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# How effective are music interventions in the criminal youth justice sector? Community music making and its potential for community and social transformation: A pilot study

# **ABSTRACT**

Community music offers organic opportunities for both Authentic and Situation Learning, as well as Process-directed education. It is evident that in many community music projects participants are empowered to discover their own learning paths through the creative process of music-making. However, the participatory nature of community music making also seems to encourage participants to share in each other's experiences that can often lead to an understanding of each other and themselves. The type of music workshops we were particularly interested in examining mainly consisted of group composition through the process of learning to play in a rock band (bass, keys, guitar, vocals and drums) and electronic composition using

# **KEYWORDS**

music technology criminal youth justice sector group composition Crime-Pics II Music Map of Me the software Logic. We were interested in trying to measure the transformative effect of participating in community music sessions on young people's attitudes towards offending behaviour. Our preliminary results suggest that there seems to be a small but measurable improvement in the attitudes towards offending of the young people who had participated in the music workshops, especially in the perception of their life problems and how these problems could contribute to potential offending behaviour.

# **BACKGROUND**

Our pilot study commissioned by Make Some Noise (Youth Music Action Zone, YMAZ) set out to measure the potential for the type of social and community transformation mentioned above. Using Crime-Pics II and the 'Map of Me' graffiti chart, our study focused on measuring the change in young people's attitudes towards offending after having taken part in participatory music making that used technological and non-technological performative tools. We were particularly interested in looking at the areas of anticipation of offending and the perception of life problems. Our quasi-experimental design used a non-random sample of young people who were either at risk of offending or had received Penalty Notices for Disorder (PND) between the ages of 9 and 18 years. They attended three youth clubs in deprived South Staffordshire estates. They were divided into a test (n=16) group who participated in the workshops and a control (n=5) group who did not. Both groups were interviewed using Crime-Pics II and 'Map of Me' questionnaires before and after the intervention over roughly the same time period.

# THE INTERVENTION

Through the provision of participatory activities that included creative writing, instrumental and music technology workshops, participants were encouraged to make pieces of work that explored their home and street life and the impact these environments had on their anti-social behaviour. Participants were also informally interviewed during the creative sessions in order to background the work they had created.

# THE SILKMORE WORKSHOPS

Two test groups and a control group came from the Silkmore Youth Club, which serves the Rickerscote estate in South Stafford. The youth club provided activities such as indoor football, a variety of board and video games and craft activities. The intervention for the test groups took the form of learning to play in a rock band. Both test groups had one 90-minute session a week and they both worked for six weeks, contiguously. The control group was interviewed twice over one six-week period. I will outline the main pedagogical processes from the workshops as observed from the workshop leader's session notes.

# The development of group negotiation skills

It seemed to be very important for the groups to have been given the opportunity to set its own boundaries when negotiating the structure of the session:

- Establish the group
- Establish aims, expectations and outcomes of the project

- Guide the group to create simple rules
- There was a break for 15 minutes (as negotiated with the young people by asking the question 'how long does it take to eat a pot noodle?'). (Workshop Leader Diary)

# The development of respect

Negotiating boundaries with the groups seemed to have had a beneficial effect on the behaviour of the participants:

There seems to be increased respect for the artists, the equipment and the project amongst even the most disruptive young people. This is evidenced by how the young people enter and leave the music area, how they interact with each other and the workshop leader and how they treat equipment.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# The development of teamwork skills

Here, the workshop leader explains one of his strategies that encouraged team building:

Getting the young people to help set up the equipment works well on several levels: firstly by helping them to feel ownership and increased appreciation of the equipment, secondly they learn new things, thirdly they interact with the workshop leader and each other in a different way, fourthly it lets people not directly involved in music making to be involved, and finally it means they come into the workshop space in a much less chaotic fashion.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# Struggling with boundaries and boredom

However, despite the beneficial processes used by the workshop leader to encourage the smooth running of sessions and the building of social skills, he still encountered challenges especially from group 2:

During the break, K said she was going to stop doing the music group, and so was M. When asked why, she said it was because C wanted to stop and she didn't want to do the project without C there. When C and M were asked about this they replied they were bored because the pace was too slow. Through gentle questioning they eventually realised that this was due to their behaviour, and then agreed to continue the project and make more effort to follow instructions.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

The behaviour of the participants sometimes meant that the development of social skills in a group context was more of a challenge. The space that was used for sessions also seemed to have had a contributory effect on the challenging behaviour:

There was a new space for the project this week. This was a marked improvement on the old space in the corridor as it [the new space]

creates fewer disturbances in the main hall and there are fewer disruptions in the workshop space.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# Learning new skills

The creative processes and outputs of the music intervention were significant, as the self-esteem of some of the participants seemed to have been given a boost:

The improvisation involved keyboards, guitars, bass [played by the workshop leader], drums and vocals and was reasonably musical. The drummer kept a steady beat [helped by the bass] while the guitars played open muted strings in a minim [half note] pattern over the top. The keyboard players were shown how to find E and use different combinations of E. After a short break, W, C and J worked on the recording.

Excellent. The young people are rowdy and energetic but behaviour, although still occasionally very challenging, is boisterousness rather than anything serious/deliberate disruptiveness. There is a massive difference between now and the first session in terms of concentration, group ownership and self-directed learning/participation.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# Sharing skills with others

As a result of learning new skills, some participants showed how confident they were in how they interacted with their peers:

W and N were guided through teaching B and M the composition so far [as derived from the sessions]. B learned the guitar part and M, who could already play a bit of piano (he can play the first few bars of the right hand part of 'The Entertainer') was shown how to construct chords.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# Developing reflective practice

We then listened to the recordings of drums from last week and then talked about the lyrics we had written already. The theme of 'my house' was re-affirmed and expanded on by the group coming up with sounds on the instruments that represented what happened in their house. These sounds were then recorded by the group using a portable hard-disk recorder and the files renamed. In addition to this, we expanded on the lyrics by noting other things in our houses that make us cry, feel angry or scared.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

The point of interest from the excerpt above is that by giving the participants the opportunity to critically reflect on their work, it opened the doors to working with personal issues in a creative context.

# THE MAZELEY WORKSHOPS

The third test group was specially put together by the Staffordshire Young People's Service (from the one-to-one youth service provision) to work on the intervention over a three-week period, two sessions a week. The participants were drawn from the neighbouring Mile Oak and Fazeley estates in Tamworth, South Staffordshire. The control group was drawn from the already established Mazeley Youth Club, which served both the Mile Oak and Fazeley estates in Telford, South Staffordshire, and was interviewed twice over a three-week period. Over six 90-minute sessions the participants were asked to reflect on their offences and to write a group song about them using the software, Logic. The song was recorded and made into a CD. Here are the main pedagogical processes from the workshops as observed from the workshop leader's session notes.

# Social nature of music making

The group coming together is a big part of the process and this must be given space through breaks and group activity. Working as a whole group is much more productive as the young people are enjoying each other's company and making new friends.

J [participant] expanded on importance of group coming together.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

The diary extract seemed significant for this group because they were a new group and as a result were not used to working with each other. Another significant point to arise from the quote is that not only were the young people not used to each other, but they were not used to group working, as their main contact with the Staffordshire Young People's Service was through one-to-one sessions with appointed youth workers.

# Creative writing leading to personal reflection of offending behaviour

This activity proved to be useful in encouraging the young people to reflect not only on their behaviour but on the seriousness of their behaviour. The grading of behaviour from less serious to more serious offered a useful insight into the young people's perception of offending behaviour and its consequences.

The group all wrote 8 bars of lyrics to create 4 verses. (see Appendix)

Verse 1: smoking and drinking (written by J)

Verse 2: vandalism (written by C)

Verse 3: drugs (written by Ca)

Verse 4: shoplifting (written by Cha)

The verses were ordered according to the group's perception of the seriousness of each issue. (Shoplifting was considered the most serious as the lyric ends with the possibility of going to prison).

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# Using Logic software in-session

The workshop leader had tidied up the track and done some mixing prior to the session as Logic is proving quite a complex piece of software for the participants. The track was broken down into elements and Logic's mixer explained (mute, solo, faders, pan wheels, FX slots). A delay effect was demonstrated. The group made key decisions on the track (see plan). J recorded a crash cymbal part and a hi hat part by playing [them] in from the keyboard. Cha did some editing on a guitar recording.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

The diary entry above raises the issue around choosing music software for its capabilities versus its accessibility. The workshop leader found that despite using Logic software that enabled a higher standard of production, it meant that he had to do more preparation of the material than he would have liked. The question about group ownership over the production process (as opposed to the creation process) of the song became an interesting background question. This question of ownership of the production process did not seem to be an issue for the group, as they were unfamiliar with the software to begin with and were engrossed in the creative and reflective elements of the sessions, compensating for any ownership issues they might have arisen. I will discuss the implications of this later.

# Group decision-making

This entry demonstrates the process of group ownership of the creative process of building the song. It is interesting that the workshop leader approached the technical process of recording in a fun and participatory manner, which further engendered the feeling of group ownership of the whole creative process.

The group are all understandably nervous about recording lyrics. The workshop leader played the track and asked the group to think of the first line of the chorus being said in time with the music. Once a rhythm was discovered, the group was asked to whisper the words in rhythm over and over gradually getting louder until they could be recorded. The group was really pleased with the outcome and wanted to do the whole song this way.

(Workshop Leader Diary)

# THE CONTEXT

The practical implications of using this multidisciplinary approach will be discussed later. However, I would like to give our intervention a context by briefly outlining current thinking about the models of practice and the theoretical frameworks behind the use of the arts in the criminal youth justice field.

# MODELS OF PRACTICE

In her extensive study of arts practice in this sector, J. Hughes (2005) identifies six broadly defined models of (arts) practice. One of the models of practice is 'Arts for participation and citizenship' where the arts are used to help

participants to adopt a positive role in their communities and uses peer education as a primary tool to achieve this.<sup>1</sup>

'Arts to enrich the prison curriculum' uses arts-based activities that are designed to enhance the in situ education curriculum by encouraging the acquisition of transferable skills. An example of this type of practice is the 'Family Man' and 'Fathers inside' programmes delivered by Safe Ground that looked at parenting skills within complex family dynamics (Halsey et al. 2002). In 'Arts education', participants learn specific skills related to a particular art form such as Bernie Masterton's portrait classes and accompanying exhibitions in adult male prisons (Donoghue 2003). In 'Arts as therapeutic interventions', the arts can be used as specific diagnostic tools to compliment the range of clinical services that are delivered in the setting. J. R. Lopez (2001) describes the development of the 'House-Tree-Person Drawings' diagnostic tool where art therapy was used as a detection aid to help develop a clinical focus for therapists. The 'Arts for adjunctive therapy' model uses the arts to explore personal and social development where the outcomes can be used to prepare the participants for specific therapeutic interventions. Mary L. Cohen (2011) outlines Christopher Small's important theoretical framework (with contributions from Gregory Bateson's writings) that describes music making as a universally accessible activity that explores the sonic and social relationship between the participants in equal measure. Theatre in Prison and Probation's (TiPP's) drama-based offending behaviour programme, 'Blagg' raised issues that were later pursued in one-to-one counselling/support sessions with the participants (Hughes 2003). In the model, 'Arts as a cultural right', the central belief is that every social group is entitled to experience arts of the highest quality, for example, attending arts exhibitions, theatre performances or the production of writing anthologies. The personal and social outcomes of these activities play less of a role in this outcome.

# CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

I will now outline the main conceptual frameworks behind the models of practice employed in arts interventions in the youth justice. In Hughes' (2005) extensive review of the conceptual frameworks, underpinning many of the arts practices she examined, seven main categories of (sometimes overlapping) theories emerged: Learning Theory, Social Capital, Intelligence Theories, Resilience Theory, Cognitive Behavioural Approach, Role Theory and Art Therapies.<sup>2</sup>

Learning Theory argues that the various arts disciplines share creative mechanisms that can encourage critical thinking through the channelling of personal expression. It is thought that the very act of engagement involved in the creative learning process makes the learning outcomes much more memorable. E. Winner and M. Cooper (2000) identify three structures that underpin the developmental links between the arts and education. The 'cognitive structure argument' states that the cognitive structures inherent in creative activities such as critical thinking, close observation and problemsolving are transferable to other areas of educational attainment. The 'motivational argument' states that the arts can often stimulate motivational changes in attitude and can encourage young people to engage in educational activities. The 'epiphenominal link' states that the arts can transform teaching methods in such a way as to make the learner more receptive to the learning process itself. J. Piaget and B. Inhelder's (1969) theory of children's development is

- 1. Our intervention broadly fits into this category, as we included 'processdirected education' (Bolhuis and Kluvers 2000) techniques designed to encourage the empathic. communication and negotiation skills of the participants. I will discuss the practical and social implications of the use of this model of practice later in the article
- 2. Our use of the learning theories; Authentic Learning (Roelofs and Houteveen 1999), building on tacit knowledge, Situation Learning (Lave and Wenger 1991), a social form of learning; and the Processdirected education of self- and group negotiation puts our intervention into three broader theoretical frameworks, namely, the Learning, Social Capital Theories and Intelligence Theories. I will discuss how these theoretical frameworks manifested themselves in practice later in the article

- The creative writing element in our intervention very much played this role.
- 4. Winner and Cooper's (2000) 'motivational argument' holds yet another key for the arts' transformational learning processes. I would argue that the 'stimulation' that is implied in the 'motivational argument' is actually the principle of 'fun'. In theoretical terms 'fun' is more accurately described in Play Theory.
- 5. In terms of arts educational use, Social Capital is an important conceptual framework. In our intervention the two learning processes; Situated Learning and Processdirected education borrow heavily from this idea. As will be discussed later, the Situated Learning in our intervention gave the participants the opportunity to learn in a social manner, adopting roles, such as directing and coaching, within the musicmaking activity that enabled group learning. The social interaction that was needed for this learning was only made possible by the construction, through processdirected education, of a 'network' whose members shared common goals and expectations (closure) that they had negotiated. The practical implications of this process will also be discussed later.
- 6. I would suggest that the 'fun' identified in Winner and Cooper's 'motivational argument' from 'Learning Theory' owes much to the fact that if a participant is learning by using a greater number of their innate intelligences,

important to note here because he classifies the stages of child development into sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete operational and formal operational. It is his concrete and formal classifications of the operational (thinking) that are the most relevant here.

S. Duguid (1981) builds on Piaget's theory to explain that criminal thinking displays adolescent thinking in terms of its 'concrete operational' thinking, as opposed to mature 'formal operational' thinking or abstract thinking. Learning Theory posits that the arts can offer opportunities that enable the participant to transit from concrete to formal operational thinking. In practical terms this means that the arts can enable the participant to reflect on their experiences and the consequences of their actions, in so doing discovering alternative solutions to their lifestyle challenges.<sup>3</sup>

'Play Theory' emphasizes spontaneous, voluntary and active engagement towards a state of 'Learning through Play'. S. Pearson-Davis (1989) builds on Klein's ideas that 'children represent symbolically phantasies, wishes and experiences' (Segal 1979: 31) and Erik Erikson's ideas that play seems to help young children cope with trauma (Raynor 2002), when she argues that formal play when designed to meet young people's needs can provide emotional release, opportunities for social interaction, opportunities to try out new roles in a safe environment and experiences of success. I will explore the practical implications of these factors in the discussion sections.

Although there have been many definitions of Social Capital, A. Portes (1998) gives a comprehensive account of its origins and modern application. Portes tracks the development of the modern concept of social capital from P. Bordieu's (1985) idea that social capital consists of networks of common interest whose purpose is to benefit their members through to J. S. Coleman's (1988) important concept of 'closure' that is found in networks. Briefly, 'closure' is a set of expectations generated by the network that allows it to benefit its members in a more flexible way than the open market could. An example of this could take the form of Jewish diamond merchants giving interest free loans to each other without a time limit in the full knowledge and trust that the loan would be repaid in full in a reasonable period of time, according to the expectations of the network of traders. Coleman's concept of 'closure' requires a dense and closely knit network to work. However, R. S. Burt asserts that a network needs only to be loosely structured, consisting of 'friends, colleagues and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital' (1992: 9). It is beyond the scope of this article to fully explore the nuanced differences between the various understandings of the concept. However, all three of the explanations above and their associated ideas from other writers seem representative of the complex idea behind Social Capital.<sup>5</sup>

Multiple Intelligences Theories, pioneered by H. Gardener's (1993) work suggests that the arts are extremely important in unlocking alternative forms of 'literacy' to the traditional ones used in education. Based on biological and anthropological research, Gardener identified seven areas of alternative literacy or 'intelligences' namely; linguistic, logico-mathematical, musical intelligence, spatial intelligence, bodily kinaesthetic intelligence, interpersonal intelligence and intrapersonal intelligence. Gardener posits that there are many ways to learn about a subject and that the arts can access these different learning paths more effectively than traditional education, which only typically accesses two or three types of intelligences at a time, at most. This is crucial if learning is to be made accessible for participants.<sup>6</sup>

More recently, the concept of 'emotional intelligence' has emerged as being significant. The neurological sciences have shown that there are areas of the brain that manage emotions that significantly impact on social skills/competence. D. Goleman writes that emotional intelligence refers to 'the capacity for recognising our own feelings and those of others, for motivating ourselves, and for managing emotions well in ourselves and in our relationships' (1998: 317).<sup>7</sup>

Resilience Theory relates to the transition between adolescence and adulthood and how certain 'protective factors' can ensure that young people in 'high risk' environments can transit smoothly and successfully to full adulthood (Newman 2003). 'Protective factors' could relate to the provision of diversionary activities, such as youth clubs or structured outdoor pursuits. The outcomes that are researched tend to be based around issues of self-esteem, self-confidence and social skills.<sup>8</sup>

Another conceptual framework that is used to underpin much arts-based work in the youth justice sector is the Cognitive Behavioural Approach that seeks to change the way people think in order to change their behaviour. 'Risk' areas in terms of potential criminal behaviour that can be targeted include low problem-solving skills and anti-social attitudes and values (Gendreau and Andrews 1990). An example of this approach is Acting Out Theatre Company's project that worked with persistent sex and violent offenders through role play. The role play exercises encouraged self-awareness, problem-solving and self-valuing exercises. These exercises were effective at 'initiating affect' where participants could explore themselves and others by 'freezing' (c.f. Image Theatre (Boal 1985)) their actions and roles (Hewish 2001).

Role Theory shares much of its ambitus with the Cognitive Behavioural Approach. Much of the theory is based on E. Goffman's (1959) work around the theatrical metaphor of performance. Goffman asserts that we learn to be human by doing what everyone else does and by performing a variety of roles at different times and in different situations. This theory seems to have borrowed its central concept from G. H. Mead (1934) who believed that the formation of self- and social roles is achieved through interaction with others. As participation in the arts for the most part is social, L. Moller (2003) exploits this social aspect in her work and research in a New York prison, where inmates took part in a theatre production called SLAM. Moller used test groups of beginners, intermediate and advanced in terms of having experienced her 'Rehabilitation Through the Arts' (RTA) programme. Moller also worked with a control group with no contact or experience of the RTA programme. Using questionnaires that measured personality measures on anger and coping, Moller found that the combined results of the intermediate and advanced RTA groups in comparison with the control group showed a significant reduction in both the number of disciplinary infractions and amount of time locked in their cells. Moller also found that in the advanced RTA group the individuals recorded higher anger levels but had committed the fewest infractions, leading her to conclude that the RTA programme had given the participants a healthy outlet for their anger.

Art Therapies, another conceptual framework, has a very close relationship to the Cognitive Behavioural Approach and to Role Theory, but the key difference is that the 'therapy' element is an explicit outcome of the intervention in terms of the defined relationship between 'client' and 'therapist'. M. Liebmann succinctly defines the process as 'Most arts activities have as their main expressed aim an external product, such as a mural, concert, play

- they will experience more success and that success in turn, will 'motivate' them to continue engaging in the learning process.
- 7. I think this adds an important dimension of Gardener's seven intelligences because emotional intelligence seems to be crucial in monitoring and regulating feelings to guide thought and action. The fact that emotional intelligence relates to the social competencies of self-awareness, selfregulation, motivation and empathy, would seem to put it at the bedrock of the Multiple Intelligences Theories, as emotional intelligence appears to give a social context within which the other intelligences can operate effectively. With that said, I would tentatively suggest that the Multiple and Emotional Intelligence Theories should be seen in terms of neuro and anthropological explanations of why the arts in this sector (in general) seem to be so successfully built on the theories outlined in this article, rather than as standalone theoretical frameworks. Applying this to our intervention, I suggest that Multiple and Emotional Intelligence Theories enhance the understanding of the efficacy of our intervention in the following ways: emotional intelligence, linguistic and intrapersonal intelligences via the creative writing element (participants reflecting on their experiences in order to write raps/ lyrics), musical and logico-mathematical intelligences via the music technology element (writing drum loops and layering

with other textures) and interpersonal intelligence via the group music-making element (working as a team/community/network to form a rock band).

 Although our intervention took place in youth clubs, the settings did not really play an integral part in our theoretical thinking about the intervention. or mask ... Arts Therapies tend to look more explicitly at the personal processes involved, having this as their aim' (1994: 8).

# **METHODOLOGY**

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The design was quasi-experimental using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.

We administered Crime-Pics II (Frude et al. 1994) to all the young people participating in the study before and after the intervention. The question-naire was administered verbally on an individual basis and questions were rephrased in an age-appropriate manner when necessary. Crime-Pics II generates five scales. Four are generated by attitudinal questions and the fifth explores a problem inventory. The scales are scored in such a way as to denote a greater 'deviant' or 'criminal' attitude with higher scores than lower scores.

The scales are shown in Table 1.

We also used the 'Map of Me' graffiti chart. The graffiti chart was developed in 2005 in my work at HMPYOI Werrington (see Appendix). Interviewees were encouraged to give each quadrant of a four-box grid a name of an issue that was of most importance to them in the interview. The interviewees were then encouraged to write or draw sub-issues under the title of their quadrants

Scales	
General attitude (G)	Measures the offender's general attitude towards offending. A low score indicates that the individual believes that an offending lifestyle is not desirable
Anticipation of future offending (A)	Measures the offender's anticipation of reoffend- ing. A low score suggests that the individual does not anticipate reoffending
Victim empathy (V)	Measures the offender's attitude towards his or her victims – whether they believe they have caused any harm. A low score indicates that the individual recognizes their actions have an impact on victims, directly or indirectly i.e. higher victim empathy
Evaluation of crime as worthwhile (E)	Measures the offender's evaluation of crime being worthwhile. A low score indicates that the individual perceives the cost of crime as being greater than its rewards
Problem inventory (P)	This problem inventory measures the offender's perceptions of their current problems (e.g. money, relationships, housing, etc.). The higher the score, the greater the number and gravity of identified problems. However, caution should be taken when interpreting these results as an increase may also indicate better problem identification skills
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Table 1: Crime-Pics II scales.

that gave further explanation of their chosen issues. Finally, interviewees were asked if they could make links between the issues and sub issues by drawing connecting arrows that described the relationship. The end result was a map of the interviewees' current issues of importance in the session. The chart generates ranks according to the number of times an issue is mentioned preand post-intervention. The more times an issue has been mentioned post-intervention, the more important it is deemed to the participant, the higher it is ranked. The converse is also true.

The 'Map of Me' graffiti chart was drawn by interviewees at the beginning and at the end of the intervention. The chart was also drawn after the completion of the Crime-Pics II questionnaire, which meant that if there were any significant issues arising from the questionnaire, especially from the problem inventory section, there was an opportunity to explore them further in the graffiti chart. The chart was administered on an individual basis.

# **Participants**

The study population was a non-random sample of young people between the ages of 9 and 18 years (*n*=21) from three youth clubs in the deprived Rickerscote, Mile Oak and Fazeley estates in South Staffordshire.

The samples were gathered using snowball sampling. We identified key informants, who in these studies were youth workers and a community police officer. These key informants were able to help us locate critical cases we could use in the samples. As this study took place in youth clubs it was not possible to use random sampling techniques, as the population on any given youth club night was extremely transient. We had to rely on the in-depth and *in situ* knowledge of our key informants who could identify critical cases and 'make a difference' with respect to the intervention we were measuring in terms of their being at risk of offending or having received a PND. In the United Kingdom, PNDs include warnings, formal cautions and charges issued by the police and also local authority-issued Anti Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs). A control group of five young people (n=5) from all three estates were also selected by our key informants. The test group consisted of sixteen participants (n=16), who were taken from all three estates.

All participants were given consent forms for their carers/parents to sign before they participated in the study. This ensured that the parents/carers were informed of the exact nature of the research and that they were happy for their children to participate. We achieved a 100 per cent return rate of consent forms indicating the important relationship building with communities that occurred through closely working with the youth workers and the community police officer.

# Data analysis

The pilot study used a mixed mode of data analysis. The quantitative data was entered into the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and validated by an independent observer who screened checked each entry. Analysis was carried out by using descriptive statistics and the Pearson's r-correlation (r) and Spearman's rank correlation ( $\rho$ ). My main measurement of pre- and post-intervention correlation and significance was Pearson's r-correlation with a measurement for p. However, I did also find it useful to test the distribution and statistical significance of the data with Spearman's rank, especially when working with my ranked results from 'Map of Me'.

# **RESULTS**

The response rate was 91.3 per cent, as 21 out of the 23 questionnaires were filled out before and after the intervention. The analysis is based on the 21 pre- and post-intervention questionnaires.

The demographic of the overall sample population is shown in Table 2.

Whole population	n=5	5 males
Control group		
	Mean average age (SD) PNDs At risk of offending	13.8 (2.64) n=0 n=2
Whole population	n=16	9 males
Whole population Test group	n=16	9 males 7 females

Table 2: Overall sample population.

G	A	V	E	P
34.4	11.6	8.2	8.8	19.6
36	11.8	8	10.4	19

Table 3: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores. Pre scores are given in italics and the same thereafter.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Leisure activities	0	5	5
Employment (prospects)	10	15	5
Friends	10	15	5
Family	25	25	0
House	5	5	0
Health	5	5	0
Education	5	0	-5

Note: Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.83, p<0.05.

Table 4: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-scores.

Table 4 shows the data set of issues for the control group. As shown in Table 7, this data set is not as comprehensive as that of the whole study group that makes for an uneven distribution of pre-intervention issues ( $\rho$ =-0.22, p=0.42).

# Test group

G	A	V	E	P
39.56	12.5	8.88	9.56	22.25
40.25	13.13	8.88	9.88	22.31

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+1, p<0.05. Post-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+1, p<0.05.

Table 5: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores.

# Evaluating change

Tables 3 and 5 show that the mean average scores for both the control and the test groups actually increased after the intervention. This is interesting because after a positive intervention we would expect to see lower Crime-Pics II scores in the test group. This could be a result of the challenging attitudes of the participants (large number of PND and 'at risk' participants) prior to the intervention. However, as the average means for both groups seems to be significantly evenly distributed ( $\rho$ =+1, p<0.05), the r-correlations in Table 6 seem to shed light on the nature of the intervention's impact.

The G score (general attitude towards offending) for the test group seems to have achieved less of a post-intervention negative linear correlation. As the difference in pre- and post-intervention r values would suggest (+0.05), this is a very modest positive increase in the linear correlation suggesting a small positive post-intervention correlation. However, a note of caution needs to be sounded with these results in this section, as the post-G score is r(19)=-0.27, p>0.05. This means that there is either no statistical significance or that the sample is too small to be sure. However, for the purpose of hypothesis making, I will assume significance in these results unless otherwise stated.

The largest change in linear correlation can be seen in the E score for evaluating whether crime is worthwhile. The negative correlation between the control and test group is at its highest pre-intervention at r=-0.12. However, post-intervention, the test group's r-scores show an increased positive linear

	G	A	V	Е	P
Difference between <i>r</i> values	+0.05	-0.08	-0.04	+0.20	-0.05
Pre Post	-0.31 -0.27	-0.148 -0.22	-0.15 -0.19	-0.12 0.08	-0.24 -0.29

*Table 6: Crime-Pics II effect size* r*-correlation values (whole population).* 

correlation to r=0.08, implying a positive impact of the intervention in this area.

Table 7 shows that issues around 'Offending' and 'Money' (disposable income) seemed to gain in post-intervention importance. These issues would seem to be strongly related to an overall change in their 'Evaluation of crime as being worthwhile'.

Although important to the population as a whole, the items in italics are ignored as their impact rankings are shared with the control group. 'Leisure activities', 'employment' and 'friends' are shared with the control group. 'Pets' and 'education' show zero impact, post-intervention. This would imply that the intervention had no overall discernable effect on these italicized issues. The data set here seems to suggest a positive, if not statistically significant, post-intervention correlation between the control and test group ( $\rho$ =0.27, p=0.33).

In the next section, I will discuss how the intervention was individually received by the three test groups. As the groups had different average mean ages, their Crime-Pics II scores revealed varying priorities particular to that age group. Due to the extremely small sample sizes, it will not be always possible to attach statistical significance to the observations.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Leisure activities	1.56	6.25	4.69
Employment			
(prospects)	0	3.13	3.13
Friends	15.63	18.75	3.13
Money (disposable income)	0	1.56	1.56
Offending	0	1.56	1.56
Pets	7.81	7.81	0
Education	10.94	10.94	0
Health	3.13	1.56	-1.56
Mental health	1.56	0	-1.56
Domestic leisure	1.56	0	-1.56
Phone (personal safety)	1.56	0	-1.56
Transport/independence	1.56	0	-1.56
House	6.25	3.13	-3.13
Music	12.5	4.69	-7.81
Family	35.94	23.44	-12.5

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =-0.22, p=0.42. Post-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.27, p=0.33.

*Table 7: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-scores – test group (whole population).* 

# Breakdown of the groups

Silkmore Youth Group (Rickerscote Estate)

Control group	n=3	3 males
	Mean average age (SD) PNDs At risk of offending	12 (1.41) n=0 n=2
Test group 1	n=5	4 males
		1 female
	Mean average age (SD) PNDs At risk of offending	11.6 (1.02) <i>n</i> =1 <i>n</i> =1
Test group 2	n=5	2 males
		3 females
	Mean average age (SD) PNDs At Risk of offending	10.2 (1.47) n=0 n=1

Table 8: Silkmore population sample.

# Control group

G	A	V	Е	P
35.33	13.33	7.33	7.33	20
37	13	7.33	10.33	19.33

Table 9: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Family	25	25	0
Friends	16.7	16.7	0
Health	8.3	8.3	0
House	16.7	8.3	-8.3
Pets	8.3	0	-8.3
Money	8.3	0	-8.3
Leisure activities	8.3	0	-8.3

Note: Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.82, p<0.05.

Table 10: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-scores.

Test group 1

G	A	V	Е	P
33.2	10.4	11.2	8.8	17.2
40.6	13.8	10.2	9	20.4

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.82, p=0.089. Post-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.9, p=0.083.

Table 11: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores.

# **Evaluating change**

Table 12 shows a positive post-intervention correlation in four of the five scales. However, the high V post-intervention correlation does appear to be statistically significant to this group at r(6)=0.76, p<0.05. Although not

	G	A	V	E	P
Difference between <i>r</i> values	+0.39	+0.56	+0.02	-0.39	+0.61
Pre	-0.11	-0.41	0.74	0.22	-0.41
Post	0.28	0.14	0.76	-0.19	0.20

Table 12: Crime-Pics II effect size r-correlation values.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Family	40	20	20
Education	15	25	10
Friends	0	10	10
Leisure activities (sport)	5	10	5
Offending	0	5	5
Employment	0	5	5
Music	15	15	0
Pets	10	5	-5
Domestic leisure	5	0	-5
Transport/	5	0	-5
independence			
Phone (personal safety)	5	0	<b>-</b> 5

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.29, p=0.38. Post-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.77, p<0.05.

Table 13: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-intervention scores.

statistically significant, the P score that measures the participants' perception of their life problems had the most improved post-intervention correlation (meaning greater awareness of life problems), closely followed by an improved positive A correlation (meaning less likelihood of reoffending). The Crime-Pics II problem inventory (P) asks participants to rank problems such as boredom, relationship issues and 'employment prospects' on a scale between small problem and big problem. Table 13 shows that the issues of 'family', 'education', 'friends', 'leisure activities', 'offending' and 'employment' gained post-intervention prominence, echoing the movement of the P correlation.

Although important to the population as a whole, the items in italics are ignored as their impact rankings are shared with the control group. 'Pets' is shared with the control group and 'music' shows a zero impact post-intervention. This would imply that the intervention had no discernable effect on these italicized issues.

Test group 2

G	A	V	E	P
38.4	13.6	8.8	7.6	20.6
32	11	10.6	7.4	19.2

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.97, p<0.05. Post-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.9, p=0.083.

Table 14: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores.

# **Evaluating change**

Table 15 shows that victim empathy (V) gained the highest post-intervention correlation, which is statistically significant at r(6)=0.91, p<0.05. 'Education' seemed to gain in post-intervention importance (Table 16). However, the connection between the two is unclear.

Although important to the population as a whole, the items in italics are ignored as they show zero impact post-intervention.

	G	A	V	E	P
Difference between <i>r</i> values	-0.58	-0.51	+0.50	-0.45	-0.10
Pre Post	0.21 -0.36	0.05 -0.46	0.41 0.91	0.06 -0.39	0.08 -0.02

*Table 15: Crime-Pics II effect size* r-correlation values.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Education	0	5	5
Friends	30	30	0
Pets	10	10	0
Family	25	20	-5
Health	10	5	-5
Music	5	0	-5
House	20	10	-10

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.61, p<0.05. Post-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.69, p<0.05.

Table 16: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-intervention scores.

# Mazeley Youth Club (Mile Oak and Fazeley Estates)

Control group	n=2	2 males
	Mean average age (SD) PNDs At risk of offending	16.5 (1.5) <i>n</i> =0 <i>n</i> =0
Test group 1	n=6	3 males
		3 females
	Mean average age (SD)	14 (0.82)
	PNDs At risk of offending	<i>n</i> =5 <i>n</i> =0

Table 17: Mazeley population sample.

# Control group

G	A	V	E	P
33	9	9.5	11	19
34.5	10	9	10.5	18.5

Table 18: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Employment	25	37.5	12.5
Friends	0	12.5	12.5
Family	25	25	0
Leisure activities	12.5	12.5	0

Note: Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.88, p<0.05.

Table 19: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-scores.

# Test group

G	A	V	Е	P
45.83	13.33	7	11.83	27.83
46.83	14.33	6.33	12.66	26.5

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.7, p=0.23. Post-intervention (correlation with average means of the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =+0.9, p=0.08.

Table 20: Average mean of pre- and post-Crime-Pics II scores.

# **Evaluating change**

Table 21 shows that this group recorded positive movement in post-intervention correlations in both the P and A scores. Interestingly, the highest movement in correlation is the A score that measures the likelihood of reoffending. The pre-intervention score is statistically significant with r(6)=-0.89, p<0.05 but the post-intervention scores does not seem to be statistically significant despite the magnitude of its positively improved post-intervention correlation. However, I would hypothesize that this correlation would seem to suggest that the participants had a lowered post-intervention anticipation of reoffending. The fact that this group contained the highest number of participants who had received PNDs seems relevant to the pre- and post-intervention correlations. Table 22 shows that 'leisure activities', 'pets' and 'money' were of post-intervention importance. The issue 'pets' seemed to be important to this particular group, as they tended to regard their pets as part of their social

	G	A	V	E	P
Difference between <i>r</i> values	-0.51	+0.26	-0.15	-0.10	+0.16
Pre	-0.19	-0.89	0.65	-0.32	-0.65
Post	-0.70	-0.63	0.50	-0.42	-0.49

Table 21: Crime-Pics II effect size r-correlation values.

Issue	Pre-intervention score (%)	Post-intervention score (%)	Impact (%)
Leisure activities	0	8.3	+8.3
Friends	16.7	25	+8.3
Pets	4.2	8.3	+8.3
Money (disposable income)	0	4.2	+4.2
Employment (prospects)	4.2	4.2	0
Mental health	4.2	0	-4.2
Family	37.5	29.2	-8.3
Education	16.7	4.2	-12.5

Notes: Pre-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =-0.70, p<0.05. Post-intervention (correlation with data from the control group): Spearman's  $\rho$ =0.34, p=0.41.

Table 22: 'Map of Me' effect pre- and post-intervention scores.

support mechanisms (in a confessional sense) in the absence of supportive family ties (low post-intervention ranking of family). However, the G correlation seems to be statistically significant with r(6)=-0.7, p<0.05.

Although important to the population as a whole, the items in italics are ignored as their impact rankings are shared with the control group. 'Friends' is shared with the control and 'employment' has a zero impact post-intervention. This would imply that the intervention had no discernable effect on these issues.

# DISCUSSION

As mentioned in the Findings section when looking at the overall scores for the whole test population, despite our initial pre-study focus on the A and P scores, the E score for 'evaluating crime as worthwhile' seemed to emerge as the most important factor. Although the average mean age for our study population was 12 years, our study population had a wide distribution of ages (SD=1.95) ranging from 9 to 18 years. The age of our study group seems significant because in their study, S. Feasey and P. Williams found that 'prisoners in YOI institutions were more likely to evaluate offending as "worthwhile" when compared to the other groups' (2009: 6). This seems to be mirrored by the Crime-Pics study of the Geese Theatre Programme (HMP Maidstone 2001) that worked with young offenders in HMP Maidstone, which found that there was a post-intervention reduction in prisoners' views of crime being worthwhile and improvement in attitudes towards offending and victim empathy. The study also found that post-intervention staff assessment indicated that young offenders had greater victim awareness, increased confidence and improved ability to work as a team.

This would seem to tentatively confirm the hypothesis that interventions working with this overall age group might be better focused on lowering their E scores. As far back as 1995 in the United States, the Youth Arts development programme's three pilot studies reported 'considerable evidence to

support the hypothesis that such programs can contribute to the avoidance or reduction of delinquent behaviour' (Clawson and Coolbaugh 2001: 13). The Mississippi Core Arts Program (Center for the Study of Art and Community 2001) incorporated a range of arts projects with young offenders in custody and community settings and recorded improvements in behaviour in five areas: cooperation, self-control, academic performance, incidence of disruptive behaviour and interest in other programmes (across all projects).

I would like to examine more closely the impact of the age group on the Crime-Pics II post-intervention correlations with a view towards tailoring future interventions to match the priorities of particular age groups. Although there was very little statistical significance for the findings of the individual groups, I would like to comment on the learning processes inherent in our community music intervention that might have made the difference to the participants' scores.

# Test group 1 - Mean average 11.6 years

This group seemed to have had a heightened post-intervention awareness of their life problems, as some participants spoke about their anger issues, bullying and exclusion from their schools in interview. Some participants in this group also seemed to be acutely aware of certain family issues regarding step parents or absentee parents that they found particularly challenging. This group seemed to have had the greatest number of positive correlations across the Crime-Pics II scoring system, including a statistically significant victim empathy correlation, perhaps indicating their receptiveness to appropriately reflective interventions.

One of the processes underpinning this intervention was Authentic Learning (within the broader Learning Theory framework) where participants were able to build on their intrinsic skills and experience (Roelofs and Houteveen 1999). The creative writing element of the intervention encouraged participants to write about themselves, drawing out their own insights, as they produced material for lyrics and rap. This was described earlier in the 'Developing reflective practice' section. The resultant effects of this learning process seem to be similar in nature to an evaluation of a range of arts workshops in a New Zealand prison by C. Currie (1989), that included a comparison of outcomes of participants (n=42) with a control group (n=42) via pre- and post-intervention semi-structured interviews with participants and custodial and prison management staff. Effects on individuals included increased self-esteem and confidence; increased self-understanding and cultural identity; new personal and emotional insights; artistic skills development and enjoyment/relaxation.

However, the intervention with this group was also underpinned by another learning process: Process-directed education (Bolhuis and Kluvers 2000). When the participants were encouraged to negotiate the ground rules for the group, this seemed to echo aspects of what is sometimes described as 'learning how to learn', where participants are guided through the process of setting up their own appraisal and delivery system of planning, monitoring, evaluation, assessment criteria and task delivery (Clennon 2009). I have outlined this process in 'The development of group negotiation skills' section. This process of negotiation equates to a conscious form of Coleman's 'closure' concept in Social Capital Theory. According to Currie's (1989) study the results of this type of learning process included increased communication skills, easing gang tensions by facilitating communication between gang members, improving cooperation and building rapport.

# Test group 2 - Mean average 10.2 years

As the youngest group, the participants seemed to have had a statistically significant increase in awareness of victim empathy that allowed them to recognize that their crimes might have caused people harm. The 'education' issue that gained post-intervention importance might point to a need for more outwardly structured learning activities involving communication and team building skills often characterized as Situation Learning. The intervention for this group involved learning to play the drums, keyboards, bass and guitar as a group. The level of group cooperation required for this type of intervention to be effective is very high. I briefly described this process in the 'Learning new skills' section. Although some of our sessions seemed to be very challenging in this area, participants did eventually seem to develop a greater empathy towards each other as they all learned new skills, as illustrated in the earlier 'Sharing skills with others' section. J. Lave and E. Wenger (1991) make a compelling argument for the case that this type of learning is an intrinsic function of social intercourse and development because it is a collective process where the learning is distributed amongst the participants (Hanks 1991), who assume different roles and acquire different skills as a result.

In terms of statistical significance, both test groups 1 and 2 registered an increased awareness of victim empathy, albeit through slightly different routes. The younger group registered a higher and a larger improved post-intervention correlation in this area. However, I am not sure whether the difference in mean ages between the groups is significant when it comes to planning an intervention in this area.

# Test group 3 - Mean average 14 years

As the oldest group with the highest number of participants who had received PNDs, a slightly lowered expectation of reoffending (A) seemed to be key to this group, although they did register a statistically significant negative correlation for the G score, the reason for this is unclear at present and warrants further study. The intervention with this group seemed to rely heavily on the process of Authentic Learning where the participants were encouraged to reflect on their crimes and write creatively about them in song form, using music technology to write loops and to record their vocals. This was outlined earlier in the 'Creative writing leading to personal reflection of offending behaviour' section in the description of the intervention.

This often deeply reflective activity seemed to be especially appropriate for this age group, as they were able to identify the importance of strong and positive social support mechanisms to help guard them against reoffending. During the intervention, as a result of sharing their experiences with each other, many of the participants cited the group itself as a significant social network of supportive like-minded peers, very much reinforcing the idea of building Social Capital within the group. This point was reflected earlier in the pedagogic description of the 'Social nature of music making' section.

The importance of the social aspect of creative activities such as those in our pilot can be found in an evaluation of seven artists' residencies in probation services across Northumbria (Walker and Clark 2000) where offenders were asked to explore the link between their participation in the residencies and future offending behaviour via qualitative interviews. Offenders were 'largely positive' about the experience and identified positive impacts on personal and

social development including increased confidence, the development of practical, artistic and team work/interpersonal skills, and of widened horizons.

# 'Golden Nuggets' for delivering offending-themed music workshops

Our pilot study would seem to suggest that music workshops that emphasize the social aspect of learning (situated learning) in the form of structured ensemble playing (young people learning to play together in tune, in time, in sequence, etc.) seemed to work effectively in developing the empathic skills of the participants for younger age groups. This seemed to have had a direct impact on their attitudes towards 'victim empathy'. M. H. Thaut's (1989) American study of 50 music therapy psychiatric prisoner patients reported the beneficial impact of participation in music therapy on relaxation, mood/emotion, thought/insight in patients after music therapy. Thaut refers to research suggesting that changes in mood/emotion 'may be important in view of theories that postulate affect modification as an essential step in behavioural change' (1989: 165), highlighting the potential longer-term impact of participation on challenging behaviour and reducing offending.

However, we also found that we did actually need to explicitly 'theme' or contextualize our intervention around offending to give the participants the opportunity to directly reflect on their situations, as previously described in the 'Creative writing leading to personal reflection of offending behaviour' section. As our workshops were song based we were able to theme the content through the application of creative writing. We found creative writing useful because it enabled participants to express their feelings, their sense of self and to release tension (Cleveland 1992). This sentiment very much echoes J. Thompson when he writes about the community use of the theatre workshop, 'the extended deliberate fiction engages people in a much fuller version of the practice of human interactions ... an intense experience that creates a network of meaningful activities in the present ... [some of which] may linger or reform in a new situation on the outside' (2003: 96–97).

We found that using electronic composition tools such as Logic for the older age group worked very well because encouraging participants to write musical loops to accompany their reflective lyrics appeared to be an effective way of encouraging their Authentic Learning process. In our study this approach seemed to have had a direct impact on their attitudes towards 'Anticipation of future offending'. We would recommend the use of programmes such as Fruity Loops or Reason when working with newcomers to music technology due to the greater immediacy of these loop-based programmes. With these programmes, especially Fruity Loops, it is easier to incorporate the idea of 'fun' in teaching the participants the importance of strong kick, hi-hat and snare patterns in dance and hip hop music due to the dedicated programmable grids for each component. I have already outlined in the 'Using Logic software in-session' section some of the challenges we faced when we used Logic in our sessions. However, the main point we found was that it was important to embrace other creative disciplines (such as creative writing for songs/rap) to accentuate the inherent emotional 'reconstruction' (Skaggs 1997: 74) that can be derived from the musical process of composition in a community context.

Finally, we found that it was important to emphasize the 'participatory' in participatory music making. Encouraging the participants to take ownership of their entire learning processes through the negotiating of their own rules for the group (Process-directed education) seemed to have a significant overall impact for all the groups in terms of their 'Evaluation of crime as worthwhile' (see 'The development of group negotiation skills' section). In fact, this 'participatory' aspect has far-reaching implications in terms of building Social Capital, first in the group, then, via the group, later in the community, as W. Walter writes, 'successful and healthy democracies and economies are those possessing dense webs of community participation' (2002: 377).

# SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

- A larger study should continue to work with PND dominated samples
- A larger study should limit the distribution of ages in any one group
- A larger study should test the V score hypothesis for younger age groups (<13 years)</li>
- A larger study should test the A score hypothesis for older ages groups (>13 years) with high numbers of PND recipients
- A larger study should closely examine the G score progression of older groups (>13 years) with high numbers of PND recipients

# CONCLUSION

We found that attempting to measure the efficacy of our intervention in a quasi-experimental manner was really important to our development as practitioners. We feel that it is vital that we know, as well as believe that our practice can be effective. We were able to use this research as a diagnostic tool to look at areas of our delivery that needed to be tweaked for work in this sector. We believe that all community engagement work could benefit from such a 'tune up' from time to time, to ensure that anecdotal efficacy matches the empirical.

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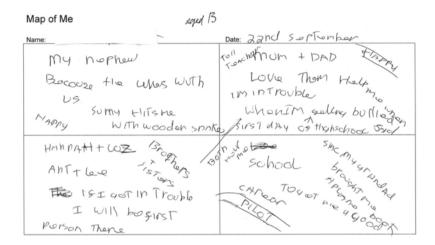
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# **APPENDIX**

'Map of Me'



# **MAZELEY LYRICS**

Chorus (Everybody)
We've all been against the law
We've all done something wrong
No matter where you're from
It's always going on

# Verse 1 (I)

I stole some cider from my Dad
I went in the fridge that was all he had
I was drinking in my room
My mum came in with a face like doom
(I had a big fright I chucked it into the light)
Smoking makes you choke
Giving up is no joke
Mum and I had a deal
We stopped together for real

# Verse 2 (C)

I was in town with my friend
When an officer came round the bend
I saw a girl spit and laugh and run
And I said to my mate 'that warn't fun'
I was with my mates in an old house
When my mate saw a mouse
I climbed up a fence and couldn't get out so
I jumped and smashed a window

# Verse 3 (Ca)

I don't smoke and I don't deal coke Doing this don't make you a big bloke I've got goals like Kylie Minogue I want to do good for my folks Dealing drugs on the street corner Selling coke to an underage learner Stuff like this will control you Just like in the PRU

Verse 4 (Cha)
My mum ran out of money
You can't buy nothing that's not funny
I go to the shop to rob some sweets
I got caught by the CCTV
The next thing I know there's a knock at the door
In came the law, it was hardcore
If I do it again I'll be put on bail
If found guilty I'll go to jail

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