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**PROMOTING PREVENTION: EVALUATING A MULTI-
AGENCY INITIATIVE TO PREVENT YOUTH OFFENDING IN
SWANSEA**

Stephen Case

Thesis submitted in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**Department of Applied Social Sciences
University of Wales, Swansea**

2004

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SUMMARY OF THESIS

This thesis presents the research and evaluation of 'Promoting Prevention', a multi-agency, multiple intervention initiative to prevent youth offending in Swansea that is predicated on the generation of systematic information through official and self-reported sources. The thesis discusses how structures and processes within Promoting Prevention have developed through a rolling dynamic between information generation and system reproduction, with particular emphasis upon consultation with young people and key stakeholders.

An *individual study* computer questionnaire, underpinned by the risk factor prevention paradigm, assessed young people's self-reported attitudes, perceptions and behaviour in order to associate them with a range of risk and protective factors for offending. Statistical analysis identified that exposure to multiple risk factors in the key domains of the young person's life (i.e. family, school, neighbourhood, lifestyle, personal/individual) was significantly linked to ever and active offending, particularly for males. Several key factors within each domain were highlighted as predictive of ever and active offending. When placed in the context of official and self-reported statistics locally, nationally and internationally, there was a clear overlap in salient issues for young people and identified risk factors, although levels of self-reported drug use and offending were generally higher in Swansea.

Systems analyses adapted the grounded theory methodology and utilised interviews with key stakeholders to produce narrative reports and maps of Promoting Prevention components (organisations, committees, documents, individuals) to elucidate the complex, cross-cutting and reflexive nature of the initiative.

Overall levels of (self-reported and official) permanent school exclusion and (self-reported and official) ever and active offending in Swansea have fallen since the inception of Promoting Prevention. This indicates that Promoting Prevention can tentatively claim to be successfully addressing offending behaviour by targeting interventions based on risk factors identified by young people. There is a commitment amongst key stakeholders to Promoting Prevention principles and strategies such as consultation and developing a reflexive relationship between research, information and practice. This highlights Promoting Prevention as a modern example of an holistic, rights-based crime prevention initiative underpinned by an ethos of consultation and responding to information relevant to the local context.

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This thesis is dedicated to my son, Owen.

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Introduction

The Dynamic Development of Promoting Prevention

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the multi-agency Promoting Prevention initiative to prevent youth offending in Swansea. The evaluation utilises a mixed methodology that integrates a questionnaire focused upon risk and protective factors associated with offending (individual study) and qualitative semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, which produce narrative reports of activities and mapping of partnership structures (systems analyses). This methodology aims to generate information in the form of data, which can be then utilised to critique and develop structures and processes within Promoting Prevention.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 set out the Government's programme of reform for the youth justice system in England and Wales. The Youth Justice Board of England and Wales, newly-established by the Crime and Disorder Act (Home Office 1998), heralded a significant change in youth crime prevention and offered more strategic direction for the Youth Justice System. The Youth Justice Board (YJB) set standards for early intervention and the prevention of youth offending through an emphasis upon, *inter alia*, partnership working and targeting young people perceived to be at a high risk of offending.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (Home Office 1998) introduced a focus on nipping crime in the bud – stopping children at risk from getting involved in crime and preventing early criminal behaviour from escalating into persistent or serious offending. The prevailing philosophy of the Act was that intervention must begin at the earliest possible stage and be targeted where it is likely to be most effective. Consequently, prevention became the overriding goal of the Youth Justice System. In order to implement the Crime and Disorder Act's objectives for youth crime prevention, the United Kingdom Government placed a legal responsibility upon

statutory agencies (i.e. the local authority, police authority, health authority and probation service) in each local authority area in England and Wales to work together in partnership with other non-statutory agencies (e.g. the voluntary sector, charities). The objective of this partnership was to develop and implement a local strategy for reducing crime and disorder. Partnerships were required to collect and disseminate local information on youth offending, including the mapping of crime and disorder patterns in the local area and an examination of the potential causes of crime, the nature of offenders and risk factors leading to crime (Crime and Disorder Act 1998).

The 'Safer Swansea' Crime and Disorder Reduction Plan

Initially acting alone, the Community Safety Department of the City and County of Swansea¹ produced the 'Safer Swansea' crime and disorder reduction plan in July 1998 (City and County of Swansea 1998) based on findings from a local crime audit conducted in April 1998. Five strategic priorities were identified to address crime and disorder in Swansea:

1. To reduce the level of crime and disorder and anti-social behaviour
2. To reduce offences involving repeat victimisation
3. To reduce offences against vulnerable sections of the population
4. To prevent crime, disorder and criminality by tackling the key issues of such behaviour
5. To reduce the level of youth offending and reoffending

(City and County of Swansea 1998: 3)

Rather than adopting a reactive, 'local authority' partnership strategy (see Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994), the City and County of Swansea sought an innovative and proactive approach to the implementation of services. The Chief Executive of the City and County of Swansea devolved responsibility for the implementation of the

¹ The City and County of Swansea will also be referred to as the 'local authority' throughout this thesis.

Safer Swansea Plan to operational managers. This development enabled managers to ground action and provision on the production of information that was both context specific and relevant to individual organisations. Consequently, the multi-agency Safer Swansea Partnership was established in August 1998 to develop, manage and implement Swansea's crime and disorder strategy.

Strategic priority five (SP5) of the Safer Swansea Plan identified 'youth offending'² as a priority issue in response to audit findings (including information from the Youth Justice Project on the nature and frequency of local youth offending) and to feed into planning for the Youth Offending Team.

SP5 asserted four main objectives in order to meet its aim of reducing youth offending:

- Preventing young people becoming involved in crime or anti-social behaviour
- Prevention of re-offending by persistent offenders through proven programmes of rehabilitation
- Deterring first time offenders from further offending
- Identifying trends in juvenile offending and developing approaches to oppose such trends

Swansea Youth Offending Team and 'Promoting Prevention'

Four statutory agencies (local authority, health authority, police, probation service) were charged by the Crime and Disorder Act with establishing Youth Offending Teams to deliver interventions and services for young offenders and to liaise with other parts of the Youth Justice System (e.g. courts, prisons, lawyers). A steering group was constituted in October 1998 to coordinate the formation of Swansea Youth Offending Team (YOT). The Steering Group, chaired by the Chief Executive

² 'Youth offending' is defined by the Crime and Disorder Act, the Safer Swansea Plan, Swansea Youth Offending Team and throughout this thesis as offending by young people aged 10-17. This age range originates from the legal definition of 10 years old as the age of criminal responsibility in the UK and 18 years old as when a young person legally becomes an adult.

of the City and County of Swansea, was comprised of operational managers from the four statutory agencies. The Crime and Disorder Act placed a primary duty upon all those working within the Youth Justice System to prevent offending by children and young people. Consequently, the steering group established Swansea Youth Offending Team on broad preventative principles. A YOT Working Group was formed contemporaneously to deliver this preventative approach. The Working Group membership mirrored that of the Steering Group, consisting of operational managers from the statutory agencies, but it also contained senior representatives from local business, and the voluntary and charitable services. Representatives on the Working Group included the YOT and Community Safety Department managers, the Assistant Director of Child and Family Services (Social Services), the Head of the Education and Welfare Service (Education), a Commissioner from the Iechyd Morgannwg Health authority, a superintendent and a community safety sergeant from the South Wales Police and directors from Swansea Council for Voluntary Services, Prison? Me? No Way! (local charity) and the Careers Business Company (local business).

One of the initial tasks for the Working Group was to produce an action plan to sit within the Safer Swansea Plan strategic priority five. The action plan targeted three key issues:

1. primary prevention – prevention of anti-social behaviour (nuisance) and crime (offending)
2. deterring first time offenders from further offending
3. prevention of re-offending by persistent youth offenders

The action plan became known as the 'Promoting Prevention' initiative. Therefore, 'Promoting Prevention' was established by Swansea YOT and Community Safety as a key vehicle for primary prevention and for focusing the activity of the Safer Swansea Plan.

The Youth Justice Board 'Development Fund' and Promoting Prevention

Following recommendations in the Crime and Disorder Act, and in order to meet a key objective to commission research and provide grants for developing best practice, the Youth Justice Board (YJB) 'Development Fund' was established (Home Office 1998). In Spring 1999, the YJB solicited applications from YOTs (in partnership with other statutory and voluntary agencies), to provide services to young offenders and their families, with the overall aim of preventing or reducing youth offending. Over 200 individual projects were funded, varying in size, scope, target group and focus of intervention (e.g. general crime prevention, drugs and alcohol, education and training, mentoring, parenting). In addition to funding a national evaluation of each programme, the YJB required every local project to be independently evaluated (Ghate and Ramella 2002).

The overarching aim of the evaluations was to assess the impact of the intervention on youth offending, although each evaluation maintained specific objectives tailored to the requirements of the individual project. Similar data collection exercises were conducted in most cases, consisting of 'baseline' data collection followed by 'impact' data collected on exit. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from key stakeholders such as young people, parents, teachers and YOT practitioners (Ghate and Ramella 2002).

An application to the crime prevention arm of the YJB development fund was completed by the Working Group in March 1999 and approved in October 1999. Following provisional acceptance of the application in May 1999, a 'task and finish group' involving key agency partners from the Working Group was convened to set out the principles and objectives of Promoting Prevention. An agreed main objective for Promoting Prevention was to establish wide ownership and participation locally (by key stakeholders and young people) in a youth crime reduction strategy. This was to be pursued by reinforcing universal rights to services and information for young people in Swansea (in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989) and delivering universal and targeted services and

information to those in need. Therefore, Promoting Prevention was intended to unify a key objective of the YOT Steering Group to promote a socially inclusive approach to youth crime with strategic priority five of the Safer Swansea Plan (preventing youth offending).

An auxiliary objective for the Steering Group was to engender a dynamic cultural shift amongst organisations in Swansea, moving them from a more traditional, isolated approach to more innovative and practical multi-agency practices (Case 2002), in line with the requirements of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. For the managers of the Community Safety department and Swansea Youth Offending Team, involvement in prevention was seen as essential. A key to understanding the development of Promoting Prevention is that, rather than acting independently, the YOT manager and Community Safety manager sought to develop a corporate approach to crime prevention.

The Promoting Prevention task and finish group identified a set of specific objectives for the initiative – to be underpinned by the desired socially-inclusive approach. These were:

- to develop a cross-cutting³ multi-agency partnership involving the statutory and voluntary sectors with the central aim of preventing youth offending in Swansea
- to develop a range of local services to reduce the risk of repeat offending through effective supervision and targeted interventions
- to implement Strategic Priority 5 of the Swansea Crime and Disorder Reduction Plan, specifically:
 - Prevention of offending
 - Prevention of re-offending by persistent young offenders

³ The phrase 'cross-cutting' defines the practice of different departments crossing traditional role/working boundaries and working together to achieve a common goal, in this case, the reduction and prevention of youth offending. In the context of this thesis, the phrases 'cross-cutting' and 'corporate' can be seen as interchangeable.

- **Deterring first time offenders from further offending**

A Promoting Prevention Steering Group was formed in October 1999 once official acknowledgement of YJB funding had been received. All agencies sitting on the YOT Steering and Working Groups were invited to provide representatives (at operational management level) to the group. The Promoting Prevention Steering Group discussed and planned the provision of services and staff to Promoting Prevention, prior to the official commencement of the initiative in April 2000 (contemporaneously with the introduction of the Youth Offending Team). A two year independent evaluation of the Promoting Prevention initiative was integral to the funding agreement with the YJB. The evaluation contract was tendered in January 2000 and accepted in April by the School of Social Sciences and International Development at the University of Wales Swansea. A chronology for the origin and development of Promoting Prevention is provided in figure 1.1.

Once funding had been agreed, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group began to develop a package of corporate and strategic interventions which addressed factors identified in research to place young people at risk of offending and re-offending. These 'risk factors' included school exclusion, truancy and pupil disaffection, lack of training and employment opportunities, drug and alcohol misuse and social exclusion (see, for example, MORI 2003). Extant activities were fused with intervention specially-created to address shortfalls in provision (see chapter six) and incorporated into Promoting Prevention by the steering group following consultation with partners. Activities that formed part of the initial structure of Promoting Prevention included direct and indirect reparation, mentoring, family group conferencing, Promoting Positive Behaviour (a multi-agency initiative to prevent school exclusion), detached outreach youth work, supportive strategies to engage young people in education, training and employment, health promotion and drugs awareness strategies.

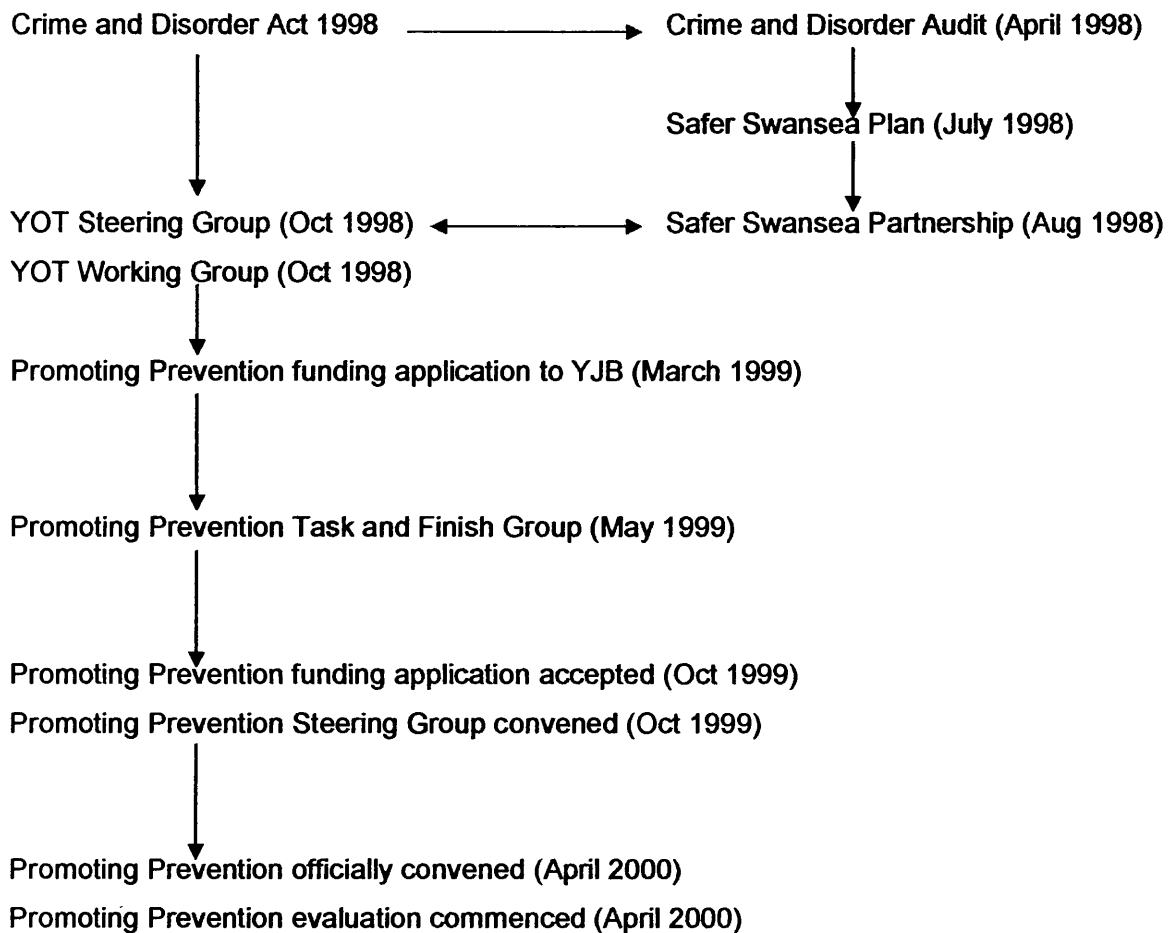
Thus, 'Promoting Prevention' was established locally as the umbrella term for the youth crime prevention initiatives of the City and County of Swansea. It functioned as a partnership between the City and County of Swansea⁴, health service (Local Health Board), careers service (Careers Business Company), police (South Wales Police), probation service (West Glamorgan Probation Service), voluntary services (Community Service Volunteers, Involve), charitable services (Guiding Hand Association, Prison? Me? No Way!) and an external evaluator (University of Wales Swansea).

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group sought to facilitate access to the wider base of local resources across participating agencies by devolving responsibility for implementation to operational managers, in accordance with the cross-cutting nature of Promoting Prevention (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999). A key to the dynamic of Promoting Prevention was the role of information. When planning for and constructing Promoting Prevention, the Steering Group strongly believed in utilising information as a touchstone. Consequently, local structures, working practices and services within Promoting Prevention were predicated on the collection, sharing and dissemination of available information such as local authority statistics on secondary school exclusion and youth offending data produced by the local authority and the South Wales Police (see chapter one).

As in all real-world practices, Promoting Prevention has multiple and overlapping objectives, purposes and intentions. It is important to understand the role of information (as a neutral analytical construct) in the development of Promoting Prevention. This thesis will discuss the extent to which the Promoting Prevention initiative has been informed by extant sources of information (statistics). Assessment of the impact of existing information will be juxtaposed with the contribution of new, supplementary sources of data generated through the evaluation of Promoting Prevention.

⁴ The YOT, the Education Department, the Social Services Department, the Community Safety Department and the Training Centre.

Figure 1.1: The origins and development of Promoting Prevention



The broadening of data sources available to the initiative illustrates how new information needs developed as the Promoting Prevention dynamic gained momentum. For instance, the Steering Group supported the consultations with young people and key stakeholders conducted as part of the Promoting Prevention evaluation. These consultation processes attempted to fill perceived gaps in local knowledge (e.g. lack of self-reported youth offending data) in a manner compatible with the philosophical objectives and principles of Promoting Prevention.

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group interprets the Crime and Disorder Act's requirements for multi-agency partnership working as an opportunity to develop

inclusive and consultative processes with young people locally and to generate information to guide provision. However, this perspective stands in stark contrast to alternative readings of recent government policy as advocating managerialism, governmentality and authoritativeness/punitiveness within the Youth Justice System (YJS). Muncie (2000) asserts that the Labour Party's radical reform of the YJS has been affected through techniques of public sector *managerialism*, which has evidenced a redefinition of social, political and economic issues as problems to be managed rather than resolved. Consequently, contemporary youth policy choices have become managerial decisions, but the rationale for much recent policy has been considered by some to be authoritarian, exclusionary and punitive (see, for example, Muncie 2000). For instance, New Labour's policy of 'responsibilisation' (Muncie, Hughes and McLaughlin 2002), exemplified by the new 'parenting order', holds that individuals (including young people) should be held responsible for their actions, whilst families and communities should take primary responsibility for crime prevention away from the state. The task of driving this policy through the delivery of interventions and programmes has been charged to multi-agency Youth Offending Teams. Targets for intervention have been largely individual and behavioural. However, this narrow focus upon 'at risk' and troublesome behaviour responds to the symptoms rather than the causes of young people's disaffection and dislocation, bypassing the social contexts of offending (Muncie et al 2002). Thus, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 has been criticised for maintaining high unacceptable levels of youth custody despite its commitment to prevention (Muncie 2000) and has been described perjoratively as:

"framed within a punitive context and its underpinning emphasis remains fixed around individual responsibility, re-moralisation and, in the final analysis, child incarceration" (Goldson 1999: 282)

Even the Act's introduction of a joined-up system of youth justice, effectively managing youth crime through coherent, efficient and cost-effective multi-agency partnership working (Muncie and Hughes 2002; see also Audit Commission 1996), has been in receipt of criticism. Crawford (1997) maintains that new multi-agency (crime and

disorder) partnerships have the potential to be extremely disciplinary and authoritarian, such that the quest for pragmatism and efficiency supersedes any commitment to (young people's) rights. Multi-agency working has also been accused of promoting 'governmentality' (achieving social order through dynamic power relations between institutions – Foucault 1977), underpinned by authoritarianism (see Muncie and Hughes 2002), when dealing with young people (e.g. Rose 1989). Indeed, Rose (1989) believes that by characterising young people as 'in need' (of guidance, support, information etc), governments can seek to enable and justify regulation of every aspect of young people's lives, with scant concern for any recognition of rights.

These are alternative forms of theorisation (managerialism, governmentality, authoritarianism) in the management and regulation of young people portray young people as passive recipients of punitive (adult) measures and young people's rights as excessively marginalised (see, for example, Scraton and Haydon 2002). In contrast, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group pursue a positive rights agenda that seeks young people's full participation as active providers of information (in accordance with Scraton and Haydon 2002).

The reflexive nature of Promoting Prevention

Promoting Prevention structures and processes seek to evolve reflexively (cf. Giddens 1990). The modes of practice associated with the development of modernity have tended to broaden horizons and the theoretical understanding of social life, particularly the understanding of organisational behaviour (Haines 1996). Modern organisations such as the Promoting Prevention partnership have been compelled to reflect the changing nature of modern social conditions if they wish to survive and evolve. The implications of this condition for the development and implementation of Promoting Prevention are important to understand. From its inception, modernity has tended to be reflexive, monitoring the grounds, performance and consequences of all human action (Bleakley 1999; Smart 1999). Giddens (1990) labels this process the 'reflexive monitoring of action' or the 'reflexivity of modernity'. However, Smart (1999) asserts that the reflexivity of

modernity is qualitatively different to simple monitoring processes. Modernity has established reflexivity as the basis of system reproduction, such that:

‘thought and action are constantly refracted back upon one anothersocial practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character’ (Giddens 1990: 38)

In part, the rolling dynamic between information generation and Promoting Prevention practice and structures integrates the evaluation (detailed in this thesis) within the development process of the overall initiative by maintaining:

‘an emphasis on the substantive or practical importance of research results rather than on merely ‘statistically significant’ findings’ (Hakim 1987: 172)

More broadly, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group aspires to operate with an intrinsic ‘institutional reflexivity’. What this means in practice is that the Steering Group, co-ordinated by the YOT Manager, harnesses the systematic collection and use of information as a constitutive element of its organisation and transformation (as Giddens 2002).

Promoting Prevention (in the concrete forms of the Steering Group and the evaluation team) places the assessment of local circumstances (through the generation of information) in the context of staff knowledge of their specialist area of practice. This process seeks to promote the engagement and involvement of young people in universal and targeted interventions to prevent offending and promote positive behaviour (see also Utting 1996). For example, Promoting Prevention aspires to be accountable to the needs of local young people. To achieve this ideal, the initiative must emphasise the creative and responsive manner in which organisational identities, experiences and actions are shaped by interactions between managers, practitioners and young people. The Steering Group has

fostered a close relationship between researcher and the 'researched'. The intention is to forge a working relationship that is mutually beneficial and symbiotic (an approach that has been identified as effective in extant 'what works' literature – Whyte 2004), rather than an exploitative arrangement wherein one or other party is being used to develop either theory or practice (see also Hall and Hall 1996). The advantage to such an arrangement is that findings are both more usable and more likely to be used (see Weiss and Bucuvalas 1980). As this thesis will explain, *information* has become the key animator of the Promoting Prevention dynamic.

The development of Promoting Prevention has been predicated on information from numerous sources. Some of these sources are pre-existing within local management structures (e.g. official local authority statistics on secondary school exclusion and youth offending), whilst some have been specifically created as part of the evaluation process to address shortfalls in knowledge (e.g. self-reported data from young people, narrative data from managers and practitioners). The provision of 'hard' data in the form of official local authority statistics (see chapter one) is intended to allow relevant aspects of social life in the City and County of Swansea to be analysed more accurately and comprehensively by practitioners, managers and researchers associated with Promoting Prevention (see also Creswell 2003). This thesis will demonstrate how information in the form of official statistics and findings from the evaluation 'circulate in and out' of 'Promoting Prevention', reflexively restructuring the initiative (see also Giddens 1990; 2002).

Reflexivity is an inevitable product of the conditions of modern life, so there is little that stakeholders in Promoting Prevention can do to avoid it. Some key actors, particularly within the Steering Group have consciously realised that information generation can be exploited to shape the objectives and activities of Promoting Prevention. The Steering Group, in consultation with the external evaluators, have established that structures and processes within Promoting Prevention can be constantly examined, informed and reformed in the light of information regarding the programme's implementation, outcomes and impact. Therefore, it is the aspiration of

the Steering Group that information produced by the structures and processes of the Promoting Prevention initiative and the Promoting Prevention evaluation can be articulated with action (e.g. service provision), then revised in the light of transformed processes and practices (see also Foucault 1973), such that the entire initiative is animated by the generation of information.

The production of systematic information is integral to Promoting Prevention. An emphasis on information illuminates the nature of need locally and the impact of services. This knowledge motivates a proactive, objectives-focused and future-orientated mind set within the Promoting Prevention Steering Group. Consequently, the development of the programme is not reliant upon tradition and 'what has gone before' (see Haines 1996). Rather, it is informed by a critical awareness of what has been done, what is happening currently, what is possible in the future (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002) and what must be done to meet needs, as identified through the ongoing collection of information.

An example of how future-orientated reflexivity has become embedded within local practices is provided by the origins of the Promoting Prevention anger management and self-esteem programme. A Clinical Nurse Specialist was seconded to the YOT (at that time called the Youth Justice Team) by the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Team in January 2000 to address the increasing level of violent youth offending locally. Through personal assessments conducted at the YOT offices, the Clinical Nurse Specialist (CNS) identified linkages between violent offending, substance use, mental health issues and anger-related problems (accompanied by low self-esteem). The CNS briefed all YOT staff to record anger and self-esteem issues as a routine element of their statutory assessment interviews with young people. Feedback from YOT staff to the CNS highlighted a proliferation of anger and low self-esteem issues amongst violent youth offenders locally. This prompted the CNS (following discussion with the YOT manager) to establish an anger management and self-esteem programme in February 2000, targeted on young people referred to the YOT for offences of violence, particularly those presenting

accompanying substance use or mental health problems. Formative and summative feedback from young people completing the programme (from questionnaires and interviews conducted by project workers) have been utilised to inform the structure and format of the programme. The course has evolved from an individualised, office-based initiative to incorporating a large gym-based, physical training element that could be offered to groups. Both the YOT manager and the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Team expressed the concern that the programme is underpinned by a charismatic leader (the CNS), which raised questions over its sustainability. Consequently, two project workers (both funded through Promoting Prevention) were employed (in May 2000 and December 2000 respectively) to roll out the programme to local secondary schools. The anger management and self-esteem scheme is now a universal, preventative provision for 10-17 year olds (in addition to an individualised, targeted model), made available through working relationships between the YOT and statutory and non-statutory organisations (e.g. local secondary schools, the local authority Child and Family Service, voluntary mentoring schemes).

The evolution of the anger management and self-esteem provision from a YOT-based targeted intervention to a universal provision accessed by disparate agencies evidences how the reflexive process allows Promoting Prevention to cut across traditional organisational boundaries. Crucially, this process highlights the way in which information relevant to the local context, generated by local actors and utilised by local staff has precipitated the development of new provision within Promoting Prevention, which is then capable of evolving into mainstream initiatives. This thesis will go on to show that this process continues and is mirrored across the breadth of the Promoting Prevention initiative.

The limitations and dangers of reflexivity

By challenging extant conceptions of what Promoting Prevention is and how it works through what Giddens terms 'reflexive appropriation of knowledge' (Giddens 2002), the evaluation presented in this thesis may raise as many questions as it answers

and identify more problems than solutions. Reflexivity creates new information that itself is open to uncertainty, critique and revision. As Giddens states:

'The chronic entry of knowledge into the circumstances of action it analyses or describes creates a set of uncertainties to add to the circular and fallible character of post-traditional claims to knowledge.' (Giddens 2002: 28).

Smart (1999) labels this phenomenon 'ambivalence', asserting that it is a necessary corollary of modernity. Reflexivity is characteristic of modern life and modern organisational behaviour, thus it is an inherent process within Promoting Prevention. However, reflexivity does not necessarily function seamlessly, strategically or consciously, particularly as Promoting Prevention is a dynamic, complex, 'real world' programme, not reducible to statistical returns, but characterised by uncertainty and fluidity (see also Haines 1996). For example, for practitioners within Promoting Prevention to function self-consciously (reflexively), they need to be constantly aware of the limitations of their own knowledge and the inadequacies of the programmes they administer (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002). With this in mind, reflexivity may result in ambivalence or even a pervasive lack of confidence amongst key stakeholders regarding the appropriateness of its interventions, services and practices, the goals it should pursue and the future direction of Promoting Prevention (see also Creswell 2003). Reflexivity may also highlight inequalities of access to 'networks of information and communication structures' (Lash 1994: 121; in Smart 1999). For instance, Steering Group members have articulated (through interviews) a disparity in working knowledge of Promoting Prevention structures, processes and developments, which are attributable (at least in part) to the diverse nature of relationships between partners (see chapters six and seven).

The reflexive generation of information drives the active construction of a package of interventions, services and processes within Promoting Prevention, as opposed to a passive reaction to situational conditions (e.g. high rates of youth offending locally) or organisational and statutory requirements (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002). The

climate of reflexive critique and information production within Promoting Prevention has been embedded by the Steering Group to afford managers and practitioners the opportunity to understand and reform processes (also informed by ongoing evaluation) and to restructure their organisation in terms of its processes, practices, staffing and roles to address Promoting Prevention requirements. Whilst this process can be positive, it can also cause difficulties. For example, although the narrative exercise and systems mapping within the evaluation were employed to identify gaps in staffing and highlight potential relationships with other agencies, they also illuminated perceptions of inadequate or non-existent provision. The systems analyses highlighted some less positive, although constructive issues, such as an emergent ambivalence and a lack of confidence in Promoting Prevention amongst some practitioners and managers. However, such a risk is inherent to the reflexive critique that has become an inevitable and essential process for organisations under the conditions of modernity (see Giddens 1990; Smart 1999).

The evaluation of Promoting Prevention is a synergistic endeavour between the research and the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and partnership agencies. This research is predicated on the basis that the findings should have practical implications and make a difference to the lives of those involved in the study (see also Robson 2002; Creswell 2003). Findings from the Promoting Prevention evaluation have been disseminated widely and accessibly to diverse audiences (e.g. practitioners, pupils, teachers) in a variety of formats (e.g. report, academic articles). Dissemination was conducted within a collaborative researcher-user relationship, in order that the research outcomes could be utilised to maximum effect (see Heller 1986).

Research and the need for information are bound together in a dynamic. Consequently, there is no start and finish or before and after to the evaluation of Promoting Prevention. As this thesis will show, quantitative and qualitative information have been used to animate and regenerate Promoting Prevention processes and structures. Instead, it is the intention of the Steering Group and the

researcher to perpetuate a reflexive relationship between the constituents of research, information and practice.

The structure of the thesis

Chapter one compares and contrasts official and self-reported statistics on youth offending, youth drug use and secondary school exclusion available locally and nationally, in order to place young people's behaviour in Swansea in a national context and to offer a point of comparison for the self-reported data emerging from the individual study (see chapters four and five). Chapter one also intends to highlight the necessity for up-to-date and revisable information (grounded in research) as a means of effectively targeting and structuring Promoting Prevention processes.

Chapter two places Promoting Prevention's consultative and reflexive approach to research and evaluation in the context of contemporary *crime prevention* perspectives and strategies. It will support the use of a developmental, risk-focused approach for evaluating Promoting Prevention's preventative and universal work with young people, as opposed to the actuarial management of risk and aggregates. There will be a detailed discussion of the Steering Group's aspiration for Promoting Prevention to function as a modern example of an holistic, rights-based approach to crime prevention that actively seeks the voice of young people and reflexively alters its processes and practices in the light of this information.

Chapter three will evaluate the utility and generalisability of the risk-focused approach known as the *Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm*. There will be a debate as to whether identified risk and protective factors can be considered absolute or relative and discussion of whether locally identified factors are globally applicable. Difficulties in establishing causality will also be considered. Differences between Promoting Prevention and traditional risk-focused approaches are discussed. The risk factor emphasis upon establishing generalisable data (e.g. globalised risk

factors) will be contrasted with Promoting Prevention's reflexive, 'real world' approach to generating context-specific data to inform processes at the local level.

Chapter four details the theoretical and practical basis for the *individual study methodology*, which employs a computer-based questionnaire to identify issues of concern for young people in Swansea and factors statistically associated with offending. The questionnaire addresses young people's perspectives, strength of attitudes and self-reports concerning issues within the most influential domains of their life, including family, education, neighbourhood/community, lifestyle, substance use and self-reported offending. The chapter will discuss Promoting Prevention's emphasis upon reflexivity through ongoing consultation with young people using an engaging survey format.

The following chapter (chapter five) reports the *results of the individual study questionnaire*. Response percentages and means for the whole sample are presented and analysed for gender and age differences. Logistic regression is used to *test* for the influence of variables and their association with self reported ever offending and active offending (three or more offences in the past year). This data is triangulated with and compared with locally-collected official youth crime statistics to obtain a broader, more valid picture of young people's problem behaviour and attitudes in Swansea, in order to inform the provision of appropriate services by the Promoting Prevention Steering Group.

Chapters six and seven detail the *systems analyses* of Promoting Prevention. As Promoting Prevention has concrete plans, objectives and activities, which the partners seek to bind together in a cohesive strategy, it was both important and necessary for the research to map Promoting Prevention and to describe its structures, services and emergent issues for key stakeholders. Consequently, qualitative, narrative accounts (chapter six) and systems maps (chapter seven) were generated by adapting the grounded theory methodology of Glaser and Strauss (1967).

The narrative reports and systems maps are evaluated with the 'realistic' evaluation agenda outlined by Pawson and Tilley (1998), which seeks to confirm, falsify and refine existing theory through consultation with stakeholders. The author encourages a reflexive relationship with key stakeholders to gain insight into their experiences of Promoting Prevention mechanisms so that resultant information can be employed to reform and improve the initiative.

The final chapter (chapter eight) will serve as a *discussion* of the central findings of the thesis, revisiting, re-examining and re-evaluating the dynamic between information generation and Promoting Prevention mechanisms. Critical discussion is presented in the light of data from the systems exercises (narrative reports and mapping), the individual study questionnaire and official local statistics available to the programme. This process will include methodological criticisms and extrapolation of findings in order to demonstrate the practical utility of the information generated for targeting interventions, shaping local policy and impacting upon the attitudes and behaviour of young people and key stakeholders in Swansea.

Chapter One

Youth Offending in Swansea and the United Kingdom

Introduction

The link between youth and crime is long and enduring (Jamieson, Mclvor and Murray 1999). Involvement in criminal activity can be an integral part of adolescence for many young people (Graham and Bowling 1995). However, the causes of offending are often fiercely disputed. Monocausal explanations are insufficient, as (the origin of) offending is complex, defying simplistic explanations and solutions (Jamieson et al 1999). Contemporary explanations of the causes of youth crime draw upon a mixture of criminological theories, such as the failure to adhere to socially agreed values (control theory – e.g. Hirschi 1969), blocking of legitimate opportunities to achieve socially-agreed goals (strain theory – e.g. Merton 1938) and commitment to alternative, deviant reference groups (sub-cultural or cultural deviance theory – e.g. Sutherland and Cressey 1974). Criminology has come to emphasise the multi-dimensional nature of the aetiology of crime.

Yet, socially and politically, the 'young offender' is often deemed society's premier 'folk devil', perceived as beyond the control of traditional socialising institutions such as the family and school, perpetuating an unreflective condemnation of youthful behaviour (Muncie, Coventry and Walters 1995). However, young people do not exist in a social vacuum. They are affected by and respond to the life chances with which they are faced. The modern reconceptualisation and reanalysis of the notion of youth offending to incorporate young people's disaffection and social dislocation promotes a more informed and measured analysis of its extent, seriousness and social context (Muncie et al 1995). This approach to youth offending will be discussed throughout the current thesis.

The need for the evaluation of Promoting Prevention

The bulk of the cogent evidence relating to the impact of initiatives to prevent youth offending comes from North America (e.g. Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter and Bushway 1998), thus limiting generalisability of any findings and conclusions due to, *inter alia*, socio-cultural differences such as firearm laws, ethnic composition, gang culture and widespread hard drug use (see Goldblatt and Lewis 1998). Therefore, it is essential that strategies for evaluating preventative interventions are developed in the United Kingdom. Although many promising approaches exist in the United Kingdom, most are yet to be rigorously evaluated (e.g. Utting 1997). There are numerous demonstrations of the effectiveness of developmental prevention methods in well-designed experiments (Farrington 1999), but little is known about optimal intervention strategies, particularly the relative efficacy of targeting whole populations (i.e. universal services) as opposed to individuals (e.g. children at risk or known offenders). Also, evidence is needed to indicate the most effective points to intervene in the developmental pathway leading to offending (Vassallo, Smart, Sanson, Dusseuyer, McKendry, Toumbourou, Prior and Oberklaid 2002).

The research detailed in this thesis will investigate the extent to which Promoting Prevention incorporates an evidence-based, problem-solving strategy in Swansea. Particular emphasis will be given to whether Promoting Prevention builds upon existing local resources, including informal support networks (see also Bright 1997). Consideration will be given to whether Promoting Prevention targets multiple risk factors and delivers multiple services (the 'multi-modal' approach) in accordance with successful crime prevention schemes nationally and internationally (see also Hawkins and Catalano 1992; Andrews, Hollins, Raynor, Trotter and Armstrong 2001; Whyte 2004). The thesis will also evaluate the long-term focus⁵ of Promoting Prevention and whether target groups (e.g. young people, key stakeholders) are

⁵ Policy and practice in the area of 'what works' with young people (particularly offenders) can tend to focus on the immediate problems of individual young people, thus neglecting long-term objectives such as attempting to impact upon the broader social contexts of disadvantage and disaffection (see Muncie 2000).

involved in its design and implementation (see also Goldblatt and Lewis 1998). These issues will be subject to independent evaluation (as Goldblatt and Lewis 1998), with impact evaluated across a range of *processes* (e.g. working relationships within Promoting Prevention, degree of local consultation) and *outcomes* that include official and self-reported statistics for youth offending, youth drug use and secondary school exclusion.

The need for youth consultation in Swansea

Consultation with young people, in relation to both UK Government legislation (e.g. the objectives of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998) and in terms of local values (e.g. consulting widely with young people in Swansea on issues that affect them) contributes to the Promoting Prevention Steering Group's ambition to be critically aware and to be able to reform its processes in the light of relevant incoming information. For example, the Government expects the Youth Action Group⁶ (YAG) approach, which incorporates youth consultation and involvement, to feature in every partnership strategy following the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Thus, involvement of young people in the process of reducing local crime and disorder should start by involving them in the audit process - seeking their experience and their views (Crime and Disorder Act 1998).

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 (ratified by the UK Government in 1991) has emerged as the internationally accepted framework for the treatment of all children⁷. It encourages a positive and optimistic view of children as active holders of rights, whilst stimulating a global commitment to safeguarding those rights. The United Nations (UN) Convention views children as human beings in their own right, with their own strengths, views and opinions (as individuals), and the potential to become active citizens in their local communities. In particular,

⁶ The Youth Action Group project involves groups of young people working on preventative and improvement plans within schools. The scheme is designed to bring these young people into focus on solutions to crime, social awareness and citizenship.

⁷ According to article one of the convention, a 'child' is considered to be 'every human being below the age of eighteen'.

article 12⁸ asserts the rights of children to say what they think, be listened to and participate in decision-making about matters that affect them. As noted previously, Promoting Prevention is theoretically and ethically underpinned by article 12 of the UN Convention, seeking to facilitate local children and young people to shape and access services (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; City and County of Swansea 2003), in accordance with their universal rights. Promoting Prevention encourages youth participation in decision-making locally and has implemented structures for involving children in order to tap the considerable potential for information provided by children and young people to articulate local policy (see also Treseder and Crowley 2001).

Therefore, it is necessary to establish whether Promoting Prevention consultation processes do innovate and develop appropriate service provision, and whether resultant interventions impact upon offending behaviour and the lives of young people. Further evaluation is needed to assess the best means of engaging and examining the effects of increased youth participation on young people themselves, and on service and policy. A paucity of comparable evaluation exists nationally (see Treseder and Crowley 2001).

Official statistics versus self-reported offending statistics

Official and self-reported offending statistics are, by their very nature, incompatible and incomparable due to, *inter alia*, differences in recording procedures and offence categories. Traditionally, official records are the data most often used to assess the extent and nature of offending and the characteristics of offenders (e.g. British Crime Survey 2001; Criminal Statistics 2001; Youth Justice Board 2003). Therefore, any inferences about offending and offenders from official statistics must be based upon individuals who have passed through the Criminal Justice System. However, such inferences may not be applicable or appropriate to unrecorded offending or undetected offenders (Maguire 1997). Official statistics only relate to *known*

⁸ Article 12.1 asserts that 'State parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child...'

offenders (i.e. individuals who have been caught, admitted guilt and have been found guilty by a court). Thus, they fail to reveal anything about those offenders not caught or unsolved offences. Official statistics also fail to include information on unreported, undetected and unsolved offences, the so-called 'dark figure' of crime. Victim surveys, such as the Home Office's annual British Crime Survey, confirm that not all crimes are recorded (Maguire 1997). For instance, recent statistics for crime recorded by the police estimated that 5.9 million offences were committed in 2003/4, whilst the British Crime Survey estimated 11.7 million offences, nearly double this figure (Dodd et al 2004). Reasons for this include the fact that some crimes are simply never reported, whilst some that are reported go unrecorded by police for some other reason (Levitas and Guy 1996). The implication is that '... there is a considerable amount of offending of which the authorities are unaware' (Tarling 1993: 5). There is also a notable 'justice gap' between the number of crimes recorded by the police and the number of crimes where an offender is brought to justice (i.e. cautioned, convicted or had offences taken into consideration by the court). The most recent Home Office statistics in this area cited 1.02 million of the 5.17 million crimes in 2000/01 being brought to justice, placing the justice gap at 19.8% (Home Office 2001).

The actual criminal behaviour of the youth population in the UK is arguably very poorly reflected in official statistics. The assertion that official records tell only part of the offending story makes it important to incorporate self-report measures such as the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire (see chapters four and five) when designing a response to youth crime locally. The self-report method covers detected and undetected offences (irrespective of the presence of an identifiable victim). This is obviously subject to 'honest', valid reporting by young people. Evaluation of extant self-report methodologies indicates that self-report data is a valid and reliable measure of the extent of actual youth offending in the UK (see, for example, Graham and Bowling 1995; Flood-Page, Campbell, Harrington, and Miller 2000; Anderson, Beinart, Farrington, Longman, Sturgis, and Utting 2001; MORI 2003) and internationally (see, for example, Tarling 1994; Junger-Tas, Terlouw and

Klein 1994). Therefore, the measure avoids and overcomes many of the inadequacies and biases inherent in public official records to produce offending and offender information that is unaffected by police or Criminal Justice System selection or processing (see Graham and Bowling 1995). A review of developments in the application of self-report methods is provided in chapter four.

The self-report method itself has several potential weaknesses that can affect the validity of any data elicited, including concealment and exaggeration, non-response, sampling error and problems of internal validity (Tarling 1993; Robson 2002). This thesis will go on to demonstrate that the Promoting Prevention individual self-report questionnaire attempts to minimise and even circumvent these limitations through an innovative computer-based methodology (see chapter four) and careful implementation procedures (see chapters six and seven).

The relative utility of official statistics and self-report method has been subject to continuous debate, with proponents of each criticising and querying inferences derived from the other source (Levitas and Guy 1996). For example, early supporters of self-report studies alleged sex, race and class bias within official statistics (Hindelang, Hirschi and Weis 1981). However, this controversy has subsided to the degree that contemporary studies have compared the two measures when used on the same group. For example, the longitudinal Cambridge study (West and Farrington 1973, 1977) compared the two measures in order to confirm that their cohort had offered truthful and valid responses (e.g. the proportion of young people who denied offences that they had actually committed was less than 4%). The Cambridge study established that those offenders admitting multiple offences were more likely to have been convicted, and those admitting more serious offences were more likely to have been caught and convicted (West and Farrington 1973, 1977). Farrington (1989) concluded that official records and self-reported offending measure the same underlying concept, but with differing measurement biases. Thus, the measures are compatible and complementary, and both are valuable to the advancement of knowledge about delinquency. Tarling (1993)

agrees, proposing that there is a good deal of congruence between the measures once methodological, measurement or selection biases have been accounted for. Indeed, errors from each measure can be perceived as being so different that they can be used to check one another (Tarling 1993).

The individual study that forms an integral part of the evaluation of Promoting Prevention elicits a measure of *self-reported* offending amongst young people in Swansea to supplement official statistics and to compare and contrast with national self-report statistics (e.g. Flood-Page et al 2000; Anderson et al 2001; MORI 2003). By utilising multiple, complementary methods (official and self-reported statistics, questionnaires and interviews), the Promoting Prevention evaluation facilitates the process of 'triangulation', whereby research questions and problems can be addressed from a variety of angles, producing more valid, comprehensive and context-specific findings (see also Robson 2002).

Youth offending in Swansea and the UK

It is useful to highlight the local and national context of (official and self-reported) youth offending in order to evaluate how Swansea compares statistically to the rest of the UK. Official data can be employed to illustrate trends in offending behaviour that can then be further examined and extrapolated using self-reported statistics. Local and national statistics for offending in terms of age, gender and ethnicity will also be discussed.

Potential measures of the impact of Promoting Prevention will be referenced, including official and self-reported levels of youth drug use and secondary school exclusion. This process is conducted because the effects of crime prevention interventions may only be identifiable through improvements in associated areas (see Goldblatt and Lewis 1998). In every instance, the local context will be presented first, followed by national statistics. Official data will be offered before available self-reported statistics.

The Youth Justice Plan 2003-2004 (City and County of Swansea 2003) provides an annual overview of the performance of Swansea's Youth Offending Team (YOT). This includes local *official* offending statistics for 10-17 year olds during the specified period, compiled by the YOT Information and Data Protection Officer. Youth offending statistics in Swansea are based on those recorded offenders receiving a 'substantive outcome', namely a reprimand, final warning, an order administered by the YOT (e.g. supervision order, probation order, action plan) or a custodial sentence. Table 1.1 provides data on the trends in recorded youth offending in Swansea over a three-year period.

Table 1.1

**Official statistics for youth offending in Swansea 2000-03: Offence profile
(breakdown by % of total offences)**

Offence	Swansea YOT			YJB
	2000/01	2001/02	2002/3	2002/3
	%	%	%	%
Arson	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.5
Breach of bail	5	3	3	2
Breach of conditional discharge	4	2	2	0.5
Breach of statutory order	4	4	4	3
Criminal damage	9	6	7	10
Death or injury by reckless driving	0	0	0	0.1
Domestic burglary	2	4	2	3
Drugs offence	4	3	4	5
Fraud and forgery	1	0.3	1	1
Motoring offences	22	29	26	23
Non-domestic burglary	2	2	2	2
Other	2	2	3	7
Public order	9	9	9	0.5
Racially aggravated	0.4	0.3	0.3	2
Robbery	0.3	0.5	1	1
Sexual offences	0.3	0.3	0.3	18
Theft and handling	21	20	20.3	6
Vehicle theft	9	9	9	13
Violence against person	6	5	6	4
Total offences	2249	2152	1800	268,480
Total offenders	563	562	630	N/A

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole (unless total is 0.5% or below, where % is rounded to one decimal place).

Annual official statistics are collated locally in terms of the financial year (April-March). This model of data collation fits with Youth Justice Board (YJB) requirements to more effectively monitor the progress of preventative interventions, as these interventions often have funding periods that span the financial year. Since 1999/00, offence categories have been prescribed and monitored by the YJB through the 'Themis' (The Management Information System) computer database. Prior to 2000/01, records of total number of offenders are either unavailable due to the absence of Themis (in 1998/99) or unreliable due to inconsistent recording procedures in the first year of Themis (1999/00). Consequently, trends in official youth offending in Swansea can only be reliably measured from 2000/01 onwards. This places limitations upon the extent of any conclusions that can be drawn from the available official statistics. Although all Youth Offending Teams in England and Wales are under a statutory requirement to provide quarterly offending breakdowns to the YJB, there are no such requirements for annual figures. However, the Manager of Swansea YOT chooses to collate annual statistics using the YJB criteria for the purposes of continuity, compatibility and comparability with national figures.

The offence breakdown (table 1.1) indicates that the four most frequently reported youth offences in Swansea from 2000-2003 (most common first) were motoring offences (although the prevalence of motoring offences is largely an artefact of a radical change in police recording procedures⁹), theft/handling stolen goods, vehicle theft itself and public order offences. Local official statistics collated by Swansea YOT demonstrate, however, that recorded youth offending in Swansea has fallen by 20% since the inception of Promoting Prevention in 2000 (although actual offending may not have fallen due to the 'dark figure' of undetected crime). However, the total number of offenders has increased¹⁰. It is probable that the increase in the number

⁹ Since 2001/2, the Youth Offending Team has recorded every motoring offence committed by a young person arrested for vehicle theft (e.g. driving without a licence, without tax, without insurance, dangerous driving), rather than the previous measure of recording only the most serious offence.

¹⁰ It is not possible to indicate the percentage of the overall 10-17 year old youth population in Swansea who have committed offences as the most recent census (Office for National Statistics 2001) only recorded the population within the 'under 16' and '16-19' categories.

of offenders is an artefact of the Youth Offending Team's insistence that South Wales Police meet their statutory requirement (under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998) to administer and record substantive outcomes (notably reprimands and final warnings) rather than unrecorded informal warnings. This suggests that previous unrecorded crime is also being recorded, indicating an actual fall in youth offending greater than the statistics demonstrate. It is also likely that the Youth Justice Board's insistence on faster police tracking systems (see Maguire 2000) and the target of a reduction in the arrest to sentence period draws young people who have offended into the criminal justice system more quickly. Consequently, the formal criminal justice system appears to be intervening in the progression of young people from first-time offender to serious and/or persistent offender, in accordance with the requirements of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Safer Swansea Plan 1998.

The assertion that fewer first time offenders are progressing into serious and/or persistent crime is supported by local YOT statistics that demonstrate a drop in official recidivism rates (from 41% in 2000/01 to 35% in 2001/02 to 31% in 2002/3) and these falls may account for the decrease in recorded youth offending in Swansea from 2000-2003.

Setting aside the overtly political context of youth crime, offending by young people has been identified as an important problem at a national level through both official statistics (e.g. the annual Home Office 'Criminal Statistics' and Youth Justice Board reports) and self-reported data (e.g. the two administrations of the Home Office's Youth Lifestyles Survey). These findings have exerted a major influence upon government policy, to the extent that the recent 'Justice for All' criminal justice white paper (Home Office 2002) prioritised the prevention and reduction of youth offending at the local and national level, thus further developing and extending the policy first established by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

National official statistics from the Home Office and the YJB for offenders convicted or cautioned for an indictable offence indicate that 10-17 year olds account for around 25% of known offenders (e.g. Criminal Statistics 2001; YJB 2003). More detailed analyses of extant official sources of national youth crime data in respect of offence breakdown, age, gender and ethnicity are discussed below as comparators of local data.

Swansea YOT statistics accord with national official statistics for youth offending employing an equivalent offence breakdown (see Youth Justice Board 2003¹¹). When comparing YOT figures for 2002/3, for instance, with national official statistics compiled by the Youth Justice Board (YJB 2003), equivalent levels of offending emerge for numerous offences, including motoring offences (YOT 26.2%; YJB 23%), drugs offences (YOT 4.2%; YJB 5%), domestic burglary (YOT 2.2%; YJB 2.9%), non-domestic burglary (both 2.1%), fraud (both 1.2%) and arson (YOT 0.6%; YJB 0.5%). Certain offences were recorded at substantially lower levels in Swansea than in the United Kingdom generally, including vehicle theft (YOT 8.8%; YJB 13%), criminal damage (YOT 6.8%; YJB 10.2%) and sexual offences (YOT 0.3%; YJB 17.8%). However, official offending in Swansea was far higher than the national average in terms of theft / handling (YOT 20.3%; YJB 5.7%) and public order offences (YOT 8.5%; YJB 0.5%).

No *self-reported* youth offending data were available in Swansea prior to the 2001/2 administration of the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire (see chapters 4 and 5).

It is not possible to directly compare official offending statistics with self-reported offending statistics for Swansea or the UK, as offence categories differ between the two measures. The official offending statistics referenced utilised offence categories prescribed by the Youth Justice Board (see table 1.1), whereas self-reported data

¹¹ Of course, Youth Justice Board national statistics average out local differences. Therefore, Youth Justice Board figures are not representative of any one local area.

within the Youth Lifestyles Survey has been drawn from the United Kingdom version of the Youth Justice Board-approved 'International Self-reported Delinquency' (ISRD) instrument (Graham and Bowling 1995 – see table 1.2).

Table 1.2

Self-reported youth offending in the UK: Offence profile by ever offending (committed at some point in life) and active offending (in the past 12 months)

Offence	MORI 2003 ¹²	YLS 1998/9 ¹³	
	Active %	Ever %	Active %
VIOLENCE		18	
Public fighting	N/A		5
Assault	N/A		1
Snatch theft	17		0.2
Hurt with weapon	4		1
Threatened with weapon	N/A		0.1
PROPERTY		55	
Buy / sell / handle stolen goods	26		8
Theft from school / work	24		3
Shoplifting	33		2
Theft – other	29		2
Burglary	9		0.5
Vehicle theft	7		1
Theft from a vehicle	8		0.3
Sell/use stolen cheque book	4		0.2
EXPRESSIVE		11	
Criminal damage	33		2
Arson	19		1
FRAUD	N/A	16	11
Total offending	26	47	19

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole (unless total is 0.5% or below, where % is rounded to one decimal place).

¹² Data is drawn from the sample of young people in mainstream education only to enable a more valid comparison with the Promoting Prevention individual study sample of secondary schoolchildren aged 10-17. As the MORI 'Youth Survey' report is an annual publication for the Youth Justice Board, only offending in the previous 12 months is measured.

¹³ No offence breakdown is available for 'ever' offending, other than for the general offence 'types' identified by Flood-Page et al (2000).

The first Home Office 'Youth Lifestyles Survey' (YLS) in 1992/3 targeting self-reported youth offending indicated that among 14-25 year olds, approximately 3% of young offenders committed 26% of youth crime (Graham and Bowling 1995). The more extensive 1998/99 sweep concluded that the most prolific 10% of offenders were responsible for nearly half the reported crimes in the sample (Flood-Page et al 2000).

The 2003 Youth Survey¹⁴ (MORI 2003), contracted by the YJB, found that 26% of young people aged 11-16 in mainstream education admitted to committing a criminal offence in the past 12 months (see table 1.2), with offenders more likely to be male (32% of males surveyed admitted offending, compared to 20% of females).

Findings from the Youth Lifestyles Survey and MORI studies indicated that the majority of young people who committed offences did so infrequently and that a small hard core of *persistent* offenders were responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime. The most recent Youth Lifestyles Survey (Flood-Page et al 2000) and MORI (2003) surveys highlighted property offences as the most commonly self-reported offences by young people in the UK. MORI (2003) demonstrated substantially higher levels of self-reported active offending for most offences measured¹⁵ when compared with the Youth Lifestyles Survey (YLS), particularly for shoplifting (33% compared to 1.9%), criminal damage (33% compared to 2.2%) and snatch theft (17% compared to 0.2%). Statistical differences in levels of active offending between the two surveys are largely due to differences between the MORI measure of active offending (i.e. having committed an offence in the past year) and the more restrictive YLS definition (i.e. having committed three or more offences in the past year). Differences could also be attributed to the significant age differences between the MORI sample (11-16 year olds) and the YLS sample of 12-30 year

¹⁴ MORI surveyed a sample of 4963 young people aged 11-16 in mainstream education and 586 young people aged 11-16 who were excluded from school.

¹⁵ Offence types were taken from the UK version of the International Self-reported Delinquency instrument (ISRDI – Graham and Bowling 1995).

olds, many of who may have offended in their youth (hence the high rates of ever offending – see table 1.2) but have grown out of crime by the time of the survey.

Youth offending in Swansea and the UK by age

The following section considers offending by different age groups within Promoting Prevention’s 10-17 year old remit. As in the other sections detailing offending statistics, local data is offered before national data, and official figures are provided before self-reported figures. Table 1.3 presents a local – national comparison of official offending data by age.

Table 1.3

Official statistics for the number of recorded youth offenders by age: Swansea versus the UK

Age in years	Swansea YOT		Youth Justice Board	Criminal Statistics	
	2001/2	2002/3	2002/3	2001	
	%	%	%		%
10	0.1	1	1	10-11	4
11	1	1	2		
12	3	3	4	12-14	29
13	6	7	8		
14	7	11	13		
15	16	17	19	15-17	67
16	30	25	25		
17	37	36	29		

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number (unless total is 0.5% or below, where % is rounded to one decimal place).

Local official offending statistics (see table 1.1), the Home Office ‘Criminal Statistics’ report (2001) and the Youth Justice Board’s ‘Youth Justice – Annual Statistics’ indicate that officially recorded rates of offending increase year on year from age 10 to 17. Swansea data demonstrates that 15-17 year olds are responsible for a greater percentage of recorded offending (83% in 2001/2; 78% in 2002/3) than found in the equivalent national figures (e.g. 67% - Criminal Statistics 2001). This

difference can be largely attributed to 17 year olds in Swansea offending at higher than the national average found in Youth Justice Board figures (36% compared to 29%), whereas young people at all other ages from 10-16 committed less recorded offending than found nationally (YJB 2003).

Younger age groups in Swansea commit a lower level of recorded offending than the national average when measured against Home Office and YJB statistics. For example, 10-11 year olds in Swansea were responsible for 2% of local youth offending in 2002/3 compared to the 4% recorded nationally (Criminal Statistics 2001), whilst 12-14 year olds accounted for 20% of local offences in 2002/3 compared to the national statistic of 29% (Criminal Statistics 2001). However, this thesis will demonstrate that comparisons between local and national levels of offending are of low priority to Promoting Prevention, as the Steering Group is interested in generating local, context-specific information to inform provision relevant to the needs of young people in Swansea.

Prior to the research documented in this thesis, there were currently no self-reported offending statistics available for young people in Swansea, so an age breakdown of local self-reported offending is not possible (see chapter five).

National samples have found self-reported youth offending to be less frequent amongst younger age groups (compared to older age groups. For example, 14% of 11 year olds in mainstream education admitted to offending in the past year, compared to 39% of 15-16 year olds (MORI 2003).

The most recent Youth Lifestyles Survey (Flood-Page et al 2000) found that 14-15 year old males and females were more likely to self-report offending and active offending than younger children (12-13 year olds) and older children (16-17 year olds). The Youth Survey (MORI 2003) reinforced the finding that 14-15 year olds were more likely to admit to active offending (committing an offence in the last 12 months) than younger children.

Swansea's official youth offending figures in 2002/3 parallel self-reported national statistics in that youths within the 16-17 age bracket commit the most offences in (over half of total youth offending in Swansea). They are followed by 14-15 year olds, whilst 12-13 year olds are far less frequent offenders¹⁶ (see also Flood-Page et al 2000; MORI 2003). The youngest age bracket of 10-11 year olds are responsible for the least amount of crime, committing 3% of the total reported youth crime in Swansea (i.e. 46 offences).

Youth offending in Swansea and the UK by gender

The gender distribution of official youth offending in Swansea has remained stable over the past three years, with approximately 83-85% of offences committed by males compared to 15-17% committed by females. Gender distribution of officially recorded offending in Swansea¹⁷ conforms to national official statistics (in terms of proportion rather than amount), which cite that the majority of juvenile offending is committed by males (Criminal Statistics 2001; YJB 2003). In particular, the finding that 84% of local offences in 2002/3 were committed by males is identical to the 84% of offending recorded by males at the national level (YJB 2003) and it is also compatible with the 80% - 20% distribution of offending in favour of males found by the Criminal Statistics (2001) report.

The most frequent officially recorded offences committed by 10-17 year old males in Swansea (2001 - 2003) were motoring offences (28% in 2001/2; 25% in 2002/3) and theft/handling (14% both years).

Young females in Swansea most commonly commit theft/handling (40% of total female offences in 2001/02 and 43% in 2002/3), violence against the person (12% in both 2001/2 and 2002/3) and public order offences (16% in 2001/2 and 14% in

¹⁶ The 1998/99 Youth Lifestyles Survey (Flood-Page et al 2000) surveyed 12-30 year olds, with no 10-11 year olds involved.

¹⁷ The recent Office for National Statistics (ONS) census estimated the population of 10-19 year olds resident in Swansea as 29,644 with a 50.2:49.8% split in favour of females (ONS 2001).

2002/3). Notably, motoring offences make up only 5% of total female offending in Swansea for 2001/02 and 8% in 2002/3, falling entirely within the 15-17 age bracket in both years.

Table 1.4

Official statistics for youth offending in Swansea and the UK: Offence breakdown by gender (% of total offences)

Offence	Swansea YOT				YJB	
	2001/02		2002/3		2002/3	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Arson	0.1	0	1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Breach of bail	3	1	3	1	2	0.1
Breach of conditional discharge	2	1	1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Breach of statutory order	3	1	3	0.1	3	0.1
Criminal damage	5	1	6	1	9	1
Death or injury by reckless driving	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.1
Domestic burglary	3	0.1	2	0.1	3	0.1
Drugs offence	3	1	4	1	5	0.1
Fraud and forgery	0.1	0.1	1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Motoring offences	28	1	25	1	22	1
Non-domestic burglary	2	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1
Other	1	1	2	0.1	3	1
Public order	6	3	7	2	5	1
Racially aggravated	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Robbery	1	0.1	0.1	0.1	2	0.1
Sexual offences	0.1	0	0.1	0	0.1	0.1
Theft and handling	14	7	14	8	12	5
Vehicle theft	8	1	8	0.1	5	0.1
Violence against person	3	2	4	2	10	3
Total %	82	18	84	16	84	16

M = male; F = female

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number (unless total is 0.5% or below, where % is rounded to one decimal place).

Until this thesis, there were no *self-reported* offending data by gender available locally (see chapter five).

The self-reported national offending figures of the first Youth Lifestyles Survey (YLS) illustrate that the ratio of males to females who admitted to ever committing an offence was nearly 1:1 for 14-17 year olds¹⁸ in 1992/93 (Graham and Bowling 1995). The updated YLS established the 1:1 ratio only for 12-13 year olds, stating that at age 14 and over, male offending begins to significantly outstrip female levels, rising to a 3:1 distribution at age 17 compared (Flood-Page et al 2000) compared to a 4:1 male dominance in official statistics (YJB 2003). The 2003 Youth Survey (MORI 2003) reiterated that self-reported offending amongst males is higher than amongst females in the UK (32% compared to 20%).

Youth offending in Swansea and the UK by ethnicity

Official offending by young people from ethnic minorities in Swansea has increased slightly (from 1.2% to 2%) over the past year, although locally collected statistics remain reflective of the ethnic distribution locally (97.85% white, 2.15% other) as estimated by the recent census¹⁹ (Office for National Statistics 2001). It is possible, however, that offenders of 'unknown' origin (i.e. offenders for whom ethnicity has not been recorded) may alter the distribution of white and ethnic minority youth offending in Swansea, highlighting a problem with the existing system of recording ethnicity. At the time of writing, systems are being put in place by the YOT Data and Information Officer to record the ethnicity of all offenders.

¹⁸ Although the number and seriousness of self-reported offences was significantly greater for boys (see also Jamieson et al 1999).

¹⁹ The 2.15 of the Swansea population identified as 'non-white' was broken down into 0.5% mixed race, 0.99% Asian or Asian British, 0.13% Black or Black British and 0.54% Chinese or other ethnic group (ONS 2003). However, YOT statistics utilise ethnic categories prescribed by the Youth Justice Board, namely white, black, Asian, Chinese/other and unknown, so there is no recorded youth offending in Swansea for the 'mixed' ethnicity group.

Table 1.5

Official statistics for youth offending in Swansea: Ethnicity (% of offences recorded)

Ethnicity	2000/01	2001/02	2002/3
	%	%	%
White	98	97	97
Black	1	1	1
Asian	0.4	0.4	1
Chinese	0	0	0.2
Unknown	0.5	1	2

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number (unless total is 0.5% or below, where % is rounded to one decimal place).

The foremost contemporary source of *official* offending statistics in the United Kingdom, Criminal Statistics (2001), offers no breakdown or analysis of officially recorded offending by ethnicity. However, the Youth Justice – Annual Statistics report (YJB 2003) identified that 84% of official offending was committed by white young people, 11% was attributable to young people from ethnic minorities (a detailed breakdown provided in table 1.5) and 5% was unknown in terms of ethnic origin. Therefore, there was a substantially lower level of official youth offending by ethnic minorities in Swansea as a percentage of the overall level of offences recorded (i.e. 2% - 4% over the past 3 years) than was demonstrated by national statistics. A possible explanation is that a far lower percentage of Swansea's population originate from ethnic minority groups (2.15% compared to 8.7% nationally²⁰ – ONS 2003), so there are fewer ethnic minority young people to commit offences.

²⁰ This can be broken down into White (91.3%), Black (2%), Asian (4.3%), mixed (1.2%), Chinese / other (1%).

There are no *self-reported* statistics for youth offending by ethnic groups are available for the Swansea population.

Table 1.6

Self-reported youth offending in the United Kingdom: Ethnicity (% of sample reporting offending)

	MORI	Youth Lifestyles Survey	
	2003	1998/9 ²¹	1992/3
Ethnic group	%	%	%
White	26	19	44
Black	33	20	43
Indian	23 ²²	11	30
Pakistani		14	28
Bangladeshi		3	13
Other	N/A	18	N/A

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Self-reported national statistics indicate higher levels of offending by young people from ethnic minorities than shown in official statistics (e.g. 33% Black and 23% Asian in the MORI 2003 survey compared to 11% for 'ethnic minorities' in the YJB 2003 study). Indeed, the 2003 Youth Survey (MORI 2003) discovered that young people from ethnic minorities in mainstream education²³ were slightly more likely to report offending in the past year than white youths (28% compared to 26%).

Youth drug use in Swansea and the UK

Although illegal drug use is itself an offence, the extent and diversity of drug taking among young people illuminates drug use as a behaviour and phenomenon that

²¹ It must be stressed that results from the 1998/99 Youth Lifestyles Survey in respect of ethnicity should be treated cautiously due to the small numbers of ethnic minority groups surveyed and due to the tendency of such groups to under-report offending (Flood-Page et al 2000).

²² Data for Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people is only available for the general category of 'Asian'.

²³ The sample of excluded young people was considered too small by MORI to be analysed by ethnicity (MORI 2003).

merits separate consideration from offending. Drug use and offending are closely associated domains (see Aldridge, Parker and Measham 1999; Balding 2000). It is particularly important to examine the issue of drug use separately due to its impact upon policy at the local level (e.g. Substance Misuse Action Team Plan – see appendix 34) and nationally (e.g. Drug and Alcohol Action Team Strategy – see appendix 34). It can also be argued that taking drugs is qualitatively different to most other offences. Drug and alcohol use in adolescence is a serious public health problem, with personal and social consequences, including decreases in motivation and cognitive processes, as well as an enhanced risk of mood disorders and accidental death. Long term implications include a substantial increased risk of adult health problems (e.g. lung cancer and heart disease – Blum 1987) and AIDS, an increased likelihood of committing violent crime and child abuse, and greater experience of unemployment, family breakdown and the weakening of social bonds (Hawkins and Catalano 1992). Also, due to the severe consequences of excessive drug use and the risk-taking behaviour associated with certain types of ‘heavy end’ drug use (e.g. sharing needles), there is a tendency for social and political overreaction to more minor forms of experimental drug taking.

Many of the consequences of drug taking, if not criminal, are significant risk factors for offending (Farrington 1997). The high financial costs of substance use must be met by health and mental health care services, and drug and alcohol treatment services. The human costs of drug use are increasingly reflected in high levels of educational failure and juvenile crime (Farrington 2002). Optimistically, some research suggests that prioritising the prevention of youth drug use should exhibit a multiplier effect, negating the influence of several other potential risk factors and preventing or reducing offending (e.g. Pudney 2002; Hammersley, Marsland and Reid 2003).

Prior to this study, there were currently no statistics (official or self-report) available from local agencies regarding the prevalence and breakdown of youth drug use in Swansea. Although local agencies and individuals targeting youth drug use do exist,

they either fail to produce systematic data or have yet to formalise their data collection systems, despite wide recognition of drug use as a 'problem' behaviour.

Findings from studies of *self-reported* drug use in the United Kingdom indicate that involvement in drug use among young people is a widespread phenomenon. For example, the Office for National Statistics found that drug use was admitted by 16% of 12-15 year olds (Goddard and Higgins 1999), the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire identified drug use by 24% of 14-15 year olds (Balding 2000) and the latest Youth Lifestyles Survey found that 18% of 12-17 self-reported having taken a drug at some point in their lives (Goulden and Sondhi 2001). The Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire has been structured to fill the void in self-reported youth drug use data for Swansea.

Secondary school exclusion in Swansea and the UK

The social correlates and consequences of school exclusion are a matter of considerable concern. School exclusion is a social policy that can have severe consequences for young people (e.g. reduced employment opportunities). The Audit Commission's report 'Misspent Youth' report found that 42% of school age offenders who had been sentenced in court had been subject to permanent or fixed-term exclusion (Audit Commission 1996). Increasingly, research is linking school exclusion and truancy to adolescent drug use and youth offending in the United Kingdom (e.g. MORI 2003) and internationally (e.g. Herrenkohl, Hawkins, Chung, Hill and Battin-Pearson 2001).

The seminal Audit Commission report reinforced the robust implementation of government legislation (Department for Education and Employment 1993) emphasising use of the measure of permanent exclusion as a last resort only. Government legislation, underpinned by the findings of the Misspent Youth study, resulted in schools being prohibited from excluding indefinitely, but retaining the measure of fixed-term exclusion. The pattern of decreasing use of permanent

exclusion in secondary schools (identified by the Audit Commission) has been reflected in local official exclusion rates in Swansea.

Permanent exclusions in Swansea have declined over the past five years, although fixed term exclusions (for both 1-5 days and 6 or more days) have increased substantially (see table 1.7).

Table 1.7
Official statistics for fixed and permanent exclusions in Swansea secondary schools 1997-2002

Academic year	Type of Exclusion			
	Fixed 1-5 days	Fixed 6+ days	Total Fixed	Permanent
1997/98	108	71	179	40
1998/99	263	133	396	30
1999/00	447	107	54	28
2000/01	627	89	716	18
2001/02	937	131	1068	25

Local data on secondary school exclusion was the originator of the Promoting Positive Behaviour in Schools programme. - established in 1997 by the local authority, in particular the Education Department, the Community Safety Department and the Youth Justice Team (now the Youth Offending Team). Promoting Positive Behaviour (PPB) is a multi-agency, multiple intervention scheme to reduce secondary school exclusion (see Haines, Isles and Jones 2001; City and County of Swansea 2003a). The development of PPB was predicated on information generated through consultation processes with local young people and key stakeholders. The cross-cutting and reflexive nature of Promoting Prevention was extrapolated from the methodology used to implement and evaluate PPB. The evaluation of PPB broke down research inhibition locally and brought into sharp focus the utility of research findings for developing local policy and practice.

In contrast to local official data for Swansea, official statistics for permanent exclusions from secondary schools in Wales have risen steadily during the period 1999-2002, from 286 (1999/00) to 339 (2000/1) to 357 (2001/2). A similarly consistent increase has been recorded for fixed-term exclusions (in line with Swansea statistics), rising from 5790 in 1999/00 to 8447 in 2000/1 to 9139 in 2001/2 (Exclusions from Schools: Statistical Release 20/2000, Welsh Assembly Government 2003²⁴).

There are no available *self-reported* statistics for local rates of secondary school exclusion in Swansea. Consequently, the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire addresses this shortfall in information as a research priority, but also as a priority for the Promoting Prevention steering group.

At the national level, Flood-Page et al (2000) discovered that 9% of 12-16 year olds in the United Kingdom sample self-reported that they had been subject to a fixed-term exclusion. Further research in the United Kingdom indicates an over-representation of males in self-reported exclusion statistics, with boys four to five times more likely to be excluded than girls (Smith 1998).

This chapter has reviewed and reported on the available official and self-reported data for youth offending in Swansea and nationally in the United Kingdom. Local official statistical sources indicate that the proportions of official youth offending in Swansea are generally comparable with national figures when broken down by offence category, age, gender and ethnic group.

²⁴ The main Government source of statistical information regarding secondary school exclusion, the Department for Education and Skills, only produces statistics for exclusion rates in England.

As no reliable official statistics existed or were obtainable for youth drug use at the local or national level, comparisons between Swansea and the United Kingdom could not be drawn at this stage.

The trend of permanent school exclusion in Swansea does not mirror the general increase in Wales, although the general increase in the use of fixed-term exclusions by secondary schools in Swansea is compatible with national figures.

The nature of the relationship between the research of Promoting Prevention and the Steering Group serves as a catalyst for the generation of information to animate Promoting Prevention structures and processes. The independent evaluation of Promoting Prevention was an explicit requirement of the funding agreement between the Promoting Prevention partnership and the YJB. Promoting Prevention, through the Steering Group and other partner agencies, has fostered a symbiotic and reflexive relationship with the research. Consequently, 'hard' data from extant official sources have been supplemented in Promoting Prevention by the creation of new avenues of local information (e.g. self-reported data for youth offending, youth drug use and secondary school exclusion, interview data from key stakeholders). The new statistical information generated as part of the Promoting Prevention individual study will be detailed in chapter five and compared and contrasted with available official statistics. The reproduction and evolution of Promoting Prevention is animated by the systematic generation of information relevant to the local context, rather than relying on prescriptive interventions passively responding to generalised national statistics. The intention of the evaluation and the Steering Group is for the provision of a comprehensive spread of information that can then be articulated with action.

Promoting Prevention is, of course, primarily a crime prevention strategy for reducing youth offending. It claims to be innovative both in terms of its methodology (linking locally-produced data to policy development and service delivery) and its

objectives (to be broadly-based, universal and aimed at promoting positive behaviour rather than controlling negative behaviour). To promote understanding and evaluation of Promoting Prevention, it is necessary to put it into the context of what is currently understood by crime prevention.

Chapter Two

What do we mean by Crime 'Prevention'?

This chapter places Promoting Prevention in the context of contemporary approaches to crime prevention. It will outline Promoting Prevention's emphasis upon developmental *criminality* prevention - predicated on the identification of risk and protective factors associated with offending. The discussion will highlight how the reflexive and inclusionary foundation of Promoting Prevention has evolved into what the Steering group assert to be an innovative approach to crime prevention relevant to the current climate of youth offending in Swansea.

The concept of 'crime prevention' is notoriously difficult to pin down and is a slippery, free floating and chameleon area (Hope 2002; Sutton and Cherney 2002). There is no straightforward solution as to how best to characterise 'prevention' in its criminal sense, as it has, quite simply, been defined differently by different actors. Consequently, associated activities can involve either reforming or deterring offenders, protecting individual victims or communities, or some combination of both. In addition, the crime prevention agenda may address distinct dimensions of the phenomenon of crime, such as the context of a criminal act, criminal motives, environmental problems or unprotected 'at risk' victims (Hughes 1998).

This section intends initially to establish a link between criminology and crime prevention by drawing upon different criminological theories of crime causation and discussing the implications of each for contemporary crime prevention, leading to a discussion of the holistic, rights-based crime prevention approach that underpins Promoting Prevention according to the Steering Group.

Approaches to crime prevention

The lack of consensus among criminologists as to exactly what constitutes crime prevention is reflected in the plethora of competing models and typologies. These are often of limited theoretical nature and usually preoccupied with technical or political concerns about assessments of 'success', 'failure' and 'cost effectiveness' (i.e. the 'administrative' criminology perpetuated by the Home Office - see Young 2002). Walklate (2003) asserts that most understandings of crime prevention predict an outcome and intervene in that process to change this predicted outcome. However, Pease (2002) urges caution in any quest to uncover universality in the techniques of prevention, as crime prevention itself is made up of a diffuse set of theories and practices. Therefore, the existence of a single unproblematic definition is a question to address with sensitivity and caution.

There appears to be agreement within the field of criminology that techniques used by crime prevention initiatives can be separated into focus upon situational and social prevention (Graham and Bennett 1995; Tonry and Farrington 1995; Clarke 2001). Situational crime prevention seeks to reduce opportunities for offending (e.g. target hardening, improved home security), whilst social prevention 'aims to strengthen socialisation agencies and community institutions in order to influence those groups that are most at risk of offending' (Bright 1997: 64). Both perspectives have come to favour a multi-agency approach (although traditional situational prevention emphasises police activity) and both claim to be less damaging than traditional (retributive) justice and punitive responses to crime. However, both situational and social crime prevention have tended to retain a narrow focus on 'street crime' and specific categories of offender (young, working-class males) rather than other social harms or broader categories of offending and offenders (Hughes 1998).

The influential work of Tonry and Farrington (1995) has identified the four key contemporary crime prevention strategies as *developmental*, *community*, *situational* and *criminal justice* prevention. Developmental prevention involves:

'...interventions designed to prevent the development of criminal potential in individuals, especially targeting risk and protective factors.' (Tonry and Farrington 1995: 2-3)

Community prevention consists of interventions designed to change social conditions influencing offending in residential communities (see also Crawford 1998). *Situational* prevention focuses upon interventions designed to prevent occurrence of crime (e.g. reducing opportunities for crime and increasing risks of getting caught). *Criminal justice* interventions utilise deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation (see also Cavadino and Dignan 2002). Community/social and criminal justice crime prevention strategies concentrate on the reduction of criminal motivation, while the situational approach targets the reduction of criminal opportunities (see, for example, Crawford 1998).

Contemporary prevention discourse effectively focuses on three strategies only, situational, community and developmental crime prevention, leaving law enforcement and the study of criminal justice system interventions to other sub-specialisms in criminology such as police studies (Hughes 1998). However, as this thesis will go on to show, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group acknowledges the significant preventative role played by criminal justice agencies (e.g. police, lawyers, courts) by maintaining a close working relationship with Swansea Youth Offending Team (which includes representatives from the South Wales Police and the West Glamorgan Probation Service amongst its staff) and the local authority Community Safety Department (see, for example, chapter six).

Crime prevention strategies have been historically underpinned by positivist principles (Pease 2002). Scientific methods of observation and experimentation are employed as a means to diagnose causes, ameliorate and prevent maladaptive behaviour. Thus, modern crime prevention eschews a punitive emphasis in favour of intervention and amelioration (Tonry and Farrington 1995; Pease 1997). The

seminal positivist investigation of the aetiology of criminal behaviour was the Lombrosian Project (Lombroso 1968), which concluded that criminality is the result of individual pathology and innate physical characteristics. Lombroso concluded an individual-basis for offending, so positing the potential for clinical corrections. This eclectic, multi-factorial approach to scientific solution and prevention of the social problem of crime characterises the influential developmental work of Farrington. However, other established approaches to discovering the causes of offending have adopted a more generalised, social focus, identifying social causes of offending, with subsequent implications for recommendations of the most appropriate and effective preventative strategies.

The Promoting Prevention approach to crime prevention

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group has made a conscious decision to avoid what they perceive as the Positivist trait of 'pathologising' youth or blaming youth offending on a personal, deliberate choice on the part of the individual (cf. Rational Choice theory – Clarke and Felson 1993). Instead, Promoting Prevention addresses crime prevention by promoting inclusionary processes that target the causes of criminal behaviour and the needs of the individual. The genesis of the Promoting Prevention approach lies in theories of social control (e.g. Hirschi 1969) and strain (e.g. Merton 1938). Through the universal provision of multiple interventions, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and partnership agencies pursue the goals of strengthening the young person's attachment/bond to society, strengthening commitment to conformity and increasing involvement in social activities (see Hirschi 1969). Promoting Prevention operates in the key domains of the young person's life, working with families and schools (the 'institutions of social control' – Hirschi 1969) to attain universal access to facilities, services and information for young people. The promotion of universal entitlement and social change strives to reduce the 'strain' caused by a perceived disparity between needs and opportunities that can motivate young people to offend (see Merton 1938; Cloward and Ohlin 1960).

Targeted services offered by Promoting Prevention (see chapter six), including anger management and self-esteem classes, and restorative justice provision, are compatible with theories identifying cognitive and personality factors as contributing to youth offending (e.g. Gottfredson and Hirschi's 'self-control theory'; Andrews and Bonta's 'psychology of criminal conduct'). The formation of the anger management and self-esteem programme explicitly originated from young people's expressions and perceptions of the strain caused by their life experiences and the subsequent frustration of their goals (cf. Merton 1938). Promoting Prevention's links with family-based interventions resonate with the (self) control theory suppositions that crime prevention policies should support and enhance socialisation in the family (see Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990).

To supplement its focus upon the contribution of social and protective factors to the aetiology of offending, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group has targeted the identification and amelioration of psychological influences. The Steering Group believes that certain ('dynamic') psychological risk factors (e.g. attitudes to offending, impulsivity) have the potential to be altered through developmental interventions. In this way, the Steering Group has adapted (although not explicitly) the crime prevention model of Andrews and Bonta (1998), which integrates strategies to address social disadvantage, personality and cognitive issues.

When considering a focus upon preventing and reducing youth offending (strategic priority five of the Safer Swansea Plan), the Promoting Prevention Steering Group feels that it is appropriate to distinguish between crime prevention and criminality prevention. Crime prevention typically seeks to prevent and reduce the situational/environmental and social conditions that allow or induce people to offend. In contrast, 'criminality' refers to the propensity, disposition and motivation to offend of the *individual* (Hughes 1998). This area is most appropriately addressed within a developmental approach, preventing criminality by reducing the number of children and young people with a disposition to behave in a criminal manner (Graham 1988)

by targeting known risk factors (see, for example, Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999). Graham and Bowling explain that:

“Criminality prevention entails preventing individuals from ever starting to offend and, in the event that they do commit crimes, to stop them from offending as soon as possible thereafter.” (Graham and Bowling 1995: 83)

Developmental (criminality) prevention serves as a third possible style of crime prevention, to co-exist with and supplement situational and social crime prevention. The developmental criminality prevention approach overlaps with the principles and objectives of the Steering Group in several crucial areas:

- 1) Criminality prevention targets children and young people, as they are the prime focus of socialisation and because most adult offenders begin their offending careers as children (Sampson and Laub 1993). The Promoting Prevention Steering Group argues that prevention should start early to be most beneficial. Promoting Prevention is compatible with criminality prevention as the initiative is not limited to simply identifying at risk young people. Instead, Promoting Prevention focuses upon changing organisational, institutional, structural and cultural elements of society that exert a negative influence upon socialisation and increase the risk of offending (see City and County of Swansea 2003; see also Lipsey and Derzon 1998).
- 2) The criminality prevention approach of Promoting Prevention includes preventative approaches that are applicable or relevant at different stages of social development. The nature of Promoting Prevention’s family-based strategies differ depending upon the age of the young person. School initiatives target different age groups, whilst peer group projects adapted to teenagers or younger children.

- 3) The developmental perspective adopted by Promoting Prevention recognises that young people at sensitive transition points in their life course (e.g. moving to secondary school, leaving school) may be at increased risk of moving into maladaptive behaviours, but they may also be more open to preventative interventions at this stage (see also National Crime Prevention Council 1999).
- 4) Criminology prevention necessitates long-term, programme-based testing, rather than short-term projects. Direct impact on crime (levels) is notoriously difficult to evaluate, with most initiatives only demonstrating success at the individual level. Also, relationships between offending, socio-economic structures and socialisation agencies are extremely complex. Consequently, effects may also be identifiable through improvements in associated areas (e.g. less truancy, improved educational performance).

Since the inception of Promoting Prevention, the Steering Group has posited that crime prevention programmes often suffer from the weakness of targeting the symptoms of offending rather than the potential causes. Crime prevention programmes frequently target crime itself, often utilising methods designed to reduce the opportunity to commit crime (e.g. situational crime prevention), increase the chances of being caught (e.g. law enforcement), or target those who are thought most likely to be offenders (e.g. risk management and actuarial justice). According to Hughes, McLaughlin and Muncie (2002), however, developmental crime prevention is a more promising approach as it can target those (risk) factors that are known to increase the propensity to offend in young people (i.e. increase criminality in young people). Indeed, '[d]evelopmental prevention is the new frontier of crime prevention efforts' (Tonry and Farrington 1995: 10).

Risk-focused criminality prevention

Criminological research has discovered a great deal about the factors that increase the risk of criminal behaviour (Goldblatt and Lewis 1998; Farrington 2002). Factors concerning the *individual* (e.g. impulsivity, hyperactivity, low intelligence), *family* (e.g.

poverty, poor housing, unemployment, poor parenting, criminal parent(s) and sibling(s)), *school* (e.g. disaffection, low attainment, poor performance, truancy and exclusion) and *peers* (e.g. peers displaying delinquent attitudes and/or behaviour, associating with drug using peers) are all consistently cited as influential risk factors for youth offending across a wide number of research studies (e.g. Sampson and Laub 1993; Anderson, Beinart, Farrington, Longman, Sturgis, and Utting 2001; MORI 2003). Risk factors for youth offending are perceived as contributory to a pattern of childhood anti-social behaviour (Capaldi and Patterson 1996), differing little from the risk factors that precipitate other deviant behaviours such as drug abuse (Hawkins and Catalano 1992) and school failure (Dryfoos 1990).

According to Goldblatt and Lewis (1998), it is almost impossible to accurately predict which individuals will become offenders by level of risk. However, young people exposed to multiple risks are more likely to become more serious or persistent offenders than young people who are exposed to few risk factors and/or exposed to a host of protective factors (Graham and Bowling 1995). Protective factors, such as positive parental attitudes to education and high self-esteem, can reduce the likelihood of offending and promote positive, prosocial behaviour (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak and Hawkins 2002). Therefore, criminality prevention programmes can be part of wider programmes to address a range of outcomes for young people (e.g. substance abuse, school failure, teenage pregnancy), affording schemes that are extremely cost effective, producing returns on investment extending beyond crime reduction (Goldblatt and Lewis 1998; National Assembly Policy Unit 2002). Indeed, Promoting Prevention, through the multi-agency Steering Group, seeks to extend the capacity and capability of traditional crime prevention programmes by operating more holistically as just such a 'wider' programme, integrating interventions that target, *inter alia*, substance abuse, school factors, neighbourhood regeneration, leisure activities and employment and training.

Since the 1990s, the 'Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm' (Hawkins and Catalano 1992) has exerted a huge influence upon criminological study. This method aims to

identify key risk factors for offending and implement preventative measures designed to counteract them, as well as identifying and enhancing protective factors²⁵ (Hawkins and Catalano 1992; Catalano and Hawkins 1996). For example, if poor parental supervision is identified as a prominent risk factor for offending, an intervention involving parent training can address this risk, by enhancing the protective features of parent-child attachment and parental involvement. Typically, longitudinal studies are utilised to advance knowledge about risk and protective factors, whilst experiments evaluate the impact of prevention and intervention programmes (see, for example, Farrington 2000).

A wide range of initiatives have focused upon prevention of criminality and reduction of associated risk factors, with early interventions targeting children at risk, parents and schools. There have been demonstrations internationally of the effectiveness of developmental prevention methods in well-designed experiments (National Crime Prevention Council 1999). However, as stated within the previous chapter, much of the extant evidence emanates from North American studies (e.g. Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter and Bushway 1998), thus limiting the generalisability of the results to the United Kingdom context.

There is a paucity of longitudinal evidence, particularly in the United Kingdom, regarding the efficacy of the risk factor approach. The most beneficial schemes thus far have addressed multiple risk factors²⁶ and offered multiple outcomes (Wasserman and Miller 1998). For example, strategies to prevent drug abuse can attend to risk and protective factors such as individual vulnerability, poor child rearing, school achievement, social influences, social skills and broad social norms. This multiple component technique reduces multiple risk factors and enhances multiple protective factors, whilst targeting populations at greatest risk.

²⁵ The paradigm was imported from the disciplines of medicine and public health (Hawkins and Catalano 1992). For example, identified risk factors for heart disease include a fatty diet and lack of exercise, so preventative measures involve promotion of a better diet and taking more exercise (e.g. increasing the prevalence and frequency of protective factors).

²⁶ It has been suggested that the *types* of risk factors a young person is exposed to are not as influential as the *total number* operating at any one time (National Crime Prevention Council 1999; Farrington 2002).

Universal versus targeted prevention

Criminality prevention assesses how the nature of social structures and institutions (and changes to them) can promote criminal disposition, in order that alterations may minimise or reduce these effects. As the negative impact of structural and institutional changes fall disproportionately on the most vulnerable societal groups (e.g. young people, unemployed, asylum seekers), criminality prevention policies tend to target those individuals and groups most *at risk* of offending or target specific institutions/communities (Graham and Bennett 1995).

A common debate within the crime prevention domain surrounds whether prevention programs should be universal (i.e. available to all the members of a population) or selective/targeted upon specific groups or individuals. Universal services avoid stigmatising individuals as 'at risk' or potential offenders. Targeted programmes can lead to large financial savings if future unwanted behaviour is avoided. It may be most effective and/or cost effective to target intervention programmes on the highest risk people or areas. In principle, there is the greatest scope for crime reduction with these people and areas, but in practice they may be the most difficult to engage in programmes and to change (Andrews and Bonta 1995²⁷; 1998). However, individual and geographical targeting through risk assessment increases the likelihood that society will associate individual characteristics (e.g. age, race, domicile) with their aggregate high/low risk classification, thus marginalising, stigmatising and stereotyping populations such as young people, who may already be disadvantaged and disaffected, economically, educationally, politically or a combination of any of these (Silver and Miller 2002). Profiling whole populations based on risk factors directs research toward public safety but subsequent service targeting based on this process can abandon privacy, liberty and individual rights and responsibilities (see

²⁷ Andrews and Bonta (1995) recommend targeting high-risk offenders, rather than low risk offenders who may gain little or even be harmed by interventions (Andrews' 'Risk Principle'). However, they also warn that extremely high-risk offenders may be unresponsive to single programmes, suggesting that high levels of intervention are more appropriate. As is shown later, as part of the Promoting Prevention initiative, practitioners work with high-risk individuals in Swansea, although the Steering Group avoids punitive or individualised interventions in favour of more holistic, inclusionary approaches.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989). These marginalised populations can become burdened by (actuarial) risk assessment (see later in this chapter) because they live in circumstances that correlate highly with acts of offending and are in a weak political position to resist classification (Silver and Miller 2002). Therefore, risk assessment may inadvertently contribute to the generalisation of stigma from offending to the characteristics of the groups designated as high risk (e.g. young people), placing a 'scientific stamp' on the public's prejudice and fear (Silver and Miller 2002). However, in reality, a high-risk neighbourhood is not likely to contain only high-risk individuals.

The problem of the stigmatisation of young people may be circumvented or mediated to an extent by a focus upon protective rather than risk factors, as this encourages optimism about ways of reducing crime and promoting a better society. Interventions focusing mainly on enhancing protective factors rather than reducing risk factors characterise more positive programmes (e.g. promoting health, parental training, improving self-esteem²⁸) and are likely to be more attractive to the people and neighbourhoods involved. In contrast, interventions prioritising the reduction of risk factors imply criticism (focusing on inadequacies) and harbour negative connotations (see Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak and Hawkins 2002). However, relative lack of knowledge about protective factors indicates that focusing only on them may not be an optimal strategy. The implication is that it may be essential to include both approaches, reducing risk factors and enhancing protective factors, in any effective, holistic intervention programme (see Farrington 2000).

Promoting Prevention is predicated upon government requirements for multi-agency partnership working to prevent and reduce youth offending (following the Crime and Disorder Act 1998). The Promoting Prevention Steering Group has prioritised a developmental approach to crime prevention because this facilitates the prevention

²⁸ Although the enhancement of self-esteem has not been found to be a promising target for intervention (see Sherman et al 1998), it can be effective if accompanied by simultaneous reductions in antisocial thinking, feeling and peer associations (Rutter et al 1998). A promising example of this is the Promoting Prevention anger management and self-esteem programme.

of crime *and* criminality. This was considered to be the most appropriate method for use with young people when targeting a long-term reduction in offending. The ethos and principles of Promoting Prevention have steered the initiative towards an emphasis upon promoting positive behaviour through targeted, cognitive-behavioural measures such as anger management and restorative justice (also compatible with self-control theory and the psychology of criminal conduct) and universally-available social interventions centred on the family, school and neighbourhood (also compatible with norm-based theories such as cultural deviance and social control).

Risk management and the pitfalls of crime prevention

The multi-faceted nature of Promoting Prevention attempts to fuse elements of developmental criminality prevention through the reduction/prevention of identified risk factors with consultation processes and the reflexive development of appropriate services. The Steering Group's approach to crime prevention rebuffs the current trend in industrialised societies, namely the move beyond a crime prevention paradigm to a statistically-based, risk management focus. The risk management perspective views crime as 'an everyday risk to be managed like air pollution and road traffic' (Garland 1996). Consequently, high rates of crime are seen as normal and inevitable, so the role of intervention and prevention (particularly criminality prevention) is marginalised. Indeed, risk management theories hold little confidence in the capacity of the state to solve, fight or prevent crime (or risk factors for crime), thus '(t)he message is that crime control is beyond the state' (Cohen 1996: 10). The contribution and potential of risk management will be discussed below to offer balance to the previous consideration of crime prevention practice.

Sociological criminology versus actuarial criminology

Until now, this thesis has discussed and espoused the concerns of traditional 'sociological' criminology, with its focus on the relationship between individuals and communities, and the causes and correlates of offending, as a tool to develop intervention strategies to correct and decrease the likelihood of problem behaviour. However, 'actuarial' criminology rejects these traditional concerns of criminology in

favour of an operations research and systems analysis methodology²⁹ (see Feeley and Simon 1994). This new approach is not strictly criminological, but more an applied branch of systems theory, replacing emphasis on the efficacy of intervention strategies with models designed to optimise public safety through the management of aggregates. This statistical picture of crime evidences a reconceptualisation of the way crime is understood as a social problem.

Actuarial justice

The actuarial justice model, also known as the 'New Penology' (Feeley and Simon 1994), shifts the focus of risk, prevention and punishment away from the traditional concerns of criminology (e.g. an individual focus), towards an actuarial consideration of aggregates (i.e. managing aggregates of 'at risk' and dangerous groups). New techniques of actuarial risk assessment target offenders as an aggregate; identifying, classifying and managing groups according to statistically calculated levels of risk or dangerousness (see Feeley and Simon 1992, 1994). Although the approach itself is based on the traditional technique of individualisation, actuarial justice or the new penology is competing with crime control (e.g. Hirschi) and other preventative options (e.g. developmental criminality prevention) as a master narrative for the system of crime prevention.

The objective of actuarial justice is to regulate levels of deviance, not intervene or respond to individual offenders or social malformations (Cohen 1985). Actuarial justice attempts to sort and classify, to separate the less from the more dangerous, and to deploy control strategies rationally. Using statistical tools such as prediction tables and population projections, actuarial risk assessment supplants individualised diagnosis and response with aggregate classification systems of surveillance, confinement and control (Vaughn 1991). Statistical algorithms categorise individuals into population subgroups with shared characteristics and similar levels of risk. Each individual is then attributed a summed score based on the number of high and

²⁹ As evidenced by the recent move in the UK towards research officers conducting monitoring and evaluation to underpin crime prevention policy decisions in local authorities and the Home Office.

low risk attributes they exhibit, with multiple regression (linear or logistic) employed to enable scoring of individuals on a continuum of risk using risk-related attributes (risk factors) so as to discriminate high from low risk population subgroups. For example, the LSI-R risk assessment tool (Andrews and Bonta 1995) determines level, intensity and frequency of monitoring imposed upon an individual as part of a community sentence. Proponents of actuarial justice argue that such techniques render decision-making more accurate and consistent by grounding decisions in a rigorously empirical framework based on data from a potentially wide range of information sources (see, for example, Grove and Meehl 1996). This engenders a shift from judgements based on professional expertise to judgements derived from the actuarial model, with in-depth analyses of individuals within a professional-client relationship replaced by actuarial risk assessment within a manager-subject dyad.

Criticisms of actuarial justice

The methodology of actuarial justice is, in essence, comparable with that of the Promoting Prevention individual study (see chapter four). The individual study aggregates levels of risk to sub-groups of the Swansea youth population and addresses identified risk and protective factors relevant to those groups, whilst avoiding a focus upon individualised interventions. The Steering Group also grounds its decisions in an empirical framework based on numerous sources of existing data and information generated specifically for the evaluation of Promoting Prevention. However, numerous cogent criticisms of actuarial risk assessment have been put forward (see below), focusing on methodology, ideology and ethos and these highlight several incompatibilities with the Promoting Prevention initiative.

Prevention is replaced by risk assessment

The retreat from the use of state power to transform individuals through individualised risk-reduction interventions may have become used more to label individuals than to understand and resolve their problems (Silver and Miller 2002). Therefore, risk assessment may predict criminality better than it does actual offending. Actuarial justice maintains that understanding why a particular individual

behaves in a particular way (and can be treated) is rendered irrelevant by actuarial risk assessment (Silver 2001), whereas developing an understanding of the aetiology of youth offending in Swansea lies at the heart of the Promoting Prevention individual study. Attempting to understand the aetiology of youth crime has been replaced in actuarial justice by a taxonomic categorisation of population aggregates integrated into a systemic program aimed at separating the less from more dangerous (risk management). The subsequent move away from individual assessments has witnessed an abandonment of interventionist efforts to identify the origins of offending and ameliorate them (a major objective of the Promoting Prevention Steering Group) and replaced it with group categorisation or 'statistical justice' (Reichman 1986). Furthermore, as most actuarial risk assessment tools have been developed on convicted offenders, the method is not suited to the criminality prevention focus of developmental criminology.

In contrast to the deliberately targeted methods of actuarial justice, Promoting Prevention interventions are predominantly universal. Promoting Prevention also seeks to identify and assess risk and protective factors in the general population before offering targeted services to medium to high-risk groups in the form of non-stigmatising, area-wide provision. This issue is elaborated in chapters four (Individual study methodology) and eight (Discussion).

Methodological concerns

The predictive accuracy of actuarial risk assessment has been brought into sharp focus since the rise to prominence of actuarial justice with specific concerns raised surrounding prediction errors, in the form of both false positive predictions (i.e. predicting recidivism that does not occur) and false negative predictions (i.e. predicting an individual will not reoffend when they do). Wilkins insists that there is an obvious trade-off between the two:

'If we over insure against recidivism it is possible that the community will be saved some crime, but this can only be done at the price of increased risk of individual suffering.' (Wilkins 1985: 43)

Although most early tools offered as prediction devices produced unacceptably high false-positive rates, often greater than 50% (see Monahan 1981), research findings supporting the validity of risk assessments have increased dramatically during recent years (see, for example, Andrews and Bonta 1995; Raynor, Kynch, Roberts and Merrington 2000). A recent Home Office evaluation of two risk assessment instruments, the Level of Service Inventory Revised or 'LSI-R' (Andrews and Bonta 1995) and the Assessment, Case Management and Evaluation Instrument or 'ACE' (Roberts, Burnett, Kirby and Hamill 1996), found that both are able to accurately predict reconviction at better than chance levels (between 61-68%). The Home Office study concluded that risk / needs assessment is a reliable and feasible method for use with offenders (Raynor et al 2000). A core difference between the risk-focused methodologies of actuarial justice and the Promoting Prevention individual study is that actuarial methods often produce negative and punitive outcomes for the individual. Although the Promoting Prevention individual study measures the prevalence and frequency of risk through individual enquiry, levels of risk and protection are aggregated and continually validated through annual administrations of a questionnaire that assesses the contribution of risk/protective factors to youth offending. Therefore, there are no immediate or direct consequences for the individual. Once aggregation of the individual study questionnaire and validation of its results have taken place, processes are developed by the Steering Group to tackle the underlying problems of youth criminality in Swansea. These measures are initially universal in design, with targeted interventions evolving within Promoting Prevention on the basis of identified and aggregated needs, thus contrasting individual approaches with social models of intervention.

Stigmatisation

Actuarial justice conceptualises danger as a potentiality embodied in an individual, as opposed to the broader concept of risk, which is manifested in a number of different ways - a potentiality embodied in a population aggregate (Castel 1991). Risk is the outcome of a combination of abstract factors (e.g. risk factors) and social, community and structural causes that render more or less probable the occurrence of a particular behaviour in the aggregate. Feeley and Simon (1994) maintain that this conception of risk underpins actuarial classification of heterogeneous populations into homogenous subgroups, thus reducing individuality to a mere combination of risk factors that based on their associations with other factors in the population aggregate, reflect various levels of risk. In this way, membership of a particular population subgroup can be more important than whether an individual has offended. However, as stated earlier in this chapter (universal versus targeted prevention section), classifying whole populations as 'high risk' and targeting interventions accordingly can serve to further marginalise, stigmatise and stereotype populations (e.g. young people) who may already be disadvantaged (Silver and Miller 2002). Marginalised populations such as young people and ethnic minorities can become burdened by actuarial risk assessment because they live in circumstances that correlate highly with acts of offending and are in a weak political position to resist classification (Silver 2001). However, it could be argued that Feeley and Simon have oversimplified the area of actuarial justice and have offered a limited appreciation of the types of modern actuarial risk assessment available (e.g. Harland 1996). For example, Promoting Prevention supplements individualised risk assessment with widespread youth consultation processes embedded within a local culture of empowerment (see chapter eight). The importance of this approach for the way in which Promoting Prevention implements preventative measures will be explained further below.

Actuarial justice and the future of risk assessment

The process of actuarial risk assessment in itself is not inherently flawed. Indeed, the individual study questionnaire within the Promoting Prevention evaluation

explicitly seeks to identify and address risk as a means of providing services to those who demonstrably need them the most. The problem may lie in what is done with the results once risk assessment has been conducted, particularly the (often punitive) consequences for the individual. There has been little consideration of the activities that must follow once risk is assessed (Silver and Miller 2002). In addition, there is a paucity of research into the 'messy complexities' of applying globalised and so-called universal risk factors to diverse and idiosyncratic communities or populations (Hughes 1998). This is partly what the Promoting Prevention research is seeking to address through a focus on the local situation as a means of eliciting locally-relevant information. However, developmental criminology remains the most promising theoretical perspective for linking risk predictors with offender groups at different ages and different stages of progression in criminal pathways (Le Blanc and Loeber 1998).

The challenge for social scientists is to engage with crime prevention and risk management policies and practices, whilst integrating theoretical and practical knowledge of the broader conditions of their existence. There have been relatively few attempts to elaborate the intrinsically limited boundaries of crime prevention discourse, thanks mainly to the continuing emphasis on *crime* prevention rather than *criminality* prevention, which systematically excludes other readings of the relationship between social problems and social order (Muncie, Coventry and Walters 1995). The negative politics of law enforcement and exclusion remain the key political strategy of the risk society. The negative rationale of limiting risk rather than producing positive ideas (such as social justice and empowerment) has produced a negative communality of fear, instead of a positive feeling of connectedness (Silver and Miller 2002). Therefore, Promoting Prevention aims to predicate its services on the assessment of criminogenic needs (dynamic risk factors), which is viewed as the third generation of risk prediction, superseding the judgement of practitioners and the use of actuarial methods (see also Bonta 1995).

Unanswered questions within modern crime prevention

Several issues are discussed below that remain unresolved within the field modern crime prevention. The evaluation of Promoting Prevention, in concert with the Steering Group, is seeking to address these issues by aspiring to open up and re-evaluate the contested domain of crime prevention (see also Hughes et al 2002). Unresolved issues for crime prevention include:

Theory and practice

Contemporary crime prevention faces numerous obstacles to effective development, including unresolved ethical issues, implementation problems and the technical difficulties of evaluation (Clarke 2001). For example, theory and practice are currently at disparate stages of development within the different crime prevention typologies, with community crime prevention and situational prevention traditionally allocated the bulk of available crime prevention resources. More recently, the developmental approach has received increasing governmental and academic support in the theoretical strongholds of Western Europe and North America. Therefore, the challenge for achieving a balanced, holistic approach to crime prevention is to find the resources to support social development, thus promoting greater balance between theory and practice in prevention. However, crime prevention remains primarily a developed world concept and some developing countries have yet to acknowledge or recognise its potential. Consequently, there is a pressing need for wider dissemination of information about theory and practice to facilitate transfer of knowledge to the less developed world (Clarke 2001). Even then, the applicability and practicality of the hegemonic approaches to crime prevention are debatable as success may depend on the social infrastructure of the country in question.

Type of crime

To date, most crime prevention has been focused on preventing traditional forms of crime. This situation has arisen due to the way in which the 'problem' of crime is defined socially and politically, such that the bulk of the official crime statistics in

Europe and North America focus upon property crimes, assaults and violent offences. However, broad social, economic and technological changes are altering the *nature* of crime. Consequently, it is unclear whether the preventive approaches discussed are applicable to less conventional and more modern kinds of crime (e.g. Information Technology crime, child pornography, corruption, fraud, hate crimes), particularly the entirely new forms of crime such as internet offences.

Limitations of the existing typology

There is a clear and recognisable need for a broader conceptualisation of crime prevention than is common in much of the existing literature (Hughes 1998), as there remain limitations to the existing typology purported by, *inter alia*, Tonry and Farrington (1995). For example, a broader typology could conceive of social crime prevention that is not restricted to community crime prevention. This more extensive typology would enable crime prevention discourse to consider whether, for example, poverty reduction can contribute to the amelioration of disadvantage and generate social, justice and empowerment in marginalised groups. Finally, extant typology does little to address whether developmental prevention exists as a credible and distinct strategy outside the broader notion of social crime prevention.

Effective evaluation

Many salient difficulties obstruct rigorous evaluation of crime prevention activities, but without effective evaluation crime prevention practice cannot be improved (Tilley 2002). These difficulties in evaluating crime prevention initiatives are largely resource, technical or implementation-based issues. The oft-discussed deficiencies in statistical record keeping are not merely a problem for developing countries and countries in transition, according to Smith, Clarke and Pease (2002). For example, there are inherent difficulties in assigning specific monetary value to the outcomes of prevention compared to the cost of implementation, or measuring the cost of doing nothing. However, financial cost (although it is important), is not the only relevant measure of effective evaluation – social justice, social inclusion and quality of life are all measures with claims to validity when assessing the impact of a programme.

This is reflected strongly within Promoting Prevention, where emphases on the rights of the child, consultation and inclusionary processes are as important as the focus upon preventing offending.

To compound this issue still further, the different (and often competing) approaches to crime prevention are extremely difficult to evaluate universally in equivalent or compatible ways³⁰ and the technical problems encountered can vary considerably. For example, developmental crime prevention (unlike the other crime prevention approaches in the Tonry and Farrington typology) can employ rigorous experimental designs. However, randomly dividing children between treatment and control groups raises ethical and practical difficulties, which are discussed more fully in chapter four (see also Pawson and Tilley 1998). Also, in crime prevention partnerships, diverse objectives are often sought by the different partners, so it is not always possible to measure outcomes in ways that meet each partner's concerns.

The current status of crime prevention

The 'prevention' of crime has been illuminated in this chapter as an elusive concept with vague boundaries and numerous ambiguities, precipitating and fostering the 'messy world' of current academic debate (Hughes et al 2002) and crime prevention practice. However, discussion provides a valuable basis for much fuller evaluation of crime prevention as a changing political and ideological 'construct' as well as a set of contemporary policy 'techniques' (Muncie 1999).

Crime prevention possesses complex and changing meanings depending on the perspective applied to it. Evaluation of these divergent practices, policies and conceptions move the field of crime prevention away from the dominant technical and practical orientation (favoured in Europe and North America), towards a sociological understanding of the changing discourses and the 'absences' in these

³⁰ Although there is an ongoing Home Office initiative to establish a common evaluative framework for crime reduction and prevention programmes, based around the issue of cost-effectiveness (Dhiri and Brand 1999), this is yet to be fully developed and evaluated.

discourses. This has prompted Hughes (1998) to posit a definition of crime prevention as:

'...(t)he specific and changing institutional practices and ideological practices of changing discourses of crime control structured around the symbolic and politically useful notion of prevention'

Youth crime prevention

Predominantly negative discourses of 'prevention', 'reduction', 'control', and 'fear' surround the notion of 'youth' crime, as characterised by Farrington's career criminal, who begins as a 'problem child', then becomes a 'problem youth' and grows into a problem adult, who in turn produces further problem children. This runs the serious risk of marginalising, scapegoating and stereotyping young people, trapping them within a criminalising, law and order agenda, rather than a positive agenda articulating a social politics of 'social justice', 'empowerment', 'inclusion' and 'investment' (Muncie et al 1995). Some commentators, notably those on the 'critical left', have argued that if prevention is to be taken seriously, it must be withdrawn from the discourse of crime. Arguably, this withdrawal will necessitate a major rethinking of priorities in order to target the structural disadvantages facing young people and recognise the responsibility held by adults for enhancing the personal and social development of young people. Thus, current notions of 'prevention' tend to be too narrowly conceived and 'prevention' remains embedded in formal social control of the marginalised. Crime remains the focus of intervention, rather than questions of young people's powerlessness and lack of access to political decision-making and meaningful education, training, work and leisure opportunities (Coventry, Muncie and Walters 1992), not to mention their distinct lack of voice (Brown 1998; National Assembly Policy Unit 2000).

Traditional Positivist methodology is concerned to examine the causes of offending and those factors which encourage maintenance, escalation and desistance. However, this preoccupation often renders the young person's account of their own

life irrelevant, because such causes tend to lie outside the individual (e.g. environmental) or within them, but beyond control (e.g. psychological malfunction). Consequently, studies often prefer to distance young people as objects of investigation, as opposed to rational, meaningful subjects with their own unique and enlightening perspective (Muncie 1999). However, contemporary studies of youth crime prevention have accessed the perspectives of young people through questionnaire and interview (e.g. Jamieson et al 1999; Flood-Page et al 2000; Anderson et al 2001). Despite the modern movement toward consultation, the traditional distancing of young people is typified by the overbearing societal concern for the so-called 'problem' posed by young people. However, the definition of this problem is not considered problematic by theorists, such that there is little consideration of why certain types of young people or behaviour are defined as problematic at the expense of other alternatives such as youthful exuberance or societal over-reaction.

The continued social exclusion of young people, or, more accurately, certain groups of young people within the overall youth population is multi-dimensional in nature. Certain groups of young people (e.g. those who have been excluded from school or who have offended) are often excluded socially, economically, politically and spatially, as well as having limited access to the provision of, *inter alia*, information, education and housing (Young 2002). Thus, many young people are excluded from the 'normal' areas of participation in full citizenship (see Percy-Smith 2000; National Assembly Policy Unit 2002). According to Young (2002), social exclusion is a social problem rather than an individual problem to be associated with isolated, dysfunctional individuals from a posited underclass. Consequently, the problem is systemic: global in its causes but local in impact (Byrne 1999). Young (2002) concludes by asserting that the concept of social exclusion carries with it the imperative of social inclusion.

The logical outcome of this argument, according to Coventry and Walters (1993), is a thorough reappraisal of the whole terrain of 'prevention'. Muncie et al (1994)

concur, asserting that criminologists, sociologists and society in general need to work towards reconceptualising youth crime in terms of disaffection, dislocation, marginalisation and structural disadvantage, thus reconceptualising 'prevention' in terms of social development and social change. Emphasising social development and change would elaborate the potential for intervention from a negative focus on young people as a problem towards a positive evaluation of their role as future citizens, fostering an enlightened approach to youth crime reduction and the promotion of the social inclusion of young people. In turn, a re-examination of the ethos, ideology and concept of crime prevention will shift its culture and focus away from the simplified identification and management of delinquent bodies (New Penology or Actuarial Justice) to pursuit and adequate resourcing of mechanisms for social justice (see, for example, Percy-Smith 2000). Without this re-evaluation and refocusing of the crime prevention agenda, society is left with "...a series of ad hoc, short-term and low-finance initiatives, which will leave the majority of marginalised youth untouched, unsupported and vulnerable to further criminalisation" (Muncie et al 1995: 103).

The need for crime prevention is more widely recognised than ever. The challenge to contemporary criminology appears to be the integration of crime prevention with broader social policy concerns, whilst ensuring ethical and humanitarian values are not compromised (Clarke 2001).

A model of crime prevention: Promoting Prevention

The Promoting Prevention Steering group champions the programme as a modern example of an holistic, rights-based approach to crime prevention that strives to maximise the advantages and minimise the disadvantages of previous approaches to crime prevention. The Steering Group aims to encourage a positive and optimistic view of children as active holders of rights and responsibilities, whilst stimulating a local commitment to safeguarding those rights (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; see also the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989). Local service providers are encouraged to hear the voices of children and

young people (e.g. through consultation exercises and responsive provision), especially those of potentially disadvantaged children (e.g. with special needs, from other cultures, in public care), listen to their views, and ensure that services respond to their needs and aspirations (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; see also Better Wales 2000). The objective of Promoting Prevention is to structure policy and provision around entitlement to a range of services designed to promote their attainment and development as individuals (see also National Assembly Policy Unit 2000; 2000a; 2002). Extensive local youth consultation in Swansea in 1999 culminated in the first Swansea Youth Conference (now an annual event). This process is designed to be an accessible, innovative and enduring way of involving children in the development and implementation of local authority policies. The Youth Conference is directly compatible with the National Assembly youth consultation process, 'Young Voice-Llais Ifanc'. Promoting Prevention is thus ethically and practically underpinned by universal principles of youth consultation and empowerment (Youth Justice Plan 2002-2005 – City and County of Swansea 2003).

Traditional crime prevention activities tend to fall into one of the following general types:

- A single agency, or inter-agency, activity targeted on reducing the opportunity for a single type of crime (a target hardening approach) such as car crime or shoplifting
- Specific projects developed and funded to carry out a focused crime prevention activity targeted on a specific age group and type of crime
- A single agency, or inter-agency, activity targeted on reducing single or multiple causes of offending, e.g. school-based programmes

- Specific projects targeted on reducing single or multiple causes of offending (e.g. Communities that Care)

These traditional crime prevention activities tend to be conducted in a bounded manner. In other words, crime prevention tends to be seen and conducted as a separate and distinct activity. It is a service which is provided alongside many other services but not necessarily within a framework or strategy that binds these services together in a coherent manner. Furthermore, traditional crime prevention activities tend to be targeted geographically. Activities may take place in one city or town, or in a particular community or school, or in an area (car park or shopping centre) where a crime 'hot spot' has been identified.

According to Swansea's Youth Justice Plan (City and County of Swansea 2003) and the Safer Swansea Plan (City and County of Swansea 1998), in contrast to these traditional approaches to youth crime prevention, Promoting Prevention aspires to the following characteristics:

- Authority-wide activity, covering the whole area of the City and County of Swansea, embracing all agencies and services, statutory and non-government organisations
- The activities conducted under the banner of Promoting Prevention will eventually be seen as 'mainstreamed' rather than as separate and distinct from agency or service roles
- A strategy which engages agencies and services in a coherent and co-ordinated programme
- The Steering Group does not want Promoting Prevention to target one type of crime or one type of offender but wishes to target the reduction of dynamic risk factors that are known to increase the likelihood of offending and

increasing the protective factors that reduce the likelihood of offending in general

- Ongoing evaluation attempts to pinpoint crucial points in the life course (e.g. transitions) to enable more effective targeting of age and stage appropriate interventions
- The Steering Group seeks to orient the activities and behaviour of agencies or services to conform to the overall strategy and goals established through the consultation process
- The activities and behaviour of agencies and services are supplemented with targeted interventions that fill gaps in mainstream provision
- Promoting Prevention is philosophically rooted in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the national strategy for young people in Wales (Better Wales 2000, National Assembly Policy Unit 2000a; 2002). Thus, the initiative seeks to give expression to the ideals set out in these documents through coherent and co-ordinated local practices
- An overarching reflexivity animates Promoting Prevention structures and processes, which impacts upon information generation, such that Promoting Prevention evolves through a rolling dynamic between information and practice

Promoting Prevention employs a range of complementary measures targeting *multiple risk factors* within the primary domains of the child's life (i.e. family, school, peers, neighbourhood/community). The multiple intervention strategy addresses young people along the continuum of offending, from never offenders to first time offenders to persistent (active) or serious offenders, offering a mixture of universal services, targeted initiatives and ultimately linking with Youth Offending Team-based

enforcement programmes (see, for example, chapters six and seven detailing the systems analyses).

Promoting Prevention accords with the emerging Youth Justice Board strategy on youth crime prevention, which prioritises the early identification of risk factors using a risk and protective factor model, offering interventions at the pre-delinquency stage (i.e. preventative), supplemented by targeted services, particularly for high/medium risk groups (Youth Justice Board 2002), but differs from it through an emphasis upon universal services that aim to promote social inclusion. It is the intention of the Steering Group to relate the (inter) national picture of youth participation in decision making to policy development and planning in health, education and local governance (Treseder and Crowley 2001). The Steering Group aims to identify further opportunities for promoting effective practice in involving children and young people in policy development and service planning. In particular, information gathering and research within the programme identifies those young people most vulnerable to a host of risk factors for offending (e.g. social disadvantage), in order to provide a cohesive local network of targeted and universal services (see National Assembly Policy Unit 2001), responsive to their needs and aspirations (see National Assembly Policy Unit 2000a).

The Promoting Prevention initiative encourages youth participation in decision-making locally and has implemented structures for involving children in order to tap the considerable potential for children and young people to influence local policy (see also Treseder and Crowley 2001; Scraton and Haydon 2002). In addition, part of Promoting Prevention's funding from the Youth Justice Board targets the evaluation of the best means of engaging and examining the effects of increased youth participation on young people themselves, and on service and policy. A paucity of comparable evaluation exists nationally (see also Treseder and Crowley 2001).

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group aspires to evolve the programme into a sustainable hybrid of modern crime prevention strategies and policies by fusing developmental, community and criminal justice prevention with actuarial risk assessment (through risk auditing) to enable effective service provision. However, the structures and processes of Promoting Prevention have become more complex than risk management through an emphasis upon holistic intervention across the continuum of risk. Promoting Prevention integrates universal, targeted and enforcement services with local consultation exercises. The aspiration is to promote social inclusion, particularly equal rights for young people, leading to their empowerment through positive activities/pro-social attitudes and the prevention and reduction of problem behaviours, particularly offending (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; City and County of Swansea 2003).

Chapter Three

Identifying Locally-Specific Risk Factors: Promoting Prevention and the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm

The development of crime, its control and prevention is not a cumulative or linear progress, but rather a complex, open-ended situation reliant upon examination of specific contexts, locations and initiatives (Hughes 1998). There has been a persistent but creative tension between empirical investigation of crime prevention, much of which has been based (to some degree) upon administrative criminology and globalising, theoretical frameworks of social theory (Hughes, McLaughlin and Muncie 2002). This chapter will evaluate the 'Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm' (Hawkins and Catalano 1992), the risk-focused model of developmental crime prevention that theoretically underpins the individual study in this thesis. It is discussed in the context of extant comparative criminological research such as the work of David Farrington on the transatlantic replicability of risk factors. The objective is to discuss whether identified risk and protective factors for youth offending are globally applicable, and whether this is a necessary prerequisite for the evaluation of localised strategies such as Promoting Prevention.

The Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm

As indicated in the previous crime prevention chapter, since the 1990s, the developmental Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (RFPP) has exerted a huge influence upon the prevention of crime and criminality. This method aims to identify key risk factors for offending and implement preventative measures designed to counteract them, as well as identifying and enhancing protective factors (Hawkins and Catalano 1992; Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, and Hawkins 2002).

What are risk and protective factors?

A risk factor predicts an increased probability of later offending (Kazdin, Kraemer,

Kessler, Kupfer and Offord 1997), including the onset, frequency, seriousness and duration of offending (Farrington 1997). However, the concept of a 'risk factor' is not employed consistently across criminological research (Farrington 2000). Risk factors can assume an *extreme* category of an explanatory variable (e.g. *poor* parental supervision), a *dichotomous* variable (e.g. poor parental supervision compared/contrasted with average or good parental supervision) or a *continuous* explanatory variable (e.g. scale of parental supervision). Consequently, more consistent terminology is needed to enable more effective linkage between operational definitions and underlying theoretical constructs (Farrington 2000). This linkage is particularly important as proponents of the RFPP desire international validation of the model as a globally-applicable measure of risk of offending.

The precise definition of a protective factor remains controversial within criminological research (Farrington 2000). Protective factors have been identified as occupying the opposite end of the scale from risk factors (i.e. they lower the probability of offending). This has prompted criticism from researchers who object to the conception of risk and protective factors as maintaining a simple *linear relationship*, existing merely as different names for the same underlying concept (i.e. protective factors are the opposite of risk factors – Hawkins and Catalano 1992).

However, protective factors may be variables with a *non-linear relationship* to offending. In other words, a variable could exist as a protective factor but not have a dichotomous risk factor. For example, the risk of a young person offending may decrease from medium to high levels of a variable (e.g. income), but not change from medium to low levels. In this case, high income is a protective factor but low income is not a risk factor. However, it is more common for risk factors to be identified independently of protective factors (Farrington 2000). The Cambridge study, for instance, found that risk of conviction was higher for males in large families, but constant for lower levels of family size (Farrington and Hawkins 1991). Therefore, it is important to be able to investigate risk and protective factors in a manner that allows them to remain independent.

Stouthamer-Loeber (1993) attempted to measure risk factors as independent from protective factors within the Pittsburgh Youth Study by dividing each factor into 'best quarter, 'middle half' and 'worst quarter'. Risk factors were assessed by comparing worst quarter with middle half, whilst protective factors were evaluated with a comparison of best quarter and middle half. Results indicated that many risk factors have counterpart protective effects (e.g. poor parental supervision was a risk factor, good supervision was protective), many have no counterpart protective effects (e.g. school exclusion was a risk factor, but school attendance was not necessarily protective), but there were no protective factors without counterpart risk factors.

An alternative explanation conceives of protective factors as variables that *interact* with risk factors to minimise their effects (Rutter 1985). In other words, protective factors mediate or moderate the effects of exposure to risk factors (Rutter 1985; Werner and Smith 1989). For example, poor parental supervision may be a significant risk factor for males in low-income families, but not for those from high-income families. Therefore, high income could be a protective factor to counteract the effects of the risk factor of poor parental supervision. Of particular interest to the proponents of this paradigm are those protective factors with no corresponding risk factors, and those that interact with risk factors. This has major implications for the implementation of Promoting Prevention, particularly as it stresses focus upon protective factors in addition to risk factors. Farrington (2000) concludes his review of the RFPP by citing the need for more research to identify protective factors and link them to the use of targeted interventions (see also Catalano et al 2002; Moore, Zaff and Hair 2002).

Established risk factors for youth offending

The majority of long-term longitudinal studies of risk factors for offending focus upon individual, family, school, peer and socio-economic factors (measured in childhood and/or adolescence) in order to predict later offending (National Crime Prevention Council 1999). Purported risk factor variables should possess sufficient (statistically

identified) predictive ability to distinguish young people with a relatively high probability of subsequent delinquency (Lipsey and Derzon 1998). If any of these risk factors are to be targeted for intervention, they must be amenable to alteration without great difficulty (i.e. they should be 'dynamic' rather than 'static'; Andrews and Bonta 1998).

Following an extensive review of the extant literature, including prospective longitudinal follow-ups of samples from large communities, Farrington (1996) identified general 'categories' of risk and protective factors. Farrington paid special attention to studies including several data sources (e.g. children, parents, teachers, peers), thus enhancing the robustness of the data. The review concluded that British longitudinal studies of delinquency were consistent with eminent comparative surveys in North America (e.g. Robins and Ratcliff 1979), Scandinavia (e.g. Wikstrom 1987) and New Zealand (e.g. Fergusson, Horwood and Lynskey 1993), as well as with British cross-sectional surveys (e.g. Hagell and Newburn 1994; Graham and Bowling 1995). Farrington (1996, 1997) asserts that there is no shortage of risk factors to significantly predict youth offending and anti-social behaviour (see also Farrington 1999; Catalano et al 2002). Indeed, there are numerous factors that differentiate between offenders and non-offenders, whilst correlating with self-reported offending.

Consistent findings from research show that the strongest effects upon self-reported and official offending flow from the social processes of family, school and peers. Indeed, Graham and Bowling (1995) identified the strongest correlates of offending as low parental supervision, truancy and exclusion from school, delinquent peers and siblings, and poor family attachment. In his seminal review, Farrington (1996) reinforced these findings, highlighting the major risk factors for offending of the individual, family, school and association with peers (and, to a lesser extent, community and situational influences) as the most promising targets for future research into criminality prevention (see also Lipsey and Derzon 1998; Utting 2001, MORI 2003). However, this knowledge is too general to be of real practical use to

the Promoting Prevention Steering Group when addressing the local climate of youth offending. Chapters four and five will explain how the Promoting Prevention research has incorporated an individual study to identify locally-specific risk and protective factors relevant to particular sub-groups of young people in Swansea (e.g. males, females, pupils in different school years) in order that the Steering Group may predicate service delivery upon information generated by key stakeholders, rather than based on the notion of universally-applicable risk factors.

Are risk factors absolute or relative? The role of comparative criminology

A major focus of comparative criminology is the assessment of the degree to which theories of delinquency and risk factors for offending which appear persuasive in a particular country are applicable to other societies (Clinard and Abbott 1973; Al-Otayan 2000). Risk factor research has encouraged the 'globalisation' of knowledge through cross-national (cross-cultural) comparative studies applying similar strategies for research and practice in several different countries. This has proliferated and facilitated cross-fertilization between scholars from different countries, such that utilising the RFPP to explain and prevent crime is now advocated or adopted in several countries, including the United Kingdom (e.g. Goldblatt and Lewis 1998; Anderson, Beinart, Farrington, Longman, Sturgis, and Utting 2001), the United States (e.g. Loeber and Farrington 1998; Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter, and Bushway 1998), Australia (e.g. the National Crime Prevention Council 1999), Sweden (e.g. Wikstrom and Torstensson 1999) and the Netherlands (e.g. Junger-Tas 1997).

Farrington supports the global replicability of risk factors for youth offending established in influential (but relatively infrequent) comparative studies in criminology. These cross-national investigations can help to establish the generalisability of theories and establish boundary conditions under which they do or do not hold. In addition, these studies can investigate how far interventions to prevent or reduce offending have similar or different effects in different times and places.

It is increasingly important to evaluate the universal applicability of criminological theories developed by Western researchers, particularly if we wish to prevent the proliferation of youth offending witnessed in the industrial world from being replicated in developing societies. Therefore, it would be extremely advantageous to establish whether risk and protective factors are absolute (i.e. universal) or relative. If they prove to be relative, what are they relative to? The relative differences in interpretation, seriousness, impact and punishment afforded different types of crime would be better understood by knowing the meaning of criminal behaviour given by a specific society. Comparative research allows the researcher to identify how crime control and prevention resonate with other aspects of its culture. An awareness of comparative perspectives in criminological research provides researchers with better understanding of the most common differences and similarities between cultures, allowing them to distinguish between those characteristics which are universally applicable to all societies and the unique characteristics representative of one or a small set of societies (Clinard and Abbott 1973).

The extant weaknesses of national and international comparative research afford limited insight into cultural, practical and political and ultimately local differences between and within countries that can precipitate incongruence in the interpretation of offending, exercise of intervention and punishment. Nelken states that:

'The reason for doing comparative research may have as much to do with understanding one's own country better as it has with understanding anyone else's.' (Nelken 1994: 221)

Comparative research tends to identify lists of globalised risk and protective factors shared by different countries (see, for example, Farrington and Loeber 1999). Consequently the relative effects of those risk factors established as 'universal' in Western criminology are moot. Local risk and protective factor work is required to augment these lists by identifying the specific mixture of factors relevant to the youth

situation in, for example, Swansea, particularly if the Promoting Prevention Steering Group is to respond to the local situation in a context-specific and relevant manner, rather than by offering blanket provision based on so-called 'universally applicable' risk factors..

Global applicability of risk factors

Exponents of the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm have claimed transatlantic replicability of risk factors for delinquency following a study comparing results obtained in London and Pittsburgh with young people aged 8-10 (Farrington and Loeber 1999). Factors identified as increasing risk in both studies (from a broader list of 21 factors) included hyperactivity, low achievement, large family size, low family income, poor parental supervision, and parental disharmony. The contribution of each factor to the prediction of offending was not ranked, so it is difficult to ascertain that explanatory utility in either city, suggesting that any similarities have superficial value at this stage. Despite the limitations in predictive utility, these similarities between London and Pittsburgh in risk factors were quite surprising to the authors (Farrington and Loeber) in light of the many differences over time and place. However, other studies also suggest cross-national replicability over space and time of risk factors for offending (e.g. Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter and Silver 2001), whilst criminal career features also show cross-national replicability (Farrington, Langan and Wikstrom 1994).

However, how desirable or feasible is it to search for universal findings that can be replicated in different contexts? Farrington (2002) maintains that if cross-national differences are evident, criminologists need to identify the 'active ingredients' that explain them (e.g. social, cultural, legal, or criminal justice processes in different countries). However, under the conditions of modernity, global and local events are increasingly linked, but they are not linked in a simple, uniform or unidirectional manner (Haines 1996). Therefore, it seems intuitive that certain risk and protective factors may exert vastly different levels of influence in different countries, different cities/towns and even different areas within cities. For example, young people in

war-torn and poverty-stricken countries may cite extreme deprivation (e.g. lack of money, food, shelter) as major risk factors precipitating instrumental and adaptive offending (committing crime to survive). In addition, the new wave of migrants to various countries (e.g. United Kingdom, France) may ascribe different salience to established risk and protective factors, whilst prioritising other overlooked risk factors such as prejudice and discrimination. However, it must be stressed that when Farrington and others talk of 'globalisation', they are mainly focusing on comparative study between Western 'industrialised' countries, which limits the perceived generalisability of any findings and conclusions, thus leaving itself open to accusations of ethnocentricity.

Farrington has argued that there is a pressing need for an influx of contemporary cross-national risk factor studies, which would enable "comparison of effects at different times in different places" (Farrington 2000: 5). However, the necessity for integrating a cross-national element to the evaluation of Promoting Prevention is moot, as the Steering Group endeavours to fulfil a specific *local* agenda. The subsequent individual study seeks to apply the RFPP to identify risk and protective factors for local offending in the first instance, in order to target these factors within locally-relevant intervention strategies, rather than evaluating the global applicability of the RFPP itself.

Limitations of the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm

The RFPP experiences difficulties both methodologically and practically. There are problems in determining which risk factors are causes, markers or correlated with causes (Lipsey and Derzon 1998). Research is not fully able to determine whether an identified risk factor (e.g. drug use) is a cause, an indicator/marker (symptom), a correlate or part of the same underlying anti-social tendency (Farrington 1996; 2000). Indeed, some factors may be symptomatic *and* causal. For example, long-term variations *between* individuals could be reflected in differing levels of drug consumption, whilst short-term variations in consumption *within* individuals may be illustrated by anti-social behaviour during periods of drug use. Variations produce

difficulties in establishing the causal effects of factors that vary only between individuals (e.g. gender, ethnicity), and Farrington (1996) believes that such factors have no practical implications for prevention as they cannot be changed, a view shared by proponents of actuarial justice (e.g. Feeley and Simon 1994). Consequently, Farrington omitted these unchanging variables from his review, maintaining that their effects on offending can often be explained with reference to other factors capable of modification. For example, gender differences in offending may be (partly) explained by differing socialisation, or differing opportunities for offending. However, these differences still have to be explained or at least discussed in this thesis, as it would be extremely near-sighted of the Promoting Prevention evaluation to overlook the potential contribution to offending of, *inter alia*, individual differences such as gender, age and ethnicity. For instance, certain risk and protective factors may be more salient to certain groups such as offenders/non-offenders, males/females and young people at different ages (see chapter five; see also Moore, Zaff and Hair 2002).

According to Hughes et al (2002), research thus far encourages optimism for crime reduction and the promotion of a better society. Hughes et al claim that there has been a tendency for interventions to focus upon enhancing protective factors at the expense of reducing risk factors. The likely explanation for this is that positive programmes (e.g. aimed at health promotion, strengthening skills) are more attractive to individuals and neighbourhoods than projects targeting risk reduction (see, for example, Moore et al 2002), which can harbour negative connotations such as implying criticism and inadequacies. For example, the recent United Kingdom Government initiative to enhance the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, which embody a hard-nosed risk reduction strategy, stands in stark contrast to the enhancement of protective factors. Due to the current paucity of knowledge regarding protective factors, their enhancement may not be the optimal preventative strategy, whereas reducing risk factors could be more effective. However, the inclusion of both approaches may be essential to successful intervention programmes (Farrington 2000). For example, school truancy and exclusion are

clear and established risk factors for offending. Reducing truancy and exclusion, therefore, is likely to be a productive crime reduction tool. Experience has shown that in order to reduce truancy and exclusion, a complete multi-faceted programme is needed that does not simply target the problem (symptom), but addresses the underlying processes and risk factors (causes) associated with these behaviours (see, for example, Treseder and Crowley 2001), as well as school behaviour and decision making.

It could be argued that risk factor research thus far has functioned as a pragmatic, prescriptive and somewhat self-fulfilling exercise. Studies have tended to hypothesise the presence and influence of risk factors through observation (see West and Farrington's Cambridge study), then confirm or refute their existence through statistical testing. Criminologists operating to this pure criminological agenda invariably discover what they are looking for (i.e. it becomes self-fulfilling). However, such a narrow focus and administrative, realistic methodology overlooks consultation processes and neglects to acknowledge the human rights of research participants. This approach rejects grounded, responsive and relevant approaches to work with young people. In contrast, the content of the Promoting Prevention individual study is predicated on consultation with young people, with the objective of identifying context-specific risk and protective factors associated with youth offending in Swansea. The information generated from these processes will ultimately reduce the tension between implementation of practical strategies and real-world engagement, (which can result from more prescriptive evaluations), as service delivery will be a direct response to the needs of the target population (young people in Swansea).

The inherent limitations of the subjective self-reporting of risk factors should be acknowledged, particularly the neglect of context. Pitts (2001) argues that risk factor research transforms the dynamic, interactive process of crime into the static 'effect' of developmental anomalies. In this way, social factors are viewed as simply exacerbating developmental anomalies originating in the family. Consequently, the risk factor method fails to capture the broader context in which offending takes

place. For example, the seminal risk factor work in the United Kingdom, the Cambridge study (West and Farrington 1973), identified family and peers as 'community influences', yet the notion of community typically refers to, *inter alia*, interactions between residents and the neighbourhood's links with the local economy (cf. Reiss and Tonry 1986), so community factors were underplayed.

Another way in which the risk factor approach has neglected the influence of context is the failure to adequately explain or examine the relationship between risk factors and neighbourhood socio-economic status (SES). Differences in neighbourhood offending rates are typically explained in terms of differences in the characteristics of individuals living in the neighbourhood rather than differences in the characteristics of the neighbourhoods themselves. However, an exploration of this relationship by the Pittsburgh Youth Study (Wikstrom and Loeber 1998) concluded that the impact of neighbourhood on offending careers of young people with low SES may be decisive. This indicates that the routine adversity of life in high-crime neighbourhoods may overwhelm even the best efforts of parents/families to prevent their child's involvement in crime (see Weatherburn and Lind 2001). Therefore, social/community and situational methods of crime prevention (or a mixture of both) appear more promising than the developmental approach in this area. The risk factor approach has traditionally been inclined to try to explain neighbourhood problems in terms of the shortcomings of the individual neighbours (Pitts 2001). Currie (1985) defines this as the 'fallacy of autonomy'; the belief that what goes on inside the family can be separated analytically from external forces (i.e. the broader social context) and it is an important weakness of many who adopt this approach.

This research has been conducted in a manner which is mindful of the limitations of the risk-focused approach when employed to identify globalised risk factors without regard to local circumstances; particularly as these factors relate to generating findings which inform policy and practice. Consequently, the RFPP is utilised by the Promoting Prevention individual study to identify risk/protective factors and predictive factors relevant to young people *in Swansea* (see chapter five). This

process is essential as risk/protective factors are dependent upon social, cultural, economic, legal and criminal justice processes. Therefore, understanding the possible causes of youth offending and salient issues for young people in Swansea is important, not with the goal of planning individual interventions, but because this will ultimately enable agencies contributing to Promoting Prevention to more effectively plan and evaluate their resources and interventions, whilst initiating new services in response to need and gaps in provision as identified by young people in their position as service users.

Further modification of the RFPP method within Promoting Prevention (e.g. accounting for relative gender, age and social influences) could facilitate the construction of a broad developmental theory, explain the relative applicability and salience of risk and protective factors to local young people, and guide interventions throughout Swansea.

This chapter has highlighted the potential of the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm as a method of identifying factors associated with youth offending in Swansea in order to target interventions and information provision accordingly. There has also been discussion of the limitations of the model, which include:

- a lack of contextual sensitivity and consideration of the relativity of risk factors for different groups
- ambiguities in the attribution of causality
- problems inherent in eliciting subjective, self-reported risk factors

Limitations have traditionally been ignored in the academic pursuit of lists of globalised, absolute risk factors. However, the Promoting Prevention individual study employs a risk-focused approach within a context-specific, reflexive methodology, avoiding assertions of causality in favour of the relative affect of specific risk and protective factors on different sub-groups of young people in Swansea.

Having placed Promoting Prevention's risk and protective factor focus in the context of established UK and international research, the Promoting Prevention individual study will now be addressed directly.

Chapter Four

Individual Study Methodology

Effective research methodology embodies a systematic approach to problem solving, incorporating the generation of new ideas and accurate description of situations, typically through data collection and subsequent presentation of this data in clear and digestible form (Robson 2002). The Promoting Prevention research has been conducted systematically, sceptically and ethically (see Robson 2002). Throughout the research process, serious consideration has been given to design and methodology (what is being done, how and why), to the nature and veracity of the resultant information and to consulting with young people within a human rights-based approach. The research design has targeted whether or not the Promoting Prevention programme meets the needs of young people and partnership members (see also Kumar 1999). The research employed the 'pragmatic', mixed methodology approach advocated by Creswell (2003) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2004), using:

A quantitative individual study questionnaire to measure the self-reported behaviour and attitudes/perceptions of young people to a variety of issues, triangulated with official statistics

Qualitative systems analyses predicated upon semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and analysis of policy documents, resulting in narrative reports and systems maps that enable the research to:

- scope the nature and extent of service provision within Promoting Prevention
- access the views of key stakeholders
- evaluate the nature of multi-agency working within Promoting Prevention

This chapter will discuss the crucial methodological issues for the Promoting Prevention individual study, including the choice of research strategy, sampling, questionnaire construction and the content, validity, reliability and administrative procedure in relation to Promoting Prevention's consultative and reflexive emphasis. Discussion of the methodology employed for the qualitative systems analyses is presented in chapter six (narrative reports of extant Promoting Prevention provision) and chapter seven (systems maps of multi-agency working and relationships between key organisations, initiatives, documents and individuals).

Selection of an appropriate methodology is inextricably linked to what type of information is required, from whom, and under what circumstances (Robson 2002). Therefore, strategies and techniques used have to be appropriate for the research questions. The Promoting Prevention research sought to identify the issues of salience to young people in Swansea and to examine the influence of these factors on offending and non-offending, in order that the Steering Group could plan and implement more appropriate service provision and interventions locally. The overarching questions for this element of the research (known as the 'individual study'), established in consultation with the Steering Group, were:

- What issues are identified by local young people as of concern/problematic to them?
- What are the major risk and protective factors for youth offending in Swansea, as identified by local young people?
- How are these risk and protective factors distributed by gender and age?
- Are levels of self-reported youth offending in Swansea comparable with national self-reported statistics?

The individual study questions illustrate how Promoting Prevention seeks to generate information (through research) relevant to the local context which animates and reanimates its structures and processes.

Research strategy: Experiment, survey or case study?

The three main traditional research strategies are experiment, survey and case study. *Experiments* measure the effects of manipulating one variable on another variable, with samples typically selected from known populations, then allocated to different experimental conditions (Creswell 2003). *Surveys* collect information in standardised form from groups of people (known populations), usually by means of a questionnaire or structured interview. *Case Studies* develop detailed, intensive knowledge about a single 'case', or of a small number of related cases, via observation, interview and documentary analysis (Gilbert 2001).

The aims of research can be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory³¹, or studies may possess multiple purposes, although typically one will predominate (Fink 1995).

Exploratory studies are grounded and inductive in nature, seeking new insights into phenomena and generating hypotheses to provoke further investigation.

Descriptive methods seek to portray an accurate profile of persons, events or a situation usually require extensive previous knowledge of the situation to be researched or described, so that the research is aware of appropriate aspects on which to gather information (Robson 2002).

Explanatory approaches pursue an explanation of a situation/problem, usually in the form of causal relationships, typically using an experiment (Kumar 1999).

³¹ Studies may also be 'predictive' (Marshall and Rossman 1989), but Robson (2002) regards this category as a variant of explanatory research.

If an explanatory method was adopted to evaluate Promoting Prevention at this stage, it would be difficult to control for all potential extraneous variables when examining the causes of crime, particularly in the context of a multiple intervention, universally-available programme (see also Gilbert 2001). It can also be problematic to identify the 'active ingredients' of multiple intervention programmes (e.g. Farrington 2002), which would thus render it problematic to investigate separate components of the programme or to evaluate the impact of particular measures within Promoting Prevention. Multiple component interventions must continually address the problem of maximising the effectiveness of the intervention, in conjunction with assessing the efficacy of each component if they are to disentangle and differentiate individual components and their respective causes (Lipsey and Derzon 1998). The Promoting Prevention Steering Group and the research acknowledges these difficulties as inherent to the evaluation of Promoting Prevention, particularly as the programme pursues a context-specific, risk-based approach to local crime prevention. Promoting Prevention remains in the relatively early stages of implementation (it was established in April 2000), so it was considered premature and overly ambitious to attempt to assert *causal* relationships between individual programmes and crime reduction, thus precluding explanatory study. The identification of causal relationships would have been additionally difficult as the various Promoting Prevention projects were at different stages of development³².

As Promoting Prevention is in its infancy, the two year tenure of the evaluation exercise cannot be considered sufficient to formulate conclusive statements of the impact or effectiveness of the programme as a whole or its individual initiatives.

³² For example, the Youth Offending Team Clinical Nurse Specialist has operated within Promoting Prevention since its inception in April 2000, although he only established the anger management project in January 2001. The Restorative Justice Co-ordinator funded through Promoting Prevention has been in post since April 2000, yet the Education Youth Worker seconded to Promoting Prevention did not arrive until 2001. The organic, dynamic nature of Promoting Prevention's universal and developmental systems and structures is an inherent problem for the research process that is addressed by adopting a reflexive approach to methodology and by drawing tentative conclusions as to impact and effectiveness of the programme.

Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter and Bushway (1998) recommended that best practice in evaluating crime prevention programmes and improving their scientific rigour appears to be operationalising before and after measures of crime in experimental and control areas with some control of pre-existing criminological influences. Experimental research is the traditional method of evaluating the effectiveness of prevention and intervention programmes, comparing differences between control groups (those who do not receive an intervention) and experimental groups (who are subject to an intervention). This traditionally takes place within a 'before and after' intervention evaluation model, where the difference between annual observations is considered to be the impact of the programme (see also Sherman et al 1998; Gilbert 2001).

Employing an experimental design for the purposes of social research often requires a high degree of control over what is done to participants and random allocation of participants to control and experimental groups. However, this presents practical and ethical difficulties for the evaluation of the multiple intervention Promoting Prevention programme. The universal, rights-based ethos of Promoting Prevention is not compatible with the practice of depriving some local young people of potentially vital services and information in order to measure any resultant deleterious effects. Rather, the aims of the evaluation are to make sense of a complex, 'real' situation (see also Robson 2002). The reality of Promoting Prevention has evolved, particularly in relation to the ethical considerations emanating from local social policy concerns. These developments have impacted upon the potential methodology that the Promoting Prevention evaluation can adopt. Evaluations, particularly those conducted in the real world, can sensibly target other aspects than causality, such as whether or not a programme meets the needs of participants (Robson 2002). The individual study seeks to assess whether extant interventions and information provided by Promoting Prevention addresses the needs and issues identified as salient by local young people. Consequently, the Promoting Prevention evaluation design is more akin to 'evaluation research', which is 'essentially indistinguishable from other research in

terms of design, data collection techniques and methods of analysis' (Robson 2002: 204). The evaluation is motivated and shaped by the need to inform policy makers, practitioners and programme participants, as there is little point to evaluation of Promoting Prevention if it fails to extend the knowledge of stakeholders (see also Pawson and Tilley 1998).

Extensive data is available to Promoting Prevention through existing local mechanisms for generating official statistics (e.g. annual local crime audits – see chapter one), supplemented by nationally identified (self-reported) risk factors for youth offending (e.g. Anderson, Beinart, Farrington, Longman, Sturgis, and Utting 2001; Flood-Page, Campbell, Harrington and Miller 2000), so a *descriptive* study was employed to profile the local situation in the form of a attitude and behaviour *survey questionnaire*. The survey questionnaire was the most appropriate method for the individual study as this method contribute to knowledge (e.g. to address the shortfall in self-reported data for young people in Swansea), measure quantifiable changes in attitudes and behaviour over time, and be of potential utility to policy and practice.

Surveys are commonly employed in descriptive studies, which prioritise consultation with groups that will be affected by the research findings as a means of promoting ownership of the research and information. Surveys can also *explore* aspects of a situation, seek *explanation* and provide data to test hypotheses. Samples tend to be large, representative and/or random, with the focus on obtaining profiles and statistics to generalise to the wider (youth) population (Gilbert 2001). Surveys are characterised by wide and inclusive coverage, relating to the present state of affairs within an area (i.e. 'snapshot' approach) in order to 'bring things up to date' within an implicitly empirical research framework (Denscombe 2003). Surveys can also be highly structured, affording high levels of standardisation (e.g. through carefully worded questions) to enhance the reliability of findings. Consequently, data will not be difficult for laymen to comprehend well, with a body of 'usable knowledge' created (see also Lindblom and Cohen 1979). The potential applicability and usefulness of

findings from an individual study of young people's attitudes and behaviour for the Promoting Prevention Steering Group was considered to be a potential major advantage of the measures employed within the evaluation.

Research design: Cross-sectional or longitudinal?

Longitudinal or *cohort* study designs follow the same sample/population or situation/issue over an extended period, with the study population visited a number of times at regular intervals. Although these intervals are of fixed length and may vary, the information gathered each time is identical and taken from the same study population (but not necessarily the same sample). Longitudinal research could be considered to be the most appropriate form of study when assessing the changes brought about by or impact of Promoting Prevention over time. However, longitudinal research requires a long follow-up³³ which is not available in a short-term focused piece of research into Promoting Prevention. Therefore, a *cross-sectional* research design complemented the chosen descriptive survey as it focused on the sample composition and state of affairs in the population at one point in time. This technique offered a 'snap-shot' (see also Robson 2002) of the nature and extent of youth offending in Swansea over the limited period of the evaluation. However, it must be emphasised that the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire produced results over a two year period only, which is likely to be too short a timeframe to assess impact in terms of attitudinal and behavioural change with any degree of confidence. Indeed, it may require a research period of ten years or more to properly evaluate the impact of Promoting Prevention. However, a cross-sectional survey represented a pragmatic compromise which offered maximum benefits within the overall limitations (of time and resources) of the research. For instance, the cross-sectional element of the Promoting Prevention research incorporated a wide variety of age groups and assembled information quickly, whilst subsequent results were more up-to-date and more relevant to current concerns and issues than a longitudinal design would afford (see also Tarling 1993).

³³ Longitudinal research can also be difficult to conduct, can be time and resource demanding, and it can suffer from attrition, with subjects becoming inaccessible, unavailable (e.g. drop out, geographical move) and even dying

Choosing a survey type: Questionnaire

Questionnaires are relatively cheap and efficient to administer when compared to survey interviews. Questionnaires are also capable of collecting information for the purposes of determining correlations between specific variables, such as those juvenile delinquency and family, educational and social factors (Cohen and Manion 1995). Questionnaires can assess attitudes, opinions and behaviour, so were ideally suited to Promoting Prevention's ongoing commitment to consultation processes with young people (see Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999). In addition, questionnaires can garner information from a variety of contexts and domains of the individual's life, including family, school, neighbourhood/community, activities and relationships (see Hakim 1987).

However, there are several problems inherent to questionnaires, notably concerning question *content* (e.g. ambiguity, misunderstandings), *structure* (e.g. double questions, leading questions), *format* (e.g. limited response options for closed questions precluding elaboration of answers, repetitious response format leading to a response pattern or 'set') and *validity* (e.g. respondents lying, exaggerating, misremembering). These potential problems can be compounded if the questionnaire is self-administered with young people (completed by the respondent alone rather than with the interviewer), as there may be no-one available to or capable of offering explanation or clarification of items in the tool (Bourque and Fielder 1995). However, the individual study employed an innovative, user-friendly and technological approach to data collection based on 'interactive computer-assisted self-interviewing', in order to minimise the potential problems known to exist with paper-based questionnaires (see ICSI section below).

Choosing a survey type: The self-report method

The self-report method is generally considered to offer a more complete and accurate measure of offending and related behaviour than official statistics, notably

because it provides information about the 'dark figure' of previously unreported, unrecorded and undetected crime (see Chapter one: Official statistics versus self-reported offending statistics). Following a comprehensive review of self-reports commissioned by the Home Office to inform the Crime and Justice Survey 2003 (Home Office 2004), Farrington concluded that research in the UK and the USA over the past eighty years (in particular the past thirty years), typically conducted with young people, has established self-report as a valid and reliable measure in the offending field.

Historically, the popularity of self-report interviews can be traced back to the seminal longitudinal study of youth offending and associated risk factors by the Gluecks (Glueck and Glueck 1968), which inspired the similarly influential research of Sampson and Laub (1993). Structured self-report questionnaires were introduced in the 1940s by the American researchers Wallerstein and Wyle (1947). However, Farrington asserts that the groundbreaking (American) findings of Short and Nye (1958), notably the lack of relationship between socio-economic status and self-reported offending, triggered a 'self-report revolution' that was embraced by criminologists worldwide (Farrington 1973; 2003). The increasing popularity of self-reports was evidenced by Hirschi's use of the method to test his 'social control theory' of crime causation (Hirschi 1969).

The burgeoning body of American work in the self-report field was reflected in Britain by several pioneering studies of self-reported with representative samples of young people (e.g. Wilcock 1974; Belson 1975), including the famous Cambridge Study (West and Farrington 1973; 1977; see also Chapter one: Official statistics versus self-reported offending statistics). More recently, self-report interviews have been employed successfully with large-scale national samples of young people in the UK (e.g. Riley and Shaw 1985), most notably within the Home Office's 'Youth Lifestyles Survey' (Graham and Bowling 1995; Flood-Page et al 2000). Indeed, the 1998/99 Youth Lifestyles Survey (Flood-Page et al 2000) employed *computer-assisted* self-interviewing (see below: Interactive Computer-assisted Self-Interviewing).

In 1973, Farrington conducted the first systematic assessment of the self-report methodology (Farrington 1973), responding in particular to Reiss's criticism that insufficient attention had been paid to methodological issues relating to self-reports, such as reliability and validity (Reiss 1975). Farrington concluded that the self-report methodology afforded an accurate, valid measure of offending and behaviour related to youth offending, in terms of concurrent validity (e.g. comparison and compatibility with official records of offending for an individual) and predictive validity (the ability to predict future convictions amongst currently unconvicted people), both in UK studies (e.g. Farrington 1973) and American research (e.g. Farrington 1996). A comparable study by Hindelang et al (1981) reinforced the claim that self-reports were reliable and valid measures of offending, although these findings had the unwanted side effect of appearing to circumvent the need for further research into methodological issues related to self-reports (Farrington 2003). Consequently, as the self-report method has proliferated internationally in the past twenty years, associated methodological research into the measure has declined (Farrington 2003).

Extensive research over the past thirty years in the UK and the USA has established self-reports as a reliable, valid and robust measure of offending (see, for example, Home Office 2004), which has also advanced knowledge about family, school, peer, neighbourhood and individual risk factors for offending (Farrington 2003; Home Office 2004; Lynn 2003; see also chapter five: Individual study results).

Questionnaire construction: Content and format

The aim of this study was to collect information about the key risk and protective factors associated with offending amongst the Swansea population. As noted previously, this objective was linked to the desire of the Promoting Prevention Steering Group to obtain accurate and relevant information that could be used to plan and implement (or target) local crime prevention programmes. Clearly, therefore, this research can be located within the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (see chapter three) and thus drew heavily from previous research conducted into the

causes of youth offending (e.g. Rutter, Giller and Hagell 1998; Farrington 2000) – although, as we shall see, the objectives here were more oriented to policy and planning than the explanation or prediction of offending. Consequently, questionnaire *content* was underpinned by the finding from research that has utilised the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (RFPP) to enable the questionnaire to pinpoint key risk and protective factors associated with offending. Findings from the questionnaire would inform the Steering Group of the local youth offending situation, so that they could then implement measures to counteract/prevent these (risk) factors, or enhance identified protective factors. The decision to use the RFPP to inform questionnaire content followed from an extensive literature review, which served to define and refine the study parameters. The literature review process comprised an assessment of existing research, as well as assessing recommendations for content (e.g. young people’s suggestions through focus groups, risk-focused crime prevention research) and risk-based research instruments such as ASSET (Oxford University 1999) and the Communities that Care questionnaire (Anderson et al 2001). Questions were adapted from the ASSET and Communities that Care questionnaires, as these tools had already undergone rigorous development and testing. In particular, the ASSET instrument, as approved by the Youth Justice Board (YJB), was considered appropriate for continuity purposes as the evaluation of Promoting Prevention was match-funded by the Youth Justice Board and the Promoting Prevention partnership. As such, the ASSET structured assessment tool was modified for self-completion by young people aged 10-17, with individual sections corresponding to ASSET sections, which themselves were based on identified risk factors domains for youth offending (family, school, neighbourhood, lifestyle, personal/individual, attitudes to offending). Individual questions were adapted and reworded from ASSET (where possible) using rewording. Additional questions were included where identified gaps existed (e.g. concerning access to public transport, access to leisure facilities), following consultation with young people, key stakeholders (e.g. teachers participating in the piloting process) and the Steering Group.

Two additional sections were included in the questionnaire focusing upon self-reported offending and self-reported substance use. Self-reported offending was assessed using the YJB-approved United Kingdom version of the International Self-reported Delinquency instrument (see Graham and Bowling 1995)³⁴, a checklist of 23 property, expressive and violent offences. Substance use questions were adapted from the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire (HRBQ – Balding 2000).

The questionnaire utilised a Likert-scale response *format* (Likert 1932), the most popular and prolifically employed technique of obtaining ordered responses and attitude measurement within self-administered questionnaires (Gilbert 2001). Typically assessing *strength* of attitude, Likert scales are relatively easy to develop, aesthetically interesting and enjoyable to complete, often eliciting more considered answers, rather than the perfunctory responses of other methods (Fink 1995). The systematic nature of this method can facilitate internal consistency and differentiation between responses (Robson 2002). As pilot exercises have shown (see below), the Likert approach was an ideal means of eliciting responses from a sample of young people on a range of sensitive issues.

A cogent methodological issue related to Likert-type scales was the decision as to the optimal number of points to employ on the response scale. As few as 2-3 alternatives have been found to be sufficient to meet criteria of test-retest reliability, concurrent validity and predictive validity (Jacoby and Matell 1971). However, there is no agreement on the *optimal* number of points. Essentially, the number of points should be decided by the underlying goals and objectives of the study (Hulbert and Lehmann 1972) and the questionnaire users (e.g. the ability to distinguish between answers in a valid way). A 5-point scale was employed after extensive piloting had established that five response options were sufficient to discriminate between

³⁴ Minor modifications have been made to questions 5, 6 and 14, which assess whether the subject has ever stolen items 'worth more than £5'. It was considered inappropriate to assign an arbitrary monetary cut-off point for the purpose of defining an incident of theft as an 'offence' (see also Jamieson et al 1999). Therefore, the researcher felt it preferable to define all incidents as illegal regardless of value of property involved (although this clearly has implications for the spectrum of seriousness in particular offence categories).

groups, but not too many to produce meaningless results or confuse or produce questionnaire fatigue and response bias (Haines, Case, Isles and Rees 2001).

Each section of the questionnaire was pre-empted by an introductory screen containing the message 'Please tell us about'. For example, the request may be to 'Please tell us about your *school*', or 'Please tell us about *where you live*'. This measure sought to enhance the response validity by effectively identifying transitions within the questionnaire (see also Bourque and Fielder 1995).

Through agreement or disagreement with a series of statements targeting risk and protective factors, young people reported their attitudes, feelings and opinions about issues and influences in the main domains of their lives.

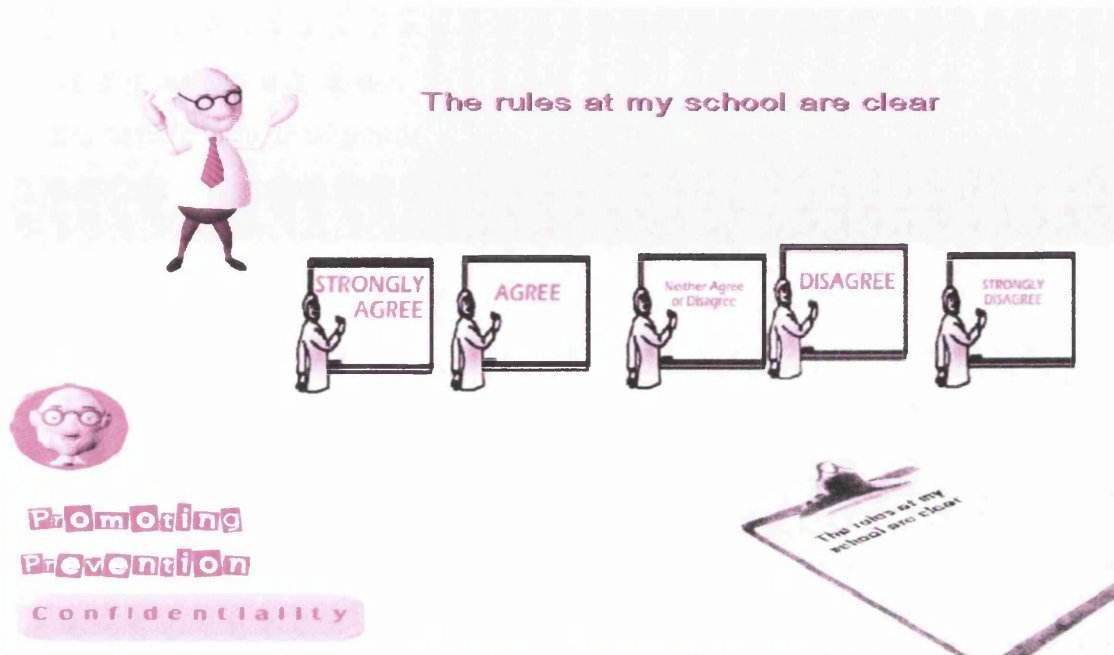
Certain statements were worded negatively (see, for example, figure 4.1), so that agreement indicated that the issue was of concern/problematic to the young person.

Figure 4.1: Example question taken from the individual study family section



Other statements were positively-phrased (e.g. figure 4.2), so agreement highlighted that issue as of little or no concern/non-problematic to the young person.

Figure 4.2: Example question taken from the individual study school section



Further discussion of the controversy surrounding the conception of risk and protective factors as dichotomous is provided in chapter eight (Discussion).

Sections of the questionnaire were pre-tested and discussed with focus groups before piloting. This allowed young people to suggest additions and discuss aspects of the questionnaire that needed to change prior to the piloting stage.

Interactive Computer-assisted Self-Interviewing (ICSI)

Feedback from young people in Swansea during and after the paper-based survey element of the evaluation of the Promoting Positive Behaviour initiative (1996-1998) indicated that traditional paper-based questionnaires were not the most effective means of eliciting information, for a number of reasons:

- The extent of research work was beginning to produce a sense of questionnaire fatigue for young people, ultimately reducing the quality and validity of information elicited. This fatigue tended to mean that local secondary schools

and other targeted groups, such as excluded or disaffected young people, were less likely to comply with research activities (see also Denscombe 2003).

- Young people with lower levels of literacy skills often experienced difficulty with the narrative form of paper-based questionnaires and the demands of completing such exercises (see also Bourque and Fielder 1995).
- All secondary school children in Swansea were familiar with computer-based methods of working and learning, including image-led graphical interfaces. Paper-based activities were increasingly failing to attract the interest of children in a computer-dominated culture. Thus, there was a growing need to respond to these newer methods of interaction and an expectation on the part of young people that cutting edge activities would be conducted electronically.

By the inception of the Promoting Prevention evaluation in April 2000, new information and communication technologies, such as the Internet and wireless multimedia devices, were increasingly pervasive in modern society (Office for National Statistics 2001). Information and communication technologies (ICTs) are widely seen as a key element in broad changes in social structures and practices, such as the erosion of hierarchy and rise of networked organisations (Castells 2000). In particular, information and communication technologies were being increasingly used in educational settings for enhanced levels of communication and in teaching activities, both classroom-based and distance learning. However, the potential for these tools to be employed directly in research activities had yet to be fully utilised. In particular, the opportunities created by interactive multi-media tools remained largely unexploited. However, completed research projects, including those targeting drug use (e.g. Coomber 1997; Wright, Aquilino and Supple 1998) and youth offending (e.g. Jamieson, McIvor and Murray 1999; Flood-Page et al 2000; Home Office 2004) have indicated the efficacy of computer-assisted personal

interviewing (CAPI) and computer-assisted self-interviewing (CASI)³⁵ as research tools, particularly when engaging with young people.

The Jamieson et al (1999) survey of youth offending and young people's attitudes to crime in Scotland utilised laptop computers as a means of directly engaging with young people. Laptops were employed to elicit feedback following the administration of the paper tool. Young people indicated that this served as a useful feature of study. Jamieson et al (1999) concluded that such an innovative technique was effective in seeking young people's views about a range of issues in a more systematic way. The 1998/99 Youth Lifestyles Survey (Flood-Page et al 2000) undertook a cognitive pilot to ensure that the CASI method (using a laptop) was feasible and appropriate for use with the youngest members of their 12 year old and over sample. The Youth Lifestyles Survey discovered that in comparison to the paper assisted personal-interviewing (PAPI) measure, CASI elicited more accurate and more honest responses from young people. A suggested explanation was that young people believed that responses made via computer were less accessible to interviewers, as computers were considered to be more 'anonymous' recipients of answers when compared to PAPI (Flood-Page et al 2000). It has also been suggested that computers may have been seen as more 'serious' or 'professional' by respondents (Mayhew 1995).

At the planning stage of the individual study questionnaire, research was beginning to develop confidence in CASI as a valid and reliable methodology for consulting with young people, particularly around sensitive issues (e.g. Couper and Rowe 1996; Beebe, Harrison, Mcrae, Anderson and Fulkerson 1998). Using CASI, young people were more likely to admit alcohol and drug use (e.g. Wright et al 1998) and offending (Goulden and Sondhi 2001). Recent research had highlighted numerous additional benefits to computerised methods (CAPI and CASI) compared to paper-based tools, including:

³⁵ In the CAPI model, the interviewer types the responses directly into the computer, whereas in CASI, the young person types in their own responses. Both models, however, are based upon the fairly simplistic transfer of a paper questionnaire format to a computer screen format.

- Engagement with young people around sensitive issues – research was consistently reporting positive reactions and high response rates (e.g. Olson 1991) to both CAPI and CASI from respondents and an increased willingness to report sensitive issues (e.g. Tournageau and Smith 1996; Wright et al 1998; Home Office 2004)
- Improved data quality – complex routing in paper-based questionnaires can produce errors from both interviewers and respondents. Using CASI, routing was enforced consistently and correctly throughout the questionnaire, with resultant benefits in data quality and a reduction in data cleaning and editing post fieldwork (see Banks and Laurie 1999; Laurie 2003)
- Expedited data turnaround and release of the data to the user community – data in computerised format can be automatically downloaded to a pre-coded statistical package for immediate analysis. This facility circumvents the necessity for labour intensive and potentially fallible manual data entry procedures
- Significant savings in fieldwork costs – by providing background and instructions on screen to guide young people through the questionnaire, computerised tools limit the time researchers have to spend ‘on site’ for introductory and explanatory functions. This reduces expenditure on research time and resource, as does the streamlined data entry system (see above)

CASI was considered to be a viable option for the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire as it afforded several potential practical and methodological advantages over paper-based methods, particularly for engaging young people and eliciting valid, reliable responses to sensitive issues. Following development of the

questionnaire, the technical production of the questionnaire was contracted to an IT specialist.

The development and administration of the individual study questionnaire using ICSI

Piloting was conducted with 125 pupils from three local comprehensive schools (not included in the critical studies) and 20 young people subject to statutory orders attending Swansea Youth Offending Team. Surveying made use of in-house, school networked PCs. In addition, a control group of 20 young people was chosen at random to complete a paper-based version of the individual study pilot questionnaire. A full discussion of the technical issues related to the pilot individual study questionnaire can be found in Case and Haines (2003).

Piloting enabled an assessment of the potential technical and methodological benefits, weaknesses and problems of CASI. The pilot process addressed format and content issues, enabling further modification and rewording of questions, and establishing that questions were meaningful and measured what they were designed to measure (Moser and Kalton 1989). For example, young people expressed dissatisfaction with the clarity and content of the original drugs inventory taken from the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire (Balding 2000). Young people felt that the format of the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire (HRBQ) inventory was too verbose, which cluttered each screen with too many words and images. Young people expressed the view that the response format, although straightforward and comprehensive, could be made more 'user-friendly'. Consequently, the inventory was replaced with an adapted version of the 2002 Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) study in Wales (World Health Organisation 2002). The HBSC substituted a more complex multi-screen response format (e.g. first screen - have you taken this drug, next screen – have you taken this drug in the past 12 months) with a single screen question (see figure 4.3) asking 'how often do you take this drug' (never, weekly, monthly, occasionally, experimented once or twice, daily).

Figure 4.3: Example question taken from the individual study questionnaire self-reported drugs inventory (World Health Organisation 2002)



Piloting enabled further standardisation and validation of the individual study questionnaire to ensure that every young person participating conducted the survey under exactly the same conditions, increasing confidence in the reliability (Haines et al 2001a) and content validity³⁶ of the measure.

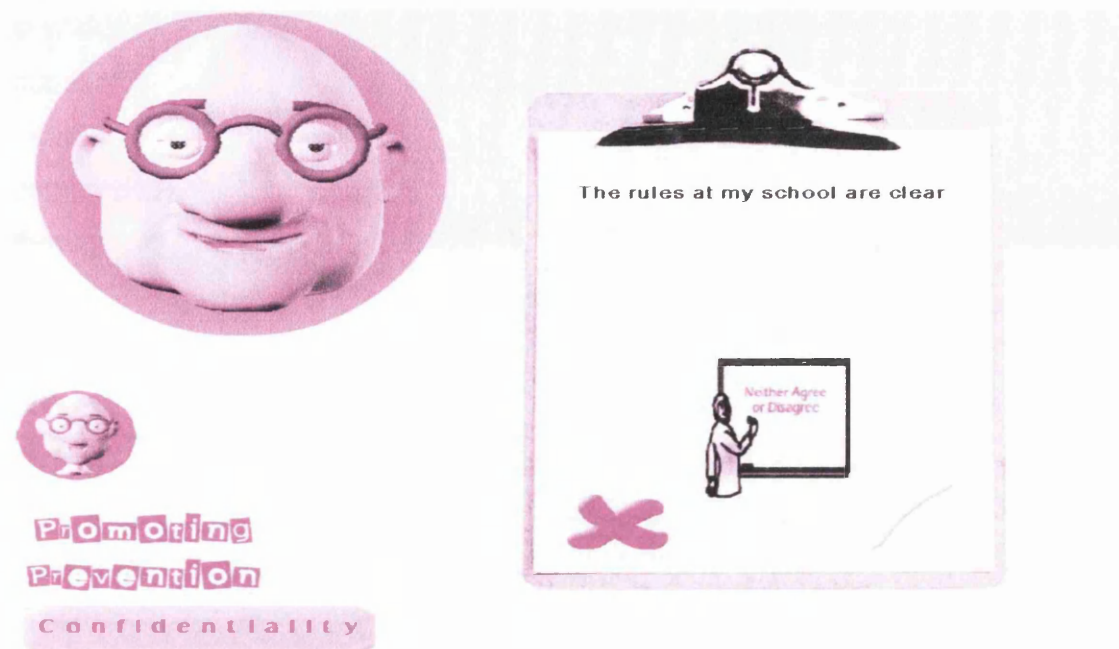
A significant technical modification was made to enable the questionnaire to 'branch' the order of question presentation through interaction with young people's previous responses (i.e. automatic routing), giving each young person their own individual route through the questionnaire. For example, all young people who self-reported offending were asked a series of questions about their attitudes to their offence(s), whereas young people who reported never offending were not asked these questions.

³⁶ In addition to a pilot study checking the content validity of the questionnaire, face validity was employed. Face validity relates to whether '...a test appears to measure what it purports to measure' (Borg and Gall 1989: 256. in Robson 2002). This was reviewed through consultation with experienced professionals, practitioners and academics in the area of juvenile justice and youth offending, including Swansea Youth Offending Team manager and his staff, the Communities that Care Wales administrator, and the evaluation supervisor.

A key design specification for the questionnaire was to ensure that young people with literacy problems could use the programme without impairment. The questionnaire opened with a set of sequential introduction screens providing a background to the survey (e.g. purpose, procedure, content) and guidance on completion. Each question was presented on its own individual screen. The questionnaire was designed such that on entering each question screen, the package would 'voice' each question (through headphones to maintain confidentiality), and each reply button would state its value when the cursor passed over it (strongly agree – strongly disagree). When the young person moved the mouse cursor over the question, the programme 'spoke' the question, or if the young person moved the cursor over the response button, the programme voiced that response. If the young person needed to listen to the question again they could do so by placing the mouse cursor over the question. Once a response was chosen, it could be 'dragged and dropped' onto a clipboard at the corner of the screen (see figure 4.1).

A confirmation screen (see figure 4.4) read back the reply and required the young person to click a button with a green tick to confirm and move on to the next question, or a red cross to return to the question again. This design relied on simple cultural iconography that would be understandable to most children and young people (i.e. using a green tick as a Western symbol of acceptance). However, this did not introduce a cultural 'bias' as the explicit purpose of the tick was to enable the young person to accept and claim the response as their own.

Figure 4.4: Confirmation screen



Consequently, during the piloting stage, the individual study questionnaire incorporated sophisticated branching and audio-visual feedback techniques (similar to the 'audio CASI' procedure employed by the 2003 Criminal Justice Survey – see Home Office 2004) in order to evolve the traditional CAPI/CASI methods into a more dynamic, interactive form of CASI, to be known as 'Interactive Self-Completion Interviewing' (ICSI). This development offers an example of how the Promoting Prevention evaluation strives to exploit the generation of information (in this case, feedback from young people) in a reflexive manner.

Each participating school appointed a co-ordinating teacher to oversee the research process in their institution. Questionnaires were completed by classes during time-tabled Personal, Health and Social Education (PHSE) lessons or Information Technology (I.T.) lessons, under the supervision of the PHSE or I.T. teacher. This teacher was briefed before questionnaire completion by the coordinating teacher regarding content and administration procedures such as discouraging talking and reading other pupils' answers, reiterating confidentiality and responding honestly. Each class teacher was provided with an introductory script to present to each class

before administration. This detailed the purpose of the questionnaire, emphasising confidentiality and the need for honesty, adding that pupils were free to withdraw consent at any time. Teachers and co-ordinators were briefed to inform young people that they were available for consultation should the young person find completion difficult or upsetting. In addition, confidentiality was emphasised throughout by way of a button on every screen of the questionnaire which uploaded a confidentiality statement. It was made clear to pupils and staff that confidentiality would be respected, with all data reported as general, globalised trends rather than attributing responses to individuals or classes (Data Protection Act 1998). It was intended that by involving and empowering staff and pupils within each institution as part of a self-administration process, this would enhance their perceptions of ownership of and engagement with the research process (as demonstrated by pupil feedback - see Haines et al 2001a).

Responses were simultaneously downloaded to the hard drive and individual floppy disks in each computer. The data set was recoded in an SPSS spreadsheet format, so it could not be interpreted by a third party. These floppy disks were held by each supervising deputy head teacher and collected upon completion in each school. Data from the floppy disks was downloaded and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Findings are presented and discussed in the results chapter.

The final pilot data collection exercise integrated a section eliciting feedback from young people who had used the tool (see table 4.1) using a 5-point Likert scale.

Table 4.1

Pupil feedback from the pilot of the individual study questionnaire using ICSI

Feedback statement	Agree	Disagree
I found the questionnaire easy to use	86%	5%
I enjoyed using the questionnaire	84%	8%
I found the method boring	19%	81%
The computer method took too long	18%	75%
I would answer less honestly if asked in person or on paper, rather than by a computer	86%	10%
I prefer the computer method to pen and paper	93%	4%

Questionnaire and focus group feedback from young people following the pre-testing and pilot exercises highlighted numerous advantages to the development of a combined audio and video ICSI instrument (compared to paper-based tools). An interactive instrument appeared to offer the potential to maximise the benefits of ICSI and address the limitations of paper-based tools. Many associated disadvantages of the CASI method were also minimised or circumvented. The responsiveness of the research enabled the questionnaire to specially designed for the target group, thus enhancing the validity and practicality of the results.

The benefits of ICSI

Specific benefits of the ICSI tool were identified through the pilot process as:

Format

Feedback from 86% of young people completing the questionnaire indicated that the 'stand alone', computer-interactive instrument was easy to complete (without assistance), as well as being 'user friendly' (84%) in both content and format (Haines et al 2001a; see also Bourque and Fielder 1995). Indeed, a questionnaire that is easy on the eye induces a more positive attitude to completion (Denscombe 2003). An effective layout (combined with a consistent routing procedure) reduces the possibility of confusion errors over where to place answers and how to answer, both of which were explained audio-visually within the computer questionnaire (see also Laurie 2003; Home Office 2004). The pilot research addressed these concerns

throughout the design process and initial success at the pilot stage was illustrated within the feedback section.

“It (the voiceover facility) reads the questionnaire through to you again to make sure you give the right answers. The voiceover helped a lot.” (13 year old female)

“They (my friends) were more eager to do it than if you had just given them the questionnaire (in paper form) and said ‘There you are, just fill out the answers’. They were excited to use it.” (16 year old female)

The computer-interactive technique provides context-specific, interactive, colourful visual and auditory cues simultaneously in order to ‘help’ young people through the questionnaire. A young person commented that:

“It’s colourful and the graphics are intriguing.” (15 year old male)

When asked in a focus group about the Likert-scale response format and drag and drop method of responding, one pupil maintained that:

“It was easier because you’ve got a range of answers. Drag and drop is better because you can’t accidentally click or tick the wrong answer like in some questionnaires. It gives you options.” (14 year old male)

ICSI avoided the interviewer and respondent errors that are a significant risk when using complex routing in paper-based questionnaires (see, for example, Laurie 2003). The method enforced automatic branching between questions based on the young person’s prior answers. This enhanced the ‘interactive’ nature of the tool, as young people followed a question path dictated by their own responses. This use of branching allowed for a more complex, flexible and user-friendly questionnaire

structure and design than PAPI (see O'Reilly, Hubbard, Lessler, Biemer and Turner 1994; Wright et al 1998) and CAPI/CASI.

More valid responses to sensitive topics

The multi-media technology enabled sensitive content to be placed in a graphical, visual and auditory context (see also Coomber 1997). Within the feedback section of the pilot questionnaire, 86% of young people reported that they were more likely to offer complete and truthful responses to sensitive issues using ICSI (compared to 10% who would not), as opposed to PAPI³⁷ (see also Flood-Page et al 2000). Young people in Swansea who completed the questionnaire reported that the ICSI tool fostered a greater sense of privacy than paper-based methods. This was felt to increase anonymity, thus increasing respondents' willingness to report sensitive information (see also Aquilino 1994; Couper and Rowe 1996; Toumageau and Smith 1996).

"I'd be more honest on a computer." (16 year old female)

"I don't think people would be honest if you did it on paper. The answers are there and can be seen by anyone." (15 year old male)

"There was no messing around. All pupils took it totally seriously and respected the process." (Supervising teacher)

It is possible that the self-report nature of the questionnaire may have elicited *demand characteristics* (e.g. social desirability bias), as some young people could have become aware of the purpose of the survey (particularly if they had completed the questionnaire in the previous year) and they may have tailored their answers accordingly (e.g. under-reporting crime – Lynn 2003). Demand characteristics could also have been precipitated by anxiety over the *confidentiality* of their responses.

³⁷ Similar sentiments have been expressed when comparing CASI to face-to-face interviews (see Robson 2002).

For example, responding via a computer screen raises confidentiality issues regarding vulnerability to eavesdropping and spying by teachers or participants in adjacent seats. However, extensive piloting demonstrated that the use of a voiceover facility through headphones focuses young people onto their own responses (which can also precipitate the under-reporting crime – see Lynn 2003). This was reinforced by the Likert-scale format, which encourages concentration and less perfunctory responses than paper-based methods (Haines et al 2001a; see also Fink 1995). Teacher guidelines were produced requesting that supervisors refrain from eavesdropping, in order to reinforce confidentiality and minimise demand characteristics. Extant international research reinforces the belief that CASI (the precursor to ICSI) is more effective than paper-based methods in reducing anxiety over confidentiality and eliminating social desirability bias (see, for example, Banks and Laurie 1999; Laurie 2003).

Employing *closed questions* throughout the questionnaire may have limited the respondents' capability to clarify and elaborate upon their answers, despite the inherently qualitative nature of most issues. Thus, some responses could be considered superficial and lacking in *content validity*. However, feedback from the pilot exercise (see chapter four; see also Haines et al 2001a) indicated that young people felt that they responded more honestly using the computer method compared to paper-based questionnaires. In addition, the use of an individual screen for each question, accompanied by headphones/voiceover was established (through feedback from young people and teachers) as an effective means of maximising concentration and consideration of responses.

Some young people may have been inhibited or made to feel uncomfortable by the sensitive nature of certain questions in the individual study. Due to the sequential, screen-by-screen format of the questionnaire, *non-response* (a potential source of statistical error within survey estimates of offending – see Lynn 2003) amongst young people completing the questionnaire was impossible, so they may have felt forced or coerced into offering a response in order to continue with the

questionnaire. Consequently, some responses may not have been valid measures of the young person's true feelings, attitudes or behaviour. However, this concern was allayed to an extent by feedback from young people establishing the validity of the tool (see Haines et al 2001a) and successful internal validity checks (see Internal Validity section). The validity and reliability of the individual study questionnaire was further reinforced by the consistency of findings over the evaluation period, comparability of the results with similar self-report studies with young people in the UK (e.g. the Youth Lifestyles Survey) and triangulation with official statistics at the local and national level (see chapters two and five).

Research efficiency: expedited and non-invasive implementation period

Self-completion of the questionnaire was efficient in terms of researcher time and effort. The 'stand alone' nature of the tool necessitated only three staff for its implementation, a technician, a researcher and a supervising teacher. The technician and researcher only needed to visit each school on one occasion, rather than conducting protracted follow-up visits, supervision/instruction during completion (which was designated to a staff member), or frequent returns to collect data (i.e. similar benefits to e-mail questionnaires – Denscombe 2003).

Pupils completing the computer questionnaire perceived the response format as less onerous than filling in 'boring' paper questionnaires (93% of young people). With an average completion time of only 20 minutes, the questionnaire was reported to be more time efficient than a paper-based version of the same questionnaire completed by 20 young people (who also completed the ICSI tool).

"It's easier and when you want to run it through for the results you can just scan it through the computer." (14 year old male)

"I prefer the computer method. Most of my friends did too". (16 year old male)

Only 5% of young people found the computer method boring, but this may be more concerned with pilot questionnaire content (e.g. the repetitive nature of the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire, questionnaire fatigue) rather than the actual process of using the computer. Coordinating teachers also commented that the questionnaire took little effort for them to administer:

“Running the questionnaire was very simple. I just put the floppy disk in and it worked.” (Co-ordinating teacher)

Expedited coding and analysis

The computerised questionnaire significantly abbreviated the response coding and analysis process, as a protocol for data entry into the SPSS package was established prior to finalising the instrument (see also Denscombe 2003). This obviated concerns regarding human error in manually coding or transferring data into appropriate columns in the computer data file, thus eliminating transcription error and improving data quality (see also O'Reilly et al 1994; Couper 2002). A corresponding reduction in time and potential errors in data cleaning and editing emerged as a material advantage of employing ICSI for the individual study questionnaire (see also Beebe et al 1998; Banks and Laurie 1999).

Abbreviated coding and analysis streamlined and expedited the feedback process such that data was released to the user community whilst it remained fresh and relevant (see also Banks and Laurie 2000). Almost 'instant' production of a robust data set enabled rapid analysis of the data, freeing up time for the production of bespoke reports for each participating school. Information was disseminated to teachers, pupils and parents, as well as practitioners and senior managers within the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and partnership organisations through seminars, staff meetings and the aforementioned school reports.

In addition to the numerous cogent benefits of the computerised survey, several potentially detrimental methodological issues were also addressed.

Non-completion

Results from studies measuring self-reported offending tend to suffer due to non-completion of questionnaires due to, *inter alia*, the sensitive nature of their questions (e.g. Tarling 1993, Bowling, Graham and Ross 1994). In this research, non-response was addressed by the interactive, technology-orientated nature of the individual questionnaire, which, according to user feedback, significantly increased both salience of content and intrinsic motivation. Piloting and focus group feedback indicated that the completion process served as its own incentive, as it was considered relevant, engaging and even exciting by young people.

Young people were routed through the instrument screen by screen by the computer program (see also Flood-Page et al 2000), unable to progress until they had answered the question on screen at that time. Therefore, the potential for non-completion of particular questions was eliminated (see also Olson 1991), thus eradicating the potential for missing data (see also Couper 2002; Aquilino 1994). The overall validity of responses was improved because completion rate was 100% amongst the pilot sample, even though participation was voluntary. A 100% completion rate indicated that the ICSI instrument motivates more effective completion of questionnaires (providing sufficient time is allocated for completion) than other methods with higher rates of non-completion (e.g. paper questionnaires). The ICSI questionnaire allowed only predetermined codes to be entered, so out-of-range responses were eliminated (see also Wright et al 1998; Banks and Laurie 2000).

Low literacy, dyslexia and visual acuity issues

Low literacy levels and specific learning difficulties (e.g. dyslexia) can contribute to low completion rates to the extent that young people may be unable to respond to questions even if they want to. Also, visual acuity can influence response rates, such as respondents with reading problems (e.g. dyslexia, visual impairment) finding the effort to complete questionnaires too great.

Fink (1995) suggests that *taping* questionnaires makes them more palatable, addressing literacy and visual acuity problems, whilst Flood-Page et al (2000) recommend employing 'show' cards. The individual study computerised questionnaire extrapolated these recommendations by combining increased clarity and image size with a coterminous audio voice-over facility. The audio facility was activated by placing the cursor over the text (with volume control and headphones provided for confidentiality). Questions and answers were repeated and confirmed to guide young people through the questionnaire (see also Flood-Page et al 2000).

The benefits of the voice-over facility were clearly identified by respondents during the pilot exercise:

"It reads the questions out to you. You might misread a question and put the wrong answer down." (15 year old female)

"It helped if you couldn't pronounce a word. It read it to you. It took less time doing it that way. If you don't understand a word, when it reads it out to you, you clearly understand what it means. The wording was clear." (14 year old male)

Therefore, the (computer-assisted, interactive) audio facility of the individual study questionnaire (e.g. voiceover) addressed potential literacy issues (see also Home Office 2004) and visual acuity issues, whilst increasing young people's motivation to complete the tool (see also Dyck and Smither 1994). In extreme cases of low literacy and low I.T. literacy, questionnaire completion with peer support was encouraged. Where peer support was required, the co-ordinating teacher was instructed to give a thorough explanation of the inherent confidentiality issues and the accompanying importance of questionnaire completion (using a script provided by the researchers), stressing that any pupil had the right to refuse to participate or withdraw at any stage of the study.

Response set

The tendency of respondents to establish a typical response pattern (i.e. response set) when answering question sets that repeatedly use the same scale is addressed in the ICSI instrument by mixing positive and negative question phrasing (see figures 4.1 and 4.2). For example, some questions were negatively phrased, such that agreement with them would indicate a problem (e.g. I agree that my parents argue a lot). In contrast, other questions were positively phrased, such that agreement indicated a positive view (e.g. I agree that I like my teachers). Mixing different question phrasing encourages young people to offer more consideration to each answer. This technique is also possible with paper-based methods, so was not an advantage specific to the ICSI approach.

However, ICSI is able to avoid the development of typical response patterns in a manner unavailable to paper-based methods. The computer questionnaire is formatted such that young people can only answer one question (screen) at a time, denying them access to their previous responses. Consequently, young people cannot establish a typical response pattern as they were unable to view previous questions and responses.

Mode effects

There was a clear potential for 'mode effects' with ICSI, whereby the mode of presentation (e.g. computer) can bias answers according to respondents' characteristics (e.g. age, gender). Mode effects such as these are seldom explored by research using paper-based tools. However, the potential for mode effects was acknowledged when choosing the mode of administration. Indeed, mode effects were considered advantageous to the research in some respects because young people have been found to have more enthusiasm for computers than adults (Haines et al 2001a; see also Dyck and Smither 1994), more familiarity with their use and more willingness to trust them as an instrument to elicit responses to sensitive issues (Haines et al 2001a; see also Couper 2002). These mode effects have been

found to be particularly strong for 11-18 year olds in the school setting (see Beebe et al 1998; Wright et al 1998), the same sample as used in the pilot study.

Future administration of the computer questionnaire should consider other potential moderators of mode effects (possibly via comparison with a paper-based control questionnaire), such as gender, ethnicity and education. For example, young people with a higher level of educational attainment may have had more experience with computers at home and in school (see, for example, Wright et al 1998), which may be reflected in lower anxiety levels when using computers to report sensitive information. However, as discussed, ICSI has been shown to be an appropriate survey instrument for use with young people with low literacy skills. Therefore, ICSI should reduce the anxiety of *all* young people when completing the questionnaire, not just those with prior computer experience.

Contemporary research indicates that the mode effects of computerisation are less dramatic than the effect of self-administration on young people's reports of sensitive behaviour (see Laurie 2003) and the current research supports this finding. The main mode effects of ICSI appear to be beneficial to sensitive research with young people, as respondents are more positive about using computers and more trusting in their use as a legitimate, confidential research tool (see Banks and Laurie 1999).

Internal validity

The current study de-emphasised the traditional experimental control (see earlier) and manipulation of variables in favour of a descriptive survey approach. Therefore, questions of internal (experimental) validity were not paramount, although they were considered. Utilising a rotating sample that gained and lost sub-samples annually addressed several salient threats to internal validity, including the potentially confounding effects of altering the young person's environment (history effects) and measurement process during the testing period (instrumentation), changing attitudes due to age / growth (maturation), subject error (e.g. through mood, tiredness, illness) and the loss of subjects (attrition) (see also Cook & Campbell 1979, Fink 1995).

Questionnaire validity was enhanced through piloting by improving question wording (verifying clarity, randomising between risk and protective factors to avoid response set), establishing protocols to avoid demand characteristics (e.g. instructing teachers not to eavesdrop) and streamlining measures designed to induce considered, verified responses (Likert-scale, voiceover). Piloting of the ICSI instrument has consistently incorporated internal validity checks (embedded measures of the honesty and accuracy of responses) such as triangulating responses with available sources of official data (e.g. offending behaviour, school exclusion) and integrating dummy questions. The individual study questionnaire uses a dummy drug, 'Nadropax', which has been consistently reported as the least common drug within drugs inventories in pre-test and pilot ICSI tools (always by fewer than 5% of young people). Other internal validity checks over the piloting period have included presenting the same issue in different forms. For example, two statements assessing the issue of 'disaffection from school' have been integrated into the school section of the questionnaire, one with negative phrasing ('I generally don't enjoy school') and the other with positive phrasing ('I tend to enjoy school most of the time'). Responses for these and other dichotomous statements employed during piloting as tests of internal validity have always been highly correlated (i.e. where one is high, the other is low). This indicates that the two items are measuring the same underlying construct and that young people are responding to statements consistently and honestly.

Successful internal validity checks over five years of testing have indicated that the instrument offers, as far as possible, a valid and engaging procedure for eliciting responses from young people around sensitive issues (Case and Haines 2003, 2004; see also Couper 2002; Laurie 2003).

Piloting has established ICSI as a promising and appropriate method to elicit the views of young people on a variety of sensitive issues. Feedback from young people in Swansea replicated findings from international studies that found young

people to have positive attitudes to using computers as a legitimate research tool, trust in the technology and few concerns about confidentiality (see Wright et al 1998; Banks and Laurie 1999; Laurie 2003). Young people's confidence in and comfort with technology was reflected in their reports that they found completion using computer to be more engaging and enjoyable than traditional paper-based methods. Feedback also indicated that responses to sensitive issues were more valid (than responses would be to paper-based tools) when using ICSI.

Full administration of the questionnaire: Sampling

The choice of an appropriate sample of respondents has close links to the generalisability of results (Smith 1975). The system and principles employed in sample selection (the 'sampling plan') crucially affects the dependability of any survey (Gilbert 2001). The two general types of sampling plan are based on probability samples and non-probability samples. In probability sampling (also known as representative sampling), which includes random, systematic, stratified and cluster sampling, the probability of selection of each subject from the population is known. Conversely, non-probability sampling (e.g. opportunity, quota and purposive sampling) leaves the probability of selection unknown. In the case of the Promoting Prevention individual study, an *opportunity sample* of schools and school years was chosen due to benefits to the participating institutions in terms of scheduling and resourcing the survey. Resultant limitations in generalisability of results were offset by taking a *random sample* from the available year groups, namely school years 7-10 (aged 11-15), and by the facility to generate large samples over a short timeframe. In other words, an opportunity sample of Swansea secondary schools and school year groups within those schools was taken, then a random sample of two classes was drawn from each year group.

The individual study questionnaire was administered by class teachers within designated lessons, so every consenting and available sample member completed the instrument. The completeness and accuracy of the sampling frame was regularly verified by inspection of class registers by the researcher and class

teachers. Therefore, non-response was minimised, which was essential to the validity and reliability of the survey as people who did not take part may have differed from responders in significant ways³⁸. The impact of the omission of excluded pupils and members of other 'hard to reach' groups is considered in chapter eight (Discussion). Also, sampling frames were not outdated or inaccurate, so there was no sampling of 'ineligibles' such as individuals who were not part of the target population³⁹ (see Robson 2002) nor duplication of administration with the same individual.

The administration of the finalised questionnaire over the two year period of the evaluation accessed a random sample of 1278 young people aged 11-15 from an opportunity sample of six Swansea secondary schools (three in 2001/2 and three in 2002/3). Different schools were used as research sites in each year (2001/2 and 2002/3). In each year of administration, the sample of three schools was chosen (as far as possible) to be representative of the demographic make-up and academic performance of Swansea secondary schools.

The sample had an almost even gender distribution of 657 males (51%) and 621 females (49%). Surveying in both years took place in December, avoiding the busy opening weeks of the academic year. Indeed, sampling within participating secondary schools was only feasible at limited times during the year, so December was agreed with all school representatives as the fieldwork period for the individual study questionnaire. A sample breakdown (all schools combined) by age and gender is provided below.

³⁸ For instance, young people reporting low literacy issues are statistically more likely to be exposed to multiple risk factors for undesirable behaviours such as drug use, offending and mental health problems (Vassallo et al 2002).

³⁹ Although this was practically impossible as Promoting Prevention is a universal provision, available to all 10-17 year olds in Swansea.

Table 4.2

Distribution of sample by school year

School year	Male	Female	Total sample	% of total sample
Year 7 (11-12 yrs)	119	123	242	19%
Year 8 (12-13 yrs)	162	155	317	25%
Year 9 (13-14 yrs)	178	187	365	29%
Year 10 (14-15 yrs)	198	156	354	28%
Total	657	621	1278	

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, so may not total 100%.

The process by which the final questionnaire was administered followed the same procedure in each school and reflected the administration procedure of the pilot questionnaire. Initial contact was made with a deputy head teacher at each institution, who then identified a coordinating teacher for their school and a designated technician. A meeting was arranged with the co-ordinator and the technician together, during which methodology, the logistics of questionnaire implementation and sample size were discussed and agreed upon.

In both administrations of the questionnaire, each school provided differing sample sizes based upon availability, scheduling of year groups and individual classes within the survey period. The evaluator chose a random sample of two classes from each year group and requested these classes from the participating schools. Ultimately, all schools provided at least one class from each school year group, which resulted in an even distribution of age within the sample. The relative contribution of all age groups to the overall sample fell within a 10% range (see table 4.2). Thus, the potential probability of a sample skewed by age were avoided.

Table 4.2 indicates that sampling was confined to school years 7-10. Teacher feedback indicated that this was due to GCSE and A-level study leave and mock examination obligations at the time of the survey.

Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity were assured under the guidance of the Data Protection Act 1998. Each school granted the researchers access to the school building. Verbal consent was obtained from each participating young person. A template letter of parental consent was provided to each school for distribution. The letter stated that young people would only be excluded from the survey if parents actively withdrew their consent by returning the form. No parents returned the letter refusing consent. In addition to seeking written parental consent, verbal assent was obtained from each participating young person. Each young person was provided with an information sheet outlining the process, purpose and expected outcomes of the research, namely that anonymised information would be used to further understand the national context of youth offending and to inform service planning for young people in general.

Although each individual's screen (and therefore their responses) could be potentially viewed by adjacent pupils, invasion of privacy was not reported as an issue by pupils or teachers during the pilot. Potential problems were circumvented by diligent teacher supervision, recurrent reminders of anonymity (including an on-screen reminder button) and requests for all pupils to concentrate upon their own questionnaire (successfully reinforced through administration using headphones).

Confidentiality was emphasised during completion by way of a button on every screen of the questionnaire (see figure 4.5) which uploaded a confidentiality statement when pupils clicked on it. It was made clear to pupils and staff that confidentiality would be respected, with all data reported as general, anonymised, summary statistics rather than attributing responses to individuals or classes. It was intended that by involving and empowering staff and pupils within each institution as part of a self-administration process, their perceptions of ownership of and engagement with the research process would be enhanced (as demonstrated by pupil feedback - see Haines et al 2001a).

Response rate for questionnaire administration was approximately 88% of the school roll, with non-response attributable to, *inter alia*, truancy and illness. The impact of this level of non-response on the results was difficult to measure, as there was no possibility to follow-up young people who did not complete the questionnaire due to absence on the day. There were no refusals to participate by young people attending on the day of completion, despite offering the right to withdraw at any stage of the research process (before, during or after completion).

The results from the full administration of the ICSI questionnaire with a secondary school sample in Swansea are reported in chapter five. A complete version of the final questionnaire in CD form is provided in the appendices (appendix 37).

Summary

The individual study employed an ICSI questionnaire with a cross-sectional research design to measure the behaviour and attitudes of a sample of 1278 secondary schoolchildren aged 11-15 in Swansea. Potential threats to the internal validity of the questionnaire and the construct validity of the ICSI tool were acknowledged and addressed. The representativeness of the whole school sample was limited by the research design, the timing of the survey, resources and sample availability. Choosing a cross-section of schools and school year groups through opportunity or convenience sampling precludes the generalisation of results to all secondary schools in Swansea. However, the individual classes surveyed in each school were chosen randomly and this form of sampling accessed a much larger sample (more quickly) than would have been feasible through random sampling of schools/school years. The individual study may have otherwise been constrained by school-based issues such as resourcing, scheduling and class/teacher availability. Therefore, results offer a complete snapshot of the attitudes and behaviour of the young people sampled, which (due to the random sampling used within schools) can be viewed as indicative of all young people in participating schools.

Further methodological issues and their implications for the results of the individual study questionnaire are discussed further in chapter eight.

Chapter Five

Individual Study Results

This chapter reports the results of the individual study questionnaire and discusses them in the context of existing national research on self-reported offending and their implications for the development of Promoting Prevention. Interventions, structures and processes within Promoting Prevention have evolved reflexively not simply through monitoring data (e.g. official statistics), but with the production and analysis of new sources of self-reported information concerning risk and protective factors, offending, drug use and secondary school exclusion. The individual study questionnaire contributes to the climate of reflexive critique inherent to Promoting Prevention by consulting with young people to generate information that is salient, up-to-date and relevant to the local context.

This chapter will present the statistical analysis and discussion of findings from the individual study questionnaire. Results from the 2001/2 and 2002/3 administrations of the questionnaire have been combined (although occasional comparisons are offered where appropriate) for the purposes of providing a clear and digestible summary of the individual study data.

Statistical analysis of questionnaire findings

Analyses are reported in two sections:

- 1) Analyses of issues and behaviour in each questionnaire domain, including gender and age differences
- 2) Identification of factors contributing to and correlating with self-reported ever offending and self-reported active offending, gender-specific and age-related factors

Results from each domain of the questionnaire are provided in the following order within each of the three sections:

- Self-reported offending
- Attitudes to offending (offenders only) (11 factors)
- Self-reported drug use
- Family (12 factors)
- School (14 factors)
- Neighbourhood (9 factors)
- Lifestyle (13 factors)
- Personal/individual (12 factors)

A distinction has been made throughout this chapter between young people admitting to an offence at some point in their past ('ever' offenders) and those young people who admitted to offending more regularly and who may still have been offending ('active' offenders). Consideration of differences between these two groups avoided the potential danger of labelling young people as 'offenders' and stigmatising those young people who may have experimented with offending but have now desisted (see Vassallo, Smart, Sanson, Dusseger, McKendry, Toumbourou, Prior and Oberklaid 2002). It also avoided characterising young people who had offended at some point in their lives, possibly a long time ago, as active, current offenders. Active offenders were distinguished as those young people who admitted to having committed at least three offences in the past year. The distinction of 'active' offending drew upon the definition of 'persistent offenders' employed by Flood-Page, Campbell, Harrington, and Miller (2000), but avoided the term 'persistent' (also used in the Safer Swansea Plan 1998), which has pejorative and deterministic associations. The label of persistent offender was also inappropriate as a category because persistence typically relates to offending that continues into adulthood (e.g. Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter and Silva 2001).

1) Analyses of issues and behaviour in each questionnaire domain, including gender and age differences

Response *percentages* are provided for the nominal, dichotomous (yes/no) variables in the questionnaire (i.e. self-reported ever offending, self-reported active offending, self-reported drug use, secondary school suspension and exclusion). Gender differences, age differences and differences between results for year one and year two of the questionnaire, are measured using Chi-square χ^2 ; the appropriate test of observable differences between frequencies or 'counts' of a variable with independent data at the nominal level (Kinnear and Gray 2000). Age differences are measured between young people in consecutive school years (i.e. year 7 v year 8, year 8 v year 9, year 9 v year 10) throughout the statistical analysis chapter.

Response *means* are given for interval level variables (i.e. those questions requiring a response on a 5-point Likert scale), which incorporates all questions in the family, school⁴⁰, neighbourhood, lifestyle and personal/individual domains. Tables of means are provided for each domain, based on coding of the Likert scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. For the purposes of easy and consistent interpretation, all issues are presented in the results section with negative phrasing⁴¹ (e.g. my parents don't communicate with me, I do dangerous things), higher means (e.g. above three/neutral) can be viewed as more strongly indicating the presence of a problematic issue for the young person. However, issues that were reported at high levels cannot be considered as risk factors for offending, nor can issues with low means be interpreted as protective against offending. The identification of risk and protective factors for offending is addressed by the logistic regression analysis⁴² conducted in section two.

⁴⁰ The only exceptions are suspension and exclusion, which are measured with a dichotomous yes/no response format.

⁴¹ Responses to positively phrased questions were inverted for the purposes of easier interpretation.

⁴² A test of the influence of variables and their association with a target variable, in this case self reported ever offending and active offending.

Gender and age differences are measured using the independent t-test (t); the appropriate test of differences between the mean scores of independent groups at the interval level (Kinnear and Gray 2000)

Percentages and means for the whole sample are reported initially, followed by reporting of percentages/means by gender (including gender differences), then reporting of percentages/means by age (including age differences).

Self-reported offending

The self-reported offending section of the questionnaire was based on a modified version of the International Self-Reported Delinquency (ISRD) checklist (Graham and Bowling 1995). Results were analysed for frequency of reporting an offence (overall offending), reporting different offence types (offence breakdown), gender differences and age differences. Self-reported offending was the touchstone against which risk and protective factors were related/associated using Chi-square. Any young person who admitted to an offence on the ISRD was designated an 'offender', whilst 'non-offenders' were those who did not report having committed an offence on the inventory. Young people who reported three or more offences in the past year were categorised as 'active' offenders.

Table 5.1: Percentage of self-reported ever offending by offence type and gender (% of sample)

Offence	Whole sample	Males	Females
Criminal damage	29	35	22
Shoplifting	29	32	25
Public fighting	29	34	23
Arson	24	30	18
Theft from school/ work	22	26	17
Buying/handling stolen goods	17	20	15
Theft from Machine	16	19	12
Theft – other	16	21	10
Aggravated assault	15	20	10
Vehicle theft	12	16	6
Trespass – intended theft	11	15	7
Threaten with weapon	9	11	6
Pick-pocketing	8	10	6
Sold stolen cheques/cards	7	8	5
Ever offending	60	67	52
Active offending	30	35	22

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

The individual study questionnaire recorded self-reported *ever offending* in Swansea by 60% of local young people. Notably, when the year one and two administrations are considered separately, self-reported offending fell from 61% in 2001/2 to 59% in 2002/3⁴³ (although this is not a statistically significant decrease). This contrasts with national statistics for self-reported offending from the Home Office 'Youth Lifestyles Survey' (YLS), which indicated that 47% of young people had ever offended (Flood-Page et al 2000). These findings suggest that Swansea has a greater percentage of 'ever offenders' than recorded nationally. Reasons for these findings will be discussed in the following chapter.

National surveys of self-reported offending have recorded levels of *active offending* at 19% (Flood-Page et al 2000) and 26% (MORI 2003), compared to the individual study

⁴³ Ever offending also fell in year two for males (68% to 67%), females (54% to 50%), young people aged 11-12 years (61% to 51%) and young people aged 12-13 years (75% to 70%).

finding of 30%. However, the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire was administered to school pupils aged 11-15, whereas the YLS survey was completed by 14-25 year olds, a sample which is statistically more likely to contain a high proportion of young people (aged 17 and above) who have desisted from offending (see, for example, Sampson and Laub 1993; Farrington 2002). Therefore, the Swansea figures (30%) are more similar to MORI findings (26%), mainly because MORI surveyed a comparable sample of school pupils aged 11-16. Interestingly, active offending in Swansea decreased significantly from 43% of the sample in 2001/2 to 19% in the second administration of the questionnaire ($p < 0.001$).⁴⁴

The most commonly-reported offences in Swansea were *public fighting, criminal damage and shoplifting* (all 29%), followed by *arson* (24%) and *theft from school/work* (22%). These four offences were amongst the six most common (active) offences in the MORI survey of 2003 (which used the same ISRD inventory) and reported at similar levels (criminal damage 29% in Promoting Prevention v 33% in MORI; shoplifting 29% in Promoting Prevention v 33% in MORI; arson 24% in Promoting Prevention v 19% in MORI; theft from school/work 22% in Promoting Prevention v 24% in MORI). As chapter one explains, it is not valid to make *direct* comparisons between self-reported statistics and official offending figures, as they are elicited using different measures and categories⁴⁵, which ultimately assess different aspects of offending (e.g. official perception of offending versus the unrecorded and unreported 'dark figure' of crime). However, it is useful to broadly compare both sources of information as a means of triangulating findings to enhance the confidence and validity placed in any conclusions. Therefore, the validity of questionnaire results is reinforced by the comparability between four of the five most common self-reported offences in Swansea (public fighting, criminal damage and shoplifting/theft from school/work) and

⁴⁴ Active offending also decreased significantly from year one to year two amongst males (51% to 24% - $p < 0.001$), females (35% to 13% - $p < 0.001$), young people aged 11-12 (42% to 18% - $p < 0.001$), 12-13 years (48% to 13% - $p < 0.001$), 13-14 years (36% to 21%) and 14-15 years (48% to 22% - $p < 0.001$).

⁴⁵ For instance, self-reported offences are reported by the individual study and MORI (2003) in terms of the percentage of the overall sample reporting a particular offence. In contrast, official youth offending in Swansea is recorded by the YOT as the percentage of overall youth offences accounted for by an offence type.

the three most common official offences⁴⁶ by young people locally from 2000-2003 (public order, criminal damage and theft), as measured by the Youth Offending Team. Criminal damage has also been identified as a major offending category by young people at the national level (Youth Justice Board 2003 – see chapter one).

Young people in Swansea were least likely to report ever *selling stolen cheques/cards* (7%), *pick-pocketing* (8%) and *threatening someone with a weapon* (9%).

Active offending was reported by 30% of young people overall. Findings indicate that Swansea has a lower percentage of active offenders than measured by the last Youth Lifestyles Survey (52%) and that 50% of ever offenders in Swansea have since desisted (see also Jamieson, McIvor and Murray 1999).

Gender differences in self-reported offending

Levels of self-reported offending for males and females reflected the findings from the overall sample, as the five most frequently-reported offences for both males and females were *public fighting* (34% males; 23% females), *criminal damage* (35% males; 22% females), *shoplifting* (32% males; 25% females), *arson* (30% males; 18% females) and *theft from school/work* (26% males; 17% females).

Males were significantly more likely to report *ever offending* than females (67% v 52%; $p < 0.001$) and significantly more likely to report *active offending* (36% v 23%; $p < 0.001$). This accords with the conclusions of the recent sweep of the Youth Lifestyles Survey (Flood-Page et al 2000) and the MORI survey (MORI 2003), both of which reported male offending at higher levels than female offending. Indeed, gender-related results for active offending in Swansea are comparable with the MORI survey in terms of active offending by males (36% Promoting Prevention v 32% MORI) and females (23% Promoting Prevention v 20% MORI). Analysis of specific offence types illustrated that males reported ever committing 11 of the 14 offences on the ISRD at significantly higher levels (in terms of percentage of the group reporting the offence)

⁴⁶ Excluding motoring offences, which are analysed separately by the Youth Offending Team.

than females. These offences were criminal damage, theft from school/ work, theft – other, vehicle theft, selling stolen cheques/cards (all $p < 0.001$), arson, shoplifting, aggravated assault (all $p < 0.01$), trespass, buying/handling stolen goods and public fighting ($p < 0.05$). No significant gender differences were found for the remaining offence types.

Age differences in self-reported offending

There was a year on year increase in self-reported *ever offending* from year 7 to year 10 (see also Graham and Bowling 1995; Flood-Page et al 2000; MORI 2003). In Swansea, 55% of young people in year 7 (age 11-12) to 59% in year 8 (age 12-13) to 59.2% in year 9 (age 13-14) to 64% in year 10 (age 14-15), although none of these increases were statistically significant. In contrast, *active offending* remained constant from year 7 to year 9 (28% in each year), before increasing in year 10 (33%). Again, none of the differences between the school years were significant.

In accordance with the general findings, there were no statistically significant rises between any consecutive school years in terms of self-reporting ever having committed any of the individual offences on the ISRD.

Year on year increases in youth offending from age 11-15 (school years 7 – 10) have also been evidenced in official statistics at the local level (Swansea Youth Offending Team 2001-2003 – see chapter one) and nationally (e.g. Criminal Statistics 2001; Youth Justice Board 2003 – see chapter one).

Attitudes to offending (offenders only)

As shown in table 5.2, the most strongly reported attitudes to offending amongst young people admitting offending in the Swansea sample were an *inability to foresee the consequences of offending* (poor future time perspective), *lack of remorse*, believing that their *family was not upset by their offending*, *positive attitudes to offending* and a *lack of victim empathy*. Each of these factors was reported at a mean

of above three (neutral), indicating that they were identified as issues of importance to or concern to young people.

Table 5.2: Mean response to attitudinal issues amongst offenders by gender

Attitude	Whole sample	Males	Females
Inability to foresee consequences	3.32	3.28	3.37
Lack of remorse	3.15	3.21	3.06
Family not upset by actions	3.15	3.21	3.06
Positive attitude to offending	3.08	3.11	3.03
Lack of victim empathy	3.08	3.11	3.03
Lack of desire to desist	2.79	2.80	2.77
Lack of responsibility	2.74	2.70	2.81
Sensation seeking	2.42	2.47	2.35
Potential to reoffend	2.42	2.40	2.46
Offend because friends do	2.38	2.36	2.42
See crime as instrumental	2.12	2.12	2.14
Overall mean⁴⁷	2.79	2.80	2.77

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

Gender differences in attitudes to offending (offenders only)

Gender-related attitudes to offending mirrored the results from the overall sample of young people who had offended, with the same five issues reported at a mean of above three for both males and females. However, despite the fact that significantly more males reported ever and active offending than females, there were no significant differences in reported attitudes to offending.

Age differences in attitudes to offending (offenders only)

No pattern of age differences for mean responses emerged from the data, with trends fluctuating between increase and decrease between school years for different attitudes (see appendix 6). For example, *lack of remorse* decreased in year 8, but

⁴⁷ There were no significant differences (using t-test) between 2001/2 and 2002/3 in the mean responses of all offenders (2.80 v 2.77), male offenders (2.80 v 2.79) and females offenders (2.80 v 2.75).

rose in the following two years, whereas *potential to reoffend* rose in year 8, fell in year 9 and rose again in year 10.

Some significant age differences in attitudes to offending were, however, found. Each age difference related to increases from year 7 to year 8 in overall mean reporting of:

- *seeing crime as instrumental* ($p < 0.01$)
- *lack of responsibility* ($p < 0.05$)
- *potential to reoffend* ($p < 0.05$).

Self-reported drug use

As displayed in table 5.3 below, 45% of young people sampled reported that they had *ever taken a substance* from the Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) inventory (World Health Organisation 2002). *Cannabis* (34%) and *solvents* (19%) were the most common drugs, with all others reported by fewer than 10% of young people. The least reported drugs were *LSD* (6%), *Heroin* (5%) and *Nadropax* (4%) (the drug invented as an internal validity check for the questionnaire).

Table 5.3: Percentage of self-reported drug use by drug type and gender (% of sample)

Drug	Whole sample	Males	Females
	%	%	%
Cannabis	34	35	33
Solvents	19	20	19
Nitrates	10	9	10
Amphetamines	9	9	10
Cocaine	9	10	8
Ecstasy	7	8	6
Tranquillisers	7	7	7
LSD	6	6	6
Heroin	5	6	5
Nadropax	4	5	3
Lifetime use	45	46	44

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Gender differences in self-reported drug use

Levels of self-reported lifetime (ever) drug use for each gender were almost identical to the findings for the overall sample. *Cannabis* and *solvents* were the most commonly-experienced drugs by both males and females, with all other drugs reported by fewer than 10% of the sample (except *nitrates* – reported by 10% of females). There were no significant differences between males and females in their self-reporting of lifetime drug use or use of any specific drug.

Age differences in self-reported drug use

Age differences emerged for reported drug use between the school years, with a significant increase from year 7 to year 8 ($p < 0.05$), a decrease from year 8 to year 9 (not significant) and a significant increase from year 9 to year 10 ($p < 0.001$). This concurs with findings from the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire, which indicated that drug use was more prevalent amongst 14-15 year olds than amongst younger people (Balding 2000).

In relation to individual drugs in the inventory, there was a significant increase in *Cannabis* use from year 7 to year 8 ($p < 0.001$) and a significant decrease in solvent use between the same years ($p < 0.05$). There were also significant increases from year 9 to year 10 in reported use of *Cannabis* ($p < 0.001$) and *Ecstasy* ($p < 0.01$).

Family-based factors

As illustrated in table 5.4, the only family-based factor reported at a level of concern (i.e. above neutral) by the sample was parental criminality (3.78), which had a higher mean than any other issue in the whole questionnaire. All other factors displayed a mean of less than 2.5 (implying disagreement with the view that they are an issue to or relevant to the young person). Indeed, several factors were reported at a mean level of less than 2 (implying *strong* disagreement with the view that they are problematic). Indeed, family factors were reported at a significantly lowest level than issues in all other domains of the questionnaire (see section one summary). Those family-based

factors of low concern to young people in general were *child-parent relationship*, *parental drinking*, *parental drug use*, *sibling drinking* and *sibling drug use*.

Table 5.4: Mean response to family-based issues by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Males	Females
Parental criminality	3.78	3.76	3.81
Marital discord	2.45	2.47	2.43
Inconsistent discipline	2.32	2.32	2.31
Unclear rules for behaviour	2.26	2.27	2.25
Sibling criminality	2.18	2.17	2.19
Lack of parental communication	2.12	2.17	2.06
Lack of parental supervision	2.08	2.16	2.00
Sibling drinking	1.86	1.91	1.81
Sibling drug use	1.80	1.85	1.74
Parental drug use	1.79	1.84	1.74
Parental drinking	1.73	1.76	1.69
Poor child-parent relationship	1.69	1.66	1.72
Overall mean⁴⁸	1.78	1.84	1.72

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

Gender differences in mean reporting of family factors

General levels of reporting of family-based issues amongst males and females were similar to the overall findings. For example, mean response to the main problematic issue of *parental criminality* was 3.76 for males and 3.81 for females compared to 3.78 for the sample as a whole (see appendix 7).

There was a significant difference in the overall level of reporting of family-based issues by males compared to females ($p < 0.01$), although the low mean for males (1.84) indicates that family issues are not generally viewed as problematic. The only significant specific issue displaying a significant gender difference identified was *parental supervision*, with males reporting the issue at a significant higher level than females ($p < 0.01$).

⁴⁸ There were no significant differences (using t-test) between 2001/2 and 2002/3 in the mean responses of all young people (1.75 v 1.78), males (1.82 v 1.84) and females (1.69 v 1.72).

Age differences in mean reporting of family factors

No age-related trend is evident from the family data. For example, reporting of certain family factors decreased year on year (e.g. *sibling criminality, sibling drug use*). In contrast, other factors decreased in year 8, rose in year 9 and decreased in year 10 (e.g. *parental drug use, unclear rules for behaviour*).

There were no significant age differences in overall mean reporting family factors. In relation to specific family issues, *parental supervision* decreased significantly from year 7 to year 8 ($p < 0.01$), but increased significantly from year 8 to year 9 ($p < 0.05$). Mean reporting of *inconsistent parental discipline* also increased significantly from year 8 to year 9 ($p < 0.01$), whilst *marital discord* decreased significant between those years ($p < 0.05$).

School-based factors

Table 5.5 illustrates that only *consistency of discipline* was reported at a level of concern (3.48) by the whole sample, although the mean response for underachievement (2.99) was almost above the concern threshold of 3 (neutral). The issues of *lack of parental communication* (1.57) and *truancy* (1.82) were both identified as issues of low concern to the whole sample, as was *exclusion* (reported by fewer than 10%). Generally, school-based factors were of significantly lower concern to the whole sample (mean 2.49) than issues in any other domain of the questionnaire except for family factors (see section one summary).

Gender differences in mean reporting of school-based factors

Inconsistent discipline was the issue of highest concern for both males (3.49) and females (3.47). All other issues were reported at a mean of lower than 3, except for *underachievement*, which males responded to at a mean of 3.04 (between neutral and agree).

Table 5.5: Mean response to school-based issues by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Males	Females
Inconsistent discipline	3.48	3.49	3.47
Underachievement	2.99	3.04	2.94
Disaffection	2.80	2.92	2.68
Poor relationship with teachers	2.79	2.92	2.66
Victim of bullying	2.71	2.59	2.83
Lack of consultation	2.69	2.80	2.58
Lack of extracurricular activities	2.62	2.65	2.58
Lack of commitment to school	2.35	2.44	2.24
Unclear school rules	2.06	2.11	2.00
Bullying others	2.02	2.06	1.99
Truancy	1.82	1.90	1.73
Lack of parental commitment	1.57	1.63	1.51
Overall mean⁴⁹	2.49	2.54	2.43
	%	%	%
Suspension	17	20	15
Exclusion	9	9	8

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

Males were significantly more likely to report higher levels of school-based factors overall than females ($p < 0.001$). Specifically, there were gender differences (males reporting at higher levels) for *disaffection*, *inconsistent discipline*, *poor relationships with teachers* (all $p < 0.001$), *truancy* ($p < 0.01$), *lack of commitment to school* ($p < 0.01$) and *parental lack of commitment to school* ($p < 0.05$) (see appendix 9). Females reported having been a *victim of bullying* at significantly higher levels than males ($p < 0.001$).

⁴⁹ Mean reporting of school-based factors decreased significantly from 2001/2 to 2002/3 for the whole sample (2.53 to 2.46; $p < 0.05$) and for females (2.50 to 2.38; $p < 0.01$), but there was no significant difference for males (2.57 v 2.53).

Age differences in mean reporting of school-based factors

A general trend between the school years emerged in reporting of school-based factors in the form of year on year increases. Factors reported at higher levels year on year included *disaffection*, *lack of commitment to school*, *underachievement*, *lack of consultation* and *unclear school rules* (see appendix 10). However, not every factor followed this trend. For instance, mean levels of *inconsistent school discipline* decreased in year 8, whilst mean reporting of *truancy* decreased in year 9.

No significant age differences were identified for overall mean reporting of school factors. There were significant increases from year 7 to year 8 in the mean responses to *disaffection* ($p<0.01$) and *poor relationships with teachers* ($p<0.05$). From year 8 to year 9, *truancy* decreased significantly ($p<0.05$), whilst *lack of consultation* ($p<0.05$) and *lack of extracurricular activities* ($p<0.01$) increased significantly.

Neighbourhood-based factors

The only neighbourhood factors reported at mean levels of above 3 (indicating that the issue is either of concern to, of importance to or relevant to the young person) were *poor youth facilities* (3.15) and *neighbourhood criminality* (3.13). All other issues display a mean of below 3. The issues of lowest concern/importance/relevance to the sample were *lack of attachment to their neighbourhood* (2.12) and *feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood during the day* (2.21).

Table 5.6: Mean response to neighbourhood-based issues by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Males	Females
Poor youth facilities	3.20	3.15	3.25
Neighbourhood criminality	3.04	3.13	2.95
Unsafe neighbourhood (night)	2.90	2.81	3.00
Poor public transport	2.77	2.81	2.72
Wide availability of drugs	2.73	2.84	2.62
Lack of public surveillance	2.60	2.72	2.48
Unsafe neighbourhood (day)	2.21	2.25	2.18
Lack of attachment to neighbourhood	2.12	2.09	2.15
Overall mean⁵⁰	2.67	2.70	2.65

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

Gender differences in mean reporting of neighbourhood-based factors

Males perceived their *local youth facilities* as poor at a lower level than the sample as a whole (3.15 v 3.20), whereas females reported local youth facilities as poor at a higher level than the sample as a whole (3.25 v 3.20). Males reported *neighbourhood criminality* at higher levels than the whole sample (3.13 v 3.04), as opposed to females, who reported this issue as not relevant or not of concern to them (2.94). However, females did report *feeling unsafe in their neighbourhood at night* at a mean level approaching concern (3.00).

Males and females did not differ significantly in their general reporting of neighbourhood-based factors (i.e. overall mean response – see appendix 11). There were, however, significant gender differences (males reporting at higher levels) for *lack of public surveillance* ($p < 0.001$), *neighbourhood criminality* ($p < 0.01$) and *wide availability of drugs in the neighbourhood* ($p < 0.01$). Females were significantly more likely to *feel unsafe in their neighbourhood at night* ($p < 0.01$).

⁵⁰ Mean reporting of neighbourhood-based factors decreased significantly from 2001/2 to 2002/3 for the whole sample (2.72 to 2.64; $p < 0.05$) and for females (2.74 to 2.57; $p < 0.01$), but there was no significant difference for males (2.70 v 2.69).

Age differences in mean reporting of neighbourhood-based factors

A general trend of year on year increases was identified for the reporting of neighbourhood-based issues (see appendix 12).

There were significant increases from year 8 to year 9 in *overall mean reporting of neighbourhood factors* ($p<0.05$) and mean reporting of *wide availability of drugs* ($p<0.001$), *poor youth facilities* ($p<0.001$) and *neighbourhood criminality* ($p<0.01$).

Lifestyle-based factors

Table 5.7 below identifies *hanging around the streets* as the only lifestyle issue reported by young people at a level of concern (3.27). Conversely, having *drug-using peers* and holding *positive attitudes to smoking, alcohol and drugs* are all reported at means of below 2, indicating a general lack of concern for these issues amongst the sample. However, lifestyle factors were reported by the whole sample at a significantly higher level of concern than issues in any other domain apart from personal/individual (see section one summary).

Table 5.7: Mean response to lifestyle-based issues by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Males	Females
Hanging around streets	3.27	3.35	3.19
Been offered drugs	2.86	2.91	2.81
Anti-social peers	2.65	2.84	2.46
Lack of positive activities	2.51	2.50	2.53
Criminal peers	2.21	2.39	2.02
Anti-social behaviour	2.13	2.33	1.91
Offend to get money for drugs	2.12	2.08	2.16
Alcohol/drugs problems	2.09	2.17	2.00
Offend whilst under influence	2.03	2.00	2.05
Positive attitudes to drugs	1.81	1.85	1.77
Positive attitudes to alcohol	1.74	1.78	1.70
Positive attitudes to smoking	1.68	1.76	1.60
Drug-using peers	1.41	1.48	1.34
Overall mean⁵¹	2.19	2.26	2.11

⁵¹ Mean reporting of lifestyle-based factors decreased significantly from 2001/2 to 2002/3 for the whole sample (2.32 to 2.09; $p<0.001$), for males (2.37 to 2.18; $p<0.001$) and for females (2.27 to 1.99; $p<0.01$).

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

Gender differences in mean reporting of lifestyle-based factors

Males reported the key issue of *hanging around the streets* at a higher level than the overall mean (3.35 v 3.27), whereas the issue was of lower concern to females compared to the overall sample (3.19 v 3.27).

Independent t-tests identified several significant gender differences (see appendix 13), all relating to males reporting issues at higher levels than females. These issues were general reporting of *lifestyle factors* ($p < 0.001$), *criminal peers*, *anti-social peers*, *anti-social behaviour* (all $p < 0.001$), *drug-using peers*, *alcohol/drug problems* and *hanging around the streets* (all $p < 0.05$).

Age differences in mean reporting of lifestyle-based factors

The general reporting pattern between school years was that of either a year on year increase (e.g. *anti-social peers*, *anti-social behaviour*) or a small decrease in year 8, followed by increases in years 9 and 10 (e.g. *drug-using peers*, *hanging around streets*) (see appendix 14).

From year 7 to year 8, reports of *anti-social behaviour*, *positive attitudes to drugs* and *positive attitudes to alcohol* rose significantly (all $p < 0.05$). There were significant increases from year 8 to year 9 in overall mean reporting of *lifestyle issues* ($p < 0.05$), *alcohol/drug problems* ($p < 0.001$), *offending to get money for drugs* ($p < 0.001$), *criminal peers* ($p < 0.01$) and *offending under the influence of drugs* ($p < 0.05$). *Positive attitudes to alcohol* rose significantly from year 9 to year 10 ($p < 0.001$).

Personal/individual-based factors

Personal/individual issues were reported at a significantly higher level of concern by local young people than factors in any other questionnaire domain. Young people

completing the individual study questionnaire reported certain personal/individual issues at mean levels indicating that they were factors either of concern or relevance (see table 5.8). These factors were: *sensation seeking* (3.50), *worries about the future* (3.27), *stress* (3.02) and *impulsivity* (3.01). Sensation seeking was reported at a higher level than any other issue in the entire question except parental criminality (3.78). The lowest levels of concern were expressed for *rule-breaking attitudes* (2.21), *eating/sleeping problems* (2.30) and *self-harming* (2.32).

Gender differences in mean reporting of personal/individual-based factors

Sensation seeking and *worries about the future* were the major issues of concern for both males (3.50 and 3.17) and females (3.53 and 3.38) in the sample (see appendix 15). Males also reported high levels of *impulsivity* (3.09), whilst females identified high levels of *stress* (3.10).

Table 5.8: Mean response to personal/individual-based issues by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Males	Females
Sensation seeking	3.51	3.50	3.53
Worries about future	3.27	3.17	3.38
Stress	3.02	2.94	3.10
Impulsivity	3.01	3.09	2.91
Poor concentration	2.89	2.93	2.84
Inability to resist peer pressure	2.81	2.68	2.95
Feeling sad/miserable	2.78	2.63	2.93
Inability to defer gratification	2.75	2.74	2.76
Risk-taking	2.57	2.80	2.33
Self-harming	2.32	2.29	2.36
Eating or sleeping problems	2.30	2.14	2.46
Rule-breaking attitudes	2.21	2.32	2.08
Overall mean⁵²	2.79	2.77	2.80

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = agree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

⁵² Mean reporting of personal-based factors increased significantly from 2001/2 to 2002/3 for the whole sample (2.74 to 2.83; $p < 0.01$) and for males (2.70 to 2.82; $p < 0.01$), but there was no significant difference for females (2.77 to 2.83).

There was no significant difference between the overall mean level of reporting personal/individual factors. However, the personal/individual section was the only questionnaire domain where more significant gender differences were attributable to higher levels of female reporting. Females reported significantly higher levels of *feeling sad and miserable, eating/sleeping problems, inability to resist peer pressure* (all $p < 0.001$), *worries about the future* ($p < 0.010$) and *stress* ($p < 0.05$). Males were more likely to identify higher levels of *risk taking* ($p < 0.001$), *rule-breaking attitudes* ($p < 0.001$) and *impulsivity* ($p < 0.05$).

Age differences in mean reporting of personal/individual-based factors

The general progression of reporting between the school years was evident as an increase from year 7 to year 8, followed by a decrease in year 9 and another increase in year 10 (see appendix 16).

Statistically significant age differences were found for *sensation seeking* (decreased from year 7 to year 8; $p < 0.05$), *rule breaking attitudes* (increase from year 7 to year 8; $p < 0.01$; increased from year 9 to year 10; $p < 0.01$), *self-harm* (decreased from year 8 to year 9; $p < 0.05$), *risk taking* and *feeling sad and miserable* (both increased from year 9 to year 10; both $p < 0.05$). There was also a significant increase in *overall mean reporting of issues* from year 9 to year 10 ($p < 0.01$).

Summary: Analyses of issues and behaviour in each questionnaire domain

Percentage of self-reported problem behaviour (offending, drug use, secondary school suspension and exclusion) and mean reporting of attitudes to/perceptions of factors in key domains were analysed in order to identify behaviour and issues that are of concern or relevance to young people in Swansea. Highlighting key areas of concern enables the Promoting Prevention Steering Group to evaluate the appropriateness of current services and informs the planning of universal services and targeted interventions relevant to gender and school year.⁵³

⁵³ See Discussion (chapter eight).

Table 5.9: Overall mean level of reporting factors in each questionnaire domain

Domain	Mean
Personal/individual	2.79
Neighbourhood	2.67
School	2.49
Lifestyle	2.19
Family	1.78

Means are rounded to two decimal places.

Table 5.9 and figure 5.1 illustrate that overall, personal/individual factors were reported at the highest levels by the Swansea sample, followed by issues concerning the neighbourhood, school, lifestyle and family. Related measures t-tests have indicated that mean reporting in each domain was significantly higher in each domain than for the domains below it in the table (all $p < 0.001$). For example, personal/individual factors were reported at significantly higher levels than factors in any other domain, whilst family factors were reported at significantly lower levels than in any other domain. Mean reporting of school factors was significantly higher than for lifestyle and family factors, but significantly lower than for neighbourhood and personal/individual factors.

Figure 5.1: Mean reporting of factors in each domain by gender

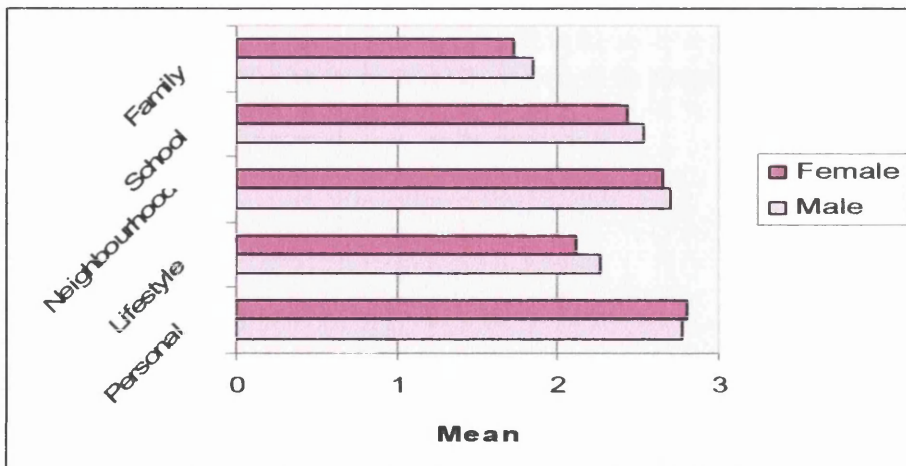
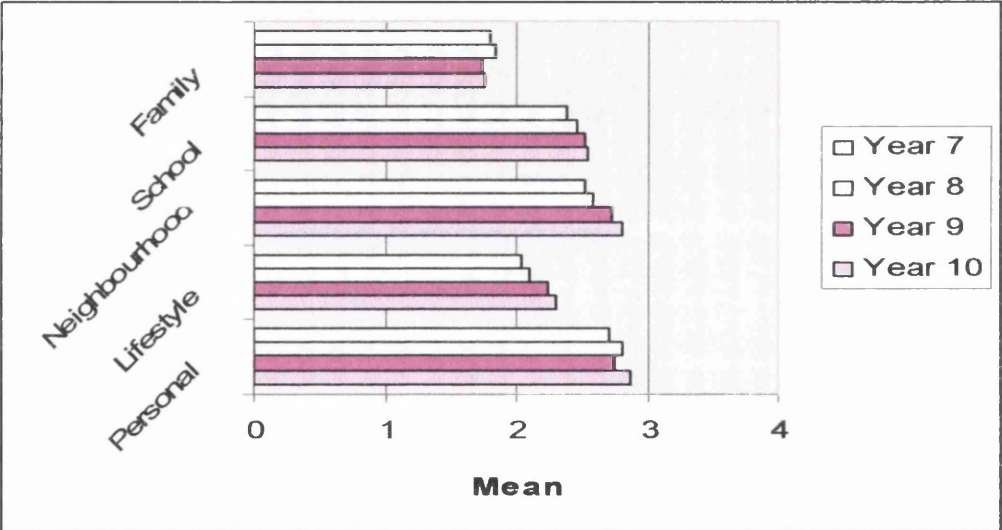


Figure 5.1 reinforces the findings from the analyses of means in section one of the results chapter, in that both males and females reported personal/individual issues as the most salient, followed by neighbourhood factors, school factors, lifestyle-based issues and finally family factors as of lowest concern.

Figure 5.2 offers a further illustration of the pattern of reporting in each questionnaire domain, whilst also clearly displaying a year on year increase in reporting levels for every domain from year 7 (age 11-12) to year 8 (age 12-13) to year 9 (13-14) to year 10 (age 14-15).

Figure 5.2: Mean reporting of factors in each domain by school year



The following section employs more complex multivariate analysis to pinpoint the presence of factors which contribute statistically to the prediction of offending/non-offending (i.e. risk and protective factors) amongst young people in Swansea.

2) Identification of factors contributing to and correlated with self-reported offending

Logistic regression was considered to be the most appropriate multivariate analysis for the data set, as it tests for the significance of variables that have been chosen from bivariate analysis. Thus, an outcome (e.g. offending) can be predicted from a number of predictor variables (Field 2000). Logistic regression is essentially multiple regression but with an outcome variable (dependent variable) that is a categorical dichotomy (e.g. offender or non-offender) and predictor variables that are continuous or categorical, such as those found within a 5-point Likert scale of agreement (see also Field 2000). Logistic regression tested for factors/variables in each questionnaire domain that increased or decreased the likelihood of a young person reporting offending. The exponential B statistic (ExpB) was crucial to this analysis as it expresses the effect of a (predictor) variable in terms of an odds shift above or below one. Therefore, if ExpB was below one for a variable identified through logistic regression, this indicated that it was protective against offending (i.e. it contributed to the prediction of non-offending), whereas a variable with an ExpB value of above one was considered to be a risk factor (contributing to and correlating with the likelihood of a young person reporting offending).

Different methods for entering variables into the logistic equation were tested, including the *enter* method and *stepwise* logistic regression (LR forwards and backwards, Conditional forwards and backwards)⁵⁴, in order that the results are not viewed as an artefact of a single regression procedure. In each case, the method chosen was the one that best fit the data in terms of overall percentage of cases correctly predicted by the model (see appendices 17-30).

The *enter* method forces all independent variables into the regression model at the same time (Field 2000). In contrast, the *stepwise forwards* method of regression was employed to enter the independent variables chosen from bivariate analysis, in order

⁵⁴ The LR statistic is considered to be more precise than the Conditional method (Field 2000), so in cases where there is a negligible difference between the percentage of cases correctly predicted by each method (i.e. less than 3%), the LR statistic is preferred.

to determine those most highly correlated with the dependent variable, self-reported offending (Norusis 1988). Each time a predictor was added to the equation, a removal test was made of the least useful predictor. If removal of a predictor made a significant difference to how well the model fits the observed data, then SPSS retained it (because the model was enhanced if it was included), but if removal made little difference to the model, then that predictor was rejected (see Field 2000). Therefore, the regression equation was constantly reassessed to see whether redundant predictors could be removed. This had the effect of narrowing the search for only the most salient and significant factors in explaining offending. Conversely, the *stepwise backwards* (elimination) method starts with all chosen variables in the model and removes the least significant variable at each step.

Two separate logistic regression exercises were conducted using every factor in the questionnaire domains⁵⁵; one for ever offending and the other for active offending. The results are summarised in table 5.10.

These two logistic regression exercises were repeated for males, females and each individual school year. Table 5.10 illustrates the factors in each questionnaire domain that were identified by logistic regression as increasing the likelihood (risk factors) or increasing the likelihood (protective factors) of reporting ever or active offending when every factor from the questionnaire was analysed simultaneously.

⁵⁵ Factors within the attitudes to offending domain and two factors within the lifestyle domain (offend under the influence of drugs and offend to get money for drugs) were omitted from the regression as they were already too highly correlated with off to be considered independent factors.

Table 5.10: Factors contributing to the prediction of offending in each domain – whole sample

	EVER OFFENDING	ACTIVE OFFENDING
Family	Lack of parental supervision <i>Good child-parent relationship</i>	Sibling drug use Parental criminality
School	Poor relationship with teachers Unclear school rules <i>Parental commitment to school</i>	Poor relationship with teachers <i>Parental commitment to school</i>
N'hood	Wide availability of drugs <i>Good public transport</i>	Wide availability of drugs
Lifestyle	Anti-social behaviour Anti-social peers Hanging around streets Alcohol/drugs problems	Anti-social behaviour Anti-social peers <i>Lacks positive attitudes to alcohol</i>
Personal	Rule-breaking attitudes Stress <i>Lack of impulsivity</i>	Rule-breaking attitudes Risk taking Sensation seeking

Protective factors are shown in italics.

Stepwise logistic regression identified 14 factors that correlated with/contributed to the prediction of ever offending (10 risk factors, four protective factors). For males as a separate group, 11 factors were identified that contributed to the prediction of ever offending (eight risk, three protective), whilst for females, seven factors were found (five risk, two protective).

In terms of active offending, logistic regression highlighted 11 risk/protective factors from the general analysis (nine risk factors, two protective factors). For males, nine factors were identified that contributed to the prediction of ever offending (seven risk, two protective), whilst for females, eight factors were found (six risk, two protective).

Identical logistic regression analyses were conducted to highlight risk and protective factors associated with ever and active offending that were specific to gender (see table 5.11) and age/school year (see table 5.12).

Table 5.11: Factors contributing to the prediction of offending in each domain by gender

	EVER OFFENDING	ACTIVE OFFENDING
Family	Unclear parental rules	<i>Good child-parent relationship (F)</i> <i>Lack of marital discord (M)</i>
School	Poor relationship with teachers (M) <i>Parental commitment to school (M)</i>	Poor relationship with teachers (M) Bullying others (F)
N'hood	Wide availability of drugs <i>Feel safe in neighbourhood (day)(F)</i>	Wide availability of drugs
Lifestyle	Alcohol/drugs problems (M) Anti-social behaviour (M) Positive attitudes to drugs (M) Anti-social peers (F) Hanging around streets (F)	Alcohol/drugs problems (M) Anti-social behaviour (M) Criminal peers (F) <i>Never been offered drugs (M)</i> <i>Good youth facilities (F)</i>
Personal	Risk taking behaviour (M) Stress <i>No/few worries about future (M)</i> <i>Ability to defer gratification (M)</i> <i>Good concentration (F)</i>	Risk taking behaviour (M) Impulsivity (M) Inability to defer gratification (M) Sensation seeking (F) Self-harm (F) Rule breaking attitudes (F)

- Protective factors are shown in *italics*
- Factors predictive of offending for both male and female shown in **bold**
- (M) Male, (F) Female

Table 5.12: Factors contributing to the prediction of offending in each domain by school year

	EVER OFFENDING	ACTIVE OFFENDING
Family	<i>Good parental communication</i> (10)	Parental drug use (8) <i>Good child-parent relationship</i> (8) Unclear parental rules (9) <i>Consistent parental discipline</i> (9) <i>Lack of parental drinking</i> (10)
School	Truancy (8) Inconsistent school discipline (8, 10) Lack of consultation (9) <i>Not a victim of bullying</i> (9) <i>Parental commitment to school</i> (8, 10) Poor relationship with teachers (10)	Underachievement (7)
N'hood	Lack of public surveillance (8)	Wide availability of drugs (7, 10) Lack attachment to neighbourhood (9)
Lifestyle	Anti-social peers (7, 9) Criminal peers (8) Positive attitudes to drugs (9, 10) Alcohol/drugs problems (8, 9) <i>Lacks positive attitudes to alcohol</i> (9) Hanging around streets (8) Anti-social behaviour (10)	Anti-social peers (7, 9) Criminal peers (8) Positive attitudes to drugs (9) Anti-social behaviour (7, 9) <i>Never been offered drugs</i> (9, 10) <i>Good youth facilities</i> (9) Lack of positive activities (10)
Personal	Stress (8) <i>No/few rule-breaking attitudes</i> (8) <i>Good concentration</i> (8) Sensation seeking (9) <i>Not feeling sad/miserable</i> (10) Worries about future (9)	Stress (8) Risk taking (8, 10) Feeling sad/miserable (9) Inability to defer gratification (9) <i>Not feeling sad/miserable</i> (10) Rule-breaking attitudes (10)

- Protective factors are shown in *italics*
- School year shown in brackets

Findings from the logistic regression exercises are discussed below for the whole sample, followed by gender, then school year. In each case, risk factors (for ever and active offending) are detailed first, followed by protective factors.

Family-based risk and protective factors

Logistic regression identified lack of parental supervision as a *risk* factor for ever offending amongst the whole sample, whilst having a good child-parent relationship was found to be *protective* against ever offending.

Sibling drug use and *parental criminality* were identified as risk factors for active offending.

The relative paucity of family-based factors correlated with offending is likely to be a product of the low level of mean reporting of family issues illustrated in section one.

Family-based risk and protective factors by gender

Unclear parental rules was identified as a *risk* factor for ever offending for both males and females. *Parental commitment to school* was a *protective* factor against ever offending for males, whilst *good child-parent relationship* and *lack of marital discord* were found to be protective against active offending for females.

Family-based risk and protective factors by age

No family-based *risk* factors for ever offending were identified when each school year was analysed separately. However, *parental drug use (year 8)* and *unclear parental rules (year 9)* were risk factors for active offending.

Good parental communication was evidenced a *protective* factor against ever offending for year 10 pupils, whilst *good child-parent relationship (year 8)*, *consistent parental discipline (year 9)* and *lack of parental drinking (year 10)* were evidenced as protective against active offending.

School-based risk and protective factors

Poor relationships with teachers was highlighted as a school-based *risk* factor for both ever and active offending, whilst unclear school rules was also a risk factor for ever offending.

School-based risk and protective factors by gender

As in the whole sample, *poor relationships with teachers* was highlighted as a school-based *risk* factor for both ever and active offending amongst males in the sample. *Bullying others* was a distinguished risk factor for active offending by females.

Parental commitment to school was shown to be *protective* against ever offending for males.

School-based risk and protective factors by age

Truancy (year 8), *inconsistent school discipline* (year 8 and 10), *lack of consultation* (year 9) and *poor relationships with teachers* were highlighted as school-based *risk* factors ever offending, whilst *underachievement* amongst year 7 pupils increased their risk of active offending.

Parental commitment to school (year 8 and 10) decreased the likelihood of reporting ever offending.

Neighbourhood-based risk and protective factors

Wide availability of drugs in the local area was found to increase the probability (i.e. *risk*) of reporting both ever and active offending. Conversely, *rating public transport as good* was highlighted as *protective* against reporting ever offending.

Neighbourhood-based risk and protective factors by gender

Reflective of the entire sample, reporting a *wide availability of drugs in the local area* increased the probability (i.e. *risk*) of males and females reporting both ever and active offending.

Females were also more likely to report *feeling safe in their neighbourhood* during the day as *protective* against ever offending.

Neighbourhood-based risk and protective factors by age

Reports of *lack of public surveillance* by year 8 pupils increased their *risk* of ever offending, whilst living in a neighbourhood with a *wide availability of drugs* (year 7 and 10) and *lack of attachment to your neighbourhood* (year 9) were identified as increasing the risk of reporting active offending.

No neighbourhood-based *protective* factors for specific school years were discovered by logistic regression.

Lifestyle-based risk and protective factors

When analysing the influence of all factors from the questionnaire taken together, the lifestyle section of the questionnaire contributed the most factors to the prediction of ever offending (four out of 14) and active offending (three out of 11).

Logistic regression pinpointed *anti-social behaviour* and *associating with anti-social peers* as self-reported *risk* factors for ever and active offending amongst the sample of young people in Swansea. *Hanging around the streets* and *reporting alcohol or drugs problems* were risk factors for ever offending only. *Lacking positive attitudes to alcohol* reduced the risk of active offending only.

Lifestyle-based risk and protective factors by gender

When analysing the results from each gender separately, logistic regression highlighted *anti-social behaviour* and *alcohol/drugs problems* as self-reported *risk* factors for ever and active offending amongst males. *Positive attitudes to drugs* were a risk factor only for ever offending amongst males, whilst *never having been offered drugs* was *protective* against active offending, although this may be due to the affect of an unidentified intervening variable from the questionnaire.

Females reported *association with anti-social peers* and *hanging around the streets* as risks for ever offending, with *association with criminal peers* identified as a risk for active offending. Conversely, *rating local youth facilities as good* was protective against reports of active offending by females.

Lifestyle-based risk and protective factors by age

Logistic regression analyses conducted on individual school years discovered that *association with anti-social peers* increased the risk of both ever and active offending for year 7 and year 9 pupils. *Association with criminal peers* was identified as a risk factor for ever and active offending amongst year 8 pupils, whereas having *positive attitudes to drugs* increased the likelihood of reporting ever and active offending amongst year 9 pupils. *Anti-social behaviour* was a risk factors for ever offending by year 10 pupils and active offending by pupils in year 7 and year 9. Finally, *hanging around the streets* (year 8) was a risk factor for ever offending and *lack of positive activities* was a risk for active offending amongst one school year only in each case.

Protective factors were identified for pupils in year 9 for ever offending (expressing a *lack of positive attitudes to alcohol*) and active offending (*rating youth facilities as good* and *never having been offered drugs* (year 10 pupils also)).

Personal/individual-based risk and protective factors

Reporting high levels of *rule-breaking attitudes* increased the risk of self-reported ever and active offending. *Stress* was found to increase the risk of ever offending only, whilst *risk taking* and *sensation seeking* increased the risk of active offending only. Reporting good concentration was highlighted as *protective* against both ever and active offending. *Low levels of/lack of impulsivity* was protective against ever offending.

Personal/individual-based risk and protective factors by gender

Stress increased the *risk* of reporting ever and active offending amongst males and females. *Risk taking behaviour* by males was a risk factor for both ever and active offending, whilst *impulsivity* and *inability to defer gratification* were risk factors only for active offending by males. In contrast, having *no/few worries about the future* and the *ability to defer gratification* were identified *protective* factors for males in terms of ever offending.

Females reported *sensation seeking*, *self-harm* and *rulebreaking attitudes* as *risk* factors for active offending. However, *good concentration* was highlighted as *protective* against ever offending by females.

Personal/individual-based risk and protective factors by age

Stress increased the likelihood of reporting ever and active offending by year 8 pupils. For pupils in year 9, *sensation seeking* and *worries about the future* were highlighted as *risk* factors for ever offending, whilst *feeling sad/miserable* and *inability to defer gratification* increased the risk of active offending. Other risk factors for active offending were *risk taking behaviour* (year 8 and 10) and *rule-breaking attitudes* (year 10).

Not expressing rule-breaking attitudes was *protective* against ever offending for year 8 pupils, whilst *not feeling sad/miserable* protected against ever and active offending by pupils in year 10.

Summary: Factors contributing to and correlated with self-reported offending

Several risk and protective factors were identified which correlate with offending. Factors correlated with ever offending amongst the whole sample can be broken down by section as follows (number of protective factors in brackets):

- Family = 1 (1)
- School = 2 (1)

- Neighbourhood = 1 (2)
- Lifestyle = 4 (1)
- Personal/individual = 2 (2)

Figure 5.3: Portrait of a young person at high-risk of offending in Swansea

Darren is in year eight at a school which he dislikes. His responses to the individual study questionnaire indicated that he often stays away because he can't see the point to school. Darren has been bullied at school and he feels strongly that he underachieves. Darren doesn't get on well with his teachers and feels that they treat pupils differently when they break the rules.

At home, Darren doesn't feel that his parents communicate with him and feels that they are unfair when they tell him off. His parents often argue with each other. He doesn't like the area in which he with, thinking that the transport facilities and opportunities for activities are poor. There is lots of crime and easy access to drugs here, so he doesn't feel safe in his neighbourhood.

Darren reported that he has committed a number of offences. He admits to having damaged property, set fire to things and trespassed on private property. He has stolen from a shop and taken part in stealing a vehicle. He admits to threatening and harming someone with a weapon and fighting in public. He has committed most of these offences in the past twelve months.

When asked about his offending, Darren didn't think that committing these offences was acceptable but he isn't sorry for what he has done. He doesn't think that his family are affected by his behaviour but does realise that his behaviour has an affect on those it is targeted at. He doesn't want to stop his behaviour possibly because he thinks it is the best way to get what he wants. He doesn't feel that he is affected by his friends or that his behaviour is someone else's fault.

From a personal perspective, Darren describes himself as feeling very sad and worried about the future. He has problems eating and sleeping and has tried to hurt himself over the way he feels. He admits that he rushes into things and gives in to others too easily.

Factors correlated with active offending within the sample as a whole can be broken down by section as follows (number of protective factors in brackets):

- Family = 2
- School = 1 (1)
- Neighbourhood = 1

- Lifestyle = 2 (1)
- Personal/individual = 3

The use of logistic regression to identify risk and protective factors for offending serves to extrapolate the frequency and mean findings from section one of the results chapter. Logistic regression also highlighted *locally-specific* risk factors (see figure 5.3) and protective factors (see figure 5.4) associated with offending by young people, rather than assuming that so-called universal risk and protective factors for youth offending apply in Swansea (see chapter three).

Figure 5.4: Portrait of a young person at low-risk of offending in Swansea

Sarah lives in a positive home environment. She reported that her parents set her clear rules, know where she is going when she goes out and are fair when they tell her off. Sarah's parents get along well with each other and Sarah feels she has a good relationship with them.

The portrait painted by Sarah's responses indicates that she likes the school which she attends, feels she does her best there and doesn't play truant from lessons. She has a strong commitment to school, which is reflected by her parents. The rules at Sarah's school are clear, but she does admit that some pupils are treated differently to others when they break the rules. Sarah gets on well with her teachers and feels that they ask her opinion over things that affect her. Sarah has never been bullied and hasn't bullied others either. She believes that there are lots of extra curricular activities to take part in at school.

Sarah describes the neighbourhood she lives in is relatively free of crime and drugs and has plenty of facilities for young people. She feels that there are lots of adults she could talk to there if something was wrong and that they would tell people off if they were breaking the rules. However, Sarah doesn't feel safe in her neighbourhood at night. According to Sarah, none of her friends are involved in crime and few cause trouble. Sarah herself hasn't been involved in any criminal offences. However, she is involved in lots of positive activities out of school and doesn't hang around the streets. She doesn't think drugs, alcohol or smoking are acceptable for someone her age but she has been offered drugs.

In terms of her personal life, Sarah reported not feeling sad or miserable although she does worry about the future, feeling that she is prone to stress. She doesn't have problems eating or sleeping. Sarah doesn't get involved in dangerous things. She doesn't feel that she gives into others, is impulsive or wants things immediately. Sarah doesn't feel that rules are meant to be broken and she doesn't crave excitement or get bored easily.

Highlighting locally-specific factors identified by young people themselves enables the Promoting Prevention Steering Group to target gender and age-appropriate, locally-specific services to address the prevention and reduction of *re-offending*, in addition to promoting universal provision to focus on issues of importance to the general youth population, as identified in section one.

Summary of the individual study results

The two sections of analyses presented in this chapter have addressed:

- Frequency of self-reported problem behaviour (offending, drug use) amongst young people in Swansea, including highlighting specific offences (e.g. criminal damage) and drugs (e.g. Cannabis) that were more widespread than others in the inventories (section one)
- Mean reporting of issues in the main domains of the questionnaire (attitudes to offending, family, school, neighbourhood, lifestyle, personal) by the whole sample and statistical differences in reporting levels by domain, gender and school year (section one)
- Identification of risk and protective factors in each domain contributing to the statistical prediction of ever and active offending (when all factors were analysed together) within the whole sample, including factors specific to males, females and different school year groups (section two)

This chapter has provided a structured set of analyses to progress understanding of the degree of problematic behaviour of different groups of young people in Swansea and the issues salient to them in the main domains of their lives. Section one unpacked the specific types and levels of problem behaviour reported by young people, along with the relative levels of concern placed in individual issues by the whole sample and its sub-groups. Section two extrapolated these findings through the identification of the specific factors that most influenced reporting of offending

(risk factors) or increased the likelihood of non-offending (protective factors) amongst particular groups. The discussion chapter will move the analyses forward by offering explanations for the findings and placing them in the context of national and international risk and protective factor research.

Chapter Six

Systems Analyses: Narrative Reports of the Contribution of Partner Agencies to Promoting Prevention

Information about the needs of young people in Swansea (identified by the individual study) should be placed in the context of the agencies that exist to serve this population and the relationships between these agencies. This allows the Promoting Prevention Steering Group to use information to assess the range and appropriateness of extant and potential services and systems in relation to identified needs.

A key objective of the Promoting Prevention Steering Group is to produce a dynamic cultural shift within the City and County of Swansea. It is the aspiration of the Steering Group that, ultimately, Promoting Prevention will exist as a strategy *and* a structure, which binds local agencies and individual staff into a co-ordinated, comprehensive and reflexive approach to reducing youth offending and promoting social inclusion. The Steering Group is focused on enfranchising the local youth population and targeting disaffection through measures designed to tackle the causes (not symptoms or consequences) of offending in both universal and targeted ways. This approach stands in stark contrast to much crime prevention, which emphasises punitive approaches (see Cavadino and Dignan 2002) or the actuarial management of populations such as young people (e.g. Feeley and Simon 1994).

A particular problem with the Promoting Prevention approach, therefore, lies in difficulties in conceptual understanding and complexity. For example, it may be difficult for staff to realise their place in such a structure. There are concrete plans, objectives and activities for Promoting Prevention, which the Steering Group wish to bind together into a cohesive strategy see, for example, Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; City and County of Swansea 2003). However, its inherent complexity,

especially when compared to more traditional approaches, remains evident. Therefore, it is both important and necessary for the research to generate information to enable the elucidation of Promoting Prevention structures and processes.

In order to facilitate understanding of the nature of Promoting Prevention, the research pinpointed systems analyses, incorporating narrative reports (identified in 'what works' research as an effective method of eliciting meaningful data from practitioners – see Whyte 2004) and systems mapping, as an appropriate methodology. The aim of the systems analyses were to disseminate and understand the complexity of Promoting Prevention's structures and processes, its partners and affiliated organisations by addressing three key objectives for the research, identified in consultation with the Steering Group:

- 1) to assess the nature and range of initiatives, organisations, policies and individuals contributing to Promoting Prevention
- 2) to access the views of key stakeholders regarding Promoting Prevention and the role of their organisation within it
- 3) to illustrate the nature and extent of multi-agency partnership working and interrelationships within Promoting Prevention

Methodology: Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were chosen as the appropriate research instrument for the systems analyses because they facilitated the requisite *descriptive* study (see, for example, chapter four). A descriptive study could produce data that portrayed an accurate (qualitative) profile of persons, events and situations with regards to Promoting Prevention, supplemented by a straightforward study of the attitudes, values, beliefs and motives of key stakeholders (see also Gilbert 2001; Robson 2002). Interviews were also able to serve an exploratory and grounded purpose (see also chapter seven), finding out what was happening within Promoting Prevention locally, seeking new insights into the initiative and identifying emerging issues and problems relevant to key stakeholders.

Narrative reports of organisational and structural activity within Promoting Prevention were developed from the semi-structured interview process by adapting the methodology of 'grounded theory' (see Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1997, 1998). Grounded Theory is an inductive, organic approach that emphasises the *generation* of information and ideas, rather than attempting to deductively test existing knowledge or theory. The systems analyses of Promoting Prevention were not explicitly seeking to discover and generate actual *theory* from systematically obtaining data, but instead chose to utilise a grounded theory methodology to generate data from key stakeholders which could penetrate the complexities of the initiative. Consequently, the reflexive practice of systems analyses has incorporated 'sense making devices' (narrative reports and maps), to contribute to the construction of the social and organisational realities of Promoting Prevention (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002). The systems analyses underscored the importance of generating quality information about the local context at the implementation stage in devising appropriate crime prevention strategies (as shown by Crawford 1998).

Following extensive consultation with the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and three pilot interviews⁵⁶, the author identified the priority interview questions for key stakeholders as:

- What do you understand by 'Promoting Prevention'?
- What services does your organisation provide to young people in Swansea?
- How do those services fit within Promoting Prevention?
- What is your opinion of Promoting Prevention?
- What do you believe is your organisation's opinion of Promoting Prevention?
- Can you identify other individuals within your organisation who it would be appropriate to interview as part of the evaluation of Promoting Prevention?

⁵⁶ Piloting of interview structure and question content was conducted with the Deputy YOT Manager, a YOT social worker and the Deputy Manager of the Guiding Hand Association.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen because there were key questions that had to be asked to elicit essential information, but a less rigid structure allowed for partners to elaborate upon responses and address issues that may have been more specific or relevant to their organisation. Adapting an inductive grounded theory approach enabled the identification and exploration of emergent themes, categories and issues, thus maintaining the reflexive, developmental emphasis of the research process.

This chapter collates information from the interviews and develops it into descriptive, narrative accounts of the work of each partner agency and the perceptions of key stakeholders as to their respective roles within Promoting Prevention. The narrative exercise is intended to serve as a detailed, qualitative accompaniment to the more analytical mapping exercise described in chapter seven.

Sampling

Initially, a basic sampling frame of Promoting Prevention partners and their respective representatives on the steering group was obtained from the Promoting Prevention co-ordinator (see table 6.1).

Table 6.1: The Promoting Prevention Steering Group

Promoting Prevention Steering Group	
Organisation	Representative
1. City and County of Swansea	Manager - Youth Offending Team
	Assistant Director - Social Services
	Manager - Pupil and Parent Support Unit
	Manager - Community Safety Department
	Training Co-ordinator - Training Centre
2. Local Health Board	Director of Operations
3. Careers Business Company	Business Manager
4. South Wales Police	Community Safety Department Sergeant
5. West Glamorgan Probation Service	Assistant Chief Probation Officer
6. Community Service Volunteers	Volunteer Director
7. Involve	Volunteer Co-ordinator
8. Guiding Hand Association	Manager
9. Prison? Me? No Way!	Wales Co-ordinator
10. University of Wales Swansea	Promoting Prevention researcher

Each of these representatives was then contacted and asked to identify further appropriate individuals within that partner organisation and affiliated local agencies, as a means of 'snowball' or 'network' sampling⁵⁷ (see Gilbert 2001). The identified key individuals were then contacted and interviews were arranged from January to April 2001 at the organisation's offices or at Swansea YOT. In total, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 33 individuals, including representatives from all Promoting Prevention partners (except the University of Wales Swansea, who acted as the external evaluators) and all participating agencies within the City and County of Swansea. A complete list of the stakeholders interviewed is provided in appendix 31.

Stakeholder responses were transcribed verbatim during interview by the researcher. Transcription evidence of the activities of each agency within Promoting Prevention was triangulated with supplementary information from strategic, policy and promotional documents identified by key stakeholders, then collated into narrative reports. A draft report was circulated to all interviewees for critique and corroboration of information. The validated and revised report forms the basis of this chapter.

Methodological issues for the systems analyses: Adapting grounded theory using a network sample

There are some profound methodological issues using the grounded theory methodology that was adapted for the purposes of the systems analyses. Bryant (2002) criticises Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory in particular for:

- Unproblematic conceptualisation of data
- Methodological flexibility that can degenerate into methodological indifference and result in superficial and ambiguous findings

⁵⁷ For example, having interviewed the manager of the Parent and Pupil Support Unit of the local authority Education Department, the manager then recommended that further interviews should be conducted with designated representatives from the Special Educational Needs Service. In contrast, an assistant director of the West Glamorgan Probation service stated that she was the only individual in her organisation involved with Promoting Prevention in any substantive form, so further interviews were unnecessary.

- Over-reliance upon participants' own accounts

Bryant (2002) asserts that, taken together, these criticisms create an irreconcilable tension between grounded theory as positivist and simultaneously qualitative and interpretivist. In response, the evaluation of Promoting Prevention would argue that the systems analyses has adapted a grounded theory that was itself grounded in (unobservable) phenomena (e.g. relationships, perceptions) rather than (observable) data (in accordance with Haig 1996). Consequently, the systems analyses adopted a firmly qualitative stance, which involved a process of engagement and collaborative construction involving knowledgeable social actors (i.e. key stakeholders), their stocks of knowledge and the researcher (see Bryant 2002). Core, unambiguous ideas emerged from the systems analyses that were relevant to and verified by key stakeholders (in line with Glaser 1998). Therefore, the representation of Promoting Prevention achieved through the evaluation was ultimately agreed by stakeholders as a distributed systems phenomenon (cf. Haig 1996).

A modified grounded theory methodology, accounting for the perceptions and beliefs of key stakeholders, is a useful approach to elucidating the structures and process of Promoting Prevention because it is a non-codified and disparate research project. Network sampling was efficacious in identifying contributors to the informal Promoting Prevention partnership (i.e. those participants who were not part of the formal funding application or steering group members), revealing a network of stakeholders that could itself be studied (see Gilbert 2001). However, the network sampling technique rendered the interview sample used for the systems analyses inherently biased. The sample, by its very nature, could only include those within a connected (often self-selected) network of individuals, each of whom made purposive judgements regarding the suitability of other members for research purposes. Responses offered during interview must also be perceived as subjective and tendentious. Similarly, there is a potentially subjective element to the interpretation of responses by the researcher, guided by, *inter alia*, expectation, cultural background and research experience, that must be acknowledged. Throughout this thesis, the author has sought to explicate

this process as one of dialogue rather than dispassionate engagement, in line with the recommendations of Bryant (2002). However, an attempt was made to increase the validity and objectivity of the systems research process by triangulating findings with extant documentary evidence and by providing all narrative reports and maps in advance to stakeholders for verification (Case 2002). Future systems analyses of Promoting Prevention would benefit from a more robust and reliable coding and analysis process using transparent coding categories agreed between several researchers (i.e. inter-rater reliability) within the NVivo qualitative data analysis package.

Underpinning the systems analyses with a modified grounded theory enabled the evaluation to “[t]ake stock of the dynamic relationship between the real activities of individuals” (Bryant 2002: 10) within the complex, informal and non-unified framework of Promoting Prevention structures and processes. Feedback from key stakeholders in Promoting Prevention illustrated that the outcome of the systems research was:

.[u]nderstandable and enlightening to individuals who have some familiarity with the social phenomena under investigation, either as participants or as ‘lay’ observers.” (Turner 1983: 335)

Therefore, utilising a qualitative interpretation of grounded theory enhanced and complemented the scientific approach of the individual study methodologically (see also Bryant 2002).

The consultation of key stakeholders in the form of senior managers, managers *and* practitioners eschews Beck’s unreflexive neglect of grass roots and ground level operations in the generation of systems information (as argued by Lash (1994), in Smart 1999). This form of systems research was also able to account for ‘knowledgeable social actors (within Promoting Prevention) and their stocks of knowledge’ (Bryant 2002: 10).

Narrative reports of activity within Promoting Prevention

The information generated by key stakeholders during the semi-structured interviews is presented below in narrative, descriptive form to offer a general overview and explanation of work within Promoting Prevention. Although many of these organisations and teams exist in other local authorities, it is how they fit into the overall structure of Promoting Prevention that is of interest. Consequently, the mapping exercise (see chapter seven) will elaborate upon these reports by drawing out the links between agencies, initiatives and individuals, then evaluating the extant systems working of Promoting Prevention.

For the purposes of clarity and coherence, the roles and contributions to Promoting Prevention of the partner agencies (as identified by key stakeholders) will be discussed in the order that they appeared on the initial funding proposal accepted by the Youth Justice Board in 1999 (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; see also table 6.1).

1) City and County of Swansea

The local authority is the major funding partner within Promoting Prevention and also contributes the most in terms of resources through the work of the Youth Offending Team (YOT), the Performance and Strategic Planning Division, the Education Department, the Youth Service, the Social Services Department and the City and County of Swansea Training Centre.

The work of each participating local authority department as it relates to Promoting Prevention will now be discussed.

1a) Youth Offending Team

Swansea YOT is a multi-agency team comprising social workers, education workers, police officers, health workers and probation officers, which came into being on April 1, 2000 (see chapter one).

The Youth Justice Plan for the City and County of Swansea states that under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998:

“The prevention of offending by children and young people is the principle duty of the Youth Offending Team and its partner agencies. This involves primary prevention activity, which seeks to stop young people ever becoming involved in offending. Secondary activity which seeks to reduce re-offending in those young people detected at an early stage in an offending career. Thirdly work with persistent offenders which has a focus on reducing the risks of repeat offending through effective community based supervision and co-work with staff within the secure estate for young people serving custodial sentences.” (City and County of Swansea 2003: 4)

It is intended by the UK Government that the skill mix brought together in the creation of Youth Offending Teams will enable more effective methods of intervention to be undertaken than if they were working apart (Crime and Disorder Act 1998; cf. the Promoting Prevention partnership).

The YOT maintains a strong commitment to Promoting Prevention through preventative interventions such as the anger management and self-esteem provision and restorative justice measures, partnership work (including staff secondment and agreements with voluntary service organisations) and retaining a high profile within the Promoting Prevention Steering Group (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999) and the Substance Misuse Action Team Steering Group.

Interviews were conducted with three YOT-based practitioners who work in posts specifically-created by the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and funded by the initiative. The work of the Restorative Justice Co-ordinator, the Education Youth Worker and the Clinical Nurse Specialist is outlined in narrative reports below.

Restorative Justice Co-ordinator

Restorative interventions form a major focus of Promoting Prevention provision, particularly as they relate to the prevention of re-offending under Promoting Prevention. The Restorative Justice Co-ordinator operates in a post funded by Promoting Prevention, coordinating provision structured to enable young people to understand the impact of their offending, to take responsibility for their actions and to enable better targeting of interventions by the YOT following a detailed consideration of the offence.

“It is my responsibility to promote and develop restorative justice practices and principles within the YOT and to provide appropriate training for our (YOT) staff.” (Restorative Justice Co-ordinator)

Restorative provision currently available to the YOT and Promoting Prevention includes victim consultation, direct and community reparation (e.g. Swansea Community Farm), victim awareness exercises/interventions such as the Impact Roadshow (see South Wales Police), Swansea Drugs Project, the YOT anger management and self-esteem course (see below) and volunteer support (e.g. ‘Just Us’ – the YOT-based volunteer support scheme run by Involve; ‘On Line’ – the Community Service Volunteers project – see below).

Education Youth Worker

Match-funding for Promoting Prevention from the Youth Justice Board and the partner agencies has established an Education Youth Worker post (seconded from the Youth Service) to develop universal preventative programmes for young people aged 11-25 in Swansea for multi-agency use. The YOT Manager has now devolved responsibility for the planning and responsibility of preventative programmes to the Education Youth Worker. His current responsibilities and initiatives include:

- Swansea Youth Forum: sitting on the Youth Forum to offer information, training and advice to young people

- Swansea Youth Information Shop: contributing to the strategy of providing high quality information to young people regarding important issues (e.g. housing, sex, employment)
- Splash: coordinating the Splash scheme, aimed at getting young people off the streets through a series of activity-based programmes over the Easter and Summer holidays
- Swansea Youth Achievement Awards: instigating this scheme, which serves as a more flexible (though similar) alternative to the Duke of Edinburgh awards
- Leisure: developing links with the local authority Leisure Department to promote Splash and other positive activities for young people in response to identified need⁵⁸
- Training: training Youth Service staff to facilitate young people's engagement in meaningful and positive activities locally
- Europe: engaging with European partners in similar fields and disseminating strategies to target children at risk
- Leonardo project: developing Youth Offending Team involvement in this European peer education training scheme, then feeding back into Youth Offending Team-led peer educator approaches
- The future: conducting research into the production of a CD resource to illuminate the young person's experience of being processed by the Youth Offending Team; as well as assessing the potential for use of drama, video and music workshops for young people to deliver messages to others

“I view my role as coordinating preventative and protective interventions in the YOT and in schools target education, lifestyle and personal issues that my team identify through consultation with young people.” (Education Youth Worker - YOT)

⁵⁸ An example is the development of the 'Validate' proof of age scheme that allows young people access to local leisure facilities (e.g. sports centres) at a discounted rate.

The Education Youth Worker role has evolved to encompass supervision of four project workers who each take responsibility for a designated intervention (i.e. Splash, Youth Action Partnership – see below, Duke of Edinburgh scheme, peer education initiatives) within Promoting Prevention.

Clinical Nurse Specialist

The Clinical Nurse Specialist (based in the YOT) was seconded to the Youth Offending Team by the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service in January 2000. The post is match-funded by Promoting Prevention partners (particularly the Local Health Board) and the Youth Justice Board (see chapter one). The Clinical Nurse Specialist conducts mental health assessments with youth offenders and young people at risk of offending. Implementation of assessments is monitored by a specially constructed database, operated with assistance from the YOT Information and Data Protection Officer.

Anger management and self-esteem (including 'Flashpoint')

The YOT Clinical Nurse Specialist and YOT Manager established the anger management and self-esteem course in February 2000 (and the accompanying necessity for two project workers – see chapter one) in response to personal/individual issues identified by young people during Promoting Prevention consultation and information-gathering processes.

“I run classes with the help of two project workers (funded by Promoting Prevention) which help young offenders to work through their anger issues and to develop self-control and self-esteem. The (cognitive-behavioural) course consists of gym-based sessions involving physical training to improve their (the young person's) self-control and to teach them to channel their aggression. We follow this with one-to-one discussions to explore the psychological side of their anger issues.” (Clinical Nurse Specialist – YOT)

A 'Flashpoint' element was incorporated in September 2002 which enables local secondary schools to contact the anger management team if a pupil is identified who is 'at risk' of or displaying violent, anger-related behaviour. A member of the anger management team will respond immediately and visit the school to conduct a personalised assessment with the young person as a preventative and/or ameliorative measure.

Youth Action Groups

The Youth Action Group approach involves groups of young people working on preventative and improvement plans within schools, designed to bring these young people into focus on solutions to crime, social awareness and citizenship. The Youth Action Group initiative is run within the Youth Offending Team as part of Promoting Prevention and monitored, steered and facilitated by the Youth Action Partnership.

“There has been significant development of youth participation through the Youth Action Partnership. Over 30 Youth Action Groups were active in Swansea during 2002. They worked on projects of their own design covering many issues relevant to young people as victims of crime as well as crime reduction strategies. We anticipate continued development and growth in peer led crime reduction strategies between 2003-5.” (City and County of Swansea 2003: 4)

The YOT is represented on the Youth Action Partnership by the YOT Police Officer, who is match-funded to Promoting Prevention by South Wales Police, and the YOT Education Youth Worker, who works on a Promoting Prevention-funded secondment from the local Education Department (see above). Youth Action Groups have now been established in 13 of Swansea's 14 secondary schools, eight primary schools, all three local further education colleges, three youth groups and one of the three Pupil Referral Units in Swansea.

The YOT has integrated Promoting Prevention-funded workers to address strategic priority five of the Safer Swansea Plan and Promoting Prevention priorities (see chapter one). Particular focus has been placed upon early preventative work, deterring first time offenders, and prevention of re-offending by persistent offenders. Preventative and ameliorative measures such as restorative justice, the activities co-ordinated by the Education Youth Worker, the anger management and self-esteem course and the statutory provision of final warnings⁵⁹ (under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998) are aimed at keeping young people out of the court system and reducing further offending.

The dynamic findings from the individual study of Promoting Prevention have inspired the creation of a bespoke 'Promoting Prevention' department within Swansea YOT (documented within the Swansea Youth Justice Plan 2003/04 – City and County of Swansea 2003). According to the YOT Manager (who also serves as the co-ordinator of the Promoting Prevention Steering Group):

“Supported by information provided by the evaluation on risk and protective factors linked to the offending of our (YOT) client base, the YOT Steering Group has established a focused team to work alongside existing YOT departments (e.g. remand management team, statutory orders team) and co-ordinate our preventative provision such as restorative justice, anger management and work around Youth Action Groups.”

To further demonstrate how the evaluation has contributed to the development of policy and practice related to Promoting Prevention, the Youth Justice Plan 2003/4 states that “all future spending (on preventative activities by the YOT) will be assessed against a risk and protective factor matrix which the YOT and Swansea University have developed through Promoting Prevention surveys and information derived from the evaluation” (City and County of Swansea 2003: 5).

⁵⁹ A targeted intervention programme given to young people following their second offence or following a very serious first offence.

1b) Performance and Strategic Planning Division

The Performance and Strategic Planning Division aims to promote, develop and support corporate working across the local authority (and with the local authority's partners) to achieve policy innovation and best value in public service for the communities of the City and County of Swansea. The Performance and Strategic Planning Division contributes to Promoting Prevention by coordinating corporate working between council departments and liaising with other voluntary and statutory agencies to create a co-ordinated strategy, policy and practice focus to the work of all agencies providing services to Swansea citizens.

The Performance and Strategic Planning Division has established a system of Corporate Action Teams to address a range of policy issues such as young people's issues, anti-poverty work and customer care, in accordance with the council's established approach of working across traditional departmental boundaries. Each Corporate Action Team seeks to pool people with experience, expertise and enthusiasm for an issue together in one team. The people who work on a team are also those who can make a difference and who can commit resources to an issue. The Corporate Action Team reports to a Member Working Group (from January 2000 reformed as a Policy Development Team) and then to the Council via an appropriate main committee. This enables the policy agenda to be driven by councillors who are well informed by the cross-cutting officer team reporting to them.

Youth Corporate Action Team

In keeping with the local philosophy of youth consultation, the Youth Corporate Action Team (Youth CAT) was established to build a process of ongoing dialogue between young people and service providers, to identify gaps in current provision and determine whether current provision remained relevant to young people. The Youth CAT is a coordinating, overseeing body composed of key officers from several council departments. It meets every six weeks to discuss, with an open agenda, any issues related to youth policy (e.g. the progress of the Youth Forum). The Youth CAT further

emphasises the role of the Performance and Strategic Planning Division as that of policy co-ordination and strategic direction.

In summary, the Performance and Strategic Planning Division contributes to Promoting Prevention in two major ways: co-ordination of partnership working between City & County of Swansea departments, and the promotion of effective youth consultation and involvement through the Youth CAT and associated youth initiatives (e.g. the Youth Forum).

1c) Education Department

The Education Department of the City and County of Swansea "plays a key role in Promoting Prevention by working in partnership with statutory and voluntary agencies to promote the social inclusion of young people." (Pupil and Parent Support Unit Manager). The City and County of Swansea is working towards creating a 'City and County of Learning', so that it can:

- Help people to develop skills, competencies, ideas, and to be creative
- Improve the quality of life
- Support cultural, social, environmental and community development

(City and County of Swansea 2002: 3)

The Education Department contributes directly to the objectives of Promoting Prevention through the work of, *inter alia*, the Parent and Pupil Support Unit, the Education Welfare Service, pupil referral units, the Special Needs Advisory Service and the Behaviour Support Team.

Several sub-departments within the Education Department were identified by the Pupil and Parent Support Unit Manager (the Education Department representative on the Promoting Prevention Steering Group) as contributing to Promoting Prevention.

Representatives were contacted and information obtained through interviews forms the basis of the narrative reports below.

Parent and Pupil Support Unit

The Parent and Pupil Support Unit is responsible for supporting schools, dealing with school exclusions, parental complaints (received by the Education Department and schools) and governor training. The department provides information and guidance on school matters to any interested party. Much of the work of the Parent and Pupil Support Unit is multi-agency, such as partnering the police on truancy initiatives.

The Parent and Pupil Support Unit manager, an original member of the Promoting Prevention working group, sits on a local authority inter-agency group consisting of the Education Department, the Educational Psychology and Formal Assessment Service and the Special Educational Needs Service, which convenes regularly to discuss high-risk, disaffected pupils (e.g. pupils at risk of exclusion or those recently excluded).

“My department had always desired a multi-agency approach to educational issues, but the political structure in the City and County of Swansea simply was not conducive to this until government reorganisation in 1996. This helped us to put in place groundbreaking initiatives such as Promoting Positive Behaviour.” (Pupil and Parent Support Unit Manager)

The Parent and Pupil Support Unit Manager is supportive of Promoting Prevention, believing the initiative to be “the way forward..... it has prompted some notable turnings round in professional attitudes locally.” The Promoting Prevention approach has “a lot to offer” according to the Parent and Pupil Support Unit Manager, who stated that:

“I feel that Promoting Prevention has fostered strong inter-departmental relationships and a willingness amongst partners to make the scheme a success. Promoting Prevention has brought local agencies together to focus

upon what they *can* (emphasis added) do to support children and families, with the result that young people and their parents now feel listened to, through facilitating practices like family group conferencing.⁶⁰

Special Educational Needs Service

The City and County of Swansea operates two special needs services for school pupils: the Educational Psychology Formal Assessment Service⁶⁰ (EPFAS), which plays an assessment role and the Special Educational Needs Service (SENS), which is a pupil support service.

The Special Educational Needs Service seeks to provide a coherent, efficient and flexible professional support service aimed at improving the quality of education for all learners including those with special needs. The City and County of Swansea Education Strategic Plan 2002-05 (City and County of Swansea 2002) sets out the SENS commitment to:

- Working towards an inclusive education system
- Empowering schools, teachers and learners to work towards greater self-sufficiency and independence
- Working in partnership with schools, parents and all special needs organisations (e.g. developing home-school partnerships)

SENS implements a multi-faceted provision based around three specialist teams that focus upon behaviour support, teacher advisers and learning difficulties. These teams offer specialist teachers to schools, as well as educational advice, support, guidance, supervision and training to professionals, voluntary bodies, parents and carers as appropriate. SENS monitors and evaluates pupil progress, with particular emphasis

⁶⁰ A team of educational psychologists providing psychological and behavioural assessments of young people aged 3-19. The focus of this department is upon how young people, parents, teachers and schools can work together to address pupils' problems, usually in the form of in-school interventions.

upon specialist teaching within intervention programmes for pupils at Key Stages 3-5 (i.e. 11–18 years old).

Education Otherwise

All pupils receiving education, but not in school, are said to be receiving 'education otherwise', which is undertaken by a tripartite system of Pupil Referral Units, home tuition and home tuition bases.

Permanently excluded pupils can attend one of Swansea's three *Pupil Referral Units* (primary, lower secondary and upper secondary). Pupil Referral Units in Swansea offer national and alternative curricula, as well as socialisation and behavioural improvement teaching by special needs teachers in a non-school environment. The aim, particularly at Key Stages 1-3 (i.e. primary and lower secondary) is to support pupils and reintegrate them into mainstream provision. However, young people in the upper secondary Pupil Referral Unit are not generally expected by the local authority to return to full-time mainstream provision.

The Special Educational Needs Service also operates *home tuition* bases as an offsite educational provision (e.g. in youth clubs) for groups of excluded young people. If a young person is not subject to a statement of special educational needs, they are legally entitled to 3 hours of education per week (Education Act 2002). However, if young people are grouped within a home tuition base, they are then entitled to provision of 10 hours per week, which can include work experience for pupils aged 14-16 years (Education Act 2002).

Behaviour Support Team

The Behaviour Support Team is an influential body within the Promoting Prevention initiative, working with 6.6 specialist teachers (i.e. 6 full-time, 1 part-time) in Swansea schools.

“Two-thirds of my team’s work is conducted with pupils referred by their school due to emotional and behavioural difficulties. The other third of our work is commissioned by the local education authority to provide education for young people who have been assessed by SENS and given a ‘statement’ of special educational needs.” (Behaviour Support Team Manager)

Interviews with representatives from the Education Department indicated that SENS and the Behaviour Support Team have been integrated within the multi-agency, multiple intervention Promoting Prevention programme, enabling them to access relevant agencies and experts for young people through working relationships that cut across traditional organisational boundaries.

Pastoral Support Programmes

Secondary schools in Swansea can notify the local education authority (LEA) of an ‘at risk’ pupil, who is then placed on a Pastoral Support Programme, which is a time-limited, periodically reviewed support provision. The use of Pastoral Support Programmes has affected a move away from schools/SENS allocating contingency time to work with excluded pupils towards a focus upon working with pupils in schools to *prevent* exclusion. In this way:

“...Pastoral Support Programmes mesh with and impact upon the Promoting Positive Behaviour programme, showing how Promoting Prevention links together provision locally.” (Promoting Positive Behaviour Manager)

Promoting Positive Behaviour

The most prominent and well-developed education-based element of Promoting Prevention is the Promoting Positive Behaviour in Schools initiative. Promoting Positive Behaviour (PPB) operates in all local secondary schools with the objectives of:

- increasing young people’s participation in education, training and employment

- reducing the marginalisation and disengagement of young people, with particular emphasis on reduction of exclusions
- increasing pupil motivation
- improving the framework for whole school approaches to behaviour and discipline
- developing an inclusive culture in schools

(City and County of Swansea 2003a: 3)

This is achieved via the tripartite process of:

- i) in-school strategies and policies (including family group conferencing, action planning, mentoring, independent advocacy for parents)
- ii) management of exclusions
- iii) planning alternative provision (e.g. alternative curriculum and vocational training)

(Haines, Jones and Isles 2001: 2)

PPB is the umbrella term for the promotion of youth inclusion and the prevention of school exclusion in Swansea. In order to foster the policy of educational inclusion, Promoting Prevention supports several universal and targeted projects to facilitate Promoting Positive Behaviour objectives, including:

- Whole school behaviour codes: an outside consultancy, Dynamix, works with all schools on a staff-student process of behaviour code development, culminating in Inter-Schools Parliaments with clusters of schools
- Family Group Conferencing: a gatekeeping system was established to bring all relevant parties together with the aim of working collectively to draw up positive solutions to the commonly identified problems of disaffection and disruptive behaviour in school

- **Action Planning Panel:** a multi-disciplinary panel was formed with the express purpose of making concrete the decisions of the family group conference and to allocate resources in response to the needs of the young person
- **Youth Access Initiative:** a project providing alternative educational services and vocational training to those young people experiencing disaffection with school and the National Curriculum
- **Pupil Referral Unit:** the Social Services and Education departments collaborated on the upper secondary Pupil Referral Unit to target young people who could not be maintained in mainstream provision
- **Community Service Volunteers:** a mentoring scheme to promote home-school partnerships by providing in-school support to staff or pupils, and an out-of-school befriending service to pupils where such services could prevent school breakdown (see below)
- **Teacher training:** courses in effective instructional and classroom management skills run by SENS

(description of services adapted from Haines, Jones and Isles 2001: 2-3)

Consequently, the PPB element of Promoting Prevention has targeted the three areas of contemporary criminality prevention in schools that are identified by Goldblatt and Lewis (1998) as the most promising: school organisation and ethos, anti-bullying⁶¹ and family–school partnerships.

Family Group Conferencing

Family Group Conferencing was established by the Social Service Department of the City and County of Swansea to form an integral part of Promoting Positive Behaviour and it is now a universal provision for secondary school children in Swansea. The Family Group Conferencing process involves all appropriate parties involved in school

⁶¹ Olchfa Comprehensive School's peer mediation scheme was highlighted as an example of good practice by the recent Save the Children report into young people's participation (Treseder and Crowley 2001).

non-attendance or behavioural difficulties (e.g. young person, family, teachers) meet to search for a way to resolve the situation.

The Family Group Conference involves a Family Group Conference Convenor, the young person and their family, school representatives and representatives from other relevant agencies. Participants are given the opportunity to express their views and opinions, with the goal of formulating a clear picture of the young person in the family, school and social context. The aim of the conference is to generate proposals and to assign responsibilities to the young person, their family and professionals in order to resolve the agreed difficulties or to meet identified needs.

Proposals from the Family Group Conference are ratified by a multi-disciplinary Action Planning Panel, which has the authority to commit resources to ameliorate the situation.

Local evaluation has established that family group conferencing can increase the chances of reintegrating pupils into the school by restoring the connection between non-attender and school or other educational provision (see Haines et al 2001). The same local research demonstrated that the Action Planning Panel was an effective mechanism for targeting service delivery (see Haines et al 2001).

The Education Department plays a vital role in the delivery of Promoting Prevention. The department is supportive of the initiative through its sub-divisions of the Parent and Pupil Support Unit, SENS and the provision of an Education Youth Worker to the YOT, as well as serving as the lead partner within the multi-agency, multiple intervention PPB initiative.

1d) Social Services Department

The Social Services Department is an influential partner agency within Promoting Prevention, contributing to the initiative through the work of two departmental teams; the Child and Family Support Team and the Child and Adolescent Support Team.

Child and Family Support Team

Serving the overall remit of supporting and maintaining families in the community and to prevent family breakdown, the team offers specialist services that can be accessed individually or as a package. Services include rehabilitation (prevents family breakdown through risk minimisation), flexible home support (short-term crisis intervention and practical support) and supervised contact (facilitates supervised contact between parent(s) and vulnerable children). The team offers specialist support county wide and is accessed by all child-care teams plus any other social workers and health professionals. Close links and inter-agency co-operation are fostered with Promoting Prevention partners such as the YOT, the Local Health Board and associated voluntary services.

Child and Adolescent Support Team

The Child and Adolescent Support Team (C.A.S.T.) is a support service (i.e. does not have case responsibility), accepting referrals from Social Services Case Management Teams.

C.A.S.T. provides three basic services:

1. Individual packages of support to prevent children aged 8 to 16 being accommodated (i.e. entering the care system)
2. Support for family placements on the verge of breakdown
3. Rehabilitation programmes for children returning home from care

(City and County of Swansea 2002a: 14)

Both the Child and Family Team and C.A.S.T. have been developed within the Promoting Prevention framework.

“The teams provide systems offering financial and material support, child care, emergency day care and health care services, family planning advice, crisis intervention, counselling and temporary respite to provide a coherent and comprehensive package of services. These services are of course designed to meet needs and promote the well-being of children and families in Swansea.” (Assistant Director of Social Services)

Within the Promoting Prevention framework, social services interventions are also designed to reduce risk factors and increase protective factors known to relate to problem behaviours such as offending, drug use and school exclusion (see also Graham and Utting 1994).

Interviews with key stakeholders within the local authority Social Services Department (e.g. the Assistant Director, the Family Group Conference Co-ordinator) elucidated the department’s commitment to providing corporate solutions to problems beyond the specifications of individual departments. For example, the Assistant Director of Social Services (an original member of the Promoting Prevention Working Group and a member of the Steering Group) explained:

“My responsibility to Promoting Prevention and that of my department is to make things happen corporately and to overlap with the Education Department and other local authority departments to provide a network of services.”

Social Services representatives viewed Promoting Prevention as an exciting and rewarding initiative that enables departments to cross inter-agency frontiers and work together in complex ways (e.g. managerial, financial) to achieve a common goal. Practitioners and managers asserted through interview that Promoting Prevention has “demolished previous working barriers in the City and County of Swansea and altered people’s view of the Social Services department” (Assistant Director of Social Services). The Social Services Department believes that it “now has a good

relationship with other departments/agencies and is now seen as a more approachable, corporate player” (Family Group Conference Convenor).

1e) Swansea Youth Service

Through the secondment of an Education Youth Worker to the YOT as part of Promoting Prevention, the local youth service contributes to several universal schemes for local young people from 11 to 25 years of age. Examples of available services that sit within Promoting Prevention’s ethos of universal provision, social inclusion and consultation are detailed above (see Education Youth Worker).

The Youth Service views itself as:

“...a diverse and versatile organisation, capable of targeting the areas of social inclusion, young people ‘at risk’ (of exclusion, offending) and improving school standards as part of Promoting Prevention.” (Youth Service Manager)

Managers and practitioners felt that the work of the local Youth Service within Promoting Prevention was facilitated by the voluntary nature of the youth worker-young person relationship, which produced a less forced dynamic shrouded in suspicion (cf. young people’s relationships with other Promoting Prevention partners such as social workers and the South Wales Police). The Youth Service Manager asserted that “the Youth Service has the potential to offer a far broader provision to contribute to Promoting Prevention, but this has not been achieved due to a shortfall in youth worker numbers in Wales.” However, as an integral part of Promoting Prevention, new opportunities were emerging for the Youth Service to participate in inter-agency, cross-cutting working relationships as a means of more effectively deploying existing (limited) resources and also expanding the scope of their activities.

1f) City and County of Swansea Training Centre

The City & County of Swansea Training Centre is a Promoting Prevention partner agency aiming to facilitate educational inclusion via alternative curriculum provision

and economic inclusion through vocational training for young people aged 14-19. The centre offers a variety of youth provision as an alternative to formal education for disaffected young people who have been excluded from school or who are at risk of exclusion. For example, the Youth Access Initiative is available to all young people needing education, training or employment who have been excluded from school or who are at risk of exclusion, as identified by schools or the Youth Offending Team. Consequently, the Youth Access Initiative functions as an alternative to school exclusion.

“We enable them (young people) to be exempted from school for half a day to five days at a time. We providing them with life skills, training and employment opportunities such as work experience with local companies and education.” (City and County of Swansea Training Centre Training Co-ordinator)

2) Local Health Board

The National Health Service has a role in Promoting Prevention and the Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy (Safer Swansea) as a universal service that reaches all sectors of the population. Many young people who offend experience or have experienced poor health and they are also more likely than their peers to take drugs, drink alcohol, smoke, have a poor diet, experience mental and sexual health problems, and become teenage parents (Rutter, Giller and Hagell 1998). The Local Health Board takes the lead role in coordinating action to improve health and ensure effective and efficient health services.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 required all health authorities in England and Wales to cooperate with local authorities, the police and probation service to provide and implement local strategies for crime and disorder, as well as cooperating in the establishment of Youth Offending Teams. There is a statutory requirement for health staff to be provided to Youth Offending Teams to ensure the physical and mental needs of young offenders are addressed and to provide advice on healthy lifestyle

issues. The Local Health Board in Swansea contributes to Promoting Prevention through a focus upon young people with mental illness and/or drugs/alcohol problems, including seconding a Clinical Nurse Specialist from the Child and Adolescent Health Service to the Youth Offending Team (see above – Clinical Nurse Specialist section). The Local Health Board recognises that it has not made a full contribution to the crime and disorder agenda in Swansea (including Promoting Prevention).

“This has largely been due to uncertainty regarding our role in the (Promoting Prevention) process⁶². However, the Board has developed a solid working relationship with Promoting Prevention and it has made a significant contribution to the establishment of Swansea Youth Offending Team.” (Local Health Board Director of Operations)

In addition to the secondment of the Clinical Nurse Specialist, the Local Health Board participates in the Substance Misuse Action Team (see below).

Substance Misuse Action Team (SMAT)

The SMAT (formerly known as the Local Advisory Team on Substance Misuse or LAT), was established in May 1996, one month after local government and health authority reorganisation. As the SMAT, the council, police, health authority and other agencies with an interest in substance misuse, work together to produce and implement an achievable *Substance Misuse Action Plan* to address substance misuse.

The Substance Misuse Action Plan 2004-2005 (SMAT 2004) to combat drug and alcohol misuse contains the following targets:

- to establish a co-ordinated approach to substance misuse education/prevention for all age groups
- to reduce levels of offending amongst people misusing substances

⁶² Explored more fully in chapter seven.

- to consolidate existing treatment services

The SMAT has identified the need for all agencies to work together to enhance the range of services (from prevention to treatment) available to young drug misusers, using an evidence-based approach.

3) Careers Business Company

The Careers Business Company works with Promoting Prevention by “offering careers guidance and information for young people in Swansea, thus promoting opportunities for training, employment and economic inclusion” (Career Business Company Manager).

The Careers Business Company works closely with other partnership agencies (e.g. schools, Youth Offending Team) to engage all young people aged 11-18 in Swansea (including disaffected and disengaged young people) in training and employment through the provision of two main projects; Education Business Links and the Youth Gateway. The Education Business Link scheme:

“...forges strong relationships between local employers and schools/colleges by supervising and supporting provision such as work experience, curriculum support and mentoring.” (Careers Business Company 2003: 3)

The Youth Gateway offers additional support to all young people aged 16-18 who have an identified need for and capacity to benefit from their broad range of services. The services provided are aimed at addressing the individual needs of these young people prior to and during training, employment or education, such as basic skills tuition, relationship building and budgetary advice.

Since becoming a Promoting Prevention partner, the Careers Business Company has recognised the need to address elements additional to its traditional service provision,

such as social, educational and behavioural issues, when working with the minority of disaffected, disengaged and marginalised young people.

“As a service provider and Promoting Prevention partner, we (the Careers Business Company) now aim to meet the needs of all local young people by encouraging them to overcome training and employment barriers (through individual assessments and guidance to appropriate provision), so that they can be deterred or removed from an offending pathway”. (Careers Business Company Manager)

4) South Wales Police

South Wales Police (in the form of the Community Safety Department) contributes to Promoting Prevention and the prevention of youth offending through “building links with local schools and adopting problem solving and preventative approaches to many crime-related issues” (South Wales Police Community Safety Sergeant). Police action at the local level is largely at the discretion of community officers and their section inspectors. A diverse range of preventative interventions provided by the South Wales Police Community Safety Department. For example:

Impact Roadshow

Officers from the Community Safety department visit groups of young people (primarily in schools) to carry out the ‘Impact Roadshow’ initiative, which involves showing young people a video of a car crash caused by joy riders. Young people are then divided into groups to discuss the impact of the crash on the individuals in the video. As well as operating in schools, the Youth Offending Team can refer young people to the Impact Roadshow.

Prince's Trust

Officers are deployed by South Wales Police with the remit of targeting young people for participation in the Prince's Trust scheme(s). These schemes consist of community-based, problem solving and team activities based within workshops,

activity centres etc. (similar to the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme – see the Youth Service and the Youth Access Initiative sections). The Princes Trust targets young people in disadvantaged areas, referred (voluntarily) by Community Safety officers, schools, the Youth Offending Team and the Employment Service.

Drugs Awareness Package

A drugs awareness package for police to take into Swansea schools and youth clubs is in the development stages, having been piloted in a local comprehensive school and a local youth club. The South Wales Police are working with other agencies to discuss the optimal method of delivering drugs education within schools.

According to the Community Safety Department Sergeant, the South Wales Police views Promoting Prevention as being aimed at the right people:

“We (the South Wales Police) acknowledge the difficulty in pulling young people in from the wrong tracks, but believe that offering young people appropriate pro-social values and an opportunity to recognise the consequences of their actions will produce benefits.” (Community Safety Department Sergeant)

However, the South Wales Police also concedes that the vast majority of police officers may not have come into contact with Promoting Prevention (unless they are parents or have visited schools), so are likely to possess little knowledge of the ethos or operation of the scheme. According to the police representative, this is potentially problematic for Promoting Prevention. For example:

“...custody sergeants may misinterpret or be ignorant of the ethos of restorative justice when issuing final warnings.” (Community Safety Department Sergeant)

The police representatives interviewed recognised that all agencies in Swansea, including the South Wales Police, have now “moved away from a perceived autonomous stance and are happy to work together when dealing with young offenders. Consequently, the police believe that they play an active and practical part in the Promoting Prevention approach” (YOT Police Officer).

5) West Glamorgan Probation Service

The West Glamorgan Probation Service addresses the ‘prevention of re-offending’ element of Promoting Prevention through the effective throughcare and supervision of offenders by staff seconded to Swansea YOT.

Although primarily an organisation that works with identified offenders, West Glamorgan Probation Service also supports and seeks involvement in appropriate preventative services, such as restorative justice interventions and the anger management and self-esteem course available through the YOT as part of Promoting Prevention. An Assistant Chief Probation Officer serves as the Probation representative on the Promoting Prevention Steering Group. Probation has a major role to play in Promoting Prevention as one of the four statutory partners (see chapter one).

An interview with an Assistant Chief Probation Officer indicated that West Glamorgan Probation Service view Promoting Prevention as having been effective in supporting multi-agency working:

“Promoting Prevention is a superb initiative, which has enabled collaboration and partnership working in an effort to undermine the previously antiquated system of isolated agencies in Swansea, where progress and resource sharing was dependent upon the personalities of senior management.....Promoting Prevention has brought services together with a collective willingness to recognise and overcome problems (e.g. procedural difficulties in staff appointments) and make the project work.”

6) Community Service Volunteers 'On Line'

The Community Service Volunteers (CSV) 'On Line' scheme provides in-school support to staff and pupils, and an out of school befriending service to pupils where such services could prevent school breakdown. Also, non-professional, informal input is offered to young people at risk of exclusion. The CSV 'On Line' scheme is designed to address several risk factors for youth offending established by research, including alienation, academic failure, low school commitment, and association with offending peers (see also Graham and Bennett 1995).

Funding for Promoting Prevention from the Youth Justice Board and the Promoting Prevention partners (notably the Careers Business Company) to cover administration costs and expenses has established two volunteer posts within 'On Line'. Full-time volunteers act as mentors and young adult role models to young people who have been excluded from school or who are at risk of exclusion and who may also have an offending background, offering support, understanding, help and guidance.

Interviews with CSV representatives emphasised the organisation's belief in the effectiveness of Promoting Prevention.

"The benefits of Promoting Prevention's working practices have been reaped by bringing diverse agencies together to work towards a common goal of preventing youth offending." (CSV Volunteer Director)

In particular, the CSV stressed the importance of partnership between voluntary and statutory agencies, as this strengthens working practices locally.

7) Involve 'Just Us'

The Involve 'Just Us' programme delegates local adult volunteers to work with disaffected from school and young people at risk of problem behaviours (e.g. offending, drug use, school exclusion) to help them to develop positive relationships.

Just Us offers in-school support to staff and pupils, an out of school befriending service to pupils where such services could prevent school breakdown, and liaison between the home, school and local agencies, so promoting family-school partnerships.

Funding for Promoting Prevention has helped to establish a 'Just Us' volunteer co-ordinator, based in Swansea YOT, who monitors project implementation through an electronic database incorporating process and outcome evaluation (e.g. volunteer and young person satisfaction questionnaires).

The Involve practitioner interviewed (who is a member of the original Promoting Prevention working group) reiterated the Community Service Volunteers' belief in the importance of partnership between the voluntary and statutory agencies within Promoting Prevention.

"Promoting Prevention provides a comprehensive, co-ordinated approach to youth crime prevention. Promoting Prevention-funded positions within the YOT are developmental roles that should be utilised to facilitate liaison and links with forums and current service providers, address and raise awareness of youth issues, and deliver services in a youth-friendly way." (Involve Volunteer Co-ordinator)

However, Involve asserts that Promoting Prevention has only 'started the ball rolling' on crime prevention locally and that there is much more to be done.

8) Guiding Hand Association

The Guiding Hand Association (GHA) is a registered charity and Promoting Prevention partner offering vocational (e.g. National Vocational Qualification), educational (e.g. open college), recreational and social skills courses/programmes to educationally and socially excluded, disaffected and disadvantaged young people. Originally established as a collection of motor maintenance projects, the Guiding Hand Association now

provides for many categories of need amongst young people, including empathy, support, friendship and skills development. In September, 2003, the GHA received a grant of £220,000 from the Community Fund and the National Lottery to continue its work in 'promoting healthy and independent living' amongst disadvantaged young people in Swansea.

The GHA Manager believes that "becoming a partner within Promoting Prevention has helped the organisation (GHA) to undermine the roots of crime and social dysfunction in young people in Swansea". This impact has been achieved in partnership with regular referring agencies (e.g. the YOT and the YAI) by emphasising individual attention within its courses and by providing recreational activities which divert the young person's energies towards creative new interests and constructive use of leisure time. As such, the GHA has become "an enabling initiative as part of Promoting Prevention through making young people aware of how to meet their needs" (GHA Manager).

9) Prison? Me? No Way!

According to the Youth Justice Plan for the City and County of Swansea:

"Prison! Me! No Way!, managed jointly by Youth Offending Team and Prison Service staff, is delivered at the Youth Offending Team, to local schools and youth groups." (City and County of Swansea 2003: 5).

The Prison? Me? No Way! (PMNW) roadshow deals with issues surrounding crime and its consequences, particularly imprisonment. PMNW is attended by school pupils, disaffected youth, real victims of crime, serving prisoners, prison officers, police and judges, using drama, live sound and vision satellite links, pop music, drug agencies and much more. Trained PMNW facilitators visit over 2000 pupils per year in the catchment area of Swansea prison.

As a Promoting Prevention partner agency (co-ordinated by the YOT Deputy Manager), the PMNW roadshow is available to young people who are referred by YOT practitioners, youth workers and schools.

Conclusion

Semi-structured interviews indicated that elements of reflection and self-evaluation have been incorporated within the continuity of everyday Promoting Prevention activities to the extent that agents (partners), when asked, were able to provide discursive interpretations of the nature and context of their behaviour (cf. Giddens 2002). Interviews identified that the objectives of Promoting Prevention have become increasingly shared by staff from departments, units and schools from across the authority⁶³. Promoting Prevention is generally conceived of as a joint venture in which a disparate range of committed staff engage philosophically, in which they participate and for which they mobilise their respective resources, thus ensuring programme integrity (see also Raynor 2002). However, a number of issues have been identified through interviewing that necessitate the immediate attention of the Promoting Prevention Steering Group (particularly the coordinating YOT manager), concerning partnership structure, transparency of activity, co-ordination and sustainability (see chapter seven).

The generation of narrative reports through semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders within the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and partnership agencies has illustrated the multi-agency, cross-cutting activity within the programme. The reports serve as a useful descriptive, qualitative supplement to the analytical mapping procedure that will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁶³ Although there were consistent examples of agencies and individuals participating in the scheme with differing and even incompatible agendas, such as the traditional (yet reforming) police emphasis upon enforcement or the health authority prioritisation of treatment models, rather than adopting a mainly preventative agenda.

Chapter Seven

Systems Analyses: Mapping the Promoting Prevention Partnership

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group and the partnership agencies have aspirations that Promoting Prevention as an entity will become more than just a programme of criminality prevention initiatives housed within a multi-agency, cross-cutting partnership project. It aims to exist as a philosophy and commitment to higher principles, recognising the universal rights and responsibilities of young people within a framework of entitlement, empowerment, and engagement (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999).

Chapter six presented the findings from the semi-structured interviews that underpinned the systems analyses in the form of narrative reports describing the activity of each Promoting Prevention partner agency and how they view their role within Promoting Prevention. This chapter will develop the systems analyses process by producing systems maps to supplement the qualitative, narrative reports on the role and functions of organisations contributing to the Promoting Prevention initiative. The key objectives of the systems mapping exercise were:

Objectives

- to construct a series of targeted systems maps to elucidate the cross-cutting, multi-agency, interdependent partnership working within the scheme
- to provide a pictorial, graphic illustration of the nature and extent of multi-agency working and interrelationships within the initiative, thus reflecting the integrated, mainstreaming project nature

The purpose of using an adapted grounded theory approach for the mapping exercise will be explained in the first part of this chapter. This will be followed by an outline of the procedure used to construct the maps. Finally, there will be a discussion of

emergent issues for the Promoting Prevention partnership illuminated by the systems analysis process (narrative reports and mapping).

Grounded theory enabled systems analyses (of Promoting Prevention) to be grounded in the construction of concepts in experience and information gained directly from key stakeholders in the social setting (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002), rather than relying upon verifying existing theories (see Pawson and Tilley 1998).

Adapting grounded theory to produce systems maps

The grounded methodology introduced in chapter six can be used to study social institutions of any size, typically involving "...comparisons between large-scale social institutions..." (Glaser and Strauss 1967:21), particularly organisations (e.g. Promoting Prevention partner agencies), institutions, regions and nations. This methodology promotes the fullest generality for use on social units of any size, large or small (e.g. organisations map, committees map) and ranging from individuals to their roles (e.g. individuals map). The level of generality afforded highlights the usefulness of the grounded theory method for outlining the complex interrelations between organisational units within the multi-agency, multiple intervention Promoting Prevention programme and identifying the categories and properties of the initiative (see also Strauss and Corbin 1998). Therefore, the production of systems maps facilitates an understanding of the emergent research situation (see Dick 2002) through explanations of categories, properties and the relationships among between them (see Carvalho and Hudson 1998). This fulfils a main objective of the Promoting Prevention systems analyses:

- to illustrate the multi-agency partnership working and interrelationships between different elements of Promoting Prevention, as identified by key stakeholders

Using inductive, open-ended interviews as the conduit to information to facilitate systems mapping also allows the research to highlight possible weaknesses and

limitations in existing Promoting Prevention systems as they emerge in conversation with stakeholders. These weaknesses and limitations enable an evaluation of the congruence between the steering group's aspirations for partnership working and the reality of the local situation.

Mapping procedure

A list of the ten partner agencies within Promoting Prevention was obtained from the original funding application to the Youth Justice Board. These were listed in the previous chapter.

The City and County of Swansea is the lead partner organisation in terms of financial and resource commitment, contributing well over half of the local funding for Promoting Prevention. Swansea Council is also the initiating agency and the central driving force behind the initiative, in the form of the Youth Offending Team (YOT) Manager. Therefore, the City and County of Swansea is positioned at the top of each map to underscore its prominence within the partnership and is directly connected to the Promoting Prevention initiative via a vertical line that bisects each map (see figure 7.1 below and appendices 50-53). The City and County of Swansea was then linked to its relevant subsidiary departments within Promoting Prevention (i.e. Community Safety, YOT, Social Services, Education, Training Centre).

The systems diagrams (maps) were developed through 33 semi-structured interviews conducted from January to April 2002 with senior representatives, operational managers and ground-level practitioners from every partner agency (see appendix 31 for a list of interviewees and their respective positions). This process obtained information regarding the function and duties of the particular organisation, its operational structure, how it interrelates with other agencies, and its conception of and perceived position within Promoting Prevention (see chapter six). This adapted the specific grounded methodology of Glaser and Strauss (1967), in which every organisation is visited and a more holistic view of the project becomes accessible. Each organisation was then positioned selectively within the map to afford relevant

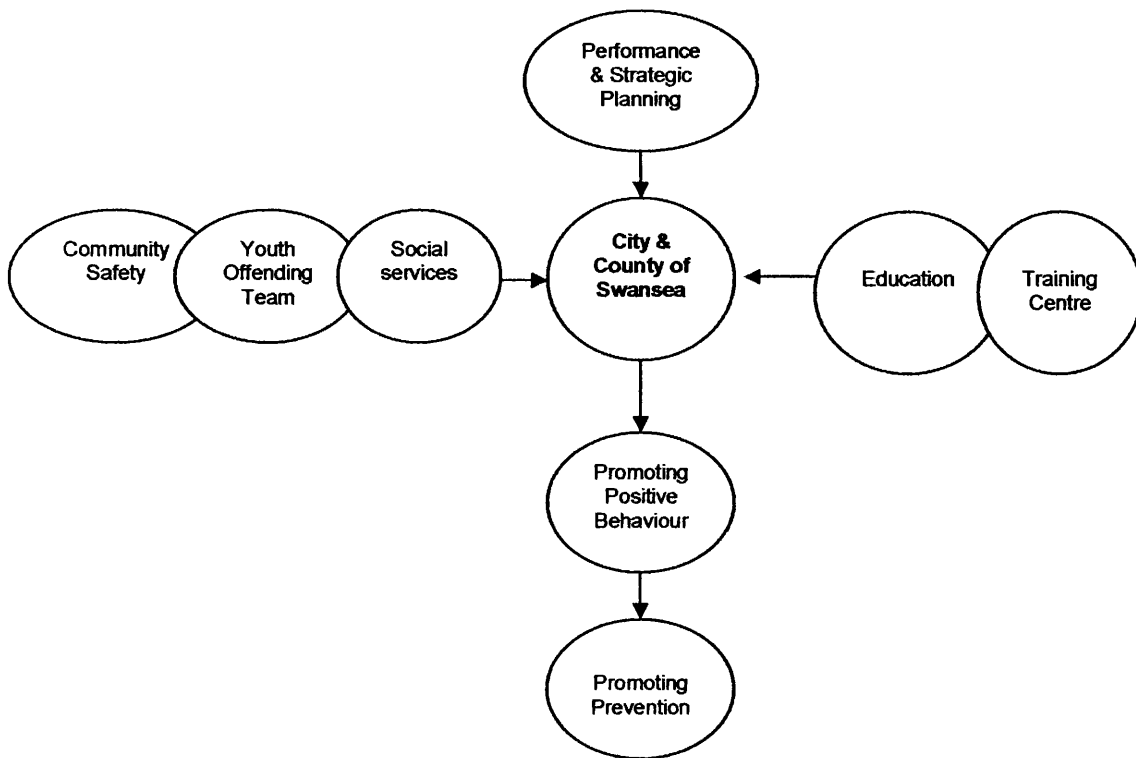
and clear connections between their work and that of closely related agencies. For example, Promoting Positive Behaviour was positioned near to the Education department (as it is a school-based initiative), as was the Careers Business Company (due to its Education Business Links facility). The Youth Service stands in close proximity to the Youth Access Initiative (because of its commitment to the training of other service providers), which itself is positioned close to the Guiding Hand Association (as both offer vocational training).

Draft systems maps were produced and forwarded to Promoting Prevention Steering Group members for critique and validation. The verification process facilitated continual reflexive revision, modification and amendment of the systems maps until all of the new units of information were placed in their appropriate categories (see also Carvalho and Hudson 1998). In addition, each map was amenable to ongoing modification from the moment it was first completed, enabling information to be added, edited or withdrawn at any time, further emphasising the dynamic, reflexive nature of Promoting Prevention (see also Carvalho and Hudson 1998; Bleakley 1999). The reflexive critique and modification of the systems maps through consultation with Promoting Prevention partners embedded a 'realistic' evaluation paradigm (see also Pawson and Tilley 1998). The maps were generated synergistically between the researcher and key stakeholders, producing information that was valid and relevant to the local context, whilst encouraging stakeholder ownership of the research process. This reflexive critique was intended to help administrators (e.g. senior managers, practitioners) to question the established assumptions and presuppositions undergirding current organisational practices within Promoting Prevention, thereby opening them to new discourse, evaluation and change (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002).

To facilitate the methodological construction of the maps, constant comparison of Promoting Prevention partners focused upon their many similarities (e.g. membership of the same committee) and differences (e.g. differing levels of responsibility within Promoting Prevention initiatives), which, in turn, generated new categories and their

properties. Comparison of group similarities and differences also identified relations among them that were verified in the course of research through interviews and feedback from key stakeholders. Therefore, the research process began in a 'confused state' of noting practically everything observed because it all appeared significant, but then developed into a more purposeful exercise (as Glaser and Strauss 1967). Accumulating interrelations between categories and groups formed an integrated central practical framework, which served as the 'core' of the emerging account of the complex concept that is Promoting Prevention (see also Haig 1996; Dick 2002). In the case of the mapping exercise, the 'core' can be perceived as the initial City and County of Swansea structure (i.e. the Performance and Strategic Planning Division Department placed above the City and County of Swansea, which itself sits above its relevant departments) leading into the Promoting Positive Behaviour initiative and eventually Promoting Prevention itself. Establishing this core provided a guide to further data collection and analysis, which prompted the rapid crystallisation of a research framework and the emergence of categories (e.g. relevant organisations), all of which aimed to facilitate understanding of Promoting Prevention by professionals and practitioners working within or affiliated to the initiative. A pictorial representation of the core of the maps is presented below. Figure 7.1 illustrates that the City and County of Swansea is the major contributor to the multi-agency Promoting Positive Behaviour (PPB) and Promoting Prevention initiatives and that five key agencies sit at the heart of this contribution, with this body of work being overseen by the Performance and Strategic Planning Department.

Figure 7.1: An outline example of the core of Promoting Prevention



As stated above, a series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders in Promoting Prevention (see chapter six and appendix 31) to facilitate the completion of descriptive, narrative reports and systems maps. Initially, all data relating to organisational activity, documents, committees and individuals was placed within a single systems map. However, this map proved to be too detailed for ready comprehension, thus reinforcing the complex social reality of Promoting Prevention, which incorporates stratification into individual, group, institutional and societal layers (see also Robson 2002). Therefore, it was decided that for the purposes of context and clarity, it was appropriate to produce four further category maps that subdivided the structures of Promoting Prevention into:

- *Organisations and initiatives* affiliated with and/or contributing to the project
- *Committees* feeding into the philosophy and objectives of Promoting Prevention's management

- *Policy documents* underpinning the aims and objectives of Promoting Prevention at a local and national level
- *Individuals* employed by, contributing to and supporting the initiative

Although, in reality, these structures cannot and do not operate independently, the divisions rendered Promoting Prevention conceptually easier to understand as a system. In particular, the structures were compatible with Lander and Booty's 'levels of analysis' perspective, which recommends that effective partnership working should prioritise organisational and interpersonal relationships, as well as focusing on individuals within partnerships (Lander and Booty 2002).

An initial narrative report outlining the work of all participating agencies and including the systems maps was forwarded for comment, verification and amendment to all key individuals within Promoting Prevention. Each narrative outline and map was edited following feedback from key stakeholders and a final agreement upon their structure and content was obtained.

The initial systematic discovery of a valid and accurate working model of the cross-cutting Promoting Prevention programme illuminated relevant 'categories' for further investigation (e.g. individuals, committees). Adapting the grounded theory method facilitated the production of targeted processual accounts that *fit* or *work* for specific substantive categories (e.g. documents) because they were amenable to further testing, clarification and reformulation throughout the discovery process (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Therefore, the processual maps of Promoting Prevention can be reformulated and modified, but are built to last (see also Glaser and Strauss 1967).

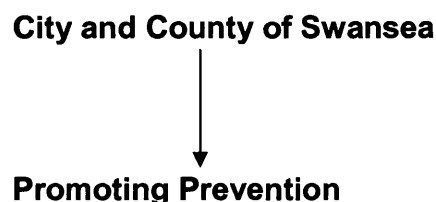
How the systems maps work

The four systems maps are presented in appendices 50-53. A key to the abbreviations and initials used throughout the maps is given in appendix 32.

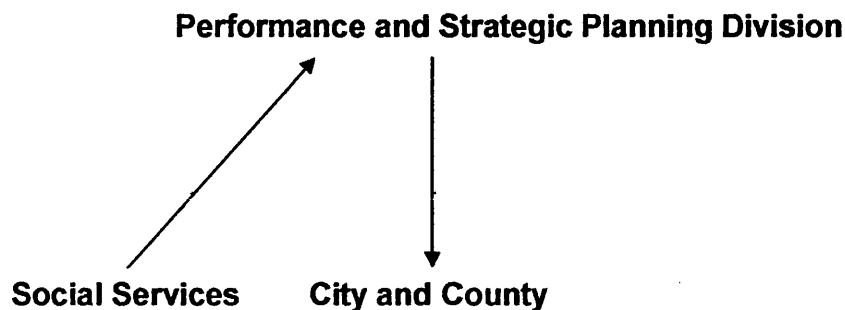
Each distinct organisation, initiative, policy document and committee was circled within the body of the map, whilst individuals were placed in boxes. Partner agencies within Promoting Prevention were signified by a bold number in brackets next to their name, indicating their position on the initial Promoting Prevention bid to the Youth Justice Board (see chapter six). The four systems maps retain a comparable structure, underpinned by the largest partner agency, the City and County of Swansea (partner number one) is positioned in the centre at the top, Promoting Positive Behaviour is positioned in the centre of the map and Promoting Prevention in the bottom centre. The City and County of Swansea sits on a horizontal line, flanked to the left (from the reader's perspective) by its subsidiary departments of Social Services, the Youth Offending Team, and the Community Safety department (in that order) and to the right by the Education department and the City and County of Swansea Training Centre. The Performance and Strategic Planning Division stands above the City and County of Swansea box to indicate its supervisory and directive, corporate co-ordination role over the individual City and County of Swansea departments.

Each contributory element to Promoting Prevention (i.e. organisations, initiatives, committees, documents, individuals) has been joined to its relevant, connected elements (e.g. other organisations it maintains a working relationship with) using straight lines. Arrows within these straight lines indicate the direction (or nature) of the relationship.

- For example, the City and County of Swansea is a *member of* (i.e. is part of) the Promoting Prevention Steering Group, so the arrow leads from City and County of Swansea to Promoting Prevention. This indicates that the City and County of Swansea services feed into the larger, superordinate Promoting Prevention structure.



- The Performance and Strategic Planning Division is a *member of* the City and County of Swansea (therefore the arrow points *from* The Performance and Strategic Planning Division *to* the City and County of Swansea) but supervises Social Services (so the arrow points *from* Social Services *to* The Performance and Strategic Planning Division). Therefore, arrows can indicate the direction of a **subordinate** relationship, with one agency feeding into and contributing to the work of another.



- Examples of reciprocal relationships (depicted by a double-headed arrow) include those between the YOT and Prison? Me? No Way! (see organisations map), PPB and schools (see Committees map), Social Services and the Community Service Volunteers, and the YOT, Community Safety and University of Wales Swansea (see individuals map). In other words, they work together and inform one another, but retain independent operative status.

However complex each map appears at first glance, it is essential to trace every element back to Promoting Prevention. The maps are not intended as (processual) flowcharts, but rather they seek to illuminate the multi-agency, cross-cutting and often complex nature of relationships within Promoting Prevention. As stated, appendix 32 provides a useful key to the various initials and acronyms used throughout the maps. To further elucidate Promoting Prevention processes and to facilitate the ready comprehension of the narrative reports and mapping exercises, work within the

Promoting Prevention programme was outlined in narrative form initially (see chapter six), then supplemented with reference to the individual maps. The four different thematic maps are discussed below.

Organisations and initiatives map (see appendix 36)

This map displayed the continuity and overlap between Promoting Positive Behaviour and Promoting Prevention. Both projects are led by the City and County of Swansea and involve many of the same contributory agencies. Links within the organisations map aim to emphasise the strong (reciprocal) working relationships between the departments within the City and County of Swansea, as well as between the University of Wales Swansea and the City and County of Swansea (particularly the YOT and Community Safety), and the Youth Access Initiative and the Guiding Hand Association.

The departments within each partner agency that are most relevant to Promoting Prevention were highlighted. For instance, Promoting Prevention is served by Child and Family Services (including the Family Group Conference Unit, the Family Support and Disability Team and the Child and Adolescent Support Team) within Social Services, the Community Safety Department of the South Wales Police, and the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service of the Local Health Board. This was a particularly important process with regards to the relevant subdivisions of the Education Department (including the Educational Psychology and Formal Assessment Team, the Special Needs Advisory Service, the Parent and Pupil Support Team, the Youth Service), each of which play a crucial role in elements closely related to Promoting Prevention such as PPB, the Schools into Communities scheme, various committees (see committees map) and secondary schools themselves.

The organisations map highlighted the extent to which local structures can impact upon effective partnership working (see Lander and Booty 2002). It identified Promoting Prevention as a 'local authority based' model of partnership (see also Morgan Report 1991), with leadership from the City and County of Swansea.

Although the local authority retains a dominant role within the partnership, Promoting Prevention is characterised by 'multi-agency' collaboration (see also Crawford 1998).

When considered in conjunction with the description of agency services offered by the narrative report, the organisations map was intended to enable local organisations to develop a wider view of available services and perceive the potential of Promoting Prevention (see also Lander and Booty 2002).

Committees map (see appendix 33)

The systems mapping of the apparent myriad of committees with connections to and affiliations with Promoting Prevention sought to identify exactly how and through which agencies the committees link in with the initiative.

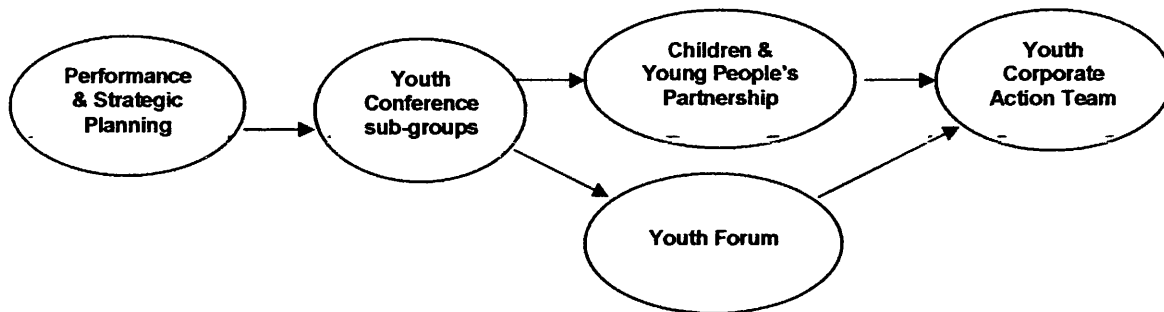
The committees map focused upon the four main thematic areas around which committees are formed locally:

- **Young people's consultation** – Youth Conference sub-groups, the Youth Forum, the Children and Young People's Partnership, the Youth Corporate Action Team, Youth Action Groups
- **Special Educational Needs Service (SENS)** – the Behaviour Support Team, the Exclusion Forum, the Action Planning Panel
- **Drugs** – the Substance Misuse Action Team
- **Crime reduction and prevention** – the Safer Swansea Partnership, Promoting Prevention

In terms of consultation with young people, the committees map highlighted the major role played by the Performance and Strategic Planning Division in facilitating the Youth Conference and its subsequent focus groups/committees (e.g. Children and

Young People's Partnership, Youth Forum, Youth Corporate Action Team). A graphical example from the committees map is offered below (figure 7.2), highlighting how the Performance and Strategic Planning Department oversees and co-ordinates the various sub-groups that have emerged from the Youth Conference. Figure 7.2 also shows how the Youth Conference and its sub-groups precipitated the Children and Young People's Partnership and the Youth Forum, both of which feed into the Youth Corporate Action Team.

Figure 7.2: Example from the committees map



Other influential Promoting Prevention members such as the YOT (e.g. which facilitates Youth Action Groups) are also displayed. The contributions of particular Education departments to the Special Educational Needs Service committees are illustrated, as well as the YOT and Social Services department participation in the Action Planning Panel (see chapter six).

Drugs issues in Swansea are co-ordinated by the multi-agency Substance Misuse Action Team (SMAT) committee. The diverse and cross-cutting membership of the SMAT was reflected in the map. Finally the committees map emphasised the importance of Swansea's two major crime reduction committees, the Safer Swansea Partnership, targeting crime reduction in Swansea as a whole, and Promoting Prevention, which focuses specifically on youth crime. As indicated, these two committees maintain a reciprocal relationship, mediated by the Safer Swansea Partnership 'Children and Young People's Implementation Group'.

Documents map (see appendix 34)

The documents map focused upon statutory (typically annual) policy and strategy reports from the main Promoting Prevention partners. The documents map attempted to reinforce the continuity between the City and County of Swansea, PPB and Promoting Prevention, whilst underlining the pivotal role of several influential action plans produced by the City and County of Swansea to meet their statutory responsibility under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998⁶⁴. Statutory responsibilities under the Act include the necessity to conduct an annual audit, produce a crime and disorder reduction plan, to produce an annual Youth Justice Plan and to outline local policy objectives (e.g. City and County of Learning, A City for All). This map has illuminated how the development of Promoting Prevention has been underpinned by transforming philosophy and policy into effective practice.

By far the most influential and prolific document author is the local authority (City and County of Swansea), which has produced relevant documents to target five major thematic areas of concern for the reduction and prevention of crime:

- **Crime and Disorder** – the Crime and Disorder Audit 2002 and the Crime and Disorder Reduction Plan 2002-2005 (both produced by the Community Safety department), the Youth Justice Plan 2003-2004 (produced by the Youth Offending Team)
- **Young people's involvement** – the Children and Young People's Charter, Children and Young People First, the Children and Youth Partnership Plan, Children and Youth Partnership 'The Way IN' (authored by the Performance and Strategic Planning Division Department)
- **Social Care** – the Social Care Plan 2002-2007, the Children's Services Plan 2002-2007 (both produced by the Social Services department)

⁶⁴ The statutory nature of particular plans is further illustrated by the period that its recommendations cover (e.g. Education Strategic Plan 2002-2005). This signifies that once that period has ended, the local authority has a statutory obligation to review and update that plan.

- **Education** – City and County of Learning, the Education Strategic Plan 2002-2005, the Schools Organisation Plan 2001-2006 (all produced by the Education department)
- **Health** – A City For All 2003/2004 (City and County of Swansea in partnership with the Local Health Board), SMAT Action Plan 2004-2005 (a multi-agency document with the City and County of Swansea as the main partner agency)

The Local Health Board has made a crucial contribution to the documents process with their statutory *Health Improvement Programme 2000-2005*, in conjunction with serving as the most influential partner agency (with City and County of Swansea) in the formulation of *A City For All* and the *SMAT Action Plan*. The University of Wales Swansea has contributed the external evaluation of the Promoting Positive Behaviour and Promoting Prevention initiatives, with evaluation reports provided to the City and County of Swansea, the Welsh Office for Research and Development and the Youth Justice Board (see, for example, Haines, Jones and Isles 2001; Case 2002).

Additional (health-related) documents cited are the *Anti-Poverty Profile* (The Performance and Strategic Planning Division Department), which elucidated and informed the need for a focus upon health issues, and the *Drug and Alcohol Action Team (DAAT) Strategy*, which underpins the *Local Action Team (LAT) Strategic and Action Plan*.

Individuals map (see appendix 35)

The final and most complex map highlighted the individuals within Promoting Prevention and their associated working areas. 'Key individuals' was a category that emerged following semi-structured interviews that identified that certain individuals locally have more influence in policy and practice concerning Promoting Prevention than other individuals in the partnership and have additional responsibilities (e.g. in

organisations, on committees) that can impact upon Promoting Prevention. In other words, the individuals map illustrated that certain key individuals working within Promoting Prevention are fundamental to the operation of the system (e.g. YOT Manager, Community Safety Co-ordinator, YOT-based Clinical Nurse Specialist etc), whereas other individuals do not possess an equivalent level of influence in terms of operational control or decision-making within the initiative. It was considered useful to split the map into three key themes:

1. SMAT members
2. Education committee members (e.g. members of the Action Planning Panel, Behaviour Support Team, Exclusion Forum, contributors to Promoting Positive Behaviour)
3. Promoting Prevention Steering Group members

Substance Misuse Action Team

The SMAT is notable for the depth and breadth of its membership in Swansea, often maintaining multiple representations from a diverse number of organisations (see chapter six). Social Services (four members), the Local Health Board (three members) and South Wales Police (three members), the West Glamorgan Probation Service (two members), Swansea Local Health Board (two members), and Swansea secondary schools (two members) maintain a strong presence on the Local Action Team.

Education Department

As explained within the organisations/initiatives map section, highlighting the relevant branches of the City and County of Swansea Education Department was an essential process in the understanding of how Promoting Prevention works. The individuals map elaborated this process by pinpointing the influential individuals within each specific education department (e.g. Pupil and Parent Support Unit, Special Educational Needs Service, Educational Psychology and Formal Assessment Service) and their particular responsibilities.

Promoting Prevention Steering Group

Each partner agency nominates a representative to sit on the Promoting Prevention Steering Group. For example, representatives from Social Services, Education, Careers Business, Community Service Volunteers (CSV), On Line, and South Wales Police sit on the steering group. These individuals are shown within the map.

To signify their pivotal and facilitative roles within Promoting Prevention, the YOT Manager, Community Safety Co-ordinator and chief evaluator from the University of Wales Swansea were circled within the individuals map. The YOT Manager and the Community Safety Co-ordinator were responsible for the initial Promoting Prevention funding application to the Youth Justice Board, whilst serving as integral members of the Local Action Team. Within the Safer Swansea Partnership, the multi-agency partnership targeting crime reduction in Swansea, the YOT Manager chairs the Child and Young Person Implementation Group – the main Safer Swansea Partnership link with Promoting Prevention. Indeed, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 legislates that youth offending teams and the local crime and disorder reduction partnership (i.e. Safer Swansea) must work closely together to prevent youth offending. The Youth Offending Team Manager is also a vital part of the PPB initiative, as well as its extended version, the Schools Into Communities Project, which he monitors with a senior Youth Offending Team member and a senior manager from the Pupil and Parent Support Unit (from the local authority Education Department). Both the YOT Manager and the Community Safety Co-ordinator cooperate extensively with each other and with the chief evaluator from the University of Wales Swansea, who was also responsible for the external evaluation of the Promoting Positive Behaviour and Promoting Prevention initiatives. The local practice of devolving multiple responsibilities to key stakeholders within Promoting Prevention accords with the recommendations of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that, in some instances, the same individuals - such as the local area police commander and chief or senior officers from the local authority and other agencies may be members of both the

partnership and the steering group or management committee for the local Youth Offending Team(s) to ensure operational continuity and effective monitoring.

The individuals map (in conjunction with the narrative report) identified a widespread commitment to Promoting Prevention from the partner agencies in terms of the allocation of human resources and the willingness to work with other partners, both of which are crucial enablers to partnership working (see also Dick 2002) and have been identified as contributory factors in programme effectiveness by 'what works' research' (see Whyte 2004). The map also highlighted the YOT Manager as the key leadership / project management figure within the partnership, coordinating partner agencies to fulfil the objectives of Promoting Prevention (see also Audit Commission 2002). This emphasised how the necessities of modernity (e.g. organisational accountability, reflexive system reproduction) can pull strategic managers into being organisational managers (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002), reflecting the need for flexibility in, *inter alia*, the roles individuals play when moving into inter-agency models of working.

Reflexive critique of the systems analyses by key stakeholders

Feedback from partners during the semi-structured interviews illuminated how the reflexive dynamic of the systems analyses allowed partners to find out about each other, then work towards establishing secure foundations for partnership working (in accordance with Lander and Booty 2002).

Critique of the narrative element of the systems analyses by relevant policy makers and practitioners was considered integral to the reflexive development of Promoting Prevention structures and processes. Feedback from the individual narrative reports provided to participating agencies has been positive. The Director of Operations for the Local Health Board commented:

'I think you have captured what Iechyd Morgannwg Health⁶⁵ is all about and we are very impressed with your write-up.'

⁶⁵ Iechyd Morgannwg Health has since been replaced by the Local Health Board.

In addition, the Assistant Director of Child and Family Services for the City and County of Swansea found the '[d]irectory style very useful' and 'would like to provide the report for colleagues.'

Feedback on the mapping exercise indicated that it developed an identifiable partnership structure for Promoting Prevention, which is a prerequisite for partnership consolidation and effective programme delivery (see Crawford 2002). For instance, the Wales Director for the Community Service Volunteers wrote:

'It was quite incredible to see all the schemes and initiatives brought together. There clearly is an enormous amount of work happening in the broad umbrella of youth offending and prevention in Swansea.'

One of the most senior managers within the Promoting Prevention Steering Group, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer of West Glamorgan Probation Service, offered the following summary:

'Congratulations to you for being able to unravel the complexities of the Promoting Prevention structure in a graphic format. They do indeed provide a pictorial illustration of the many links and the interdependency of our various services.....The structure is very clear.'

The mapping exercise conducted as part of the systems analysis of Promoting Prevention sought to represent and thus clarify the complex multi-agency structures, processes and relationships that constitute Promoting Prevention. However, systems analyses through semi-structured interviews also identified several salient issues for consideration when evaluating the impact of partnership working (in line with Crawford 1998; Audit Commission 2002), notably:

- Type of partnership

- Conflict, confusion and differential power relations
- Degree of formality and informality
- Co-ordination of the partnership

The thematic issues raised by the interview process tended to incorporate expressions of ambivalence, confusion and tension by partners. However, these are considered inevitable outcomes of the reflexive working necessitated by the conditions of modernity (see Smart 1999). Each of these issues is addressed individually below.

Promoting Prevention: A local authority model of partnership

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders (see chapter 6) and promotional material for the programme (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999) established that Promoting Prevention aspires to a 'corporate' model of partnership (see also Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994). This assumes that there is no specific 'lead agency', with co-ordination, decision-making and implementation of the work of Promoting Prevention regarded as the responsibility of the whole partnership. The systems maps have eschewed this self-proclaimed, 'public' image of Promoting Prevention, in favour of presenting the more subtle nature of relations between the agencies (see also Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994). The systems analyses process (including the narrative reports) clearly identified Promoting Prevention as a 'local authority' model of partnership (as identified by the Morgan Report 1991), dominated by the City and County of Swansea (particularly the YOT) and co-ordinated by the YOT Manager. Therefore, it was only when the mapping exercise was considered in tandem with the narrative reports that the evaluation developed a nuanced understanding of how Promoting Prevention operates and was able to look behind the partnership façade (see also Audit Commission 2002).

Conflict, confusion and differential power relations within Promoting Prevention

The generation of systems maps illustrated the flexible, dynamic and occasionally ethereal nature of Promoting Prevention structures and processes. This accorded with the 'lifecycle' perspective of partnerships, conceiving of partnerships as dynamic and

living entities with a life of their own (Lander and Booty 2002). The dynamic nature of Promoting Prevention has produced confusion and debate at times regarding the precise role and relevance of certain agencies within Promoting Prevention. For instance, the Local Health Board has experienced “uncertainty regarding our role in the process (of Promoting Prevention) over and above seconding a Clinical Nurse Specialist to the YOT” (Director of Operations). Similarly, the West Glamorgan Probation Service expressed concern that “as an organisation that works primarily with offenders, it is difficult to understand our role in the prevention of offending” (Assistant Chief Probation Officer).

This role ambiguity could be a consequence of the initial statutory *obligation* to participate in crime prevention locally under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (although multi-agency partnership working was established in Swansea prior to the Act), as opposed to any extant commitment and willingness to crime prevention activity. The implication is that governmental pressure is insufficient for crime prevention initiatives to be successful if individual agency commitment is lacking (Lander and Booty 2002). However, Promoting Prevention is not necessarily crime focused, but rather focused on young people and tied to positive social inclusion, the promotion of positive behaviour (primarily) and the amelioration of undesirable behaviour and consequences. Information gathered from semi-structured interviews suggested that this positive focus has made it easier for disparate agencies to sign up to an empathic and self-sustaining partnership agreement under common thematic objectives.

“Although at first it was difficult to see how a careers organisation could contribute to crime prevention activity, we quickly realised that we could have a valuable input due to our shared commitment to social inclusion and the universal rights of all young people.” (Careers Business Company Manager)

In common with many crime prevention and criminal justice partnerships, Promoting Prevention is vulnerable to inter-organisational conflict and differential power relations (see also Crawford 1998).

“At this early stage, it is clear that it will be difficult to achieve a consensus on the best way to prevent offending and reoffending” (Involve Volunteer Co-ordinator)

An example of differential power relationships within Promoting Prevention is provided in table 6.1 (chapter six), which highlights that the Promoting Prevention steering consists of five members from the City and County of Swansea, but only one representative from each of the other nine partner agencies. Interviews illuminated that not all partners within Promoting Prevention are or feel equally powerful, due to competing claims to specialist knowledge and expertise. For example, the GHA Manager considered her organisation to be a “minor partner” in Promoting Prevention, whilst Prison? Me? No Way! (PMNW) views itself as “peripheral to mainstream Promoting Prevention activity” (PMNW Wales Co-ordinator).

Another obstacle to achieving an equitable partnership system has been perceived differential access to both human and material resources amongst partners. Certain agencies dominate the policy agenda (e.g. the City and County of Swansea – in particular the Youth Offending Team and Social Services department), leading to the prioritisation of certain forms of intervention (e.g. developmental crime prevention – see chapter three) to serve particular interests (e.g. the prevention and reduction of youth offending under the Safer Swansea Plan).

“Although I am officially a Youth Service employee, my role has evolved a primary focus upon planning interventions to prevent offending, which is far more a reflection of the YOT agenda” (Education Youth Worker)

However, Promoting Prevention is consciously trying to avoid the problems inherent with 'multiple aims' in partnerships - where disparate aims and objectives are placed on the agenda in order to appease and placate partners (see also Crawford 1998). The partners interviewed generally agreed with the view of the Community Safety Department Manager that:

“Promoting Prevention specifies clear and limited objectives to meet strategic priority five of the Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy. This prevents Promoting Prevention from being pulled in different and competing directions, which can increase confusion and ambiguity amongst partners” (see also Audit Commission 2002)

Promoting Prevention was considered to use detailed, comprehensive information from a variety of sources to bind together the partners based on “an analysis of the reality of the situation for young people in Swansea” (Community Safety Department Manager). Interview evidence is congruent with the objective that underpins Promoting Prevention; to evolve reflexively through the generation, triangulation and evaluation of official and self-reported sources of information on a variety of quantitative and qualitative issues (e.g. offending, drug use, school exclusion, perceptions of risk and protective factors).

“We always aim to produce information that is predicated upon consultation processes with young people and key stakeholders” (YOT Manager)

The informal nature of the Promoting Prevention partnership

Promoting Prevention has no formal partnership arrangements (other than the original partnership list documented within the initial tender to the Youth Justice Board) and the Steering Group convenes only when it is considered necessary by the co-ordinator (YOT manager). Promoting Prevention has no office or physical 'base', but rather it exists as an informal collection of partners bound together by their commitment to youth inclusion through consultation as a means of preventing offending.

Therefore, Promoting Prevention must address the problems of many informal partnerships in that it may be susceptible to the negative impact of staff turnover and overly dependent on the nature of interpersonal relations (see Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994). Consequently, any significant change in key personnel (e.g. YOT manager) may have precarious effects. However, key members of the Steering Group (e.g. the Assistant Director of West Glamorgan Probation Service, the YOT Manager) argued in their interviews that the thematic nature of Promoting Prevention reinforces the self-sustaining element of the initiative and over-rides the influence of any one individual. For example, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer for West Glamorgan Probation service asserted that:

“Promoting Prevention has demonstrated to local organisations that they need to collaborate across traditional boundaries. Previously, these organisations had been isolated and almost wholly dependent on personalities to maintain their services”

Although novel and creative informal networks have been established across organisational boundaries, the YOT acts as the driving force behind the informal Promoting Prevention partnership of local agencies and individuals. Consequently, important decisions have been taken away from the Steering Group (e.g. the appointment of YOT-based workers funded through Promoting Prevention). The dominance of the decision-making process by the YOT could be viewed as running counter to the spirit of transparency within partnerships, although it could also be justified in terms of 'getting things done' (see also Crawford 1998).

“Because the Promoting Prevention partnership is rather informal, this reinforces the power of certain partners like the local authority and the police, but it can undermine the role of other partners like Health (Local Health Board) and Probation (West Glamorgan Probation Service). That said, if you invite partners to meetings and they don't come, you do have to move on.

Crime prevention is a fast moving area” (South Wales Police Community Safety Sergeant)

Reflexive processes, in the form of the Promoting Prevention systems analyses, has identified inequalities of access to information amongst partners, as predicted by Lash (1994; in Smart 1999).

“To be honest, I only have a basic understanding of Promoting Prevention. I don’t know what goes on day-to-day and I don’t know how to find out” (GHA Manager)

The systems analyses has exemplified how knowledge (in the form of information) reflexively applied to social activity can be filtered by ‘differential power’ - some individuals or groups being more readily able to appropriate specialised knowledge than others (see Giddens 1990), leaving differential power relations unchecked and potentially removing opportunities for democratic input or control of the Promoting Prevention partnership (see also Crawford 1998).

“Sometimes we don’t find out about decisions until they become actions. We can’t do anything about them by that point” (CSV Volunteer Director)

However, this apparent weakness may be an artefact of the origin of Promoting Prevention as a direct response to strategic priority five of the Safer Swansea Plan (preventing and reducing offending).

The intrinsic nature of the Promoting Prevention partnership eschews a formal structure in favour of “bringing together committed and appropriate agencies under a thematic banner to support young people in Swansea” (YOT Manager). The systems analyses illustrated a general consensus and acceptance within the partnership that “particular agencies are better placed to address certain issues” (YOT Social Worker) due to differentials in knowledge, experience, time, resources and agency priorities.

For this reason, the Youth Offending Team has taken the lead role in the prevention of youth offending locally.

Co-ordinating Promoting Prevention: The YOT Manager

The co-ordination of Promoting Prevention by a committed YOT Manager was a key feature of the partnership identified by the systems analyses. The absence of co-ordination can be wasteful and ineffective, resulting in a partnership where “different interest groups pass each other like ships in the night” (Sampson et al 1988: 488). In addition, reviews of ‘what works’ research have established that the effectiveness of programmes with young people is associated with high levels of leader involvement at all stages of development, implementation and monitoring (see Andrews et al 2001; Whyte 2004).

Interview feedback from key stakeholders indicated that the Youth Offending Team manager has established a sense of local ownership of the issue of youth offending and sought to create ‘motivation for involvement’ amongst partners (Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994).

“It is good to see different agencies coming together and communicating to make stronger and more effective working practices” (CSV Volunteer Director)

“There have been some turnings round in people from different organisations and they are now committed to the Promoting Prevention approach” (Pupil and Parent Support Unit Manager)

However, this has not permeated to all members in equal amounts due to conflicting priorities, resources differentials and organisational ambiguity over their identity and role within the partnership (e.g. the Local Health Board – see Conflict, confusion and differential power relationships).

Although independent co-ordinators can be instrumental in negotiating conflicts and mediating power differences between partner organisations (Tilley 1992), the YOT Manager is *not* an independent in the field of youth crime prevention. He must balance his commitments to Promoting Prevention with existing responsibilities to the local authority and the Youth Offending Team. Therefore, his professional background (in social work) has become a salient influence upon Promoting Prevention's conception of crime prevention and the type of (developmental, risk-focused) schemes prioritised (see also Gilling 1997).

Placing Promoting Prevention in the context of the YOT Manager's professional background illustrates how values are connected to empirical knowledge within Promoting Prevention (e.g. information generated through the systems analyses) in a network of mutual influence (see also Giddens 1990, 2002). Systems analyses identified through that the YOT Manager has encountered "difficulty in sustaining consistent partner and community interest and enthusiasm in Promoting Prevention over time" (YOT Manager; see also Palumbo et al 1997). The pervading systems and co-ordination problems have reinforced the notion that crime is a problematic issue around which to organise people (see Podolefsky and Dubow 1981). These co-ordination problems have been exacerbated by Promoting Prevention as an entity having to jostle for position in a local terrain already crowded with multi-agency initiatives such as, *inter alia*, the Local Action Team, Youth Offending Team and the Safer Swansea Partnership (see also Crawford 2002). However, annual funding to match the contribution of the Youth Justice Board has now been 'mainstreamed' in all partner organisations (i.e. become an integral part of their annual budgets). This commitment to sustained funding has consolidated the Promoting Prevention partnership by "creating the durability to ensure that the partnership will not suffer disproportionately by the departure of any one key individual, such as the Youth Offending Team Manager" (Community Safety Department Manager).

Despite the competitive and crowded local climate, the Youth Offending Team manager has not pushed Promoting Prevention into prioritising situational forms of

intervention in a desire to evidence short-term, quantifiable, 'quick fix' results (see also Podolefsky and Dubow 1981). Instead, Promoting Prevention has retained faith in the long-term potential and efficacy of social and especially developmental crime prevention (see chapter two), in conjunction with attempting a culture shift within the working practices of partner agencies. This has been largely successful thus far, particularly as "a commitment to multi-agency working practices" (YOT Senior Practitioner) has become embedded within the City and County of Swansea and "a willingness to collaborate" (Assistant Chief Probation Officer) is evident in the West Glamorgan Probation Service. South Wales Police have also experienced "a significant culture shift towards developing partnership relationships" (YOT Police Officer). This cultural shift has been evidenced by the South Wales Police's inclusion on the multi-agency steering groups for Promoting Prevention, the Safer Swansea Partnership and the SMAT, where "previously we would have pushed for sole responsibility of crime and drug-related issues" (YOT Police Officer).

The systems analyses illuminated a clear danger that the Promoting Prevention partnership agencies could become too reliant on the Co-ordinator in the future. The partners already devolve some tasks and responsibilities to the co-ordinator which should rightfully be their own (see also Audit Commission 2002). For instance, the YOT manager has assumed overall responsibility for the recruitment and supervision of all staff seconded to Promoting Prevention (e.g. the Clinical Nurse Specialist from the Local Health Board, the Education Youth Worker from the local authority Youth Service). Other research has shown that by acting as an alternative reference point, the co-ordinator (Youth Offending Team Manager) undermines the capacity of the partnership, as a collective entity, to solve its own problems (see, for example, Crawford 1998).

Interviews with stakeholders raised the overarching concern that the co-ordination, development and sustainability of Promoting Prevention could be "over-reliant upon a single charismatic, motivational individual, namely the YOT manager" (Community

Safety Department Manager), rather than being predicated upon a broad, representative partnership structure.

An equivalent concern over potentially “charismatic leadership of the anger management and self-esteem project” (YOT Manager) has been addressed by the Promoting Prevention partnership through the employment of two project workers (see chapter one).

“I can now devolve responsibility to these workers and share my knowledge with them, so Promoting Prevention can be sustained if I leave” (Clinical Nurse Specialist)

The YOT Manager expressed an awareness of partnership worries over the impact of his role on the overall sustainability of Promoting Prevention. In response, he has acted to “devolve elements of the co-ordination and focus of Promoting Prevention to designated individuals and groups such as the Education Youth Worker (control of the preventative agenda), the Restorative Justice Co-ordinator (responsibility for the restorative emphasis) and the Community Safety Department Manager (YOT Manager). Therefore, there are mechanisms in place to build sustainability into the Promoting Prevention structure.

Conclusion: Systems analyses of Promoting Prevention

The systems analyses reflected Promoting Prevention’s holistic, reflexive approach to youth crime and associated problems (e.g. youth drug use, truancy, secondary school exclusion). Encouraging and constructive feedback from the partner agencies reinforced the objectives of the Promoting Prevention systems analyses, namely to further emphasise the diversity of partner agencies within the scheme, as well as their ongoing commitment of resources in the form of initiatives, committee membership, documents, and the provision of representatives to Promoting Prevention.

Unlike many previous examples of inter-agency working, Promoting Prevention has clear objectives according to participants (e.g. preventing youth offending, promoting a positive image of young people). Partners cited Promoting Prevention's focus upon taking action (rather than discussing the problems and the possibilities of action) and they maintained that the programme has a structure and mechanisms for achieving its objectives (see also Raynor 2002).

The mapping exercise elucidated the complex multi-agency and multiple intervention structures, processes, publications and partnership arrangements that have evolved dynamically to facilitate Promoting Prevention's objectives. In particular, the four maps (organisations and initiatives, committees, documents, individuals) illustrated the way in which Promoting Prevention operates as a cross-cutting, yet integrated, mainstream programme in Swansea.

Adapting the grounded theory methodology of Glaser and Strauss proved particularly suited to the research endeavour that viewed the 'truth' (about Promoting Prevention) as made rather than discovered, and where representation was perceived as a distributed, systems phenomenon (Bryant 2002). The systems analyses identified several emergent issues (e.g. differential power relations, overreliance on a charismatic co-ordinator) and partner concerns which can be used by the steering group to inform the structures and systems of Promoting Prevention. The semi-structured interviews and evolving systems maps highlighted that Promoting Prevention as an entity aims to function as far more than just a programme of criminality prevention initiatives housed within a multi-agency, cross-cutting partnership project. Instead, it aspires to promote "a local commitment to higher principles" (Community Safety Department Research Officer) and to recognise "the universal rights and responsibilities of young people within a framework of entitlement, empowerment, and engagement" (YOT Manager), as opposed to the more traditional punishment model of prevention. However, the coveted 'dynamic cultural shift' within the City and County of Swansea (noted in Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999) requires commitment from all partners if Promoting Prevention is to go beyond a more

traditional 'signposting' role in order to empower young people's access to and knowledge of services. At a practical level, the systems analyses demonstrated how Promoting Prevention uses information to identify the need for provision. Interventions (e.g. anger management), services, staff posts (e.g. the Education Youth Worker post in the YOT) and relationships (e.g. links between the YOT and the local authority Leisure Department) created in response to this identified need are controlled by the Promoting Prevention Steering Group until they can mature into mainstream, self-sustaining activities such as PPB.

Systems analyses have identified a broad commitment to the values, strategy and structure of Promoting Prevention amongst the key stakeholders at this early stage. This has included an openness to change, based on the reflexive critique of extant structure, processes, services and working relationships (see also Cunliffe and Jun 2002).

Chapter Eight

Discussion

This thesis has described and evaluated Swansea's approach to the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, whilst the research has, itself, simultaneously been an integral part of this process. The evaluation of Promoting Prevention using an individual study questionnaire and systems analyses has adopted a problem-oriented methodology, acknowledging the specific and local nature of Swansea's crime problem. The Promoting Prevention partnership has been allocated a dominant role in determining the nature of the solution (see also Crawford 1998), informed by the evaluation findings. Subsequent interventions and partnership mechanisms have been tailored to fit the needs of these local problems (see also Crawford 2002). In accordance with Ekblom's five recommendations for implementing effective crime prevention through partnership (Ekblom 1988), the Promoting Prevention Steering Group have integrated:

- Detailed crime analysis (utilising extant official statistics and new sources of information created through the independent evaluation)
- Selection of appropriate prevention strategies for the local problems in the light of this crime analysis
- Partnership between relevant agencies, including consultation with targeted populations (i.e. young people aged 10-17, key stakeholders)
- Implementation of the strategies selected
- Evaluation of the impact of the programme

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group emphasises the generation of quality information as the basis for a reflexive approach to crime prevention, thus:

“...creating a backdrop against which to evaluate the impact of interventions and to re-evaluate Promoting Prevention structures and processes”

(Youth Offending Team Manager; see also Crawford 1998; Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak and Hawkins 2002).

Promoting Prevention has been characterised by institutional reflexivity, an intrinsic component of modernity that employs the regularised use of knowledge and information as a constitutive element of its organisation and transformation (see also Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994; Giddens 2002).

At this stage, it would appear that the information generated by the consultation processes implemented as part of the research and evaluation of Promoting Prevention have contributed to the provision of appropriate services young people in Swansea. It would appear that interventions developed by the Steering Group in response to evaluation information have had a significant positive impact locally upon self-reported and official levels of offending (see chapter five). However, the individual study and systems analyses have only been administered over a two year period (2001-2003), so it remains “too early to measure the effects of Promoting Prevention in statistical terms” (Pupil and Parent Support Unit Manager). Further evaluation over an extended period is needed to examine the impact of increased youth participation on service provision, policy direction and on the attitudes and behaviour of young people and key stakeholders in Promoting Prevention. A long-term evaluation process would also enable the Steering Group to assess the best means of engaging with young people and key Promoting Prevention stakeholders locally.

The two main components of the Promoting Prevention evaluation, the individual study and the systems analyses, are discussed in detail below, leading into an overarching conclusion regarding the general Promoting Prevention programme.

The individual study of Promoting Prevention

As part of an ongoing commitment by the Steering Group to the consultation of young people on issues that affect them (in accordance with article 12 of United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child 1989), the Promoting Prevention evaluation was

underpinned by a school-based survey (individual study) of risk and protective factors, self-reported youth drug use and self-reported youth offending. Crawford (1998) asserts that local surveys are essential requirements for genuinely accountable and locally sensitive interventions (which the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and partner agencies aspire to). NACRO supports this, believing that surveys provide 'the detailed information necessary for planning a local crime prevention strategy' (Osborn and Bright 1989: 10), another principle of Promoting Prevention (Promoting Prevention Working Group 1999; City and County of Swansea 2003) and the Safer Swansea Partnership (City and County of Swansea 1998; 2001).

An advantage of the self-report process of the individual study was that it addressed the inherent limitations of the available official youth crime statistics required from the Youth Offending Team (YOT) by the Youth Justice Board (e.g. failure to access unrecorded and/or unreported crime – see chapter four). Self-reported data offered a more accurate representation of the nature and extent of crime amongst young people in Swansea, serving as a central instrument with which to target and evaluate social strategies (see also Crawford 1998). Results from the individual study questionnaire within Promoting Prevention allow youth crime prevention in Swansea to be grounded on an assessment of local needs that supplements and goes beyond official data (see chapter one; see also Crawford 1998) and targets the causes of offending rather than just the consequences. In addition, the questionnaire provided baseline data about levels of youth crime against which crime prevention interventions can be evaluated more fully at a later date.

Utilising the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (see chapter three) within the individual study has enabled the Promoting Prevention research to:

- Identify salient issues in the lives of local young people
- Identify risk and protective factors associated with youth offending in Swansea
- Establish which risk factors are predictive of youth offending

Findings from the individual study require evaluation in the light of information from extant studies, notably risk and protective factor research. Results within each questionnaire domain (i.e. family, school, neighbourhood, lifestyle, personal, self-reported offending, self-reported drug use) were discussed (see chapter five), with particular consideration given to identified risk and protective factors for offending and active offending. Within each questionnaire domain, significant differences between 'ever' offenders (young people who self-reported having committed an offence on the offending inventory) and 'active' offenders (young people who self-reported having offended three or more times in the past year) were interpreted as implying that the identified factor promoted the *continuation* of offending, whilst its absence encouraged *desistence* from offending (see chapter five). Analysis of the individual study results strongly indicated that a young person's risk of offending was dependent upon the balance of risk and protective factors in their lives (see also Loeber and Farrington 2001). As the risk factor approach emphasises the accumulation of risks and treats the various risk factors as of equivalent importance (see Vassallo, Smart, Sanson, Dusseuyer, McKendry, Toumbourou, Prior and Oberklaid 2002), it was crucial to highlight those factors that contribute to the prediction of offending/non-offending. Identified predictive factors offered even stronger evidence of those issues/areas of the young person's life that would be most effectively targeted by Promoting Prevention interventions in order to prevent offending. As Pease states:

"Put bluntly, until they fully engage with the future, criminologists are doomed to track trends in crime, rather than head them off.....We owe it to ourselves to predict." (Pease 1997: 243).

The Promoting Prevention individual study adapted Pease's emphasis upon the prediction of an individual's behaviour into an emphasis upon the general prediction of the behaviour of groups of young people in Swansea, as this underpinned the universal entitlement emphasis of the programme. For example, the evaluation utilised (globalised, anonymous) analysis of the mean age of onset and frequency of

risk/protective factors (for offending) in the key domains of the young person's life to identify the most appropriate targeted and universal services in the local context.

It is not suggested that the findings of the Promoting Prevention individual study questionnaire have led *directly* to a reduction of offending among young people in Swansea through informing the targeting of interventions by the Steering Group. Clearly, the sample size (n = 1278) was too small to generalise findings to a local secondary school sample of 15,383 (Office for National Statistics 2001) and the evaluation period of two years has been too short to establish behavioural trends. Therefore, the impact of Promoting Prevention will continue to be measured across a range of outcomes, including self-reported and official data for youth offending and (fixed and permanent) secondary school exclusion (see also Sampson and Laub 1993) and self-reported data for youth drug use, because the short-term impact of crime prevention interventions may only be identifiable through improvements in associated areas, such as drug use, truancy levels and educational attainment (see Goldblatt and Lewis 1998). However, since the inception of Promoting Prevention in April 2000, official and self-reported levels of youth offending have fallen (see chapters two and five). These decreases in undesirable behaviours indicate that Promoting Prevention is having a positive impact upon local young people at this early stage, although an extended evaluation period is required to further validate any preliminary conclusions, allied to the inherent difficulty in evaluating multiple intervention, universal programmes.

Detailed consideration will now be given to the key findings in each questionnaire in the order of their presentation within the questionnaire. This will be followed by discussion of methodological and analytical issues emerging from the individual study.

Self-reported offending and offenders' attitudes to offending

Young people in Swansea did not generally report serious or violent offending, although the majority of the sample admitted to having offended at some point in their lives (60%). The most common offence types reported by young people within the

International Self-reported Delinquency inventory were criminal damage, public fighting, arson and shoplifting, which could be reflective of elements of adolescent lifestyle (e.g. exploration, boredom, risk-taking), which are usually transitory (see also Dussuyer and Mammalito 1998) and have few long-term deleterious effects (see also Vassallo et al 2002). Therefore, the majority of young people in Swansea who reported offending could be classified as 'experimenters' as opposed to 'persisters' or 'life-course persistent' offenders, for whom offending begins early in life and continues well into adulthood (see Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter and Silva 2001). The significant difference in reporting of ever offending (60%) and active offending (30%) ($p < 0.001$) offers support to this line of argument and an early indication that Promoting Prevention is successfully addressing all elements of strategic priority five⁶⁶ of the Safer Swansea Plan (City and County of Swansea 1998; 2001). However, to reinforce such a conclusion would necessitate a longer-term, preferably longitudinal administration of the International Self-reported Delinquency (ISRD) instrument.

Responses from the attitudes to offending section of the individual study indicate that services within Promoting Prevention are appropriately targeted upon issues of concern for young people who have offended. The positive attitudes to offending, inability to foresee consequences, lack of remorse and lack of victim empathy expressed by young people who had offended can be addressed by Promoting Prevention's mentoring schemes, which assist in the development of social competence and relationship building, whilst restorative justice can promote empathy and perspective-taking, which can function as protective factors against offending in young people (see Slaby 1998).

Self-reported drug use

The most commonly-reported drugs by young people in Swansea were Cannabis (34%) and Solvents (19%). In contrast, more 'expensive' drugs such as Heroin (6%) and Cocaine (9%) were infrequently reported. This accorded with established self-

⁶⁶ The prevention of offending by young people who have never offended, by first time offenders and by persistent offenders.

report data for drug use amongst young people in the United Kingdom (e.g. Balding 2000; Hammersley, Marsland and Reid 2003). Possible explanations for the self-reported levels of youth drug use found in Swansea include differences in *cost* and *availability*, in that: “Cannabis and Solvents are relatively inexpensive and young people have earlier opportunities to experiment with them” (Swansea Drugs Project Young People’s Worker; see also Pudney 2002).

Levels of self-reported youth drug use in Swansea (e.g. 45% of 11-15 year olds) were noticeably higher than national data levels, including the Health Related Behaviours Questionnaire (24% of 14-15 year olds - Balding 2000) and Office for National Statistics findings (16% of 12-15 year olds - Goddard and Higgins 1999). However, other research has employed paper aided personal interviewing (PAPI – see chapter four). Evidence suggests that young people are more likely to offer complete and truthful answers to sensitive questions if computer-administration is employed (e.g. Wright, Aquilino and Supple 1998; Banks and Laurie 2000), particularly when self-reporting drug use (see also Tournageau and Smith 1996; Coomber 1997; Laurie 2003). Therefore, young people may have been more likely to admit ‘undesirable’ behaviours (e.g. youth offending, youth drug use, secondary school exclusion) when completing a questionnaire by computer due to them being familiar and comfortable with using computers in school resulting in an increased trust and confidence in Interactive Self-Completion Interviewing (ICSI) as an anonymous, valid, legitimate research tool (Case and Haines 2003; see also Beebe, Harrison, Mcrae, Anderson and Fulkerson 1998; Couper 2002). In addition, higher levels of admitted drug use may have been a product of operationalising and further clarifying two previously paper based inventories through the use of audio-visual cues and voice over descriptions to supplement the text (see also Couper and Rowe 1996). The individual study drugs section, therefore, may have uncovered a more valid picture of adolescent drug use than other research for methodological reasons.

Measuring levels of self-reported drug use and types of drugs used, with the individual study is a direct response to the paucity of information on youth drug use available

locally (see chapter one). Findings validate the continued emphasis of the Steering Group upon funding a Clinical Nurse Specialist (who conducts drug assessments) and nurturing relationships with local drugs projects (e.g. Swansea Drugs Projects, South Wales Police drugs awareness package, Avoiding Drugs Solutions).

Family-based factors

The Promoting Prevention individual study highlighted only lack of parental supervision (ever offending only), parental criminality (active offending only) and sibling drug (active offending only) as risk factors for offending for the whole sample, while having a good relationship with parents was protective against ever offending. The overall mean level of reporting of family-based issues at a level of concern was significantly lower than reporting of issues in all other questionnaire domains ($p < 0.001$), including breakdowns by gender and age (see chapter five).

Interviews with key stakeholders highlighted a relative paucity of explicit family-based provision within Promoting Prevention's predominantly school-based intervention programme, which partners tended to explain as due to Promoting Prevention's focus on 10-17 year olds, for whom the secondary school is the main agency of socialisation. A sustained disparity in family provision may also be justified with reference to the relatively low level of concern for family issues expressed by 10-15 year olds (in comparison to every other domain – see chapter five), which itself could be due to the increasing influence of agencies of secondary socialisation such as school and peer groups. Therefore, analysis of the family findings offered strong support for the principle that “effective criminality prevention strategies must also extend into areas outside the family” (Graham and Bowling 1995:88).

Promoting Prevention interventions accords with Graham and Bowling's (1995) recommendations by offering a complementary package of provision that targets multiple risk factors in the primary domains of the young person's life (see also Farrington 2002). Promoting Prevention partner organisations work with other service providers to address issues identified by the individual study questionnaire as family-

based risk factors for youth offending. Interventions seek to prevent, protect against and reduce the effects of, *inter alia*, lack of parental supervision and unclear parental rules (e.g. Child and Adolescent Support Team), parental criminality and sibling drug use (e.g. mentoring, links with the YOT). The expressed intention of the Steering Group is to foster robust, protective family relationships between young people and their parents by involving parents at every stage of dealing with an 'at risk' young person. This increases the chances of reintegration of individuals (e.g. truants, offenders, victims) by restoring connectedness with the family and society as a whole, thus seeking to prevent offending and re-offending (see also Maxwell and Morris 1999). However, there is an evident gap between these stated objectives and direct evidence of the impact of universal and targeted measures designed to bring them about. This research has shown the congruence between needs and interventions and it has evidenced a paucity of family-related problems. However, further, more detailed specific and focused evaluation would be needed to evidence direct links.

School-based factors

According to Graham and Bowling (1995), schools offer a promising focus for intervention and innovation, and are more easily targeted than the family. Schools have the opportunity to promote social equality, cultural plurality and personal belonging, enabling young people to acquire moral standards, social skills and a sense of responsibility as citizens or 'citizenship' (Graham and Bennett 1995). Schools can provide pupils with information and guidance on areas such as general behaviour, delinquency, respect for the law, implications of offending, the workings of the Criminal Justice System and methods of criminality prevention (Graham 1988). Existing research has yet to evidence a conclusive *causal* relationship between school-based issues (e.g. exclusion, disaffection, underachievement) and delinquency. However, there are clear indications in existing research as to how schools can contribute to criminality prevention through, *inter alia*, the provision of alternative curricula, whole school behaviour codes, anti-bullying strategies and teacher training in effective classroom management (e.g. Golblatt and Lewis `998; Anderson, Beinart, Farrington, Longman, Sturgis, and Utting 2001; Herrenkohl,

Hawkins, Chung, Hill and Battin-Pearson 2001; Whyte 2004). With their unmatched capacity to motivate, integrate and offer pupils a sense of achievement (regardless of ability) schools can exert a significant influence on offending (Graham 1992).

Questionnaire findings from the individual study replicated existing research citing a strong association between offending and poor relationships with teachers, unclear school rules and inconsistent school discipline (school years 8 and 10 only) (e.g. Flood-Page, Campbell, Harrington, and Miller 2000; Hammersley et al 2003; MORI 2003). This offered an early, tentative validation of the Promoting Positive Behaviour project within Promoting Prevention, which utilises measures such as whole school behaviour codes, family group conferencing, alternative curriculum and mentoring to increase the clarity and consistency of school processes to promote attachment to school (see Haines, Isles and Jones 2001). Whole-school behaviour codes aim to reward positive behaviour within a clear, immediate and consistent rule system which all pupils are involved in developing (Haines et al 2001; see also Graham and Bowling 1995). At present, all Promoting Positive Behaviour (PPB) participant schools are setting up staff-pupil working groups to address key issues (e.g. school rules, discipline, bullying) with the intention of empowering schools and giving young people independence and ownership of the project. As other research studies have shown, changing the organisation and policies of schools in this way can improve achievement, improve bonding to school and minimise the occurrence of problem behaviours such as truancy, exclusion, drug use and offending (e.g. Graham and Bennett 1995).

Results from the individual study questionnaire suggested that Promoting Prevention's emphasis upon the provision of alternative curriculum for disaffected, disengaged and underachieving pupils is well founded. Youth involvement in alternative activities in school has been identified by other research (e.g. MORI 2003) as an effective protective factor against school exclusion, as well as against drug abuse and offending (Hawkins and Catalano 1992). Promoting Positive Behaviour activities such as involvement in school councils, experience-based career education programmes

and mentoring and tutoring programmes may improve commitment to school and attack feelings of alienation and rebelliousness (both risk factors for exclusion). Physically challenging risk-taking activities (e.g. Duke of Edinburgh and Prince's Trust schemes co-ordinated by the Promoting Prevention Education Youth Worker, outward bounds courses as part of the Key Stage 4 Pupil Referral Unit) could be particularly influential in addressing the hyperactivity-based behaviours (e.g. sensation seeking, low harm avoidance) that can hasten those anti-social behaviours that precipitate exclusion (see, for example, Catalano et al 2002). Curriculum restructuring can also increase the opportunities for student involvement, enhance school-community integration and precipitate changes in discipline procedures (Social Exclusion Unit 2001).

The widespread reporting of poor pupil-teacher relationships as a major issue for the Swansea sample reinforced the efficacy of the PPB initiative, particularly its emphasis upon teacher training in effective instructional and classroom management skills, encouraging teachers to build relationships with pupils based on mutual trust and respect. In this training, teachers learn to handle conflict situations, avoid confrontations, foster initiative and imagination and allow for the pupil's developing adult status (see also Graham and Bennett 1995). Innovative methods such as interactive teaching, proactive classroom management and co-operative learning within PPB aim to enhanced social bonding, school commitment and achievement within local secondary schools, promoting positive attitudes to both school and peers (see Dolan, Kellam and Brown 1989). These may also serve to simultaneously lower future levels of suspension and expulsion (see Hawkins and Lam 1987).

Identification of parental commitment to school as protective against reporting ever offending (it has also been found to promote positive, prosocial behaviour - Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak and Hawkins 2002) allows tentative conclusions to be drawn regarding the early impact Promoting Prevention's focus upon developing home-school partnerships within PPB and through links with the Education Strategic Plan (City and County of Swansea 2002; see also Goldblatt and Lewis 1998).

Fundamentally, the Promoting Prevention approach is predicated on avoiding punitive, labelling or stigmatising activities and on emphasising positive approaches towards schools and young people. Thus, Promoting Prevention seeks to avoid blaming schools or young people for broader failings of social or educational systems, but it recognises that these failings have important implications for the behaviour of schools and young people. Taking these problems seriously and addressing them in a comprehensive and coherent strategy is an important and significant feature of Promoting Prevention. However, it should be emphasised that the Promoting Prevention Steering Group still face an uphill task if it is to effect a culture shift towards this ethos in many local secondary schools:

“A cultural and attitudinal change is required in Swansea schools in order to sustain the effects of Promoting Prevention, and this may be difficult to achieve as schools differ in their flexibility and tolerance of new measures”
(Pupil and Parent Support Unit Manager)

The limited administration period of the individual study (2001-2003) was unable to demonstrate whether Promoting Prevention has had a tangible effect on levels of reporting of school-based risk and protective factors by young people in Swansea (see chapter five), although official and self-reported rates of offending have fallen in Swansea. However, the prominence of factors associated with school rules, discipline and pupil-teacher relations suggests that Promoting Prevention’s school-based initiatives (e.g. PPB, Family Group Conferencing Unit, Youth Action Groups) are targeted appropriately at this stage. For instance, peer-led approaches such as Community Service Volunteers ‘On-Line’, Involve ‘Just-Us’ and Youth Action Groups aim to encourage social bonding and establish healthy standards of behaviour as the norm locally (see also Anderson et al 2001). The provision of work experience and vocational training whilst in education (through the Youth Access Initiative and Guiding Hand Association - both Promoting Prevention partners) has been found to address

feelings of alienation and poor relationships with teachers, both of which may precipitate truancy, suspension, exclusion and offending (see Anderson et al 2001).

Neighbourhood-based and lifestyle-based factors

Results from the individual study illuminated that the interaction between individuals *and* their communities is an important element in the understanding of youth offending in Swansea (see also Hawkins and Catalano 1992; Wikstrom and Loeber 1998). Anti-social behaviour, association with anti-social peers, hanging around the streets and alcohol/drugs problems were specifically highlighted as lifestyle-based risk factors for offending. However, wide availability of drugs in the local area was the only neighbourhood factor identified as predictive of offending by young people in Swansea.

Promoting Prevention works closely with the Safer Swansea Partnership to encourage the development of social capital, neighbourhood collective efficacy (e.g. trust in neighbours, willingness to discipline local children), pro-social attitudes and citizenship amongst young people in Swansea, particularly through the Youth Action Group approach and mentoring schemes. Increases in adult willingness to conduct surveillance in their area can be addressed by input into parenting information and support provision. Although this issue (and that of access to drugs in local neighbourhoods) is largely the domain of the Safer Swansea Partnership and the Community Safety Department of the City and County of Swansea, both organisations are part of the structure of Promoting Prevention, as indicated by the mapping exercise (see chapter seven and appendices 45-48). Promoting Prevention is developing closer links with the City and County of Swansea Leisure Department (through the Youth Offending Team Manager), notably in terms of facilitated, discounted access to local leisure facilities (e.g. sports centres) through the 'Validate' proof of age scheme. This provision is a direct response by Promoting Prevention to the identification of hanging around the streets and anti-social behaviour as risk factors for offending. In addition, the Promoting Prevention Education Youth Worker

has established the 'Splash' programme to provide universal entitlement to activities in school holidays, with a view to rolling out the programme to run all year round.

The finding that no neighbourhood factors increased significantly over the evaluation period, whereas three factors decreased significantly (poor youth facilities, poor public transport, criminal neighbourhood) offers a preliminary indication of Promoting Prevention's positive impact upon neighbourhood/community issues. The Promoting Prevention individual study discovered that levels of anti-social behaviour and drug-related issues (positive attitudes to drugs, offending to obtain money for drugs) also decreased significantly, suggesting equivalent early effects of Promoting Prevention upon lifestyle factors.

The lack of statistically identified risk factors relating to neighbourhood in Swansea allows cautious conclusions to be drawn regarding the early success of Promoting Prevention in employing a range of complementary measures targeting *multiple risk factors* within the primary domains of the child's life (see also Sampson and Laub 1993). For example, Promoting Prevention interventions such as anger management and self-esteem classes and the Avoiding Drugs Solutions drugs education package offer young people the knowledge and social skills to resist peer pressure towards anti-social behaviour, drug use and offending. whilst YOT workers (e.g. Clinical Nurse Specialist) to refer problem users to treatment services such as Swansea Drugs Project and the West Glamorgan Council on Drugs and Alcohol.

Personal/individual-based factors

A significant body of research mirrors the Swansea findings that low harm avoidance (risk taking, sensation seeking), stress, inability to defer gratification (males only) and impulsivity (males only) are risk factors for youth offending (e.g. Shedler and Block 1990; Tremblay and LeMarquand 2001), particularly active offending.

Peer and adult mentoring schemes run within Promoting Prevention (e.g. On-Line, Just-Us), are provided to enable young people to discuss psychological, emotional

and/or personal problems in an informal and non-threatening context (see also Anderson et al 2001). The mentor can then advocate for the young person and facilitate access to appropriate provision such as Swansea Drugs Project (harm reduction advice and counselling and the West Glamorgan Council on Drugs and Alcohol (abstinence-based diagnosis, counselling and activities).

Teaching anger management techniques to young people (a process integral to Promoting Prevention) in conjunction with teaching skills to increase empathy, impulse control and problem solving has been found to prevent behavioural and emotional problems (including risk-taking, impulsivity and stress) and promote social competence (Slaby 1998) indicate that this intervention is an appropriate response to risk factors identified by the individual study. The Promoting Prevention anger management and self-esteem course has evolved from a targeted initiative for young people who have come into contact with the YOT, into a universal provision for all local secondary schools incorporating a 'Flashpoint' element (see chapter six). This evidences how Promoting Prevention interventions, formed in response to information generated locally, can 'float off' from Steering Group control and become mainstreamed and self-sustaining (see chapter seven).

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group encourages positive activities (e.g. Splash), disseminates vital information (e.g. the Youth Information Shop) and strives to enable young people to influence their own lives (e.g. Youth Action Groups). These measures address identified local risk factors for offending and have also been found by research to increase self-confidence and pro-social attitudes and behaviour amongst young people (see also National Assembly Policy Unit 2000; 2000a).

Results from the individual study allow the Steering Group to evaluate the degree of congruence between issues identified as important to young people in Swansea, factors identified statistically as influential in offending behaviour and services offered directly and indirectly (through relationships with other agencies) by Promoting Prevention. Generally, Promoting Prevention services and interventions (universal

and targeted) address risk and protective factors in the main domains of the young person's life established locally as contributing to offending, although there is a paucity of family-based provision, reflective of the low level of overall concern for family-factors. The individual study is of particular utility to the Steering Group as it generates information directly from young people, which can then inform locally-specific provision and service delivery relevant to the gender and school year of the young person, because certain risk and protective factors may differ in their salience for different groups (Moore, Zaff and Hair 2002).

Methodological issues for the individual study: Self-reporting risk factors

Several specific methodological issues emerged from the individual study, predominantly based around research design (evaluation design, questionnaire validity, sample representativeness, disability issues). Each of these factors was discussed in chapter four and recommendations for methodological improvements in future implementations of the individual study questionnaire were offered. However, a cluster of overarching methodological concerns remain unresolved. In particular, underpinning questionnaire content and analysis with the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (see chapter three) raised certain concerns around the self-reporting of risk factors, notably subjectivity, sensitivity of geographical context and the underemphasis of protective factors.

Self-reported risk factors versus official statistics

Risk factor research mainly aims to correlate social and personality factors with official offending. However, caution must be exercised in the generalisation of (Promoting Prevention's) self-reported findings to the official data of other studies in this area. For example, parental criminality was expressed within the Promoting Prevention questionnaire as having a parent/parents involved in crime, in contrast to similar risk factor research which have adopted the official measure of parent / parents having been involved with the police (e.g. Graham and Bowling 1995; Flood-Page et al 2000; Anderson et al 2001). Although official statistics illuminate the characteristics of 'known' offenders, they offer minimal information regarding the extent, causes and

meaning of offending *per se* (Muncie 1999). Official statistics can also be employed to identify suitable recipients of interventions, but they are subject to limitations such as institutional biases and differences in recording criteria and undiscovered/unreported problems (see chapter one). For example, individuals known to the Clinical Nurse Specialist have been prone to self-medicating, whereby they take illegal substances to mask underlying psychological or emotional problems. Promoting Prevention's use of self-reported data is more effective in uncovering this so-called 'dark figure' of unreported/unrecorded behaviour (see also Maguire 1997), although self-reported drug use is still vulnerable to systematic under-reporting due to concealment, denial, forgetting or reattribution as 'not really drug use' (see also Hammersley et al 2003).

Using ICSI enabled prompt feedback to be offered to relevant bodies such as drugs agencies (e.g. Swansea Drugs Project), the YOT (especially the Drugs Worker and the Clinical Nurse Specialist) and local schools (e.g. Personal and Social Education teacher advisors). Results can be utilised to target and engage with young people with specific characteristics and problems whilst the information and issues remain 'live', fresh and relevant in the minds of all concerned, as opposed to official statistics which can take a long time to obtain.

The geographical context of self-reported risk factors

Crime is extremely geographically focused and patterns of need differ in different schools. Therefore, aggregating the results from different geographic areas in Swansea to produce 'localised', global figures could have distorted the reality of life for people in those areas (see also Matthews and Young 1992). For example, the risk factor approach assumes that legal definitions of crime are shared by all communities. However, this is not necessarily the case, particularly in communities where certain illegal activities are taken for granted rather than considered to be criminal (Foster 1990). For example, there are qualitative differences between poverty survival offences (e.g. parental benefit fraud) and more sophisticated, serious offending (e.g. drug dealing, violence). Many illegal activities may not even be considered as crime in

certain areas. As Foster discovered in his ethnographic study of a south-east London community:

“these were not criminal ‘careers’, just ordinary people whose everyday world took for granted certain types of crime” (Foster 1990: 165)

Generalisation of the applicability of risk factors for criminality and offending in different areas is inadvisable as many factors could be context-specific and dependent on macro-level issues such as local economy (see chapter three). Such contextual sensitivity is neglected by globalised risk factors. However, analysis has indicated risk/protective factors relevant to young people *in Swansea*, which enables the identification and future targeting of locally-specific and sensitive interventions. This process is essential as risk/protective factors established using the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm may not be globally-applicable. Instead, influential factors may be dependent upon social, cultural, economic, legal and criminal justice processes in a particular country, city or even neighbourhood.

The role of protective factors

Analysis of the findings from the individual study questionnaire treated all variables as dichotomous (see chapter five), such that risk and protective factors were characterised as maintaining a *linear* relationship and existing as two extremes of the same underlying concept (in accordance with Hawkins and Catalano 1992). However, it could be argued that risk factors do not necessarily always possess a dichotomous protective factor and vice-versa⁶⁷ (even though the majority do).

Future statistical analysis of the individual study findings could pay closer attention to the posited linear relationship between risk and protective factors in order to assess whether it is applicable to all variables and for different sub-groups of young people

⁶⁷ For example, research has identified truancy and school exclusion as common risk factors (e.g. Anderson et al 2001), but their linear opposites, school attendance and lack of exclusion are not inevitably protective against undesirable behaviours. Conversely, high income could function as a protective factor against youth offending, but low income (on its own) does not necessarily place a young person at an increased risk of offending (see also Farrington 2000).

(e.g. different age groups, males versus females). For example, consideration could be given to whether a particular risk factor is simply an *extreme category* of an explanatory variable (e.g. poor relationships with teachers) without an equivalent protective factor. In addition, certain protective factors may exist that *interact with* risk factors or which have no corresponding risk factor (see Farrington 2000; cf. Stouthamer-Loeber 1993).

Extant evaluations of crime prevention initiatives have been more likely to track problem behaviour than positive behaviours as there are many more (methodological and statistical) measures for this purpose (see Catalano et al 2002; Moore et al 2002). Analysis and dissemination of the results from individual study benefited from a focus upon identifying and assessing the impact of protective factors (not just risk factors) within Promoting Prevention, to allow the Steering Group to target future interventions on the promotion of positive behaviours rather than solely on the reduction of negative behaviours. However, it is desirable to measure predictors (i.e. risk and protective factors) of both problem behaviours *and* positive behaviours in order to promote understanding of the chain of effects that programmes have on intermediate factors (e.g. youth drug use) and behavioural outcomes such as youth offending (see also Catalano et al 2002). The Promoting Prevention Steering Group could introduce measures of positive behaviours into its ongoing statistical collection and analyses processes. For instance, more detailed statistical analysis of self-reported protective factors from the individual study questionnaire could be supplemented by official and self-reported measures of social, emotional, cognitive and behavioural competencies, self-efficacy, degree of bonding to family/school/neighbourhood and levels of youth participation in positive social activities (see National Assembly Policy Unit 2002; Moore et al 2002).

Conclusion: Individual study

At this early stage of implementation and evaluation, Promoting Prevention partners are attempting to meet recommendations for effective preventative programmes by employing a range of complementary universal and targeted measures to target

multiple risk factors (see Lipsey et al 1992; Hawkins and Catalano 1992; Andrews et al 2001). Although the individual study questionnaire indicated that Promoting Prevention appears to be addressing salient issues for young people in Swansea, the long-term effects of the programme have yet to be established through an extended evaluation conducted upon a broader sample of young people, including samples of young people from hard to reach and at risk groups (in line with recent recommendations for avoiding sample bias in self-report studies – see Lynn 2003).

The Promoting Prevention individual study highlighted the influential role of risk and protective factors within the primary domains of the young person's life. By targeting the relationship between risk/protective factors and delinquency in a consultative context, the individual study has contributed to an evaluation model that enables:

- More effective definition and identification of particular risk and protective factors to young people in Swansea
- Choice of Promoting Prevention interventions (by the Steering Group) based upon statistically identified levels of risk and protective factors, and attitudes to issues in the key domains of the young person's life
- Implementation of a new integrated risk and protection focused programme based on information about youth crime and self-reported risk factors in Swansea
- An exemplar of a co-ordinated, multi-agency, multiple intervention method of eliciting young people's perspectives when developing and evaluating service provision

Promoting Prevention attends to so-called 'static', immutable variables such as gender and age (see Andrews and Bonta 1994; Farrington 1996) to facilitate the self-critical evolution of services and information that are responsive to the expressed needs of individuals and groups of young people. In particular, analyses of gender and age differences addresses the concern that contemporary evaluations ignore sub-group

variations in their assessments of the impact of programmes with young people (see, for example, Moore et al 2002).

Using a risk-focused model to underpin the individual study has contributed to the reflexive regeneration of Promoting Prevention by providing relevant information that can be utilised to validate, target and restructure interventions. According to the Swansea Youth Justice Plan 2003/4:

“The annual survey (individual study) has enabled us (Swansea YOT) to target effective strategies to engage young people in crime reduction activities. The development of interventions derived from an understanding of risk and protective factors which young people experience has led to substantial achievements in overall reductions in youth offending and in re-offending, both down between 2001/2 and 2002/3” (City and County of Swansea 2003: 4) .

It is the intention of the Promoting Prevention Steering Group that this rolling dynamic of critique and re-evaluation will shape future information generation processes by informing the content and implementation of the individual study questionnaire.

Dissemination of findings from the individual study to the Promoting Prevention Steering Group and other key stakeholders (e.g. teachers, YOT practitioners) has enabled the Steering Group to begin to target gender and age-specific interventions based upon identified risk and protective factors associated with youth offending in Swansea. Further modification of this productive method within Promoting Prevention in future (e.g. accounting for relative ethnicity influences) could facilitate the construction of a broad developmental theory, explain the relative applicability and salience of risk and protective factors, and guide interventions with young people throughout Swansea (see also Farrington 2000).

Systems analyses of Promoting Prevention

Systems analyses, combining qualitative narrative reports (see chapter six) and a mapping process using a methodology adapted from grounded theory (see chapter seven) elucidated the extent of cross-cutting partnership working within Promoting Prevention. The processes highlighted that Promoting Prevention is predicated on mainstream services and 'joined-up' policy and practice, although some weaknesses of this approach persist (discussed in detail in chapter seven). Thus, although the components of Promoting Prevention deliver their distinctive package of services, all these components are linked together within the overall strategy in a co-ordinated and coherent manner with common (shared) objectives. Consequently, avoidance of working with difficult or undesirable 'clients' through mechanisms such as identifying specific 'target groups' is explicitly designed out of Promoting Prevention.

Theoretical knowledge alone is insufficient to transform organisational reality as it must be integrated with activity. It is this activity, grounded in reflexive consciousness, that characterises all organisational change efforts under the conditions of modernity (Cunliffe and Jun 2002). The systems analyses has illustrated how Promoting Prevention have been susceptible to constant revision in the light of new knowledge and information, including the inevitable ambivalence amongst partner agencies (see also Giddens 2002).

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group has the aspiration that Promoting Prevention should be unlike typical preventative projects, which tend to (conform to) a focus on a single, targeted intervention (see Farrington 2000). Rather, the Steering Group wishes Promoting Prevention to function as a highly complex, citywide intervention programme involving a broad range of organisations, projects, individuals, committees and policies. Promoting Prevention as an initiative stands independently of committee and departmental structures but it is linked into them in important ways. At committee level and the most senior management levels in Swansea, new structures have been created or existing ones modified to ensure that the cross cutting approach permeates strategic decision making and to ensure that initiatives like

Promoting Prevention are linked into senior management and democratic structures and procedures. However, the degree of transparency and permeation of information between Promoting Prevention partners, some of whom cited power differentials and unequal access to information during interview (see chapter seven).

Operationally, Promoting Prevention has been managed and run by a steering group, comprised of senior operational managers and ground level practitioners drawn from the partner agencies. Thus, Promoting Prevention has no office or building, but it is an informal partnership of staff who meet under the thematic banner of preventing undesirable behaviour/consequences and improving the quality of life for local young people (see chapter seven). Promoting Prevention has clear objectives (although not every partner agency has an equal awareness of these), it is focused on taking action (rather than discussing the problems and the possibilities of action) and it has a structure and mechanisms designed to achieve these objectives. In this context, the objectives of Promoting Prevention have become increasingly shared by staff from departments and units from across the authority. Promoting Prevention is not a separate entity with its own set of objectives, but a joint venture with which a disparate range of staff engage thematically and empathically, which they participate in and for which they mobilise their respective resources. This process has been facilitated by the established tradition of multi-agency, cross-cutting working between service providers for young people in Swansea, emanating from the 1996 precursor to PPB, namely the 'Working Group on School Exclusion and Socially Disruptive Behaviour'. From the inception of cross-cutting partnership work in Swansea in 1996, the development of multi-agency working has been predicated on and animated by the generation of information through consultation with key stakeholders and young people at the local level.

Partner agencies within Promoting Prevention believe that social reactions to crime should reflect the nature of the phenomenon itself, namely a non-compartmentalised, multi-faceted approach (see chapter seven; see also Matthews and Young 1992).

**“A cultural shift towards an anti-exclusionary, multi-agency approach is need.”
(Assistant Director of Social Services)**

The cross-cutting, multi-agency approach of Promoting Prevention, a statutory requirement under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, attempts to synergise networks of ‘interlaced’ agencies drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors, thus encouraging ‘new local players’ to enter the field of crime prevention (see also Crawford 2002). Therefore, Promoting Prevention has allowed for the co-ordination of expertise from different agencies, pooling of information and resources and an holistic, ‘problem-focused’ approach to crime and associated issues (see also Crawford 2002). The focus upon multiple risk factors and the rejection of a traditional experimental design (including a control group) meant that statistical analysis could not identify *causes* of offending (i.e. cause and effect relationships between risk factors and offending). However, Promoting Prevention has been able to target the *indicators* of undesirable behaviours (e.g. exclusion, drug use, offending) by utilising extant sources of information (YOT statistics) and generating bespoke, supplementary sources of information such as the individual study questionnaire. This reflexive process has sought to deal with reality rather than abstract service delivery concepts. The development and sustainability of the Promoting Prevention partnership has also benefited (in the view of several partners) from several atypical features of traditional partnership working, such as:

- An informal, dynamic partnership structure
- A widespread commitment and willingness amongst partners to work across departmental boundaries
- A skilled and enthusiastic co-ordinator
- Predicating resource management and service delivery upon the reflexive generation of locally-specific sources of information

The advantages of multi-agency working have been well documented, but emergent difficulties have rarely been addressed by programmes or evaluations (see also

Crawford 1998). Systems analyses have identified several salient issues and 'systems failures' within Promoting Prevention, which the Steering Group has yet to adequately address, including a lack of systemisation and integration, confusion and ambiguity over the role of certain agencies within the initiative and differential power relations between partners. The identification of such ambivalence, tension and critique is perceived as an inevitable and inherent (if not constructive) artefact of the institutional reflexivity demanded by the conditions of modernity (see, for example, Giddens 2002; Smart 1999). However, if the aforementioned ambivalence and critique are left unchecked and unresolved, there is the potential for a crisis of confidence amongst partners that could undermine commitment to Promoting Prevention and, ultimately, the success of the initiative.

Although Promoting Prevention is not perfect, the Steering Group argues that it is a dynamic way of approximating to ideals – as defined by its thematic banner objectives. It is through the systems analyses exercises that the Promoting Prevention Steering Group can pinpoint its strengths, identify weaknesses and evolve into a more effective, innovative local paradigm of multi-agency partnership working.

Conclusion: Systems analyses

The systems analyses demonstrated that key stakeholders (e.g. operational managers, practitioners) acknowledge and understand the important role that information plays as a touchstone to guide and influence decision-making, working practices and the targeting of provision within the Promoting Prevention initiative. The Promoting Prevention Steering Group emphasises the importance of locality within a problem-oriented methodology. This eschews the prevalent 'implant hypothesis' (Rosenbaum 1988), where pre-packaged programmes are implanted or parachuted into local social environments with little sensitivity to the specific local context in the implementation process. The Steering Group firmly believes that it is precisely because action needs to be local that information about the nature of local 'problems' is so vital (see also Crawford 1998). This principle underpins Promoting Prevention's prioritisation of consultation with young people. In addition, the individual study retains

clarity about the purposes and values underlying aims of consultation (e.g. article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989).

Systems analyses have identified that Promoting Prevention benefits from strong leadership, vision and purpose within an identifiable (but not necessarily accountable) partnership structure (see also Lander and Booty 2002). Lack of ownership by certain agencies (e.g. the Local Health Board) remains a key area of weakness (as it does within numerous other multi-agency schemes – see Crawford 2002). However, representatives from the Promoting Prevention expressed the desire to focus in the future upon increasing its partners' sense of ownership (e.g. through more regular steering group meetings), their willingness to change behaviour and their capacity to deliver (see Audit Commission 2002). At present, Promoting Prevention could be over-reliant upon a charismatic and motivated co-ordinator (and certain key YOT –based workers) operating to a local authority, Youth Offending Team-focused agenda. Consequently, the partnership may lack durability and would suffer disproportionately if any of these key individuals departed (see also Lander and Booty 2002). In particular, the influence of the steering committee and the relationship of the YOT Manager (as the Co-ordinator of Promoting Prevention) with it remains a significant issue (see also Gilling 1994). There is a clear danger that the partnership agencies will become too reliant on the Co-ordinator in the absence of explicit, regular and effective dissemination of the work of Promoting Prevention.

The mainstreaming of funding and long-term commitment to Promoting Prevention by partners seeks to ensure that the partnership is not dependent on the nature of interpersonal relations alone, such that any significant change in key personnel would have precarious effects (see Crawford 1998). The thematic agreement and commitment by partner agencies (outlined in semi-structured interviews) have also reduced the potential for this. In the same way, any ambiguity regarding organisational accountability within Promoting Prevention is being addressed by the Steering Group through openness about organisational roles and responsibilities, combined with a clarity of vision and purpose between the partners. The Steering

Group endeavours to foster a desire amongst partners to work together, with an open-minded consideration of other partners that promotes effective communication and networking (see also Lander and Booty 2002).

“We (the Steering Group) are trying to work in a more open and accountable way locally.” (YOT Manager)

The Promoting Prevention Steering Group has attempted to draw together diverse organisations with very different cultures, ideologies and traditions in the pursuit of clear and agreed objectives focused by information, rather than working with vague and multiple aims. In this way, Promoting Prevention has largely avoided being pulled in different and competing directions that could cause confusion and ambiguity. The self-critical, reflexive nature of Promoting Prevention is congruent with the perception of conflict as the ‘healthy expression of different interests’ (Lander and Booty 2002), rather than as a threat to the stability of the partnership. Therefore, an expressed aim of the steering group is that differences between partners are not ignored, but are recognised and addressed by the partnership.

Changing organisational values and culture is a difficult, yet surmountable barrier if each agency’s role is clearly defined and Promoting Prevention’s aims balance competing agency priorities (see also Audit Commission 2002). However, interviews with key stakeholders suggest that Promoting Prevention may have underestimated the degree of sustained effort required to precipitate cultural shifts in local agencies, especially local secondary schools, many of whom exhibit entrenched and intractable attitudes to change.

Although Promoting Prevention has encountered difficulty in changing the organisational values and culture of certain statutory authorities and other partnership agencies, the initiative has generally fostered ownership and a willingness to change amongst partners. This has been facilitated by sustained focus on local priorities,

particularly the promotion of youth inclusion and the prevention of youth offending through generating information about the local situation.

The Promoting Prevention initiative has interpenetrated normal internal working relations in Swansea in order to promote collaboration and interdependence between agencies (see also Crawford 1998). This collaboration has resulted in the formation of several new team structures, such as the team of project co-ordinators supervised by the Education Youth Worker (see chapter six) and the mainstreaming of certain projects that began under Promoting Prevention control (e.g. anger management, Flashpoint, Splash). The flexibility of Promoting Prevention's *informal* partnership structure, creating informal networks across traditional organisational boundaries, enables the partners to 'get on with the job' without formal arrangements hindering progress (see also Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994). However, this informal structure has occasionally resulted in important decisions apparently being taken without full partnership consultation (e.g. recruitment of Promoting Prevention staff), thus reinforcing the power of dominant partners, leaving differential power relations unchecked and removing the opportunity for democratic input or control (see also Crawford 1998; Audit Commission 2002).

The use of problem-oriented methodologies to plan and implement crime prevention has seldom been practised in any rigorous or reflexive manner in the UK, whilst consultation is often brushed aside when complex issues arise (Crawford 1998). There has been little sensitivity to the specific local context in the implementation process (see Pitts 2001). However, the development of Promoting Prevention has been underpinned by a commitment that action needs to be local, so information about the nature of local 'problems' is vital. In order to move beyond rhetoric into vibrant practice, policy-makers and practitioners within Promoting Prevention have acknowledged the necessity of a self-critical evaluation process. The Promoting Prevention evaluation approach of individual study questionnaire and systems analyses has generated locally-specific information, but also highlighted several challenging and reflexive questions about the processes of inclusion and exclusion,

conflict negotiation, agency domination of the policy agenda and accountability (see also Dick 2002).

Conclusion: Promoting Prevention

Promoting Prevention is a multi-agency, cross-cutting programme addressing a range of outcomes for young people in Swansea. It stands as an exemplar of how knowledge can be reflexively applied to the conditions of system reproduction in order to intrinsically alter the circumstances to which it originally referred. Giddens (1990) refers to this process as the 'circulating of social knowledge in the double hermeneutic'.

Through the Steering Group, Promoting Prevention seeks to identify further opportunities for promoting effective practice in involving children and young people in policy development and service planning (see Treseder and Crowley 2001). Indeed, Promoting Prevention was recently heralded as an example of good practice with young people by the National Assembly for Wales (National Assembly Policy Unit 2002). In particular, the Steering Group aims to identify those young people most vulnerable to a host of risk factors for youth offending, in order to provide a cohesive local network of targeted and universal services, responsive to their needs and aspirations (National Assembly Policy Unit 2000; National Assembly Policy Unit 2002).

Results from the individual study questionnaire suggested that youth offending in Swansea was likely to be the product of the interaction between family, school, peer, neighbourhood and individual factors (see also Farrington 2002). Therefore, as risk and protective factors for offending are often highly interrelated, Promoting Prevention's focus upon multiple risk and protective factors appears to be a promising method of intervention (see also Wasserman and Miller 1998). The Promoting Prevention Steering Group has extrapolated the emerging Youth Justice Board strategy on youth crime prevention (Youth Justice Board 2002). In particular, information from the individual study questionnaire is utilised to prioritise the early identification of risk and protective factors (see also All Wales Youth Offending

Strategy: Consultation Paper 2003), which are then incorporated into appropriate preventative interventions at the pre-onset stage, supplemented by targeted services (particularly for medium/high risk groups) within a social inclusion approach.

Understanding the correlates and indicators of youth offending in Swansea (using the individual study questionnaire) is important because this will ultimately enable agencies contributing to Promoting Prevention to more effectively target their resources and interventions, whilst initiating new services in response to need and gaps in provision as identified by service users (i.e. young people). As Promoting Prevention is theoretically and ethically underpinned by article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child⁶⁸, the initiative aspires to help local children and young people to shape and access services (e.g. through consultation using the individual study questionnaire), in accordance with their universal rights. The initiative has encouraged youth participation in decision-making locally and has implemented structures for involving young people in order to tap the considerable potential for children and young people to influence local policy (see also Treseder and Crowley 2001). Further, longer-term evaluation is required to measure the full impact of Promoting Prevention's inclusionary processes on local policy, practice and young people's behaviour.

The impact of Promoting Prevention on enhancing protection and reducing risk is clearly central, but Promoting Prevention is more than an explicitly preventative programme which seeks to improve the individual, social and community context of young people in concrete ways. Through its social inclusion agenda and commitment to the humanitarian and ethical principles that inform its implementation, Promoting Prevention seeks to change the way young people think about themselves, their social and community situations and to encourage different (more pro-social) behaviour based on this different thinking. An equivalent culture shift has been sought and initiated within organisations in the City and County of Swansea, with differing degrees of success.

⁶⁸ All children and young people have the right to be consulted on all issues that affect them.

Crucially, Promoting Prevention is predicated on mainstream services and 'joined-up' policy and practice. Thus, although the components of Promoting Prevention deliver their distinctive package of services, all these components are linked together within the overall strategy in a co-ordinated and coherent manner with common, (generally) shared objectives. This includes the prevention and reduction of youth offending by targeting risk and protective factors amongst vulnerable groups such as truants, excludes and offenders (see also Goulden and Sondhi 2001). Evaluation of Promoting Prevention indicates that a cross-cutting, consultative and risk-focused methodology is an effective way of targeting interventions to prevent and reduce offending among young people in Swansea.

It was apparent through systems analyses that the cross cutting nature of Promoting Prevention facilitated access to the wider base of resources across participating agencies. Cross-cutting working practices in Swansea have also unified the aspirations of the YOT, the Crime and Disorder Partnership (Safer Swansea Partnership) and the Drug and Alcohol Action Team to tackle the underlying factors of youth criminality (identified by the individual study), although it is too early to fully evaluate the impact of this unification. The multi-agency nature of Promoting Prevention seeks to implement a locally co-ordinated programme of prevention for young people at risk of undesirable behaviour in order to 'avoid duplication of effort and funding and improve the prospect of later desistance' (Graham and Bowling 1995: xv).

The development of Promoting Prevention has been predicated upon quality information. Promoting Prevention emerged from early consultation exercises such as Promoting Positive Behaviour (see chapter one; see also Haines et al 2001), the 1999 and 2000 Swansea youth conferences and the annual Crime and Disorder Audit ('Safer Swansea'), as a response to the statutory requirements of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Promoting Prevention interventions have evolved reflexively in the light of systematic information generated by established local official sources (e.g. The

Management Information System/'Themis', local authority secondary school exclusion statistics), supplemented by specifically created sources to address gaps in knowledge, such as the (self-report) individual study questionnaire and the (qualitative) systems analyses. The rolling dynamic between information and the regeneration of Promoting Prevention has been exemplified by the creation of bespoke posts to address identified shortfalls in service provision following consultation with young people and key stakeholders, and reinforced by these posts evolving into teams of workers and becoming mainstream programmes (see chapters six and seven)

Promoting Prevention has adopted an holistic developmental crime prevention perspective that has acknowledged the influences of dispositional and social factors upon offending. The evaluation has supplemented this methodology with systems analyses to enable consultation with key stakeholders, elucidation of partnership structures and evaluation of the impact of extant mechanisms for generating information and implementing Promoting Prevention. This has enabled the Steering Group and partner organisations to focus upon changing organisational, institutional, structural and cultural factors (emerging from the conditions of modernity) that exert a negative influence upon socialisation locally, rather than simply identifying young people at risk (see also Lipsey and Derzon 1998). Systems analyses have also rendered the structures, processes and weaknesses of funding partners and the Promoting Prevention partnership transparent, accountable and predicated on evidence.

The research and evaluation of Promoting Prevention has been conducted over a limited two year period, so conclusions regarding the impact of Promoting Prevention must be drawn tentatively at this stage. However, the Promoting Prevention Steering Group is committed to continued long-term funding for research and evaluation, to include the individual study and the systems analyses. This has reinforced Promoting Prevention as a modern, self-aware initiative of youth crime prevention that utilises information as its developmental core.

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Appendix 1: Frequency of self-reported ever offending by offence type and gender

Offence	% of sample	Male	Female	χ^2
Criminal damage	28.5	34.6	22.1	24.448*
Arson	24.4	30.3	18.2	25.299*
Theft from Machine	15.8	19.2	12.2	11.553*
Shoplifting	28.5	31.7	25.1	6.700**
Theft from school/ work	21.6	26	16.9	15.679*
Theft – other	15.9	21.2	10.3	28.132*
Vehicle theft	11.6	16.4	6.4	31.160*
Pick-pocketing	8	10	5.8	7.846**
Trespass – Intended theft	11.4	15.2	7.4	19.260*
Buying/handling stolen goods	17.4	19.9	14.8	5.820***
Sold stolen cheques/cards	6.6	8.1	5	4.915***
Threaten with weapon	8.5	11.1	5.6	12.370*
Public fighting	28.7	34.4	22.7	21.325*
Aggravated assault	15.3	20.1	10.1	24.426*
Ever offending	59.7	67.4	51.5	33.538*
Active offending	29.6	35.9	22.9	26.120*

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 2: Frequency of self-reported ever offending by school year and offence type

Offence	School year				χ^2		
	7 %	8 %	9 %	10 %	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Criminal damage	25.6	26.2	30.4	30.5	.023	1.490	.001
Arson	19	2.15	27.4	27.7	.504	3.231	.007
Theft from Machine	12.4	13.6	17.3	18.6	.165	1.765	.234
Shoplifting	24.8	23.7	29.9	33.9	.096	3.314	1.348
Theft from school/ work	18.2	23.7	23.3	20.3	2.457	.013	.915
Theft – other	12.4	12.9	16.4	20.3	.036	1.652	1.824
Vehicle theft	10.3	11.7	10.1	13.8	.250	.413	2.342
Pick-pocketing	7.4	7.3	8.8	8.2	.007	.523	.077
Trespass – intended theft	11.2	10.1	12.6	11.6	.164	1.054	.176
Buying/handling stolen goods	13.6	12.9	18.4	23.2	.059	3.743	2.528
Sold stolen cheques/cards	6.6	4.7	6.6	8.2	.926	1.069	.688
Threaten with weapon	8.3	7.6	9.3	8.5	.091	.663	.157
Public fighting	30.2	26.5	27.9	30.5	.914	.179	.571
Aggravated assault	13.6	15.5	15.6	15.8	.364	.003	.006
Ever offending	55.4	59	59.2	63.8	.725	.002	1.650
Active offending	28.5	28.4	28.2	32.8	.001	.002	1.756

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 3: Frequency of self-reported drug use by type of drug and gender

Drug	% of sample	Males	Females	χ^2
Amphetamines	9.4	8.7	10.1	.810
Cannabis	33.8	34.9	32.7	.669
Cocaine	8.8	9.7	7.9	1.357
Ecstasy	6.9	7.9	5.8	2.233
LSD	5.9	6.2	5.6	.209
Heroin	5.4	6.1	4.7	1.257
Nitrates	9.8	9.3	10.3	.377
Solvents	19.2	19.6	18.7	.188
Nadropax	4.4	5.3	3.4	2.884
Tranquillisers	6.7	6.7	6.6	.005
Lifetime use	44.8	46	43.6	.699

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 4: Frequency of self-reported drug use by school year and offence type

	School year				χ^2				
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10		
Offence	7 %	8 %	9 %	10 %					
Amphetamines	11.2	7.6	7.7	11.6	2.129	.002	3.168		
Cannabis	19.8	34.1	31	46	13.821*	.749	17.293*		
Cocaine	5.8	7.9	8.5	12.1	.934	.083	2.598		
Ecstasy	7.9	5.4	4.7	9.9	1.410	.178	7.325**		
LSD	6.6	4.4	4.9	7.9	1.302	.101	2.662		
Heroin	4.5	4.4	5.2	7.1	.005	.229	1.078		
Nitrates	8.7	6.9	9.6	13.3	.584	1.554	2.419		
Solvents	22.7	15.8	16.7	22.3	4.351***	.110	3.599		
Nadropax	3.3	3.8	4.4	5.6	.092	.154	.606		
Tranquillisers	6.6	4.4	5.8	9.6	1.302	.623	3.773		
Lifetime use	36.8	46.4	40.3	53.7	5.180***	2.573	12.955*		

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 5: Mean self-reported attitudes to offending by gender (offenders only)

Attitude	Whole sample	Male	Female	t
Positive attitude to offending	3.08	3.11	3.03	.753
Remorse	3.15	3.21	3.06	1.459
Lack of victim empathy	3.08	3.11	3.03	.753
Family upset	3.15	3.21	3.06	1.459
Lack of responsibility	2.74	2.70	2.81	-1.162
Sensation seeking	2.42	2.47	2.35	1.290
Offend because friends do	2.38	2.36	2.42	-.650
Lack of desire to desist	2.79	2.80	2.77	.291
See crime as instrumental	2.12	2.12	2.14	-.262
Potential to reoffend	2.42	2.40	2.46	-.621
Inability to foresee consequences	3.32	3.28	3.37	-.895
Overall mean	2.79	2.80	2.77	.660

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 6: Mean self-reported attitudes to offending by school year (offenders only)

	School year				t		
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Offence							
Positive attitude to offending	2.98	3.07	3.18	3.04	-.571	-.683	.961
Remorse	3.25	3.07	3.10	3.21	1.150	-.195	-.816
Lack of victim empathy	2.98	3.07	3.18	3.04	-.581	-.786	.971
Family upset	3.25	3.07	3.10	3.21	1.169	-.222	-.845
Lack of responsibility	2.46	2.81	2.77	2.82	-2.344***	.308	-.389
Sensation seeking	2.31	2.49	2.48	2.38	-1.278	.080	.832
Offend because friends do	2.20	2.43	2.45	2.38	-1.659	-.164	.570
Lack of desire to desist	2.76	2.84	2.83	2.71	-.512	.115	.869
See crime as instrumental	1.87	2.20	2.28	2.07	-2.606**	-.616	1.904
Potential to reoffend	2.21	2.52	2.43	2.46	-2.21***	.733	-.201
Inability to foresee consequences	3.25	3.37	3.23	3.40	-.699	.967	-1.246
Overall mean	2.68	2.82	2.82	2.79	-2.297***	-.098	.569

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 7: Mean self-reported perceptions of family-based factors by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Male	Female	t
Lack of parental communication	2.12	2.17	2.06	1.213
Lack of parental supervision	2.08	2.16	2.00	2.624**
Unclear rules for behaviour	2.26	2.27	2.25	.347
Inconsistent discipline	2.32	2.32	2.31	.043
Poor child-parent relationship	1.69	1.66	1.72	-1.247
Marital discord	2.45	2.47	2.43	.499
Parental criminality	3.78	3.76	3.81	-.228
Sibling criminality	2.18	2.17	2.19	.816
Parental drinking	1.73	1.76	1.69	1.056
Sibling drinking	1.86	1.91	1.81	1.137
Parental drug use	1.79	1.84	1.74	1.228
Sibling drug use	1.80	1.85	1.74	2.265
Overall mean	1.78	1.84	1.72	3.046**

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 8: Mean self-reported perceptions of family-based factors by school year

	School year				t		
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Offence							
Lack of parental communication	2.26	2.13	2.08	2.05	.941	.391	.277
Lack of parental supervision	2.24	1.95	2.12	2.05	3.008**	-2.050***	.899
Unclear rules for behaviour	2.25	2.23	2.30	2.24	.194	-.888	.823
Inconsistent discipline	2.23	2.19	2.39	2.41	.500	-2.577**	-.223
Poor child-parent relationship	1.63	1.62	1.73	1.75	.044	-1.554	-.254
Marital discord	2.54	2.57	2.34	2.41	-.217	2.174***	-.670
Parental criminality	3.80	3.87	3.80	3.71	-.482	.056	-.100
Sibling criminality	1.99	1.74	1.61	1.64	1.656	1.087	-.262
Parental drinking	1.88	1.77	1.87	1.93	.885	-.838	-.476
Sibling drinking	1.73	1.81	1.77	1.83	-.613	.342	-.532
Parental drug use	1.89	1.74	1.82	1.77	1.066	-.646	.443
Sibling drug use	2.26	2.13	2.08	2.05	.424	-.736	-.728
Overall mean	1.79	1.83	1.73	1.76	-.683	1.827	-.596

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 9: Mean self-reported perceptions of school-based factors by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Male	Female	t
Disaffection	2.80	2.92	2.68	3.523*
Truancy	1.82	1.90	1.73	2.768**
Lack of consultation	2.69	2.80	2.58	3.576*
Unclear school rules	2.06	2.11	2.00	1.957
Consistency of discipline	3.48	3.49	3.47	.243
Poor relationship with teachers	2.79	2.92	2.66	3.711*
Lack of extracurricular activities	2.62	2.65	2.58	1.114
Underachievement	2.99	3.04	2.94	1.332
Victim of bullying	2.71	2.59	2.83	-3.105*
Lack of commitment to school	2.35	2.44	2.24	2.648**
Bullying others	1.57	1.63	1.51	2.164****
Bullying others	2.02	2.06	1.99	1.056
Overall mean	2.49	2.54	2.43	3.500*
	%	%	%	χ^2
Suspension	17.4	19.9	14.7	6.213****
Exclusion	8.7	9	8.4	.148

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 10: Mean self-reported perceptions of school-based factors by school year

	School year				t		
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Offence	2.54	2.81	2.88	2.89	-2.589**	-.789	-.053
Disaffection	1.87	1.90	1.71	1.81	-.235	2.226***	-1.344
Truancy	2.55	2.55	2.75	2.86	.008	-2.513***	-1.238
Lack of consultation	1.84	2.00	2.14	2.18	-1.955	-1.810	-.465
Unclear school rules	3.58	3.42	3.43	3.51	1.558	-.174	-.856
Consistency of discipline	2.55	2.80	2.92	2.82	-2.177***	-1.237	1.042
Poor relationship with teachers	2.28	2.45	2.74	2.87	-1.666	-3.231*	-1.467
Lack of extracurricular activities	2.84	2.90	3.07	3.09	-.489	-1.895	-.248
Underachievement	2.69	2.82	2.72	2.59	-1.086	.928	1.278
Victim of bullying	2.28	2.35	2.36	2.38	-.613	-.083	-.167
Lack of commitment to school	1.55	1.63	1.52	1.57	-.856	1.431	-.726
Lack of parental commitment	2.05	2.06	1.99	2.00	-.068	.692	-.063
Bullying others							
Overall mean	2.39	2.47	2.52	2.55	-1.768	-1.137	-.645
	%	%	%	%	χ^2	χ^2	χ^2
Suspension	14.9	15.5	17.8	20.3	.036	.633	.746
Exclusion	8.7	8.5	7.7	9.9	.004	.164	1.104

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 11: Mean self-reported perceptions of neighbourhood-based factors by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Male	Female	t
Lack of attachment to area	2.12	2.09	2.15	-.891
Lack of public surveillance	2.60	2.72	2.48	3.505*
Neighbourhood criminality	3.04	3.13	2.95	2.471**
Wide availability of drugs	2.73	2.84	2.62	2.665**
Poor public transport	2.77	2.81	2.72	1.414
Poor youth facilities	3.20	3.15	3.25	-1.205
Unsafe neighbourhood (day)	2.21	2.25	2.18	1.038
Unsafe neighbourhood (night)	2.90	2.81	3.00	-2.617**
Overall mean	2.67	2.70	2.65	1.227

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 12: Mean self-reported perceptions of neighbourhood-based factors by school year

Offence	School year				t		
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Lack of attachment to area	1.95	2.08	2.14	2.25	-1.488	-.680	-1.321
Lack of public surveillance	2.39	2.49	2.66	2.78	-.967	-1.897	-1.292
Neighbourhood criminality	2.94	2.89	3.10	3.18	.423	-2.098***	-.762
Wide availability of drugs	2.47	2.47	2.86	3.01	-.050	-3.441*	-1.468
Poor public transport	2.65	2.80	2.79	2.79	-1.382	.039	.108
Poor youth facilities	2.88	2.97	3.35	3.47	-.776	-3.457*	-1.172
Unsafe neighbourhood (day)	2.20	2.23	2.18	2.25	-.288	.587	-.946
Unsafe neighbourhood (night)	2.89	2.97	2.86	2.89	-.654	1.100	-.310
Overall mean	2.52	2.59	2.72	2.81	-1.035	-2.532***	-1.576

Appendix 13: Mean self-reported perceptions of lifestyle-based factors by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Male	Female	t
Criminal peers	2.21	2.39	2.02	5.334*
Anti-social peers	2.65	2.84	2.46	5.030*
Anti-social behaviour	2.13	2.33	1.91	6.314*
Lack of positive activities	2.51	2.50	2.53	-.352
Hanging around streets	3.27	3.35	3.19	2.187***
Positive attitudes to drugs	1.81	1.85	1.77	1.121
Positive attitudes to alcohol	1.74	1.78	1.70	1.151
Positive attitudes to smoking	1.68	1.76	1.60	2.539
Drug-using peers	1.41	1.48	1.34	2.643***
Alcohol/drugs problems	2.09	2.17	2.00	2.241***
Offend to get money for drugs	2.12	2.08	2.16	-1.117
Offend whilst under influence	2.03	2.00	2.05	-.714
Been offered drugs	2.86	2.91	2.81	1.138
Overall mean	2.19	2.26	2.11	3.527*

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 14: Mean self-reported perceptions of lifestyle-based factors by school year

	School year				t		
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Offence	7	8	9	10			
Criminal peers	2.04	2.03	2.30	2.39	.084	-2.871**	-.896
Anti-social peers	2.50	2.55	2.71	2.80	-.482	-.159	-.911
Anti-social behaviour	1.91	2.12	2.13	2.28	-2.053***	-.032	-1.719
Lack of positive activities	2.42	2.53	2.58	2.50	-.978	-.446	.837
Hanging around streets	3.32	3.28	3.24	3.26	.396	.333	-.162
Positive attitudes to drugs	1.55	1.79	1.84	1.97	-2.370***	-.563	-1.309
Positive attitudes to alcohol	1.53	1.74	1.67	1.97	-2.075***	.681	-3.194*
Positive attitudes to smoking	1.58	1.63	1.73	1.76	-.495	-1.051	-.353
Drug-using peers	1.37	1.34	1.44	1.48	.318	-1.350	-.608
Alcohol/drugs problems	1.90	1.86	2.25	2.25	.395	-3.604*	-.046
Offend to get money for drugs	1.99	1.92	2.27	2.23	.565	-3.248*	.330
Offend whilst under influence	1.90	1.84	2.06	2.24	.557	-2.062***	-1.732
Been offered drugs	2.64	2.85	2.94	2.95	-1.505	-.749	-.053
Overall mean	2.05	2.11	2.24	2.31	-1.015	-2.218***	-1.281

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 15: Mean self-reported perceptions of personal/individual-based factors by gender

Factor	Whole sample	Male	Female	t
Feeling sad/miserable	2.78	2.63	2.93	-3.704*
Worries about future	3.27	3.17	3.38	-2.780**
Eating or sleeping problems	2.30	2.14	2.46	-4.399*
Self-harming	2.32	2.29	2.36	-.981
Impulsivity	3.01	3.09	2.91	2.319***
Risk-taking	2.57	2.80	2.33	5.801*
Inability to resist peer pressure	2.81	2.68	2.95	-3.775*
Poor concentration	2.89	2.93	2.84	1.118
Inability to defer gratification	2.75	2.74	2.76	-.319
Rule-breaking attitudes	2.21	2.32	2.08	3.373*
Sensation seeking	3.51	3.50	3.53	-.417
Stress	3.02	2.94	3.10	-2.100***
Overall mean	2.79	2.77	2.80	-1.059

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 16: Mean self-reported perceptions of personal/individual-based factors by school year

	School year				t		
	7	8	9	10	7 v 8	8 v 9	9 v 10
Offence	2.81	2.82	2.64	2.86	-.111	1.675	-2.152***
Feelling sad/miserable	2.81	2.82	2.64	2.86	-.111	1.675	-2.152***
Worries about future	3.23	3.43	3.19	3.24	-1.612	2.180	-.440
Eating or sleeping problems	2.24	2.29	2.25	2.38	-.405	.413	-1.380
Self-harming	2.30	2.45	2.20	2.35	-1.264	2.355***	-1.481
Impulsivity	2.79	3.01	3.12	3.03	-1.813	-.986	.896
Risk-taking	2.33	2.56	2.52	2.79	-1.815	.332	-2.377***
Inability to resist peer pressure	2.69	2.82	2.76	2.94	-1.192	.655	-1.894
Poor concentration	2.77	3.02	2.88	2.84	-2.037	1.302	.365
Inability to defer gratification	2.68	2.71	2.70	2.87	-.221	.053	-1.777
Rule-breaking attitudes	1.92	2.23	2.18	2.40	-2.785**	.496	-2.340***
Sensation seeking	3.60	3.33	3.50	3.62	2.324***	-1.708	-1.234
Stress	3.02	2.88	3.02	3.12	1.157	-1.305	-.945
Overall mean	2.70	2.80	2.75	2.87	-1.899	1.055	-2.786**

* p<0.001; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.05

Appendix 17: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors)

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Anti-social peers	.669	.063	113.052	1	.000	1.951
2	Alcohol/drugs problems	.431	.063	46.832	1	.000	1.539
3	Poor relationship with teachers	.378	.072	27.763	1	.000	1.460
4	Stress	.263	.057	21.455	1	.000	1.301
5	Anti-social behaviour	.288	.102	7.997	1	.005	1.334
6	Lack of parental commitment to school	-.285	.102	7.880	1	.005	.752
7	Impulsivity	-.153	.059	6.664	1	.010	.858
8	Wide availability of drugs	.180	.066	7.544	1	.006	1.198
9	Lack of parental supervision	.207	.087	5.641	1	.018	1.230
10	Poor child-parent relationship	-.258	.110	5.541	1	.019	.773
11	Hang around streets	.156	.069	5.103	1	.024	1.169
12	Unclear school rules	.199	.096	4.277	1	.039	1.220
13	Rule-breaking attitudes	.143	.072	3.993	1	.046	1.154
14	Poor public transport	-.151	.076	3.952	1	.047	.860

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	73.3	57.3

Appendix 18: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors)

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Anti-social behaviour	.631	.080	61.975	1	.000	1.879
2	Risk taking	.317	.067	22.348	1	.000	1.373
3	Sensation seeking	.251	.082	9.327	1	.002	1.286
4	Parental criminality	.225	.070	10.396	1	.001	1.252
5	Poor relationship with teachers	.248	.085	8.447	1	.004	1.281
6	Positive attitudes to alcohol	-.249	.086	8.365	1	.004	.780
7	Wide availability of drugs	.226	.081	7.875	1	.005	1.254
8	Lack of parental commitment to school	-.266	.107	6.133	1	.013	.767
9	Rule-breaking attitudes	.231	.089	6.769	1	.009	1.260
10	Sibling drug use	.170	.073	5.431	1	.020	1.185
11	Anti-social peers	.214	.103	4.314	1	.038	1.238

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	85.9	78.2

Appendix 19: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors) for males

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Poor relationship with teachers	.706	.098	52.405	1	.000	2.027
2	Alcohol/drugs problems	.489	.093	27.875	1	.000	1.630
3	Anti-social behaviour	.443	.115	14.776	1	.000	1.558
5	Worries about future	-.194	.079	5.977	1	.014	.824
6	Inability to defer gratification	-.197	.082	5.719	1	.017	.821
7	Risk taking	.194	.085	5.240	1	.022	1.214
8	Lack of parental commitment to school	-.328	.149	4.841	1	.028	.720
9	Positive attitudes to drugs	.320	.140	5.192	1	.023	1.377
10	Stress	.178	.090	3.914	1	.048	1.195

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	74.3	66.3

Appendix 20: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors) for males

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Anti-social behaviour	.821	.097	71.868	1	.000	2.274
2	Risk taking	.333	.085	15.301	1	.000	1.396
3	Poor relationship with teachers	.377	.109	11.899	1	.001	1.458
4	Impulsivity	.355	.106	11.212	1	.001	1.426
5	Been offered drugs	-.423	.132	10.291	1	.001	.655
6	Inability to defer gratification	.365	.108	11.487	1	.001	1.441
7	Wide availability of drugs	.351	.114	9.448	1	.002	1.420
8	Marital discord	-.318	.126	6.384	1	.012	.727
9	Alcohol/drugs problems	.259	.123	4.417	1	.036	1.296

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	84.5	72.1

Appendix 21: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors) by females

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Anti-social peers	.540	.098	30.242	1	.000	1.715
2	Wide availability of drugs	.328	.088	13.786	1	.000	1.388
3	Stress	.268	.086	9.780	1	.002	1.307
4	Poor concentration	-.215	.091	5.544	1	.019	.806
5	Hanging around streets	.228	.096	5.609	1	.018	1.256
6	Feel unsafe in neighbourhood (day)	-.252	.121	4.321	1	.038	.777
7	Unclear parental rules	.284	.139	4.167	1	.041	1.328

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise Conditional backwards	77.7	52.1

Appendix 22: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors) by females

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Criminal peers	.562	.138	16.663	1	.000	1.755
2	Sensation seeking	.382	.142	7.265	1	.007	1.465
3	Poor youth facilities	-.271	.119	5.181	1	.023	.763
4	Wide availability of drugs	.328	.142	5.354	1	.021	1.388
5	Self-harm	.250	.121	4.247	1	.039	1.284
6	Poor child-parent relationship	-.495	.209	5.638	1	.018	.609
7	Rulebreaking attitudes	.308	.149	4.273	1	.039	1.360
8	Bullying others	.293	.149	3.871	1	.049	1.341

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	87.7	68.3

Appendix 23: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors) by year 7 pupils

Step	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	
1	Anti-social peers	.795	.146	29.480	1	.000	2.215

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	82.4	52.1

Appendix 24: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors) by year 7 pupils

Step	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	
1	Anti-social behaviour	.867	.176	24.151	1	.000	2.379
2	Underachievement	.581	.190	9.381	1	.002	1.787
3	Wide availability of drugs	.436	.176	6.141	1	.013	1.547
4	Anti-social peers	.450	.216	4.358	1	.037	1.569

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	85.5	77.6

Appendix 25: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors) by year 8 pupils

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Stress	.672	.115	34.350	1	.000	1.959
2	Criminal peers	.838	.181	21.376	1	.000	2.311
3	Truancy	.368	.143	6.622	1	.010	1.445
4	Alcohol/drugs problems	.364	.142	6.598	1	.010	1.438
5	Rulebreaking attitudes	-.360	.144	6.234	1	.013	.698
6	Hanging around streets	.365	.142	6.608	1	.010	1.440
7	Poor concentration	-.318	.134	5.605	1	.018	.728
8	Lack of public surveillance	.371	.169	4.810	1	.028	1.449
9	Inconsistent school discipline	.304	.152	3.994	1	.046	1.355

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	78.3	52.2

Appendix 26: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors) by year 8

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Criminal peers	.821	.197	17.368	1	.000	2.272
2	Lack of parental commitment to school	-.689	.247	7.815	1	.005	.502
3	Parental drug use	.497	.187	7.060	1	.008	1.644
4	Risk taking	.376	.169	4.936	1	.026	1.457
5	Stress	.455	.208	4.818	1	.028	1.577
6	Poor child-parent relationship	-.656	.324	4.090	1	.043	.519
7	Disaffection	.493	.225	4.811	1	.028	1.636

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	89.4	81

Appendix 27: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors) by year 9 pupils

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Anti-social peers	.930	.143	42.366	1	.000	2.535
2	Sensation seeking	.496	.150	10.915	1	.001	1.642
3	Alcohol/drugs problems	.387	.143	7.383	1	.007	1.473
4	Lack of consultation at school	.470	.182	6.632	1	.010	1.600
5	Victim of bullying	-.363	.138	6.919	1	.009	.695
6	Worries about future	.312	.144	4.707	1	.030	1.366
7	Positive attitudes to alcohol	-.395	.201	3.884	1	.049	.673
8	Positive attitudes to drugs	.670	.323	4.285	1	.038	1.953

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	83.5	61

Appendix 28: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors) by year 9 pupils

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Anti-social behaviour	.884	.152	33.699	1	.000	2.421
2	Positive attitudes to drugs	.481	.171	7.951	1	.005	1.618
3	Been offered drugs	-.503	.174	8.331	1	.004	.605
4	Feel sad/miserable	.412	.156	7.018	1	.008	1.510
5	Inability to defer gratification	.449	.173	6.709	1	.010	1.567
6	Poor youth facilities	-.447	.179	6.245	1	.012	.640
7	Lack of attachment to neighbourhood	.550	.202	7.399	1	.007	1.733
8	Anti-social peers	.478	.234	4.163	1	.041	1.613
9	Unclear parental rules	.723	.288	6.312	1	.012	2.060
10	Inconsistent parental discipline	-.674	.310	4.725	1	.030	.510

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise Conditional backwards	96	79.2

Appendix 29: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of ever offending (risk/protective factors) by year 10 pupils

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Poor relationship with teachers	.537	.136	15.529	1	.000	1.711
2	Lack of parental commitment to school	-.436	.164	7.100	1	.008	.647
3	Anti-social behaviour	.492	.162	9.166	1	.002	1.635
4	Feeling sad/miserable	-.250	.099	6.411	1	.011	.779
5	Lack of parental communication	-.322	.142	5.124	1	.024	.725
6	Positive attitudes to drugs	.427	.185	5.338	1	.021	1.533
7	Inconsistent school discipline	.322	.138	5.444	1	.020	1.379

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	76.4	61.8

Appendix 30: Logistic regression of all factors predictive of active offending (risk/protective factors) by year 10 pupils

Step		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1	Risk taking	.615	.128	23.053	1	.000	1.850
2	Wide availability of drugs	.442	.154	8.206	1	.004	1.556
3	Feeling sad/miserable	-.299	.134	5.005	1	.025	.742
4	Parental drinking	-.389	.181	4.604	1	.032	.678
5	Lack of positive activities	.330	.150	4.826	1	.028	1.391
6	Rulebreaking attitudes	.366	.178	4.242	1	.039	1.442
7	Been offered drugs	-.405	.190	4.531	1	.033	.667

Entry method chosen	% of cases correctly predicted	Original classification %
Stepwise LR forwards	86.9	75.3

Appendix 31: Interviews conducted for the systems analysis exercise

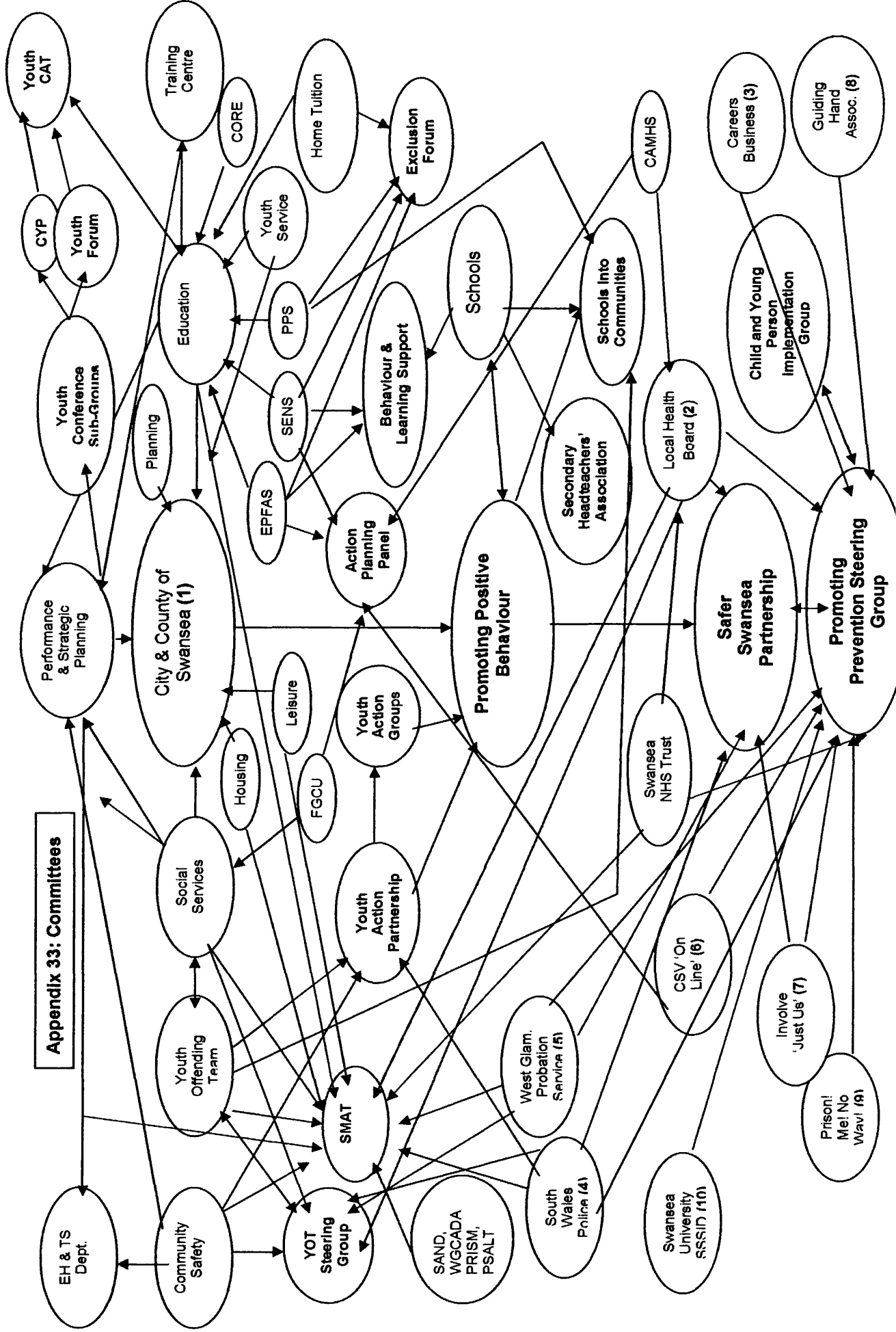
CCS = City and County of Swansea

Organisation	Representative
Community Safety (CCS)	Manager
Community Safety (CCS)	Research Officer
Youth Offending Team (CCS)	Manager
Youth Offending Team (CCS)	Senior Practitioner
Youth Offending Team (CCS)	Senior Practitioner
Youth Offending Team / Local Health Board (CCS)	Clinical Nurse Specialist / Anger Management Co-ordinator
Youth Offending Team / Youth Service (CCS)	Education Youth Worker
Youth Offending Team (CCS)	Restorative Justice Coordinator
Youth Offending Team / South Wales Police	Police Officer
Youth Offending Team / South Wales Police	Police Officer
Social Services (CCS)	Assistant Director
Pupil & Parent Support Unit (CCS)	Manager
Education (CCS)	Education Youth Worker
Performance and Strategic Management Unit (CCS)	Research Officer
Behaviour Support Team -Education (CCS)	Team Leader
Promoting Positive Behaviour – SENS (CCS)	Promoting Positive Behaviour manager
EPFAS (CCS)	Senior Educational Psychologist
Youth Service (CCS)	Community Education Officer
Child & Family Services (CCS)	Manager
C.A.S.T. (CCS)	Project Manager
Social Services (CCS)	Family Group Conference Coordinator, CSV coordinator
Training Centre (CCS)	Training Coordinator
Swansea Local Health Group	Director of Operations
Sure Start	Co-ordinator
Swansea Drugs Project	Young People's Worker
WGCADA	Director
Careers Business	Business Manager
South Wales Police	Community Safety Sgt.
West Glamorgan Probation Service	Assistant Chief Probation Officer
Community Service Volunteers	Volunteer Director
Involve	Volunteer Coordinator
Guiding Hand Association	Centre Manager
Prison Me No Way	Wales Coordinator

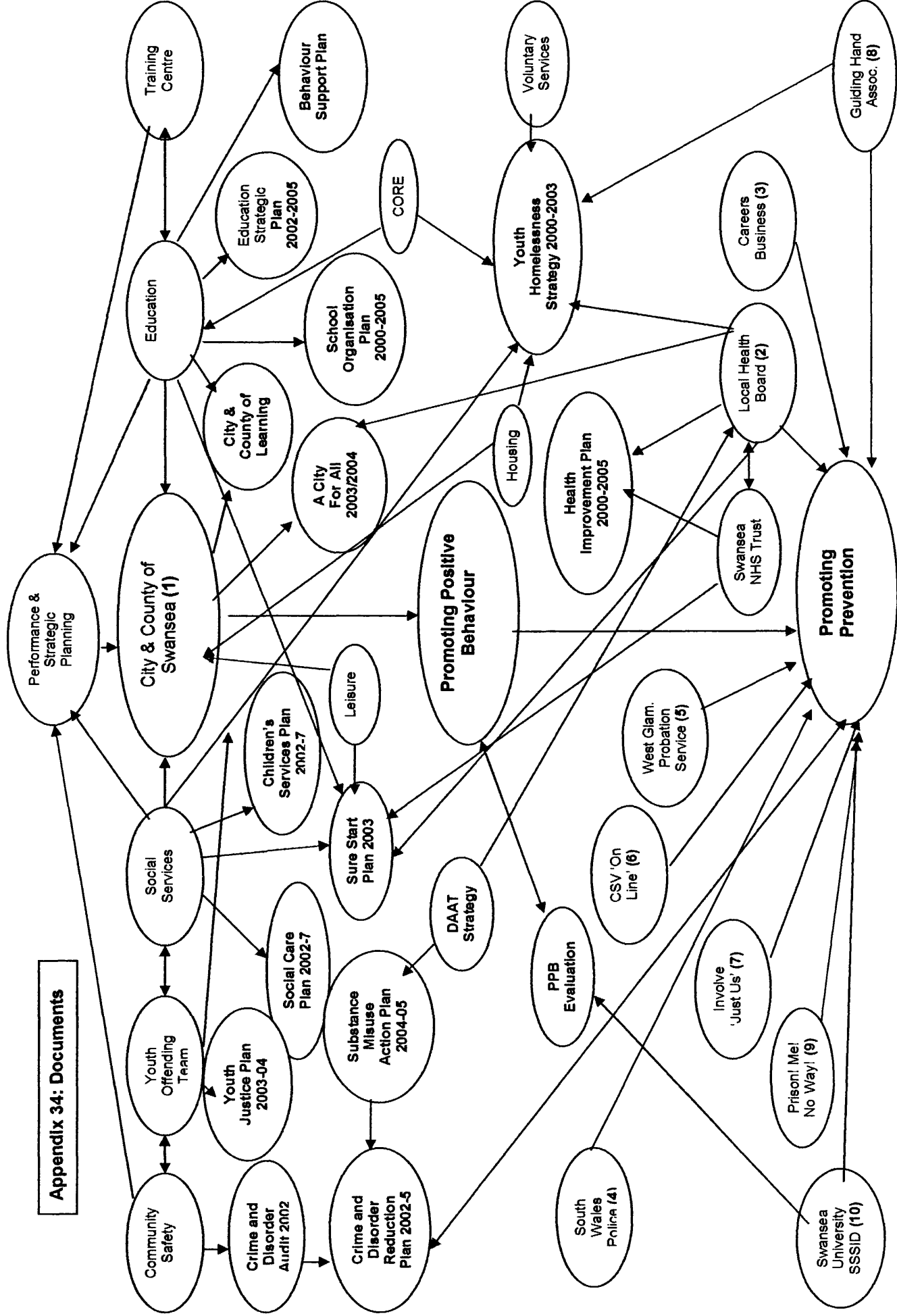
Appendix 32: Key for the Promoting Prevention Maps

ADS	Avoiding Drugs Solutions
BAYS	Bond Board, Aftercare Team, Youth Homeless Team, Supported Lodgings Scheme.
CAMHS	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services
CAST	Child and Adolescent Support Team
CNS	Clinical Nurse Specialist
CORE	Centre for Outreach Education
CSV	Community Service Volunteers
CYP	Children and Young People
CYPPSU	Children and Young People Partnership Support Unit
CYPSDS	Children and Young People Services Development Section
DAAT	Drug and Alcohol Action Team
DAROP	Drug and Alcohol Related Offender's Programme
EH & TS	Environment Health and Trading Standards
EBL	Education Business Link Scheme
EPFAS	Educational Psychology and Formal Assessment Service
FGCU	Family Group Conference Unit
HMP	Her Majesty's Prison
LHB	Local Health Board
NHS	National Health Service
PPB	Promoting Positive Behaviour
PPS	Parent and Pupil Support Team
PRISM	West Wales Alcohol and Drug Advisory Service
PRU	Pupil Referral Unit
SAND	Swansea Drugs Project
SENS	Special Education Needs Service
SMAT	Substance Misuse Action Team
SNAP	Special Needs Advisory Project
SSSID	School of Social Sciences and International Development
UWS	University of Wales, Swansea
WGCADA	West Glamorgan Council for Drugs and Alcohol
YOT	Youth Offending Team
Youth CAT	Youth Corporate Action Team

Appendix 33: Committees



Appendix 34: Documents



Appendix 35: Individuals

