles, Interview Cobridge Community Centre, May 1999).

In Stanfields young people faced high unemployment and low economic prosperity, there was also the poorest level of facility provision in the three areas. Stanfields was the only area to receive 2 sessions each week, this being achieved through external funding. Stanfields was a small low-rise council housing estate to the north of Burslem; it was on the edge of its ward, which had problems of urban deprivation, crime and unemployment extenuated by a lack of local government funding. The 1991 census provided the most up to date population data for this area. Unemployment in the area was 10.9% with lone parent families accounting for 3.9% of the total population. There was a significant population of young people; those under 30 years accounted for 59% of all the residents, thus Stanfields had large proportion of young people and low economic prosperity. Observation of the area revealed pockets of run down housing and few leisure resources for adolescents. There was a large area of open space next to Port Vale Football Club, which Street Sport used during the summer months. The High School provided a number of community activities outside school hours but had little to offer in terms of a drop in environment for the adolescent population. The school allowed Street Sport to use a red - gras pitch for the winter session, which had the advantage of basketball posts and a hard surface suitable for roller blades.

To give an overview of the young people contacted during the study, the profiles of participants and spectators at Street Sport sessions in Bentilee, Cobridge and Stanfields and non participants will be presented here (a total of 27 young people). The interviews with young people at Youth Action, Willfield C.E.C and casual sports
court users are not included as the data collected could not be matched under the same main headings of gender, age, leisure time, and community concerns. There were 19 males and eight females. It was important to consider their type of involvement with Street Sport: 14 were participants, four spectators and seven were non participants involved in the NACRO Moves project. Although not linked with Street Sport, the Moves project provided educational support for excluded Year Seven school children and as such gave the opportunity of contacting a group of at risk non participants in Bentilee. The participant feedback was taken during the two hour session, and the number of in depth interviews during one session was limited to about three, which contributed to the relatively small sample.

Table 6.1 Ages of the Street Sport Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Non Participant</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNDER 14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Street Sport session specifically targets the 14 to 18 age group; the ages of participants (Table 6.1) suggests that older participants maintain contact, but a balance of younger people are involved.

Since the project aimed to address community development, young people were asked about their communities. Their concerns are shown in Table 6.2, and unsurprisingly drugs were the most commonly identified concern.

Table 6.2 Young people's concerns about their community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bentilee</th>
<th>Cobridge</th>
<th>Stanfields</th>
<th>Non Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Safety</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of employment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of local venues</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

188
Young people were also asked in the interviews about their experiences of crime. Only five Street Sport and seven non participants gave full answers. Of these, four reported being stopped or cautioned by the police, two being victims of crime and five being involved in minor offences such as vandalism. One participant admitted significant involvement in drug related offences. It is believed that these reported levels of involvement in crime were lower than the true level, since people underestimate sensitive issues (Foddy, 1993). Seven of the young people interviewed felt that that boredom caused youth crime and that leisure provision would help to prevent them offending; the Audit Commission sample (1995) gave a similar response.

**Table 6.3 Attendance Patterns of Street Sport Participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Involvement</th>
<th>Frequency of Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First session</td>
<td>2 Every session</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 Weeks</td>
<td>1 Most sessions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-11 Weeks</td>
<td>3 One or more per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-6 Months</td>
<td>0 Occasional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-12 Months</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1 year</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attendance profile for Street Sport sessions (Table 6.3) showed that over half young people attended regularly over a long period. Early drop out from this Scheme was difficult to measure since attendance was not formally recorded. Therefore qualitative assessments by participants and sport leaders and session observations were used to assess the patterns of participation.

### 6.2.2 Sports Counselling Profiles

The Sports Counselling participants were monitored in two distinct phases. The first, a large sample was analysed during 1996 to gain quantitative evidence about the clientele for the Scheme. The second smaller group were followed for 18 months from 1997 through to May 1998 using qualitative methods. The detailed life history profiles and follow up records are shown in Appendix 11. The age of participants at Sports Counselling was, as to be expected among offenders on probation, generally older than for Street Sport, the majority being over 21 years (Table 6.4).
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

Table 6.4 Age on start date of Sports Counselling programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Phase 1</th>
<th>Phase 2</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 and over</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Phase One of the research process, it was possible to track the age on referral against attendance on the scheme for 129 participants, whose date of birth was recorded (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Age and Attendance at Sports Counselling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Completed 4 sessions</th>
<th>Left before 4 sessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 and under</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
<td>32 (91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 and over</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>27 (29%)</td>
<td>67 (71%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, younger participants were more likely to leave before completing four sessions. The number of sessions attended is shown in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 The number of Sports Counselling sessions completed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of sessions</th>
<th>Phase 1</th>
<th>Phase 2</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 or more</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early drop out from the Scheme was a concern; despite self selection, Table 6.6 shows that drop out from the scheme before four sessions was 70%. Since of those who started the Scheme (one or more sessions) 55% completed four sessions or more, drop out was particularly high due to either no contact established at all after the initial referral or self selection operated after full information on scheme had been given during the initial interview. Of these 17% completed 10 or more sessions. This
may have been distorted by the second sample in which two out of 21 completed the Great South Run, and therefore trained regularly with their counsellor, recording more sessions than would normally be the case. Therefore those who stayed with the Scheme to completion were likely to complete more than four sessions.

Table 6.7 Reported offences for Phase Two participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated Bodily Harm</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol related</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraud</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was probation policy not to reveal offending histories to the sports counsellors unless it might affect the security of the activity programme. The offending history was only collated by qualitative methods in Phase Two. Several clients had a complex offending history with more than one type of offence. The range of offences was similar to those reported in the Sports Council evaluation (1991): assault and theft or burglary remained the most common reported offences. Table 6.7 only shows how many of the final 14 follow up participants reported these crimes, it does not reflect multiple offences, but several participants were persistent offenders.

6.3 Leisure Patterns Before Intervention

Previous studies of young people's leisure patterns, which were reviewed in Chapter 1 (Roberts, 1985 & Hendry, 1993) gave a detailed picture of general youth leisure patterns based on large samples. The evidence in this research is based on a small longitudinal study of young people at risk of offending. It presents details of how this group of young people's leisure patterns developed, and concentrates on constraints and life events.
6.3.1 Constraints on participation

The reported constraints to participation were analysed for each case study, and this data was used to assess the appropriateness of the activity programme and the delivery. Accessibility was defined by Torkildsen (1992) as combining four distinct aspects: physical, social, perceptual and financial. At pre-offending stages, this classification of the accessibility of leisure provides some useful headings for analysis. Physical accessibility was cited as a constraint by 35% of the young people interviewed in Stoke. Seventy percent of Street Sport participants interviewed cited cost as a significant constraint. An important constraint for young women was a concern about their physical safety in the community at night, mentioned in Bentilee and Stanfields. Finally, the perceived accessibility of recreation opportunity was critical. Two girls interviewed at the Youth Action project were currently not participating in physical recreation and expressed a desire to take part, but were concerned that their physical ability was too low for many club sessions.

These constraints were demonstrated again in the post offending case histories from the Sports Counselling Scheme in Hampshire, as shown by the case history for James (Figure 6.1). This young man, in his late twenties, was referred to the scheme to encourage a more positive use of leisure time, which his probation officer felt was essential if reoffending was to end. James himself recognised that he lacked direction, and was frequently bored and at a loose end in his free time. Relatively new to the area, James was also keen to meet new people and find out more about local facilities. He wanted to play badminton and squash since he had enjoyed them in the past. He also wanted to try swimming and fitness training, as he could continue with those unaccompanied. He completed four sessions, during which time he completed a fitness induction, which allowed him to continue to use the gym. He also enjoyed badminton, which he was keen to continue on completion.

The main reason for his lack of leisure activity had been the onset of depression, which had lasted for two years. During this time he lost all confidence and motivation to exercise, the lack of activity led to poor physical fitness and further reduced his self-esteem. Therefore, for this participant, the main constraints to participation were
### CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

#### LIFE EVENT

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#### LEISURE

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| Pubs / Bars | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gambling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TV / Video | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Live Music | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gardening | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DIY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Night Clubs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pub Quiz | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Shopping | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Computer Games | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Car Repairs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

#### SPORT / RECREATION

| Football | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Golf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rugby | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Walking | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cycling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Swimming | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Weights | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Keep Fit | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Darts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Snooker | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Badminton | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Squash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fishing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mountain Bikes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Martial Arts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Running | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Basket Ball | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Skateboarding | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Fig 6.1 Life History Chart: James
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

cost, lack of confidence, lack of knowledge about opportunities, and a lack of company for participation. These themes were repeated in the analysis of both pre and post offending young people in Hampshire and Stoke (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8 Constraints on participation

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<thead>
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<th>Constraint</th>
<th>Hampshire % n=21</th>
<th>Stoke on Trent % n=27</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of facilities</td>
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This comparison shows some important similarities between pre and post offending groups of young people. Both groups stressed that cost and lack of money were significant constraints to their participation. Thus interventions at both levels need to focus, as they did, on low cost activity to achieve continued participation. The age difference between the two samples may explain why transport presented greater problems to the Stoke sample, who were generally dependent on adults for transport.

The picture shows that young people at post offending levels became isolated, a lack of information about opportunities and company became more significant factors influencing leisure behaviour. Although rates of physical health problems severe enough to preclude participation remained constant, at post offending level the incidence of mental health problems, noticeably depression, became a significant feature. These young people were usually unemployed, with few qualifications, and had failed to make 'the transition to adulthood' (Hendry, 1993).

The findings show a similar scenario to that demonstrated by Hendry:
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

"Unemployed young people are less likely to participate in sports clubs and more likely to hang around the neighbourhood... they felt trapped in a limbo between youth clubs they had outgrown and 'adult' provisions that were too expensive"  
(Hendry, 1993, p53).

Furthermore, this evidence indicates that small scale, local leisure provision is important if participation in physical recreation is to continue. Almost half the Stoke sample felt that a lack of local facilities or activity provision was a constraint to their participation.

6.3.2 Life Events and Leisure Patterns
The life history profiling in Sports Counselling (Phase Two sample) contributed some interesting results regarding the development of positive leisure patterns in late adolescence and early adulthood. The majority of young people interviewed came from chaotic family environments with divorce, lone parents and a high degree of statutory care, often in numerous different institutions, during childhood and early adolescence. In most cases failure to sustain constructive leisure activity or sport was related chronologically to changes in their guardians or home environments. In some cases leaving school was significant, but since these young people experienced numerous changes of school and periods of exclusion (on average there were two periods of exclusion and three school changes), the impact of school leaving was considerably less significant for them than studies of young people generally have revealed. For many the process of anti social leisure activity and the decline of constructive activity started early, during primary school age.

A more significant fact was that those taken into care during childhood reported very little effort by the institutions to support their individual leisure interests. Those in foster care experienced short periods of encouragement, but since many placements were short term, the overall impression was one of a care system which underrates the importance of preparing these young people for leisure in adult life. This lack of preparation was often compounded at sixteen when care ended, often with little support to set up young people with secure patterns of local leisure activity. This significantly was around the time when offending became more evident and serious.
The sample had all experienced long periods of unemployment from the age of sixteen, most had no experience of further education.

The majority of the clients cited a lack of knowledge about opportunities as a constraint to leisure participation. Further probing revealed negative perceptions of opportunity and a lack of confidence to get into venues perceived as middle class. Furthermore the chaotic childhood of many of these participants meant that they lacked encouragement or experience in leisure activities normally experienced in secure families.

An analysis of the profiles of four participants at Hampshire Sports Counselling is set out below. There were a number of important influences identified by these detailed case studies in the life history analysis that have influenced the needs of the individual for leisure counselling. The impact of factors on past and existing leisure patterns and offending in each case demonstrated the links between a lack of constructive leisure and offending behaviour. The factors were low levels of support for leisure activity in childhood, alcohol and drug abuse, mental health issues and release from institutional care or custody.

**CHILDHOOD LEISURE SUPPORT AND OPPORTUNITY**

From analysing the interview and life history data a significant factor that was repeated for 60% of respondents was inconsistency of care during childhood. In these cases this had led to little or no support during their formative years for constructive leisure activities outside school. These young people also spent very little time in school and therefore failed to be socialised into positive sport and leisure patterns. This can be seen in the example of Martyn.

**Martyn** (see Figure 6.2) was 22 years old with a long record of petty offences and car crime. He had spent much of his youth in children's homes and care. He may have had some learning difficulties and it was difficult to get complete information from him about his past and his family. His probation officer was concerned about him, but found it difficult to communicate with him. Although records could not be located to confirm it, it was suspected that there was a history of physical abuse and possibly
## CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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### LEISURE

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### SPORT / RECREATION

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**Fig 6.2 Life History Chart: Martyn**
abusing. The information regarding his past was difficult to locate as he had moved frequently in his youth. He recalled living in Staffordshire, Northampton and Poole; this may be connected to a recollection that his father was in the army. He wanted to know more about his father, but to date had been unsuccessful in contacting him.

More recently he had spent some time in a psychiatric hospital. He also claimed to have been in the army, although this was unlikely. He said that he had left on health grounds and that he received disability allowance. He had been living in a 'bed-sit' in Southampton for seven months with a female partner who was much older than him, and also on disability allowance. The bed-sit was very small and in one of the most run down areas of the city where crime and drug dealing were prevalent. On first contact the room was dirty and very untidy, after two months it was completely cleaned and tidy.

As with many aspects of his life, completing a life history and leisure profile was difficult, and took several interviews. The main points from his past leisure interests were football coaching at school, swimming coaching from 7 to 13 years (which ended when he was moved into care), badminton (mainly during care or custody, ended on release), and running during adolescence but his interest waned and finally stopped.

His leisure patterns before the scheme centred on repairing and restoring old cars and driving with friends. This was causing concern since he had lost his driving licence. During the Scheme he started swimming and cycling. On follow up he had continued with these activities and with badminton with a long term volunteer from Sports Counselling. Contact was lost after 6 months, but the Scheme had contributed much to providing consistent support for his leisure and life style choices.

This demonstrated the need for formal leisure education / counselling in some cases. The common middle class assumption that positive leisure patterns just evolved is not the case for young people with chaotic upbringings.
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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| Pubs / Bars       |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gambling          |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| TV / Video        |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Live Music        |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gardening         |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| DIY               |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Night Clubs       |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Pub Quiz          |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Shopping          |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Computer Games    |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Car Repairs       |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Other             |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

| SPORT / RECREATION |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Football          |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Golf              |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Rugby             |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Walking           |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Cycling           |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Swimming          |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Weights           |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Keep Fit          |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Darts             |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Snooker           |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Boxing            |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Badminton         |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Squash            |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Fishing           |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Mountain Bikes    |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Martial Arts      |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Running           |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Basket Ball       |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Skateboarding     |        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

Fig 6.3 Life History Chart: Paul E
ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE

A second common feature in the lifestyles of individual case studies (eight young people had sufficiently severe problems to warrant a comment on referral) was a history of alcohol and drug abuse, starting in their early adolescence. This created a dependency culture for them, which often dominated their lifestyle and their offending behaviour.

Paul (see Figure 6.3) was referred to the project having committed alcohol-related offences. His Probation Officer wanted him to improve his use of leisure time, to build self esteem and help reduce depression. He had very little experience of sport in his leisure history, and the emphasis was on social activities which increased his temptation to drink. Analysis of his life history showed that although sport had little influence in his life, his drink problems had reduced his physical activity to nothing. He needed encouragement and understanding to return to physical activity and to select appropriate, affordable activities.

He spent six sessions in a one-to-one environment with his counsellor, who reintroduced him to swimming and weight training. The activities were selected to be flexible and avoid alcoholic environments, which often combine sport and social activity. The scheme was successful in re-establishing his constructive leisure activity which was maintained throughout the follow up period.

MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES

Nine out of twenty one participants in the second phase of follow up demonstrated a range of mental problems, most commonly depression, but also learning difficulties. This had had a dramatic effect on their leisure patterns, as they frequently lacked the confidence, social skills or motivation to access leisure opportunities, and were therefore isolated within their own communities. This theme was demonstrated by Tony.

Tony (see Figure 6.4) was a young man with some learning difficulties and low self-esteem. Due to these problems he found it difficult to get out and socialise. He had a
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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| LEISURE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| Pubs / Bars | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gambling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TV / Video | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Live Music | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gardening | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DIY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Night Clubs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Occasionally |
| Pub Quiz | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Shopping | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Computer Games | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Car Repairs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| SPORT / RECREATION | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Football | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Golf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rugby | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Walking | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cycling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Swimming | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Weights | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Keep Fit | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Darts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Snooker | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Badminton | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Squash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fishing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mountain Bikes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Martial Arts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Running | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Basket Ball | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Skateboarding | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Fig 6.4 Life History Chart: Tony K
history of petty offences related to money payments. He was very interested in
gardening and had an in-depth knowledge of many aspects of horticulture. This may
have been gained through Further Education as he seemed to have attended a number
of skills training courses including printing, computing and the certificate in pre-
school practice.

He lived alone but was very close to his mother. He ran a one-man gardening
business, which kept him busy during the summer months. Otherwise his leisure was
very solitary and home based. He enjoyed listening to music and spent much of his
time playing computer games. He did enjoy cycling and this provided his main
transport. He had enjoyed a church group but this had ended after some disagreement.
He, therefore, had a very negative view of leisure opportunities in his locality.

The analysis of his past leisure profile revealed many interests, which had mainly been
supported by school or other institutions. No matter what activity was selected, it
seemed that Tony needed ongoing support to continue with them. This posed
problems for the Scheme that was targeting a quick fix, to avoid client dependence on
counsellors, and this will be considered in Chapter 7. The scheme introduced Tony to
the Mallards Disabled Swimming Club, which he enjoyed and maintained for the
follow up period. He also completed sessions in table tennis, badminton and fitness.
He attended some group sessions at the gym, but this gradually stopped. The scheme
helped Tony get out and join the swimming club, but his needs were unlikely to be
satisfied unless some long term support could be provided.

RELEASE FROM INSTITUTIONAL CARE OR CUSTODY
Although less common, several individuals (5 example case studies) referred to
problems that they experienced after release from custodial sentences or
institutionalised care as shown below in the case of Dean.

Dean (see Figure 6.5) was referred to the project with a history of burglary and
firearms offences. He was referred to address his use of leisure and to encourage
# Chapter 6: The Outcomes of Active Leisure Interventions on Young People Before and After Offending Life Event

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## Leisure

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| Gambling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TV / Video | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Home Music | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gardening | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DIY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Night Clubs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pub Quiz | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Shopping | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Computer Games | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Car Repairs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

## Sport / Recreation

| Football | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Golf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rugby | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Walking | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cycling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Swimming | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Weights | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Keep Fit | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Darts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Snooker | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Badminton | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Squash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fishing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mountain Bikes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Martial Arts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Running | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Basket Ball | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Skateboarding | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Fig 6.5 Life History Chart: Dean

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greater social interaction. He wanted to counter his depression and improve his physical fitness. He selected a wide range of activities from the list of choices, mainly those that he had tried before, but also mountain biking which he was interested to try for the first time. His life history reflected a number of team sports stopped when he left school and embarked on a relationship. A period of custody both curtailed other activities and introduced new ones such as badminton. On release he had found it difficult to "pick up where he left off". This had increased his feelings of depression and alienation. His current leisure patterns were mainly snooker, music at home, going to pubs and some use of the fitness facilities at a leisure centre.

After ten sessions, including mountain biking, swimming and fishing, he felt more confident and had established a pattern of low cost physical activities. He continued to mountain biking and re-established swimming and weight training as regular physical activity.

6.3.3 Summary of the findings on the development leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending

The general picture of leisure patterns for young people at risk of offending demonstrates very impoverished leisure experiences. From both samples there was evidence that young people lack the knowledge, skills and confidence to access public sector leisure opportunity. The young people lacked role models from whom to develop positive leisure patterns. They had experienced little support in developing and sustaining sports activity. Public services were failing to support their leisure education, in the care system many reported little continuity of support for leisure, and those remaining in school reported a sports delivery that encouraged only those showing ability. This process had left many of these young people lacking a sense of direction in free time, hanging around on the streets became a feature of early adolescent leisure only to be supplemented in later adolescence by pubs and clubs. This shows that young people at risk of offending lack the support mechanisms to allow a smooth transition through adolescence (Hendry, 1993), leisure transitions are forgotten in public sector responses to this problem.
6.4 The Impacts on the Causes of Delinquency

In Chapters 2 and 3 various theories about delinquency were analysed and a framework was developed (Figure 3.3) with which to assess the potential impact of individual projects on these causes. In Chapter 5 this framework was used to assess the potential of the case studies to reduce delinquency through positive outcomes for some of its causes.

6.4.1 Poverty

Stoke on Trent Community Recreation operated projects aimed at removing financial barriers to participation. Both projects offered free sessions, and therefore no major financial barriers should have existed. The research concluded that for both case studies poverty was a significant barrier to participation. However, removing cost alone as a constraint was not sufficient to establish participation.

6.4.2 Residential setting

The Street Sport Community Recreation Team helped communities to create sports courts in local areas, using waste ground and other open spaces. These improved the residential setting. By including the community in planning for these areas and other recreation events, perceptions of the residential setting were improved considerably, since residents and young people felt that their needs were being promoted. During the evaluation process, young people were asked about their attitude to consultation and were observed during a consultation process for designing the youth bus. This was positively received by them; a young person said

"If it is designed for young people then we should be asked what we think and want"

(Non participant, interview, Stanfields, September 1999).

By concentrating on leisure opportunity in the local area the Sports Counselling Scheme could alter the young person's perceptions of opportunity within their home area and reduce the power of negative influences in this area by introducing legitimate activities. During the follow up monitoring, 64% of respondents recorded an improvement in their views about their local environment.
6.4.3 Parental support

The outreach services aimed to work with communities to enhance positive adult role models for young people. From analysis of the interviews with Street Sport participants 75% felt that the contribution made by the sports counsellors was one of the three most important aspects of the scheme for them (see Table 6.12). A personal account about their role can be seen in the following comments from a 21 year old former participant.

"The sports leaders were great, they never pushed an issue or passed judgement but were there every week for us"
(Cobridge Participant interview, September 1999).

Although rather short term in direct support, the sports counsellors in Hampshire provided the personal support and advice lacking in most of these client's lives through the follow up drop in sessions. The relationship with the sports counsellor was demonstrated by the following example.

Scott (Figure 6.6) was a young man in his late teens who had convictions for dangerous driving, a common offence among young men. He was referred to the project with an identified need to establish constructive leisure activity. He was outwardly confident, but lacked high self esteem which had made him easily led with the peer group. His history of frequent changes in care situations during childhood and adolescence had left him with little positive family leisure to direct his use of leisure time. He therefore identified only a few short experiences of sport, often through school. Since school attendance was sporadic this was insufficient to maintain interest.

At the time of conviction this client had only experienced short spells of employment and therefore had considerable free time. His view of leisure was a hedonistic search for excitement prompted by extreme boredom and frustration. Over ten individual sessions his mature sport counsellor was able to provide a positive role model missing in his earlier life. Although the activities introduced during the Scheme, bowling and skating were not pursued after completion, Scott reported changes in his attitude to leisure. He was able to see it as a positive experience, and his perception of
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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| LEISURE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cinema | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pubs / Bars | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gambling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TV / Video | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Live Music | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gardening | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DIY | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Night Clubs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pub Quiz | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Shopping | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Computer Games | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Car Repairs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| SPORT / RECREATION | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Football | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Golf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rugby | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Walking | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cycling | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Swimming | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Weights | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Keep Fit | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Darts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Snooker | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Badminton | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Squash | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fishing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mountain Bikes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Martial Arts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Running | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Basket Ball | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Skateboarding | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Fig 6.6 Life History Chart: Scott

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opportunities was improved. The result of these changes led him to report sustained participation in weight training and swimming. These were activities that he had tried and enjoyed previously but a lack of encouragement and guidance had resulted in lapses.

A year after attendance, this participant had not offended and was making more positive use of leisure time. He displayed a more positive view of free time and was more able to access facilities.

6.4.4 Peer Group
Street Sport worked with the peer group as a whole. The example of Stanfields demonstrated the role the intervention played in supporting a non delinquent peer group.

"The Street Sport team helped us to form a football team, we have now played for two seasons and are a strong team on and off the field,....we needed their help to get motivated"
(Male Participant 17, Stanfields, interview July 1999).

The Sports Counselling Scheme introduced participants to new leisure activities but not necessarily to new peers. The drop in sessions were enjoyed by many participants, but not seen generally as a route to friendship.

6.4.5 Boredom
The projects both sought primarily to encourage positive use of free time, and it was in this area that the most obvious results were seen. The results were less significant for Street Sport; outside the weekly session, 92% of the participants aged under 17 reported high levels of boredom, particularly at weekends and school holidays. This reduced to 50% amongst the 17 and over age group, the difference being attributed to greater financial independence and access to cars, not a direct influence of Street Sport.

The results for Sport Counselling in this cause of delinquency were more significant. Of the Phase Two sample 86% felt that the Scheme had reduced their levels of boredom, and this change was sustained during the 12 month follow up.
6.4.6 Positive Outcomes: Summary

The results demonstrate positive outcomes in addressing poverty as a constraint to participation, residential setting, lack of parental support, peer pressure and boredom. There was no evidence to suggest that either scheme offered a sustained impact on status seeking behaviour and a search for excitement. However, the follow up analysis of individual Sports Counselling participants reported sustained improvement in the following areas which contributed to greater self confidence and reduced the need to achieve status, these are shown in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9 Changes in personal factors among Sports Counselling follow-up sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor (%)</th>
<th>Much better</th>
<th>Better</th>
<th>No change</th>
<th>Worse</th>
<th>Much worse</th>
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<tr>
<td>Self image</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relationship with authority figures</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knowledge of local leisure facilities</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attitude to health &amp; fitness</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>29</td>
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6.5 Impacts on Leisure Behaviour

If the benefit of reduced boredom was to result in lower levels of re-offending, sustained changes to leisure patterns were required. An analysis of participation rates for both levels of intervention could claim success as diversion in the short term. While young people were involved in the activity sessions they could not commit offence, for persistent offenders this may be significant. Therefore if attendance was demonstrated to be regular and there was no cut off or fixed end, as in Street Sport, claims of diversion could be made from attendance patterns alone.

The attendance at Street Sport sessions in Stanfields and Bentilee demonstrated that many young males, aged 14 to 20 years, were diverted from hanging about on the streets. Attendance at both sites was consistent, 75% attended most or every session and 50% stayed with the project for over one year. All of the sessions observed were football sessions. From the participant's perspective this was an ideal diversion, 69% rated the football game as the most important feature of the project for them.
For the Sports Counselling Scheme diversion was a long term objective, combined with the aims of leisure education. The scheme sought to divert young people from crime by helping them to develop sustainable constructive leisure patterns and positive life style choices. The next section will review how far this was achieved in both projects.

6.5.1 Leisure and Life Style Education in the Outreach Group Setting
The outreach workers took time out of the sports session to mingle with spectators and those not currently involved in the sports. This was demonstrated to be effective in building a positive relationship with participants and in providing ongoing support. Unlike the Sports Counselling Scheme, there was no cut off for the Street Sport project and, as long as participants integrated well in the session, they could attend for as long as they needed. This theme of on-going support produced examples of education which could meet the changing needs and abilities of groups and individuals. One example of this work was observed at Stanfields where the participants wanted to set up a junior league football team. The workers helped them to establish a team and win a set of kit through a local competition. The team demonstrated the workers role as enablers in their leisure education. However, the role was not simply one of leisure education but also covered social education. This was best demonstrated by the individual case history shown below.

The participant, now in his early twenties, had attended regularly for over four years. He had experienced a number of problems in adolescence including drug abuse, unemployment and crime. He was now making an effort to review his lifestyle and attributed this, in part, to the continued support of the Street Sport team. He identified the importance of regular sessions, which accepted people as individuals, did not exclude you if you failed to meet the standards of play, but which pointed to the need for certain behaviour in any ordered activity. This gentle approach to counselling and youth work had helped him to survive difficult years, and had given him a new perspective on lifestyle options.
In a wider analysis of reported leisure time activity for participants and non-participants in Street Sport, the quantitative data revealed some significant differences in behaviour. The sessions targeted young people who congregate on the street. The interview questions sought to establish how common this was, as shown in Table 6.10.

Young people who spend their time hanging around on the streets are at greater risk of offending for a number of reasons. Residents and the police said that young people congregating in groups resulted in nuisance calls to the police, whether or not justified.

The presence of these groups was synonymous for older residents with the threat of crime as shown in the interview with a Stanfields resident:

"The problem of petty crime and vandalism must come from the groups of youngsters who are always on the streets. When they are there in big groups at night, older residents are frightened to go out"

(Resident A, Stanfields, September 1999).

The fear translated to nuisance calls to the police as reported by Sergeant Taylor of Burslem LPU:

"We get quite a lot of petty nuisance calls regarding young people causing a disturbance. We have to address this and respond to the residents but this creates friction between us and the young people as we are always moving them on. From this situation there is a risk that problems can escalate"

(Sergeant Taylor, September 1999).

Table 6.10 Reported leisure venues for young people

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<thead>
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<th>Activity</th>
<th>Participant n =14</th>
<th>Non participant n =11</th>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hanging around</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Pubs</td>
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<td>Leisure Centres</td>
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<td>Parks / sports courts</td>
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Young people gathering on the streets are also vulnerable to negative influences from their peer group and others. Therefore, if Street Sport altered leisure behaviour and moved the young people off the street then this was a positive outcome. The information in Table 6.10 would suggest that participants in Street Sport are less
likely to hang around the street. Only 57% of participants reported this as a significant feature of their leisure, whereas 90% of non-participants did so. It would be naive to suggest that there is a direct link between Street Sport and reduced hanging around. However, since Street Sport operated through outreach work, all the young people involved had been hanging around before participation. This was confirmed by Lindsey in Stanfields:

"I found out about Street Sport through my friends when we were just hanging around. ... I don't hang around on the streets as much any more, in summer I prefer to play sport in the parks in winter I only go out now if my friend are there"

(Lindsey, 16, interview Stanfields, September 1999).

The evidence from interviews with participants who had been involved in Street Sport for more than 6 months indicated that the project had altered leisure behaviour. There was greater use of parks for informal sports activity among Street Sport participants as shown in Table 6.10, and this was confirmed by interviews with established players at both Stanfields and Bentilee:

"Before Street Sport we might kick a ball around in the streets but we rarely met at the park and organised a kick around. Now we have the team and meet to practice regularly, there is less time to hang around"

(Darryl (18), interview Stanfields, July 1999).

"the sports area is open all the time and we sometimes play outside the sessions"

(Male Participant (16), interview Bentilee, July 1999).

Reported leisure patterns for this group were varied and included football, tennis, snooker, golf, rounders, cinema, pubs and play schemes. In 30% of the sample these activities were done as part of a family group. The remainder were done with their peers. They wanted to participate in recreation primarily to socialise and for the enjoyment. Competition and exercise were secondary motivations.

Therefore it would appear that for participants who regularly attended Street Sport sessions for more than 6 months, there was a change in leisure patterns. All the participants in this group reported playing some sport outside the sessions and there was reduced incidence of hanging around on the streets. There was a discount card scheme called Recreation Key in Stoke on Trent, which gave reduced prices to those on low income. Only one Street Sport participant had heard of this scheme, therefore
there is little evidence of improved knowledge among participants of the leisure opportunities available.

6.5.2 Changing the Habits of a Life Time: Post Offending

An important element of the Hampshire project was to achieve sustainable constructive leisure patterns among participants. Seventy percent of the sample had joined the Scheme as a conscious decision to improve their health and fitness. However, the process of leisure education was a lengthy one, in many cases requiring more than the standard four sessions. In the second phase sample 50% reported that the Scheme provided sufficient contact for them. The average number of sessions was eight for completed participants. Most of the clients who successfully altered their leisure patterns required long-term contact, often for as many as ten sessions. Rather than creating client dependence on the counsellor, this seemed to ensure that changes in behaviour were established before contact ceased.

There was little evidence of existing constructive leisure before starting the Sports Counselling Scheme. This is demonstrated by the fact that 46% of the sample had never visited a leisure centre. Furthermore, recreation club membership among participants was very low, only 8% of the sample had joined clubs prior to referral, and many of these were snooker or gambling clubs. This aspect of leisure behaviour remained virtually unchanged, only one of the follow up sample, Stuart, successfully joined a club as a result of the sports counselling.

Stuart (Figure 6.7) had a complicated offending history and was the oldest participant in the sample. He currently had an array of petty offences but also had had more serious schedule I offences in the past which had resulted in long terms in custody. He was suffering depression and needed help to adopt positive leisure patterns.

He had enjoyed sport before custody including football and golf. He had also tried badminton and fitness training in custody, but had failed to pursue them on release. He had no previous use of leisure centres. He saw a lack of company and knowledge of facilities as his greatest constraints to participation.
## Chapter 6: The Outcomes of Active Leisure Interventions on Young People Before and After Offending Life Event

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### LEISURE

- Cinema
- Pubs / Bars
- Gambling
- TV / Video
- Live Music
- Gardening
- DIY
- Night Clubs
- Pub Quiz
- Shopping
- Computer Games
- Car Repairs
- Other

### SPORT / RECREATION

- Football
- Golf
- Rugby
- Walking
- Cycling
- Trans not leisure
- Swimming
- School
- Prison
- Weights
- Keep Fit
- Darts
- Occas
- Snooker
- Boxing
- Badminton
- Squash
- Fishing
- Mountain Bikes
- Martial Arts
- Running
- Basket Ball
- Skateboarding

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Fig 6.7 Life History Chart: Stuart
He completed ten sessions with the Scheme and reported sustained changes to his leisure during the follow up period. He tried bowls and pitch and putt during the Scheme and was introduced to a bridge club. He continued to attend the bridge club and to play bowls throughout follow up. The Scheme encouraged him to mix outside the pub network.

A total of 88% of those who completed the Scheme reported an intention to continue to participate in the exit interview. Seventy nine percent of participants intended to continue to use leisure centres after the project ended. They reported that the Scheme had significantly improved their confidence and perception of leisure centres from a common initial perception that:

"they are too expensive, really only there for people with jobs and money who play well"

(Stuart, interview Portsmouth, 1997).

However the follow up also revealed cases where although leisure patterns had been changed, ingrained perception of leisure centres remained unchanged.

This was demonstrated by Paul, (Figure 6.8), a young man in his mid twenties who had already completed a custodial sentence and had a record of aggravated bodily harm, possession of a weapon, and other alcohol-related offences. His Probation Officer felt that he needed help to develop more constructive leisure interests, which could help him to channel his aggression by improving his self esteem and fitness. He was concerned to counter boredom and wanted to get fitter. He chose weights and running as activities, both of which he had tried before, but dropped due to lack of company and encouragement. He had enjoyed football at school and tried weight training on several occasions.

He spent ten sessions with the Scheme, somewhat longer than anticipated, but during this time, he trained for the Great South Run. He and other participants on the Scheme completed the Run successfully. He really enjoyed the preparation and found the Run was a goal to aim for. He felt that his self esteem was greatly enhanced having managed to stick at something and achieve the objectives:

"I think that the sessions were good because they gave me a goal to aim for"

(Paul, Portsmouth, 1997).
## Chapter 6
The Outcomes of Active Leisure Interventions on Young People Before and After Offending

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### Leisure

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<th>DIY</th>
<th>Night Clubs</th>
<th>Pub Quiz</th>
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### Sport / Recreation

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<th>Mountain Bikes</th>
<th>Martial Arts</th>
<th>Running</th>
<th>Basket Ball</th>
<th>Skateboarding</th>
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![Fig 6.8 Life History Chart: Paul B](image-url)
Since completion he has managed to keep the running going through a winter but decided not to use leisure centres, which he still felt were inaccessible, elitist and expensive.

The success of the scheme in changing leisure behaviour was assessed by reviewing patterns over a 12 month period after completing the scheme as shown in Table 6.11.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Past leisure patterns</th>
<th>Intended to continue at exit stage</th>
<th>After 6 months</th>
<th>12 months</th>
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<td>Previous leisure centre use</td>
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<td>67%</td>
<td>58%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non participant</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>46%</td>
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After 6 months two thirds were still participating in activities introduced by the project. The Scheme was more successful at re-establishing constructive leisure than working with non participants. However it is important to note that the intention to continue after completion was short-lived for non-participants, after 12 months only 33% were participating. After optimistic commitment from all with prior leisure use there was sustained activity for 58% of the sample after a year. The reason for drop out at 12 months were often related to new work commitments. The options set up by the scheme were targeted at the unemployed, therefore once in employment their ability to continue was reduced.

Those monitored in Phase Two had joined the Scheme wanting to improve their fitness and leisure patterns and for the majority the project had introduced activities which they wanted to continue to participate in. For these participants the Scheme had successfully overcome perceived barriers such as cost and lack of company. The second constraint was frequently overcome by increasing the participant’s confidence to use local facilities rather than providing a companion. The respondents in areas where the Leisure Card operated were more likely to perceive that financial constraints had been removed.
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

The case studies revealed many predictable factors that enable continued participation in leisure activities introduced during the project, such as reducing cost and physical accessibility. However, in depth interviews showed that, although important, the most significant constraint to participation was lack of confidence and company. Therefore the participants reported greater success in activities where either company was unnecessary such as weight training and swimming, or where follow up drop in sessions were arranged, for example, football in Southampton, and badminton in Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight.

Approximately 90% of participants who completed four or more sessions reported trying at least two different activities while on the Scheme. The greatest number of activities was five, and in this case the participant had failed to continue with any of them on completion. When the contact time is short, the results showed that one or two activities repeated more frequently were more likely to result in continued participation. Therefore, if no time constraints existed, then trying a wide range of activities would be an excellent start, but when the number of sessions was limited, repeating the activity selected helped to achieve continued participation.

Regular sessions, one to one contact and encouragement most commonly addressed the issue of self-confidence. However, the target of completing the Great South Run was reported as a major incentive and confidence booster for those involved. In many cases self confidence to access local leisure facilities was simply boosted by accompanying the participants until they were familiar with the systems in place such as payment, lockers, gym induction and use of apparatus. These observations further emphasise the need for informal leisure education since many at risk young people lack both the confidence and knowledge to access facilities in their local area.

Six months after completing the Scheme, eleven of the Phase Two sample reported positive changes to attitude, behaviour and lifestyle. The most quantifiable changes were in levels of physical fitness reported by all participants at this stage. Most also reported a reduction in alcohol and drugs consumption, although the participant reports of these most sensitive aspects of behaviour may be distorted.
6.6 Perceptions of the Schemes

This section will consider the feedback from young people about both case studies and feedback from the local community about Street Sport, because it also aimed to achieve community development outcomes.

6.6.1 Young People’s perceptions of Street Sport

Table 6.12 shows the overall perception of Street Sport among participants.

<table>
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<th>Most important factor</th>
<th>Second factor</th>
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<td>Football session</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meeting friends</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Input of sports leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No cost to participate</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local area</td>
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The participants sometimes mentioned more than one factor, and so the data reflects multiple answers. The sample was evenly split over the most important aspect. Generally, at Stanfields they rated meeting friends of prime importance, whereas at Bentilee it was the football sessions. This may be explained by the fact that for many at Bentilee, this was the only opportunity they had to play a recreational game of football.

"Street Sport is great ... I don’t get to play a game anywhere else... the rest of the week it’s just kick around with mates"

(Participant Male 18, interview Bentilee, July 1999).

In Stanfields the opportunity to play for the team changed the dynamics for some players:

"I play for the team now and train more seriously with them but I still like to come here to meet my mates and have a bit of fun"

(Participant Male 17 interview, Stanfields, July 1999).

Those who took part in Street Sport regularly reported very high levels of satisfaction. In Stanfields they were all keen footballers and the activity was of prime
importance, however they also valued the session because it was light hearted, non-competitive, friendly and fun. The Bentilee session was reported to have provided an important diversion for them during their adolescence, but it was now a vehicle for continued participation. By the third set of observations, groups of younger people were attracted to the sessions. They were not included in the session because they were younger than 13 and physically much smaller than the existing players. This was seen to cause some resentment, possibly resulting in damage to the bowling green and clubhouse. When interviewed in July, some of the 13 and 14-year-old boys were starting to integrate into the session. They reported feeling uneasy about playing in this session, and wanted one of their own. They were generally bored in their leisure time and reported that Bentilee was remote from most leisure venues. They identified that a key time for boredom was the weekends, when they would particularly value some activity provision for them. Street Sport operated only on mid week evenings and holidays.

By the September session several of the long-standing players had moved on, and five young players were integrated in the session. They reported satisfaction at playing with older participants many of whom they admired. The demands for alternative sessions had disappeared, and the session had evolved to reach the next generation of young people in Bentilee. The session was breaking down barriers between young people and starting to address the objective of community development.

The Cobridge session altered dramatically during the observation period. Attendance was very variable and each session observed had attracted a different group of young people. The first session was busy and active, although slow to start up. Some young people had been regular participants over the previous 4 to 6 weeks. They enjoyed the game and the adult attention. They reported high levels of boredom, which resulted in hanging around to avoid staying at home.

By the July session many of the participants had gone, leaving a core group of five Asian and West Indian males. They enjoyed the attention of the sports counsellors and simply wanted to play around. They did not take the game seriously and welcomed
the diversion of the youth bus. They liked the sessions as diversion but were less interested in the football itself, though the activity focus was the attraction. They identified a lack of any community or youth centre for their age group as their key need.

The impact of the outreach workers was seen by participants as a positive aspect of the sessions. All the participants rated the input of the leaders as a significant attraction of the session. The sport leaders were viewed positively by the Stanfields participants and the regular support they offered was valued. The younger females felt that the sport leaders failed to provide alternative activities for them on a regular basis.

The feedback from a former participant of scheme in Bentilee, Matthew (21), was very positive. Though not particularly sporty, he felt that the scheme had benefited him in a number of ways. It had provided regular activity sessions to add focus to otherwise empty weeks. The workers had been approachable and quietly supportive during his adolescence, they were seen to be less 'issue' based and critical of young people than youth workers. Despite this he acknowledged that the values of no drinking, offensive language and violence were reinforced positively during the sessions.

In Cobridge, two participants gave a longer term view of Street Sport, connecting many of the benefits to the workers. The first Mark, now in his early twenties, had attended regularly for over four years. He had experienced a number of problems in adolescence including drug abuse, unemployment and crime as described in 6.4. He was now making an effort to review his lifestyle and attributed this in part to the continued support of the Street Sport team. The second, Richard (18) was still studying and hoped to go on to Higher Education. He was inspired both by the leaders and other players. Seeing ordinary people achieve academic goals had helped him to stick with his studies, even when many of his peers were working. The sessions, which he was hoping to attend again, helped to reduce feelings of alienation from his peers.
Overall the participants perceptions of leisure and Street Sport are summarised below.

Unemployment was a prime concern for all respondents.

Young people need a place to meet where there is no conflict with older residents and the police.

Young people are concerned about crime levels in their communities, many feel threatened by the level of violence they see.

The weekends in particular, and school holidays, were identified as key times when young people need something to do.

Generally young people need adult support to create effective sports and leisure opportunities.

Knowledge of discount schemes such as the Recreation Key was low.

Parents had little input into leisure patterns, even in childhood. Siblings and peers were the most common mentors.

Many activities on offer were team or course based – aiming at performance level sport. Young people want to play sport simply for recreation.

They like Street Sport because it is informal, friendly, regular, free and close to home.

They would like more frequent Street Sport sessions, as once a week leaves a lot of empty time.

Free time is spent hanging around with peers. This was considered to increase the risk of juvenile crime, drug and alcohol abuse.

The level of sports participation is low and the range of sports very limited. Skateboarding and BMX were the most common alternatives to football.

It was important to consider the perception of Street Sport among non participants. Mitchell High School (Bentilee catchment) operated a daytime drop in centre through Youth Action funding for school leavers. The young people interviewed had not heard about Street Sport. Although they felt that the idea was a good one, they would not travel to any of the venues. From this it is possible to conclude that Street Sport would only reach young people from the communities very close to the activity base. They felt that the play scheme network was highly successful but that there was still too little for older adolescents. Their feedback regarding Street Sport was that it was
too infrequent to make a significant impact on the leisure patterns of young people in the community.

At Willfield Community Centre (Bentilee) two young women (aged 17 years) discussed briefly the issues which influenced their leisure patterns. One was more interested in physical activity and had enjoyed some activities provided by the youth workers, but did not feel that Street Sport could provide a leisure solution for her. She regarded Street Sport as a weekly football session for young men, and was not convinced that the provision could include young women. She did, however, suggest that there were a number of young women who would like the opportunity to play games like basketball or netball.

6.6.2 Communities' perceptions of Street Sport
An important aim of Street Sport was to support the Community Services work in terms of community development, through reaching young people and improving communication with these age groups. The research concentrated on three distinct areas in Stoke on Trent: Bentilee, Cobridge Grange and Stanfields. A summary of the perceptions of community representatives are presented here.

Street Sport was generally supported by the local schools. The head teacher at Haywood High School was particularly supportive of the Street Sport project. She commented that the majority of her pupils were well disciplined and motivated, the problems associated with young people, such as crime and vandalism was restricted to a minority. Her pupils needed somewhere to play and meet outside school time, preferably with some adult support, as this was sometimes missing in the home environment. Street Sport had, she felt, reduced vandalism in the school grounds by allowing legitimate access. The project leader of Youth Action at Mitchell High School, Phil Hanson, commented that friction in the community was caused by a lack of mutual understanding. He supported the concept of Street Sport, but felt that more frequent sessions were needed.

In Stanfields the local councillor Jean Edwards was concerned about the lack of
activities and support for young people in the Stanfields area. She pointed out that both Street Sport and detached youth work had an important role, but that something more permanent was needed. When asked whether the proposed sports court would address this, she commented that this would depend on the management of the facility.

Two female residents were also interviewed about the Stanfields estate, young people and Street Sport. They commented that young people were constantly hanging around in the streets and they attributed this to both a lack of venue and working parents. These young people caused disturbances, were seen to be responsible for crime and were a threatening presence when these residents considered going out at night. The age range of these young people was between 10 and 14 years. On this basis, and the fact that many drove cars to the Street Sport session, lead these residents to conclude that Street Sport was not really addressing the problem created by young people hanging around on the Stanfields estate.

In terms of crime and policing, the community police regarded burglary, drugs and car crime as the most serious problems facing this area. They acknowledged that the fear of crime in this community was very high. This could then be linked to reported friction between groups of young people and the older community. The police reported considerable friction caused by noise, vandalism and football in the streets. They felt that some of these issues were linked to poor levels of leisure provision in the area. They acknowledged the important role that Street Sport played in reducing community tension but felt that more was needed. They identified a need for Street Sport scheme to run alongside play schemes during the holidays, as this was a time of increased crime and tension. The problem facing young people in this area was that, particularly in winter, there was nowhere to play football when Street Sport was not in operation.

Community workers in Stanfields regarded the physical environment, most aspects of community services and economic prosperity as poor. Street Sport was seen as a positive move to reducing friction but since the hard court was unavailable outside of
the fixed session the project could only be seen as a short-term diversion. The other
perception of Street Sport was that it was a dedicated football scheme aimed at young
men. The young men were generally causing greatest friction but young girls were
increasingly seen as a problem, not addressed by Street Sport.

In Cobridge there was a new community centre, equipped with meeting rooms, a
fitness room, changing rooms, hall, kitchen and a bar. The centre was well used by
older members of the community from all cultural groups. The community centre
manager was interviewed about young people and community issues. The manager
highlighted the need for an all weather surface for sports since the open grass pitches
were unusable at night and in adverse weather. He felt that the young people needed
something for themselves. He reported that there had been great enthusiasm by young
people about the community centre, but this had turned to disillusionment and
aggression when they realised that the centre was mainly targeted at adults. He felt
that Cobridge lacked sports provision for young people who generally came from
families that offered minimal support and exerted little control over them. Street Sport
was therefore an important solution to some of these issues. A mother in Cobridge
was interviewed about the Street Sports session that her sons were attending. She felt
that young people and their parents would value any casual activity session. There had
been hope that the community centre would provide something for young people with
or without their parents. However, with the exception of occasional sessions this was
not the case. Parents in Cobridge found it difficult to support positive leisure patterns
when there were so few facilities within the community.

The Street Sport session was valued by the community in Cobridge and observed to
be popular. It was working effectively across cultural and gender divisions to provide
one of the most inclusive Street Sport sessions observed within the city. The problem
for Street Sport in this area appeared to be the need for an all weather site. Analysis
of the diaries for sessions demonstrate that during the period September 1998 to
March 1999, 14 sessions were cancelled due to adverse weather and 3 sessions
reported wet conditions causing problems for the game. Therefore the impact of
Street Sport in Cobridge was significantly reduced by a lack of appropriate facilities.
It is also possible to conclude that the problems of water logged open space will drive more young people to use the streets in residential areas for casual sport, increasing levels of friction.

The Bentilee session was based on a hard court area in a park. The area had posts for lighting and the adjacent bowling pavilion provided some shelter for spectators. The area was in the centre of the residential area at Bentilee and easily accessible. The bowling green was reported to have created some friction in the past, due to vandalism and damage. Community representatives of all ages reported that the fear of crime on the estate was still very high. This was established at primary school age, two children playing near the new sports court said:

"I don't know why they are bothering, it will only be ruined by the older ones, look there is already graffiti and soon there will be needles..."

(Girl, 10, Bentilee, May 1999).

The community centre manager felt that drugs and burglary were the major crime problems on the estate, with vandalism being another important issue. At least two of these, drugs and vandalism, were likely to involve the young people of Bentilee as the main perpetuators. General research into these crimes suggests that both are the result of poor social environment, boredom and peer pressure. Vandalism may be higher due to frustration and a lack of involvement or ownership of community issues. The Street Sport project with its base in community development worked to address these issues.

Willfield’s community centre manager painted a bleak picture in terms of the situation facing young people in Bentilee with poor levels of involvement in community action, poor leisure and support services and high levels of friction between older and younger community members.

During a visit to the community centre the picture seemed more positive, with a number of young people actively involved in the centre’s Bentilee Volunteers scheme. Janet Mason, youth worker, described a number of initiatives that were directed at improving the relationship between young people and their community. For example the community newsletter had been updated to appeal to a younger reader. The
interviews with youth workers demonstrated the feeling that Street Sport was a good concept, but was viewed as an isolated attempt to introduce football to a limited audience of young men. Generally the Street Sport session, although well established with the participants, had achieved little in terms of community development or acceptance. There were a number of agencies, both voluntary and statutory, working in this area and this could explain the community's view of Street Sport and other initiatives as another

"limited quick fix solution to a complex problem"

(Youth Worker, interview Willfield CEC, May 1999).

In conclusion, the Street Sport project represented a serious attempt at community development work with adolescents. The impacts were difficult to measure, but in each area the sessions were known about by older residents, and seen as a positive move for young people. If nothing else the sessions had convinced some of the residents of the needs of young people and the possibility of reducing friction by providing for this group. This was exemplified by the comments of residents in Stanfields:

"We need somewhere for youngsters go and some activities for them.... Unless this is addressed they will continue to cause trouble on the streets"

(Resident B, interview Stanfields Inter Agency Meeting, September 1999).

6.6.3 Sports Counselling Participants' Perceptions

The participants perceptions of the Sports Counselling Scheme varied between those who completed it after four or more sessions and those who failed to complete it. It was not surprising that those who were successful were more positive in the first follow up interview, as shown in the following example.

When asked if there could be any improvements to the scheme, Dean (Figure 6.5) who at 22 years old already had numerous convictions including a period in custody for firearms offences and had spent 10 sessions with his counsellor reported: 'No, I loved it!'. In this case the initial positive attitude was sustained over a 12 month period, during which time he continued to mountain bike around his local area, a sport introduced by the scheme.
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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Fig 6.9 Life History Chart: Jason

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However, in some cases an initial positive feedback from participants soon waned and subsequent follow-up at 6 and 12 months showed a more negative view of the Scheme. For example, Jason (Figure 6.9) who completed 4 sessions, initially reported enjoying the Scheme. However, after 12 months, he was no longer involved in activity because: ‘I didn’t know how to go about it’. He cited cost and a lack of equipment and company as reasons for this failure. All of these issues should have been covered on the Scheme. On completion he felt that they had, but after 12 months he was unable to create his own leisure opportunities: ‘I would love to join a football team but how to go about it, I haven’t got a clue’.

There were a number of reasons for not completing the course of four sessions. The participants referred to in this section, although interviewed at the beginning and sometimes the end of the scheme, did not complete the life history interviews. Employment was a key factor as shown by Colin, who came to the Scheme as he was new to the area and wanted to join a football team. He was initially very keen to get involved and was positive about his sports counsellor. However he stopped after two sessions because: ‘I work at McDonalds. This involves uncertain shift patterns and the sports counselling is really geared up to those who are not working.’ Although Colin was still in need of the leisure support from the Scheme, it was unable to meet the needs of employed probation clients. From Phase One, eight left the Scheme early because they were working or in full time education.

The second issue raised by those who failed to complete, was that the Scheme covered issues that were irrelevant when they were struggling to maintain basic aspects of daily life. The Scheme encouraged referral early in the probation order. However, some young people were not really ready to consider their leisure at this time. Those who were experiencing domestic upheaval and ill health sometimes reported that the counselling was another pressure they did not need. For example David was referred to the scheme four weeks into his probation order. He had recently suffered a nervous breakdown and reported problems sorting out his accommodation and benefits. He chose not to proceed past the initial interview.
because he saw the scheme as another hurdle rather than a help: ‘I’m having enough problems keeping the basics together, I’m not ready for this sort of scheme.’

Others who did not complete four sessions were still happy with their outcome. These participants usually had very clear ideas of what they wanted, and used the scheme as an information ‘spring board’. For example John was 21 years old and had enjoyed badminton during a term in custody for theft. He only used the Scheme for two sessions but was pleased with the outcome:

“ I wanted to continue badminton on my release but I did not know how to go about it. I was introduced to a badminton club in Southsea, it’s informal and close to home. I did not complete the four sessions but I got what I needed from the Scheme”

Participants who completed four sessions gave positive feedback in the exit interviews. They had all enjoyed the scheme and in particular valued the one to one contact with the Sports Counsellor. Their main criticism of the Scheme was that it was not long enough. Given this background, the counsellors were justified in believing that 8 sessions were needed for most participants, and this was reinforced by the 50% of participants who felt that the course was too short. One such respondent said

“When it ended I felt as if I was on my own again with nothing to do”

(Client ref: P101 feedback spring 1997).

Another confirmed this feeling

“There were not enough sessions to really get into the activities”

(Client ref: S78 feedback Spring, 1997).

Although group drop in sessions worked for some participants, for others with very sparse past leisure profiles and low self-confidence, longer individual contact was needed to alter attitudes and behaviour. One example of where the drop in sessions were instrumental, not only in providing ongoing support but also as a way for the participant to have a sense responsibility and purpose was demonstrated by Matt (Figure 6.10). This was a young man in his early twenties with a history of drug and alcohol abuse. These habits had contributed to his offending behaviour. He identified boredom as a major problem and another contributory factor in his offending. Both he and his Probation Officer identified that he had problems controlling aggression,
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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<td>Training</td>
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**LEISURE**

| Cinema                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Pubs / Bars                      |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gambling                         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| TV / Video                        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Live Music                        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gardening                        |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| DIY                              |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Night Clubs                      |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Pub Quiz                         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Shopping                         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Computer Games                    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Car Repairs                      |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Other                            |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

**SPORT / RECREATION**

| Football                          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Golf                              |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Rugby                             |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Walking                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Cycling                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Swimming                          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Weights                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Keep Fit                          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Darts                             |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Snooker                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Boxing                            |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Badminton                         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Squash                            |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Fishing                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Mountain Bikes                    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Martial Arts                      |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Running                           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Basket Ball                       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Skateboarding                     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

**Fig 6.10 Life History Chart: Matt**

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which was attributed to general frustration. His youth had comprised a unstable family with frequent changes in his domestic situation. This had led him to lack direction and guidance with his life style choices including use of leisure time.

On joining the project he was keen to reduce boredom and return to badminton which he had enjoyed in the past. He identified lack of support as a key factor constraining his leisure time. His involvement with the Scheme was ongoing since on completion he remained to help at a regular badminton session, which he felt gave him the sense of responsibility that he needed to rebuild his self esteem. After 12 months he reported regular participation in football, badminton and fencing. He reported: 'I found the benefits to be immense .........they include increased health and fitness also an increase in self esteem and self confidence...'.

THE ACTIVITY PROGRAMME:

Participant satisfaction with the activities was measured during follow up. The results show that only 12.5% were dissatisfied by the activity profile and felt that greater variety was needed, as shown by the following examples:

"More funding for other things in other areas"
(Client P26, feedback September 1997).

And from Tony who joined "To try a new sport", the scheme needed 'More variety'.

However, of these less satisfied participants, all but one attempted to continue on completion. For those who failed to complete the Scheme, eight said that they just were not interested in the activities available.

In most cases the activities were enjoyed by the participants: 29% felt that the activity profile was particularly good, although this was frequently merged with a general satisfaction with the sessions and the counsellor, rather than simply related to the activity as shown by two of the participants:

"I really enjoyed the running. top marks to CH (counsellor)"
(Client P48, feedback 1997),

and
"I think the sports sessions were good because they gave me a goal to aim for"

(Client P54, feedback 1997).

In terms of the Sports Counsellor's influence on activity choice, many agreed that the leader's enthusiasm for certain activities did encourage them to take part regularly in that activity. Most felt that this was a positive side to the Scheme, realising that they need a motivator to get back into leisure activity. Many reported that they had only hazy recollection of previous leisure activities and therefore appreciated the guidance of the sports counsellor. Some joined the Scheme with very fixed ideas about the activities they wanted and most reported that these were accommodated. Therefore, if there was a bias to certain activities by individual counsellors, this influence was viewed positively by participants, so long as their wishes and interests were also considered. A minority of participants had clear direction and ideas about their chosen activity. For many others the relationship with the counsellor was the most important factor.

THE COUNSELLORS:
The relationship with the sports counsellor was reported to be of primary importance in all of the 21 individual cases. Therefore the success of the project for participants rested on the rapport with the counsellor. The support offered by the counsellors was highly valued:

"I would like to say that my sports counselling officer was very good and he did everything possible to help me"

(Client P7, feedback 1997).

The only criticism of the sports counsellors among those who completed the Scheme was that they could not offer sufficient time to the participants, one commented that the scheme would have been more effective if it had offered:

"More time with (counsellor), he's too busy"

(Client F18, feedback 1997).

However the importance of the relationship with the counsellor could work against the Scheme. One participant who failed to attended after only one session commented that this was due to:

"The counsellor was too busy and preoccupied, I thought that it was more than just a game of badminton"

(Client S77, feedback 1997).
The participants perceptions of the Sports Counselling Scheme can be summarised as:

Participants generally liked and valued the Scheme.

The most important aspect of the Scheme for participants was the support of the sports counsellor, more important than the actual activities offered for three-quarters of the participant sample.

Most participants wanted more sessions, even if they did not actually need more to satisfy the requirements of the sports counselling process.

After six months 67% were still participating in activities introduced by the Scheme.

After six months 67% reported improvements in general health and well being.

Perceived benefits of the scheme were improved knowledge of leisure facilities and confidence to use them, improved self-esteem and some reduction in boredom.

Their perception of leisure opportunity was significantly improved through participation and this had the reported benefit for other family members.

6.7 Conclusions

The life history profiles and interviews with young people at risk of offending revealed impoverished leisure patterns which can be attributed to life experiences and environmental factors. In addressing the second research question the findings provide a much clearer picture of the problems that lead young people to develop anti-social and high risk leisure behaviours.

To address the first research question about the outcomes of participation in intervention for young people, both Schemes were evaluated in terms of their impact on delinquency. The results show that the Schemes had positive impacts on boredom and a lack of positive role models. In Street Sport there was significant impact on the peer groups. In Sports Counselling there was evidence of improved self confidence and the development of more positive attitudes to leisure. The Schemes were successful in medium term diversion by creating positive leisure opportunity. The fixed length contact in the Sports Counselling Scheme and the single session per
Chapter 6 The Outcomes of Active Leisure Interventions on Young People Before and After Offending

Week in Street Sport were perceived by young people as significant disadvantages for the projects.

Chapter 7 will explore the conclusions that can be drawn from this study in terms of the factors in provision that are important in helping young people achieve positive outcomes. The conclusions from this chapter regarding scheme management are that they must reflect young people's needs for:

- Consistent, stable provision. (Participants in Street Sport had attended the same session at same time for over a year, and this reliability was important)

- Long term contact. (With both outreach group work and individual counselling, positive outcomes took time to achieve, there was no quick fix)

- Positive relationships with the sports leaders

- Consultation and involvement in the design of the activity sessions, and

- Accessible activities. (Perceptual, social, financial and physical barriers to sustained participation).

Therefore, Chapter 7 will review the findings from long term observation and interviews with staff to identify approaches to provision which meet these needs.

References


CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

7.1 Introduction
The management and mechanics of service delivery were highlighted in the initial case study visits (Chapter 5) as crucial to the performance of projects. One of the questions posed by this research was to discover more about the aspects of managing schemes that support positive outcomes for participants. In Chapter 6, the qualitative results presented the young people’s experiences of both primary and tertiary interventions, and concluded that schemes must reflect the young people’s need for:

- Consistent, stable provision
- Positive relationships with the sports leaders.
- Consultation and involvement in the design of the activity sessions.
- Accessible activities, and
- Long term contact.

7.2 Factors that influence project stability

In his study of sports based interventions, Robins (1990) concluded that

"Practical attempts at solutions to delinquency, which broadly involve sports/recreation/outward bound, tend to be small scale, piece-meal and often haphazard, varying from agency to agency"

(Robins, 1990, p88).

As mentioned in Chapter 5, both schemes were selected for their strong and consistent management. The following aspects of scheme management were observed during the evaluation process to be critical in achieving and stable and reliable intervention: management, structure, position within the organisation, and attitudes to budgets and spending.
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

7.2.1 Managers

Robins (1990) highlighted dedicated managers as a key feature of many schemes:

"Although official backing and encouragement is important, the majority of programmes reviewed owe their distinguishing characteristics, if not their very existence, to the enthusiasm, dedication and commitment of a single individual... These individuals tend to resist what they see as bureaucratisation and over-systemisation and try to maintain an experimental and developmental attitude to their work"

(Robins, 1990, p. 91).

It is possible to conclude from this statement that highly motivated, dedicated managers bring both advantages and disadvantages to schemes. Both case studies featured dedicated managers and their impacts will be considered individually.

KEVIN SAUNTRY: STREET SPORT STOKE ON TRENT

Community Services was the idea of a committed and dedicated manager who believed in his vision of community services, as shown below:

"I fought hard to achieve the style of community recreation that I believe communities want and value. I am prepared to stand against policy which may threaten this provision even if this makes me unpopular"

(K Sauntry, interview June 1997).

His management style was strong but more distant in leadership than Sports Counselling. There was a large Department, of which the Street Sport initiative was only small part of the services under Saunty’s control. The manager spent most of his time representing the diverse aspects of Community Services at management and committee level. However, he recognised the need to return to the communities he served, to understand the current dynamics:

"The other day I went over to the new sports court in Middleport. There was a number of young people using it so I had the opportunity to find out what they needed and liked in terms of recreation"

(K Sauntry, interview May 1999).

The dedicated vision of management was essential to the survival of this initiative, but the day to day provision relied on a team of skilled personnel and project managers. Since there were many diverse initiatives in Community Services there was a hierarchical structure within the department. The work code of conduct was devised by Kevin
Sauntry and clearly demonstrated his approach to managing people and his expectation of his staff. This is shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Community recreation work standards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Integrity</th>
<th>Work Behaviour</th>
<th>Competence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>Reliability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty</td>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Manner of address</td>
<td>Initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Operation of systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work ideals</td>
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</table>

* by intention * by intention * by default

* The disregard of any of the above by the definition indicated is unacceptable

KEITH WALDMAN – HAMPSHIRE PROBATION SERVICE SPORTS COUNSELLING SCHEME

As already highlighted the Scheme was unusual in having the same manager throughout its existence, from 1984 to 1998. In common with Street Sport, project survival for over a decade can in part be attributed to the commitment of this manager. He was instrumental in the development of the project from a small independent youth intervention to a high profile probation scheme. For many years Keith Waldman promoted the Sports Counselling Scheme at a national level, presenting key note addresses at conferences around the country. His dedication and belief in values of the project helped to maintain its profile as a national demonstration project until its final demise in 1998.

As reported by Tungatt (1999) the Scheme survived by a process of continual review and monitoring of its position and aims. During the life span of the Scheme, the Manager attempted to evolve the provision to meet even tighter budgets, without losing the flexibility for the project to retain when required its long term approach.

The project had a simple management structure, with little hierarchy, as shown in Figure 7.1. This flat structure allowed direct communication between the Manager and the Sports Leaders. The management style was ‘hands on’ involvement in the day to day work of the Scheme. The Manager was observed to work alongside his staff at group sessions, adopting an open and casual relationship with them.

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CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

Figure 7.1 Staff Structure at Hampshire Sports Counselling Service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Full time</th>
<th>Part time</th>
<th>Placements</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fareham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aldershot/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Basingstoke</td>
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7.2.2 The Structure of Interventions

The size, structure and position within the parent organisation reflects both the culture of the project and the perceptions of the parent organisation. To a great extent the managers influenced the positioning of the projects within the organisations. Attempts to integrate the project into the organisation could assist its survival. As Handy (1988) pointed out, size brings economies of scale and greater scope for provision. However, it may also result in compromises in provision to meet the philosophy of the parent organisation, and the project can simply disappear into the parent structure, as eventually Hampshire Sports Counselling Scheme did in 1998. Alternatively the Manager could decide to retain autonomy and to dictate the organisational philosophy by separating its activities into a single relatively autonomous department. Both these approaches to positioning were observed in the case studies and were instrumental in the long term survival of the projects, as demonstrated in this chapter.

AUTONOMOUS DEPARTMENT- COMMUNITY RECREATION STOKE ON TRENT

The Department evolved from an independent community based initiative, the Hanley Youth Project. The ideals and work of this organisation were incorporated into the new Community Services Department. The Community Recreation Team was able to provide non facility-based services in local communities, drawing on a range of funding opportunities such a SRB (Single Regeneration Budget) and lottery money for community bids.
Table 7.2 Community Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>'Bringing communities together in partnership with the City Council'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Play Services</td>
<td>'Provides a variety of play opportunities'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play ground Provision</td>
<td>'Provision and maintenance of open access play areas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play training</td>
<td>'for play scheme leaders, schools, community groups'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Needs</td>
<td>'Integration throughout all its service areas'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outreach Services</td>
<td>'Connecting with young people - Street Sport'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Art Services</td>
<td>'Support communities with their art and promotional needs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event and Support Services</td>
<td>'Infrastructure for all other services'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event Training</td>
<td>'Community training to manage events'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Conservation</td>
<td>'Involvement of people in the wildlife management and practical conservation throughout the parks and green spaces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courses</td>
<td>'Training opportunities for all services'</td>
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</table>

Source: City of Stoke on Trent Community Services Poster

To create the Community Services Department several different functional areas were brought together: parks, greenspace, playgrounds, special needs, children’s play, community art, events, outreach and environmental conservation, as shown in Table 7.2.

These very different service areas were combined, with an emphasis on involving communities and enabling individuals by providing training opportunities. The focus for these activities was on using local parks and open spaces.

The manager of Community Recreation reported to the Director of Leisure and Recreation. All key policy and budgetary decision were made by the Leisure and Recreation Committee which reported in turn to the City Council. Generally the recommendations of this Committee were accepted. The position of Street Sport within the City Council Services is shown in Figure 7.2.

In 1999 the Street Sport project employed two full time outreach workers and up to 10 part time (sessional) staff, usually working three sessions a week. Support services were provided through the infrastructure of Community Recreation.
AN INTEGRATED SERVICE: HAMPSHIRE SPORTS COUNSELLING

The scheme was an example of a large scale tertiary intervention by the county Probation Service. The Scheme was one of the largest identified in the Stage 1 survey, both in terms of numbers attending and in its number of different geographic locations. It operated throughout Hampshire, serving major city sites in Southampton and Portsmouth with smaller places such as Gosport, Basingstoke, Aldershot, Andover, Fareham and The Isle of Wight.

In each location the Sports Counsellors were located in Probation or Youth Justice offices, except in Southampton. Here, until 1995, the scheme had its own offices close to the main street in the City centre. In 1995 these offices closed, leaving the head quarters in temporary accommodation first at Winchester and later back in probation offices in Southampton. The management of the scheme was positioned in the organisation as a separate department with the project manager aligned in status to Senior Area Probation Officers as shown in Figure 7.3.
7.2.3 Positioning in the Parent Organisation: Mainstreaming or Independence?

One of the key issues for the schemes was whether to mainstream the intervention into the parent organisation, or to retain autonomy. Both schemes had started as independent, small scale initiative, and joined with public service organisation to secure funding. However having joined these larger organisations the question for managers was how to position the schemes. The case studies demonstrate two different approaches to positioning.

**STREET SPORT**

In many ways the work of Community Services and Street Sport were integrated into City Council services as shown by the strategy for leisure in the city:

"Sport and Recreation offers a non threatening interventionist vehicle through which communities can be brought together"

(Stoke on Trent, 1995, p44).

This was translated into a recommended policy statement:
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

"The City Council recognises the need to provide community based initiatives that are not based in facilities as a means of meeting the needs of people in their communities"

(Stoke on Trent, 1995, p47).

This integration into obvious structures and policy statements was important for the Department in maintaining support and services. However in many other ways the Department was distanced both ideologically and geographically from the parent organisation. Community Services and Leisure Services reported to the Leisure and Recreation Committee for policy and funding approval. On a ideological level leisure services was influenced strongly by the emphasis of accountability and benchmarking common to many facility-based public leisure providers as the 1990s wore on. The recreation officer responsible for the Recreation Key Scheme, a leisure card facility discount scheme for socially excluded people, commented:

"Community Recreation operates in such a different atmosphere to us, we are subject to constant monitoring for tendering and benchmarking purposes. We have to be constantly aware of the demands of best value"

(R Gibson, interview November 1999).

In contrast, the leader of Community Development (and an original outreach services manager) commented that their measures of performance were more closely linked to community satisfaction and improved relationships.

"We are less constrained than leisure services by tendering agreements and statistical performance indicators. Local communities measure the success of our work"

(M Roberts, interview, May 1999).

The Department was also geographically distanced from the main bureaucracy of the local authority provision sited in the Civic Centre. By occupying their own offices in the old pavilion in Hanley Park, the Department was more able to create its own working environment and ethos.

SPORTS COUNSELLING

There was a constant pressure to demonstrate the role and importance of the sports counselling and to maintain a high profile among probation officers. This was achieved in part by locating the service centrally in probation offices. The sports counsellors
frequently shared their office space with other accepted service providers such as the community links team. Thus the Sports Counselling Scheme attempted to become a visible and integrated part of the Probation Service in Hampshire.

In discussing the loss of the dedicated office in Southampton, the Manager commented that

"it is easier to maintain referral levels and chase up participants if the counsellors are sited in the probation offices"

(K Waldman, interview, February 1996).

When the sports counsellors enjoyed working alongside probation officers in an office environment, there were many benefits from this direct contact. For example probation officers were well informed about the scheme and made appropriate referrals, as shown in the example of Sports Counsellor B who

"provided an outdoor activities weekend for probation officers, it was great fun and they have asked for another. I have also had more referrals since the trip"

(Counsellor B, interview, February 1997).

Whether this increase was linked to the personality of the sports counsellor, or the impact of experiencing the methods first hand was unclear. One probation officer said

"I now have a better understanding of the scheme and what Chris can offer my client. Before this contact I had referred very few, but now I can sell the experience to my clients"

(Portsmouth Probation Officer, interview, February 1997).

However, in isolated examples the temperaments and approaches to work of the sports counsellors were not suited to this office environment. In these examples their presence was observed to create frustration and suspicion about the value of their work. When making a third attempt to contact one counsellor, a frustrated probation officer commented:

"he is never here, we have got no idea what he does, but I would like an easy job like his!"

(Southampton Probation Officer, interview, April 1997).

There was however a second and more critical problem with the move towards main streaming the Sports Counselling project in the Probation Service. This related to the
image of the Scheme and the counsellors among participants. The closer links to visible aspects of probation work may have undermined the assertion that

"The activity officers are not Probation Officers or Social Workers"
(Sports Counselling Scheme Information, 1994).

The need to distance the work from the Probation Service was considered paramount during its early years. M Tungatt, the lead evaluator for the Sports Council (1991), commented that the Manager had always felt that the scheme would only attract young people if it was clear that the worker were not spying on them for the Probation Service. In reconciling this conflict the manager suggested:

"the approach to initial interviews can be flexible, although it is desirable for sports counsellors to set one day for initial interviews in their office, they retain the option to meet elsewhere if this is thought to be more appropriate"
(K Waldman, interview, 1996).

Overall, the Manager reported no great concerns about working within the probation system, and was realistic about the need for the project to reflect current probation issues, such as better productivity related to funding cuts. Unlike the managers at similar projects such as West Yorkshire, who resisted alterations to the project to meet probation criteria, Keith Waldman adopted a pragmatic approach to programme design; when discussing reduced sessions he said:

"It is important to reflect probation objectives and concerns in our work, after all they are our customer and without them there would be no referrals"
(K Waldman, interview, Summer 1996).

7.2.4 Funding and budgets of the schemes
In his conclusions for his study of sport as prevention, Robins pointed out that

"Cutbacks in local authority spending have been the major factor that accounts for the decline of the statutory Youth Service"
(Robins, 1990, p.89).

Funding for the projects that he studied showed a mix of local authority, probation service, charity and Sports Council funding. This was a similar mix to the range revealed during Stage 1 of this research project. However the balance of funding was increasingly moving towards short term awards, and projects could no longer expect long term
commitment to funding. The funding awards were usually based on performance demonstrated by some indicators. The measure of performance and attitude to meeting targets was shown to be critical in the survival of the two projects reviewed.

There are a number of issues related to funding that emerged from both case studies. Firstly, there was a need for initial funding to allow projects to get started, but more importantly sufficient to establish themselves and produce evidence related to outcomes. In both cases the funding provided by the Sports Council for a three year period seemed to have contributed crucially to their success. The funding details are shown in Table 7.3. An additional benefit associated with start up funding was that projects were required to consider evaluation from the start. Both projects demonstrated good internal reports on a quarterly basis, which could be traced back to early demands for evidence.

Table 7.3 Start up grant funding for the case studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SPORTS COUNSELLING</th>
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<th>STREET SPORT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>Probation</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year 1</td>
<td>£22,500</td>
<td>£100,000</td>
<td>£122,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year 2</td>
<td>£22,500</td>
<td>£109,500</td>
<td>£132,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year 3</td>
<td>£22,500</td>
<td>£100,000</td>
<td>£122,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£67,500</td>
<td>£309,500</td>
<td>£377,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Report to Leisure and Recreation Committee 1994 Stoke on Trent
Sports Counselling Final Evaluation Report, 1990
Sports Counselling Phase 2 Monitoring Report
Sports Counselling Phase 1 Monitoring Report

In both examples staffing costs were the primary expense: the revenue grant statement for year 2 (1994/5) at Street Sport reflected £34,995 allocation for staff salaries, representing 44% of the total budget. Similarly the Sports Counselling staff costs (£80,000) represented 60% of the total budget for year 1987/8 (year 2 for funding).

**Street Sport Budgets**

Analysis of the revenue statement for 1995/6 gives a clear indication of the allocation of funds for this initiative. This is shown in Table 7.4.
In 1995 Street Sport applied to the City’s Leisure and Recreation Committee to expand Street Sport into the Stanfields area with the following costing:

1 full time staff member £12,861 + 7.5% anti social hours
1 part time Staff member £5702
Total cost £18,563

In 1998 the cost per hour of providing 2 part time sessional staff for Street Sport was £8. This cost was described as follows in a bid for external funding or support:

“Grants of up to £5000 could fund the following: A team of two community outreach workers on a sessional basis (3 hour sessions), at £8 per hour for two sessions per week for one year”

(STLS- Active Community Involvement, not dated).

In September 1997 Street Sport bid for permanent funding from the Leisure and Recreation Committee. To cover the annual costs of 3 full time and 5 part time staff, transport and equipment, a budget of £52,430 was required (Leisure and Recreation Committee 9/9/97).

These costs remained relatively constant throughout the evaluation period, the summer 1999 report calculating the cost of a total of 203 staff hours for evening provision at £973.50, which gives a low hourly cost per staff member of £4.80. Once established, the manager of community recreation services, Kevin Sauntry, commented that the additional costs of provision were very low, fuel being the only other significant cost.
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

SPORTS COUNSELLING BUDGETS

The project was totally reliant on Probation Service funding. However it retained autonomy from the Probation Service, and the mechanics of service delivery were decided by the project itself. The main problem faced by the project was that it was not a statutory part of the Probation Service and, in a climate of financial cutbacks, the project was always vulnerable to either budget cuts or losing funding totally.

When the project was introduced the agreed annual budget was £100,000 provided by the Probation Service, which was allocated as follows:

"Working to the proposed budget of around £100,000, per year, supplemented by the remaining Sports Council grant of £22,500 for 1987/8 only, the Steering Group produced a draft budget totalling £132,000,... ... the principal elements were staff salaries and other support costs, such as training, and travel costs (£86,000), rent for premises (£8,000), office support costs (£2,500), equipment, mainly funded by the Sports Council Grant (£20,000), and travel and activity costs for the clients themselves (£11,000)"

(Tungatt, 1901, p.8).

By 1996/7 there were no longer costs for premises. That annual report indicated that there were five full time Sports Counsellors at an approximate cost of £75,000, and a manager and administrator costing £40,000.

ATTITUDES TO FUNDING

The budget structures for the two projects showed some similarities as shown in Table 7.5. Staffing was the major cost, especially in Hampshire, averaging 52.5%. Thus any budget cuts were likely to immediately affect levels of staff provision. By definition both outreach services and mentoring rely on the human input of the staff, therefore cost cutting was likely to require increased staff productivity. This was most clearly demonstrated in the Sports Counselling example. Street Sport retained greater flexibility by relying on part time casual staff for most of its sessions.

The attitude to meeting targets was shown to be critical in the survival of the two projects reviewed. There was a contrast between the project manager's attitudes to budget cuts. In the case of Sports Counselling, budget cuts resulted in drastic reductions to the number of sessions. Firstly the number of sessions was reduced to eight:
"I have to consider the needs of the Probation Service and how best to meet growing demands for a popular scheme with a fixed budget. Analysis of participants shows that many complete within eight sessions." 

(K Waldman, interview, March 1995).

Table 7.5 Budget allocations for the main case studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Sports Counselling 1987-8 %</th>
<th>Street Sport 1994-5 %</th>
<th>Mean %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicles</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>*23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hire/entrance</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin.</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Solent Sports Counselling Final Evaluation Report Appendix 2 Project Budget 1987/8
Stoke on Trent Community Recreation internal documentation, Revenue Grant Statement 11/12/94-30/11/95

However when the number of sessions was further reduced to four, there was an even clearer link to financial constraints:

"In order to maintain participation levels within budget it was important to address participant dependence.... by reducing the programme to four sessions we can maintain referral levels" 

(K Waldman, interview, March 1996).

In the other project, Street Sport, budget cuts were met with a search for alternative funding and a commitment to maintaining service levels, as demonstrated in an interview with the Manager:

"We are always looking to harness other sources of revenue, this can often be achieved through local business or community bids for regeneration grants. We will never be able to resource Street Sport city wide, but I believe it is important to main the quality of the existing provision, and we will find the necessary funding to support this level of work."

(K Sauntry, interview, June 1997).

In the medium term, both were successful. With a reduced programme length, the Sports Counselling scheme continued to support participant referrals in numbers of between 600 and 700 a year. However the Scheme’s eventual demise may be related to the reduction
in the duration, and therefore the perceived success of the project in terms of participant outcomes.

7.2.5 Summary
Although invisible to participants the managers, structure and funding of interventions have been shown to be critical in creating a stable project environment to support positive outcomes for young people. The following conclusions can be drawn from this:

- Dedicated managers, with clear vision and strong leadership give projects the direction and backing to survive after initial funding stops
- The strategy for positioning an intervention in the parent organisation is not clear cut. However to survive as an autonomous department, a manager must hold a senior position within the organisation as a whole
- Start up funding is crucial to project survival and can contribute good practice, such as monitoring. However start up should be secure for three years to allow the project to establish evidence of outcomes
- Staffing costs are the greatest expense for these interventions, therefore cuts immediately impact on either the scale or the intensity of provision.

7.3 Achieving positive staff/participant relationships
Staff could be employed from a leisure or sports background and trained in youth counselling skills; or they could be selected with youth counselling skills and then develop sports interests. The balance between sports ability and inter-personal skills was central to the client/leader relationship. There were differences imposed by the method of working: the sport counsellors did not have to generate their own case load because of the referral system, but they did have to manage paperwork on a regular basis. The Street Sport outreach workers had to motivate and attract young people to the scheme, but had little responsibility for paperwork and administration.

The research at both projects revealed a number of similarities in personal skills and qualities required for successful staff: In both cases the staff needed good inter-personal skills and the ability to build trust with young people. These skills had to be balanced against the ability to maintain control of situations and a professional relationship.
Although ability and interest in sport was seen by the Managers in both studies to be important, the 'people skills' were cited as the most important areas.

Secondly, the staff in both interventions worked remotely from any facility base, therefore a crucial element to the success of these projects was linked to staff development, support, communication and training. These issues were analysed for each project.

7.3.1 Street Sport Outreach Workers

Two full time members co-ordinated the sessions and staffing, while working to develop the community consultation process. The remaining staff were part time and therefore either worked in other areas during the day, or were students at the nearby Staffordshire University. The staffing levels in November 1999 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Time</th>
<th>1 male/ 1 female</th>
<th>White European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casual/Part time</td>
<td>7 male/ 3 female</td>
<td>2 ethnic minority/</td>
<td>8 white European.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The large proportion of part time staff was viewed as beneficial in the observation of sessions and interviews with participants. Their different experiences enhanced the strength of the team to relate to young people. The staff also represented diverse cultural groups, genders and ages. Including both male and female workers at each session was observed to lighten the game and to encourage conversation. However, there was little evidence that the female leader's presence encouraged mixed participation or reduced the male image of the sessions. The staff were also observed during a number of sessions and staff meetings were attended and staff interviewed.

The staff attitude and team spirit appeared to be an important factor in the success of the project. At each observed session the staff were positive and supportive of each other, this was critical in presenting a positive approach to the session management; feedback from staff reinforced the importance of teamwork to the success of the project. Teamwork was encouraged and developed through regular staff meetings. Attendance at the meetings was good and staff valued them as
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

"A good opportunity to air views and raise any problems or issues"

(Part time worker, interview, July 1999).

The meetings were important vehicles for staff development, but many skills were picked up on the job. With a majority of part time staff and a degree of turnover, the induction process for new staff was limited. Despite this, staff reported satisfaction with initial training:

"You learn and adapt on the job. There is no substitute for hands on training in this kind of job"

(Part time worker, interview, July 1999).

Due to the complex nature of the work some staff with a sports background expressed an interest in youth work training. Most members had a sports or leisure rather than the social and youth work background, prevalent at the Sports Counselling Scheme. Given the nature of the group sessions, with less emphasis on one to one work, this experience was observed as appropriate.

The staff had a clear understanding of the rationale for Street Sport, a significant feature because other predominately part time staffed projects failed to achieve this, as shown by the example of Squire Lucas in Chapter 4. This consensus helped to achieve a focused approach to provision. The project achieved the difficult task of creating a strong team of workers offering diverse talents and backgrounds.

7.3.2 Hampshire Sports Counsellors

The results presented in this section were collected from observation and interviews conducted with a sample of staff working as counsellors on the project. Some common features about the background of the sports counsellors were revealed. Firstly, most of them had prior experience in social work or youth work. Only one counsellor came from a sports/leisure provision background. Secondly, most of the counsellors were young, the average age being 35 years. The most important skills for counsellors were good communication and an ability to empathise with participants. Their sporting skills were generally unimportant so long as they had a general enthusiasm and aptitude for sport.
Overall staffing levels at Sports Counselling in March 1997 are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full time Sport Counsellors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>White European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>White European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin. Support</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>White European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Placement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>White European</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Hampshire Sports Counselling Referrals and Outcomes 1996/7).

The scheme was staffed by predominantly male counsellors who worked with 90% male referrals from probation. There was little representation of ethnic minorities within the staff team. Ethnic minorities were also under represented in the project referrals. The Manager, however, did not feel that the cultural background of the staff was a significant deterrent to the referral of other cultural groups.

The staff had a good understanding of the sports counselling process but were observed to interpret the approach to delivery in different ways. For example some encouraged and visibly enjoyed the drop in sports sessions to support their work, while others relied heavily on one-to-one contact.

In terms of training, communications and management, the Manager provided sympathetic and personal support, though he did recognise that this support needed to be balanced against the objectives of good project control and monitoring. This was a more contentious issue, since many staff members disliked the paperwork that they viewed as a distraction from their counselling work:

"There is an ever growing level of bureaucracy in the project, paperwork takes almost one working day each week."

(Counsellor A, interview. February 1997).

The Manager tried to reconcile this resistance in a number of ways. Firstly, regular visits were made to direct and collate the necessary case load management. Secondly, he acknowledged that new counsellors were selected not only for their interpersonal skills but also with regard to administrative skills.

Team meetings were held every 6 weeks to discuss generic issues and policy changes. Until 1998 this was observed to work well, with most staff expressing a feeling of
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

"involvement in policy development, which is a particularly satisfying aspect of working in this scheme. We feel like a good team even though we are spread out in the county and rarely meet up."

(Counsellor C, interview, March 1996).

However, this positive atmosphere proved harder to maintain when greater change became inevitable. Having announced the changes to the scheme in March 1998, three staff who were interviewed all expressed feeling distanced and dictated to, in the most important aspects of their careers. The Manager justified the job change for counsellors as

"the best option for job security and career development"

(K Waldman, Interview, March 1998).

However the counsellors were concerned about a number of issues

"This decision was made without any consultation"

(Counsellor B, interview, April 1998).

"I chose this job because I like sport and did not want an office job.. now that is just what I've got"

(Counsellor A, interview. March 1998).

The relationship between the Manager and the sports counsellors was open and rarely confrontational, this was critical in supporting positive relationships between counsellors and participants. The manager stressed the underlying importance of

"Supporting the sports counsellors whenever possible and sharing their objectives to meet client's needs"

(K Waldman, interview, March 1996).

7.3.3 Summary: staffing interventions

The feedback from participants in Chapter 6 highlighted the importance they placed on building a positive relationship with their sports leaders or counsellors, particularly in Hampshire Sports Counselling. The following have been demonstrated to be important in supporting positive staff / participant relationships:

- The staff selection process was critical
- Team meetings are important to support staff development and maintain good morale

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Staff need to feel that there is a good support network offered through managers and other team members.

7. 4 Meeting needs: Involving young people

In both projects, the Managers had a strong background in youth work, their emphasis was not on activity provision, but using the activity to build social skills and self-esteem:

"We are not here to produce great performers but to enable offenders to rebuild some aspects of their lives through leisure activity"
(K Waldman, interview, February 1996).

This was reiterated by Kevin Sauntry, the manager of Stoke Community Services, who asserted:

"Sport was simply an available source of funding and popular hook, from which to continue effective youth and community development work"

Despite this, for the Schemes to be successful, the activity profile would appear to be the key, since this was the attraction of the schemes to participants. The process of activity selection and programme design in both projects involved young people.

7.4.1 Street Sport reconnaissance and community development

In Street Sport the criterion was simple; the outreach workers should meet the demands of the young people. The criterion was further investigated in an interview with a full time outreach worker.

"The initial outreach process identifies the community resources available and the interests of the young people"
(Outreach Worker, Interview, July 1998).

This process was identified as a continuum of provision from childhood, through adolescence to adulthood. Initially community recreation reached children within their communities through play services, and a comprehensive delivery of holiday play schemes directed at children up to 12 years of age. There is significant evidence from other schemes, including the review of SPACE, the Staffordshire Police play scheme, which suggests a link between good holiday play scheme provision and reduced surges in petty 'holiday' crime concerning juveniles. The links to theory are clear, young people
with time on their hands become bored, their parents may still be at work during the day, and thus in peer groups petty crime and vandalism result. Play schemes divert young people from crime by offering affordable, stimulating and exciting activities under supervision during the long empty weeks of school holidays. The play service is an important element in community recreation for two main reasons:

1. "The ethos and policy for play provision in terms of equality, opportunity and community involvement were used to shape subsequent initiatives such as Street Sport.

2. The play service reaches 48 districts within Stoke on Trent and makes contact with parents and children in these areas. The approach involves creating partnerships with local people, which provides important contacts for other initiatives. In 1998/9 partnerships were established with 33 community groups through play schemes" (Report on Play Service 1998/9).

The play schemes were high profile services, which provided a popular distraction for primary age children. In this way the play schemes provide an important basis to create a more positive community image for children. This positive energy and enthusiasm generated in children requires direction and encouragement in adolescence.

The community recreation team had sought to offer a transition from play scheme activities to community involvement in adulthood. The approach to delivery has been conducted in three ways:

"Outreach sports workers; Hang out shelters alongside sports areas; Sports Court Network"

(Internal Documentation 1995).

The three pronged approach ensured that the delivery was seen not simply as another football session which simply provided a few hours diversion but part of a planning process to meet the needs of young people within their communities. The process engaged young people in visible positive activity, usually in the form of a football session. This process aimed to encourage a positive dialogue with the community and increased recognition that the needs of these young must be addressed.

The internal documentation for Street Sport demonstrates a clear process for service delivery with distinct approaches or methods at each stage. The overall process is
Figure 7.4 Street Sport consultation process

Figure 7.4 demonstrates that the process of service delivery relies on consultation with both young people and their communities at every stage. The documentation pointed out that:

"An important factor in the initial development work was to utilise and strengthen existing links within the community. ... The first contact with young people was able to take place only after contacts with core groups of teenagers in each location, establishing ground rules that ensured minimal
This contact was described as reconnaissance in further documentation of recommended approaches. The reconnaissance collected quantitative and qualitative evidence under the headings People and Services (quantitative data) and Values and Attitudes (qualitative data). The values and attitudes were collected to identify social boundaries and problem areas. This was collected by:

"involvement and communication with the neighbourhood through a broad range of approaches. These would include:
Working with schools, 'Street Sport', linking in to residents associations
gaining acceptance into any social gathering - pubs, clubs, celebrations etc"

(Proposal for Street Sport 1994).

The contact with young people was made through outreach techniques developed by the youth service for detached workers. Outreach workers made contact with young people

"where they naturally congregate - on street corners, outside shops, in parks etc., engaging in conversation, to enable us to learn how we can serve them best"

(Internal document 'Why Street Sport?' not dated).

In preparing staff for this method of working Street Sport adhered to the methods of operation and management as recommended by the National Federation of Detached Youth Work. Once established in the team, workers were supported through regular team meetings to explore issues and provide training or guidance.

When the reconnaissance was complete then sessions were provided on a regular basis, usually one evening per week, at a site selected through the following criteria:

"Consideration had to be given not only to the teenager's needs but also to the suitability of the site in a range of changing conditions for example the numbers attending, weather and ground condition; amount of light, etc. Of primary concern was the likelihood of possible recreational conflict with local residents"


The choice of site sometimes changed to fulfil these needs. Once established the sessions were often well attended by a regular core group. However if numbers were low the staff reverted to the reconnaissance work with young people to re-establish the session. The
process was one of continual review and consultation both with older community members and young people. The session always used free open space, usually the parks or sports courts managed by Community Recreation. The choice of site often restricted the activity options, for example basketball could only be offered at two of the three observed sites.

The objective to meet the needs of young people could have given rise to a broad range of requests. There was a choice of team or group activities, including netball and basketball. However these were limited by the sites and available equipment. The only portable equipment observed was football goal posts. Also, since the session needed to occupy a large group of young people, individual activities or sports were inappropriate. Therefore football, was frequently the only common denominator within the group and the only one suited to the available resources.

Activity selection from the limited options was often completed when the session was first introduced. While attendance remained high, the activity was not reviewed. In all of the observed sessions the activity was football. The young people joined the session to play football, Street Sport was perceived by participants and community as a football scheme. This, as will be demonstrated, alienated a number of potential participants. Females in particular resisted male dominated sessions and mentioned their desire for alternatives.

7.4.2 Individually Tailored Programmes: the Sports Counselling Process

The objectives of the Sports Counselling Project were central to the referral process.

"The aims of the scheme are as follows:
1. To provide a programme of sport and leisure activities for offenders using resources within the community of the participants.
2. To develop the goodwill and co-operation of the appropriate agencies within the community, and wherever possible use resources on a shared basis.
3. To enable offenders to participate in sport and leisure activities at their own level in a friendly and supportive environment so that the activities may be continued on completion of their programme.
4. To allow participants the opportunity to have positive experience through the medium of sport and leisure activities, enabling them to develop the social skills which help them link with appropriate agencies."
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

5. To help offenders become aware of educational/training and employment opportunities following the build up of motivation, self esteem and confidence through the activities.

6. To contribute to crime reduction programmes including working with hostels and Probation Centres”


There were a number of key aspects to service delivery that influenced the way that the project functioned. Firstly the project was directed by a philosophy of choice and enablement. The participants were involved in designing a programme that would meet their specific needs. To maintain a uniform direction in this scheme it was important to have a fixed process and scope for the scheme as a whole, setting clear boundaries in terms of the activities and time available to all participants. This was achieved through the documentation, the standard referral form as shown in Appendix 12. This clearly defined the activities and the time on offer for each participant. However, the time constraint was always reviewed if further sessions were deemed necessary for successful completion.

The process of referral was established during the first evaluation period and was presented in a flow diagram in the final report, 1991. This diagram could be used by staff to clarify any route through the scheme and is shown in Figure 7.5.

Witt & Crompton (1996) described the sports counselling process as three distinct phases:

"First an initial commitment is vital... ... ... The middle stage for each client is a process of self assessment... ... ... The most difficult stage facing the project is defining the limit of its involvement with individual clients”


This process was clearly identified both by the tracking form and the flow diagram.

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Figure 7.5 Hampshire Sports Counselling Scheme pathways for individual clients

Probation  Day Centre  Court  Other

Initial Contact

yes  no

Appointment

Leisure Pass

Activity

No show  Probation off.

Group  Individual  Sports Club

Weekly appointment

END

Visit

Join/ go again

No interest  Custody  Job  Move  Club

yes  no

END  END  END  CONT.  CONT.
A unique site reference number tracked each referral to the scheme. The referral, usually made by a probation officer, was made using a tracking form as shown in Appendix 12. The tracking form content varied to reflect the opportunities available at each site. The referral included details of the client, the reason for referral and the client’s objectives and interests. This section was reviewed in the initial interview, when each activity could be better explained by the counsellor. There was also a health declaration, which provided the counsellor with essential health and lifestyle information to make safe and appropriate activity selection.

The tracking form allowed the objectives of both the probation officer and the participant to be considered when designing a suitable activity programme. Objectives were recorded as follows: probation officers and clients. The relationship between probation officers’ and client objectives are shown in Table 7.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Probation</th>
<th>Client</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constructive use of leisure time</td>
<td>Relief from boredom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Achievement</td>
<td>Learn new skill/sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help loneliness/depression</td>
<td>Help loneliness/ depression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve relation with authority</td>
<td>Get on better with people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help the community</td>
<td>Help the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase local knowledge</td>
<td>Increase local knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health issues</td>
<td>Health check</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxation/excitement</td>
<td>Relaxation/excitement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting new people</td>
<td>Meeting new people/friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting fit</td>
<td>Getting fit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4.3 Summary: Involving young people

In Chapter 6 young people emphasised the importance of contributing to the design of the intervention, and both projects achieved this in different ways.

- Street Sport involved young people in the initial session design but were less able to incorporate individual needs into ongoing sessions due to the group setting.
Hampshire Sports Counselling designed each programme with the individual therefore it was easier to meet the diverse needs of participants.

7.5 Work Practices : Achieving Effective Delivery
The style of work was significantly different in the two studies. The Street Sport project was dominated by group work, supplemented with one to one interaction. In contrast the Sports Counselling was primarily an individual counselling process, which used group work to supplement programmed sessions and support participants’ exit routes.

7.5.1 Working with Groups
In Chapter 6 the individual participant case studies were reviewed, and demonstrated how particular needs could be met by the Sports Counselling scheme. For participants with mental health problems the one-to-one sessions were particularly important in building self-confidence. For other participants, initial sessions to increase confidence on a ‘one to one’ basis were important but group sessions helped half of the Phase Two sample to sustain participation on completion. At Street Sport the group environment worked effectively when sufficient workers were present. It was demonstrated that 3 or 4 workers were needed to support the games and allow individual counselling to happen during the session.

It is possible to conclude that the influence of and integration in the peer group is critical at the pre offending stage. Interventions to prevent delinquency cannot ignore this influence, and therefore attempts to reach the group as whole, acknowledging its’ dynamics, may be the only effective way to reduce offending. However, at post offending levels, the individuals were generally less confident, exhibited lower self esteem, and required help to re-establish constructive leisure patterns. They were not placed in a group situation, although the project was often more successful in terms of continued participation when family, friends or partners were included in some activity sessions. The group sessions were important as a follow up mechanism, but for many, could not stand alone.
The main issues in both case studies related to group sessions were session leadership, meeting diverse needs, integrating new players and influencing peer pressure.

**LEADING BUT NOT DICTATING THE ACTIVITY SESSION**

The emphasis of Street Sport was to 'meet the needs of young people'. Therefore the sessions had to reflect the desire of the majority. The outreach team had developed an approach to provision in which they operated as participant observers. On arrival they would take the lead from the young people as to how quickly the equipment was set up and the game started. They would try to assess the body language and feeling of the group; if there was little interest in a game they did not push the activity, but spent time talking with the group. Throughout the session observations it was evident that there was never the attitude to organise the session by creating teams and refereeing the game. There was a noticeable lack of whistles, commonly used to control team sports.

In the drop in sessions for Sport Counselling, the style of provision varied depending on the counsellor. However the general practice assumed that this was a sports session, and that the young people had come to play sport. As with Street Sport, the football session relied on gentle guiding rather than external policing by a referee with a whistle.

**MEETING THE DIVERSE NEEDS OF PARTICIPANTS**

Street Sport was careful to stress that it was

"Not able to meet the total recreational needs of all young people in the City"

(Street Sport document, no date).

Of the 13 sessions observed, all were for football, except at Stanfields where there was the opportunity and space to play two sports concurrently, and two basketball sessions and some roller blading was observed. Most sites only had space to run one activity and therefore the majority support was usually for football. The sessions, particularly in summer, attracted a number of spectators and they were sometimes asked if they would like something different. However alternatives were rarely provided. This was highlighted by one respondent at Stanfields:
"I ask if we can do other games and they say that you will bring it next time but you never do"  
(Girl, 13, Stanfields September 1999).

In the Sports Counselling group sessions there was less need to address individual interests, since this was covered by setting up the individual programmes. The drop in sessions were generally promoted as sport specific, for example football or fitness training. When a multi activity session was offered then the over-riding desire from participants was observed to be to play football. However leaders sometimes tried to encourage, but not force, other activities such as badminton, prior to the football. This allowed the ongoing support of other sports.

INTEGRATING NEW PLAYERS INTO EXISTING GROUPS

In two of the Street Sport areas observed, Stanfields and Bentilee, a regular core group of young people had been attending the sessions for as long as three years. This meant that both sessions were dominated by older, physically larger adolescents. The session at Bentilee was observed by outreach workers as ‘fast, physical and serious’.

This raised concerns as to how younger people could be integrated into the sessions. During the observation in July 1999, one younger respondent observed these difficulties, reporting that he would like the sessions more if ‘they were all the same ages’.

When this issue was raised with Ian Wright, Outreach Worker, he highlighted their dilemma:

"We want to meet the ongoing needs of the young. There is no policy of fixed length attendance, therefore we have to manage sessions to encourage the integration of new players, while relying on natural progression as an exit route”

(Ian Wright, Interview, 1999)

By September 1999 this natural progression, the transition of older adolescents to adulthood, was observed to have worked effectively. Three younger players were well integrated into the game and two older players had left due to work commitments. The drop-in nature of the group sessions at the Sports Counselling scheme meant that their dynamics were ever changing. Integration was generally not an issue for the
sessions which were usually introduced towards the end of individual programmes when trust between counsellor and participant had been established and the latter's self confidence was to some extent improved.

INFLUENCING NEGATIVE PEER GROUP PRESSURE

We have established that the negative influence of the peer group is significant cause of juvenile delinquency. It was therefore essential that the projects worked to reduce these influences which could directly damage the effectiveness of the sessions, particularly in the outreach setting. The negative influence of peers was observed at Street Sport to originate from spectators, not players generally. To combat this influence the sessions were staffed by three workers, one of whom was involved in mingling with spectators and subtly diverting negative activity through conversation.

7.5.2 Working with Individuals

The main issues related to individual counselling were identified as activity selection, creating independent leisure, counselling sensitive issues and creating exit routes.

APPROPRIATE, ACCESSIBLE ACTIVITY PROFILE

The activities had to be affordable for continued participation. The activities were generally provided by the public or voluntary sector to achieve a low cost programme, which could be sustained by participants on a low income. In Portsmouth and Southampton the Leisure Card scheme influenced the activity profile. All of the Phase One and Two participants said that they had received a leisure card through the Scheme. For those who had completed more than two sessions, all had been shown how the scheme worked. The Southampton Leisure Card offered free day time use of many leisure venues and all of the participants in Southampton said that they intended to continue to use it after the fourth session. However the Portsmouth scheme offered limited discounts and facilities, often in remote locations from the homes of participants. Therefore in Portsmouth continued use of the card was less enthusiastic. One participant said:
CHAPTER 7 ASPECTS OF THE PROVISION OF ACTIVE LEISURE BASED INTERVENTIONS THAT SUPPORT POSITIVE OUTCOMES

"I live in Southsea, the main place to use the leisure card is Mountbatten on the other side of the city. This involves two bus journeys and costs about £2. I cannot afford this”

(Participant interview, Portsmouth, 1997).

In the other sites the counsellors used off-peak discounts to reduce the cost of participation where possible. The counsellor working in Aldershot, Basingstoke and Farnborough commented:

"Cost is a problem for participants in these areas. In Basingstoke leisure is very commercialised and there are very few discounts, sessions can easily cost £2 - £3, which is too high for young people on the scheme. I try to encourage non facility based activity here, like cycling and running”

(Counsellor A, interview, Aldershot, 1997).

Activities should reflect the participant’s interests. Despite the wide range of activities offered by the Sports Counselling Scheme, analysis of actual activity take up showed little variation in individual activity profiles, which were constantly based on popular activities such as football, fitness studio use, badminton and running. Analysis revealed that clients requests were often not met for non-leisure card activities. The most frequently offered sessions were those most freely available at local sites using the leisure card, particularly in Southampton where all of the observed sessions, both group and individual from 1995 to 1998, took place at leisure card venues. The issue of responding to client choice was raised in a subsequent interview with the Manager, and in the first set of follow up questionnaires. The questionnaires demonstrated that, for leisure card sites, continued participation was related to leisure card activities rather than initial participant choice. This was explained by a female participant in Southampton:

"I didn't know what to choose when my probation officer showed me the form, when I met Helen she told me about the leisure card and some of the opportunities. I now use the card for swimming at Bitterne, I can also bring my children, it's free and they love it”

(Female interview, Bitterne, April 1997).

Choice involves understanding your options, and given the previous leisure experiences of participants (Chapter 6) it was impossible for them to make an informed choice at the referral stage. These participants needed to try a range of activities before deciding what they wanted to continue with:
"The referral form gives me something to talk to the participants about in the initial meeting but in most cases the activity selection changes when they have more information and encouragement."

(Counsellor A, Aldershot, 1997).

The activities should also represent constructive leisure and be socially acceptable. The issue of providing a definition for constructive leisure was more problematic, and in many cases was left to individual counsellors. Snooker and gambling were generally avoided within the scheme.

The activity should be accessible by public transport, ideally local to the client’s home. Where possible community based opportunities were offered through clubs, groups and local organisations. The most successful integration into local groups was with special needs sports clubs. Clients were either introduced as participants or helpers and in both cases they often continued to maintain these links on completion. For example Tony (Life History Profile 5) was introduced to the Mallards Swimming Club. Six months after completing the scheme, Tony was still attending the Mallards regularly, despite his previous isolation and problem integrating into local groups exemplified by the following comment:

"I used to go to a church group but they didn’t understand me and I got into a dispute."

(Tony, interview, Aldershot, 1997).

ENABLING INDIVIDUALS: CREATING INDEPENDENCE RATHER THAN DEPENDENCE

A common feature of the young people attending these interventions was a lack of a consistent positive role model. Particularly in the Sport Counselling scheme, where there was a fixed length programme and exit routes, it was important that the sport counsellor was seen as

"a short term facilitator not a long term supporter."

(K Waldman, interview, 1997).

By creating a medium term programme of twelve sessions the risk of focus on befriending and mentoring rather than enabling participants was of concern to the Manager.
"Sport Counsellors can get too involved with participants and forget what they should be working towards, independence not dependence."
(K Waldman, interview, 1997).

As the scheme evolved and the number of programme sessions was reduced to four, the Manager devised work guidelines to achieve the role of enablement and independence. These included a focus on participants getting to venues independently and involving participants in the process of accessing leisure facilities (buying tickets, using lockers). This was effective for participants with adequate self confidence and communication skills, who simply required motivation and information. However, for those participants who were referred with low self confidence (72%), this was unlikely to be achieved in four sessions. This could reinforce feelings of isolation:

"The scheme was great but when it finished I felt alone, back where I started"
(Participant, follow up, 1997).

Street Sport motivated young people through positive example. They created an enjoyable environment and demonstrated high standards through example. The team did not force issues or activities on the young people. They encouraged greater involvement in the community through consultation and youth forums. Examples of successful enablement were observed at each session. For example, the progression into further and higher education was encouraged by the personalities and experiences of the outreach workers. This was demonstrated by the case of Richard in Cobridge who was still studying and hoped to go on to higher education. He was inspired both by the leaders and other players. Seeing ordinary people achieve academic goals had helped him to stick with his studies, even when many of his peers were working.

COUNSELLING SENSITIVE ISSUES

In both cases, as trust developed with participants, workers needed to deal effectively with sensitive issues. This could include relationship advice, drugs, and emotional problems. The workers were not specifically trained to deal with these issues, but the guidance for staff at both projects was

"To use your common sense or own experiences where you can, otherwise seek advice from the team"
(Team Meeting Street Sport September 1999).
The Sports Counselling scheme staff encouraged participants to seek the appropriate professional support when the issue was more complex than they could easily cope with.

**ENDING THE PROGRAMME**

This was only an issue for the Sports Counselling scheme since the scheme officially ended after four sessions, although over half the Phase Two sample experienced more than four sessions. This was discussed with the Manager, who suggested that the four sessions was stipulated to be an achievable goal for participants who found commitment difficult. He also indicated that it allowed a review point. The sports counsellors were forced to reflect on individual cases, and the benefits of attendance after 4 session. If this analysis justified continued support on special grounds, such as depression, then this was usually agreed by management.

Staff had to plan from the first interview for exit routes that would allow continued participation. This was approached in a number of different ways; integration into clubs, increasing participant confidence in accessing leisure, selecting volunteer support and integration into drop in sessions.

### 7.6 Reaching the Target Groups

A critical measure of success for the Schemes was linked to whether they were working with their target groups. The Sports Counselling Scheme aimed to reach all offenders who expressed an interest in a sports based intervention. However, from the start it was seen not to be able to attract all groups of offenders. The Final Evaluation Report from the Sports Council in 1991 pointed out that:

"The vast majority of the clients are male (93%), with only 37 women referred throughout the two year period. Two thirds of the referrals were aged between 17 and 21"


This profile was consistent throughout the evaluation period. Sports Counselling was perceived by the probation officers as:

"A great thing for young males"

(Probation Officer, interview, Southampton, 1997).
The referral process relied on probation officers offering the project to their clients. Therefore many groups were excluded by the subconscious decision of their officers, who generally failed to consider the potential of the Scheme for females and older clients.

Street Sport aimed to work with young people already on the streets. The analysis of participants showed that this was achieved. 'Hanging around' was the main leisure activity of 22 of the 35 young people interviewed. However, four non-participant females also reported being on the streets during free time. Therefore both projects were attracting the male element of their target group but failed to reach young women. This raises three main issues. Firstly, although still much lower than male rates, female crime among adolescents is increasing. Secondly, young women reported feeling vulnerable and fearful when hanging around, therefore their leisure was not only improvised but they felt isolated in their free time. Finally, interviews with young women at Sports Counselling suggested that the benefits of introducing active leisure may transfer to children; through their mothers participation, new role models could be nurtured.

The activity range for the project was demonstrated to be the single most powerful tool in reaching young people and satisfying community expectations. Analysis of both projects revealed the potential to exclude females, not by the lack of female workers, but through the visible activity range. In 1997 a part time female worker was appointed to address the under representation of females on the Sports Counselling Scheme. She increased female involvement in Southampton and Portsmouth, although levels remained low. This was explained by the Manager as

"many Probation Officers fail to perceive sports schemes as appropriate for female clients, they automatically refer young males. The presence of a female worker helps to encourage and sustain female referrals on the Scheme, but does not seem to address the issue of under referral of female clients by Probation Officers”

(K Waldman, interview, 1996).

A similar experience was found at Street Sport, where the presence of female workers at every activity session was
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"Providing a calming influence on the male players but not really attracting female players"

(Outreach Worker, Interview, May 1999).

Therefore in both examples the cause of female exclusion was the activities and therefore the image. At Street Sport a female non participant commented:

"We don't like football, that's all Street Sport is"

(Non Participant, Bentilee, July 1999).

At the Sports Counselling Scheme, the female counsellor commented that:

"The referral form puts them off, it's all weights and football, there's no mention of aerobics or netball, women see that and decide it's not for them"

(Sports Counsellor C, Interview, April 1997).

Therefore both projects’ success can be identified with young males, the group most at risk of offending as shown in Chapter 1, but the growing group of young women at risk was not addressed adequately by these interventions.

7.7 Conclusions

In answer to the third research question, this chapter has demonstrated that there is no single recipe for successful project management. The two case studies did however share a number of important features which supported positive outcomes for participants:

- Dedicated consistent management.
- Start up funding commitment for three years subject to monitoring.
- Staff members who exhibit good inter-personal skills and empathy with young people.
- An attempt to provide local, affordable and popular recreation activities.
- Participants are volunteers and are consulted on activity provision.
- An attempt to evaluate and produce evidence of performance.

The key differences that were highlighted were:

- Group sessions are suitable for reaching the influential peer group setting, rather than individuals, at pre offending levels. However, individual sessions are needed for many alienated and labelled individuals at post offending levels.
- Evaluation is generally easier to design for fixed length individual programmes. Outreach services face greater challenges in producing detailed, standardised evidence.
• Although portrayed as a negative feature of scheme management by Robins, managers who stick to their ideology and explore new avenues of funding may survive longer than those who tailor projects to the prescription of the main funder.

In addressing the fourth research question the evidence supports Street Sport as an example of primary level intervention, which achieves both community development and diversion for young people (mainly male) at risk of offending. At tertiary level Hampshire Sports Counselling showed that community integration was more difficult to achieve, since many community groups resist the integration of known offenders. This would suggest that primary intervention more effectively integrates young people into their communities and addresses the issues of labelling, status and a need to belong.

Chapter 8 will conclude with the main findings of this research including the rationales for intervention, the nature and scope of provision, life history profiles, issues for providers and the research outcomes.

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CHAPTER 8 : CONCLUSIONS

The study aimed to make a unique contribution to research in the complex area of leisure based interventions with young people at risk of offending. To achieve this, the literature review revealed a confusion of theory and outcomes. It was suggested that this had led to poorly constructed schemes, which lacked clear rationale and evaluation. Initially the research process addressed the need for a clearer rationale for provision, which had been identified by sociologists (e.g. Coalter, 1996), leisure studies and management experts (e.g. Taylor and Nichols, 1996) and criminologists (e.g. Robins, 1990). These findings led to the design of the theoretical framework presented in Figure 3.3. This framework represents a new approach to the problem of rationales for schemes involving active leisure. Therefore it was important to test whether it could be applied across the full spectrum of provision. The first stage of the research process produced a multi-disciplinary review of existing provision and established key factors for successful provision across the array of methods and levels of intervention and was a good test of the framework (Chapter 5).

This chapter will present the key findings for each stage of the research that contribute a new perspective to this area of study. The research questions were underpinned by the aim to produce findings which focus on young people’s experiences (Greenaway & Barrett, 1995) and used qualitative techniques to establish outcomes of schemes. To conclude, this chapter will firstly consider how far the research addressed the four research questions.

8.1 The research questions

In Chapter 3 four questions were posed, to be addressed during the research process. It is therefore important to review the findings in relation to these questions:
1. What are the personal outcomes for participants in leisure based interventions, and are these linked to the causes of delinquency?

Initial research in Stages 1 and 2 provided an insight into the most commonly claimed outcomes for leisure based interventions at all levels based on a quantitative survey and follow up, as shown in Table 5.2. The most frequent claims included the benefit of increased social interaction, improved self awareness and self confidence, increased self esteem and the acquisition of new skills.

Research in Stage 3 concentrated on the experiences and perceptions of young people to create a better understanding of the actual outcomes from participation for young people. Young people who sustained their involvement with either project for more than four sessions reported improved self confidence and changes to their leisure patterns.

The participants' perceptions of the outcomes from Street Sport were reported as greater use of parks and open spaces for sports and leisure activity and an improved sense of community. The personal outcomes from the Sports Counselling Scheme can be summarised by the following results:

- After six months 67% were still participating in activities introduced by the Scheme.
- After six months 67% reported improvements in general health and well being.

Perceived benefits of this scheme were improved knowledge of leisure facilities and confidence to use them, improved self-esteem and some reduction in boredom. Their perception of leisure opportunity was significantly improved through participation and this had a reported benefit for other family members. Changes in personal factors among the Sports Counselling follow-up sample are shown in Table 6.9.

The results show that the Schemes had positive impacts on boredom and a lack of positive role models. In Street Sport there was significant impact on the peer groups. In Sports Counselling there was evidence of improved self confidence and the development of more positive attitudes to leisure. The personal outcomes from participation in the Schemes can be linked to several of the theoretical causes of
delinquency (peer group, boredom, lack of parental support and control, frustration and the search for excitement).

In the initial analysis of the theoretical causes of delinquency presented in Chapter 2 the 'structure versus agency' debate was discussed. The causes of delinquency were then presented as either internal (agency) or external (structure) factors (Chapter 2, p.33). Giddens (1982) suggested that neither structure nor agency have primacy, both have equal importance in dictating individual actions. Therefore interventions must address both internal and external factors to reduce the impacts of the causes of delinquency. The reported outcomes from both schemes concentrated on personal (agency) factors, although the positive role models provided by each scheme and the improved perceptions of young people about their residential setting, in terms of leisure opportunity may address some aspects of the external causes of delinquency.

In addressing the causes of delinquency the Schemes were shown to be able to address mainly the internal causes of delinquency. This supports the findings of Coalter (1996) that active leisure interventions may be part of, but are unlikely to provide a total solution to juvenile delinquency.

2. What is the nature of the leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending? Are there links between boredom, frustration, parenting, peer group, deprivation and social environment (all established causes of delinquency) and current leisure patterns?

The analysis of leisure patterns of young people at risk of offending showed that leisure experiences and levels of participation were very limited. The comparison of reported constraints to leisure participation in Table 6.8 showed some important similarities between pre- and post offending groups of young people. Both groups stressed that costs and lack of money were significant constraints to their participation. The research showed that young people at post offending levels became isolated, and a lack of information about opportunities and company became more significant factors influencing leisure behaviour. Although rates of physical health problems severe enough
to preclude participation remained constant, at post offending level the incidence of mental health problems, noticeably depression, became a significant feature.

These reported constraints to participation, combined with the life history profiles of past leisure behaviour, demonstrated that such young people need adult support to create effective sports and leisure opportunities. Young people at risk of offending were shown to have little knowledge of discount schemes such as the Recreation Key in Stoke on Trent and the Leisure Pass in Southampton. This was traced to the limited role of parents or carers in childhood, showing that parents had little input into leisure patterns, and that siblings and peers were the most common mentors.

Young people also reported that many activities on offer were team or course based – aiming at performance level sport. Young people at risk of offending often demonstrated ties to social settings and levels of deprivation which precluded such levels of commitment and support. Current styles of leisure provision created frustration for these young people, who wanted to play sport simply for recreation, and on demand.

The life history profiles showed that the leisure and in particular sports experiences of young offenders were very limited. Very few reported sustained participation in any activities for more than five years and most had only experienced two different sports. This demonstrates the acutely impoverished nature of these young people's leisure experiences and is in contrast to Roberts (1996) who was reported in Chapter I to suggest that young people in general were playing more sport than in the past.

Free time was spent hanging around with peers. This was considered by young people to increase the risk of juvenile crime, drug and alcohol abuse. Both samples reported high levels of boredom. Therefore the results demonstrated links between boredom, frustration, parenting, peer group, deprivation and social environment and the development of current leisure patterns for young people at risk of offending. These factors, identified by causation theories for juvenile delinquency, were also shown to have a negative impact on the development of positive leisure patterns. This indicates
that there may be a link between the lack of positive leisure patterns and the
development of delinquent behaviour, and this was particularly evident in the analysis of
the life history profiles for Solent Sports Counselling.

3. What factors in scheme management and rationale are important to achieving
continued recreation habits in young people?
The results from Stages 1 and 2 indicated an number of key factors (providers, activities, attendance, clients, duration and outcomes) that differentiated the projects. In Stage 3 the qualitative results based on young peoples experiences of both primary and tertiary interventions concluded that schemes must reflect their need for durable provision which provided an opportunity to develop positive relationships with the sports leaders, consultation and involvement in designing accessible activity sessions, and long term contact.

These factors were shown in the case studies to be achieved through a number of different methods, and there was no single recipe for successful project management. The two case studies, however shared a number of important features which supported positive outcomes for participants:

- Dedicated consistent management
- Start up funding commitment for three years subject to monitoring
- Staff members who exhibited good inter-personal skills and empathy with young people
- An attempt to provide local, affordable and popular recreation activities
- Participants are volunteers and were consulted on activity provision
- Attempts to evaluate and produce evidence of performance.

Group sessions were shown to be suitable for reaching the influential peer group setting, rather than individuals, in pre-offending schemes. However, individual sessions are needed for many alienated and labelled individuals in post offending schemes.

4. Is there a model of community recreation at primary level that can support positive outcomes for young people and their communities?
In addressing the fourth research question, the results showed that Street Sport was an example of primary level intervention which achieved both community development and diversion for young people (mainly male) at risk of offending. In contrast, at tertiary
level, Hampshire Sports Counselling showed that community integration was more
difficult to achieve, since many community groups resist assimilating known offenders.
This would suggest that primary intervention may more effectively integrate young
people into their communities and address the issues of labelling, status and a need to
belong.

8.2 The rationale for interventions
The detailed literature review presented in Chapter 2 represents a unique attempt to
draw together theory from three distinct academic areas; sociology, criminology, and
leisure studies. Previous attempts to establish a rationale for intervention had focused
on only one or two of these disciplines. This resulted in rationales and scheme outcomes
that were difficult to substantiate by reference to the scheme's actual practice. This
analysis of the situation was backed by the findings of the criminologist Robins in his
study of provision in 1990:

"A gap exists between straightforward assertions about the capacities of sports
and outdoor adventure programmes to ameliorate social problems such as
delinquency, and the scale, scope and variability of what happened on the
ground"

(Robins, 1990, p.88).

The review examined not only the causes of delinquency and the potential for leisure
and recreation to address these causes, but it also considered the context of varying
philosophies of intervention and desired outcomes. Although there had been many
research papers which established links between sociological causes of delinquency and
the benefits of either sport or constructive leisure or adventure individually (Coalter
1987, Gass 1993, Purdy & Richard 1983), only McKay (1993) had attempted to
consider the complex array of interventions on offer. However this American study did
not reflect the British context of intervention. The analysis and resulting framework
presented in Chapter 3, represents an important attempt to establish an understanding
of the potential for interventions at different levels, via different disciplines and across
different types of provision in Britain. The framework provides an analytical tool to
establish clear relationships between outcomes commonly cited (self esteem, diversion
and recidivism), levels of intervention and the internal or external causal factors which
lead to delinquency.
8.3 The nature and scope of provision in 1995

As already stated, the literature review revealed that most existing research was limited to either one type of activity or level of intervention; for example Barrett (1995) produced a summary of providers of adventure interventions. In 1995 there was no comprehensive review of provision from which to establish the key features of scheme management and the common claims of providers. Robins (1990) provided the only general study of interventions selected across types and levels. This comprised a review of fifteen different schemes and, although detailed, was not sufficiently large to give a general picture of provision. Therefore the survey of provision presented the key characteristics of 50 projects. It represents a unique attempt to examine the variety of provision in Britain in 1995. Since 1995, two important studies have been completed by Sheffield University. The first was commissioned by the Home Office and identified a total of 54 probation schemes (Taylor & Nichols, 1999). The second reviewed the work of local authorities' initiatives, a total of 84 were identified as addressing the needs of at risk young people (Nichols & Booth, 1999). Despite this research, by constructing a representative sample of provision across all levels and types of intervention, this study provides an analysis of the common features of schemes across the sector, covering management, costs, funding, types of evaluation (if any), size, type of intervention and staffing. The results of my probation survey were supported by the later findings of Sheffield University (Taylor & Nichols, 1999), and the scope of provision in the probation service appears to have remained similar. This may change with the introduction of the Young Offending Teams and a new emphasis on community based leisure initiatives.

8.4 The validity of the theoretical framework

The validity of the theoretical framework was established through analysing the scope of provision demonstrated in Stage 2. A sample of six schemes were identified which covered the key features of provision. Through visits to each Scheme, the framework was used to identify rationale and outcomes across a full range of interventions. This process established that the framework represents a comprehensive review of factors of provision. It was possible to apply the framework in each of the six studies as shown in Chapter 4. This process suggested that the theoretical base was satisfactory.
The analysis of the Stage I results and the visits resulted in developing a set of selection criteria for two schemes as main case studies. Size, project maturity and length of contact were key factors in the selection of these case studies. The results showed that drop out from projects was high (Stage I results showed an average of 40% drop out before completion of courses). Therefore a large scale project (more than 150 participants per year) was needed to maintain a sufficiently large follow up sample of young people. The analysis also revealed that there was instability in project survival. This was supported by the later findings of Taylor and Nichols (1999) which found that 10 of 42 probation projects had closed between 1997 and 1998. To safeguard the longitudinal nature of the study, projects were only selected which had an operating history of more than five years.

8.5 Life history profiles: The input to schemes

An important contribution to contemporary research is the life history profiles of young offenders related to leisure pattern development. Although some previous studies had contained individual participants profiles and a general analysis of their offending background (Tungatt, 1990; Taylor & Nichols, 1996), there has been no attempt to analyse the existing leisure patterns of young people joining schemes, or to examine the processes by which these patterns emerged. Since many schemes aimed to effect changes in leisure behaviour, an understanding of the trends in input factors is essential. This is provided by the life history profiling in Stage 3, which demonstrated clearly the following points.

8.5.1 The impoverished nature of their leisure experiences

Young people at risk of offending lacked variety in their leisure experiences, therefore their perspective of leisure was significantly different to those of most people. They represent a minority group with extremely 'impoverished leisure'. This was demonstrated by the low average number of sports tried by young people and their lack of use of leisure centres. The results of Hendry's study (1993) reported that

"there is little evidence for significant class-based differences in sports involvement"

(Hendry, 1993, pp 66-67).
8.5.2 The influence of upbringing on leisure patterns

Many of them identified factors in their social situation and upbringing have produced a young leisure underclass, who lack the required skills and confidence to access mainstream leisure opportunity. Young people from both studies reported little adult encouragement for constructive leisure activity and sport. School was potentially the other main leisure support mechanism, but the results show that schools are generally ineffective in supporting constructive leisure among these at risk young people. The reasons for this are linked to the way sport is delivered in the curriculum, which stresses progression and performance. There was little reported support for recreational sport in secondary education.

Secondly, the National Curriculum does not provide a social education framework to develop the skills and confidence to access local leisure resources. Finally, these young people at risk of offending had significantly higher rates of truancy, school exclusion and changes of school. Therefore the role of school in the sport socialisation process was undermined for young people who experienced frequent changes in school, truancy and exclusions. Hendry (1993) demonstrated that adolescents attitudes to sport decline during the ages 13 to 16 years, and remain static thereafter. It is possible that for young people at risk of offending with erratic school attendance, these attitudes either are not developed or decline much earlier, thus undermining any socialisation into sport.

The life history charts also show that there was a significant number of offenders who had experienced the social services domiciliary and residential care system. This system was shown to involve many changes in accommodation, which led to support for leisure activity becoming at best inconsistent and often non existent. The conclusion is that, even if residential care involves many changes of home, the system needs to provide consistent support for young people to develop interests and activities.

Lord Warner, Chairman of the Youth Justice Board, announced at the Sport versus Youth Crime conference in November 1999, a strategy to provide similar ongoing
support for leisure interest developed in custody after release. Overall the life history profiles serve to demonstrate the almost complete lack of adult support and mentors in the development of constructive leisure.

Although youth workers were mentioned by some young people to influence their leisure behaviour, most (5 out of 7 young people attending the NACRO Moves project, Chapter 6) reported peers as having the most significant influence. Families, carers, sports leaders, schools and even youth leaders are failing in this important area of leisure education or not even making effective contact. The new Sport England and Youth Justice projects will have to take account of this.

8.5.3 The role of leisure education

Interventions that stress leisure education and the development of skills can result in sustained changes in participants’ leisure patterns, and those of their dependants. In terms of crime prevention, any leisure activity which engages young people can achieve short term diversion. However long term, sustained changes in leisure behaviour were only demonstrated when leisure education was incorporated into the schemes.

There was a correlation between the length of involvement and continued participation. It is not possible to give an exact length, since individual needs and abilities varied at point of entry. However, it is possible to conclude that, existing offenders aged 18 to 21 years who demonstrate two of the following life history features (mental health problems, institutional care, or chaotic upbringing) require at least 10 one to one sessions to develop sustainable skills and confidence (Case Study 2: Sports Counselling). Another benefit may be better roles as parents in the young people’s care of their children, particularly in providing positive leisure role models and opportunities.

If the intervention is introduced earlier in the cycle of offending, at the pre-offending stage, some improvement in leisure skills results from regular attendance for over one year at group sessions (Case Study 1: Street Sport). The observed results of sustained changes in leisure behaviour in this generation of young people at risk are improved
health, reduced community friction, and improved prospects, through increased self confidence and higher expectations.

The importance of early intervention is supported by Roberts (1999):

"childhood and youth socialisation are crucial. Most people base the rest of their leisure lives on interests, which may be subsequently built upon, to which they were initially introduced when young."

(Roberts, 1999, p.140).

He suggested that although leisure learning is not restricted to childhood, the process during adulthood is incremental and relies on building from childhood experiences. Therefore tertiary intervention with young people, often in their early twenties, will have to overcome the problems identified by the life history profiles of few leisure experience in childhood.

The research value of the life history profiles is covered in section 8.6.2.

8.6 Issues for providers

The literature review revealed a preoccupation in existing research with cost (Coopers & Lybrand, 1994), the lack of ability to evaluate the outcomes (Robins, 1990; Coalter, 1996) and the need for the structural components of the activity to replicate the 'buzz' or satisfaction achieved through delinquent activity in a non delinquent environment (Sugden & Yiannakis, 1982). These and other pre-occupations were highlighted by these research findings and covered cost effectiveness, the quality of evaluation, the nature of activities, the lack of female participants, the timing and durability of interventions, involving communities and young people, and inter agency work.

8.6.1 Cost effectiveness

The need to demonstrate either cost effectiveness or value for money in service provision was demonstrated as an important factor not only for both case studies and their funding partners, but also in the subsequent contracting of the management of West Yorkshire Sports Counselling Scheme (Taylor & Nichols, 1996). This has to seen against the context of new managerialism and efficiency drives in the public sector.
generally under the 1979-97 Conservative governments. The results, however, failed to demonstrate anything more than a cost advantage for tertiary level intervention compared to custodial sentences.

A further conclusion regarding the cost effectiveness of tertiary level interventions is that success is difficult to predict. The Hampshire Sports Counselling Scheme relied on self selection of clients, but still experienced significant drop out. To achieve greater cost effectiveness, it would be necessary to identify a profile of those participants among whom an active leisure based intervention was particularly effective; this may reduce drop out and therefore improve cost efficiency. Analysis of the life history profiles indicated that there was a lower drop out rate among those participants with mental health problems, who were often isolated and suffering from depression, and who gained benefits in socialising. However, if success is measured by continued participation, this group were less likely to continue in the medium term. Another criterion was suggested to be prior involvement in sport or leisure centre use. However in terms of continued participation, as shown in Table 6.11, prior experience was not a significant factor in continued participation as recorded twelve months after completion. Therefore this research shows in the two major case studies that the unit cost of tertiary intervention is likely to be considerably greater than primary level intervention. This gives support to the old adage that 'prevention is cheaper than cure', but may not be able to be generalised for all types of scheme.

The reported average cost of tertiary intervention in 1998/9 was £379 per place; allowing for drop out and non attendance, this leads to a cost per completion of £730 (Taylor & Nichols, 1999). This would provide an average of 11 sessions of 4 hours duration, or 44 hours of contact. The cost of one person attending Street Sport for 2 hours a week for one year in 1997 (100 hours) was approximately £290 (Chapter 7). Although this calculation depends on sessions operating at an average take up of 18 people for 50 weeks a year, it demonstrates in this single case study the potential cost advantage of primary intervention. A more general survey of the costs of provision would be required to draw any firm conclusions from these case study based indicators. This evidence may be difficult to obtain since the national survey conducted in Stage 1
of this research revealed either an inability or general reluctance of schemes to provide clear cost information.

The conclusions related to life history show that leisure education is an important part of the rehabilitation process and ideally should be integrated into the 'complete package' of measures.

8.6.2 Quality of evaluation
Despite a clear rationale and objectives in both case studies, evaluation by managers was centred on quantitative throughput data and anecdotal success stories. The monitoring process was closely linked to the procedures required during the period of Sports Council grant aid. Street Sport had little evaluation and relied mainly on feedback from young people and local residents on an informal basis. The initial evaluation by the West Midland Sports Council had consisted of observation and sports leader's reports. This approach was continued by Stoke City Council after funding was complete. The Sports Counselling project demonstrated a more rigorous attempt to evaluate individual outcomes, but quarterly and annual reports increasingly relied on through-put information and occasional case histories.

Evaluation was recognised by both projects as important but both still failed to make significant attempts to monitor their claims for outcomes. The methods employed to monitor performance closely matched the original demands by their respective grants. Therefore if project monitoring and evaluation are to be enhanced, grant funding bodies need to set rigorous procedures, which this research shows will become habit for project managers.

8.6.3 Nature of activities
A common theme in the justification of leisure activity, particularly sport and adventure, as interventions suggested that, to be successful diversions from crime, the activity must replicate the satisfaction of offending experiences. The 'buzz' factor frequently related to joy riding must be replaced by a legal activity, such as motor sports or abseiling, that can give a similar stimulus. These findings suggest that the instant 'buzz' from an activity is less important in terms of sustained diversion than the process of skills
development to access local community based activities and achievements in competing or training. The importance of the activity is long term accessibility, and the importance of the intervention is the potential to provide leisure education. Activities were not generally rejected by participants because they lacked the 'buzz', but due to perceived barriers; financial, social and physical accessibility.

The research findings also highlighted a number of other issues for provision.

8.6.4 Lack of female participants
Girls were under represented in both case studies. In both case studies the activity provision was reported by participants as excluding females. The method used address gender inequality in both projects was the employment of female counsellors or sports leaders. However the results in both cases demonstrate that although desirable, the presence of a female worker is not sufficient to overcome perceived exclusively male sports sessions as a barrier to participation.

8.6.5 Timing
The timing of the intervention is crucial, since many other factors in young people's lives alter at different stages of intervention. These include style, cost, length of contact required and success rate. The results demonstrate that primary provision can more effectively address groups, which reduces the cost per participant significantly. Primary intervention, due to a lower cost per participant, can offer ongoing support. Therefore they can claim a greater level of success in terms of sustained participation and long term skills development, since young people do not need to develop independent exit routes, but can continue to participate in the scheme. Tertiary provision was shown to require significant levels of one to one counselling, thus increasing the cost per participant and reducing the potential for ongoing support.

8.6.6 Durability of interventions
Young people value consistent and reliable interventions, as in many cases this may be the best example of continued social support they have encountered. Schemes need to provide ongoing support; for example the drop in session at Hampshire Sports
Counselling Scheme eased the process of enjoying independent leisure. However in small scale targeted interventions, working in a one to one environment, this may be difficult to achieve. In the case of a finite scheme, such as Sports Counselling, clearly established and agreed exit routes from the scheme improved the chance of continued participation. A greater proportion of young people reported feeling deserted or back to 'square one' on completion when no drop in sessions were available at Fareham, Aldershot, Farnborough and Basingstoke rather than Portsmouth, Southampton and the Isle Wight. Tertiary schemes may achieve better levels of sustained participation if they can introduce links to other support networks, such as community recreation schemes, as exit routes.

8.6.7 Community involvement and local solutions
The results demonstrated the importance of local solutions involving the community. Community integration was more easily achieved at primary level. By the time young people justified tertiary intervention official criminal labels or records made integration difficult. Clubs generally resisted membership of known offenders, although the research showed that pub football teams and running clubs were more welcoming.

8.6.8 Involving young people
The results stress the importance of involving young people in the design of the programme. At primary level Street Sport demonstrated the use of extensive outreach development work amongst the young people to establish their particular needs. At tertiary level the initial interview involved each participant in the design of his/her individual sports programme.

8.6.9 Inter-agency links
Despite the recommendations by (Cooper, 1989) there was little evidence of multi-agency provision in either case study. Both projects, despite claims of inter-agency initiatives, demonstrated the problems in establishing links with other providers. Street Sport dedicated considerable resources to community liaison and consultations, which was observed to form over half of the day time work of the two full time members. However, despite the potential for active links with youth work, differences in working
practice had led to friction rather than co-operation in many cases. The Sports Counselling project although part of the Probation Service was only accessed by about 60% of Probation Officers.

Leisure has been shown to be part, but is unlikely to be all, of the solution to juvenile delinquency. Therefore, better links, partnership and inter agency work are needed to achieved the goal of 'joined up' provision proposed by the Social Exclusion Unit and the DCMS' PAT 10 report (1999). This was shown in Street Sport to require significant allocation of resources, in terms of staff work load, and therefore has cost implications.

8.7 Research outcomes

There are two main outcomes from this research which contribute new approaches to research into leisure and recreation interventions that target juvenile delinquency: the theoretical framework (Chapter 3), and the use of leisure life history (Chapter 6). The implications of each of these techniques for research will be discussed individually.

8.7.1 Theoretical framework (Figure 3.3)

At beginning of the 21st century the lobby that values the use of sport, adventure, constructive leisure and motorsports is regaining confidence after being criticised by the press and politicians in the 1980s and perhaps remains as strong as in the last century. Organisations such as the Charter for Youth Sport continue to encourage providers to stop questioning the value of these interventions, and to focus more closely on meeting the needs of young people through these mediums (Geoff Thompson, Youth Charter for Sport, Bolton 1999).

Current government policy appears to be returning to these interventions as a solution to the continuing problem of youth crime as demonstrated in Chapter 1. New provision is emerging from several key agencies: Sport England's Showcase projects, the Young Offending Teams and DCMS' findings on social exclusion and community regeneration in PAT 10. The grant funding to the at risk youth Showcase projects, supported by Sport England, will amount to well over £200,000 in the year 2000-2001.
The research in Stage 1 showed that from 36 tertiary level interventions identified only three had produced evaluation reports. By 1999 the results from the Home Office study (Taylor & Nichols, 1999) reported a higher level of claimed evaluation, but analysis revealed that the quality and depth of these was still poor.

The findings from Stage 3 showed clearly that the demands for evidence set by the funding body remained a central theme to a project's evaluation philosophy once that funding ended. In both Street Sport and Sport Counselling the same methods were used to monitor and report on performance two years after funding finished. Therefore grant awarding organisations have a central role in encouraging good evaluation and monitoring.

The theoretical framework has been shown to be applicable throughout the range of provision. It can be used to design projects that more closely address the specific problems facing individuals and communities in an appropriate way to reflect the nature of the young people, communities; and the level and philosophy of intervention. By using the framework to design projects it will be possible, through a clearly defined rationale, to set realistic outcomes for project monitoring and evaluations. An awareness of provider philosophy of intervention and the ability to set outcomes will help to create durable projects for individuals, communities, funding partners and providers.

8.7.2 Life history profiles
The formal recording of life history profiles for participants has been shown to clarify the complex array of life events that have contributed to the situation faced by participants when they enter a scheme. This provides three important sets of information to assist providers:

- By recording life experiences and leisure participation graphically, it is easy to explore the relationship between life events and participation in leisure activity. For example the chart may reveal the sudden absence of a previously popular activity, by cross referencing the life events, counsellors can examine with participants the reason for stopping leisure pursuits e.g. truanting, moving home or school exclusion. This helps in designing sustainable
individual programmes and identifying constraints to participation. It identifies previous interests which may be re-established.

The sample of life history profiles provides clear visual evidence of the impacts of life events on the development of leisure patterns. Although certain life events, such as school exclusion or leaving home, were thought to impact on leisure behaviour it was difficult to establish the precise nature of this relationship. The life history charts, referenced to qualitative interviews, provide important reliable evidence to support these relationships.

The life history chart provides a focus for leisure counselling, as part of the leisure education process. The chart can be used to demonstrate to young people the reasons for and strengths or weaknesses of their previous leisure choices. This can help them to take control of leisure choices and reduce the drift into antisocial leisure.

8.8 Recommendations for further research

The findings of the two main case studies demonstrate many aspects of good practice, but there were shortcomings in the outcomes of both schemes. The results of the Street Sport research suggest that outreach recreational sports sessions in local communities respond to the expressed needs of young people. The development of sports court areas reinforce the session by allowing continued participation outside the regular sessions. However, these methods were generally not shown to develop basic skills to access mainstream leisure and to ensure participation. Knowledge of facilities and discount schemes remained equally low among participants and non-participants. The Sports Counselling approach to leisure education was shown to be successful in developing sustainable and transferable skills. At tertiary stage the process required many hours in a one to one environment at considerable cost.

It is proposed that the benefits of sport counselling would be easier and cheaper to achieve at primary and secondary levels, particularly in areas where ongoing support can be provided by community initiative. Further action research is proposed to introduce a sport counselling element at a secondary intervention in Stoke on Trent either in schools or in the community. The NACRO Moves project mentioned in this research runs social education courses for school non-attendees. It may be possible to
introduce a group or individual sports counselling element into this project, while encouraging links with the Street Sport initiative. The impact of this combination of approaches could be monitored through the follow up techniques used in the Sport Counselling Scheme in Hampshire as part of this research.

References


Nichols, G & Booth, P (1999) Programmes to reduce crime and which are supported by local authority Leisure Departments Institute for Sport and Recreation Management, Melton Mowbray


Robins, D (1990) Sport as Prevention Centre for Criminological Research, University of Oxford


CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSIONS


Appendix 1
Postal survey of English Probation Services
SURVEY OF THE USE OF RECREATIONAL PROJECTS BY PROBATION SERVICES IN A NON CUSTODIAL APPROACH TO YOUTH CRIME

Please give as much information as possible in the spaces provided, extra information will also be appreciated. All information given will be treated with confidentiality. Delete option answers as appropriate.

1. Probation Service:
   HERTFORDSHIRE

2. Contact Name:
   PAUL EADEN

   Address:
   ATTACHED

   Telephone No.:

   Fax No.:
   0438 351678

3. Do you use any recreational projects for young offenders?
   [ ] YES [ ] NO

   If no, then the rest of the questionnaire does not apply. Thank you for this return.

4. Please give the name(s) of the projects that you use:
   PROBATION AWARD SCHEME.

5. Are these projects provided by:
   a. INHOUSE TEAM
   b. ANOTHER ORGANISATION

   If b. then please give the name and address of the organisation(s) below:

   I am recorded 50% of my time to work alongside a full time youth worker who works for Youth + Community, The Valley School Valley Way, Stevenage, Herts SG2 9AF who in turn work with the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme.
11. Please give an estimate of approximately how many young people per annum

  ARE REFERRED TO THE COURSES : 80

  ATTEND THE COURSES : 30 +

  50 will just attend a one off activity.

12. How effective have these projects been in rehabilitating young offenders?

  Over 2 years 52 young people were checked to see whether they had reoffended whilst on the Scheme. Of these, 25 had reoffended (15%)

13. How effective have these projects been in preventing youth crime of various types?

  No stats available

14. Please give any further comments below:

15. Have you obtained an analysis of the effectiveness of this project(s) in terms of reducing reoffending.

  YES / NO

  See Q 12

  If yes please give details of the estimated percentage of reoffender after attending these projects:

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please indicate below whether you would be interested in providing a project for case study for the in depth research of this study.

  YES / NO

  If it doesn’t take up too much time
Appendix 2

N.A.O.E. conference delegate survey
ADVENTURE-BASED PROJECTS AIMED AT PREVENTION AND REHABILITATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF OFFENDING

I am carrying out part time research for a PhD at Loughborough University which aims to evaluate the use of various types of recreational and sports projects as part of personal development programmes directed at young people either already offenders or at risk of offending. In order to assess the current interest and opinions of delegates attending this conference I would be grateful if you could complete this questionnaire and return it to the boxes provided. All use of this data will be anonymous, and information will be strictly confidential.

Thank you for your help in this research

Fiona McCormack

Please delete option answers as appropriate.

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

NAME: D.J. SAWOUCKS

ADDRESS: SEARS PROJECT, 2 REDWOOD ST
SOUTHEND, SANFORD SS6 6AF

TELEPHONE: 061-736-6441

2. ORGANISATION DETAILS

NAME: SEARS Project

IS YOUR ORGANISATION

PROBATION SERVICE
STATUTORY YOUTH SERVICE
VOLUNTARY YOUTH SERVICE
YOUTH SOCIAL WORK
INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT
YOUTH JUSTICE
EDUCATION
ADVENTURE ACTIVITY PROVIDER

OTHER (please specify)
3. YOUR CLIENTS

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS DOES YOUR ORGANISATION WORK WITH REGULARLY?

- PERSISTENT YOUNG OFFENDERS
- FIRST OFFENDERS
- DRUG OR ALCOHOL ABUSE
- YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF OFFENDING

WHAT AGE GROUPS DO YOU NORMALLY WORK WITH?

- UNDER 10 YEARS
- 10 - 14 YEARS
- 15 - 17 YEARS
- 18 - 20 YEARS
- 21 AND OVER

12 - 25 TARGET AGE RANGE

4. YOUR WORK

DOES YOUR WORK CURRENTLY INCLUDE ADVENTURE ACTIVITIES?

YES  [ ]  NO  [ ]

IF NO PLEASE PROCEED TO QUESTION 5

IF YES WHICH ACTIVITIES DO YOU REGULARLY USE?

- ADVENTURE BASED WILDERNESS COURSES
- RESIDENTIAL MULTI ACTIVITY COURSES
- URBAN BASED PROJECTS
- WATER SPORTS
- RESIDENTIAL SAILING PROJECTS
- OVERSEAS EXPEDITIONS

OTHER (please specify)

- MOTOR RACING

WHO PROVIDES THESE PROJECTS?

IN HOUSE AND YOUTH SERVICE MAINLY

5. FUTURE PLANS

ARE THESE PROJECTS GENERALLY OFFERED

AS PART OF A DEVELOPMENTAL YOUTH WORK PROGRAMME  MAINLY

OR

IN ISOLATION AS A ONE OFF COURSE  OFTEN

FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE PLEASE GIVE A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE VALUE OF ADVENTURE ACTIVITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK:

It is a wonderful tool as a starting point.

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
Appendix 3

NAOE study weekend delegate survey
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir or Madam,

Ms. Fiona McCormack : PhD Project
Sport and Recreational Activity Projects - Their Value for Young People
In Rehabilitating from Delinquent Behaviour

Ms. Fiona McCormack is undertaking this project under my supervision. She wishes to examine a range of projects run by probation, and also police, youth services, local authorities and voluntary agencies. The schemes will cover a range of recreational activities of different communities and of projects aimed at all young people at risk and all those receiving non-custodial sentences, and will cover those which are a compulsory part of the non-custodial sentence and which are voluntary. She wishes to examine in particular value to the individuals who take part in the schemes.

Please help her in obtaining documentation, contacts and interviews because work in this area has been very limited in volume and quality in the past. We wish this work to improve practices in setting up and operating schemes through a fair assessment, and to gather the best possible evidence of benefits that they bring to the individual and the community particularly with the great cost of locking people up.

Yours faithfully,

M. F. Collins,
Senior Lecturer
Director, Institute of Sport & Rec. Planning & Man.

ADVENTURE-BASED PROJECTS AIMED AT PREVENTION AND REHABILITATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF OFFENDING

I am carrying out part time research for a PhD at Loughborough University which aims to evaluate the use of various types of recreational and sports projects as part of personal development programmes directed at young people either already offenders or at risk of offending. In order to assess the current interest and opinions of delegates attending this conference I would be grateful if you could complete this questionnaire and return it to the boxes provided. All use of this data will be anonymous, and information will be strictly confidential.

Thank you for your help in this research

Fiona McCormack

Please delete option answers as appropriate.

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

NAME: MAT CURRAN
ADDRESS: 8 EDMOR TEE
TELEPHONE:

2. ORGANISATION DETAILS

NAME:

IS YOUR ORGANISATION

VOLUNTARY / CHARITABLE ORGANISATION
PRIVATE ADVENTURE ACTIVITY PROVIDER
PUBLIC SECTOR SERVICE
3. YOUR CLIENTS

DOES YOUR WORK INCLUDE CLIENTS REFERRED BY ANY OF THE FOLLOWING ORGANISATIONS?

- PROBATION SERVICE
- STATUTORY YOUTH SERVICE
- VOLUNTARY YOUTH SERVICE
- YOUTH SOCIAL WORK
- INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT
- YOUTH JUSTICE
- EDUCATION
- ADVENTURE ACTIVITY PROVIDER
- OTHER (please specify)

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS DOES YOUR ORGANISATION WORK WITH REGULARLY?

- PERSISTENT YOUNG OFFENDERS
- FIRST OFFENDERS
- DRUG OR ALCOHOL ABUSE
- YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF OFFENDING
- OTHER (please specify)

WHAT AGE GROUPS DO YOU NORMALLY WORK WITH?

- UNDER 10 YEARS
- 10 - 14 YEARS
- 15 - 17 YEARS
- 18 - 20 YEARS
- 21 AND OVER

4. YOUR WORK

WHICH ADVENTURE ACTIVITIES DO YOU PROVIDE?

- ADVENTURE BASED WILDERNESS COURSES
- RESIDENTIAL MULTI ACTIVITY COURSES
- URBAN BASED PROJECTS
- WATER SPORTS
- RESIDENTIAL SAILING PROJECTS
- OVERSEAS EXPEDITIONS
- OTHER (please specify)

ARE THESE PROJECTS GENERALLY OFFERED AS PART OF A DEVELOPMENTAL YOUTH WORK PROGRAMME OR IN ISOLATION AS A ONE OFF COURSE

ARE THE COURSES YOU OFFER FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK NORMALLY MIXED GROUPS FROM ALL BACKGROUNDS OR SPECIFICALLY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK

FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE PLEASE GIVE A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE VALUE OF ADVENTURE ACTIVITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK:

Only context for real social

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
Appendix 4
Stage 2 visit questionnaire
CONTACT:

PROJECT:

ABOUT PROJECT

WHO RUNS IT?

WHEN WAS IT STARTED?

HOW IS IT FUNDED?

HOW IS IT STAFFED?

BASE AND FACILITIES?

OBJECTIVES / AIMS?

PARTICIPANTS

VOLUNTARY ATTENDANCE?

COMPULSORY?

TARGET GROUPS?

COSTING

SCALE:

VOLUNTARY

COMPULSORY

DATES / YEAR?

PLANS FOR EXPANSION?

WHY DO COMPLUSORY NOT ATTEND?

RECONVICTION:

HOW DOES THIS COMPARE WITH NON ATTENDANCE?

PLANS TO ASSESS AFTER 12 MONTHS?

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE SO FAR IN TERMS OF EFFECTIVENESS?

LOCAL CRIME RATES?

RECONVICTION?

PERSONAL FACTORS?

self esteem

leisure time

attitudes to authority

poor group

employment status
Appendix 5
Street Sport Interview Format
MANAGERS QUESTIONS PROMPT SHEET

AIMS OF STREETSPORT

OBJECTIVES:

RATIONALE:

FUNDING:

AREA /SITE SELECTION

STAFFING POLICY

COMMUNITY CONTACTS:
   RESIDENTS COMMITTEE:
   SCHOOL GOVERNORS:
   SCHOOLS:
   YOUTH SERVICE:
   COMMUNITY POLICING:
   PLAY LEADERS:
   SOCIAL WORKERS:
   LOCAL COUNCILLORS:

EVALUATION
Community Interview:

Date / time

1a. NAME:

b. CONTACT ADDRESS & TELEPHONE NUMBER:

3. Are you
   a. Employed to work in the community
   b. A resident in the community?
      (Please delete the option which does not apply)

If you work in the community please answer questions 4 & 5, if you are a resident then please move on to question 6.

4. What is the name of your organisation?

5. What is the role of the organisation?

6. How long have you lived / worked in this community?
7. Please assess the following aspects of the community

Physical Environment

Community Cohesion

Economic prosperity

Community Services

Leisure Opportunity

Parks and open spaces

Community centres
Fear of crime

8. Please rank the following types of crime in order of concern for this community. (1 = very important etc)

Car Crime
Drugs
Vandalism
Burglary
Violent Crime
Racial Abuse
Disturbance

9. What are the main problems facing young people (13 - 21 years) from this community?

Poor Housing

Lack of parental Support

Lack of leisure opportunity

Drugs and Alcohol abuse

Unemployment
10. What do you think the main needs are of young people in this community?

11. Please rate the following issues for young people

- Involvement in community action
- Leisure provision
- Support Services
- Integration in the community
- Friction between community and young people

12. What is the main cause of friction?

13. Have you heard about the Streetsport Project?
COMMUNITY POLICE

1a. NAME:

b. CONTACT ADDRESS & TELEPHONE NUMBER:

2. Please assess the following aspects of the community on the scale very poor to very good:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>satisfactory</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>very good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Cohesion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic prosperity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Services</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure Opportunity</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and open spaces</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community centres</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fear of crime</th>
<th>Very low</th>
<th>low</th>
<th>average</th>
<th>high</th>
<th>very high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. Please rank the following types of crime in order of concern for this community. (1 = very important etc)

- Car Crime
- Drugs
- Vandalism
- Burglary
- Violent Crime
- Racial Abuse
- Disturbance
4. What proportion of crime in the area can be attributed to juveniles?

5. What are the community policing unit doing to reduce juvenile crime?

6. Has it been difficult to create a positive relationship with the community generally and young people in particular?

7. What are the main problems facing young people (13 –21 years) from this community?
   (please tick any, which you consider appropriate)
   - Poor Housing
   - Lack of parental Support
   - Lack of leisure opportunity
   - Drugs and Alcohol abuse
   - Unemployment
   - Other ..................................................

8. What do you think the main needs are of young people in this community?

9. Please rate the following issues for young people on the scale very poor to very good:
   
   Involvement in community action
   Leisure provision
   Support Services
   Integration in the community
   Friction between community and young people
10. What is the main cause of friction?

11. Have you heard about the Streetsport Project?

   Yes / no

If 'yes' please indicate which of the following statements best describe Streetsport:

   - Important outreach service for young people
   - Opportunity to play sport at any level
   - Diversion for young people
   - Other .................................................................
Appendix 6

Life History Profile Format
LIFE HISTORY PROFILE

LIFE EVENT (School; Employed; Custody; Probation; Moved; Child; Relationship)

| age | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |

LEISURE
- cinema
- pubs/bars
- gambling
- tv/video
- live music
- gardening
- diy
- night clubs
- pub quiz
- shopping
- computer games
- other

SPORT / RECREATION
- football
- golf
- rugby
- walking
- cycling
- swimming
- weights
- keep fit
- darts
- snooker
- boxing
- badminton
- squash
- fishing
Appendix 7
Sports Counselling Questionnaires
SPORTS COUNSELLING SCHEME

Congratulations, you have completed a programme with the Sports Counselling Scheme. We hope that you found that participation in this scheme was both enjoyable and useful. I am conducting some research into the benefits of the scheme and I would be grateful if you could return the enclosed questionnaire giving me your views on the scheme.

Thank you for your time.

*****************************

THE SCHEME :

1. Why did you go to the sports counselling scheme ?
   ( TICK THE BOX WHICH DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL)
   □ I WANTED TO DO SOMETHING NEW
   □ I WANTED SOME INFORMATION ABOUT LOCAL LEISURE ACTIVITIES
   □ I WANTED TO MEET SOME NEW PEOPLE
   □ I HAD NOTHING BETTER TO DO
   OTHER : ................................................................................................

2. Did you enjoy the scheme ?
   ( DELETE AS REQUIRED)
   YES / NO

   If YES then what did you enjoy most about the scheme ?
   ( TICK THE BOX WHICH DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL)
   □ MEETING PEOPLE □ ACTIVITIES OFFERED
   □ ACTIVITY OFFICERS COMPANY □ GETTING FIT
   OTHER : ................................................................................................

3. Was there anything that you did not enjoy about the scheme ?
   ( TICK THE BOX WHICH DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL)
   □ MEETING PEOPLE □ ACTIVITIES
   □ ACTIVITY OFFICERS COMPANY □ PLACES USED FOR ACTIVITIES
   OTHER : ................................................................................................

4. Did you feel that there were enough sessions ?
   ( DELETE AS REQUIRED)
   YES / NO
5. Have the activity officers been helpful?
(DELETE AS REQUIRED)

YES / NO

If YES, did they offer you.....
(TICK THE BOX WHICH DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL)

☐ ENCOURAGEMENT ☐ FRIENDSHIP
☐ USEFUL INFORMATION ☐ INTERESTING ACTIVITIES

OTHER ...........................................................................................................

If NO what could the sports counsellors do to be more helpful?
............................................................................................................

6. Are there any ways in which the scheme could have been better for you?
(TICK THE BOX WHICH DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL)

☐ MORE SUPPORT ☐ MORE SESSIONS
☐ HELP ME TO JOIN A CLUB ☐ DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES

OTHER ...........................................................................................................

YOUR LEISURE TIME:

7. Did you use the local leisure centres before this scheme?
(DELETE AS REQUIRED)

YES / NO

If no, then what was your main reason?
(TICK THE BOX WHICH DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL)

☐ TOO EXPENSIVE ☐ ACTIVITIES NOT INTERESTING
☐ NOBODY TO GO WITH ☐ I DID NOT KNOW ABOUT IT
☐ MY FRIENDS DO OTHER ACTIVITIES ☐ TOO FAR TO TRAVEL

OTHER ...........................................................................................................

8. Do you intend to use leisure centres in the future?
(DELETE AS REQUIRED)

YES / NO
9. Have you taken part in any of the following activities in the last month?
(PLEASE INDICATE APPROX. HOW MANY TIMES)
- SWIMMING
- FOOTBALL
- BADMINTON
- FITNESS / WEIGHTS
- WALKING
- CINEMA
- PUBS/ NIGHT CLUBS
- SNOOKER
- LISTENING TO MUSIC
- WATCHING TV
- OTHER ...........................................

10. Have you continued with any of the activities you started during the scheme?
(DELETE AS REQUIRED)
- YES / NO

If yes, then please give the name and activity:
................................................................................................................

11. Have you ever joined local activity clubs?
(DELETE AS REQUIRED)
- YES / NO

If yes, then please give the name and activity:
................................................................................................................
BENEFITS OF THE SCHEME

12. Did it change how often you felt bored?

YES / NO

If YES then tick the box which best describes how often you feel bored

NEVER RARELY SOMETIMES OFTEN ALWAYS

13. Did it change the way you feel about yourself?
(Tick the box which describes how you feel)

MUCH BETTER BETTER NO CHANGE WORSE MUCH WORSE

14. Do you feel that you are more confident with other people now?
(Tick the box which describes how you feel)

YES WITH EVERYONE YES WITH PEERS YES WITH AUTHORITY NO CHANGE

15. Did the scheme help you to get to know your local area better?
(Tick the boxes which apply to you)

LEISURE CENTRES DOCTORS DENTISTS PUBLIC TRANSPORT

16. Did the scheme help you to feel ....
(Tick the box which describes how you feel)

MUCH FITTER FITTER NO FITTER MORE AWARE OF EXERCISE

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire, if you have any further comments please add them below:
SPORTS COUNSELLING - PARTICIPANTS

Do you live in Southampton?

How long have you lived here?

Do you like it?

Which district do you live in?

Why did you come to the Sports Counselling?

What do you think it will provide?

What do want to get out of it?

How do you spend an average day?

Have you got any interests of hobbies?

Have you ever had any hobbies? If so why did you stop?

Do you often feel bored?

What do you do when you feel bored?

Have you used the local leisure centres before this scheme?

How important was cost in deterring you?

Do you intend to use your leisure card in the future?

Do you use any local leisure facilities? (which ones, what for?)

What do you think about them?

Is there much to do in the area where you live?

Have you ever joined local clubs?

Do you consider yourself to be a sociable person?

Do you mix with a big group of friends?

Do your friends influence what you do in your free time?

Would you like to meet more or new friends?

Is it important to find exciting activities?

Have the sports leaders been helpful?

In what ways have they been most helpful?

Criminal activity? (Why, when, what, links to leisure)
SPORTS COUNSELLOR INTERVIEWS

How important is the leisure card scheme?
What do you do to make leisure accessible where the card does not exist?
Do you try to introduce local activities?
Is physical accessibility a significant problem for your participants?
Do you see yourself as a role model?
How well attended are drop in sessions?
What is the function of drop in sessions?
Do you introduce participants to new peer groups?
How many participants make new friends through the scheme?
Have you attempted to measure self esteem/ confidence?
How important is the 'buzz' factor to the success of activity sessions?
SPORTS COUNSELLING SCHEME

Ref: 814

1. What were your reasons for referring this client to the Sports Counselling Scheme? (Please circle the most appropriate responses)
   - Increased Self Esteem
   - Reduce Boredom
   - Health and Fitness
   - Excitement
   - Increase Social Interaction
   - Other ...............................................................................................................

Comments:

2. To what extent do you think the scheme met this client's needs?

3. Did scheme provide sufficient sessions to meet this client's needs?
4. In your opinion, did this client use his free time constructively before the scheme?
(Please circle the most appropriate response)

- Not at all
- Sometimes
- Usually
- Always

Comments:

5. What do you consider to be the main barriers to participation in leisure activities for this client?
(Please circle the most appropriate responses)

- Cost
- Lack of opportunity
- Family commitments
- Peer pressure
- Lack of confidence
- Lack of ability

other ........................................................................................................

Comments:

6. Was the one to one contact important for this client?
SPORTS COUNSELLING SCHEME

Dear Tony

Last year you kindly gave me some feedback regarding your experiences of the Probation Sports Counselling scheme. I am keen to find out how much the scheme has affected your free time since it finished and would be grateful if you could complete the following questionnaire and return it to me in the envelope enclosed.

If you have any questions about my research please call me on 01628 526737 or contact Keith Waldman at the Sports Counselling scheme.

Thank you

Fiona McCormack

******************************************************************************

First I would like to find out a little more about your past leisure patterns. Please can you tick the activities listed below that you have ever taken part in, and if you can remember, note why you stopped.

(tick all of the activities that apply to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEISURE</th>
<th>PARTICIPATED</th>
<th>WHY STOPPED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cinema</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pubs/ bars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tv/ video</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live music</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pub quiz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shopping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car repairs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watching live sport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SPORT / RECREATION** | **PARTICIPATED** | **WHY STOPPED?**
--- | --- | ---
football |  | 
golf |  | 
 cricket |  | 
walking |  | 
cycling |  | 
swimming |  | 
weights |  | 
keep fit |  | 
darts |  | 
snooker |  | 
boxing |  | 
badminton |  | 
squash |  | 
motorsport |  | 
basketball |  | 
other |  | 

Now can you tell me about your current leisure patterns. Please can you tick all the activities listed below that you have done in the last 3 months. *(tick all of the activities that apply to you)*

**LEISURE** | **PARTICIPATED**
--- | ---
cinema |  
pubs/bars |  
赌博 |  
TV/video |  
live music |  
gardening |  
DIY |  
night clubs |  
pub quiz |  
shopping |  
car repairs |  
youth clubs |  
watching live sport |  

SPORT / RECREATION

football
golf
cricket
walking
cycling
swimming
weights
keep fit
darts
snooker
boxing
badminton
squash
motorsport
basketball

other

Why do you take part in the leisure/sports activities listed above?
(tick all of the reasons that apply to you)

Health and fitness

Competition

Enjoyment

Relaxation

Lose weight

Meet / mix with other people

Other
Please indicated which of the following reasons have prevented you from taking part in leisure activities?

(tick all of the reasons that apply to you)

Cost  
Transport  
Lack of equipment  
Family commitments  
Peer pressure  
Lack of company  
Concern about social aspects  
Lack of confidence  
Ill health  
Lack of ability in the activity  
Other .................................................................

Have you continued with any of the activities that you started on the Sports Counselling Scheme?

YES / NO

If YES then please list which ones

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

Why did you not continue with the activities introduced by the scheme?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

Thank you very much for returning this questionnaire
Appendix 8
Street Sport Questionnaires
Dear

I am currently researching the Streetsport project which operates in your area as part of a Phd at Loughborough University. I have selected Streetsport as an example of community based interventions with young people, using sport as a focus. During my research I will be observing a number of sessions. I will be talking to participants and staff involved in the project and I would also like to talk to the wider community, both residents and those working in the area.

I am writing to ask you to complete and return the enclosed questionnaire in the envelope provided, giving your views on young people and community issues. I would also value a chance to explore your ideas and thoughts related to young people in the community in more depth. I would therefore be very grateful if you could spare some time to meet me during my next visit to the project.

If you have any concerns or questions related to the questionnaire or my research, do contact me on 01628 526737. Alternatively, you can contact Ian Wright at the Streetsport project in Community Recreation for Stoke on Trent.

Thank you for your help in this matter.

Yours faithfully

Fiona McCormack
STOKE ON TRENT STREET SPORT PROJECT
COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the following questionnaire giving your opinions on the issues identified. The results will be used to help the Streetsport team improve their service. Individual responses will be compiled together to get a general overview, but to allow me to follow up on the information you give I would be pleased if you could give me the following information:

1a. NAME:

b. CONTACT ADDRESS & TELEPHONE NUMBER:

2. Would you be willing to meet to discuss the issues covered in the questionnaire?

   Yes / no
   (Please delete the option which does not apply)

3. Are you
   a. Employed to work in the community
   b. A resident in the community?
   (Please delete the option which does not apply)

If you work in the community please answer questions 4 & 5, if you are a resident then please move on to question 6.

4. What is the name of your organisation?

5. What is the role of the organisation?

6. How long have you lived / worked in this community?
7. Please assess the following aspects of the community on the scale very poor to very good:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>satisfactory</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>very good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Cohesion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic prosperity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure Opportunity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and open spaces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community centres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Please rank the following types of crime in order of concern for this community. (1 = very important etc)

- Car Crime
- Drugs
- Vandalism
- Burglary
- Violent Crime
- Racial Abuse
- Disturbance

9. What are the main problems facing young people (13 –21 years) from this community?
(please tick any which you consider appropriate)

- Poor Housing
- Lack of parental Support
- Lack of leisure opportunity
- Drugs and Alcohol abuse
- Unemployment

Other ..............................................................................
10. What do you think the main needs are of young people in this community?

11. Please rate the following issues for young people on the scale very poor to very good:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>average</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>very good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in community action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure provision</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration in the community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friction between community and young people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. What is the main cause of friction?

13. Have you heard about the Streetsport Project?

   Yes / no

If 'yes' please indicate which of the following statements best describe Streetsport:

   Important outreach service for young people
   Opportunity to play sport at any level
   Diversion for young people
   Other .................................................................
14. Please add any other comments you have about either Streetsport or general issues regarding young people in the community below:

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.
MOVES PROJECT - YOUNG PEOPLE'S LEISURE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What are your favourite leisure activities?

2. Do you take part in them as often as you would like to?
   Yes / No

   If no then:

   What prevents you from taking part?

3. How do you find out about different activities?

   Friends
   Family
   Youth workers
   Other

4. Do you have a lot of free time?

   Yes / No

5. How do you feel about this free time?

   a. I often feel bored and would like something to do.
   Or
   b. I usually enjoy myself and have plenty of things to do.

6. Why do you think young people get involved in crime?

   Boredom – nothing to do
   Excitement – enjoy the challenge
   Peer Pressure – all their friends are involved

   Other:
7. What are your main concerns about the community you live in?

- Crime
- Personal Safety
- Drugs
- Lack of employment opportunity
- Lack of venues for young people

8. Where do you spend your free time?

- At home
- Hanging around
- Youth centres
- Pubs and clubs
- Leisure Centres
- Parks and Sports Areas

9. What leisure activities and sports have you taken part in the last six weeks?

10. Have you used any leisure centres or facilities in Stoke on Trent in the last six months?

11. Do you know about the Recreation Key discount scheme for leisure activities?

- Yes
- No

12. Are you

- Male
- Female

13. How old are you?

- Under 14
- 14 – 16
- 17 – 18

14. Do you live

- With your family
- With foster parents
- In a children’s home
- Independently

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.
STREET SPORT PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE

I am currently researching young people's perception of leisure opportunity in their communities, with particular interest in the Streetsport service. I am very keen to get your views about leisure opportunity, and would be very grateful if you could complete the following questions.

The results will be fed back to providers and decision-makers in your area, so your ideas could make a difference.

Please tick or circle the answer that applies to you

ABOUT YOU

1. Are you

   Male / Female

2. How old are you?

   14 –16  17 –18  19-21  over 21

3. Are you?

   Full time education
   Part time education
   Unemployed
   New deal
   Full time employment
   Other:

4. Where do you live?

   Stanfields Estate  Burslem
   Tunstall          Cobridge Grange
   Bentilee          Bucknall
   Other: ......................

5. What are your main concerns about the community you live in?

   Crime
   Personal Safety
   Drugs
   Lack of employment opportunity
   Friction between young people and older community members
   Lack of venues for young people
YOUR LEISURE TIME

6. How do you prefer to spend your free time?
   - Socialising with friends
   - Playing sport
   - Watching TV / videos
   - Listening to music

7. Where do you spend your free time?
   - At home
   - Hanging around
   - Youth centres
   - Pubs and clubs
   - Leisure Centres
   - Parks and Sports Areas
   - Other

8. How often do you
   - Play team sports
   - Play individual sports
   - Attend Youth centres
   - Go to Night Clubs
   - Go to Leisure Centres
   - Go to the cinema
   - Go to the pub
   - Visit other leisure venue
   - Visit parks & open spaces

   Regularly  sometimes occasionally  never

9. What leisure activities and sports have you taken part in the last six weeks?

10. Is there any provision that meets your leisure needs within your community?
    (please give details)
11. Please can you tick any of the following which affect your leisure patterns:

**Motivations for participation**
- Socialise
- Compete
- Exercise
- Get fitter
- Lose Weight
- Enjoyment
- Relieve Stress
- Improve performance
- Fill spare time

**Constraints:**
- Lack of support
- No company
- Peer pressure
- Cost
- Transport
- Facilities
- Lack of confidence
- Concern for personal safety

12. What sort of provision would you like to see for young people in your community?
STREETS.PORT

13. How long have you been involved in Streetsport?

First session under 6 weeks 6-12 weeks
3-6 months 6-12 months over a year

14. How regularly do you attend

Every session most sessions
At least once per month occasionally

15. How important are the following (1= most important, 5= least important)

Football game
Meeting friends
Sports leaders
Free activity
Local venue

16. Can you describe the things that you like best about the Streetsport sessions?

17. Are there any things you would like to change about the sessions?

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.
STREETSPORT – STOKE ON TRENT

STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the following questionnaire to help me understand more about staffing this project. If you have any questions about the content, or my research in general, please do contact me on 01628 526737.

1. Name:

2. Do you work
   a. Full-time?
   b. Part-time?

Please complete questions 3 and 4 if you work part time, full time workers please proceed to question 5.

3. If you work part time how many sessions do you normally cover each week?

4. If you work part time please indicate any other employment or study that you are involved in:

5. How long have you been working with the Streetsport project?

6. In the past have you worked as a
   a. voluntary youth worker
   b. statutory youth worker
   c. sports development officer
   d. play leader?
   (Please tick all relevant answers)

7. What skills, knowledge or experience do you think you brought to the Streetsport team?
8. Please rank the importance of the following skills or attributes for a Streetsport worker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Essential</th>
<th>v. important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>useful</th>
<th>not required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enthusiasm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team worker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter – personal skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselling skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exert authority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commands respect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self motivated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. What training did you receive when you joined the Streetsport team?

10. Was the training appropriate for your needs?

11. Do you attend the monthly team meetings
   
   a. usually
   b. always
   c. sometimes
   d. never

Please give your comments about what you get out of these meetings:

9. What do you see as the aims or role of Streetsport?
10. What are the positive outcomes of Streetsport for:
   a. young people?

   b. the community?

9. How do you think the project could be developed in the future?

10. What are the main management issues for a Streetsport session?

11. Are there any 'rules' for participating in Streetsport?

12. How do you enforce these rules?

13. How do you measure the success of a session that you have provided?
14. What do you enjoy most about working with Streetsport?

20. What do you least enjoy about working with Streetsport?

Please add any further comments about Streetsport, or your role within the project, below:

Thank you for completing the questionnaire, please return it to me in the sae provided. I look forward to meeting you at a Streetsport session.

Fiona McCormack
Appendix 9

Current leisure Patterns Prompt Sheet
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life event</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full time education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part time education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in domestic setting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participated in Indoor Sports:
- Martial Arts
- Weights
- 5 a side football
- table tennis
- Badminton
- Swimming

Outdoor Sports
- Football
- Basketball

Leisure
- Night clubs / disco / Rave
- Pubs
- Spectator Sport
- Amusement Arcades
- gambling

Why did they start or stop activities?
What leisure patterns exist now?

LEISURE
- cinema
- pubs/ bars
- gambling
- tv/ video
- live music
- night clubs
- shopping
- car repairs
- computer games

SPORT / RECREATION
- football
- rugby
- cycling
- swimming
- weights
- keep fit
- snooker
- boxing
- badminton
- motorsports
- running
- skateboarding
- mountain biking
- martial arts
- basketball
- fishing
Motivations for participation
Socialise
Compete
Exercise
Get fitter
Lose Weight
Enjoyment
Relieve Stress
Improve performance
Fill spare time

Constraints:
Lack of support
No company
Peer pressure
Cost
Transport
Facilities
Appendix 11

Life History Profiles and Personal Records
Profile 1 Dean

Dean was referred to the project with a history of burglary and firearms offences. He was referred to address his use of leisure and to encourage greater social interaction. He wanted to counter his depression and improve his physical fitness.

He selected a wide range of activities from the list of choices, mainly those that he had tried before but also mountain bikes which he was interested to try for the first time. His life history reflected a number of team sports stopped on leaving school and embarking on a relationship. A period of custody both curtailed other activities and introduced new ones such as badminton. On release he had found it difficult to ‘pick up where he left off’. This had increased his feelings of depression and alienation. His current leisure patterns were mainly snooker, music at home, pubs and some use of the fitness facilities at the leisure centre.

After 10 sessions, including mountain bikes, swimming and fishing, he felt more confident and had established a pattern of low cost physical activities. He continued to mountain bike, introduced on the scheme, and re established swimming and weight training as regular physical activity.
### LIFE EVENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
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### LEISURE

- Cinema
- Pubs / Bars
- Gambling
- TV / Video
- Home Music
- Gardening
- DIY
- Night Clubs
- Pub Quiz
- Shopping
- Computer Games
- Car Repairs
- Other

### SPORT / RECREATION

- Football
- Golf
- Rugby
- Walking
- Cycling
- Swimming
- Weights
- Keep Fit
- Darts: Occ in Pubs
- Snooker: Occ in Pubs
- Boxing
- Badminton
- Squash
- Fishing
- Mountain Bikes
- Martial Arts
- Running
- Basket Ball
- Skateboarding

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Life History Chart: Dean
Profile 3 Matt

This was a young man in his early twenties with a history of drug and alcohol abuse. These habits had contributed to his offending behaviour. He identified boredom as a major problem and another contributory factor in his offending. Both he and his probation officer identified that he had problems controlling aggression, which was attributed to general frustration. His youth had comprised a unstable family situation with frequent changes in his domestic situation. This had led him to lack direction and guidance with his life style choices including use of leisure time.

On joining the project he was keen to reduce boredom and return to badminton which he had enjoyed in the past. He identified lack of support as a key factor constraining his leisure time. His involvement with the project was ongoing since on completion he remained to help a regular badminton sessions.

After 12 months he reported regular participation in football, badminton and fencing. He reported

'I found the benefits to be immense .......... they include increased health and fitness also an increase in self esteem and self confidence...'

This demonstrated the need for formal leisure education / counselling in some cases. The common middle class assumption that positive leisure patterns just happen are not the case for young people with chaotic upbringings.
## Life History Chart: Matt

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Life History Chart: Matt
Profile 4 Paul

This young man in his mid twenties already had done a custodial sentence and had a record of aggravated bodily harm, possession of a weapon and other alcohol related offences. His probation officer felt that he needed help to develop more constructive leisure interests, which could help him to channel aggression by improving his self esteem and fitness.

He was concerned to counter boredom and wanted to get fitter. He chose weights and running as activities both he had tried before but dropped due to lack of company and encouragement. He had enjoyed football at school and tried weight training on several occasions.

He spent ten sessions with the scheme, somewhat longer than anticipated but during this time, he trained for the Great South Run. He and other participants on the scheme completed the run successfully. He really enjoyed the preparation and found the run was a goal to aim for. He felt that his self esteem was greatly enhanced having managed to stick at something and achieve the objectives.

'I think that the sessions were good because they gave me a goal to aim for'

Since completion he has managed to keep the running going through a winter but decided not to use leisure centres which he still felt were inaccessible, elitist and expensive.
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Life History Chart: Paul B
Profile 5 Tony K

Tony was a young man with some learning difficulties and low self esteem. Due to these problems he found it difficult to get out and socialise. He had a history of petty offences related to money payments. He was very interested in gardening and had an in-depth knowledge of many aspects of horticulture. This may have been gained through further education as he seemed to have attended a number of skills training courses including printing, computing and pre-school.

He lived alone but was very close to his mother. He ran a one man gardening business which kept him busy during the summer months. Otherwise his leisure was very solitary and home based. He enjoyed listening to music and spent much of his time playing computer games. He did enjoy cycling and this provided his main transport. He had a very negative view of leisure opportunities in his locality.

The analysis of his past leisure profile revealed many interests which had mainly been supported by school or other institutions. No matter what activity, it seemed that Tony needed ongoing support to continue with them. This posed problems for the scheme which was targeting a quick fix to avoid client dependence on counsellors. He had enjoyed a church group but this had ended after some disagreement.

The scheme introduced Tony to the Mallards disabled swimming club which he enjoyed and maintained for the follow up period. He also completed session in table tennis, badminton and fitness. He attended some group sessions at the gym but this gradually stopped. The scheme helped Tony get out and join the swimming club but his needs were unlikely to be satisfied unless long term support could be provided.
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| Pubs / Bars                |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gambling                   |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| TV / Video                 |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Live Music                 |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Gardening                  |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| DIY                        |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Night Clubs                |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Pub Quiz                   |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Shopping                   |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Computer Games             |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Car Repairs                |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Other                      |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

| SPORT / RECREATION         |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Football                   |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Golf                       |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Rugby                      |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Walking                    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Cycling                    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Swimming                   |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Weights                    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Keep Fit                   |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Darts                      |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Snooker                    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Boxing                     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Badminton                  |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Squash                     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Fishing                    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Mountain Bikes             |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Martial Arts               |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Running                    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Basketball                 |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

Life History Chart: Tony K
Profile 6 Mark B

Mark was in his mid twenties and had a record of burglary. He had also undergone a psychiatric assessment. He had very low self esteem and an erratic leisure life history. He recognised that he needed help to establish a constructive approach to life and free time. He chose weight training, tennis and pitch and putt but was persuaded to join others in preparation for the Great South Run.

He was happy to join this as he avoided leisure centres which he felt uncomfortable in and found expensive. The regular running sessions helped Mark to overcome initial fears of going out alone. He had enjoyed running but suffered a nervous breakdown which left him feeling like a prisoner in his own home. Since completing the run he has continued the activity.

He did however reflect that given his mental state even more sessions would have allowed him to develop more confidence and other skills.

‘I wanted to see if I could run like I used to... ...I just wish that there was more sessions’
CHAPTER 6 THE OUTCOMES OF ACTIVE LEISURE INTERVENTIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER OFFENDING

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| TV / Video |
| Live Music |
| Gardening |
| DIY |
| Night Clubs |
| Pub Quiz |
| Shopping |
| Computer Games |
| Car Repairs |
| Other |

| SPORT / RECREATION |
| Football |
| Golf |
| Rugby |
| Walking |
| Cycling |
| Swimming |
| Weights |
| Keep Fit |
| Darts |
| Snooker |
| Boxing |
| Badminton |
| Squash |
| Fishing |
| Mountain Bikes |
| Martial Arts |
| Running |
| Basket Ball |
| Skateboarding |

Life History Chart: Mark B
Profile 7 Mark W

Mark was a young man in his mid twenties who was referred to the scheme since his probation officer identified low self esteem and fitness and a problem for his success rehabilitation. He volunteered to join the scheme to get involved in sport and improve his fitness. From his past history this client had enjoyed football and snooker. He had lost contact with his football team and failed to re-establish links. He chose to try tennis and weight training but agreed with the sports counsellor to try badminton as there were more facilities and he could play all year.

He lacked self-confidence but this improved significantly during ten sessions and eventually he was encouraged to join other participants for pitch and putt. He enjoyed this and continued to play throughout the summer. He also enjoyed badminton and was still playing 6 and 12 months after the scheme ended.

In addition his leisure profile was much more constructive, he was playing football again and engaged in a number of social activities.
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Life History Chart: Mark W
Profile 8 Scott

Scott was a young man in his late teens who had convictions for dangerous driving, a common offence among young men. He was referred to the project with an identified need to establish constructive leisure activity. He was outwardly confident but lacked high self-esteem which had made him easily led with the peer group. His history of frequent changes in care situations during childhood and adolescence had left him with little positive family leisure to direct his use of leisure time. He therefore identified only a few short experiences of sport, often through school. Since school attendance was sporadic this was insufficient to maintain interest.

At the time of conviction this client had only experienced short spells of employment and therefore had considerable free time. His view of leisure was hedonistic search for excitement prompted by extreme boredom and frustration. Over 10 individual sessions the mature sport counsellor was able to provide a positive role model missing in his earlier life. Although the activities introduced during the scheme, bowling and skating were not pursued after completion the client reported changes in his attitude to leisure. He was able to see leisure as positive experience and his perception of opportunity was improved. The result of these changes led him to report sustained participation in weights and swimming. These were activities that he had tried and enjoyed previously but lack of encouragement and guidance had resulting in non participation.

After one year this participant had not offended and was making more positive use of leisure time. He displayed a more positive view of free time and was more able to access facilities. This case study demonstrates clearly the need for leisure education in young people at risk.
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**LEISURE**

- Cinema
- Pubs / Bars
- Gambling
- TV / Video
- Live Music
- Gardening
- DIY
- Night Clubs
- Pub Quiz
- Shopping
- Computer Games
- Car Repairs
- Other

**SPORT / RECREATION**

- Football
- Golf
- Rugby
- Walking
- Cycling
- Swimming
- Weights
- Keep Fit
- Darts
- Snooker
- Boxing
- Badminton
- Squash
- Fishing
- Mountain Bikes
- Martial Arts
- Running
- Basketball
- Skateboarding

*Note: The chart indicates participation levels for various life events and leisure activities.*
Profile 9 Stuart

Stuart had a complicated offending history and was the oldest participant in the research sample. He currently had an array of petty offences but also had more serious schedule 1 offences in the past which had resulted in long terms in custody. He was suffering depression and needed help to adopt positive leisure patterns.

He had enjoyed sport before custody including football and golf. He had also tried badminton and fitness training in custody but had failed to pursue these on release. He had no previous use of leisure centres. He saw a lack of company and knowledge of facilities as his greatest constraints to participation.

He completed ten sessions with the scheme and reported sustained changes to his leisure during the follow up period. He tried bowls and pitch and putt during the scheme and was introduced to a bridge club. He continued to attend the bridge club and play bowls throughout follow up. The scheme encouraged him to mix outside of the pub network.
**LIFE EVENT**

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*Life History Chart: Stuart*
Profile 10 Paul E

This participant was referred to the project having committed alcohol related offences. His probation officer wanted him to improve his use of leisure time, build self esteem and help reduce depression. He had very little experience of sport in his leisure history, and the emphasis was on social activities which increased temptation to drink. Analysis of his life history showed that although sport had little influence in his life, his drink problems had reduced his physical activity to none. He needed encouragement and understanding to return to physical activity and to select appropriate affordable activity.

He spent 6 sessions in a one to one environment with his counsellor who reintroduced swimming and weight training. The activities were selected to be flexible and avoid alcohol environments which often combine sport and social activity. The scheme was successful in re-establishing constructive leisure activity which was maintained throughout the follow up period.
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Life History Chart: Paul E
Profile 11 James

This young man in his late twenties was referred to the scheme to encourage a more positive use of leisure time which his probation officer felt was essential if re-offending was to end. James himself recognised that he lack direction and was frequently bored and at a loose end in his free time. Relatively new to the area, James was also keen to meet new people and find out more about local facilities. He wanted to play badminton and squash since he had enjoyed them in the past. He also wanted to try swimming and fitness suites as he could continue with those alone.

He completed four session during which time he did his fitness induction which allowed him to continue to use the gym. He also enjoyed badminton, which he was keen to continue with on completion. He had previously been involved in weight training but found the cost of the induction constrained his ability to continue. Therefore by offering this element the scheme was able to get him started again.

The main reason for a lack of leisure activity had been the onset of depression which had lasted for two years. During this time he lost all confidence and motivation to exercise the lack of activity led to poor physical fitness and further reduced his self-esteem.

On completion he felt that the scheme and the one to one involvement of the sports counsellor had been a turning point. He ended the scheme feeling more positive and physically fitter. After 9 months he was still playing badminton and using the gym. He reports that

‘This sports counselling has helped me very much because when I first started I was ill from stress and depression and if it wasn’t for the sports and Leo I would still be as before. Now I am more active and fit and I am still continuing with it’
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## LEISURE

- Cinema
- Pubs / Bars
- Gambling
- TV / Video
- Live Music
- Gardening
- DIY
- Night Clubs
- Pub Quiz
- Shopping
- Computer Games
- Car Repairs
- Other

## SPORT / RECREATION

- Football
- Golf
- Rugby
- Walking
- Cycling
- Swimming
- Weights
- Keep Fit
- Darts
- Snooker
- Boxing
- Badminton
- Squash
- Fishing
- Mountain Bikes
- Martial Arts
- Running
- Basket Ball
- Skateboarding

Life History Chart: James
Profile 12 Jason

Jason was in his late twenties and had some contact with dependants from previous relationships. He had a record of assault and alcohol-related offences. His violent reaction to authority figures and poor use of leisure time had encouraged his probation officer to suggest the scheme. He was eager to get involved as he recognised that the needed to relieve boredom if he was not going to offend again. He completed four sessions of snooker, not usually provided through the scheme.

The scheme therefore appeared to have had little impact on his behaviour and leisure patterns. On completion he was still non-participant in physical sporting activity. However his contact with the scheme was cut short by a custodial sentence.

Twelve months after initial contact and having been released Jason was keen to re-establish leisure activity. He was playing football and actively seeking a regular team to play for. He also started swimming. When reviewing his leisure profile he had tried a range of sports in school and made a conscientious decision to stop activities such as cricket which he found boring. Others such as cycling he was forced to stop when he lost his bike.
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Life History Chart: Jason
Profile 13 Patrick

This young man in his early twenties had a history of violence, drink and drug abuse. His probation officer felt that he needed to become more involved in local leisure within his own community. He wanted to counter boredom and improve his physical fitness. He had used leisure centres sporadically but found that they were expensive and he lacked company to go with. He had played badminton and used gyms in the past, but frequent relocation’s gradually eroded any pattern of regular recreation.

During the scheme he completed a fitness induction at the local gym and attended ten sessions thereafter. He felt that the scheme had encouraged him to get out and active again. In the follow up period his leisure and lifestyle were improved and sustained. He reported regular swimming, football and gym use.
Profile 14 Tony

Tony was a young man, he was 20 years old and came from a large family. His brother all had offending histories and were viewed by his probation officer as a negative influence. His offending history was characterised by alcohol abuse which lead to various crimes of theft and assault. He was referred to the scheme by his probation officer to address his need for constructive leisure activity.

When he joined the scheme he was not interested in constructive activity and sport, however after only 3 session he was using a gym for weight training and swimming. He continued with the activities for 6 months. He also joined a fencing club as a result of the scheme. He had enjoyed fencing at school and welcomed the opportunity to try it again.

He felt that there were too few sessions and the activity profile was limited in the scheme but it did achieved continued participation for 6 months.
### Life History Chart: Tony W

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Life History Chart: Tony W
Profile 15 Malcolm

Malcolm was an older referral to the scheme in his late twenties. He had been in custody for indecent assault and his probation officer was keen for him to counter depression on release through constructive use of leisure. His leisure habits when he joined the scheme involved pubs and clubs with no sporting activity. He was a solitary person with few friends and little sustained leisure interest.

He spent 10 sessions with the scheme and tried table tennis, pitch and putt and bowls. He enjoyed the pitch and putt and continued to meet another sports counselling participant to play regularly after completion.
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Life History Chart: Malcolm
Profile 16 Martyn

Martyn was 22 years old with a long record of petty offences and car crime had spent much of his youth in children’s homes and care. He may have had some learning difficulties and it was difficult to get complete information from him about his past and family. His probation officer was concerned about him but found it difficult to communicate with him. Although records could not be located to confirm it was suspected that there was a history of abuse and possibly abusing. The information regarding his past was difficult to locate as he had moved frequently in his youth. He recalled living in Staffordshire, Northampton and Poole, this may be connected to a recollection that his father was in the army. He wanted to know more about his father but had so far been unsuccessful in contacting him.

More recently he had spent some time in a psychiatric hospital. He also claimed to have been in the army, although this was unlikely. He said that he had left on health ground. He did now receive disability allowance. He had been living in a bedsit in Southampton for seven months. He was living with a female partner who was much older than him and also on disability allowance. The bedsit was very small in one of the most run down areas of the city where crime and drug dealing are prevalent. On first contact the room was dirty and very untidy, after two months it was completely cleaned and tidy.

As with many aspects of his life, completing a life history and leisure profile was difficult and took many interviews. The main points from his past leisure interests were:

Football coaching at school
Swimming coaching from 7 – 13 years ended when he was moved into care.
Badminton mainly during care or custody ended on release.
Running during adolescence but interest waned and finally stopped.

His leisure pattern before the scheme centred around repairing and restoring old cars and driving with friends. This was causing concern since he had lost his driving licence. During the scheme he started swimming and cycling. On follow up he had continued with these activities and badminton with a long term volunteer from Sports Counselling.
Contact was lost after 6 months but the scheme had contributed much to improving his self esteem and lifestyle.
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Life History Chart: Martyn
Appendix 12

Hampshire Sports Counselling Standard Referral Form
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<th><strong>1. NAME</strong></th>
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<th><strong>M/F</strong></th>
<th><strong>4. DATE</strong></th>
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<th><strong>5. ADDRESS</strong></th>
<th><strong>6. TEL:</strong></th>
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<th><strong>8. TEL:</strong></th>
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<th><strong>9. Details of offences that need</strong> to be considered for safety to staff/public</th>
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<th><strong>10. HEALTH. Is there anything that may cause problems when participating in activities e.g. asthma, drink/drug abuse etc</strong></th>
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<th><strong>11. DATE, TYPE &amp; LENGTH OF ORDER</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ARE THERE ANY COURT CASES PENDING?</strong> YES/NO</td>
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<th><strong>12. CONTACT:</strong> The next office appointment is on ______________________ at ______________________. If possible a member of our staff will attend. If not we will contact you before the date</th>
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<th><strong>13. FEMALE REFERRALS:</strong> Would they prefer a woman activity officer/volunteer if available? YES/NO</th>
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<tr>
<th><strong>14. WHAT DO YOU WANT THE INDIVIDUAL TO GAIN FROM INITIAL 4 SESSIONS?</strong> please tick</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Constructive use of leisure time</td>
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<td>B. Sense of achievement/improve self image</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Help loneliness/depression</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Improve relationships with authority figures</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. To be of help to community</td>
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<tr>
<td>F. Increase knowledge of local facilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. Increase knowledge of health issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>H. Relaxation/excitement</td>
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<tr>
<td>I. Meeting new people/new friends</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Getting fit</td>
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| FOR OFFICE USE ONLY |

Please circle 1 or 2 if never started on a programme

1. Failed to turn up for initial interview (PO decided not to carry on with referral)  
2. Failed to turn up for first session/letter sent and no further contact.

If you require further information regarding referral please phone 01703 638037

7/96
1. WHAT DO I WANT FROM ACTIVITIES

A. Relief from boredom
B. Learn a new skill/sport
C. Help loneliness and depression
D. Get on better with other people
E. To be of help to community e.g. volunteering/conservation project
F. Increase knowledge of local facilities
G. Health check
H. Relaxation/excitement
I. Meeting new people/friends
J. Getting fit
K. Only want information on

2. CLUB/ADULT EDUCATION:

Is there a particular sport/club/evening class you want to visit/join/find out more about?

3. SPORTS QUALIFICATIONS

Do you want to obtain qualifications in: some financial contribution will be necessary)

Swimming - lifeguard pool award (evenings)
Weights - BAWLA (weekends)
First Aid (evenings)
Other sports - which

SIGNED:
DATE:

4. ACTIVITY SESSIONS:

(please tick activities you would like to do)

MOUNTBATTEN CENTRE
Badminton
Squash
Table tennis
Weights training
Football
Tennis
Running (track)
Aerobics

WIMBLEDON PARK
Badminton
Table tennis
Weight training

OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
Pitch & Putt
Lawn bowls
Tennis

VICTORIA SWIMMING POOL
Swimming
Weights

YMCA
Weights

EASTNEY
Swimming

OTHER ACTIVITIES:
These may be arranged with volunteers
Mountain biking
Climbing
Board games
Fishing, sea
Jogging/running
Metal detecting
Walking
Conservation
Museum visits
Sports club for disabled.
Medical Questions

Only Sports Counselling Scheme staff will see this information

Do you suffer from or have you ever had any of the following health condition?

ASTHMA/BREATHING PROBLEMS  yes/no
BLOOD PRESSURE (HIGH/LOW)  yes/no
BACK PROBLEMS  yes/no
BROKEN LIMBS  yes/no
CHEST PAINS  yes/no
PERSISTENT COUGH  yes/no
DIABETES  yes/no
EPILEPSY  yes/no
JOINT PROBLEMS  yes/no
MIGRAINE  yes/no
MEDICATION  yes/no
if yes what sort
NECK PROBLEMS  yes/no
ADDICTION (drugs/alcohol/smoking)  yes/no
if yes please give details

Use of Health Service Entitlements

1. Are you registered with a doctor?  yes/no
if no would you like to be?  yes/no

2. Are you registered with a dentist?  yes/no
if no do you want to be?  yes/no

3. Have you had an eye test in the last 3 years?  yes/no
if no would you like one?  yes/no

I confirm that the above answers are, to the best of my knowledge, correct and that if I know of health reasons for not taking part in certain activities I will inform the Sports Counselling Programme staff. I understand that I am taking part in activities within the Programme at my own risk.

Signed

Date
SPORTS COUNSELLING SCHEME
INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY RECORD

Participants name ___________________________________________ Ref. No. __________________________

Probation Officer __________________________________________ Date Started __________________________

Activities 1 __________________________ 2 __________________________ 3 __________________________ 4 __________________________
undertaken:

No. of sessions:

Reason terminated - please circle:


4. Custody __________ 5. No longer interested __________ 6. Other __________

REVIEW OF PROGRAMME:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

OPPORTUNITIES CREATED:

1. __________

2. __________

3. __________

4. Health contacts arranged (circle) Doctor/ Dentist/ Optician

5. Leisure Pass (circle) Yes /No /Not applicable

OBJECTIVES MET:

A. Constructive use of leisure time

B. Sense of achievement/improve self image

C. Help loneliness/depression

D. Improve relationships with authority figures

E. To be of help to the community e.g. volunteering/conservation

F. Increase knowledge of local facilities

G. Increase knowledge of health issues

H. Relaxation/excitement

I. Meeting new people/making new friends

J. Getting fit

K. Gave information on (describe)

Certificate to be awarded? YES /NO Date report sent to P.O. __________________________

Appendix 10
Hampshire Probation Service Community
Links Assessment Process
## COMMUNITY LINKS ASSESSMENT

### ACCOMMODATION:

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<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
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<td>Are you registered with the local Council?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
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<td>If NO, would you like to register?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
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<td>What type of accommodation are you living in?</td>
<td>(please circle)</td>
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<td>House / flat / bed-sit / shared house / studio flat / hostel / Probation hostel / B&amp;B / other</td>
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<td>Who do you live with who needs accommodation?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number and ages of children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it rented?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you claiming Housing Benefit?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you have to make a contribution, how much do you pay?</td>
<td>£....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any housing issues that you would like some assistance with?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INCOME STATUS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are you claiming benefits?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If YES, which benefit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you unable to seek work because of an illness or disability?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If YES, what is the nature of the disability?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like assistance with any benefit issues?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like a benefit check to see if you are receiving your full entitlement?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IF EMPLOYED:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your job?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it Full-time or part-time?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like any assistance to check whether you are eligible for in-work benefits?</td>
<td>YES / NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**IF UNEMPLOYED:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How long have you been signing unemployed?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you been in prison during that period?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of work are you seeking?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is that full-time or part-time?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you interested in voluntary work?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like help with your job-search?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like advice regarding the disclosure of convictions?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EDUCATION / TRAINING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like help to improve your literacy / numeracy skills in regard to getting work?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you currently attending college?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If YES, what course are you on?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If NO, are you currently seeking any education / vocational training?</td>
<td><strong>YES / NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If YES, what courses are you interested in?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**HEALTH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>YES / NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are you registered with a Doctor?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If NO, would you like us to arrange one?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you registered with a Dentist?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If NO, would you like us to arrange one?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you had an eye test in the last 3 years?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If NO, would you like us to arrange one?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you smoke?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If YES, would you like help / information to stop?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like to attend a weekly sports session?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like a leisure card?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you like information regarding clubs, courses or local provision of sports?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If YES, what information ..................................................................</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DECLARATION**

I agree to Probation staff acting on my behalf with external agencies which may assist me with accommodation / education / training / employment / welfare benefits.

I also agree to Probation staff disclosing information to such agencies.

I understand that only information which is relevant to my accommodation / education / training / employment / welfare benefits will be given and that it will be received and held in confidence.

I also understand that I have the right to complain if I am not satisfied that information is really relevant.

Signed .................................................. .................. Date ..........................................................
18 - 24 Unemployed Automatic Referral

Three sessions will be carried out by ADO / CLO

New Order

12 Sessions / 3 Months

Session 1

Feedback to PO re: attendance / non attendance and progress

Introduction - Purpose

ETE / Accommodation / Welfare Benefit

Health Assessment

Leisure Pass / Constructive use of Leisure

Session 2

Disclosure of Offences

Follow up from Session 1

Session 3

Basic Skills Assessment

Action Plan drawn up for further sessions if appropriate.

Meeting / Planned programme agreed with PO

Debt Counselling

Basic Skills Literacy / Numeracy

Accommodation Sessions

Job Search Skills

Welfare Benefits

ETE Session

Volunteers

Group Sport Sessions