Evaluation of the Challenge and Support Programme

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Education

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Abstract

This report sets out findings from a process and impact evaluation of the Challenge and Support (C&S) programme, designed to provide support to young people identified as having committed anti-social behaviour (ASB). The evaluation included interviews with local coordinators, analysis of management information, a questionnaire survey and case studies. Results indicated that in many areas, introduction and implementation of the C&S programme has promoted inter-agency working, individualised needs assessment, and effective population segmentation. Although the lack of robust data made generalisations with regard to impact inconclusive, results indicate that the C&S programme is likely to have had a positive impact in terms of reducing persistent anti-social behaviour and diverting young people out of the criminal justice system (CJS).

Keywords

Acknowledgements

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1.0   Key implications for decision makers

- Introduction and implementation of the C&S programme has promoted what existing research evidence suggests is good practice. Inter-agency working, the effective use of individualised needs assessment, and more effective population segmentation were all, at least in part, attributable to the programme;

- Interviews with practitioners and detailed case studies both indicate that the C&S programme, where delivered effectively, is likely to have reduced persistent anti-social behaviour and diverted significant numbers of young people out of the criminal justice system;

- The good practice that appears to have made a difference to the lives of young people can largely be characterised as effective approaches to delivering services. As such, continuing to provide valuable support is not necessarily contingent on the existence of initiatives such as C&S;

- The evaluation has several important implications for policy in this area, given the likely shift to commissioning of local services on the basis of payment by results;

- Higher level enforcements, such as the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and Anti-Social Behaviour Contracts or Agreements (ABC/As) tended to have lower success rates, and were therefore potentially less cost-effective than early intervention when it comes to reducing offending and keeping young people out of the criminal justice system. This judgment is, however, likely to be influenced by the complexity of the needs of the young people who received those higher level enforcements.

- Effective multi-agency working is essential to the delivery of effective support to young people, and thus indicative of good practice;

- Local provision is most effective where provided services are configured to suit local conditions and available skills. There is little evidence of uniform approaches being equally effective across different local areas;

- Effective outcomes are more likely to result from well trained and supported professionals forming good relationships with young people and their families rather than implementation of a finite number of programmed interventions;

- The lack of robust data to measure both cost of delivery and service impact is a real and persistent problem in this area. Where commissioners are going to pay for services on the basis of successful delivery of outcomes, it is essential these issues be addressed;

- For most young people, low-cost interventions such as written warnings and home visits can deliver effective outcomes.

2.0   Executive summary

Context

The C&S programme was established by the Youth Taskforce in 2008[1] in response to growing concerns about anti-social behaviour amongst young people. For example, a report from the National Audit Office, published in 2006, estimated that responding to anti-social behaviour was costing government agencies around £3.4 billion every year.

The Challenge and Support programme came with a total budget of £13m, and ran across 52 areas in England and Wales between 2008 and March 2011. Its aim was to ensure that young people in receipt of an enforcement for anti-social behaviour were provided with appropriate support. At its core, the programme aimed to support services such as Youth Offending Teams, Community Safety Partnerships and Children's Trusts in sharing information and coordinating service delivery to stop anti-social behaviour and improve the lives of young people.

To understand its impact, the Department commissioned research to evaluate *the use and effectiveness of support measures alongside anti-social behaviour enforcement action for young people in areas with C&S projects*.

Approach

The research sought to answer two general questions, one about processes the other about impact:

1. What did the process of supporting young people look like across different areas?
2. What impact did supporting young people have on their behaviour?

To answer the process question, the research team interviewed key people across the 52 areas, looked at available management information, surveyed Challenge and Support coordinators, and undertook detailed case studies in eight areas.

The impact evaluation included robust data on elements such as client demographics, anti-social behaviour incidents, offending, support and enforcement provided, and engagement in education, employment and training. Finding data sufficiently reliable to warrant detailed analysis of impact is widely recognised as a perennial problem in the area of youth support. Consequently, the research team found only 11 areas capable of providing the requisite information.

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[1] Department for Children Schools and Families (2008). Youth Taskforce Action Plan. London: The Stationery Office.

Results

Interviews with local areas showed quite clearly that they took very different approaches to the way they delivered services under the auspices of Challenge and Support. Two thirds of those interviewed reported having implemented new services, the key features of which included better communication between agencies providing services for young people. Of the remaining third, just under half said they continued to operate a service that was already running prior to the inception of Challenge and Support, with the remainder saying they had reconfigured existing services by pooling budgets and reallocating responsibilities for delivery. Eighteen months into the programme, a survey suggested that inter-agency coordination had improved across 80 per cent of areas, with over 50 per cent attributing the change to better working relationships between key individuals.

Other important changes people identified included the development and implementation of formal policies for responding to anti-social behaviour, and better inter-agency working as a consequence of shared training. More detailed case study analyses suggested that Challenge and Support had improved service delivery by shifting the emphasis of intervention from enforcement to prevention, and by enabling practitioners to have a much better overview of the range of local support available.

In terms of approaches to supporting young people committing anti-social behaviour, 95 per cent of area coordinators surveyed agreed that low-level enforcements such as warning letters and home visits were effective in helping the majority of young people desist. Typically, most of the young people in this category received no more support than signposting to local universal services such as youth clubs.

For more serious or persistent involvement in ASB, many local areas used Acceptable Behaviour Contracts or Agreements. Young people in receipt of formal contracts were typically provided with additional support from the local Youth Service or other professionals.

With regard to impact, the success of Challenge and Support was defined *a priori* in terms of reductions in anti-social behaviour, and in the numbers of young people progressing into the criminal justice system, and more young people engaging in positive activities.

Previous studies and reports have found that ASB data are not routinely collected in a consistent fashion (Committee of Public Accounts, 2006; Burney 2005; Clarke *et al*, 2011). As part of this evaluation, a scoping exercise was conducted to identify what data, including ASB data, were held locally. That exercise found that ASB data were often held by multiple agencies, each using different systems to store the data. This meant that the evaluation could include ASB data from only a limited number of areas. Where data were available, it suggested that additional support could reduce the proportion of young people reoffending by up to half (from 28 per cent to 14 per cent in one area). Areas 2, 9 and 10 (of our study areas) saw both reductions in the overall proportion of C&S young people who received reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWCs) and low proportions going on to receive their first RWC in the year after C&S (less than 6 per cent). Similarly, for some areas, over 70 per cent of young people receiving enforcement with support from local services did not go on to receive RWCs in the year following C&S.

Implications

The process evaluation concluded that in many areas, introduction and implementation of the Challenge and Support programme has promoted what existing research evidence suggests is good practice. In particular, the programme improved processes such as valuable inter-agency working, the effective use of individualised needs assessment, and more effective population segmentation leading to better targeting of finite resources.

Whilst the lack of robust data makes it very difficult to make generalisations with regard to impact, interviews with practitioners and detailed case studies both indicate that the Challenge and Support programme is likely to have had a positive impact in terms of reducing persistent anti-social behaviour and diverting young people out of the criminal justice system.

Although the Challenge and Support programme has reached its end, the evaluation has several important implications for policy in this area, not least given that services may in future be commissioned from third-party organisations on the basis of payment by results.

The value of early intervention with young people should not be underestimated. This research has demonstrated that higher level enforcements such as the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders and Anti-Social Behaviour Contracts generally tend to have lower success rates, and were potentially less cost-effective, than early intervention when it comes to reducing offending and keeping young people out of the criminal justice system. This judgement is likely to be influenced by the complexity of needs of the young people who received the higher level enforcements.

Effective multi-agency working is essential to the delivery of effective support to young people. Solitary services delivered by single providers are, particularly for more prolific and persistent offenders, unlikely to address the typically complex needs these young people have.

Local areas are likely to be most effective where they provide services in ways that suit local conditions and available skills. Evidence from the evaluation has shown that effective outcomes can be delivered via different processes and procedures.

In many instances, effective outcomes are the result of well trained and supported professionals forming good relationships with offenders and their families rather than the slavish implementation of programmed interventions.

The lack of robust data to measure both cost of delivery and service impact is a real and persistent problem in this area. Where commissioners are going to pay for services on the basis of successful delivery of outcomes, it is essential these issues be addressed.

Segmenting young people involved in anti-social behaviour is likely to have value. More specifically, the evaluation has shown that for the overwhelming majority of young people, low-cost alternatives such as written warnings and home visits can deliver effective outcomes.

3.0   Context

The C&S programme ran in 52 areas across England and Wales between 2008 and 31 March 2011. Projects were expected to significantly reduce anti-social behaviour by ensuring that all young people who had committed anti-social behaviour and were in receipt of a warning letter, Acceptable Behaviour Contract[2] (ABC) or Anti-Social Behaviour Order also received an appropriate offer of support. In undertaking this work, C&S projects were expected to work with local services like the police, Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) , Community Safety Partnerships, and Children's Trusts to share information and agree solutions that would stop ASB and improve young people's lives (DCSF, 2008).

In February 2011, as the C&S programme was coming to a conclusion, the government launched a consultation document *More Effective Responses to Anti-Social Behaviour.* Government's intention was to review responses to ASB, including the possible abolition of ASBOs in favour of more community-based "social control policies", including the Criminal Behaviour Order, interventions the Crime Prevention Injunction, the Community Protection Order and the Direction Order. The consultation document also noted that effective interventions that are designed to help perpetrators deal with their anti-social behaviour are rarely used. The consultation has also identified eight police areas that will trial new methods of handling complaints of ASB. Although the police will take the lead in these areas, each trial will be based on five key principles that include how local agencies will manage cases and sharing of information between agencies. Clearly, the lessons learnt by the C&S projects are relevant to this consultation process.

3.1   Background to Challenge and Support

The Challenge and Support programme was established by the Youth Taskforce (YTF)[3] Action Plan (DCSF, 2008). That plan was part of the of the YTF's response to anti-social behaviour by young people through a "triple track" approach of:

- tough enforcement where behaviour is unacceptable or illegal;
- non-negotiable support to address the underlying causes of poor behaviour or serious difficulties;
- better prevention to tackle problems before they become serious and entrenched, and to prevent problems arising in the first place.

Over the life of the programme, the overall budget was £13m although funding for local projects was no longer ring-fenced after the change of government in 2010.

This section of the report sets out the background to the programme, its aims and the approach taken to evaluate its effectiveness. In setting out this background, reference is made to previous policy and research in this area, relevant to the establishment of Challenge and Support. The background also informs the approach to the evaluation, since previous studies have

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[2] Also known as an Anti-Social Behaviour Agreement (ABA)

[3] The YTF was created from the Respect Taskforce in 2007 and was based in the Department of Children, Schools and Families (DCSF, now the Department for Education; DfE). The YTF's focus was on delivering positive outcomes for young people, including steps to prevent them from getting into trouble and encouraging them to have respect for their community. It was disbanded in 2010.

highlighted an evaluation gap of knowledge, particularly the analysis of empirical data, to inform *what works* in this field.

Following the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA 1998), the prevention and reduction of crime, disorder and ASB became a major strategic and operational issue in England and Wales (Prior et al, 2006). A report from the National Audit Office (NAO) estimated that responding to ASB cost government agencies some £3.4 billion every year (NAO, 2006). The CDA defined ASB and introduced a range of powers to deter any "behaviour likely to cause alarm, harassment or distress to members of the public not of the same household as the perpetrator". Anti-social behaviour is often criminal and includes abusive behaviour, noise nuisance, littering, assaults, rowdy behaviour, etc. The powers included the ASBO and the Parenting Order. Both are civil orders designed to deter, or prevent the escalation of, ASB and breaching either may give rise to criminal proceedings and penalties. The powers of the 1998 Act were revised and bolstered by the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003. That Act introduced dispersal orders to be applied to groups of young people, required Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) to adopt and publish policies on ASB and take action against tenants who cause nuisance or annoyance.

A review of the use of ASBOs, published in 2002 (Campbell, 2002), identified partnership working as being important to successfully applying for and managing ASBOs. However, that review noted that a lack of support from one agency could adversely affect the whole process. Where areas were not using ASBOs, the review found alternative approaches being adopted, including mediation, situational ASB control and diversionary activities for young people. Among other more formal approaches to ASB is the ABC or ABA. This is a voluntary written agreement between the local authority, police or RSLs and a person who is found to be engaging in ASB, and sets out a standard of behaviour and other requirements to prevent further occurrences of ASB. Breaching the ABC/A does not result in criminal proceedings but may lead to an ASBO being sought.

In the 10 years following the 1998 Act, the approach to ASB was generally enforcement-led, but the extent to which such an approach could realistically affect ASB levels came under increasing critical appraisal. One review of what works in reducing ASB found no evidence that enforcement interventions that simply restricted and regulated the individual are effective in preventing re-offending among young offenders (Prior and Paris, 2005). A second review by RAND, commissioned by the NAO to inform their overall report on approaches to ASB, concluded that the lack of rigorous evaluation, at least in Europe, made it difficult to come to any robust conclusions as to which programmes are likely to be more effective in reducing anti-social behaviour (Rubin, 2006). However, the RAND report did note that early interventions, including those aimed at keeping young people in education and training, can be effective in reducing criminal and anti-social behaviour. Similarly, a study conducted in Edinburgh (McAra and McVie, 2007) concluded that adult criminality could be predicted by an early history of problem behaviour, including school exclusion, police warnings (by age 12), and ever having a referral to the Children's Reporter[4].

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[4] The Children's Reporter investigates cases of young people referred to the Children's Panel in Scotland on the grounds of the young person's offending behaviour or care and protection needs.

One research report (Hodginson and Tilley, 2007) raised a concern that practitioners, in pursuit of increased enforcement outputs, were not giving sufficient consideration to the desired outcome of reducing ASB. That research cited, for example, evidence that the police were under pressure to measure success through the number of ASBOs granted even if this did not lead to the pursuit and adoption of the most promising ways of addressing ASB. Further, the report noted that effective partnerships between local authority staff and the police could be weakened by the preoccupation with enforcement measures. In the previous year, the Public Accounts Committee (2006) observed that responses to ASB were often based on local preferences and the familiarity of those in authority with the different types of measures, rather than an objective assessment of what works with different types of perpetrators.

In applying a critique of the enforcement approach, Hodgkinson and Tilley also noted emerging evidence that supportive interventions, possibly in conjunction with the use of enforcement measures, were effective for the most serious and prolific cases of ASB (Hodgkinson and Tilley, op. cit.). Other researchers highlighted particular types of interventions that were effective in reducing ASB in young people. These included early-intervention projects for pre-school children (Zara and Farrington, 2009) and family interventions and parental training, such as how to provide positive reinforcement for desirable behaviour and to use non-punitive and consistent discipline practices (Farrington and Welsh, 2003). Similarly, a systematic review of international evidence concluded that '*juvenile system processing appears to not have a crime control effect, and across all measures appears to increase delinquency'* (Petrosino *et al* 2010).'

Research evidence provides a clear rationale for the likely effectiveness of developmental interventions of the type delivered by the Challenge and Support programme (Prior and Paris, op. cit.). Such developmental interventions provide young people with an increased range of personal resources including greater self-esteem and understanding, changes in attitudes, personal and social skills, education, and training for work. As important as the specific interventions, Prior and Paris identified from their review the key features of successful interventions. Table 1 summarises their conclusions.

Table 1
Key features of successful interventions

Intervention principles	Action to be taken	Good practice
Assess needs	*Individual offender's needs should be identified by:*	Assessing the needs of the young person as an individual; assigning young people interventions on the basis of thorough risk and needs assessment; and focusing on the offending-related needs of the individual.
Tailor interventions	*Interventions should be tailored to the individual's needs by:*	Responding to the general and specific learning styles of individual offenders; developing cognitive, behavioural and inter-personal skills; and tackling the multiple needs of offenders with multiple services.
Proportionality	*Interventions should be a proportionate response to an individual's behaviour by:*	Relating the level of intervention to the level of offending.
Community-based	*Interventions should be delivered in the community setting by:*	Delivering interventions within the young person's familiar social environment.
Integrity	*Interventions should demonstrate programme integrity by:*	Planning and managing process that links aims, methods, resources, staff, training and support, monitoring and evaluation in an integrated fashion.

In response to this growing body of evidence, policy-makers began to take an interest in the causes of ASB and the identification of effective interventions to reduce the ASB of young people. In 2006 the Government launched the Respect Action Plan to consolidate ASB policies by placing an emphasis on individual and parental responsibility for stopping ASB. The plan identified a number of key factors associated with ASB (including poor parenting skills and individual factors such as alcohol misuse) and introduced the Family Intervention Projects (FIPs), which involved key workers working with the whole family and coordinating the statutory agencies.

While enforcement pathways were relatively clear, the range of supportive interventions available and when they should be used were less well defined and disconnected from enforcement. This is described in Figure 1, which shows the typical escalation of enforcement options, from warning letters to conviction, via civil orders such as the ASBO. However, it also illustrates that prior to the C&S programme the range of enforcement options were often disconnected from the support that is typically available in a local areas, such as universal youth work (e.g. community projects), targeted youth work (e.g. Youth Inclusion Programme [YIP]) or family interventions (e.g. FIPs). Furthermore, the figure also seeks to illustrate that the severity of the enforcement option was not necessarily aligned to the intensity of support. The C&S programme was established to bridge this disconnection between enforcement and support.

Figure 1
The ASB enforcement pathway and examples of supportive interventions
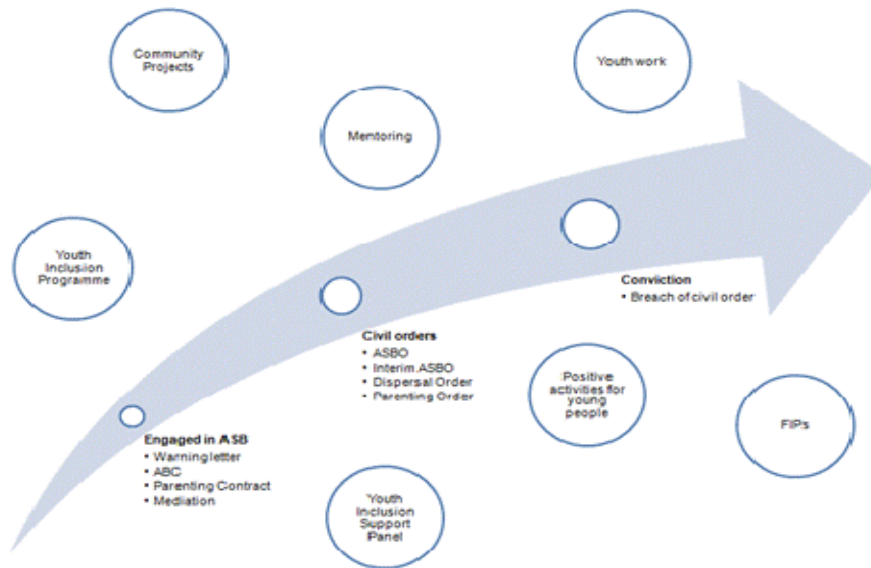
In 2008, the Youth Taskforce Action Plan required the YTF to develop a fuller response to young people's ASB. As part of this response, the YTF looked at the range of enforcement tools for ASB, such as warning letters, ABCs/ABAs and ASBOs. While such enforcement tools establish clear rules and boundaries for young people, it was recognised that they failed to provide the support needed to tackle the causes of ASB.

It was in response to the recognised need for support, and also the "disconnect" between enforcement and support, that the YTF committed funding of £13 million over three successive years to the Challenge and Support programme. The programme comprised 52 area initiatives that sought to offer support to a young person with every enforcement action for anti-social behaviour. Challenge and Support's primary aim was to stop young people's ASB as early as possible, by ensuring that enforcements are accompanied by support. While the projects worked with young people to prevent them from committing more serious ASB, they also sought to prevent young people from entering the youth justice system (receiving their first reprimand, warning or conviction).

Towards the end of the C&S programme, the government announced its intention to review responses to ASB, including the possible abolition of ASBOs in favour of more community-based "social control policies". As part of this review, eight police areas have been selected to trial new methods of handling complaints of ASB. Although the police will take the lead in these areas, each trial will be based on five key principles that include how local agencies will manage cases and sharing of information between agencies. Clearly, the lessons learnt by the C&S projects are relevant to these trials.

3.2   Aim of the Challenge and Support programme

The aim of the C&S programme was to ensure areas took a coordinated approach to accompanying all enforcement measures for anti-social behaviour delivered to young people, with an offer of appropriate support. This represented the new policy response to young people and ASB, ensuring that relevant services worked together to put adequate support in place alongside enforcement. In ensuring that both enforcement and support were delivered, the emphasis was on coordinating pre-existing services where they existed, whilst establishing new services where they did not previously exist.

Indeed rather than the enforcement-led approach with loose ties to supportive measures (see Figure 1 above), it was anticipated that areas would integrate support at every step of the enforcement pathway. Enforcement actions included warning letters and home visits, escalating to ABCs/ABAs and ASBOs. Each of these enforcement actions was matched with appropriate levels of support: warning letters were often accompanied by signposting to universal youth services, while more targeted support and referral to specialised services accompanied an ABC/ABA. Where ASBOs were ordered by the courts, greater use of the Individual Support Order was expected, which would detail individualised support appropriate to the young person's needs. The approach to support taken by the YTF and C&S resonated strongly with the evidence base summarised in Table 1 above, in other words, support was to be proportionate to the incident, delivered in the community, based on robust needs assessment and designed to meet the needs of the young person.

Funding was provided to 52 C&S projects in areas where crime and anti-social behaviour was a problem. It was intended that funding would enable local C&S projects to work closely with their local police, local authorities, Youth Offending Teams, community and voluntary sector organisations, housing and schools. A key role of the projects was to coordinate the sharing of information and interventions to prevent ASB and improve young people's lives. All 52 projects were operational from the autumn of 2008, and the YTF Action Plan (DCSF, 2008) projected that they would involve more than 15,000 young people and their families each year.

The projects were expected both to reduce anti-social behaviour involving young people and first-time entrants to the criminal justice system (young people receiving their first reprimand, warning or conviction) in the areas in which they operated. To this end, the projects had three principal objectives:

- to ensure that each area adopted a coordinated screening/referral/assessment process;
- to offer and coordinate enforcement, diversionary and support activities at the early stages of the enforcement process; and
- to manage enforcement and support measures at the ABC and ASBO stages of the enforcement process.

3.3   Aim and approach of the evaluation

The overall aim of the research was to evaluate *the use and effectiveness of support measures alongside anti-social behaviour enforcement action for young people in areas with the Challenge and Support*

programme. In doing so, the different strands of the evaluation have sought to understand the effectiveness of this approach, taking account the diversity among the projects and the local circumstances. In doing this the evaluation sought to address four key issues:

- to understand what support is provided to young people who receive different types of anti-social behaviour enforcement action and how this varies by type of behaviour and type of young person;
- to measure the effectiveness of the combination of support and enforcement in reducing anti-social behaviour and halting young people's progress into the criminal justice system (including young people receiving their first reprimand, warning or conviction);
- to identify and measure young people's outcomes when they receive a combination of support and enforcement; and
- to understand the relationship between the quality of support and enforcement received by young people and their subsequent outcomes.

This evaluation was designed to answer those discrete questions and add to knowledge in this area. However, in doing so, it has had to overcome one of the main obstacles to previous research in this area, namely the inconsistency of empirical data on which to draw firm conclusions about the effectiveness of interventions. In other words, while information is consistently held on offending behaviour and is available from the Police National Computer (PNC) and reported in Criminal Statistics, instances of ASB are not routinely collected in a consistent fashion. This evaluation gap (Rubin *et al,* 2006) was highlighted by the Public Accounts Committee, which reported *"There was no standard data set in use in local areas to collect and collate data"* and that this hampered any evaluation of "what works" (Committee of Public Accounts, 2007). Other research has highlighted the lack of consistently-held data (Burney, 2005) and reported that data on interventions other than ASBOs are held in a variety of locations, are of variable quality and often rely heavily upon anecdotal evidence. Indeed, recently published research on ASB found that data management systems were often not designed to enable easy access to information by multi-agency groups involved in ASB work, and that data sharing was contentious (Clarke *et al*, 2011). Mindful of this evaluation gap, this project was designed to overcome the difficulties and to obtain, where possible, data that were of good quality.

3.4   Methodology

The research was based on incorporating both process and impact evaluations. These are summarised below and more fully described in Appendix A.

Process evaluation

The process evaluation was designed to understand a programme of 52 projects that were diverse in terms of their management and operational structures. To understand this, a number of research methods were adopted over the course of the evaluation:

- Developing a conceptual framework for the programme
- Semi-structured interviews in the 52 C&S areas
- Analysis of the YTF's management information data

- Questionnaire survey of C&S coordinators
- In-depth case studies in eight areas

Developing a conceptual framework for the programme

Given the diversity of the projects, a conceptual framework was developed to understand the areas of commonality and difference among the projects. This was prepared on the basis of the initial bids that the projects made to the YTF for funding, and sought to understand why projects considered that their processes and interventions would lead to successful outcomes. Accordingly, the framework set out a broad description of how the projects were managed, how the core processes of referral, assessment and intervention were delivered, and the local outcomes. This conceptual framework was then used to develop an interview schedule, which was used as the topic guide for the initial interviews in each C&S project area.

Semi-structured interviews in the 52 C&S areas

In the summer of 2009, interviews were conducted with local C&S coordinators, local partners (including the police, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, ASB teams, Youth Offending Teams, the youth service). The interviews were conducted on the basis of a semi-structured interview schedule that was based on the conceptual framework and agreed by the DfE. It was piloted in 10 areas. In all, 222 interviews were conducted between April and August 2009, providing a comprehensive understanding of the programme. The interviews were analysed in NVivo according to an analytical framework.

Analysis of the YTF's management information data

All 52 projects were required to submit six-monthly returns of management information (MI data) to the YTF. The data were captured by a database built by the YTF, and this was in place prior to the commencement of the evaluation. The MI data collated details about the way each area responded to anti-social behaviour, particularly in respect of providing enforcement with support, and were analysed by the evaluation team. While these returns were useful in monitoring patterns in the C&S Project areas, they were a measure of all enforcement and support activity within an area, including that done by C&S. Three sweeps of MI data were returned from the areas for the periods October 2008 to March 2009, April 2009 to September 2009, and October 2009 to March 2010. The process was discontinued when the funding for Challenge and Support was no longer ring-fenced after the change of government in 2010.

Questionnaire survey of C&S coordinators

Between April and May 2010, all 52 C&S coordinators were asked to complete an online questionnaire survey. The main purpose of the survey was to seek the views of the coordinators on the development of C&S in their area since the inception of the project. This included the development of partnership working, the effectiveness of the support offered to young people, and the impact of C&S on the local ASB enforcement process. The survey achieved an 87 per cent response rate.

In-depth case studies in eight areas

In the summer of 2010, in-depth case studies were prepared in eight of the 52 C&S projects. Of the eight areas, six were selected by the evaluation team on the basis of information gathered earlier in the evaluation on: the type of delivery model that the projects adopted; the severity of ASB they dealt with; and the quality of the local partnership working. The rationale for sampling on the basis of those criteria was that they defined the behaviour the projects targeted, the types of interventions that they used and the extent to which they worked with local services. In addition to those six, the DfE also nominated two projects that were considered to demonstrate innovative practices. The case studies were based on interviews conducted with C&S coordinators and senior managers in the partner agencies, including community safety, YOT heads of prevention, the police and the local ASB team. The interviews were conducted on the basis of semi-structured schedules and were analysed in NVivo according to an analytical framework. In all, 35 interviews were conducted, including 15 project leads and 20 project partners.

The areas that participated in the case studies were areas: 1; 2; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; and, area 13.

Impact evaluation

Prior to commencing the impact evaluation, the evaluation team completed a data scoping exercise in all Challenge & Support Project (C&S) areas between June and October 2009. The exercise reviewed what impact evaluation data was available at the individual level, namely: client demographics and characteristics; ASB incidents; offences; the support and enforcement delivered; engagement in education, employment or training, and other outcomes listed in the project specification. In all, the exercise identified which areas could provide this level of data.

The areas that participated in the impact evaluation were areas 1 to 10.

Data collected from the local areas

Eleven areas were approached to share data with the evaluations but one area declined to be involved. Three groups of data were collected from the remaining 10 areas.

1. Case management data. Each area used a case management system, either UMIS or Careworks Raise, to record which young people were referred to the C&S scheme and the support and enforcement that was used with them. The evaluation collated the characteristics of young people supported the results of Onset assessments and the interventions used. These data were not available for young people who received just a warning or young people who refused support. All available data on a young person was extracted.

2. Anti Social Behaviour data. The ASB data available in each area varied and the systems used to record these data varied greatly as well. In all areas a list of enforcements issues, (the majority being) warning letters, but also including ABCs and ASBOs were collected and matched to the group of young people identified on the case management system. The young people who received these enforcements were matched to the data for reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWCs). The completeness of the data varied from area to area, which explains the gaps in ethnicity, age and gender presented in the main report. In three areas, reports of actual ASB incidents were available in addition to ASB enforcements. These data were collected in Areas 9, 2 and 7.

3. Local data on reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWC). In each area, local data were collated on which young people were subject to either reprimands or final warnings or a conviction following a court appearance. These data were manually matched to the case management records and the sample of young people who received an ASB enforcement.

Identifiable data was shared with the areas after appropriate data security protocols were in place. The data were stored in a Microsoft Access database.

The data were collected over three rounds: Summer 2010, Autumn 2010 and Winter 2011. A Matrix researcher would visit each area and extract the data from the case management systems directly.

Deliberative events

Deliberative events were conducted in four of the areas: Areas 9, 7, 2 and 4. The events allowed participants to reflect on the evaluation's quantitative and qualitative results and provide an informed reasoning for the changes observed. The events followed a similar structure where a Matrix researcher presented, followed by a discussion arranged around previously identified questions. The aim and objectives of the events are listed below.

The aim of the deliberative workshops is to reflect on the results of the evaluation. The workshops are designed to:

- test findings of the evaluation, in other words, do the evaluators and local areas agree on what the data are telling us?;
- to understand why outcomes have been achieved or not, in other words, can the local areas explain their outcomes?; and
- discuss the future role of C&S or similar schemes in the area, particularly in light of cuts in government funding and devolution of services to the local level.

4.0 Results

The findings of the evaluation that support the overall conclusion and implications of the evaluation are set out in this section. It is split into three parts, namely:

4.1 What did the programme do? This is an account of the overall processes adopted by the areas in working with the young people and local agencies concerned.

4.2 Was the programme successful? This sets out the overall outcomes for young people in terms of subsequent reprimand, final warning and conviction (RWC), first-time offending and desistence from offending and ASB;

4.3 What are the relative costs and benefits of preventative enforcements?

4.1 What did the programme do?

This section addresses how the local C&S projects responded to ASB committed by young people in their neighbourhood; it describes the agencies involved and the interventions (enforcements and support) they provided. In doing so, the section draws on the evidence from interviews with local C&S coordinators, workers and stakeholders, the survey of C&S coordinators, and the in-depth case studies to answer the following questions:

4.1.1 How were the projects managed?

4.1.2 How did the projects operate?

4.1.3 How did the projects work with the young people?

4.1.4 Who were the young people?

4.1.5 What interventions were provided to the young people?

4.2.1 How were the projects managed?

Cooperation between local agencies, including the police, is key to tackling ASB; the lack of support of one agency or shared outcomes can hamper successful work (Campbell; Hodgkinson and Tilley, *op.cit*). In light of these findings, it is not surprising that better coordination between local agencies was expected by the YTF Action Plan (2008). Accordingly, the key aim of the C&S projects was to coordinate the work of existing local agencies and organisations in their response to young people committing ASB. Using data from interviews, the survey and case studies, this section provides an explanation of how C&S brought about a change in coordination of the activities of local services, chiefly through improved relationships, as envisaged by the Action Plan.

In most areas, coordination had been lacking at the inception of the programme. The initial interviews with the 52 C&S coordinators established that two-thirds considered that their projects represented a *new*

service, principally brokering communication amongst local agencies that were concerned to tackle ASB in young people. The other third of C&S coordinators did not consider that their projects were new, but described them as representing either a *pre-existing service* or a *reconfigured service* (respectively 15 per cent and 19 per cent of the total). This distinction is a fine one, but the former tends to describe areas that were previously operating a model of working that was similar to C&S, while the latter involved a reconfiguration of existing services into the C&S model.

These types of services are described and illustrated in the box below.

New service	These projects were often providing a new role brokering communication between the YOT prevention team, Community Safety Partnerships and housing agencies. In these areas, project staff highlighted the importance of pre-existing relationships in setting up the new C&S project. **Practice example:** In Area 2, prior to the establishment of C&S, support was not consistently offered to young people receiving enforcements for ASB, apart from court mandated Individual Support Orders (ISOs). The new team built on that work and administered the whole ASB process from warning letter to ASBO warning.
Pre-existing service	These projects were already in development at the inception of the programme and used the C&S project funding to bolster or develop their existing services, or fill an acknowledged gap in service provision. **Practice example:** In Area 13, the C&S project was built on a pre-existing 'prevent and deter' programme that had been running for two years previously and sought to place greater challenge and support mechanisms in place at the ABC stage. The C&S funding allowed the C&S project in this area to create additional panels to deal with low-level ASB.
Reconfigured service	These projects were a reconfiguration of an existing team or structure to introduce C&S. They often pooled the existing budgets to enable a model of C&S that was already operating to be introduced to a new area. **Practice example:** Prior to C&S being established in Area 9, support services for young people were available, and a local multi-agency body was responsible for collating all ASB reports. Until the establishment of C&S, no organisation was responsible for reviewing all reports of ASB and leading on enforcement and support.

In addition to developing services, those sites operating *pre-existing* or *reconfigured services* frequently assumed the development and funding of the C&S model as validation of the services they were already providing.

When interviewed in the first year of the programme, the C&S coordinators were asked how the local C&S project coordinated local responses to ASB. The majority of C&S coordinators (88 per cent) reported that they had a steering group in place to manage their activities at the inception of the programme. It was

also reported that typical steering group partners included the range of local agencies that one would expect to have an interest in tackling ASB in young people, namely the police; YOTs; ASB teams; Community Safety Partnerships; YOT prevention teams; Children's Services; the youth service; education representatives; and representatives of Registered Social Landlords (RSLs).

These interviews also revealed that, following the implementation of the projects, the C&S coordinators became aware of the existence of gaps in services and also barriers to the coordination of anti-social behaviour services for young people. Filling these gaps and overcoming these barriers was seen to be important to the delivery of a coordinated response of challenging and supporting young people involved in ASB. This was recognised by C&S practitioners to be the primary aim of their local C&S projects.

About 18 months following the inception of the programme, the local C&S coordinators were invited to complete an online survey and provide their views of the development of C&S in their area since their project's inception[5]. As part of the survey questionnaire, respondents were asked whether there was more coordination between the agencies delivering ASB enforcement and/ or support to young people now that C&S was running. Overall, they reported that partnership working had improved as a result of the programme: 80 per cent of respondents reported that they thought there had been more coordination between different agencies delivering ASB enforcement and/ or support to young people as a result of C&S (see Figure 2).

Where improved coordination was reported, the respondents were asked by the survey to indicate how the agencies are better coordinated. The responses highlighted that improvements here were brought about through changes in relationships between agencies and individuals rather than changes in process. For example, "key individuals driving change" and "forging informal relationships between individuals, teams, and agencies" were the most commonly selected examples of how agencies had become better coordinated as a result of the local C&S project (in both cases by 83 per cent of respondents).

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[5] The online survey was conducted between April and May 2010, 45 of the 52 coordinators responded (an 82 per cent response rate).

Figure 2
Change in coordination between different agencies
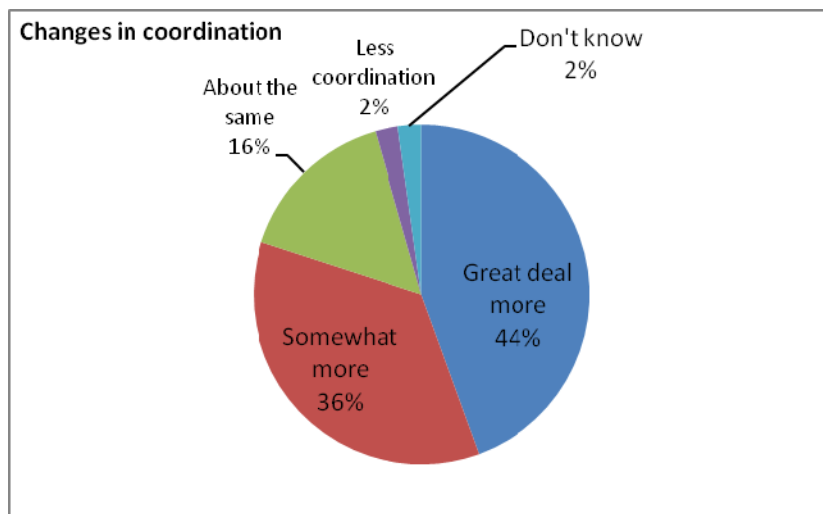
Base=45

However, while personal relationships were most commonly cited, respondents also credited organisational change, such as the development of "strategy documents/services level agreements/protocols" and "the influence/actions of the steering group" , as examples of how agencies are better coordinated (in both cases by 58 per cent of respondents). Indeed one respondent considered that processes encouraged local agencies to acknowledge their individual responsibility and wrote:

> "through better use of data – and driving systematic change to enable data to be better used – has helped all agencies to acknowledge their joint responsibility in offering support to those most at risk of entering the criminal justice system"

In contrast, "reorganisation of ASB services" and "reorganisation for young people" were the least commonly selected examples of how agencies had become better coordinated (provided by 19 and 27 per cent of the respondents, respectively)[6].

In addition to improving coordination between agencies, the C&S coordinators also credited C&S with helping to improve relationships between agencies. In responding to the survey, three-quarters of the respondents considered that their local C&S projects had helped to improve relationships between agencies. Indeed, just over half of the respondents credited C&S as with bringing about a "significant improvement in relationships between agencies": see Figure 3.

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[6] Base = the 36 respondents who reported better coordination.

Figure 3
Change in relationships between different agencies
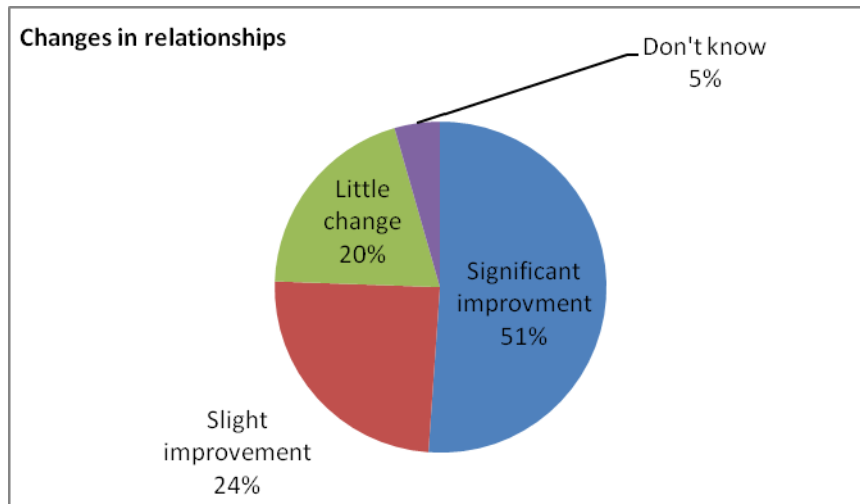
Base=45

In the survey of C&S coordinators, the respondents added frequent examples of improved coordination and relationships between agencies that are seen to be primarily concerned with "enforcement" of anti-social behaviour (for example, the police, the ASB team), and those agencies that are primarily concerned with the young people themselves (for example, the YOT prevention teams and the programmes they operate, including the Youth Inclusion Programme [YIP] and the Youth Inclusion Support Panel [YISP]).

Examples of such improvement included the support agencies attending ASB meetings, better understanding of one another's roles and responsibilities, coordination of local messages, sharing of information and joint working. Most importantly, there was evidence of agencies working together to provide young people with support. In the words of two respondents:

> *"Enforcement and prevention agencies are now having to work together and find commonality, where* [sic] *in the past agencies remained in their silos. Closer working means the developing of more trust and so there are a greater number of joint initiatives where prevention and enforcement principles are coming together."* **C&S coordinator**

> *"Local agencies have now developed their working practices to formulate a joined-up approach to tackling youth-related ASB and provide better support for young people."* **C&S coordinator**

This discussion of the findings of the survey of C&S coordinators – which is supported with some anecdotal examples – suggests that the majority of respondents considered that their local C&S projects had fostered improved inter-agency coordination and relationships. Furthermore, the majority of respondents described improvements as going beyond the process of merely attending meetings and sharing information, but had effected changes in behaviour and put greater emphasis on providing

support. This is a significant finding given the difficulties that might reasonably be expected in communicating with, and sharing information among, a number of local agencies, particularly since individual agencies may hold conflicting views on how to respond to young people involved in ASB. How local C&S projects achieved improved partnership working was explored in more depth in the eight practitioner case studies. These case studies were conducted in eight areas towards the conclusion of the second year of the evaluation[7] and comprised interviews with C&S coordinators and partners. The interviews included an exploration of how partnership working was achieved and how C&S was embedded locally.

Case study areas have identified a range of challenges and a number claimed to be instrumental in building good partnership working to tackle both strategic and operational barriers. There was evidence from some of the local areas that this had been achieved by use of a variety of approaches, including securing high-level support from the partner agencies, establishing formal policies for responding to ASB, encouraging inter-agency responses to ASB. Three approaches to developing good partnership working are illustrated below:

- Securing high-level support from partner agencies;
- Establishing formal policies for responding to ASB; and
- Encouraging inter-agency responses to ASB.

(i) Securing high level support from partner agencies

The interviews in Area 9 established evidence of the importance of support from the partner agencies at the highest levels to a successful partnership working and the success of the C&S project. Partners were drawn from the existing Youth Offending Service (YOS) management board and included elected members of the local council, the Chief Executive of the Council, the police Chief Superintendent, the Director of Public Health, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer, the Director of Children and Learning and representatives from the voluntary sector.

This high-level support for C&S was established by promoting the benefits of the project and its potential impact on the agencies' respective performance and targets. Once the project became embedded, the partners were able to see the tangible results, which further increased local support. In particular, it was evident that local partners were working together to provide support to young people involved in ASB for the first time to keep them out of the criminal justice system. This was seen to involve a change in the police strategy of pursuing detections where ASB had involved criminal behaviour. In the words of one partner:

> *"The system has resulted in a change of culture which was previously based on detections and which now looks primarily at satisfying the customer."* **Partner, Area 9**

(ii) Establishing formal policies for responding to ASB

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[7] The case studies were conducted between March and September 2010.

The project in Area 1 was steered via the C&S Forum, which was chaired by the YOT manager. Unlike the Area 9 management board, this was not a chief officer group, but it included representatives from the local Housing Department, Community Safety Partnership, YISP and Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP).

Prior to the introduction of C&S in Area 1, there was no means to identify young people engaged in the early stages of ASB, nor did the responsible agencies work with those young people in a structured and organised way. There was also a lack of support offered. In responding to those deficiencies, a coherent process for responding to ASB was introduced and the local coordinator produced a policy and procedures document which has been agreed and signed off by all the partners and the Senior Management and Policy team in Area 1. The document set out a consistent approach for addressing ASB in young people and allows partner agencies to be held to account for their actions. Locally, this was seen to have resulted in greater consistency in the approaches of different agencies and also clear accountability. In the words of one partner:

> *"No one agency can [now] get away with not fulfilling their responsibilities"* **Partner, Area 1**

Area 8 adopted a similar approach where a coordinator was employed to liaise between agencies and ensure that support is considered alongside enforcement and signposting people into appropriate support services. In undertaking this work the coordinator was responsible for streamlining the process. This was seen to be an improvement, as prior to the recruitment of the coordinator, it was reported that there had been considerable inconsistency in the administration of enforcement action, and many young people received little or no support. The difference was summed up by one partner who recognised the positive role of the coordinator:

> "*We've now got a point of contact, rather than trying to navigate our way around various agencies... There is that coordination and signposting aspect of Challenge and Support, but then there is also the advice [given by the coordinator] which I think is equally important"* **Partner, Area 8**

(iii) Encouraging inter-agency responses to ASB

The central premise of the C&S programme was that areas should take a coordinated approach to ensuring that all enforcement measures enacted on young people were accompanied by an offer of support. As the examples provided above have indicated, this involved changing local culture and practices via direction from chief officer level or the provision of local policies and procedures. However, in the C&S projects in Areas 11 and 12, local changes were brought about by encouraging inter-agency responses to ASB and supporting that by training.

In Area 11 the C&S project formed part of the local Targeted Youth Support Service (TYSS) which comprised a solicitor from the local authority legal department, police analysts, caseworkers and representatives from the YOT and Children's Services. This group was credited locally with encouraging a robust "partnership response" to ASB which emphasises

support as well as enforcement. This was achieved by the TYSS Manager undertaking a programme of training on early intervention and support for local PCSOs.

Prior to C&S the authorities' response to young people engaged in ASB was described as being largely reactive, with Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) dispersing and sanctioning young people engaging in ASB and housing officers "*knocking on doors and finger wagging*" (project worker). Following the introduction of C&S the local police inspector attended the local panel to improve police engagement with the C&S process, and often home visits are conducted by C&S workers and police officers (see case study on home visits below).

In Area 12, responsibility for dealing with ASB in the borough was devolved to the local RSLs which worked closely with the Safer Neighbourhood Teams (SNTs). There were 60 RSLs in the borough and attempts to set up a steering group to discuss cases were unsuccessful. Instead, C&S workers took enforcement action with RSLs and SNTs, and took a lead in offering support to young people via New Start, the Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP) and YISP (Youth Inclusion and Support Panel).

The local C&S workers in Area 12 explained that *"Challenge and Support is not a project; it's a method of working practice*" (project worker). The interviews highlighted the importance of fostering relationships with the local agencies from the "bottom up". This was achieved by undertaking joint visits with ASB officers and attending the monthly RSL forum to promote the C&S approach.

> "*Challenge and Support has made me think in a more long-term way. Before, I would only involve the police but now I can have contact with the YISP and YOT*"
> **Partner, Area 12**

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion provides evidence that C&S projects were largely successful in filling gaps in local provision in providing support and overcoming barriers to more coordinated support. The responses to the survey provide sound evidence that C&S projects were capable of improving coordination and fostering better relationships between local agencies. This evidence is supported by the examples of good practice and innovation that were found in the practitioner case studies. In doing so, many of the C&S projects had been able to address some of the shortcomings of previous approaches to ASB, namely, a preoccupation with enforcement measures (Hodgkinson and Tilley, 2007) and a lack of familiarity with available support (Public Accounts Committee, 2006). Further examples of how local partnership working in operation is provided in the next section of the report, "How did the projects operate?"

4.1.2 How did the projects operate?

In terms of their operation, the 52 C&S projects were encouraged to develop C&S around their different local authority structures, existing provision and approaches to dealing with ASB, and gaps and inconsistencies in local services. This is demonstrated in the evidence cited above that in some areas the concept underpinning the programme was not new, with one-third of C&S projects being identified as having their roots in a pre-existing or reconfigured services. This section examines (i) differences among the projects in their models of operation and (ii) where they were located and how they were staffed.

(i) Models of operation

Given the ability of local areas to design their project to suit their local circumstances, there were some marked differences in operation among the projects. When interviewed in the first year of the programme, the C&S coordinators described their local projects as fitting one of three models of operation. The first was the *team operation*, where the project comprised a project coordinator and a team of dedicated C&S workers working to deliver and coordinate support to young people. This was found to be in operation in the majority – 62 per cent – of projects. The second was the *individual operation* where a single person coordinated workers from other agencies to deliver C&S. This was found in 21 per cent of projects. The third was the s*trategic operation* which was run by 17 per cent of projects. Under this model, a senior person led the C&S project at a strategic level and was implemented by agencies working with young people.

These models were quite different and are described below:

Team operation	In this category C&S Project managers were responsible for the direct line management of project workers. In some sites this involved a new and discrete C&S project team (such as the ABC+ team in Area 2). In other sites, a C&S Project team has been built on top of an existing structure. **Practice example:** In the C&S project in Area 14, two C&S Project workers have been added to the existing YISP provision to support for the 14 to 17 age group, which was not catered for previously.
Individual operation	Although the exact operation of the C&S projects in this category varied, generally the C&S coordinators were employed in a coordinating role, often allocating young people to other agencies who provided support. Many of these C&S projects had "lone" workers who were integrated into existing teams, such as ASB or community safety. **Practice example:** In Area 15, the C&S Project coordinator worked within the wider ASB team and coordinated both support and enforcement, and acted as a liaison between the ASB team and the YOS.
Strategic operation	Although this model does not differ widely from the "individual" model, the distinguishing feature here is the seniority of the manager. The "coordinator" in strategic models is frequently a prevention manager or similar, with responsibility for the direction of a wide range of teams and projects. **Practice example:** In Area 16, the C&S Project manager is the prevention manager, who oversees all the ASB processes and case management, and assumes responsibility for engaging with partners and YOT managers. Although C&S has funded three workers, these have been integrated into the wider YISP prevention team.

The way in which C&S projects delivered and coordinated support to young people was further investigated by the survey of C&S coordinators. The respondents were asked whether C&S in their area "delivers or coordinates support directly to young people in receipt of ABCs". This question was designed to elicit a specific response, and again there was a variation across the 45 areas that responded. Nearly three-quarters of respondents (73 per cent) reported that their projects both coordinated and delivered support[8]. Eighteen per cent of respondents reported that they only coordinated support and 9 per cent reported that they only delivered support.

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[8] In total 44 of the 52 coordinators surveyed replied to this question.

(ii) Location and staffing of the projects

In interview the C&S coordinators were asked as part of the first year process evaluation to describe the location of their projects within the local authority. While projects were to be found in a variety of locations, given the focus of preventative work with young people, it was not surprising that most of the projects are located in the local YOT (40 per cent). However, other projects were located within multi-agency partnerships (19 per cent), the local ASB team (15 per cent), youth services (10 per cent), Community Safety Partnerships (10 per cent), and Children's Services (6 per cent).

The C&S project coordinators in interview also explained that the funding was commonly spent on additional staffing, such as coordinators and project staff. However, there was evidence that funding was also spent on delivering supportive interventions (such as targeted youth work and restorative justice) and some projects also received match-funding from partners. This led to some concern about the short-term nature of the funding on the long-term services to coordinate responses to young people's anti-social behaviour.

Conclusion

While it is clear that the 52 projects operated in different ways, the majority were located within the YOT and coordinated and delivered support to young people. It is also evident that the concept underpinning the programme is something that is not new, though it was clear from the interviews with practitioners as part of the process evaluation that enforcement and support had not been routinely coordinated across the areas before C&S. Indeed, there was a perception that the *enforcement* bias of earlier policies regarding anti-social behaviour needed to be complemented by *support* activities.

Despite the differences in operation, it was clear that most C&S coordinators when interviewed had a clear sense of the aim of the C&S programme. That was to address gaps in provision in relation to support and to ensure that support was provided alongside enforcement. This is clearly illustrated below by the following views:

> *"Challenge and Support is being used to ensure that no ABCs are given unsupported, and that there is a greater variety and capacity of support interventions available for young people living in all areas of the borough."* **Project worker Area 17**

> *"The primary aim of the project is to ensure that all young people entering the ASB system are offered an appropriate level of support. The gap was felt to be most keen for those receiving ABCs or non-criminal ASBOs and this is where the C&S Project team concentrate."* **Project worker Area 18**

The following section begins to address how the projects worked with the young people to ensure that the projects received and dealt with the appropriate young people, and how they assessed their needs prior to delivering the appropriate intervention.

4.2.2　How did the projects work with the young people?

In their review of the research literature, Prior and Paris (2005) highlighted the key features of successful interventions (see Table 1 above). Those key features included the importance of assessing a young person's needs, tailoring the interventions to those needs and ensuring that the intervention is proportionate to the behaviour. Accordingly, in describing how the projects worked with young people, this section will consider:

(i)　how the projects received referrals;
(ii)　how referrals were screened;
(iii)　how young people were assessed; and
(iv)　summary of practice.

(i)　How the projects received referrals

Young people came to the attention of C&S in a number of ways and in the majority of areas the referral process was thought to work well, with sufficient numbers of appropriate referrals being made. These included referrals from partners such as the police, schools and RSLs, through to outreach work by projects that allowed easier identification of young people engaging in problematic and risky behaviours and who required early support (see the case study below). Other methods of obtaining referrals included "nuisance lines" or call centres set up and operated by partners to receive reports of ASB from members of the public to which the police or anti-social behaviour teams would respond.

> **Innovation in outreach work: Area 8**
>
> An innovative example of outreach work to obtain referrals and deliver support was evident in Area 8. Here the C&S project funded and refurbished a minibus which served known ASB hotspots and provided additional support to young people who needed it but who did not meet Youth Inclusion and Support Panel (YISP) criteria.
>
> A 10-session programme that was based on the YISP was run from the bus. It included an ASB package; drug and alcohol awareness; visits from fire officers and health professionals; using internet access on the bus; and a mock prison to show young people about prison life. The bus also provided a mobile sexual health clinic; mobile restorative justice interventions and community-based work.
>
> This approach provided a base from which the project could move to an area and deliver interventions in the young person's familiar social environment, a key feature of successful interventions. Once the 10-session programme had been delivered, the bus would move on to other ASB hotspots to engage young people and deliver services.

Multi-agency referral panels were commonly used to inform the referral process. These panels were sometimes discrete referral meetings, or were combined on a case management basis to consider all levels of support. In some areas, broader panels sometimes working across Children's Services were used to determine which agency was best placed to provide support, for example the C&S Project, the YOT, Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS) or Social Care. Panels were multi-agency, but attendance varied by C&S project. Many of these

panels were running prior to C&S Project development, and – as was done with many steering groups – a decision was made to amalgamate panels. However, a small number of C&S Projects have developed their own referral panels. One C&S project in Area 19 reported wanting a referral panel but this had subsequently been ruled unworkable due to practical considerations. In this case, the fluctuating nature of referrals in the area (for example, increases during school holidays) would have created difficulties in holding regular, well-attended meetings. Therefore, the site has opted to maintain its current system of using a YISP referral form and assessing all submissions in-house as and when referrals come in. From the case study areas, only three C&S projects operated their own panels, Areas 10, 11 and 13 (see case study below).

The use of panels at this stage of the process, and the coordinated approach that it brought to determining who was best placed to deliver support, enables all relevant local agencies to be included. This had the effect of identifying young people at higher risk of receiving their first reprimand, warning or conviction at an earlier stage of the process. An example of how this process was coordinated by the C&S project in Area 13 is given below.

Coordinating local agencies: referral panels for the C&S in Area 13

The YTF Action Plan outlined that C&S projects should help local services share information on young people who were thought to be engaging in ASB. A good illustration of this approach working at the assessment stage can be found in Area 13 where a wide range of local agencies sat on the local panel and would share assessments of young people who were referred to it. In this area, the C&S project operated across the borough via monthly multi-agency 'Respect' panels in three locations, matching policing neighbourhoods. Membership included: YOT, Connexions, social care professionals, the Army, local colleges, the local Youth and Play Service, the Fire and Rescue Service, and the representatives from the eight neighbourhood policing neighbourhoods (including PCSOs, Safer School Partnership officers and neighbourhood policing teams). Any agency could refer young people into the project via the C&S project coordinators who brought each referral to the relevant panel.

Once referred to C&S, the young person attended one of the three Respect panels. These panels reviewed all referrals and panel members provided the meeting with what information they had on a young person to enable an informal assessment to take place. The young person was also invited to suggest what support he or she wanted. In light of this, support was tailored to the young person and examples included school mentoring, positive diversionary activities and potentially an Army intervention. The C&S was able to provide support such as anger management, and drug and alcohol counselling. Additionally, young people could be directed to the YISP and Positive Activities for Young People. Family interventions such as the Family Intervention Project or parenting support, were also recognised as being important where parents were contributing to the child's ASB. A formal assessment was then conducted and shared with the panel. Thereafter, the Respect panel reviewed the young person's progress until he or she achieved three months of

> good behaviour. If the ASB continued, then the young person would receive further interventions and a possible ABC.

In addition to panels, referral forms were a common referral mechanism. A referral form will contain personal details, including background information and an outline of the types of behaviour in which the person has engaged. The final method of referral was by word of mouth and was frequently found in combination with other referral methods, or used in urgent cases in between referral panels.

(ii) How referrals were screened

All areas seemed to provide some sort of screening of ASB referrals to establish whether ASB had occurred and if so, to determine the appropriate enforcement given the young person's background. Screening was conducted to some extent by all C&S Projects or their partners. In some areas, cases were screened informally, relying solely on information provided by the person making a referral or the professional judgment of the person recording the anti-social behaviour. In other areas such as Area 2 (see case study below), processes were more regimented and formalised. More formal screening exercises include the use of a variety of systems and sources of information to confirm if anti-social behaviour has actually occurred. These included:

- Checking screening information with partners;
- Running Common Assessment Frameworks (CAF) checks to see if the referred person has had CAF assessment;
- Running Onset checks to see if the referred person has had Onset assessment;
- Checking details on Youth Nuisance databases or equivalent;
- Checking local databases;
- Viewing CCTV footage of incidents;
- Checking police criminal intelligence information; and
- Commonsense based on the experience of the person reporting/recording the anti-social behaviour.

It is worth noting that these processes tended to be generic and are employed by a range of agencies working within the ASB agenda, and were unlikely to be C&S Project-specific.

An example of a formal screening process: Area 2

The screening process adopted by the C&S project in Area 2 is an example of how young people referred to C&S were searched on locally held databases to see if they were known to any of the local agencies. The approach adopted in this area was systematic and was based on the willingness of local agencies to share data.

The local C&S team was known as the ABC+ team. It had a referral form that was submitted in electronic format by the person making the referral, usually a police officer. On receipt of the form, a variety of sources were reviewed, including:

- CareWorks (YOS) to see if the person had been known to the youth justice system;
- Carefirst (Social Services) to see if they had a social worker or any child protection issues the team should be aware of;
- EMS (Education Management System) to check their education record/status;
- RSLs to see if they lived in council accommodation; and
- Internal database to see if the young person had been referred to the ABC+ team before.

The information was used by the ABC+ team as the basis of their recommendation of what challenge should have been given (warning letter, etc.), and to ensure it was appropriate to the young person's behaviour and previous or current involvement with local agencies.

The ABC+ team then contacted the referrer to discuss its findings. If its recommendation was different from the referrer's recommendation, the latter had five days to contest the new recommendation. The five-day limit was imposed to ensure that ASB was dealt with in a timely fashion.

(iii) How young people were assessed

As discussed in the previous section, research on this topic has indicated the importance of a proper assessment of an individual's needs prior to delivering interventions. Across the 52 C&S projects, a wide variety of formal assessment tools were used, including CAF, Onset, Asset[9] and other bespoke tools. However, the evaluation found that formal assessments tended to be made in cases of more serious ASB where ABCs/ABAs or ASBOs were being considered. Accordingly, the projects reported in the MI data[10] that around 75 per cent of young people were not formally assessed as they had received a lesser enforcement such as a warning letter or home visit.

Where warning letters were issued or home visits made, it was usually deemed inappropriate to formally assess young people at this stage. That said, in the case of home visits, workers would usually prepare some information on the young person prior to the visit and during the visit would often informally assess the young person's home environment and family circumstances in order to offer appropriate support.

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[9] Asset is a structured assessment tool to be used by YOTs in England and Wales on all young offenders who come into contact with the criminal justice system.

[10] The MI data for the period October 2008 to March 2009 revealed that 76 per cent of young people were not assessed.

For young people who were given an ABC/ABA or ASBO, the assessment tool most commonly used by projects was Onset. This tool is appropriate for assessing the risks and needs of those who are at risk of offending and was routinely used in 46 of the 52 C&S areas for young people who received an ABC/ABA or ASBO. The case study below illustrates when assessments were carried out in one area, and how the assessment informed the package of support that was provided to the young person.

The assessment process: C&S project in Area 1

This case study illustrates when and how young people are assessed following referral to C&S in Area 1. In this area, the C&S project dealt with two tiers of intervention: warning letters and ABAs, and the assessment was used to inform the level and types of support that were offered.

Warning letters were the first level of intervention for minor and/or first incidents of ASB, and were introduced with the C&S project. No face-to-face contact would be made with the young person by the project at this stage and so no assessment would be conducted at this time.

However, for more serious or repeat incidents of ASB, an ABA or ABA+ would be issued. ABAs would be issued at a voluntary meeting attended by the young person, the referrer, a police representative, the ABA coordinator, together with a YISP worker and the housing officer if the young person's family were tenants. The ABA coordinator put together the ABA in conjunction with the referrer who identified the conditions reflecting the ASB that has been occurring. Following the signing of the ABA, the young person would be subject to an Onset assessment by the YISP worker as part of a home visit.

The level of the assessment would depend on the seriousness of the ASB. In cases of minor ASB, a rapid assessment tool would usually be considered sufficient and referral to positive activities was the most common type of support required. However, the interventions offered in more complex cases depend on the assessment score: a score of 25 or less results in an ABA, whilst a score above that triggers an ABA+ with additional YISP support as well as parenting support[11].

he YISP worker puts together the support package to address the identified risk factors. These might include interventions provided by YISP, such as one-to-one support, parenting support, education and mental health work via CAMHS. A referral at this point may also be made to Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP). PAYP activities include chess and problem solving; fitness exercises; musical projects, communication skills training, education on gangs, sexual health, behavioural improvement and substance misuse support.

(iv) Summary of practice

While there was no fixed model of C&S, it was intended that the C&S programme would enable projects to work closely with local agencies, such as the police, youth services, YOTs and community safety, to share information about young people and to coordinate responses. In

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[11] The distinction between ABAs and ABA+ is an internal one and is not made explicit to the young person.

terms of a programme level evaluation, it is therefore not possible to describe single models of practice either before or after the implementation of C&S. However, Figures 4 and 5 below seek to represent how agencies responded to ASB before and after the implementation of the programme.

In typifying the processes of dealing with ASB prior to the implementation of the programme, Figure 4 shows that ASB was typically referred to police, housing and schools. Those agencies tended to undertake some level of assessment and screening and then provide enforcement and/ or support to the young person. Notably, there was no coordinating role that was the distinguishing feature of the C&S programme.

Figure 4
Standard process from the reporting of ASB to the service delivery of enforcement and support prior to C&S.


This section has, however, described how – post implementation – the projects typically received and screened referrals and assessed young people prior to working with them, and the case studies above have illustrated that the good practice found in the evidence reviews is apparent when working with these young people. The case studies have also illustrated the role of the C&S projects in managing the flow of information on referrals from a wide range of sources and how in some areas, C&S has taken responsibility for screening and assessing the young people with some success.

The post-implementation process is typified in Figure 5 below. In contrast to the process outlined in Figure 4, it shows C&S in a central position between a range of referrers (typically, the police, housing, schools, but could include others) and the service delivery. The figure also distinguishes between those agencies that were involved in the enforcement side and those that provided support). While C&S projects had a central role in coordinating information locally, the diagram also shows them taking a role in the delivery of services. Here practices differed: some projects saw themselves as principally coordinating the majority of support and occasionally delivering certain elements of support, while others were involved in delivering both enforcement and support. A very small number of projects simply saw

their role as driving a set of principles that encouraged partners to coordinate delivery and ensure that support was offered at each stage of the enforcement process.

Figure 5
The concept of the CS& projects in operation
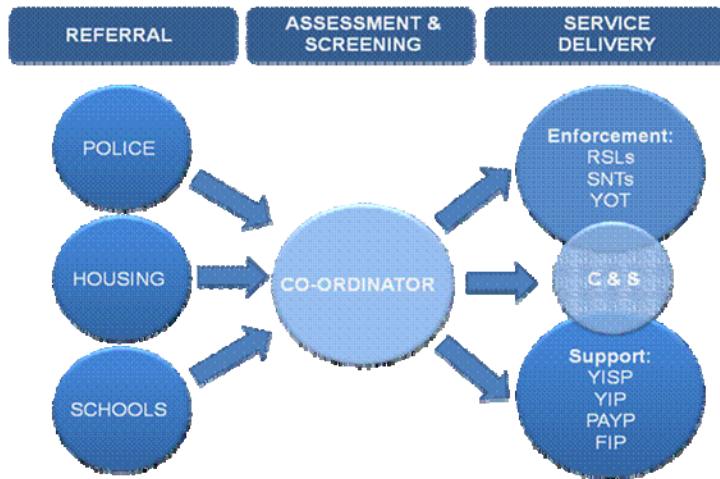
The next sections of the report will describe a) the young people in terms of their personal characteristics and previous offending behaviour and b) the types of interventions offered to young people in terms of enforcement and support.

4.2.3   Who were the young people?

The findings presented in this section are based on data collected in 10 areas where data on the young people and their outcomes were available. This section describes the young people in these 10 areas in terms of the:

(i)   total number of young people engaged;
(ii) age and gender of the young people;
(iii) ethnicity of the young people; and
(iv) previous offending behaviour.

(i) Total number of young people engaged

The data that were collected from the 10 areas provide information on 6,838 cases. The two areas with the highest number of C&S cases were C&S projects in Area 2 (1,820 cases) and Area 10 (1,017 cases). However, both of these areas issued warning letters to a large proportion of their case load (see below). In contrast the C&S projects with the smallest case loads were those that did not use warning letters in high proportions. These were Area 3 (40 cases) and Area 4 (198).

### (ii) Age and gender of the young people

Of all cases, 46.7 per cent (n=2985), have an unknown gender, a large proportion are male (39.7 per cent, n=2873) and the smallest proportion are female (13.6 per cent, n=983). If the unknown genders are

removed, there are 3,856 cases that have gender recorded. Of these cases 74.5 per cent (n=2871) are male, and 25.5 per cent (n=982) are female.

Age was only recorded for 2,170 cases. The largest proportion of this sample are aged 13-15 years (53.4 per cent, n=1160), whilst the smallest proportion is under 10 years (2.3 per cent, n=49). The mean age was 14 (see Figure 6). However, in the C&S projects in Areas 3 and 4 the largest proportions of the sample were younger, aged 10–12[12]. In Area 4's C&S project, the deliberative event indicated that the younger age group of the sample was due to the fact that many of the referrals to the project came from schools.

Figure 6
Age breakdown of C&S young people for whom age was known
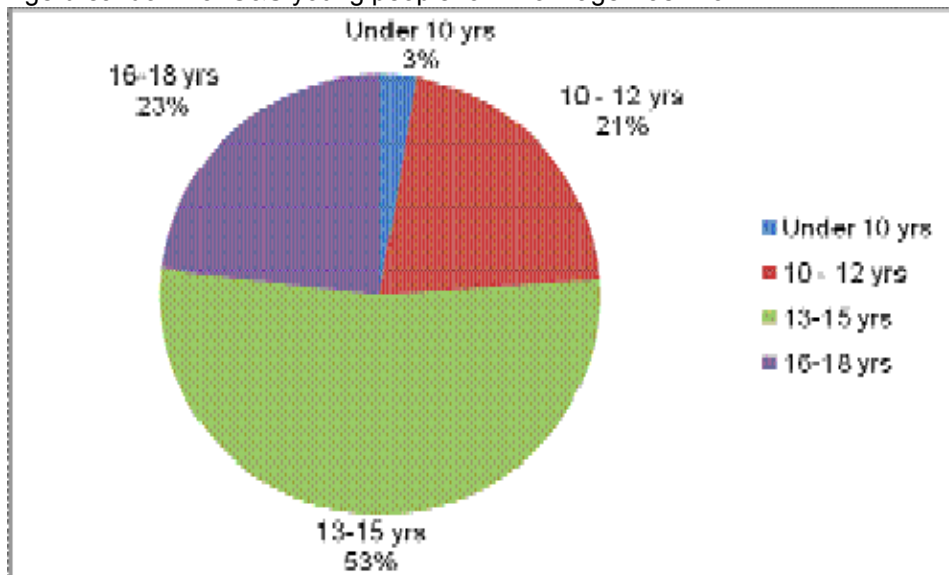
Base = 2,170

(iii) Ethnicity of the young people

Ethnicity was only recorded in 1,852 cases, principally where the young person was receiving a higher enforcement with support (generally an ABC/A or ASBO), but some warning letters too. Of those young people, the sample is largely white (92.7 per cent, n=1717), whereas the smallest proportion is Asian (1.1 per cent, n=21).

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[12] Area 3 (n=20; 47.62 per cent of their sample) and Area 4 (n=96; 49.48 per cent of their sample)

Figure 7
Ethnicity of C&S young people for whom ethnicity was known

1% 3% 2% 1%

Aslan
Black
Chinese or other
Mixed
White

93%
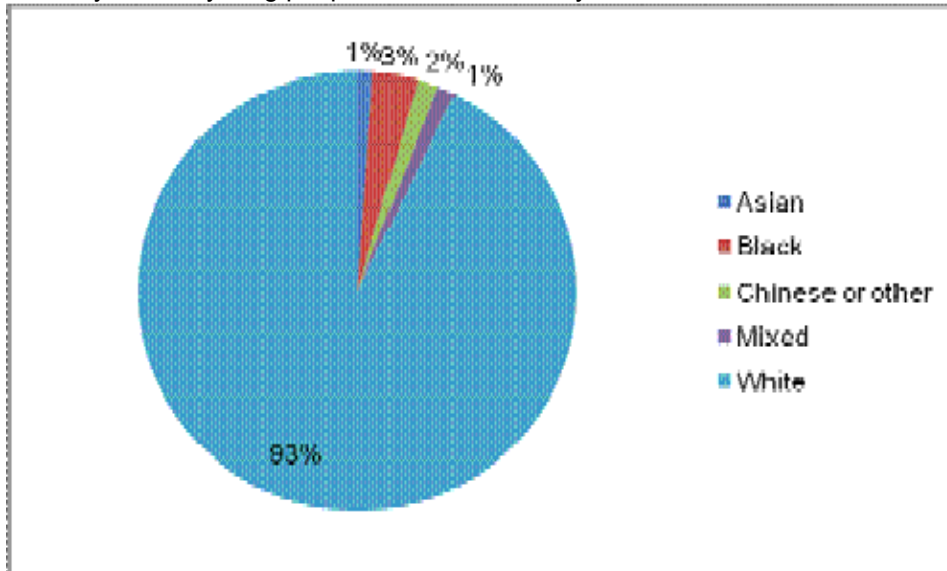
Base=1,852

(iv) Previous offending behaviour

The previous offending behaviour of the young people in the 10 areas was taken from records of their previous reprimands, final warnings and convictions. Collectively this is referred to as "RWC" and Table 2 presents those data for two years prior to a young person receiving an ASB enforcement with an offer of support (so becoming a C&S case)[13]. The data show that all projects dealt with a mix of young people who had previously received RWCs and those who had not. Indeed, as the table shows, the proportion of young people who had previous RWCs tended to be large in most projects: in seven of the 10 areas that proportion was 20 per cent or more. It should be noted that sufficient information to obtain the history of reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWCs) of the young people was only available for those who received a higher enforcement with support. Higher enforcement with support comprises cases where support and enforcement was actively managed, including ABCs and, where relevant, ASBOs. As will be shown later, the analysis demonstrates a large number of young people with previous RWCs, which has an impact on for the number of young people receiving their first RWC in the period after the project.

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[13] The data represent offences committed up to two years prior to C&S. All those who were under 12 years old on the day of referral to C&S were removed from this sample.

Table 2

Percentage of young people who received higher enforcement with support who had received RWCs within the two years prior to joining C&S

Area	RWCs prior to C&S
Area 5 (n=62)	33.9%
Area 4 (n=161)	29.6%
Area 9 (n=102)	29.4%
Area 2 (n=58)	29.3%
Area 8 (n=56)	23.2%
Area 3 (n=40)	22.5%
Area 7 (n=70)	20.0%
Area 6 (n=103)	19.4%
Area 10 (n=123)	14.0%
Area 1 (n=161)	10.6%

4.2.4   What interventions were provided to the young people?

The aim of C&S was to provide support to young people who had received a range of enforcement actions, from a warning letter or home visits, to voluntary ABCs/ABAs and the statutory ASBOs. This section describes the enforcement and support that was provided to young people in the 10 areas.

One of the aims of the C&S programme was to ensure that, where the ASBO was imposed, an ISO should be the main type of support offered to the young person. However, the use of ASBOs was low. Initial interviews held with the C&S coordinators as part of the process of evaluation revealed a commonly held view that the numbers of ASBOs would be low because of the emphasis on earlier interventions and support. This view was supported by the data on the practice in the areas. The MI data for the period from October 2008 to March 2009 showed that 181 young people received an ASBO[14]. That figure fell in the period April to September 2009 to 134[15]. The low use of ASBOs was explored by the survey of C&S coordinators. In that survey, over three-quarters (77 per cent) of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that C&S had assisted local areas in reducing the number of young people progressing to the ASBO stage[16]. Data from the 10 case study areas also demonstrated the low use of ASBOs: they were only recorded in three areas: the C&S projects in Areas 6, 8 and 9. Area 6's C&S project had the highest use of ASBOs, but it only amounted to 10 over the duration of the C&S project for which the data was collected (October 2008 to January 2011).

Despite these findings, the evaluation found that other forms of support were offered together alongside warning letters, home visits and ABCs/ABAs. In the survey of C&S coordinators, nearly all the respondents (95 per cent) either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "*low-level*

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[14] This can be broken down into 101 ASBOs; 56 interim ASBOs and 24 CRASBOs.

[15] This can be broken down into 56 ASBOs; 57 interim ASBOs and 21 CRASBOs.

[16] More respondents 'strongly agreed' (44 per cent) than 'agreed' (37 per cent), out of 45 respondents.

enforcements such as warning letters and home visits were effective in helping the majority of young people to desist from further ASB". [17]

Typically, when young people received a warning letter, the support was limited to signposting the young person to local youth services. In contrast, the ABCs/ABAs were accompanied by targeted youth work, including referral to services run by YOT prevention teams. Such support was typically based on the needs, risks and behaviours presented by the young person, as identified by a formal assessment process. The enforcements are more fully described below.

(i) Warning letters

Warning letters were typically issued to young people who had committed low-level ASB to warn them about the consequences of their behaviour. The content typically outlined details of specific instances of ASB and clearly set out the consequences of any recurrence of that behaviour. The letters also provided information on available universal youth services such as youth clubs. Although simple signposting was commonplace, in some areas the support services offered at this stage were of a greater intensity, as in the case of Area 13's project which offered a six week ASB-focused intervention programme (see case study below). In some areas, support at this stage could even be tailored to the nature of the young person's offence. For example, in both Areas 8 and 13, specific alcohol-focused warning letters were issued where alcohol was considered to be a contributing factor in a young person's offending (see case study on alcohol related home visits in Area 8). This is illustrated in the case study below, which describes how Area 13's C&S project tailored the support offered in the letter to the needs of the young person. By focussing on the needs of the young person at this stage, the project reflected a key feature of the evidence on effective interventions.

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[17] More respondents 'strongly agreed' (58 per cent) than agreed (38 per cent), out of 45 respondents.

Needs-orientated Warning Letters: Area 13

In Area 13, all young people committing ASB were referred to a 'Respect' panel. A first warning letter followed the 'Respect' panel's discussions, and was written to reflect the needs of the young person. In addition to a paragraph warning of the consequences of continued ASB, the letter included details of parenting courses and the provision of young offending leaflets, together with contact details for further support.

Depending on the severity of the incident and the needs of the young person, the first letter might also recommend a range of targeted support interventions, including a six-week course for low-level ASB offenders that was run by the project and covered drug and alcohol counselling, and anger management. Where appropriate the letter might make a referral to Connexions and/ or point the young person in the direction of diversionary activities.

The C&S project's practice was to issue up to three warning letters, although the second or third letter usually acted as a final warning, depending on the severity of the offence. This area also issued 'Bacchus' letters which acted as alcohol warnings to young people caught drinking in public.

If the young person's ASB continued to recur and reached the point that a final warning letter was being considered, the young person would be interviewed before the letter was issued. The purpose of this was to communicate the severity of the young person's behaviour and to encourage him or her to take responsibility for their actions. Police officers usually attended these interviews in plain clothes in order to better engage the young person.

Area 13's C&S project did not lead on the warning letter process. Instead, the 'Respect' panel decided which agency would be best placed to meet the needs of the young person. For example, if a young person was resident in private accommodation, the warning letter process would be led by the ASB enforcement team. However, if the young person lived in a property owned by an RSL, the RSL would take responsibility. While the enforcement and support could be delivered by different agencies, including the YOT, YISP/YIP, the C&S team took an overall coordinator approach to ensure that all agencies fulfilled their responsibilities.

In addition to tailoring interventions to the needs of the young person, Area 13 also considered the warning letters to be particularly effective in highlighting ASB to a young person's parents or carers. Project workers reported that where parents demonstrated concern following receipt of these letters, there appeared to be a positive impact on the young person's behaviour.

Hand-delivered Second Warning Letters: Area 2

In Area 2, up to two warning letters were distributed, depending on the severity of the ASB. The initial enforcement was a first warning letter (otherwise known as a yellow letter). This letter would include specific information about the ASB offence (including details of behaviour, time and location), and also separate leaflets aimed at both the young person and their parents. These leaflets detailed information about the ABC+ team, and universal support services and diversionary activities in the local area.

If the first letter was ineffective at deterring further anti-social behaviour, a similar second letter was issued (a red letter). This would be hand-delivered by a uniformed police officer in order to better communicate the severity of the child's behaviour to both the young person and their parents. Both project staff and partners have recognised that delivering second warning letters in this way is often more effective, particularly when parents are involved in the process. Police partners in particular reported that simply making parents aware of the behaviour of their child has reduced the likelihood of young people becoming involved in further ASB or offending.

In Area 2, warning letters on the whole were demonstrated to be particularly effective in reducing further anti-social behaviour and halting the ASB escalation process for many young people. Although enforcement escalation was higher for those receiving a second warning letter (approximately one in five young people went on to receive an ABC), a good proportion still received no further enforcement.

(ii) Home visits

In the majority of cases where home visits were used, these would be incorporated as part of the final warning letter stage of enforcement, for example through hand-delivery. Home visits would typically entail discussing the young person's behaviour and pointing the young person and their family in the direction of appropriate support services. They would quite often be conducted by a project worker and a police officer, which was perceived to increase the impact of the visit upon both young people and their parents, thus increasing their involvement.

In some areas, home visits were implemented instead of warning letters, and allowed the C&S workers to make an informal assessment of the young person's needs at a point in the process when formal assessments were not typically undertaken. The case study presented below sets out how C&S in Area 11 used family-centred home visits to offer support and to gather further information on the young person's circumstances. It is followed by another case study from Area 8 which illustrates the point with regard to alcohol abuse.

Family-centred Home Visit Approach: C&S in Area 11

Family-centered home visits, rather than warning letters, were the first response to instances of ASB in Area 11. They were considered to be effective in making an impact on young people and eliciting a positive response from parents. This case study explains how the local TYSS and the Early Intervention Groups (EIGs) handled referrals and organised home visits.

Area 11's C&S formed part of the local Targeted Youth Support Service (TYSS). TYSS targeted support to local young people deemed to be "at risk", and one of its aims was to reduce young people receiving their first reprimand, warning or conviction and the involvement of young people in ASB. The local police, RSLs, housing officers and youth justice workers would refer young people and incidents of ASB to the TYSS. If accepted, the TYSS would refer a young person on to one of the three multi-agency EIGs that served the eastern, western and central areas of the city.

The EIGs met monthly and their membership included the police, housing officers, education welfare officers (EWOs), C&S workers and youth workers. On receiving a referral, the EIG would consider all information about a young person's circumstances and then plan interventions, including home visits, ABCs and ASBOs.

The purpose of the home visits was to explain the consequences of ASB to the young person and parents and also offer a range of support, including family support and information on local youth activities. In Area 11, up to two home visits could be conducted by C&S workers and police officers. Unannounced and non-uniformed police presence was thought to be particularly effective in ensuring a maximum impact upon both the young person and his/ her parents. Although home visits would ideally be conducted with prior knowledge of, and supporting information on, the young person, in some cases it was a fact finding exercise to assess the family circumstances. Practitioners in Area 11 considered this home visit approach an effective intervention, because in addition to the impact of the visit itself, the informal assessment made at the visit meant that the project had a useful understanding of the family circumstances, which could support the tailoring of future work with the young person.

A second home visit would take place if ASB continued. This visit would instigate an ABC, which would then be implemented with involvement of the young person's family.

In Area 8, home visits could be made to address specifically the young person's use of alcohol related to his or her ASB. The case study below sets out how the visit was triggered.

Alcohol–related Home Visits: Area 8

In Area 8, the use of alcohol alongside ASB emerged as a real challenge for the local agencies to resolve. In response, the C&S project distributed specific alcohol warning letters where alcohol was considered to be a contributing factor in a young person's ASB.

Due to the extent of this problem, C&S in Area 8 piloted a scheme whereby a second alcohol warning letter triggered a home visit. During this visit, the C&S worker would assess the young person's support needs and signpost them to alcohol groups. Although initially the team discovered that young people were inclined to deny involvement, this was overcome by ensuring a police officer accompanied the worker to combine both enforcement and support. This adaptation proved very successful as the police officers were able to directly challenge behaviour, and workers reported that parents and young people reacted positively to these home visits.

(iii) ABCs and ABAs

Both the ABC and ABA are formal written contracts that stipulate agreed behaviour between the young person, his/ her parents and any appropriate agency (e.g. council, RSLs). Across the C&S pilots, either ABCs or ABAs were delivered for more serious or prolonged ASB, often where warning letters and/ or home visits had failed to address the young person's behaviour. In some areas where more "zero-tolerance" approaches were evident, the ABC stage was the first stage of enforcement.

A wide variety of supportive interventions were available to accompany the ABC/ABA. In contrast to the delivery of warning letter support, ABCs/ABAs were usually accompanied by targeted youth work, including support from YOT prevention teams, PAYP, parenting support or other tailored interventions, including from the Youth Service or other keyworker professionals. In some areas this support would be voluntary. However, it was found that support that was clearly defined, agreed between the young person and the local C&S project and – importantly – delivered, was effective in increasing uptake and engagement.

The delivery of ABCs/ABAs varied across the pilot sites, as did the role of C&S in that process. C&S projects would either be involved in the delivery of the enforcement and/ or support, or simply act as a coordinator for local agencies, as in Area 12. This case study illustrates the role that the project played in getting the appropriate agencies together to deliver the appropriate enforcement and support, and for monitoring its provision.

Monitoring approach to ABCs: the C&S project in Area 12

Area 12 had adopted a zero-tolerance stance towards ASB, and thus the ABC was the preliminary enforcement used upon young people.

Different agencies issued ABCs in this area, including: SNTs, RSLs and the Safer Schools Partnership. However, all were typically monitored by C&S. When an ABC was implemented, all relevant agencies attended an ABC signing, in a neutral location. The ABC stipulated agreed behaviour and provided the young person with a C&S officer who was responsible for the enforcement conditions of the ABC. Following the signing, a home visit was conducted to complete an assessment of the young person (typically Onset, though CAF might have been used). A wide range of supportive interventions were then available to the young person.

Once an ABC was issued to a young person, the C&S officer would ensure that all relevant partners were involved in the enforcement conditions so that the young person realised that they were subject to a joined-up working practice and that all their activity would be monitored and reviewed. If a young person did not comply with the conditions attached to the ABC, or was not cooperating with the support agencies, C&S would instigate a home visit (usually with the support agency and an ASB officer) to reinforce the requirements and remind the young person of the consequences associated with breaching the ABC.

The following sections describe the enforcement elements and the targeted support offered across the 10 areas.

Type of enforcement given to young people

Table 3 presents the percentage of cases where enforcement was given with support across the 10 areas. "Warning letters" refer to the use of warning letters and support, while "Higher enforcement with support" was defined by the evaluation as cases where support and enforcement was actively managed by the project, including ABCs and, where relevant, ASBOs. The table also presents the number of young people who refused any supportive interventions. Higher enforcement with support was the sole intervention used in Areas 3 and 5, while the use of warning letters was highest in Area 2 (n=1,657) and Area 10 (n = 1,250)[18]. Area 6 had the highest number of young people refusing support (72 per cent; n=182). This reflects the practice in Area 6 of offering support to all young people who receive ABCs.

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[18] Area 3's C&S project was not able to provide data on warning letters with support in the period of data collection.

Table 3

Percentage of young people in each area receiving a warning letter, higher enforcement with support, or higher enforcement refusing support as part of C&S.

Area	Warning Letter (%)	Higher enforcement with support (%)	Higher enforcement refused support (%)
Area 1 (n=314)	48.7	51.3	-
Area 2 (n=1820)	93.4	3.2	3.5
Area 3 (n=40)	-	100	-
Area 4 (n=198)	-	85.4	14.6
Area 5 (n=846)	92.7	7.3	-
Area 6 (n=257)	-	40.1	59.9
Area 7 (n=1005)	93.0	7.0	-
Area 8 (n=363)	63.1	15.4	21.5
Area 9 (n=978)	87.3	10.4	2.2
Area 10 (n=1017)	85.9	14.1	-

Type of support provided to young people

Data from the 10 areas provided evidence of the type of support offered to young people, if it was recorded[19]. The data were only available for those who fell into the "higher enforcement with support" category. It was not possible to determine if a young person sent a warning letter took advantage of the offer within it. Table 4 describes the number of young people in the higher enforcement with support category who received each type of support intervention listed. The most common category recorded was "other", which was a catch-all term to describe either actions done on behalf of a young person, such as administration of an ABC, or where an unclear description was used. The most common support category was individual casework (n=264) and then what were described as "positive activities" (including, for example, sports and leisure; n=157). Anger management (n=8) and mentoring (n=17) were recorded less but the qualitative evidence suggests these activities were routinely provided, so this result might indicate poor data recording.

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[19] Data were recorded for 793 young people.

Table 4

Type of supportive interventions engaged in by young people on C&S

Type of Intervention	Total
Individual casework	264
Positive activities	157
Nature of offending	125
YOT Prevention Programme	72
Parenting	66
Health, wellbeing and accommodation	62
Careers/education	35
Mentoring	17
Anger management	8
Other	363

Note: These data relate to young people with a higher enforcement with support, where data is available (n=838)

In the 10 areas the number of interventions received by young people tended to be low. Across the 10 areas the majority of young people received only one or two types of supportive interventions: see Table 5 below which shows the number of types of supportive interventions by project. According to the table, in five of the areas (1, 2, 3, 4 and 5), over 50 per cent of young people who were provided with a higher enforcement with support received one or two types of supportive interventions.

Table 5

Number of types of supportive interventions by project

	Number of types of supportive interventions [20]			
Area	**High (more than 5)**	**Medium (3-5)**	**Low (1 -2)**	**None**
Area 1 n=(161)	0.0%	9.3%	84.5%	6.2%
Area 2 (n=58)	12.1%	17.2%	53.4%	17.2%
Area 3 (n=40)	0.0%	10.0%	57.5%	32.5%
Area 4 (n=169)	0.6%	3.6%	88.8%	7.1%
Area 5 (n=62)	4.8%	27.4%	56.5%	11.3%
Area 6 (n=103)	6.8%	21.4%	42.7%	29.1%
Area 7 (n=70)	0.0%	8.6%	44.3%	47.1%
Area 8 (n=56)	8.9%	16.1%	41.1%	33.9%
Area 9 (n=102)	2.9%	18.6%	37.3%	41.2%
Area 10 (n=143)	13.3%	31.5%	43.4%	11.9%

Analysis was also done on the Onset scores and the breadth of the intervention – in other words the number of different types of interventions. Table 6 shows that generally, the higher the Onset score – and

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[20] This records where the young person accepted support but it is not known whether the young person engaged with the project, or if the supportive intervention was recorded.

thus the risks and needs of the young person – the greater the breadth of the supportive interventions provided. This supports the views of the practitioners that they would tailor the interventions to meet the needs of the young people, rather than the nature of their past behaviour. This is best demonstrated in Area 6, where the mean Onset scores were 19 for those young people receiving a low breadth of support , 23 for those receiving medium breadth support and 27 for those receiving the greatest breadth of support. In some of the other areas (such as Area 9), the relationship between the Onset score and the number of different interventions provided is less defined. It should be remembered that these results could be limited by the smaller sample sizes and high proportion of unknown Onset scores available.

Table 6
Baseline Onset scores by the number of types of supportive interventions: low (1-2 supportive interventions), medium (3-5 supportive interventions), high (over 5 supportive interventions), and no interventions.

Area	Low (1-2)	Medium (3-5)	High (more than 5)	None
Area 1	13 (n=65)	17 (n=14)	-	5 (n=2)
Area 2	19 (n=17)	24 (n=8)	25 (n=6)	23 (n=6)
Area 3	13 (n=18)	17 (n=4)	-	7 (n=4)
Area 4	12 (n=147)	12 (n=6)	24 (n=1)	11 (n=8)
Area 5	12 (n=11)	17 (n=9)	8 (n=2)	6 (n=5)
Area 6	19 (n=29)	23 (n=19)	27 (n=7)	20 (n=14)
Area 7	19 (n=23)	21 (n=6)	-	21 (n=4)
Area 8	14 (n=6)	9 (n=6)	18 (n=8)	-
Area 9	17 (n=23)	15 (n=16)	17 (n=3)	16 (n=24)
Area 10	14 (n=29)	13 (n=38)	17 (n=19)	11 (n=8)

In one C&S project, in Area 9, the number of different interventions provided was based on a professional assessment of the likelihood of the young person committing another act of ASB or criminal behaviour. As the case study below indicates, the appropriate number of supportive interventions was offered following a thorough Onset assessment.

Adopting a risk based approach: C&S project in Area 9

The C&S project in Area 9 emphasised the use of Onset assessments as the basis of tailoring support to the needs of a young person. This project commenced operation in April 2008. It was located in the local YOS and its approach to working with young people was influenced by the YOS. The project aimed to identify and target young people at risk of ASB and offending before their behaviour was entrenched and the young person went on to receive reprimands, warnings or convictions.

In Area 9 practitioners recognised the importance of high quality assessments based on all the available evidence on a young person. This included, as appropriate, findings from a home visit, information held by the local Children's Services and YOS case management systems. When writing the assessment the C&S key workers were encouraged to get to know the young person and develop a relationship with him or her.

A thorough assessment based on knowledge of the young person was considered to be fundamental to understanding the most appropriate support to be offered to them. Supportive interventions that were offered by C&S included anger management, counselling, mental health support, and addressing ASB. In addition, young people had access to all the services offered by the YOS, including educational support, substance misuse services and access to universal youth services.

The nature of the package of support was based on the needs and risk of the young person. For example, if a young person was assessed to be a low risk of recommitting ASB, then no support would be offered. However, if the risk of recommitting ASB was higher, then a greater level of support was offered. Local practitioners described this approach to support as following the Youth Justice Board's "scaled approach"[21], which had been introduced across all of the local YOS's services, including C&S. This approach evidently gave practitioners the confidence in working with the young people and to take responsibility for their work; in the words of one practitioner:

"*you have to 'own' your assessment, 'own' your risk and the scaled approach lets you do that*" **Senior Manager, Area 9**

The practitioners in the areas often explained that the support package was determined by the needs of young person, rather than their previous behaviour. However, for all areas the priority was to understand the young person and his or her home life when tailoring support. In the

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[21] The Youth Justice Board's Scaled Approach aims to ensure that interventions are tailored to the individual, based on an assessment of their risks and needs.

projects in Areas 4 and 8, the qualitative research highlighted that an anger management intervention was used in a large number of cases. Many practitioners were reluctant to describe typical packages or support interventions that are known to work, instead preferring to argue that how you work with a young person was important and support should be based on a good assessment of his or her needs.

In most of the case study areas, the C&S project was able to take advantage of pre-existing support services available locally. Often these were from within the Youth Offending Team, so the YISP or the YIP, but support was also sought from Intensive Family Intervention Projects, PAYP and other services available. However in some areas, pre-existing support was limited and thus the C&S funding was used to fill gaps in provision. For example, in Area 8's C&S project, local interviews conducted as part of the case study highlighted a distinct lack of tier 2 alcohol services within the area prior to C&S. Therefore in that area C&S resources were used to provide alcohol awareness training and other alcohol interventions. However, as these support services were less developed than other areas, this could have blunted the effect of the project.

Conclusion

In considering "what the programme did", the findings presented above describe a programme of 52 projects that had a high degree of autonomy in the management and operation of the work of C&S locally. However, it is apparent that in many areas, local projects were putting in place processes that were consistent with the good practice that can be found in the previous research literature. For example, there is evidence that C&S enabled greater inter-agency cooperation in responding to young people involved in ASB. This cooperation rested not only on pre-existing structures but also on improved relationships between agencies. In working with the young people there was also evidence that local areas received their referrals from a wide variety of sources and took steps to make a proper assessment of the young person's needs. Again, the research evidence supports this as good practice.

While inter-agency working and assessment are common features of youth crime prevention programmes, one of the interesting aspects of this programme is the evidence of areas making proportionate responses to individual instances of ASB. This is apparent from the evidence that the number of supportive interventions given was based on the risk and needs of the young person. Such a risk-based approach not only ensures a proportionate response, but also allocates limited local resources where they are most needed.

4.2   Was the programme successful?

One aim of the research was to evaluate *the use and effectiveness of support measures alongside anti-social behaviour enforcement action for young people in areas with Challenge and Support projects.* The programme had a target of delivering interventions to 15,000 young people a year. The success of the programme was defined by the following outcomes:

4.2.1   Young people's engagement in positive activities when they receive a combination of support and enforcement; and

4.2.2 Reductions in anti-social behaviour and young people's progress into the criminal justice system (first-time RWCs).

In addressing the evaluation gap noted by previous research, the evaluation was largely successful in collecting outcome data from 10 of the C&S areas and these are used in measuring the outcomes below. However, there were inconsistencies in the recording of data, particularly on types of interventions.

Overview of the areas

Before looking at the results, the local context of the 10 areas within which this impact evaluation was undertaken will now be described. This is done by reference to a range of local authority data, including; youth crime, educational attainment, numbers of young people not in education, employment or training (NEET), and indicators of deprivation. The former of these, youth crime data, provides necessary background information of direct relevance to the research focus of this project; youth offending and anti-social behaviour. Educational attainment and NEET are both associated with youth offending, and therefore are appropriate in describing the context of these areas. The latter, deprivation, provides a wider contextual overview of the pilot areas, yet also encompasses a number of indicators of deprivation which correlate with youth offending, including; employment, education skills and training, and a direct indicator of crime[22]. Each of these aspects will be described in turn below.

Youth Crime

To gain an understanding of the level of youth crime within the pilot areas, secondary data (YJB, 2009/2010) is presented on the number of offences committed by young people under 18 which resulted in a disposal. Of the 10 C&S projects, the highest number of offences were found in Area 7 (n=2135), Area 4 (n=2132) and Area 6 (n=2007). The majority of all pilots had between one and two thousand offences, whilst Area 5 (n=790) and Area 9 (n=478) exhibited the lowest levels of offending. It should, however, be noted that these figures purely represent the number of offences in each area, rather than the rate. As the populations of the 10 areas tend to vary, the extent to which comparability of this kind is possible is limited.

Educational Attainment

Secondary data was also sought on the percentage of year 11 pupils within each C&S project area achieving Level 2 (5+ A*-C GCSE or equivalent qualifications) in 2009/2010 (UK National Statistics, 2010). When compared to the national average (75.4 per cent), only 2 of the C&S project areas failed to achieve this; Area 7 (74.5 per cent) and Area 5 (68.1 per cent). Interestingly, a large proportion of the project areas greatly exceeded the national average. In half of the pilots, over 80 per cent of year 11s achieved a level 2, the highest of which was Area 10 (83.8 per cent).

NEET

To provide an insight into the educational and employment backgrounds of young people within the project areas, local authority and regional data from the Department for Education (2011) was studied on

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[22] See Appendix C for tables of these secondary data.

the percentage of 16 and 18 year olds who were classified as NEET in 2010 . This data showed that of the 10 project areas, 6 had a NEET percentage higher than the regional average; the highest of these was Area 5 (11.4 per cent) at 4.7 per cent higher than the regional average. However, four of the project areas had a lower percentage of NEETs than average for the region: Areas 2, 8, 9 and 3. The latter of these, Area 3, had the lowest per cent of NEETs (3.2 per cent), which was 2.1 per cent lower than the regional average.

Multiple Deprivation

To understand the level of deprivation within the 10 project areas, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) utilised by Communities and Local Government (2007) was used. This data showed that all of the 10 project areas were within the top 50 per cent of the most deprived local authorities in England, and seven of these project areas were also within the top 25 per cent. Furthermore, three of the areas (6, 5 and 7) were ranked within the top ten most deprived local authorities in England.

4.2.1   Engagement in positive activities

With regard to the first outcome, Table 4 above sets out the types of positive – or supportive – interventions in which young people on the programme engaged. It should be noted that across all of the sites, most young people (71 per cent) received one or two supportive interventions, while 22 per cent received three or four interventions and seven per cent received more than four.

Engaging young people in positive activities needs to be balanced with providing a proportionate response to the reported ASB. The previous literature outlined in the background section to this report endorses such a proportionate response to ensure that a young person's behaviour was not criminalised if it was just a "one-off" incident. This approach was particularly evident in Area 9 which used a risk-based approach to providing interventions to young people.

4.2.2   Reduction in ASB and young people's progress into the criminal justice system

Prior to the commencement of the impact study, the evaluation team undertook an exercise to assess the extent to which local C&S projects would be able to produce data for measuring impacts. That exercise found that ASB incident data were not routinely or readily available. The study found that the data were held by multiple agencies – such as the police, the housing department and the local ASB team – and each agency used a different system to record the data (including paper-based and electronic systems). As a consequence, data on the incidences of ASB could not be produced by C&S projects. However, the evaluation was able to collect ASB incident data from two C&S projects in Areas 2 and 9. Data on ASB enforcements were more readily available, particularly with regard to ABC/A and ASBOs and this data forms a significant part of the analysis provided in this report.

This outcome measures the effectiveness of the combination of support and enforcement in reducing ASB and young people receiving Reprimands, Warnings and Convictions (RWCs), including young people receiving RWCs for the first time.

In assessing whether these levels of intervention were successful, the following are measured:

- 'Progress in the criminal justice system' is measured by an overall reduction in the percentage of young people who received RWCs following their engagement with C&S.
- 'First time RWC' is measured by a low percentage of young people who received RWCs for the first time following their engagement with C&S.

On the face of it, the first measure indicates how successful the interventions had been in reducing the number of young people receiving RWCs following their engagement with C&S. In comparison, the second measure provides an indication of how successful the interventions were at preventing the young people from becoming involved in offending behaviour and receiving an RWC.

This section will examine the effectiveness of the combination of support and enforcement where it is provided, in the first instance by warning letters (where support is also offered) and then by higher enforcement with support (where a young person's case is actively managed, including ABCs and, where relevant, ASBOs).

Warning letters

Data on the use of warning letters was supplied from seven C&S projects. Table 7 below presents the data on the percentage of young people who received RWCs prior to receiving a warning letter and the percentage who received RWCs in the 12 months following their engagement in C&S[23]. The table also shows the percentage of young people who received their first RWC in the one year after receiving a warning letter.

Table 7
Percentage of young people who received a warning letter who: received an RWC prior to C&S; received an RWC in the one year following C&S; and young people receiving their first RWC in the year after C&S.

Area	RWC two years prior to C&S (%)	RWC one year after C&S (%)[24]	First RWC within one year after C&S[25] (%)
Area 1 (n=80)	3.8	3.8	2.5
Area 2 (n=1,060)	10.2	5.3	2.9
Area 5 (n=332)	5.1	5.1	3.6
Area 7 (n=235)	8.9	4.3	2.6
Area 8 (n=36)	5.6	5.6	5.6
Area 9 (n=337)	11.9	7.1	1.8
Area 10 (n=529)	12.5	7.4	1.9

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[23] A 12-month post measure is presented here as two-year post data were only available from three projects: see Table 8.

[24] This includes first RWCs.

[25] First RWCs is where a young person that received their first RWC after their referral to C&S (where the offence was dated post their engagement in C&S).

Note: Data here represents RWCs up to two years prior to C&S, and outcomes for one year following C&S.
ª All those who were under 12 years old on the day of referral to C&S were removed from this sample.
ᵇ First RWC% are based on a separate sample, including those who are over 12 years old.

Table 7 presents the percentages of young people who received a warning letter, and who had received an RWC prior to C&S, in the year following and young people receiving their first RWC in the year following C&S. For Area 2 these data have been represented as a flow diagram in Figure 8 to describe the change in the cohort of young people pre and post their involvement with the local project. It can be seen that in the case of Area 2, the vast majority had no RWCs before or after their involvement with C&S.

Figure 8
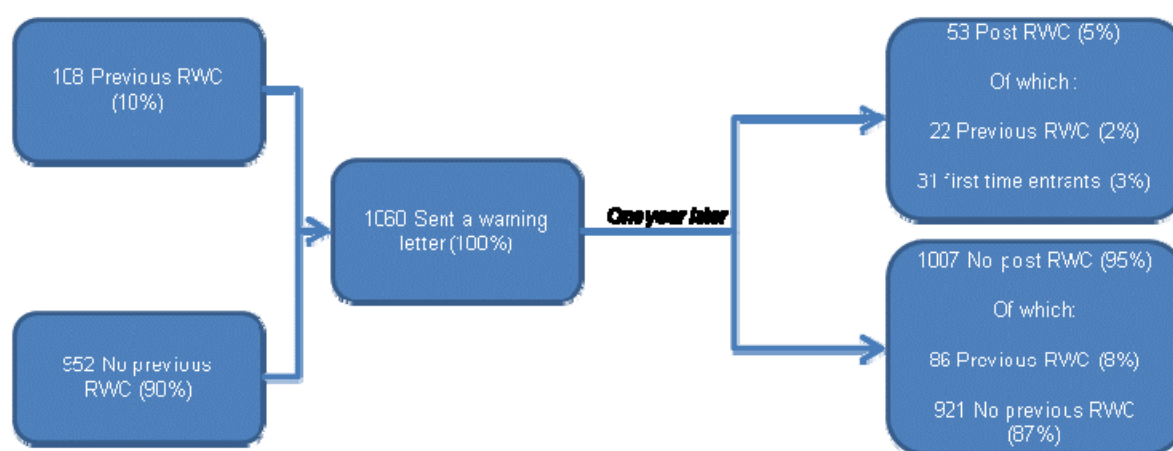Flow diagram of warning letters in Area 2

Table 7 shows that in four out of the seven projects, the rate of subsequent RWCs for young people after one year was lower than the prior rate of RWC. This suggests these projects were successful in helping those young people to desist from criminal behaviour. The largest fall was in Area 10 (a fall of 5.1 percentage points) and the second largest fall was in Area 2 (a fall of 4.9 percentage points). While no project reported an increase in the rate of reprimand, final warning and conviction, three projects (Areas 5, 8 and 1) saw no change in the rates of RWC following the issuing of a warning letter.

Furthermore, Table 7 also shows that in six out of seven projects the percentage of young people who received their first RWC in the year after C&S was less than or equal to five per cent; the exception being Area 8 at only 5.6 per cent. The projects with the smallest percentage of first RWCs after C&S were Areas 10 and 9.

On the face of it, to qualify for success in reducing offending and diverting young people from receiving their first RWC, a project should see both an overall reduction in RWCs and a low percentage of first RWCs after involvement in C&S. This was evident in Areas 2, 7, 9 and 10. In contrast, Area 8 was the only project where there was a high percentage of first RWCs after involvement in C&S. No project showed an increase in the overall post C&S RWC rate and a high level of first RWCs after C&S. Possible reasons for this were explored in the in-depth case studies of those projects and these are discussed below.

The data from the project in Area 2 showed a high use of warning letters, including first and second warning letters. Warning letters were used in the cases of 93.4 per cent of young people referred to the project and contained information directed to the young person's parent. The project workers were of the opinion that the warning letters should specify in detail the alleged ASB in order to make it more difficult for the young person to deny. The second warning letter was delivered by the police. From the case study interviews, the local practitioners and partners (including the police) considered that the warning letters were effective because they made it clear to the parents the involvement of their child in ASB.

Area 9's project had a similarly high use of warning letters: data from that project indicated that 87.3 per cent of young people received a warning letter following referral to the project. In the opinion of practitioners and partners, the success of the warning letters was that they were coordinated by the C&S team but sent on behalf of the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership. This emphasises the partnership approach of the scheme. Importantly, the project took active steps to divert young people from further enforcement action by first considering further support where a letter had not elicited desistance.

The results from Area 8 stand in distinction to both Areas 2 and 9, as it has no change in the rate of reprimands, final warnings or convictions, and the first RWC rate after C&S was marginally over five per cent. Closer scrutiny of this project showed that there were some similarities to other projects in the use of warning letters. The project used warning letters for 63.1 per cent of young people referred to the C&S for the first time, and as in Area 2, the letters were addressed to the parents to inform them of their children's behaviour. The second warning letter was delivered by the police. However, in contrast to Areas 2 and 9, while the letters were considered to be a useful tool, the letters were sent by individual agencies. The practitioners in Area 8 reported local agencies did not always send out the letters because of a lack of commitment at the senior level of those agencies.

The data and analyses presented above are based on subsequent reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWCs) one year after engagement with C&S, but further analyses of subsequent RWCs two years after engagement with C&S is shown in Table 8 below. This table presents the findings in only three projects where there was a sufficient sample, where projects had over 20 young people who had been sent a warning letter. The table shows that, in contrast to Areas 2 and 9 (which saw decreases in the rate of RWC of young people by 3.3 and 1.1 percentage points, respectively), Area 1 saw 8.7 percent receiving RWCs from a base of zero per cent. However, while Area 2 made good progress with the reduction in overall RWCs, it had the highest percentage of first RWCs after C&S in this sample. When considering these findings, it should be borne in mind that Area 1's results are based upon 23 cases compared to the 397 in Area 2.

Table 8
Percentage of young people who received a warning letter who: received RWCs prior to C&S; received RWCs in the two years following C&S; and received their first RWC in the two years after involvement with C&S.

Area[26]	RWC two years prior to C&S (%)	RWC two years after	First RWC within two years after C&S (%)

[26] Areas with less than 20 young people sent a warning letter were excluded.

	C&S (%)[27]		
Area 1 (n=23)	0.0[28]	8.7	4.3
Area 2 (n=397)	13.6	10.3	5.8
Area 9 (n=89)	11.2	10.1	2.2

Higher enforcement with support

Higher enforcement with support is how the evaluation described the young people that the schemes case-managed. That is, the young person received some form of enforcement other than a warning letter – including a home visit, ABC/ABA or ASBO – and was subsequently offered a support package designed by a C&S support worker. The term "higher enforcement with support" was adopted because different enforcement could be used within this group of young people.

This group were offered support and more stringent enforcements than a warning letter because their ASB was persistent or of a more serious nature. More sustained support and enforcement was needed for this group and the C&S schemes would define these young people as on the whole displaying behaviours and characteristics that can be associated with a future criminal career. For this reason, higher first RWC percentages with this group than seen in the warning letter sample would not mean the project was unsuccessful. As there is no target first RWC after C&S rate to benchmark the areas against, the evaluation therefore set a first RWC after C&S rate of 10 per cent or less as a sign of success. Table 9 below displays the results for the group receiving enforcement with support.

Prior to C&S, 10.7 per cent of young people supported in Area 1 had previously received a reprimand, final warning or conviction (RWC), and Areas 8 and 10 also had relatively low levels of prior RWC; 15.4 per cent in Area 8 and 14.5 per cent in Area 10. In the remaining seven projects, over one in five young people had a previous RWC.

These rates are higher than might have been expected for this group of young people. The highest rate of RWC prior to C&S was in Area 5 (39.6 per cent) and the second highest was in Area 2 (34.2 per cent). In many projects, prior to the C&S programme, practitioners felt that reprimands were sometimes inappropriately used for this group of young people. This was either because there was no alternative or the police did not know a young person was receiving an ABC/ABA. Therefore, the rate of RWC prior to C&S might indicate this circumstance.

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[27] This includes first reprimands, warnings or convictions.
[28] One young person was recorded to have received a reprimand, warning or conviction over two years prior to C&S.

Table 9
Percentage of young people who received higher enforcements with support *who; received RWCs two years and one year prior to C&S, received RWCs within one year following C&S, and received their first RWC within one year of involvement with C&S.*

Area	RWC two years prior to C&S (%)	RWC one year prior to C&S (%)	RWC one year after C&S (%)[29]	First RWC within one year after C&S (%)
Area 1 (n=103)	10.7	7.8	21.4	14.6
Area 2 (n=38)	34.2	26.3	23.7	13.2
Area 3 (n=40)	22.5	17.5	17.5	12.5
Area 4 (n=116)	33.6	27.6	36.2	20.7
Area 5 (n=48)	39.6	27.1	14.6	6.3
Area 6 (n=89)	18	13.5	19.1	12.4
Area 7 (n=48)	22.9	8.3	2.1	2.1
Area 8 (n=39)	15.4	12.8	17.9	10.3
Area 9 (n=72)	30.6	20.8	18.1	5.6
Area 10 (n=124)	14.5	8.9	11.3	6.5

Note: Data here represents RWCs both up to one year and two years prior to C&S, and outcomes for one year following C&S.
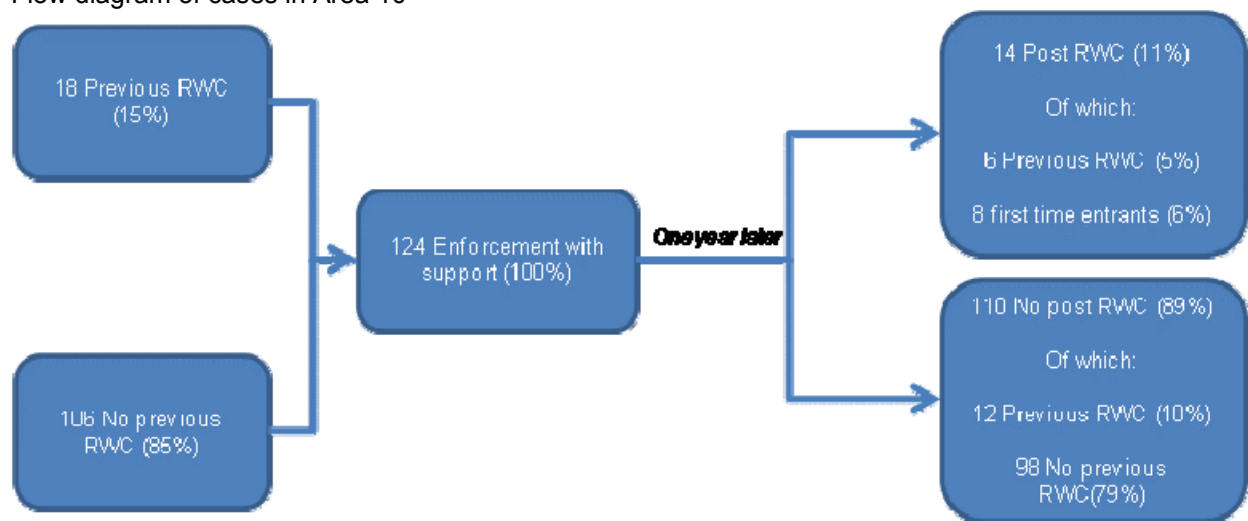[a] *All those who were under 12 years old on the day of referral to C&S were removed from this sample.*
[b] *First RWC% are based on a separate sample, including those who are over 12 years old.*

The data presented in Table 9 above report the percentages of young people receiving a reprimand, final warning and/or conviction (RWC) prior to C&S, post-C&S and also first RWCs after C&S. Figure 9 takes those data for Area 10's C&S project and presents it as a flow diagram to describe the change in the cohort of young people pre and post their involvement with the local project. It can be seen that in the case of Area 10 the vast majority had no RWCs before or after C&S.

Figure 9
Flow diagram of cases in Area 10

18 Previous RWC (15%)

106 No previous RWC (85%)

124 Enforcement with support (100%)

One year later

14 Post RWC (11%)
Of which:
6 Previous RWC (5%)
8 first time entrants (6%)

110 No post RWC (89%)
Of which:
12 Previous RWC (10%)
98 No previous RWC (79%)

[29] This includes first RWCs.

In six of the projects the rate of subsequent RWCs one year post-C&S was lower than the proportion of young people who received RWCs up to two years prior to C&S. The largest drop was in Area 5, where the rate of subsequent RWC went down by 25 percentage points. The second largest reduction was in Area 7 (20 percentage points). In four projects (Areas 1, 4, 6 and 8) the subsequent RWC following C&S was in fact higher.

When comparing these findings to the changes in RWC rate amongst young people one year prior to C&S, similar findings emerge. Although a greater proportion of the projects demonstrated an increase in reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWCs) following C&S within this cohort, four of the projects – Areas 2, 5, 7 and 9 – demonstrated reductions in RWCs once again. Declines in the number of reprimands, final warnings and convictions were less pronounced for this time period. However, the greatest reductions continued to be found in Area 5 (a decline of 12.5 percentage points) and Area 7 (a decline of 6.2 percentage points). Whilst four of the five projects demonstrating increases in subsequent reprimands, final warnings and convictions following C&S were the same (Areas 1, 4, 6 and 8), Area 10 also experienced a small increase within this cohort. There were no changes in the rate of RWCs evident in Area 3 for this group.

Turning to first RWCs after C&S, the data shows that (excluding Area 5 where the prior rate of RWC rate was high), three projects – Areas 9, 7 and 10 – had low proportions of first RWCs after C&S[30]. The reasons why this might be are explored further below.

Area 7 had only 2.1 per cent of young people receiving their first RWC within one year of C&S. In this area, a community and voluntary sector organisation ran C&S. Its approach was to send a young person a warning letter first and then assign them to a preventative group or an intensive group. The former group was for those young people on the verge of needing an ABC and support. The intensive group was for those who had already received an ABC and support. The design of the support was similar to other areas: in other words, the scheme tailored support to the needs of the young person using the Onset assessment. Notably, the available intelligence on which children were engaged in ASB was of a particularly high quality in Area 7 and the scheme was able to take advantage of this. This allowed the group of young people on the verge of requiring an ABC and support to be monitored and to offer them preventative interventions swiftly. The neighbourhood safety team was responsible for collecting data and issuing ABCs, and all relevant agencies reported to it.

As with Area 7, Area 9 used the Onset assessment to tailor support to a young person's needs and also collated good intelligence on the young people engaged in ASB and monitored their behaviour. In Area 9 the local ASB team was responsible for collating all referrals for ASB from partners such as housing, the police and schools. The decision to issue ABCs was undertaken in conjunction with the ASB team and possibly the referring agency. In addition, a triage scheme, which seeks to divert low level offenders from the criminal justice system through a YOT/Police partnership, was in operation in Area 9 at the same time as C&S. That scheme might help to explain the good results of the project. However, the scheme's manager said that less than 10 young people had moved from C&S to triage.

In Area 10, the first RWC rate after C&S was also low. While their use of support was not as good as

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[30] Area 7 had fewer than 20 young people offered "enforcement with support" and were excluded from the two-year analysis. In the cases of Areas 9 and 10 the percentage of first RWCs after two years was respectively 4.3 and 6.4 per cent.

Areas 9 and 7, there was evidence of good inter-agency working in the area and the scheme attracted substantial numbers of referrals from the police.

Area 4 was not successful at reducing the number of overall RWCs and first RWCs after C&S. Looking first at the subsequent rate of overall RWCs for young people both one and two years after engagement with C&S, the analysis shows that the subsequent rate of RWCs were the second-highest and highest respectively[31]. This project assessed needs using Onset and tailored support packages accordingly. The attitude of local partners, particularly the police, to early intervention and prevention appear to explain the outcomes in Area 4. Partners in Area 4 were more inclined to use enforcements and pre-court convictions, including reprimands. This practice was in marked distinction to other projects that described working jointly with partners in dealing with the young people and their families.

The conclusion from the analysis here is that partners, especially the police, need to be confident that allowing an ABC to run its course would reduce ASB. In order to build this confidence, a C&S team were required to show good intelligence of what ASB was being committed and by whom, and how best to respond. This necessitated a data management system capable of logging instances of ASB from the local area, together with information of what enforcements were provided to young people, and who received support services. Crucially, projects were required to demonstrate to agencies that this intelligence and information could be used to show that the approaches of enforcement with support were effective. This was the case in Area 2 where the local C&S project was successful in winning the confidence of the local police in their programme of early intervention: see the case study below.

Building confidence in early interventions: Area 2

Area 2 provides a good example of how the local C&S worked to ensure that the police had confidence in the local early intervention agenda. Recently in Area 2, police policy was not to issue reprimands to young people who were engaged with the ABC+ programme. By adopting this approach, the police were demonstrating that they had become confident that the early interventions offered by the ABC+ programme would effectively address young people's behaviour. The ABC+ team enabled this support for their work by selling the role of early intervention and prevention, and impressing partners – including the police – with their grasp of which young people were involved in ASB in the area and how they were being dealt with.

In interview, as part of the case studies, the partners recollected that previously the local approach to ASB had been chaotic and inconsistent, but there was now keen support of the project at the Neighbourhood Action Groups. Once local partners were confident in the approach adopted, this was enhanced by evidence of reduced ASB committed by the young people who received support.

Desistance in ASB

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[31] In Area 4 the subsequent rate of RWCs for after two years was 54.5 per cent of the 55 young people who were included in the dataset.

So far the analysis of the data has looked at outcomes for young people on the basis of reductions in overall reprimands, final warnings and convictions (RWCs) and first RWCs after C&S. In doing so, the evaluation has found that evidence of good processes and partnership working occurs in projects where the results are better. The evaluation now turns to another measure of successful outcome, which is the number of young people who were referred to the programme because of their ASB, but who had not received a reprimand, final warning or conviction prior to engaging with C&S. These young people have been identified as those who "desisted completely from ASB", and so did not progress to offending behaviour after C&S.

In this analysis, the evaluation has sought to identify if those projects that were successful on the previous measures of reducing overall RWCs and first RWCs, were also those where the young people were not found to have engaged in further ASB (not receiving further ASB enforcements). While no causality between process and any of these outcomes can be claimed, the analysis supports the general hypothesis of the existing literature and research that clear processes and partnership working is important to achieve good outcomes.

Before looking at the young people's desistance from ASB by area, it should be noted that the data collected and reported in each area on ASB varies greatly, as does local policy on enforcement escalation, so comparisons between areas should be treated with caution[32]. The results are presented in Table 10 below.

Warning letters

As expected, the young people who received a warning letter had higher rates of desisting from ASB than those receiving higher enforcements with support. The highest rates of desistance from ASB were found amongst; Area 1 (86 per cent), Area 10 (79 per cent) and Area 7 (76 per cent). Although Areas 10 and 7 were also projects that were successful in reducing rates of subsequent RWCs following C&S and had a low percentage of first RWCs after C&S, Area 1 was only successful in terms of the latter. Area 2, a project considered successful in terms of their rate of subsequent RWCs following C&S, had one of the lowest desistance rates of the seven projects recorded (68 per cent). The project with the lowest rate of desistance, however, was Area 8 (61 per cent), which was also be considered to be the least successful in terms of the previous outcomes measured.

An area might expect that more than half of young people sent a letter would not be reported for ASB within one year. Many of these young people were likely to not be reported again anyway, but the qualitative evidence, as reported earlier, begins to explain the role of warning letters. As was illustrated in the case studies presented above, the warning letter can alert parents and guardians to their children's behaviour who can then take steps to ensure the young person does not do it again. In a minority of circumstances this could have meant further ASB and criminal activity is prevented.

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[32] Different calculations were made in these areas.

Table 10

Percentage of young people who did not receive a RWC or further ASB enforcement post-C&S and did not have a RWC prior to C&S.

Area	Warning Letter (%)	Higher enforcement with Support (%)
Area 1	86 (n=69)	72 (n=74)
Area 2	68 (n=720)	42 (n=36)
Area 5	73 (n=241)	48 (n=23)
Area 6	-	60 (n=116)
Area 7	76 (n=178)	75 (n=36)
Area 8	61 (n=22)	60 (n=58)
Area 9	74 (n=248)	64 (n=58)
Area 10	79 (n=197)	79 (n=87)

Higher enforcement with Support

In the group receiving higher enforcements with support, Areas 10 and 7 were the most successful projects, with desistance rates above 70 per cent following C&S. Again, there are parallels between projects with positive rates of subsequent RWCs and first time RWC outcomes, and successful desistance rates in both of these projects, whilst other projects previously considered successful (including Areas 5 and 9) had much lower desistance rates. The project with the lowest complete desistance rate, however, was Area 2 (42 per cent), which had previously demonstrated positive outcomes in relation to changes in RWCs.

Conclusion

Comprehensively coded data on the supportive interventions used in the 10 projects was not readily available and this hinders an understanding of which interventions were used in what circumstances, and their effectiveness. However, the evidence from the practitioners lends weight to the suggestion that interventions should be based on the nature of the young person's needs. This view was consistent with the previous research literature which placed as much emphasis on *how* projects worked with a young person as *what* interventions were provided.

There was also evidence that both the support and enforcement interventions were an appropriate response to the young person's needs. Nearly three quarters of the young people received only one or two types of intervention and the use of warning letters was often justified as being sufficient notice to a young person and his/her parents or carers. Furthermore, there is some evidence that suggests that warning letters can be effective at preventing a young person from entering the criminal justice system.

4.3   What are the relative costs and benefits of preventative enforcements?

This section of the report looks at cost effectiveness of different preventative enforcements, in particular considering what impact warning letters and ABCs need to have on future offending to be cost effective. As the unit cost of the provision of support is not available, this analysis will solely focus on the cost effectiveness of the enforcement itself. The analysis was performed in just two projects, Areas 2 and 9, because of the quality of their data and the large number of warning letters sent in each project; nearly 2,200 in Area 2 and just over 1,000 in Area 9. Because it is based on data from only two projects, the analysis should be treated as only indicative of the potential cost effectiveness of different preventative measures. If anything, the presented impact required is higher than in reality because the analysis assumes that a young person receives just one enforcement. Feedback from practitioners suggests that a young person who proceeds to a criminal career is likely to receive more than one enforcement or sentence after receiving a warning letter or ABC. It should also be noted that the analysis solely presents the "cash savings" likely to the criminal justice system, and does not reflect other anticipated cost reductions of such enforcements, including those associated with reduced offences and desistance.

Cost of preventative enforcements

Table 11 below outlines the cost of the warning letters and ABCs administered in Areas 2 and 9. The NAO has calculated that a warning letter costs £73 to administer and an ABC £256 to administer. The cost of these preventative enforcements is relatively low; in Area 2 just £190,000 was spent to reach 1,897 young people, and in Area 9 £90,000 was spent to reach 987 (a young person can receive more than one warning letter or ABC).

Table 11

Cost of warning letters and ABCs in Areas 2 and 9 from April 2008 to January 2011

Enforcement[33]	Area 2	Cost	Area 9	Cost
Warning letters (£73 per letter)	2179	£159,793	1070	£78,467
ABC (£256 per contract)	111	£28,367	49	£12,522

Necessary impact of warning letters

The remaining two tables show what reduction in more serious enforcements the preventive measures must produce for them to become cost effective. This is called a breakeven analysis. It should be noted that although data is presented on ASBO enforcements, this is included for illustrative purposes only. As will become evident, the number of ASBOs required to breakeven is not feasible in light of knowledge of their low usage.

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[33] Cost taken from the NAO report *Tackling Anti Social Behaviour (2006)* and uplifted to 2009-10 levels using the Treasury's GDP deflator.

A range of costs to administer enforcements that can be used after a warning letter are presented in Table 12. The smallest cost is for an ABC at £256, followed by an ASBO at £3,444, and the largest cost is for a Crown Court proceeding that results in a prison sentence, £39,103. (Data were available for the cost of adult proceedings but were not available for pre-court proceedings and for young people. The analysis presumes that court costs for adults are a reasonable proxy for similar costs associated with young people).

The third column describes the impact on the enforcement type a warning letter needs to have to be cost effective; that is a warning needs to prevent a subsequent ASBO in less than 2 per cent of cases to be cost effective. A similar effect is needed on any court proceeding as the average cost for a magistrates proceeding and Crown Court proceeding is £3,462. A warning needs to reduce very few Crown Court sentences to be cost effective; if just 0.2 per cent of warning letters prevent a Crown Court proceeding with a sentence then the warning letters are cost effective. A large effect rate is needed to reduce ABCs (29 per cent). The potential for warning letters lies in their ability to prevent young people receiving more serious enforcements or reprimands, final warnings and convictions.

In Area 2 this results in the warning letters needing to prevent 46 ASBOs or court proceedings and just five Crown Court proceedings with a sentence. The equivalent figures for Area 9 are 23 ASBOs and three Crown Court proceedings with a sentence.

Table 12
Warning letter breakeven analysis

	Cost	Effect rate needed	Reduction in Area 2 needed	Reduction in Area 9 needed
ABC	£256	28.52%	624	307
ASBO[33]	£3,444	1.92%	46	23
Average court proceeding cost[34]	£3,462	1.91%	46	23
Crown court proceeding with sentence[34]	£30,641	0.22%	5	3
Crown court proceeding with prison sentence[34]	£39,103	0.17%	4	2

Necessary impact of ABC

Table 13 considers the same analysis as Table 12, but this time for ABCs. Though the effect needed from an ABC is greater than that needed for a warning letter, overall a low impact is required for an ABC to be cost effective. Just 7 per cent of ABCs need to prevent a subsequent ASBO or court proceeding to be cost effective, and less than 1 per cent need to prevent a young person progressing to the Crown Court and receiving a sentence.

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[34] Cost taken from the Home Office publication *The Cost of Criminal Justice (1999)* and uplifted to 2009-10 using the Treasury's GDP deflator. The costs are for adult proceedings as equivalent costs for young people were not available. As this is an indicative analysis it is assumed that the cost of a court proceeding does not vary between adult and young offenders.

In Area 2 that means just seven ASBOs and one court proceeding with a sentence needed to be prevented for the work to have been cost effective. In Area 9 the equivalent figures were three ASBOs and one court proceeding with a sentence.

Table 13
ABC breakeven analysis

	Cost	Effect rate needed	Reduction in Area 2 needed	Reduction in Area 9 needed
ASBO[33]	£3,444	6.68%	7	3
Court proceeding[34]	£3,462	6.64%	7	3
Court proceeding with sentence[34]	£30,641	0.75%	1	1.0
Court proceeding with prison sentence[34]	£39,103	0.59%	1	1.0

Conclusion

It is worth reiterating that because of the lack of robust data across multiple areas, the analysis presented above is largely indicative. What is evident is that the two preventative measures under consideration, warning letters and ABCs, need very little impact to be cost effective. Further interpreting the figures above, just one in 50 warning letters needs to prevent an ASBO or court proceeding and one in 500 must prevent a Crown Court sentence for the measure to be cost effective. One in 130 ABCs need to prevent a court proceeding. On the basis of this indicative analysis then, it appears warning letters and ABCs are potentially highly cost effective ways of dealing with ASB.

This, however, cannot be concluded until the real effect of both measures is known. The evaluation was not designed to say exactly how much subsequent enforcement was avoided because of the warning letters and ABCs used in the two areas. The evaluation has shown that both measures can have a considerable effect on reducing the numbers of young people going on to receive reprimands, warnings or convictions. In both Areas 9 and 2, warning letters resulted in less than 5 per cent of young people going on to receive their first RWC within one year of C&S; corroborating evidence suggests that warning letters did reduce the number of first RWCs. The first RWC rate for young people who received an ABC in Area 9 was less than 10 per cent and local evidence suggest that this was influenced by C&S. Though definite numbers for impact are not available, on the basis of the available evidence, it would appear that the case for cost effectiveness, at least in Areas 2 and 9, could be strong.

5.0   Implications

Overall, the evaluation of the Challenge & Support programme found that low-cost interventions such as written warning letters and home visits can be effective in delivering successful outcomes for young people who commit anti-social behaviour. Where these outcomes were found by the empirical data, interviews with practitioners and others indicated that effectively delivered programmes were likely to have reduced persistent anti-social behaviour and diverted significant numbers of young people from the criminal justice system.

In assessing the effectiveness of the programme, the evaluation found that the implementation of C&S had promoted what the existing research evidence suggests is "good practice". In other words, many of the local projects had promoted improved inter-agency working as a prerequisite to delivering effective interventions to young people. Further, when considering the appropriate level of intervention, many of the projects had gathered information on a young person as the basis of assessing his or her individual needs. Interventions to both challenge that behaviour (such as a warning letter) and support the young person to improve their behaviour (for example, youth work) were then delivered on the basis of such an assessment.

Further to these findings, the evaluation has several important implications for policy makers working in this area, particularly in light of the likely shift to commissioning of local services on the basis of payment by results (PBR). Two issues are pertinent here: understanding what the effective interventions for young people committing ASB are and also how to measure successful outcomes.

With regard to interventions, it should be noted that higher level approaches such as the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and anti-social behaviour contracts (ABCs) tended to have lower success rates, and were therefore potentially less cost-effective than early intervention in reducing offending and keeping young people out of the criminal justice system. Of course this judgement is likely to be influenced somewhat by the complexity of the needs of the young people receiving the higher level approaches. Furthermore, local provision was found to be most effective where services had been configured to suit local conditions and available skills. In other words, there was little evidence that uniform approaches were equally effective across different local areas.

In line with the evidence surrounding existing good practice, the evaluation also found that effective outcomes tended to result from well trained and supported professionals forming good relationships with both their colleagues from other local agencies, and the young people and their families. This is more important than the implementation of a finite number of individual interventions to tackle ASB. Put another way, how agencies worked with colleagues, young people and their families appear to be more important than what interventions they delivered. As such, continuing to work with agencies, offenders and families in providing support is not necessarily contingent on the existence of initiatives such as C&S.

The availability of data to measure outcomes will be key to any PBR regime. However, the lack of robust data to measure both cost of delivery and service impact was found by the evaluation

to be a real and persistent problem. Where commissioners are going to pay for services on the basis of successful delivery of outcomes, it is essential this issue is addressed.

Knowledge gaps

Without doubt, the key knowledge gap in this area is the lack of robust data to measure both cost of delivery and service impact. This evaluation gap was highlighted by the Public Accounts Committee, which reported *"There was no standard data set in use in local areas to collect and collate data"* and that this hampered any evaluation of "*what works*". Other research has highlighted the lack of consistently held data (Burney, 2005) and reported that data on interventions other than ASBOs are held in a variety of locations, are of variable quality and often rely heavily upon anecdotal evidence. Where commissioners are going to pay for services on the basis of successful delivery of outcomes, in other words, Payment by Results (PBR), it is essential these issues be addressed.

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Glossary

ABA	Acceptable Behaviour Agreement
ABC	Acceptable Behaviour Contract
ASB	Anti-social behaviour
ASBO	Anti-social Behaviour Order
BME	Black & Minority Ethnic Group
C&S	Challenge and Support
CAF	Common Assessment Framework
CDA	Crime & Disorder Act
CAMHs	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services
CSP	Challenge and Support Project
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfE	Department for Education
EIG	Early Intervention Group
EMS	Education Management System
EWO	Education & Welfare Officers
FIP	Family Intervention Project
FTE	First-time Entrant (to the Criminal Justice System)
ISO	Individual Support Order
MI	Management Information
NAO	National Audit Office
PAYP	Positive Activities for Young People

PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SNT	Safer Neighbourhood Team
TYSS	Targeted Youth Support Service
YCAP	Youth Crime Action Plan
YIP	Youth Inclusion Programme
YISP	Youth Inclusion and Support Panels
YOS	Youth Offending Service
YOT	Youth Offending Team
YTF	Youth Task Force

Appendix A: Methodology

The research was based on incorporating both process and impact evaluations, which were referred to in the main report. These are described fully below:

A: Process evaluation

1. Developing a conceptual framework for the programme
2. Semi-structured interviews in the 52 C&S areas
3. Analysis of the YTF's management information data
4. Questionnaire survey of C&S coordinators
5. In-depth case studies

B: Impact evaluation

1. Data collected from the 10 areas
2. Data analysis
3. Deliberative events

A: Process evaluation

The process evaluation was designed to understand a programme of 52 projects that were diverse in terms of their management and operational structures. To understand this, a number of research methods were adopted over the course of the evaluation:

- Developing a conceptual framework for the programme
- Semi-structured interviews in the 52 C&S areas
- Analysis of the YTF's management information data
- Questionnaire survey of C&S coordinators
- In-depth case studies

1: Developing a conceptual framework for the programme

Given the diversity of the projects, a conceptual framework was developed to understand the areas of commonality and difference among the projects. This was prepared on the basis of the initial bids that the projects made to the YTF for funding and sought to understand why projects considered that their processes and interventions would lead to successful outcomes. Accordingly, a framework was developed that focused on the procedural stages underpinning the C&S project. This framework considered the following:

1) **Context**: Are there contextual factors that shape C&S projects at the local level? For example, how does the organisation and management of the C&S project at the local level shape the project?

2) **Identification of the target group**: Is there a target group for C&S, and what is it, by specific geographical area or by types of anti-social behaviour?

3) **Referral process**: How are young people referred to the local C&S projects? How is the target group identified as being suitable for C&S?

4) **Assessment**: How are young people referred to the C&S projects assessed in relation to their risks and needs? How do assessments relate to interventions?

5) **Interventions**: What interventions are being implemented? How are these tailored to the risks and needs of young people? How do these relate to the concept of "challenge" and "support"?

6) **Outcomes**: What are the desired outcomes for each C&S project? How do these outcomes link to the groups targeted? How consistent are they with the other pilots and the objectives of the programme as a whole?

This conceptual framework was then used to develop an interview schedule, which was used as the topic guide for the initial interviews in each C&S project area.

2: Semi-structured interviews in the 52 C&S areas

Arrangement of interviews

The 52 C&S project areas were initially sent a briefing paper outlining the key aims of the evaluation in February 2009. The main aims and objectives of the evaluation were also presented by Matrix at "C&S Project Action Days" in London and Manchester in March 2009. Fieldworkers then contacted the C&S project managers to arrange interviews. During these initial contacts, the fieldworkers briefed the C&S project managers about the aims of the evaluation and they outlined the main topics that would be covered in the process interviews. Not unexpectedly, in these discussions the C&S project managers often made it clear that it would be of benefit if a number of other stakeholders from the C&S project were interviewed during the process phase. In response, the interviews were often conducted with a number of representatives from each area[35]. In total, 222 interviews were conducted between April and August 2009, which provided a comprehensive understanding of the programme.

Interview schedule

The interview schedule was agreed with DfE, and then piloted in 10 C&S project areas. This pilot exercise enabled the research team to identify any additional questions that needed to be included in the schedule and whether the existing questions were relevant to the process evaluation. The finalised schedule was structured into five main sections including:

1) **Project background details:** This section asked for some general background details in relation to the project set-up. For example, whether the C&S project is a new project structure or whether it has built upon existing services; what issues were faced in setting up a C&S project and if the implementation of the C&S project has resulted in any changes in the way the area deals with anti-social behaviour.

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[35] Some reference is also made throughout this report to the Management Information (MI) data. The MI data tool was designed by the YTF and is used to collect data at six-monthly periods in relation to the numbers of young people in receipt of challenge and support.

2) **Operation and management structure of the C&S project:** The aim of this section was to understand who the key people in the project are and what their role is. Specific consideration was given to the location of the project within the local authority structure, whether there is a project steering group (or similar), and who is involved in that group.

3) **Conceptualising the nature of the project:** This section was heavily based around the theory of change model and was arranged into subsections including:

   a. **Identifying anti-social behaviour as a problem:** The aim of this section was to see how anti-social behaviour is identified as a problem, what types of anti-social behaviour are targeted by the C&S project, and who the intervention group is.

   b. **Referral processes:** This section considers how a young person would come to the attention of the C&S project, how referral processes work and which agencies refer to the C&S project.

   c. **Assessing the needs and risks of young people:** This section considers how it is ascertained if a young person referred to the C&S project is engaging in anti-social behaviour, when formal assessments are made, and the type of assessment made (e.g. Onset, ASSET, etc.).

   d. **Interventions delivered – challenge (enforcement) and support:** This section studies the types of enforcement offered by the C&S project and what support is offered in combination with the enforcement. This section also considers how successful the various types of support offered are in the view of local practitioners.

   e. **The measurement of outcomes:** This section studies what the local specified outcomes for the projects are, how they were selected, and how they will be measured.

4) **Sources of data:** The final section of the interview probed the C&S project areas in more detail about outcome measurement and where data might be sourced in relation to outcome measurement. This section was designed to aid the impact evaluation work, and the results have been summarised in a separate report.

Analysis of interviews

All the interviews with C&S project coordinators were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The data were analysed by coding the transcripts in the software package NVivo and then analysing the key themes to emerge from the data. This approach is commonly employed in qualitative research to analyse data, by first developing a framework for analysis and then grouping the data into relevant themes/categories. In this case, the framework closely followed the format of the interviews (i.e. operation and management of the project, targeting, referral process, assessment, interventions and outcomes).

3: Analysis of the YTF's management information data

Collection of Management Information data

All 52 projects were required to submit six-monthly returns of management information data (MI data) to the YTF. This data was captured by a database built by the YTF which was in place before the evaluation contract was put out to tender. The MI data collated details about the way each area responded to anti-social behaviour, particularly in respect of providing support and

enforcement. The data collection tool was divided into two sections accordingly, each of which are described below.

The first section collected support information[36] in relation to:
- The number of young people brought to the attention of the C&S project and found to be engaging in anti-social behaviour.
- The number of young people coming to the attention of the C&S project and offered challenge and support.
- The types of support offered to young people at the early stages of enforcement (through letters and home visits).
- The types of support offered to young people at the ABC/ABA stages of enforcement (through letters and home visits).
- The types of support offered with an ASBO.

The second section focused on enforcement. Data collected included:
- How many warning letters have been sent, home visits/interviews made and ABCs/ABAs signed over the past six months and also since the project began.
- Whether support alongside these enforcement was accepted or declined and if over the past six months how many of those who accepted or declined have gone on to receive further sanctions.
- The use of ASBOs, interim ASBOs and CRASBOs.
- The use of Individual Support Orders (ISOs) and other support mechanisms alongside ASBOs.
- The breach and withdrawal of ASBOs.
- Whether a young person has entered criminal justice system and whether the young person is not in education, employment or training (NEET).

A total of three sweeps of monitoring data were collected throughout the duration of the project. These sweeps were for the following time periods:

- October 2008 to March 2009
- April 2009 to September 2009
- October 2009 to March 2010

Analysis of Management Information data

Following this data collection, Matrix conducted analysis of the MI data. This included:
1) Analysis of the initial numbers of referrals, assessments and support offered to the referral group;
2) Analysis of the challenge and support destinations of the referral group;
3) Analysis of intermediate outcomes (including: entry to the CJS, the numbers who were NEET and the numbers who had breached an interim ASBO, ASBO or CRASBO);
4) Consideration of referrals, destinations and outcomes by CSP model types;
5) Comparisons of referrals to the trajectory data; and
6) Longitudinal analysis of patterns.

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[36] It should be noted that some of the data required to complete the MI data tool relates to activities not undertaken by the CSP itself but rather by one or more of its partners. For example while a CSP may deliver support to young people, it may be a combination of the police, RSLs and the anti-social behaviour team who undertake enforcement.

4: Questionnaire survey of C&S coordinators

Between April and May 2010, all 52 C&S coordinators (or other appropriate staff members) were asked to complete an online questionnaire survey. The main purpose of the survey was to seek the views of the coordinators on the development of C&S in their area since the inception of the project. This included:

- The development of Challenge and Support and changes to the project since inception;
- The development of joined up working with delivery agencies;
- Delivery and effectiveness of support; and
- The impact of Challenge and Support on the ASB enforcement process.

A total of 45 areas fully completed the survey (two other areas completed some sections of the survey): this represents an 87 per cent response rate.

5: In-depth case studies

In the summer of 2010, in-depth case studies were prepared in eight of the 52 C&S projects. The main purpose of these case studies was to develop in-depth understanding of how the selected areas had built a coordinated approach to the delivery of C&S, to identify innovation and good practice and any evidence of impact.

Case study site selection

Of the eight areas, six were selected by the evaluation team on the basis of the availability of their impact data[37], and the information gathered earlier in the evaluation. Based on this information, the selection criteria included:

- The type of delivery model that the projects adopted (whether the site delivers support, challenge, both, or coordination);
- The severity of ASB targeted – high-end ASB that is on the cusp of criminal offending; lower-level ASB such as incivility and nuisance behaviour; or a combination of both; and
- Quality of partnership working – some areas had well established partnership working, i.e. using multi-agency forums and joint working. Some areas were still in the early stages of building such structures, while others had little or no partnership working structures.

The rationale for sampling on the basis of these criteria was that they defined the behaviour the projects targeted, the types of interventions that they used and the extent to which they worked with local services.

In addition to those six, DCSF also nominated areas 11 and 13 as the sites that present important lessons particularly around coordination and partnership working. In particular both operate successful multi-agency panels that work across their localities and bring together key partners to discuss young people and coordinate their enforcement and support.

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[37] It should be noted that one area, 12, withdrew from the impact evaluation in late 2010. Therefore, this area's case study does not include any outcome data.

The sites that were selected for the case studies were contacted early in 2010. During these contacts, the purpose of the case studies and expectations of the areas were outlined.

Case study interviews

The case studies were based on interviews conducted with C&S coordinators and senior managers in the partner agencies, including community safety, YOT heads of prevention, the police and the local ASB team. The majority of these partners were involved at a strategic level although operational partners were also included (e.g. within the police). The interviews were conducted on the basis of semi-structured schedules which were prepared for both CSP managers and partners and agreed with the Department for Education.

The manager interviews covered six main themes:
- The development of C&S since April 2008;
- What the funding was spent on;
- Partnership working;
- Coordination and delivery of support;
- What makes interventions effective and what difficulties exist; and
- Future plans for C&S.

Partner interviews covered four main themes:
- Understanding of the main aims of C&S;
- Involvement of partners with C&S, both at a strategic and operational levels;
- Partners views in relation to what C&S has achieved; and
- Impact of C&S.

All the interviews were tape-recorded. These interviews were then coded and the key themes to emerge were analysed using a framework approach. In all, 35 interviews were conducted, including 15 project leads and 20 project partners.

B: Impact Evaluation

The main aims of the impact evaluation were to measure:

1) How effective the combination of support and enforcement were in stopping further perpetration of anti-social behaviour and progress into the criminal justice system (including first-time entry).
2) What wider outcomes were experienced by young people who receive this combination of support and enforcement? In particular, engagement in positive activities, educational attainment, teenage pregnancy, and substance misuse.

Prior to commencing the impact evaluation, the evaluation team completed a data scoping exercise in all C&S areas between June and October 2009. The exercise reviewed what impact evaluation data was available at the individual level, namely: client demographics and characteristics; ASB incidents; offences; the support and enforcement delivered; engagement in education, employment or training; and other

outcomes listed in the project specification. In all, the exercise identified 11 areas that could provide this level of data.

1: Data collected from the 10 areas

Set-up and data collection process

Eleven areas were approached to share data with the evaluation early in 2010. Once accepting, each site was contacted to introduce the project, and a site visit was carried out to discuss the following:

1) Commitment needed by the site and the benefits;
2) Identify C&S young people on their data systems;
3) Locations of ASB data and how to engage and promote the evaluation;
4) Data protection requirements; and
5) Data sharing protocols, timescales and identification of responsible persons.

One area declined to be involved in the evaluation. Three groups of data were collected from the remaining 10 areas: case management data, anti-social behaviour data and local data on reprimands, final warnings and convictions. Each will be described fully below.

Case management data

Each area used a case management system, either UMIS or Careworks Raise, to record the young people referred to the C&S scheme and what support and enforcement was used with them. The evaluation collated information on the following:

- Client information and background;
- Supportive interventions;
- Enforcements; and
- Assessment information (the Onset assessment was used).

The exact data criteria for each of these categories can be found in Table 1 below. These data were not available for young people who received just a warning or young people who refused support. All available data on a young person was extracted.

Anti-social behaviour data

The ASB data available in each area varied and the systems used to record these data varied greatly as well. In all areas, an average of four ASB data sites were approached for inclusion in the study, and similar meetings were held with ASB data holders in order to discuss the project.

This information included enforcement details (exact criteria is outlined in Table 1 below), primarily warning letters, which were collected and matched to the group of young people identified on the case management system. The young people who only received one or more warning letters were matched to

the data on reprimands, final warnings and convictions. The completeness of the warning letter data varied from area to area, which explains the gaps in ethnicity, age and gender presented in the main report. In three areas, reports of actual ASB incidents were available in addition to ASB enforcements. These data were collected in areas 9, 2 and 7.

Local reprimand, final warning and conviction data

In each area, local data on which young people were subject to either pre or post court convictions (reprimand, final warning or convictions) were collated (exact requirements are outlined in Table 1 below). This was usually stored on the Youth Offending Information System (YOIS)/ Careworks systems within the CSP site or YOT. The YJB's definition of a conviction was used to identify the right data – performance report tables 8-9 and 15-16. These data were manually matched to the case management records and the sample of young people who received a warning letter.

Table A.1
Minimum data requirements

Data	Definition	Source
Client information and background *First name* *Surname* *Date of birth* *Gender* *Ethnicity*	Basic profile information. Helps to match databases.	C&S – case management data
Offences *Date of reprimand, final warning or conviction* *Offence date* *Offence gravity* *Disposal: reprimand, final warning or convictions* *Outcome – order*	Offending before and after the young person started the C&S programme.	YOT/YOS – local reprimand, final warning & conviction data
ASB *Type* (not available from all sites) *Date of behaviour* (not available from all sites)	ASB behaviour before the young person started the C&S programme.	ASB data holders
Support *Type* *Start and end dates* *Contacts (if applicable)* *Delivery organisation* *Mode of delivery* *Date*	Support type activities delivered to the young person during the C&S programme. Examples are: • Signposting to universal youth services • Anger management • Careers advice/support • Prevention services (e.g. YISP, YIP, TYS) • Health support (including mental health) • Alcohol and drugs intervention • PAYP	C&S – case management data
Enforcement *Type* *Start and end dates*	Enforcement activities delivered to the young person. Examples: • Warning letters • Home visits • Interviews • ABCs and ABAs • ASBOs	C&S or ASB team – case management/ ASB data
Onset score *Dimension score* *Overall score* *Date*	Young person's Onset assessments.	C&S – case management data

On top of the minimum requirements, it was planned that some supplementary outcomes would be sought. These included:

- Engagement in positive activities;
- NEETs;
- Educational attainment;
- Conceptions under 18; and
- Substance misuse.

However, in the course of the evaluation, it was agreed with DfE that these outcomes would no longer be pursued, largely due to the lack of available data.

Data collection

Identifiable data was shared after appropriate data security protocols were in place. The data were collected over three rounds: Summer 2010, Autumn 2010 and Winter 2011. A Matrix researcher would visit each area and extract the data from the case management systems directly. During this visit, the Matrix researcher would liaise with the area to identify the relevant C&S sample on their data systems. In some cases, areas had the resources to extract their own data; in this case, information would be sent to Matrix via secure email.

Data management

The data were stored in a Microsoft Access database. Within the database the different groups of data were matched to ensure that each C&S individual had records of case management, ASB and local convictions, reprimands and final warnings.

2: Data Analysis

An analysis plan to answer the research questions was agreed with DfE towards the end of 2010. This was largely centred on the following performance indicators:

- ***C&S indicators*** – previous and subsequent support and enforcement;
- ***Reduction of anti-social behaviour*** – journey on the ASB enforcement ladder; previous and subsequent ASB;
- ***Progress into the criminal justice system*** – criminal activity prior to and following C&S; first-time entrance CJS rate; risk level of offending.

The data was analysed using descriptive statistics in SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Secondary data sources were also incorporated within the report in order to contextualise the findings of the outcomes.

3: Deliberative events

The final phase of the project included four deliberative events in the four selected areas that provided the most comprehensive data on the impact of their services. These four areas were areas 7, 2, 4 and 9.

A deliberative event is different to a focus group because participants are asked to review and reflect on information about the issue. In this case this would be evidence of the impact of a project and the quality of its processes.

Aim and objectives

The aim of the deliberative workshops is to reflect on the results of the evaluation. The workshops were designed to:

- Test findings of the evaluation. In other words, do the evaluators and local areas agree on what the data are telling us?
- Understand why outcomes have been achieved or not. In other words, can the local areas explain their outcomes?
- Discuss the future role of CSP or similar schemes in the area, particularly in light of cuts in government funding and devolution of services to the local level.

Structure

The workshops lasted between 2 and 2 ½ hours, and were structured in three parts:

1. **Presentation**: The Matrix evaluation team provided a presentation on its understanding of the local project, including the project's objectives, model and process of operation, and outcomes, together with an account of the strengths and weaknesses of the local project.

2. **Deliberation**: First, the group were asked to discuss the validity of the findings that were provided in the presentation and to consider why certain outcomes occurred. This included perceptions of the quality of the project's work, perceptions of its strengths and weaknesses, inter-agency working, targeting, use of support, and what could have been done differently, etc.

   Second, the group discussed the implications of the findings, including their implications locally. To prevent participant fatigue from too much discussion, participants were tasked to design what future delivery can look like in a context of expenditure cuts and local devolution. To do this, the facilitator from Matrix asked the participants to use the findings to create solutions to current problems and consider how the present and anticipated future context might influence the development of service delivery. Again, the facilitator reported back on the discussions.

   Matrix facilitated the deliberation and kept a written note of the discussion.

3. **Feedback**. The facilitator from Matrix summarised the main issues from the event.

The findings of the deliberative event were then used to inform the case studies where appropriate, and to support the findings within the final report.

Appendix B: Local contextual data

Local secondary data are presented below to provide some context to the 10 areas that were included in the impact evaluation. These secondary data cover:

1. Youth crime
2. Educational attainment
3. NEETS
4. Index of deprivation

1. Youth crime

Table B.1
Number of offences resulting in a disposal in the period 2009 to 2010.

Area	No. of offences
Area 7	2135
Area 4	2132
Area 6	2007
Area 3	1832
Area 2	1440
Area 1	1357
Area 8	1121
Area 10	1033
Area 5	790
Area 9	478

(YJB, 2009/2010: http://www.yjb.gov.uk/en-gb/practitioners/MonitoringPerformance/WorkloadData/)

2. Educational attainment

Table B.2
Percentage of year 11 pupils in each of the pilot areas achieving Level 2 (5+ A*-C GCSE or equivalent qualifications) in the period of school year 2009/2010

Area	Pupils achieving 5+ A*-C (%)
Area 10	83.8
Area 8	83.3
Area 1	82.9
Area 2	82.9
Area 6	81.8
Area 9	78.4
Area 4	76.3
Area 3	76.1
Area 7	74.5
Area 5	68.1

Note: National figures show that 76.1 per cent of pupils from state-funded schools, and 75.4 per cent of pupils from all schools in England achieved level 2 (5+ A*-C GCSE or equivalent qualifications).

3. NEET (Not in Education Employment or Training)

Table B.3
Percentage of young people aged 16, 17 or 18 known to the Local Authority who are classified as not in education, employment or training in 2010.

Area	NEET (%)	Unknown (%)	Regional NEET (%)
Area 5 (n= 3,793)	11.4	2.3	6.7
Area 7 (n= 6,363)	9.3	4.8	7.9
Area 10 (n= 11,285)	7.9	3.7	7.2
Area 6 (n= 14,385)	8.2	2.8	6.7
Area 2 (n= 10,094)	7	2.8	7.2
Area 4 (n= 15,027)	6.6	6	5.4
Area 1(n= 8,429)	6.6	7.2	5
Area 8 (n= 8,215)	5.8	4.5	6.7
Area 9 (n= 8,098)	5.1	2.6	5.7
Area 3[38] (n= 18,552)	3.2	2.1	5.3

Note: 'n' represents the number of 16-18 year olds known the Local Authority in 2010. NEET data is only collected on young people aged 16, 17 and 18.
(DfE, 2011: http://www.education.gov.uk/16to19/participation/neet/a0064101/16-to-18-year-olds-not-in-education-employment-or-training-neet)

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[38] NEET data only available from DfE for the wider counties of areas 3 and 4.

4. Index of deprivation

Table B.4
Summary of the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) score and ranking of the 10 C&S impact case study areas.

Area	IMD score[39]
Area 6	47
Area 5	43
Area 7	39
Area 8	37
Area 4	32
Area 2	31
Area 10	27
Area 9	22
Area 3	22
Area 1	21

Note: The IMD Score represents a multiple deprivation score which incorporates seven indicators of deprivation: income, employment, health, education skills and training, barriers to housing and services, living environment deprivation, and crime. The higher the score, the more deprived an area.
The rank of average score scale is from 1 (most deprived) to 354 (least deprived).
(Communities and local government, 2007:
http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/indiciesdeprivation07)

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[39] Please note, the scores were rounded to whole numbers to ensure anonymity.