THE ACADEMY

A REPORT ON OUTCOMES FOR PARTICIPANTS (June 2006 – June 2008)

by Andrew Miles

with Paul Strauss

ESRC Centre for Research on Socio-cultural Change
University of Manchester

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- **Headline conclusion**

The Academy offers a radically intensive, dance-led learning programme for young offenders and young people at risk of offending in a community setting. The evidence collected over the first two years of its operation suggests that the Academy programme makes a major positive impact on participants' attitudes and behaviour.

This evidence indicates that Academy participants are less likely to re-offend than their peers and that on completion of the programme they have much higher than expected rates of transfer into education, training and employment. These 'hard' outcomes are underpinned by measurable increases in participants' capacity to learn and the development of a range of key life skills, to which dance as a process and a context is crucial.

Set against recent claims that the government's ten year youth crime drive has had 'no measurable impact' (Solomon and Garside 2008: 36), the outcomes of the programme to date suggest that it is high time policymakers recognised the serious role that professionally appointed and properly targeted arts interventions can play in helping to address the problem of youth offending.

- **Context**

The Academy programme runs for 12 weeks, during which participants work a 25-hour, five-day week. Each cohort comprises a three-week performance project culminating in a live, professionally staged public production. Participants then embark on a differentiated programme of activities incorporating wider educational outcomes within the dance-led curriculum.

Drawing on a practice methodology developed from the company's earlier prison-based work, the primary emphasis of the Academy programme is on quality and excellence. Participants are treated as trainee professional dance artists who must adhere to a number of absolute principles and routines. The fully appointed, purpose-built Academy venue is a seen as vital foundation of the programme.

Dance United's original delivery partner in the Academy project was Bradford YOT (Youth Offending Team), and the programme was initially set up as an intervention for persistent and serious young offenders on the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP). However, the recruitment base was subsequently expanded to take in young people from local school inclusion units, referrals from Leeds YOS (Youth Offending Service) and young adults on day release from Askham Grange Prison. The Academy's delivery partnership now also includes HMYOI Wetherby, HMPYOI New Hall, West Yorkshire Probation Board, and Careers Bradford.

- **Method**

The evaluation of the Academy has taken place within a recursive 'Action Research' framework. It uses a mixed-method approach and its development is informed by the principles of a 'realist' evaluation model (Pawson and Tilley 1997). A key focus of the evaluation has been the impact of the Academy programme on participants' 'capacity to learn' and the consequences of this for their subsequent trajectories.

Over Cohorts 4 and 5, in a radical departure from normal practice in the arts and criminal justice sector, a social anthropologist was employed as a full-time, embedded researcher at the Academy. This lent the evaluation more purchase and coherence, enabling consistent and systematic collection of programme-generated data and the following up of participants beyond the intervention, while ethnographic research provided insights into the dance-mediated processes of change.

- **Outcomes**

There is convincing evidence that the Academy has made a major positive impact on participants and that this has transferred into other areas of their lives. The programme has successfully engaged a constituency that is largely alienated from formal learning, imparting measurable increases in confidence and self-awareness, communication and coping skills, flexible thinking and self-control. These have fed through into a willingness to take up or re-engage with educational and employment pathways, improved personal and family relationships and a reduced risk of re-offending. In terms of the bottom line, the indications are that actual recidivism rates for Academy participants are considerably lower than among the general population of young offenders on community orders.

- **Process**

Dance as both context and mechanism is crucial to the way change is brought about. The Academy demands professional standards of discipline and performance while providing a high quality environment in which individuals are supported, given respect and treated on their merits. Participants' learning is informed by a number of non-verbal, dance-mediated processes, which work to bring about wider changes in attitude and behaviour. These include the mental discipline and bodily control encapsulated in 'focus' and the development of 'embodied confidence'. The public performance dimension of the programme creates both a pressure that generates co-operation and responsibility and a sense of achievement, which in turn sponsors ambition.

- **Issues**

Recruitment and initial retention rates continue to cause concerns, both internally and for some partners. A connected issue here is the phasing of the Academy programme, with sharp increases in learning outcome scores associated with the initial three-week performance project giving way to a

post-performance reaction and more qualified patterns of change thereafter. As a result, the youth offending teams have suggested that a more flexible programme model might further increase the effectiveness of the Academy for their clients but there are contradictory indicators on this in the current evidence base and recent amendments to the programme have considerably reduced the post-performance effect.

The future development of the Academy research and evaluation project will include more work on the dynamics of the programme, including the question of disengagement. However it is crucial that the examination of programme outcomes is complemented by further and longer-term assessment of post-programme impacts, particularly outcomes of relevance to the criminal justice system. Here a co-ordinated and systematic response by referral agencies to the problem of accessing data on their participants is required.

1. INTRODUCTION

Developed and delivered by Dance United, the Academy is an intensive, alternative learning programme designed to engage, and to reframe the attitudes and behaviour of, young offenders and those at risk of offending through dance in a community-based setting. Located in its own purpose-built studio facilities in Bradford, the Academy accommodates referrals from a variety of agencies and institutions, both locally and in the wider West Yorkshire region. Part of a broader and ongoing research and evaluation programme, this report covers the first two years of the Academy – from its launch in 2006 as an experimental project through to its roll out in business model form in 2008 - focusing specifically on the outcomes for participants

1.1 Background and Context

The Academy grew out of Dance United's work in prisons, which has focused on young people (15-17 year olds), young adults (18-20 year olds) and women prisoners. In 2002, the Dance Department of Arts Council England invited the company to apply to be one of six companies to take part in Dance Included, an action research project on good practice in dance and social exclusion. The company contributed an eight-week project at HMYOI Wetherby (a male young offenders' institution), in Yorkshire, which incorporated the accreditation of participants' achievement of basic and key skills. This experience seeded the idea of a longer, accredited, dance-training programme for young offenders.

Originally conceived as an intervention for young people on the YOT (Youth Offending Team)-based Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP), changes to sentencing practice and the relatively small numbers of young people on ISSPs have necessitated a broadening of the Academy's recruitment base, to include young people on different types of community order, prisoners on day release, and school refusers. As a whole, recruitment from within the criminal justice system has proved problematic, due to the processes by which young people are allocated to programmes and the variable structuring and phasing of their orders.

Dance United's key delivery partner in the Academy project is Bradford YOT. This includes an ISSP team, a Long-Term team working with Young Offenders Institutions (YOIs) and young people on Detention and Training Orders (DTOs), a RAP (Resettlement and Aftercare Provision) team working with young people who have been on DTOs, and a Referral team supporting young people at the less severe end of the spectrum. Other partners include Leeds YOS (Youth Offending Service) and Shipley YOT, which joined the Academy programme at the beginning of Cohort 3 (January – April 2007), and HMP/YOI Askham Grange, which began sending participants at the start of Cohort 4 (May – August 2007). In addition, the Academy has, since its

inception, worked closely with Bradford College and a number of local schools, including Salts Grammar, Hanson, Buttershaw, Wyke Manor and Immanuel.

1.2 Programme Structure and Approach

Each 12-week cohort comprises a taster week, followed by an intensive three-week performance project at the end of which the production is presented to invited audiences in professionally-staged performances, at a local or regional professional theatre venue. From the fourth week the programme expands into a set of applied activities that incorporates wider educational outcomes within the dance curriculum. This might include a project making a dance film or a programme of helping to deliver dance workshops in schools. The final stages of the cohort see young people building on new-found skills by creating and presenting their own choreography in professionally-staged graduation performances, in the Academy's own studio theatre. Participants work for five days a week, five hours per day, and are responsible for a range of tasks that support the dance work - from cleaning to cooking.

In addition to enrolment at the beginning of the programme, there is a further entry point to the cohort in Week 4. Young people joining at this stage are subsequently required to complete the three-week performance project at the beginning of the next cohort. As well as adding flexibility to the recruitment process from the YOT/S's point of view, it is felt that those with prior experience of the Academy can fulfil a useful mentoring role in the integration of new learners

The programme as a whole is underpinned by the Academy's own curriculum, which articulates the development of participants' literacy, numeracy, and social skills through dance. Students create a portfolio of written work and visual material allowing them to gain credits at Level One within the National Qualifications Framework for a Certificate in Practical Performance Skills. In addition, while awaiting external accreditation (by Trinity College, London) of the Academy curriculum, all participants were entered for The Young Peoples' Arts Award at Bronze level.

The Academy model draws on a practice methodology developed by Dance United in its prison-based work. The primary emphasis is on quality of production, with participants treated as trainee professional dance artists who must adhere to a number of absolute principles and routines designed to detach young people from their external identities and build group cohesion. This includes, for example, bare feet and no jewellery in the dance studios, not using street-based musical forms such as hip-hop, no outside observers in the first week of the programme, and starting each session with an open, circle-based, discussion.

The Academy is delivered on the ground by a core team of five professionally trained dancers, supported by other artists as the need arises. In addition to the dance practitioners, the Academy has two dedicated posts, an Academy

Coordinator and a Support Worker, together with four Participant Support Workers seconded from Bradford YOT and Leeds YOS. The programme venue, United Studios, is a newly refurbished, purpose-built and fully appointed facility in a neutral location. It is a seen as a vital foundation of the intervention, one which represents and reinforces Dance United's practice, culture and approach.

2. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

The evaluation of the Academy has taken place within a recursive, 'Action Research' framework, where findings are consistently fed back both into the development of the intervention itself and the way in which it is evaluated. The wider aim of the evaluation as a research project is to develop an evaluation model which can produce robust evidence of impact but which is simultaneously sympathetic to the arts-based context of the intervention.

The kinds of methods favoured by the Home Office for 'outcome evaluations' cannot be applied to relatively small-scale interventions like the Academy and in any case suffer from serious limitations when it comes to revealing 'what works' in complex social and cultural settings (see Miles and Clarke, 2006). A mixed-method 'realist' evaluation model which examines process and takes so-called 'intermediate' outcomes seriously holds out much potential for the arts in criminal justice to make its case because it offers an approach that is both sensitive to context and explanatorily powerful.

Emanating from discussions with NESTA[1], one the founding funders of the project, the principal focus for the evaluation has been the impact of the Academy on participants' 'capacity to learn'. Based on the *Learning to learn for life* report, produced by the Campaign for Learning (Goodbourn et al. 2005), a framework for assessing this has been developed around the five key indicators of 'readiness', 'resourcefulness', 'resilience', 'remembering', and 'reflectiveness'.

Linking these learning outcomes and the impact of a dance-led intervention to criminal justice outcomes beyond the Academy, in particular the touchstone indicator of reduced recidivism, was and remains a key objective for the evaluation but has proved difficult to achieve up to this point. Most obviously, this is because the Academy's recruitment base is broader than originally envisaged and has included only relatively small numbers of sentenced individuals from a range of YOT/S programmes. In addition, there are no single-focus YOT/S programmes of comparable duration and intensity with which to compare the Academy.

The evidence base for the evaluation is both quantitative and qualitative and is generated from interviews, questionnaires, observation, focus group work and data from official records (see Appendix 1 for a full list of methods employed). There has been a particular concern to develop a well-

[1] National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts.

conceptualised and structured approach to the generation of qualitative evidence, so that it reveals the particular dynamics of the intervention, and to try and cross-reference and integrate testimony and narrative with numerical approaches.

A key principle of the original evaluation framework was that the dance practitioners, as deliverers of the intervention, should take part in evaluation activities. This was felt to be important in order to embed evaluation processes in the project but also because meaningful indicators of dance-inspired impacts could only be developed and interpreted with their input. However, it became clear over the course of the first three Academy cohorts that dance staff did not have the capacity and in some cases confidence or motivation – unaided at least – to carry out the type of regular, systematic data collection activities designed and agreed upon at the outset of the project.

In consequence, from the beginning of Cohort 4 (and continuing in Cohorts 5) the project employed a social anthropologist to work full time as an 'embedded' researcher at the Academy.[2] Along with managing the generation of consistent data from structured aspects of the evaluation, such as the weekly goal-setting and checking exercises with students and the completion of learning outcomes review forms with staff, this person's role was to add an extra dimension to the qualitative analysis of the project in the form of an on-going ethnography of the Academy.

The ethnographic approach is founded upon the method of participant observation. As a de facto member of staff, the researcher experiences the Academy programme and interacts with participants and other staff on a day-to-day basis. This affords a rich and detailed insight into the dynamics and impacts of the intervention both at the level of the individual participant and in terms of the relationships they enter into. The researcher is then able to piece together personal, group and organisational narratives of change/continuity and to locate these in the wider contexts (social, geographical, institutional etc) that inform them. By developing relationships with and following up participants outside of the Academy, they are also able to address the question of how far and in what ways programme impacts are sustained and transferred to other contexts.

[2] Paul Strauss, who initially took on this role, left the project after Cohort 5. No embedded researcher was employed on Cohort A, the most recent included by this report, but a suitably qualified replacement has been appointed for Cohorts B and C.

3. PROGRAMME OUTCOMES

The evaluation project has assessed a range of so-called 'hard' and 'soft' outcomes for participants. Much attention has focused on the latter. This is partly because of their intrinsic importance to an understanding of impact - both what happens to a constituency of young offenders and young people at risk of offending through their exposure to the dance programme and, crucially, why. Such an understanding is a vital component in actually defining impacts as well as connecting them to the outcome indicators used by the criminal justice system.

However, the balance towards the delineation and analysis of soft impacts through the processes of the Academy programme also reflects the practical difficulties of obtaining information about participants outside and beyond the 'intervention'. The importance of collecting hard outcomes on recidivism is fully recognised but accessing data held by criminal justice agencies is problematic and its analysis and interpretation not straightforward. Equally, the tracking of vulnerable groups of people who often come from disadvantaged and unstable backgrounds, and lead chaotic and unpredictable lives, is a process fraught with difficulty.

3.1 Attendance and Completion

Attendance and completion rates offer a proxy for engagement, commitment, and self-discipline. More specifically in terms of criminal justice outcomes, they are important indicators of 'compliance'. The following analyses have been generated from raw data collected by Dance United as part of its own in-house record keeping.

Seen in the context of the Academy programme's intensity, duration and constituency, Table D would seem to indicate remarkably high rates of participant retention. More than half of those starting in Week 1 completed the whole 12-week programme. A further 23 per cent completed the initial three-week performance project, and in doing so lasted an average of just over six weeks on the programme. Altogether, almost four out of every five Week 1 recruits had 'significant engagement' with the Academy, defined as participation in at least three weeks of the programme.

Table 1: *Engagement and completion rates, Week 1 starters, Cohorts 2- 5*[3] *(per cent)*

Cohort	Significant engagement	Completion of Performance Project	Completion of 12 week programme	N
2	100	100	50.0	10
3	53.8	53.8	30.8	13
4	100	92.3	76.9	13
5	60.0	60.0	40.0	15
A	79.9	73.7	57.9	19
All	**77.1**	**74.3**	**51.4**	**70**

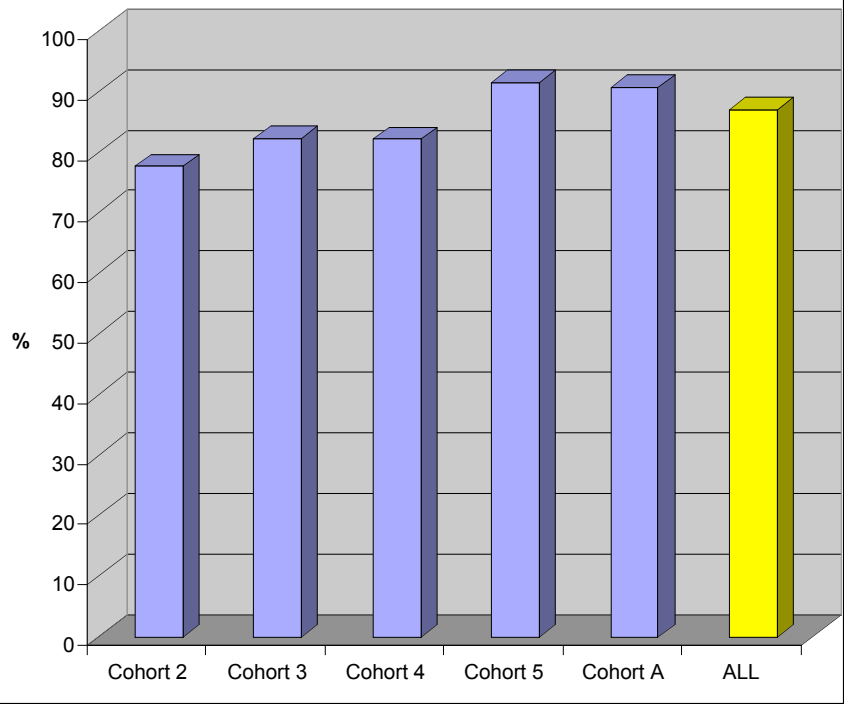
Just as striking as overall completion rates are the frequencies of recorded attendances on a day-to-day, week-by-week basis, the Academy programme requiring a commitment of five hour a day and a total of 25 hours a week. Comparing numbers of days attended as a proportion of the total number of days it is possible to attend, average rates of attendance over the first two years of the programme stand at 86 per cent for all those showing significant engagement with the programme or better (Figure 1 below) and as high as 90 per cent for those completing the programme.

Some qualification is required here because the overall figures for attendance and completion are clearly inflated by the involvement of both female adult and young male prisoners, groups carefully screened and pre-selected by the prison authorities, who were subject to different levels of discipline, regulation and penalty to most other participants, and for whom the Academy represented an opportunity to spend time away from the daily grind of the prison regime. While far from guaranteeing engagement, there was clearly a different set of motivations and incentives to attend operating amongst this constituency, which at the same time was older, generally more mature, and better disposed towards the structure and requirements of the Academy programme.

On the other hand, regime discipline and the vagaries of prison procedure sometimes adversely affected attendance and completion. This happened when arrangements for weekend home visits were announced at short notice, for example, or when individuals caught up in trouble inside the prison had their temporary release licenses suspended. In addition, some participants were released before the programme ended, although in a majority of such cases, the individuals returned to complete their graduation performance, and in one case actually delayed their release from prison so that they could complete the programme.

[3] No useable attendance records were available for Cohort 1 and the preceding launch projects.

Figure 1. *Attendance rates by cohort, per cent*



It is the changing balance between prison- and community-based participants which, in large part, accounts for the cohort variations evident in Table 1 and Figure 1. Askham Grange and Wetherby first started sending participants in Cohort 4. Their impact on cohort completion rates was felt especially in this cohort and in Cohort A, while their impact on cohort attendance rates was most marked in Cohort 5.

Table 2: *Retention and completion rates, Week 1 starters, by referral agency (per cent)*

Referral Agency	Significant engagement	Completion of Performance Project	Completion of 12 week Programme	N
Local schools	100	100	61.5	13
HMP/YOI Askham Grange	100	100	91.7	12
HMYOI Wetherby	83.3	66.7	66.7	6
Bradford YOT	61.5	61.5	23.1	13
Leeds YOS	55.0	50.0	45.0	20

Table 2 both confirms the pattern of consistent prisoner engagement with the project and sheds more light on the variation in attendance and completion by other groups. Here it indicates that the Academy was particularly successful in retaining recruits from local schools (most of whom attended Cohort 2). Over 60 per cent of this group completed the programme, with the remainder getting as least as far as the performance project.

The retention of young offenders from Bradford and Leeds was clearly more problematic. In each case only a relatively small majority of those starting in Week 1 went on to engage with the programme. There is also a strong divergence in their respective patterns of engagement. While retention rates among Bradford referrals were slightly higher, those referred from Leeds YOS were twice as likely to complete the whole programme, with 80 per cent of those getting past Week 2 doing so. The majority of Bradford YOT participants were, it seems, more comfortable with the shorter duration of the performance project.

The rates of retention for youth offending team recruits might be considered disappointing, given the original focus of the Academy on young offenders. The fact that much time and effort is expended by both Academy and YOT/S staff in following up and encouraging recalcitrant individuals to turn up also raises a possible question mark against the very high attendance and completion rates found for those who do stick with the programme.

What must be set against this, however, is the vastly different level of attendance and commitment required of young offenders on the generality of community programmes. For those on Referral Orders, this amounts to just one hour of supervision a week, while for those with more serious offending records on Supervision Orders, it is two hours. Only for those on ISSP is there an equivalent (to the Academy) 25-hour per week supervision requirement but then young people on this type of order account for only one in five Academy recruits. For the remainder, there is no formal compulsion to turn up and take part, which makes the attendance and completion rates achieved amongst such a volatile and difficult to engage constituency all the more remarkable.

Beyond this very considerable evidence of achievement, there are two ongoing issues which bear on the measurement, meaning and potential level of success when this is considered in terms of these kinds of indicator. The first is the question of the recruitment process and the resulting participant profile. While it is impossible for participants to be selected randomly, each cohort is subject to pre-selection processes. This inevitably introduces biases that might feed through into attendance and completion outcomes and may obscure the potential effectiveness of the Academy as an intervention for particularly difficult groups of young offenders. This is most obviously the case with the adult prison-based recruits who, as noted, undergo a careful screening and balancing process, although more recently Askham Grange has been forced to relax its selection criteria.[4]

[4] From Cohort 5 onwards Askham Grange has, in the words of its Education Manager, sent some of its *'more challenging residents who have distinct behavioural problems'* to The Academy.

In the case of young people from the youth offending teams and local schools, workers and teachers encourage those they think might be suitable to attend a taster week, following which those who go on to start the programme proper have effectively self-selected. However, both youth offending teams have attempted to target their more difficult clients. Over the first three cohorts, all of the Bradford YOT recruits were on ISSP or Tier 2 category orders, while on sending his first recruits to the Academy in Cohort 3, the Head of Leeds YOS openly chose some of his most challenging clients, declaring that he would be *'over the moon to get three through'* (which was achieved).

With the development of the business roll out model, which has also expanded the pool of potential recruits, the question of how many and which referrals to admit to Week 1 has become quite critical. As places now carry a direct financial value there is a concern to maximise recruitment while maintaining optimum cohort numbers over the programme as a whole, which in turn requires allowances to be made for an unpredictable rate of drop out.

This links to the wider issue of why some people drop out of the Academy programme early and whether and how those who did so might have been retained for longer, thereby leading to (even) higher completion rates. The subject of a continuing debate with the Academy, this in turn relates to the question of Dance United's delivery 'method' or approach and in particular where the boundary lies between strategic discipline, designed to raise performance standards and thus 'effect', and demoralising participants to the point at which they decide to leave. Several members of staff maintain that a more flexible approach, which takes account of the dance artists' diverse range of experiences concerning practice and teaching methods and which addresses issues of personal and social context, would help to reduce attrition, especially in a group of mixed ages and referral backgrounds. The counter-argument is that it is the particular discipline and boundaries of the professional dance company model which accounts for the high levels of retention and completion that have actually been achieved.

3.2 Capacity to Learn

As noted in Section 2, a key focus of the evaluation has to been to assess the learning outcomes of the Academy programme by measuring changes in participants' 'capacity to learn'. The detachment of young offenders and young people at risk of offending from learning and their low levels of educational attainment is well documented (see Stephenson 2007). Engaging young people in learning so that they acquire key thinking and behavioural skills is seen as a major 'protective' factor, also providing a platform for routes into mainstream education, training and employment, which, in turn, have been linked to reduced recidivism.[5] Previous studies have argued that arts interventions are particularly effective at providing a bridge into learning for people detached from or alienated by traditional educational pathways (Miles and Clarke 2006).

Learning outcomes have been assessed by applying an adapted version of the Campaign for Learning's 5 'Rs' framework. This has involved a lengthy process of negotiation and development with the dance artists at the Academy, through which the meaning and substance of the five framework headings was translated to reflect dance practice and the content of the Academy programme.

Systematic and consistent collection of data was not achieved until Cohort 4, with the advent of an embedded researcher at the Academy. This enabled a dedicated panel of dance and support team observers to be assembled and the weekly review procedure to become properly embedded in the wider programme timetable.

Each of the five learning outcomes is assessed by two or more indicators, which after discussion (noted in the record) are scored on a five-point Likert Scale (see Appendix 2). So, for example, under 'Readiness to Learn', motivation, self-belief and self-control are each considered, while 'Resilience' is measured by scoring for the ability to keep going in the face of the particular challenges presented by the week in question and the capacity to adapt and solve problems. An overall or total score for 'capacity to learn' is achieved by adding in an assessment of 'behaviour' or general conduct in relation to the rules of the Academy and 'health' or whether an individual was generally fit and well over the preceding week.

Figure 2 shows a consolidated 'capacity to learn' score for Cohorts 4, 5 and A and for all three cohorts combined.[6] In order to distil trends and aid the process of interpretation, this analysis includes only those who completed the 12-week Academy programme. This chart clearly indicates that the

[5] See further Section 4.3 below.

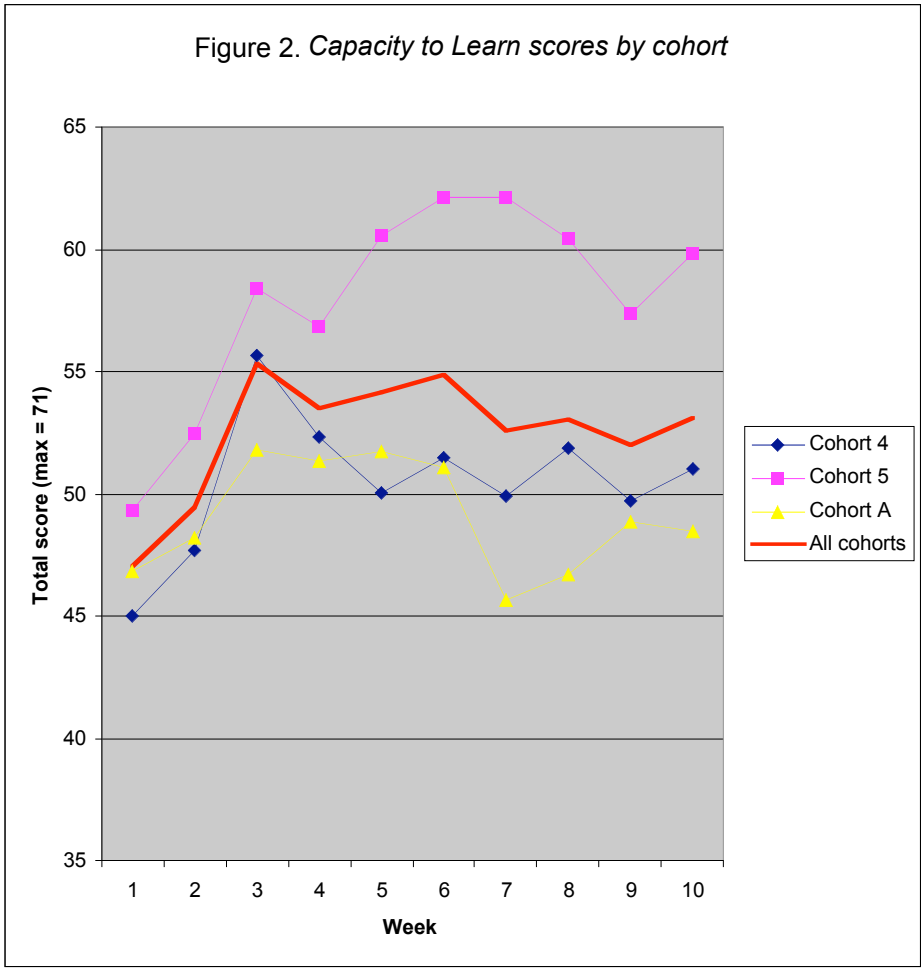
[6] Cohort 4 was the first cohort in which Learning Outcomes assessments were systematically made. The scoring system and content were revised for Cohort 5 onwards. Therefore the scoring of Cohort 4 has been re-analysed and adjusted for this exercise.

programme increases participants' capacity to learn, with total scores 12 per cent higher on graduation than they were in Week 1.

The other notable characteristic of the score trajectories - overall and for each cohort - is that most improvement (+17 per cent) occurs in the build up to and execution of the initial performance project, the culmination of which is the group's first public performance to a large audience at a prominent local venue.

Contained within these consolidated, aggregate patterns, the personal trajectories of virtually every participant display a pronounced upward spike in their scores for all indicators over this period. Thereafter, however, these tend to level off and fluctuate. Overall, as Figure 2 indicates, the trend is for scores to fall back over the middle of the programme before a recovery associated with the graduation performances occurs at the end of the cohort.

Figure 2. *Capacity to Learn scores by cohort*



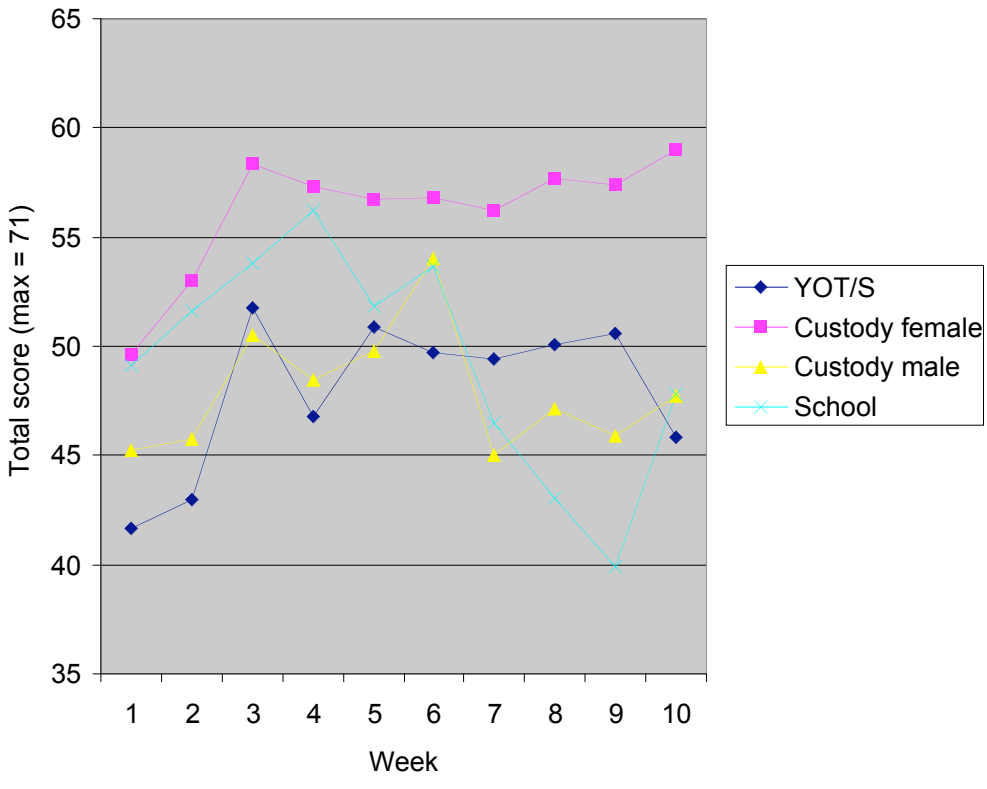
Note: Week 1 here refers to the first full week of the programme (rather than the taster week which is considered to be the start of each cohort). The last week for which an assessment of learning outcomes is made is the week of the graduation performances, which is the tenth full week of the programme and Week 11 of the Cohort. Week 12 is a three-day week taken up with exit interviews and portfolio completion.

It can also be seen from this analysis that beyond these general trends there are quite marked differences between the three cohorts. The patterning here suggests that the most recent cohort covered by this report (January – April 2008) has had the least impact in terms of increasing capacity to learn, while the most successful in these terms has been Cohort 5 (October – December 2007).

It also seems that the post performance project 'reaction' has become less significant over time. This suggests that the revision of the 'curriculum' phase of the programme and, in particular, the introduction of the schools project in Week 5 has been effective in re-focusing energies and interest. Nevertheless, the period between weeks 6 and 9 clearly remains somewhat problematic and unpredictable in terms of sustaining progress.

Once again these patterns are, in part, a product of the particular constituency of each cohort and the balance between participants from different referral agencies. This can be seen clearly in Figure 3.

Figure 3. *Capacity to learn scores by referral type, Cohorts 4, 5, and A combined*



This breakdown indicates that the chief beneficiaries of the Academy in terms of learning outcomes have been female prisoners. While this group had a higher starting point than any other, they also made the biggest overall gain in their capacity to learn score (+19 per cent). Their progress is the most consistent and sustained, with relatively little post-performance project reaction, and they are the only group whose score at programme completion is higher than when they finished the performance project at the end of Week 3.

Not far behind though, and with a more impressive trajectory in some respects, are the YOT/S referrals. But for the fall away in score in the final week of the programme - which may indicate uncertainty or trepidation that the cohort is about to end, or may be associated with the tension building up to the graduation performances - this group would have registered the biggest overall increase in capacity to learn. As it is, from the lowest starting score of all groups in Week 1, they show the steepest and most dramatic rise in scores during the initial three-week performance project (+24 per cent), indicating a pronounced 'access to learning' effect. Then, following a sharp decline in the wake of the performance project, their score recovers substantially in Week 5 and – but for the last week – remains relatively stable thereafter.

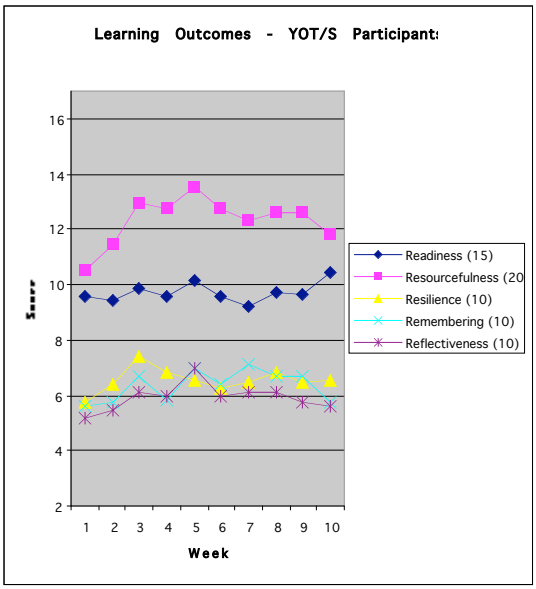
The trajectories of the two remaining referral groups – school students and young male prisoners - are marked out by their volatility. This may be a reflection of the small number of cases in these categories but is also consistent with other evidence of the way participants from these groups have engaged with the Academy programme. It is particularly notable that the score for the school referrals plummets in the second half of the programme, which is associated with the more overtly curriculum-orientated activities, and this effectively cancels out the very considerable progress made during the performance project.

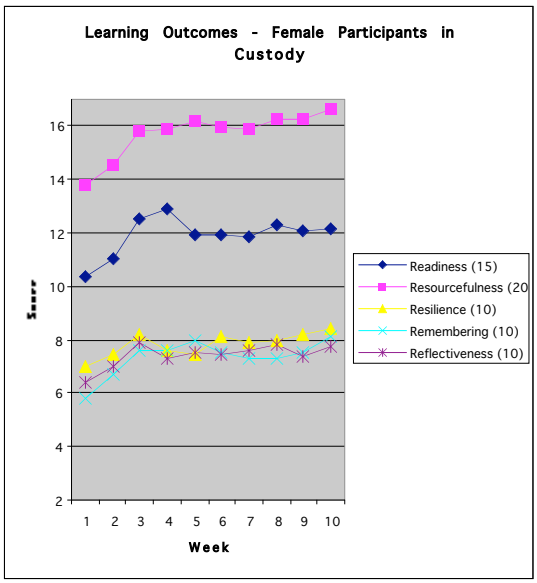
Looking, finally, at the particular learning outcomes where change is most marked, this again seems to vary by referral type (Figures 4-7 below). For the adult female prisoners, the programme made most impact on their 'remembering' – which in addition to recall of learning refers to the ability to transfer learning between contexts – with scores rising by 40 per cent, compared to 20 per cent for each of the remaining four categories. The pattern for male prisoners is quite similar, with remembering scores rising the most but resilience also increasing by more than a third. In contrast, among YOT/S participants the programme impacted most on their resilience (+16 per cent) and then their resourcefulness (+12 per cent), with only a 2 per cent rise in remembering.

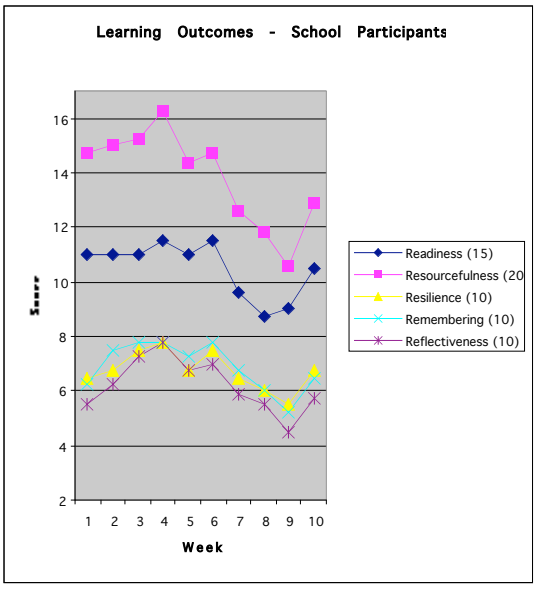
Due to their generally negative trajectories after the performance project, it is difficult to assess school participants across the programme as a whole in these terms. But the indications are that while their motivation and commitment (readiness to learn) declines along with their resourcefulness, their scores for resilience, remembering and reflectiveness do increase marginally. At the performance project stage, however, the increase in scores

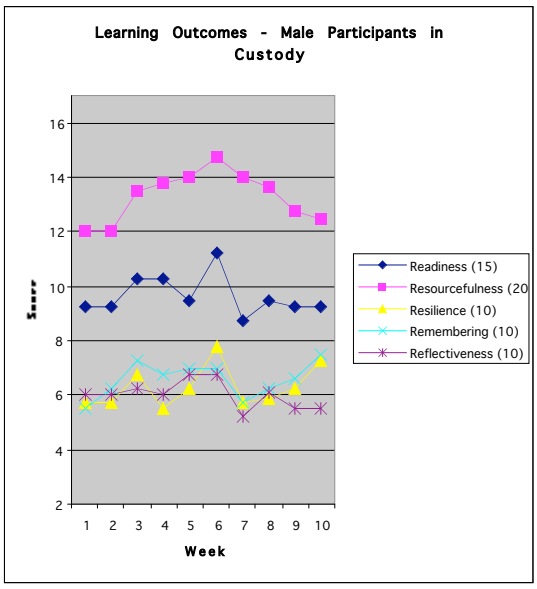
for these categories of learning outcome is much larger, and particularly for reflectiveness.

By comparing the amount of change in these indicators that had occurred by the end of the performance project with that achieved by the end of the programme, we can explore the impact of different parts of the programme in more detail. For women prisoners this suggests that the second half of the programme was particularly effective at continuing to develop their resourcefulness (the ability to take different approaches to learning and to seek out resources to support this), while for their male counterparts, the building of resilience was also something which continued throughout the programme. Among YOT/S recruits, the first part of the programme generally had much more impact on the different learning outcomes. However, most of the increase in their readiness to learn scores actually occurred after the performance project.









4. OUTCOMES BEYOND THE ACADEMY

4.1 Recidivism

Re-offending rates are the holy grail of the evidence-based practice agenda in the criminal justice system (Harper and Chitty 2005). For adult offenders, the Home Office retains two-year recidivism rates as its key outcome measure but from April 2007 the Youth Justice Board moved to 12-month reconviction rates. Given that recidivism is generally very high - over 70 per cent for young offenders on community orders (Medhurst and Cunliffe 2007) - changes in the 'quality' of offending behaviour are now also taken into account as formal criteria of success for criminal justice programmes. These are expressed in terms of frequency of offending and 'seriousness' or 'gravity' scores for types of offence.

To date it has not been possible to gather such information on all Academy participants with convictions. Attempts to access the records of participants in custody have proved especially fruitless, despite the necessary clearances and permissions being in place. This is partly due to difficulties in raising key contacts among prison staff but also a consequence of systems of responsibility for and access to record keeping within prisons themselves.

Engagement with the youth offending agencies (Bradford YOT and Leeds YOS) has been far more productive, and this provides the basis for the analyses in this and the following section.[7] In this sphere too, however, the process of gathering and processing the required information has not been unproblematic. Due to difference in the local systems of data management, the process of collecting data has been uneven and drawn out. The variables released by the respective agencies have differed in range, scope and presentation, making systematic comparison difficult and necessitating a considerable investment of time in interpretation and analysis. In one case raw data were released without processing. In the other, a certain amount of pre-analysis was carried out but a number of crucial pieces of information were omitted. An additional problem with the youth justice record is that as soon as someone formally ceases to be juvenile at 18, s/he disappears from the database and can only be followed up via the Police National Computer, at which point data protection becomes an issue.

Even if one accepts the crudely positivistic and statistically determinist assumptions of the Home Office's 'Scientific Methods Scale' (see Miles and Clarke 2006: 11-12), establishing re-offending outcomes and tying to specific interventions by means of experimental comparison and control techniques is virtually impossible in a complex, shifting and 'open' context like the Academy

[7] Thanks are due here to Tony Davies and Raj Madhas of Bradford YOT and Michael Richardson at Leeds YOS for their assistance.

programme. It becomes a non-starter when sample sizes for the offender component of the participant base range from three to 16 people per cohort, when each cohort group varies considerably in terms of selection criteria, age and sentence background, and where there is nothing remotely similar within the current suite of community and prison education programmes with which to compare it.

The figures in the following tables must therefore be understood in these terms. While it can reasonably be argued that they offer evidence of a kind that is far more than merely circumstantial, this is, in itself, no more than an indication of a relationship between the Academy and re-offending outcomes.

Table 3: *Re-offending rates of Youth Offending Team/Service referrals to the Academy (per cent)*

Bradford YOT	**Recidivism rate**	**Leeds YOS**	**Recidivism rate**
All Tier 1 offenders at 12 months	47.1	All Tier 1 offenders at 12 months	52.1
All Tier 2 offenders at 12 months	73.7	All Tier 2 offenders at 12 months	68.5
Academy dropouts (N =7)	57.1	Academy drop outs (N =8)	62.5
Academy participants (N =9)	**33.3**	**Academy participants** (N =14)	**28.6**

Note: 'participant' here refers to those who completed the twelve-week programme or had significant engagement with it – i.e. attended for at least three weeks. 'Dropout' refers to those who made the transition from the taster week to the programme proper but then left within the first two weeks. Among Bradford YOT referrals seven young people completed the programme and two more engaged significantly. Among Leeds YOS referrals the ratio was 10:4.

That said, the picture they portray is suggestive of a relationship that is strongly positive and – if it could be substantiated further – one which would indicate that the Academy is more successful at reducing recidivism than the generality of community-based programmes for young offenders

Overall less than a third of young offenders who have had significant engagement with the Academy have subsequently re-offended. This compares to overall recidivism rates locally of 70 per cent for those on a community sentence and 50 per cent for less serious offenders. Referrals who attended the Academy but dropped out within the first two weeks were found to be twice as likely to re-offend as more consistent and longer-term participants.

The picture is complicated by the fact that YOT/S participants at the Academy have been recruited from both 'Tier 1' (exclusively on Referral Orders) and 'Tier 2' (e.g. on Supervision Orders) conviction categories and also from ISSP, which is treated as a separate category altogether. However, among

those who have not re-offended two-thirds (12 out 16) were or are on Tier 2 orders.

A more serious caveat concerning these figures is that they reflect the re-offending record of all Academy participants referred by the YOT/S since February 2006 through to January 2008 at mid June 2008. This means they compound recidivism outcomes of individuals with quite widely varying amounts of 'time elapsed' - ranging from two years plus to not quite three months - since their engagement with the Academy programme ceased. Formally then, they are not equivalent to the one-year re-offending rates given for all local programmes in Table 3.

In order to carry out such an exercise for Academy participants, we can only consider those who took part in Cohort 3 (14 months ago), Cohort 2 (18 months ago) and Cohort 1 and the launch projects (24 – 27 months ago), which reduces the small sample size still further. Nevertheless, while clearly lacking statistical robustness, the results are still highly suggestive. Table 4 shows the average rate of recidivism at 12 months post engagement with the Academy and compares this with the rate expected for the particular group of individuals concerned, based on a weighted average of recidivism rates for the particular orders and programmes they had been sentenced to.[8]

Table 4: *12-month re-offending rates of Youth Offending Team/Service referrals to the Academy (per cent)*

Recidivism rate	Bradford YOT	Leeds YOS	All YOT/S referrals
Expected rate	86.8	67.4	**77.1**
Actual rate	60.0	40.0	**50.0**
N	5	5	10

Given that a high proportion of early recruits to the Academy were on ISSP and other orders associated with very high re-offending rates, the expected rate of recidivism for this group is 77 per cent. But for Academy participants at 12 months, the rate is much lower, at 50 per cent. Moreover, among the five individuals who did re-offend within 12 months, two did so only once, in one case over a year ago and in the other 9 months ago, and three of the five show declining gravity scores, both in terms of the level of the most serious offence they committed and their average scores in the 12 months before and after they attended the Academy.

[8] These have been calculated for local averages for 2006 convictions in 2007 except for ISSP because of the small numbers involved (less than 10). In this case rates from the 2004 national evaluation of ISSP (Grey et al 2005) were used.

4.2 Risk Assessment

A further indicator of success from the youth justice record is provided by the *Asset* risk assessment tool. This tool is used to identify a range of 'criminogenic' factors which may have contributed to a young person's offending behaviour, in the process highlighting any particular problems or needs they might have. It is used to inform court decisions about appropriate interventions and, through regular repetition, to measure changes in needs and the risk of re-offending between interventions and over time.

Asset is divided into a number of sections. The 'core profile' identifies 12 'dynamic risk factors' - such as living arrangements, educational attainment, mental health, and thinking and behaviour - which are scored on a five-point scale according to their likely contribution to further offending. A falling overall score around a particular intervention would suggest that it had played a part in reducing the probability of the individual re-offending, with individual section scores indicating how, in particular, the programme might have achieved this.

Currently, we have access to section scores from just one of the two main partner agencies, so Table 5 displays trends in total scores only.

Table 5: *Trends in Core* Asset *scores Youth Offending Team/Service referrals to the Academy pre and post participation in the Academy programme (per cent)*

	Rise	No Change	Fall	N
Bradford YOT				
Academy participants	11.1	22.2	**66.7**	9
Academy dropouts	42.9	14.3	**42.9**	7
Leeds YOS				
Academy participants	9.1	27.3	**63.6**	11
Academy dropouts	42.9	57.1	**0.0**	7
All young offenders				
Academy participants	10.0	25.0	**65.0**	20
Academy dropouts	42.9	45.5	**21.4**	14

The patterns in this table are again clear and overwhelmingly positive. Participation in the Academy programme is associated with a reduced risk of offending in these terms. Overall, two-thirds of the young offenders who have participated have falling *Asset* scores, while the contrast with those who dropped out of the programme within two weeks is stark. That the pattern among participants from Bradford and Leeds is very similar would tend to lend even greater weight to these figures.

4.3 Education, Training and Employment (ETE)

Associated with bringing about a reduction in re-offending, education, training and employment are seen as key 'intermediate' outcomes within the criminal justice system (Hurry and Moriarty 2004). Reinforcing the message of the 2005 Green Paper, *Reducing Re-offending through Skills and Employment*, the recent *Youth Crime Action Plan* (HM Government 2008: 58) states that, 'Education and training can play a critical role in effective resettlement for young offenders, and in reducing re-offending'. It recognises that 'many young offenders have disengaged from learning and struggle to progress and achieve' and that 'a criminal record limits opportunities for stable employment and earning potential'. On the other side of the equation, a number of studies have linked school exclusion and non-attendance with offending (Audit Commission 1996; Stephenson 2006: 85-7).

Both in the facts of the Academy's attendance and completion record and the measured increases in participants' capacity to learn there is plenty of evidence that the Academy programme engages reluctant learners and fosters crucial basic and so-called 'soft' skills. But again, a crucial issue here is that of how far programme-based impacts are sustained and utilised when participation ceases.

Once more, the difficulties of working with the official criminal justice record, together with absence of consolidated, accessible information on the school refusers, hinders an assessment of the wider ETE outcomes for Academy participants. The evaluation has tried to overcome this by carrying out its own follow-up of ex-participants, with researchers carrying out a telephone-tracking exercise to try and find out the post intervention circumstances of participants, augmented by detailed narratives from ethnographic follow-up work with a sample of participants. Where direct contact was not possible, information has been gleaned from case-workers, parents and teachers and, in the case of Bradford YOT participants, cross-referencing with the records held on the YOIS[9] database. Participants were tracked at between three and twelve months post engagement.

[9] Youth Offending Information System

Table 6: *ETE outcomes by referral agency for all traced participants over the first two years of the Academy Programme (per cent)*[10]

Referral Agency	School	College	Other educ/train	Employed	Total ETE	No activity	N	No info N
School	64.3	14.3	7.1	7.1	92.9	7.1	14	6
YOT/S	8.3	33.3	16.7	16.7	75.0	25.0	24	4
Prison	0.0	27.3	18.2	45.5	91.9	9.1	11	5
All	**21.6**	**27.5**	**11.8**	**19.6**	**80.4**	**19.6**	**51**	**15**

Note: Figures for 'All' include one referral from West Yorkshire Probation and one self-referral.

These results suggest that the Academy has been highly effective at influencing young people to return to mainstream schooling as well as inspiring older participants to embark on pathways into Further Education or encouraging them into employment. In 15 cases either no contact could be made or no information was available but among the 51 Academy participants who were traced, 80 per cent had positive ETE outcomes.

To put the figures for the main Academy recruitment constituencies into context, the little research which has been done on the impact of learning support and school inclusion units suggests that they are far less successful in reintegrating young people (Reid 2005; Stephenson 2006: 184-5). Similarly, within the youth justice system, a recent YJB study found that between only 35 and 45 per cent of young people are in ETE at any one time (YJB 2006), while a Home Office resettlement study carried out in 2001 and repeated in 2003 found that just 22 per cent of female prisoners had ETE outcomes arranged on release, while for male young offenders the figure was 46 per cent (Niven and Stewart 2005). More recent Prison Service figures suggest that more than 50 per cent of prisoners are released into ETE but this is inflated by the inclusion of those attending *Freshstart* appointments at Jobcentre Plus.[11]

The types of educational and employment activities being undertaken by former Academy participants were found to be quite diverse. A majority of those going onto college were enrolled on courses in the performing arts, including two who had gained entry to the prestigious Northern School of

[10] Telephone tracking of Cohort A participants was carried out by Sarah Staves, who started as the embedded researcher at The Academy at the beginning of Cohort B.

[11] Calculated from a comparison of the release numbers given in *Offender Management Caseload Statistics 2006* (Ministry of Justice 2007) and the number of prisoners in ETE on release given in HM Prison Service *Annual Reports and Accounts 2006-2007* (2007). *Freshstart* is a scheme which seeks to provide employment, training and benefits advice and support to prisoners who don't have a job or training place arranged immediately after release.

Contemporary Dance, while others were engaged in more directly vocational studies, such as hairdressing, sports coaching and motor mechanics. A range of mostly manual and semi-skilled employment was being undertaken, in the hair and beauty industry in particular but including work in building and construction and the health sector.

How far the Academy should and feasibly can support participants in their transitions remains an issue. Dance United has developed a structure of exit planning towards the end of the programme and dance staff are available to actively assist with college and job applications and with preparations for interview. This is underpinned by the good relationships and contacts which have been established with local schools and colleges both independently and through the partnership with the local youth offending teams.

Providing support for participants from Wetherby YOI and Askham Grange prison has proved more problematic. Several of the Askham Grange women who graduated from the Academy subsequently expressed frustration that they hadn't received as much assistance in helping them to find ways to develop their interest in dance on release as they expected. Given Askham's remoteness from the Academy, together with the geographical spread of the women on their release, this is not a straightforward issue to resolve for an organisation set up to focus primarily on on-site programme delivery. However, it does seem that both the management of expectations and communication between Dance United and the prison as to how best to try and meet them could be improved.

5. PROCESS

How can we explain the clearly very positive impacts of the Academy programme on participants' willingness and capacity to learn and why this in turn seems to be linked to equally positive 'hard' outcomes; the high rates of transfer into formal education, training and employment pathways and reductions both in participants' risk and actual rates of offending? What is it about a *dance*-led education programme, and this one in particular, that makes a difference?

Structured data collection exercises such as the Learning Outcomes review process and the regular series of interviews with participants about their goals can tell part of this story. But it is the day-to-day record of ethnographic research conducted at the Academy since Cohort 4 that has shed most light on the specific dance-informed processes underlying the outcomes presented in Section 3.

These processes can be summarised under six main headings: focus; embodied confidence; independent, co-operative and non-verbal learning interactions; teamwork and group identification; an emotionally charged field; inspiration and aspiration. They are explained further below with the help of illustrative extracts from interviews and, in particular, from the project ethnography.[12]

5.1 Focus

'Focus' emerges as both a framing concept for, and a crucial enabling process within, the dance-led learning experience. This is not something which reduces to an everyday synonym like 'concentration' but is an all-encompassing, cultural approach to bearing and behaviour which stresses the importance of dance as a mental as well as a physical discipline.

Focus is an essential foundation for clear thinking, perspective taking, and considered decision-making. The idea of 'getting into focus' is initially introduced and inculcated in the studio but is reinforced beyond it, in every domain of the Academy, in order to foster the idea of participation and achievement in the broader context of 'a professional dance company'.

[12] Further context to the analysis in this section is provided by the character vignettes, which appear in Appendix 4. In an attempt to preserve participants' anonymity in the context of the public reporting of outcomes from this intervention, all names of participants here and in the remainder of this report have been changed.

On ‘focus’ from the project ethnography:

Moving into the studio for the first time to take our morning ‘class’, several of the new participants are looking increasingly daunted. Standing in bare-feet, jogging bottoms, and new Academy T-shirts, we glance around nervously, exchanging brief moments of eye contact or flashes of an apprehensive smile.

In this bright airy space – its polished parquet floor flanked by a full-length mirror spanning the breadth of one complete wall – one can’t help but feel hyper-visible and physically exposed. We are invited to form a circle and, sitting cross-legged, are warmly welcomed by Lucy before participants, academy support workers, dance teachers, and ‘workers’ alike are asked to introduce themselves by name. Without further ado, we are instructed to return to our feet and find a space in the studio, facing in any direction.

With a relaxed and playful aura from the outset Jon and Lucy take control, artfully leading from the window-wall so that the group have their backs to the mirror. After the class has progressed beyond the warm up, we are taken step-by-step as a group through a short phrase that incorporates some of the movements from the already-choreographed performance piece. Lucy explains the purpose of this: starting to condition our bodies and our brains - ‘getting you used to the idea of dance being as much a mental challenge as a physical one’.

Our final task is to practice ‘getting into focus’: adopting a pose which, we are told, is the fundamental mark of a professional dancer. We are directed to stand with our feet parallel and hip width apart, shoulders down and back, looking outwards and upwards with chins ever so slightly raised. Holding this position, surprised by the force of mental effort required to resist the temptation of letting my eyes wander around the group, I hear Lucy exclaim from the front ‘wow, you look beautiful!’ while Jon adds ‘now you look like a professional dance company!’

5.2 Embodied Confidence

'Embodied confidence' is a phrase coined to describe the generally observed improvements in participants' abilities to self-present in appropriate or desirable ways, which are conducive to mature and productive social relationships. It refers to the types of changes that one member of staff has described in terms of the shifts in demeanour that *'would be likely to make me consider them for a job'*, such as making eye contact; positive body language; listening and asking questions; displaying a 'can do' attitude, and so on.

The addition of the term 'embodied' to the predictable and oft-repeated claim of improved confidence as an outcome of a participatory arts programme offers a more precise account of the types of changes at issue. Crucially, it locates them – and their observation – in the bodily techniques (including verbal) acquired and deployed by participants in the particular context of the Academy as a dance-led programme. The contention is that learning bodily techniques is at least as important as self-reflection or abstract thought in improving one's 'confidence'.[13]

This extract from a Week 8 goal review interview with Charlotte, a participant on Cohort 5 from Askham Grange, provides a good illustration of the working through of this process as well as Charlotte's own awareness of it. Here, she is replying in the first instance to the question: *Has being at the Academy this week made any difference to the way you feel, or what you do, when you are not here?*

> Loads. In good ways and bad ways. It's made me more stressed, but in a way it's give me more confidence. Sometimes it all gets on top of me and I really hate it, but then when I'm trying to do other things like handling things – speaking to people, me family, at prison – I feel a little bit different, more confident. I feel like a different person, I don't know whether that's to do with here or to do with being in prison. Just everyday things, speaking to people and being alright with people. I can have big mood swings, my dad says I can go to the toilet and come back in a different mood. But this has made me control myself and be calmer about things. It's strange that these are things to do with speaking, but we don't do that here really. I think dance gives you more confidence in other ways too, things that you do everyday.

[13] This idea is rooted in a corpus of social theory which challenges the prevalent mind/body dichotomy in Euro-American culture and argues for the role of the human body to be better accounted for in analyses of social processes (see for example Butler 1993). Social life, for embodiment theorists, is inherently 'performative'. In this sense, the concept of 'embodied confidence' is suggesting that the tendency to locate such improvements in mental developments overlooks the fact that the cognitive processes that take place within the body are only one constitutive part of the learning which brings about the changes at issue.

Improvements to the embodied confidence of participants were observed, without exception, for all those who made it beyond the three-week performance project. This apparently strong correlation suggests that the experience of putting together and performing a dance piece within the framework of the first phase of the Academy programme, in particular, leads to significant enhancements in performative self-presentation skills, such as talking in front of the group and interacting with staff.

The precise changes observed and the 'distance travelled' varied greatly between individual participants and was influenced as much as anything else by their starting points. For many, particularly those with average to well-developed verbal competency, 'embodied confidence' was experienced as a 'bodily (re-) awakening' and an emerging sense of physical well-being gained through the Academy routine, marked by feelings of happiness, increased energy levels, positive outlook and improvements to body image.

Such changes took several weeks to bed-in, and became most apparent following the first performance, when the initial aches pains and general feeling of exhaustion had subsided. With Jodie, this was connected to processes of increased bodily awareness after a period of drug abuse. For others, such as Suzanne, it was about losing weight. In each case, a bodily reawakening was connected to improvements in self-esteem and the sense of achievement gained particularly strongly in the three-week performance project.

5.3 Independent, Co-operative and Non-Verbal Learning Interactions

While the experience of performing was an intense and emotional one and was interpreted as the 'end' or 'realisation' point of this first phase of the Academy 'journey', the ethnographic narrative shows that 'embodied confidence' began to be imparted from day one of the programme. The pedagogic techniques employed in the dance studio were fundamental to this, such as the use of a circle to promote dialogue; verbal encouragement from dance artists; the setting of small, achievable challenges in early sessions; and, crucially, the addition of independent and co-operative learning interactions with other participants.

On ‘learning interactions’ from the project ethnography:

On Tuesday morning, in the session after class, Helen is explaining to the group that we will spend the next twenty minutes working in pairs learning a duet that herself and Rhiana will now demonstrate. Observing their seamless performance, some groans go up amongst participants articulating our collective trepidation. For my own part, when the approximately seven-second phrase is stripped down to a series of movements, some of which are already familiar from class, the task seems slightly less formidable. On the other hand, glancing around the studio at the array of bodily shapes and sizes and comparing them to the professional dancers – for whom the phase culminates in the fluid climb of Rhiana’s compact yet graceful frame onto the half-crouched, solid base offered by Helen – I have second thoughts.

In the next instant, Helen is directing us to find a partner, ‘someone who you haven’t worked with before’, and I look around hopefully. Noticing that Naomi is being humorously but forcefully separated, by Lucy, from her friend Simone, I step in and offer my services to the latter. Choosing her mainly for her lightweight, athletic-looking build, I realise that Simone is in fact the one participant whom I haven’t yet spoken to, let alone worked with. Immediately, I remember that there has been for a reason for this. Looking somewhere into the middle distance over my shoulder, Simone answers my proposition with a shrug, her hard and faintly annoyed facial expression softening almost imperceptibly – which I take as an affirmative

.

Finding our own space by the window, I propose that, given the obvious weight difference between us, she might be better suited to taking Rhiana’s ‘climbing’ role than I. A mumble from Simone reassures me that this is a reasonable suggestion. Beginning by facing one another, arm’s length apart, we proceed to a crouching ‘counter-balance’, holding each other’s wrists. Slowly, trying to remember the sequence as it was demonstrated, we pull back up to standing. Here I am stuck, but Simone silently reminds me by releasing to do the same and we resume contact at the shoulders. At this point Lucy approaches, enquiring how we are getting on and guides us through the next few movements. Having to crouch down on one knee and support my weight as I arch my back, Simone nearly buckles, and kisses her teeth in protest, at which I laugh apologetically and Lucy light-heartedly insults my lumbering physique.

With some readjustments, and at Lucy’s further encouragement, we establish a more comfortable position for this feat, Simone then propelling me forward several steps whereupon I turn and adopt the half-crouch, preparing for the finale. After several aborted attempts, Simone manages to find the stable spot at the front of my hip in which to wedge her foot, steadying herself with one arm on my shoulder and reaching skyward with the other as I hold her waist. At this stage, Simone has yet to utter a full sentence to me. Rehearsing the full phrase a few times, at my suggestion, it becomes relatively fluid but the now-watching Helen encourages us to ‘put more feeling into it’ by making eye contact and adding some dramatic pauses. Performing our work to the group moments later, with two other pairs simultaneously, Simone adamantly refuses to make eye contact, but we are nonetheless complimented on our work. Inwardly glowing with pride, I give Simone the thumbs up and she flashes a quick half-smile.

An important aspect of this co-operative work was that it could be achieved for the most part non-verbally. This is another significant sense in which the improvements in confidence observed might be said to be 'embodied', in that dance, as a physical discipline, offers scope for those with low verbal competency to gain a sense of achievement and recognition in a learning environment.

In the case Simone, above, and as with a substantial number of Academy participants, previous failures in educational settings had been connected to problems of verbal self-expression. The Academy programme offered a context for them to gain a sense of achievement, one which was initially dance and performance-led but which later offered both formal and informal opportunities to develop their verbal skills, and which ultimately led to a willingness and desire to re-engage with mainstream education.

5.4 Teamwork and Group Identification

As the programme progressed, improvements to individuals' 'embodied confidence' and their experience of independent and co-operative learning interactions fed and informed a broader process of team-work and group identification. Again, the dance-mediated, performance-driven dynamic of the programme, and the underlying notion of the group as a 'professional dance company' were crucial to this.

The specific composition and dynamics of Cohorts 4 and 5 (with the Askham Grange participants playing an initial stabilising, later disciplining and nurturing, role) led to particularly successful outcomes in this field for both older and younger participants. It also significantly reduced incidences of disruptive behaviour and the use of the formal warnings system. For the Askham Grange women, after initial frustrations and resentment about the disruptive behaviour of the younger group, a sense of gratification was derived from mentoring them as well as self-reflection promoted by *'remembering what we were like at their age'*.

On ‘teamwork and group identification’ from the project ethnography:

At 10am on the first day of taster week the participants begin arriving, accompanied by their respective ‘workers’. As the kitchen space begins filling up, it is clear that some of the new arrivals (participants as well as ‘workers’) are familiar with the Academy building and staff from previous cohorts. These individuals are identified as those who are exchanging easy greetings, helping themselves to hot drinks and the array of fruit and yoghurts laid on as a breakfast snack. Others seem more nervous and are sussing things out from the periphery of the room, sitting on the sofas at the far end with defensive body language; some of them actively avoiding my attempts at eye contact.

Forcing myself to overcome my own feelings of shyness, I approach the only male participant – a young man in a beige tracksuit, baseball cap, and trainers. He is sitting silently on one of the sofas amidst a group of women whom I presume, by their older appearance and their small talk amongst themselves, are from the prison. Overhearing us talking, Kate – one of the women from Askham Grange – introduces herself and her companions: Suzanne, Christina, Jodie and Chantelle. With a wry smile, she tells Shane and I in her North East accent: ‘well I’m glad you two’ve never danced before either, at least there’s a few of us in the same boat!’

After our first dance session, the group returns to the kitchen, faces glowing with physical exertion. We prepare our own sandwiches from a spread laid on by support workers Dianne and Debs, and discuss the first class. Already there is an easiness of interaction developing amongst some participants which had not been present that morning, as a few of us compare notes about how difficult we had found some of the movements, particularly trying to remember them in a sequence. Other participants eat in silence, most notably Simone who keeps her impassive eyes firmly focussed on her plate, her face impressively managing to convey a slight scowl even while she is chewing.

10 weeks later, the morning scene is markedly different. On the Tuesday of the penultimate week of the programme, by 10.15 only the Askham Grange women have arrived. As the younger participants begin to filter in late, Chantelle is holding court by the kettle, in conversation with Dianne about Caribbean food. Shane enters the kitchen, having been absent for several days, looking tired and somewhat sheepish. A general slump in attendance during the middle of the cohort had resulted in several participants missing a significant amount of choreography for the graduation performance, and the race is now on for roles to be reassigned and material to be learnt and rehearsed. Chantelle interrupts her flow, turns to Shane, and looks him up and down. ‘Look who it is!’ she remarks with a sarcastic tone, and holds her gaze. Released from this awkward encounter, Shane makes his way to the far corner of the room and dozes on a beanbag. Next, Chantelle’s attention turns to Simone, with whom she has recently developed a strong rapport which far outstrips the inroads other staff or participants have been able to make into the latter’s impenetrable character. ‘How about you Simone? What was wrong with you yesterday?’ This question hangs in the air, and so Chantelle repeats it louder and more slowly, for dramatic effect. Simone kisses her teeth, quietly, and looks into her cup of tea.

5.5 An Emotionally Charged Social Field

Significant emotional ties (particularly female) were established between younger participants, older participants, and staff members during Cohorts 4 and 5. For some younger participants the presence of older female figures to give advice on turbulent social issues beyond the Academy was one of the more striking aspects of the programme, as the example of Terri, below, illustrates. The structural and social composition of the Academy building and routine (family-like; chores; eating together; cig breaks; role of support staff) was highly conducive to this.

The Academy programme was, for Terri, a journey marked by its intensely emotional character. A significant part of this process involved the formation of relationships with both female staff and the women from Askham Grange that were substantively different to any she had experienced in her educational career thus far; or indeed, it could be tentatively stated, more generally.

Beneath the harsh exterior of her adopted persona, Terri gradually began to reveal her deep emotional turmoil and the complex social issues that underpinned this. In Week 2 she had been found crying in the changing rooms and, consoled by Rhiana, had opened up about problems concerning her brief liaison with Jack. The high emotional charge of the first performance day at the Bradford Alhambra had involved some pre-stage nerves and argumentative behaviour from Terri in the wings, which earned her a sharp telling off from two of the Askham women, Christina and Jodie. The successful show that night ended in a stirring, locked-hands embrace between the whole company, with tears being shed all-round. The high Terri experienced for several days after the performance was tempered by her severe disappointment that her father had not come to watch her. In Week 4 there were several more tearful episodes, in which she confided in both female support and dance staff about her tumultuous home and social lives which were marred by domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse, and self-harm.

As the weeks progressed further Terri's general behaviour and relations with staff and other participants, including myself, became more relaxed and open. While still quite capable of letting her temper overcome her, these incidents became less frequent and she began to show a calmness and maturity around the building that was commented upon by all. A significant contributing factor to this was observed to be her relationships with the Askham Grange women who, as a group, were playing an increasingly nurturing role to both Terri and Julie after initial fissures and frustrations in the first performance project. While the occasional stern word was delivered when the two younger girls' behaviour threatened to overstep the mark, a caring, counselling approach was more often adopted, especially from Jodie and Kate. These relationships also played a bridging role between staff and the younger participants, in Terri's case highlighting external contextual issues that were threatening to impede her prospects of completing the programme.

5.6 Inspiration and Aspiration

One the key dynamics of the Academy programme is its capacity to sponsor or re-awaken ambition. The motivation and confidence building associated with personal achievement and public performance in the context of a mutually supportive group gives many participants a new sense of purpose and the belief that they can reach beyond their current circumstances.

This is quite clear from the goal setting and review exercises that take place throughout the programme, from the planning-based pre-exit and exit interviews that take place in the later stages of the programme, and from follow-up interviews as part of the tracking process.

Typically, participants will start out with a fairly perfunctory, contained or understated set of goals, such as: *'getting my certificates'*, *'performing in front of a big audience'*, *'having joined in all the activities'*, *'having been through a 12 week programme and not given up*'. Later on in the programme, they tend to have become both more reflective and expansive, expressing pride in what they have achieved, often looking positively towards the future. By way of example, the following is an extract from a Wetherby participant whose main ambition in Week 1 was *'doing the whole 3 month course and passing it'*.

> I'm still learning [to dance] – I'll be more proud when I finish this than I would have been at the beginning. Because I didn't think I was gonna finish it, I just thought I was going to stick it out for a bit and see what it was like then move on to another project. I still feel like that sometimes, but then I think there's only 3 weeks of this left. I want to stick this out to finish it. There's no point doing it for 2.5 months and then giving up, it'd be a waste of time.
> There's another project – the Wise project, [on Children in Need] – and the bloke on that wants me on it.

The discipline of completing the programme gives people the confidence both to make plans and to think in terms of having a trajectory. As one graduate from the early cohorts put it, '*It makes you think you can do something with your life*'. For some, as the following extract illustrates, it has led them to think beyond and to actively challenge the limited expectations they have grown up with.

It's made me know I can go further. It's just a feeling that when you know you can go further then you will. I wouldn't have done a performing arts course if I hadn't come here …I would've been doing childcare. My family don't want me to do this [dance]…[it's] caused a bit of a strain…they want me to get a full time job so I can look after myself now, but I don't want to and I don't want to be poor all my life, and I've told them that. I want to work for a year, save up, then try to go to dance school. Think my parents won't support me because they never achieved anything, and they want to hold me back'

The clearest manifestation of the Academy raising aspiration is perhaps to be found in the willingness of participants - most of whom were previously alienated or detached from learning - to (re-) engage with formal education, having come to the realisation that they needed to do this in order to achieve wider or longer-term goals. At the end of Cohort 4, for example, eight of the 11 completing Cohort 4 participants expressed plans to undertake a course of education or job training in the near future, with all of those under 18 stating they intended to return to mainstream education.[14]

A particular feature of the Academy programme in this regard is that it represents a form and method of intensive educational engagement that is radically different from anything participants are likely to have experienced before. This format was especially successful for participants who struggle with traditional learning styles, offering them the chance to prove themselves and develop transferable skills through a novel discipline. An extract from the case study of Terri serves to illustrate this point.

[14] According to the tracking record, three months after Cohort 4 finished this had, in fact, happened. See also Section 4.3 above.

Terri's initial impression of the Academy was one of surprise at how well resourced it was; how 'nice' the building seemed and how many dance staff there were. It was thoroughly unlike any educational institution she had experienced previously. She was also intrigued by the presence of the female prisoners from Askham Grange, in particular the fact that 'a lot of trust had been given them' to drive themselves in every day. Her first engagements with the Academy programme in weeks 0-2 were marked by both relish for the dancing, which she set about with vigour and had a clear aptitude for, and some problematic behavioural issues and general 'attitude' with staff.

The latter consisted of her forming a tight partnership with Julie, with whom she would often disrupt sessions through fits of giggles, disobeying instructions, and occasionally walking or being sent out of the studio. Her default demeanour with staff outside of the studio – especially when addressed with anything approaching an authoritative register – was an intense scowl and piercingly stand-offish glare, punctuated by short answers or interjections delivered in a variously aggressive and/or contemptuous tone.

As the Academy programme progressed, Terri continued to impress dance staff with her quality of movement and enthusiasm in classes, which seemed to be improving in complete disjunction from her general behaviour and demeanour both within and outside of the studio. It was, nevertheless, felt that Terri was beginning to exercise a significant degree of self-reflection and self-control over her tendency towards angry outbursts, an impression bolstered by a phone call from her teacher who expressed his amazement that she was turning up regularly, participating fully and behaving relatively well.

She became affectionately known amongst staff as 'the girl of a thousand faces' for her ability to express a range of (mainly negative) emotions through a repertoire of scowls. For dance teacher Lucy these 'make me think she's about to stop or storm out. But I think these are [a form of] habitual behaviour learnt at school…the difference here being that she really wants to do the dancing. In creating her solo I could see her consciously thinking about not storming out'.

This thesis was supported by Terri's own reflections in our interviews, where she continually made reference to her ongoing attempts at controlling her temper.
In terms of impacts on her learning activities, these changes to behaviour were most evident in her approach to written work. Whereas in early weeks she had refused to complete worksheets and other literacy based tasks, using an outburst to create a diversion, she later started to ask for help from staff and other participants, both on a one-to-one basis as well as in group sessions. Clearly a significant degree of trust had been established for her to be willing to put her learning difficulties on the line in such a way.

For others, re-engagement took longer to materialise and resulted from a process of reflection occurring in the wake of their experience of the Academy. One case in point here is Julie, a reluctant participant at Academy from the outset, and particularly towards the end of the programme. Julie left paying lip-service to the idea of returning to school in her exit tutorial, but off the record, in conversations both with staff and with other participants, was adamant that she wasn't going to return because she 'couldn't be bothered'. Interviewed about six weeks later, it became clear that Julie had changed her mind.

> Since the Academy finished I an't been doing nothin' really. There were about 3 week of the school holidays left, but I weren't going back to school. I was at me Nan's, cos on the 2nd of September me Granddad died. I was just dossing about at home, spending time with me mam and the rest of me family, who I'm getting on much better with now. I'd been doing some baby-sitting in the evenings for me mam's friend over the road. I get paid £10 for two hours. Another friend of me mam's who I baby-sit for has got me a job at a hotel up the road, in the evenings, as a waitress. I an't started yet, but they said I've definitely got it. I'm just waiting for me National Insurance number to come through.
>
> Then it were about 2 week ago I woke up in the morning and decided I were going down to school because I were sick of lazing about all day. I were laid on the couch watching telly, and I just thought 'sack this, I'm going down to school'. So I went down to school, said 'where's Mr Pollard', found Mr Pollard and talked to him about it. He's the inclusion teacher. He said I could come back 2 days a week. Then he rang me up on Saturday that same week and told me I were going to the motor project Monday and Tuesday. That's a project where you can go on motorbikes and learn about them and stuff. I don't know if the Academy course had anything to do with it. Well it did, cos I want to do more of the dancing but I knew that I couldn't do it unless I finish school. I want to go to college and do performing arts, I don't know what kind of course it will be. I'd like to go to Huddersfield. I don't wanna go to Bradford College cos I know too many people there and from what I've heard it's a bit crap. I don't know where a performing arts course will lead, I an't thought that far ahead yet.

Even among those who didn't complete the programme, there is a sense of the Academy as having had an effect on attitudes towards education and employment in the future, with those followed up since expressing a strong desire to return in order to finish things off and gain a certificate. The following extract from an interview with Gary illustrates a shift in thinking which, if not quite amounting to an epiphany, again suggests the promotion of self-

reflection on priorities, longer-term goals, and a newly-realised capacity to work out the most attractive and realistic options.

Gary explains that he was quite disappointed not to finish the programme, and has considered whether he might be able to return on a future cohort and complete the final weeks he missed, gaining the qualification. However he has 'a lot on' at the moment, what with his daughter, his girlfriend, his new bed-sit, and his need to find work. In the period since he left the Academy, his life has moved on rapidly.

Discussing the future, he is sheepish at first, telling me that 'I know I should have sorted it out by now, but I just don't know yet [what his next step is going to be]'. For the moment, he is still entirely financially dependent on state benefits. His literacy and numeracy are poor, and he has recently been trying to work through some of the exercises in the resource materials from a basic skills course that his girlfriend has lying around. He is thinking of enrolling on a similar course, but hasn't quite made up his mind yet.

When I shift the mode of enquiry from 'plans' to 'hopes' for the future, he becomes much more animated. He has a clear idea of what sort of work he would be best suited to, and would get a sense of satisfaction from: something involving physical labour and a degree of creativity. It is evident from this extended quote that many factors, including his experience of the Academy, have contributed to the crystallisation of this sense of desired vocation. 'The best job for me would be something where I get dirty, not just sitting around all day. Definitely not an office job. Something where, say, you come into a house like this if it was empty and rip all the floor boards up, rip the fireplace out, decorate everything. Something where I can stand back at the end of the day and look at it and go, 'yeah, I've just done that'. Like with the dance show, I can stand back and say 'I've just done that and those people are all clapping for us'. Something where I've got something to show for my work instead of a bit of paper… I've always known that was the sort of thing I wanted to do.'

6. PERCEPTION AND REFLECTION

6.1 Looking Back – Participant Reflections

Julie and Gary's testimonies (above) come from a series of tracking case studies undertaken to explore further the post-programme effects and longer-term impacts of the Academy on participants. This has involved an extension of project ethnography, whereby ex-participants were followed up and interviewed at length in their own homes and communities.

Designed to encourage former participants to communicate their own subjective reflections on their experience of the Academy, these interviews offer a rich insight into the context, process and outcomes of individual journeys through the programme. This section distils some of the main themes to emerge using extended extracts from the narratives themselves.

6.1.1 Confidence, maturity, shifting attitudes

In terms of recognition of impact, there are, particularly from female participants, consistent references to the way completing the programme and managing to cope with the pressures of performance has boosted their confidence, with Naomi's comments here once again reiterating the importance of the physical nature of dance in this.

> It really builds your confidence too, it does do that. I think it's good that they just do dance there and nothing else, cos that's so good for your confidence. At the end when you do your show, that's like a feeling that you don't always get. It couldn't just be anything, it has to be something physical: talking and helping each other, not just sitting down and writing on a piece of paper. [Naomi, Leeds YOS]
>
> I think what it tries to do generally is boost people's confidence. It tries to move people to bigger and better things. Because, c'mon, dancing in front of a whole crowd of people is just a major thing for anyone. And that worked for me, definitely. [Jane, Askham Grange]
>
> After I finished I felt proud of myself, for actually staying there and completing it. I'd never really felt anything like that, cos I've never done anything so challenging. And it obviously boosted my confidence a lot, and then I got into college and stuff. Some of my friends were really proud, and my mum, especially, she was just really, really, really proud! Because, she wanted to go to college when she were my age but…her dad said no, and made her get a job – just a boring everyday job. [Shane, Bradford YOT]

For Shane, meeting the challenge and responding to the discipline of the Academy programme had changed his whole perspective on life, encouraging him to grow up, teaching the value of hard work and preparing him for the world outside.

> The Academy sort of teaches you to grow up a bit. There's quite a lot of discipline, because you're waking up every morning, and going to do something. It's not just about the dancing. Like with the whole cigarette breaks thing: some people just want to smoke and smoke and smoke, like me for instance. But you sort of learn that if it was work, you couldn't do that, and if you did just keep walking out and smoking, then that's it: you've lost it. It teaches you how to deal with the real world, in a way. It wasn't like anything I'd experienced before: not like school, or college. But obviously it's better than job – they treat you a lot better, and they're always building you up, sort of training you for [the real world]. You have to put the work into it, though. It teaches you that nothing comes easy. Like, if you're at work, and you're not working, then there's no point being there.

This theme of maturation, underpinned shifting attitudes, is also evident among other younger participants, such as Julie, a Bradford school referral and Russell, who originally joined the Academy when on ISSP with Bradford YOT.

> I don't know what difference the whole [Academy] thing's made to me; or what I've achieved. I s'pose going back to school's the main achievement, and the Academy did influence me in that cos – like I said – I want to finish school so I can do more dancing. I just used to be proper moody, and now my attitude's changed quite a lot. Before I wouldn't do anything for anyone, unless I wanted to or there was something in it for me. Now I think I'm a bit more grown up, in a way.

> I've got a totally different outlook on life now…I think it can change the minds of anyone really, as long as the person's got a feel for dance. I was a complete arsehole when I started, and I don't think I'm that much of an arsehole now. It moves people on. I think it should be in every city. It shows how you can make a positive thing out of a negative, out of doing something wrong. I can't explain it; it's just the experience

6.1.2 Managing selves and normalising relationships

There is a strong sense that the Academy has had a 'normalising' effect on former participants' lives, calming them down, giving them more control. This has sponsored more emotional maturity, enabling them to re-establish relationships with family.

> A month or so after I left the Academy, I just turned up at my mum's door one day. I don't know why I went, I think mainly because I wanted to see my dogs really; I really missed them. Anyway we had a good talk, and we just decided we were going to start again. She's stopped drinking for now. But even when she drank after that, I still used to be nice to her. I think I understand her better now, I understand that she's got problems too. Emma helped me to understand that. She said: "don't argue with your mum, don't disrespect her. When she's being like that just come away". I've started doing that, and I think [my mum's] started to respect me more for it. It feels really good that we're back on good terms. [Naomi]
>
> I'm getting on much better with my family now. I'm spending much more time just me and my mum. She's looking after her mate's house over the road and I've been helping her paint it. And we just mess about and have a laugh. I wouldn't have done that 6 months ago. I would've told her to go paint it herself. [Julie]

It has also caused some to re-evaluate friendships and encouraged them to develop new, more productive, relationships.

> After I started going to the Academy, I was still hanging out with the same group of people, but not all of them. I'd sort of think a bit more, before… I wouldn't want to go out with them, because I knew that things could just get a lot worse. I started staying at home a bit more. …I'm hanging out with the people from college at the moment: they're my main group of friends. In the evenings, we go round to each other's houses and have a few drinks. Then on Friday and Saturday nights we sometimes go into town and go clubbing or something. We don't go to the same places or do the same stuff I would've done with my old group of friends; with them I just used to hang about on the streets. [Shane]
>
> I think the academy course is for young people, to keep them off the streets and keep them out of trouble. Show 'em that they can do something with their lives and give them the chance to show that they're not just people who walk about with their hoods up and are going to mug you… I don't know what difference it's made to me. It took me off of the streets and that didn't it, cos if I wasn't there then I might have been out nicking a bus! [laughs] But I couldn't, cos I was there. And I got friends with like Shane and Jack and that, and so in the night times they'd come round mine and we'd have a few drinks together, on our own. If I wasn't with them I would've been with someone else and probably would have been on the streets getting drunk and fighting and stuff. [Shane] he's nothing like the sort of lads I used to hang about with before when I was out robbing cars and that. Shane's like… I'll give an example, if you're walking down the street and there's a big gang of lads Shane will cross the road so he don't have to walk through 'em. He's like a little kitten man, you have to protect him [laughs]. I still see him all the time, he's always cool. He's started seeing this new lass, so I don't see that much of him just recently. He's supposed to be coming down later on today actually'. [Gary, self-referral, ex-West Yorkshire Probation Service]
>
> Anyway, after a couple of months of ISSP I started really chilling out. Looking back, this was exactly the time that I was getting stuck in to the dance Academy. But until then I was still not moving in very good friendship circles. Being on the ISSP itself didn't help much either, cos most of the people I met there were…well, criminals obviously! While I was doing the dancing, my best mate got sent to prison as part of the same case. I'm still friends with him, and he's out now and neither us do any of that stuff now. We've stepped away from it. The Academy's where I met [my girlfriend] Katie, too. I'd seen her face around a bit before, but I didn't really know her. I said "alright" and we just hit it off [laughs]. [Russell]

6.1.3 Academy culture and the role of dance

Reflecting on the ways in which the programme worked for them, a number of those followed up reveal the importance of the culture of the Academy. In particular how, alongside the stress on quality and discipline, they were supported and respected as individuals by skilled and highly committed staff who made them feel safe and gave them a sense of belonging. Here, Julie explains how this, in turn, engendered a sense of responsibility in her.

> When I joined the Academy I didn't care about anything. I used to think there was something wrong with me, 'cos I just didn't care. If someone beat me up I just wouldn't care…But at Dance United you had to start caring really, didn't you? What I remember most about the whole thing is the support I got off the staff; they were really, really nice. The day when I broke down [*with female dance staff, over the external issues that were affecting her ability to attend and concentrate*], that was the first time I'd cried in years. It was because I'd started caring. You had to care about getting into the studio on time and working hard on the piece. If that was me at school I would've just been strolling in at 1pm, stinking of weed, sat there monged out of me face cos I'd just be high and not caring. Doing dancing made me have something I had to take responsibility for…
>
> I think they're like that with everyone at the Academy [*supportive*]. I'd never go and talk to someone and tell them what was going on, but they just noticed that I had stuff on my mind and asked me about it. …Because they supported you so much you felt like you had to be there on time everyday, otherwise you'd be letting the staff and other participants down. I didn't get on with everyone mind, and we had some arguments, but in the end everyone was alright. It was funny. It was like a little family: we'd argue, but then we'd be alright again afterwards, like a family. That was one of the main things I learnt there. To be friends with people you wouldn't really want to be associated with. Everyone was different, but we learnt how to work as a team.
>
> If someone asked me what's successful about the Academy, I'd say it's in the way it makes people care. When people go off the rails, there's nothing for them. But when I started going to the Academy I had a reason to get up in the morning. Something to care about, and people who care about you.

Russell, too, refers to importance of the Academy as an open, collective experience, whilst also stressing the significance of the physical dimension of the programme.

The main thing I learnt at the Academy was how to go through that barrier when you just can't be arsed. Mainly in a physical way, like when you don't want to carry on dancing and want to stop, but you just find that little bit of extra energy to carry on. But that also translates into your motivation in life, too. There's just a good vibe around the place, and everyone's got loads of energy and they really encourage you n'that, so I was just feeding on it all really. Cos everyone else there is motivated, you don't want to be the one who's just sat on his own, being a lazy so-and-so. I think the programme itself helps with that; it's designed to take things up in steps. At the beginning it was loads of energetic stuff, fun stuff, to get you interested and into it and build your stamina up. After that it's a bit less of a game and more like looking at the technical levels of dance, moving up a step with that.

It's different from what I'd done before, y'know? So different from school, or the other ISSP projects, or even from Karate. You spend a lot of time with a small group of people; you really get to know them, and them you. The best way I can describe the difference is that it's fairer. At Karate there was always that competitive edge the whole time, and sometimes you'd go to a competition and feel like the judges marked you unfairly, probably cos they were the dad or uncle of one of the other competitors! But with dance, it's different. Everyone gets help to be the best they can be.

The theme of dance as a physical activity that can literally transport those who engage with it into a different mindset is a both a powerful and recurring one among graduates, as these extracts from the interviews with Jane and Shane, respectively, illustrate.

I'm not sure what it was that got me so much, with dance. You can just let go of yourself, can't yer? You can just block everything else from your mind, and I just always loved doing it. Getting lost in the moment, and in the physical side of it. Plus there's a mental side to dance, which I didn't really know about when I first started doing it. There's so much to learn about. And now, when I see people dancing on the telly or something, I've got a lot more respect for what they're doing, and it just makes me want to do it more.

> The Academy was really good for me, in lots of ways. But I think the main thing is that – if I hadn't been there, doing that – I would've been thinking about how I could go and get that lad. But [the Academy] took my mind off all that, and made me say: "there's no point bothering with people like that". It basically made me a happier person, 'cos I was doing something with my time and had stuff to look forward to. I think it's brought me out of meself quite a lot too. I wasn't really shy, but I used to struggle with new people, and that's less so now. I don't know how it did that; all the physical exercise, and then doing the performances…after that you feel like you could walk in front of the whole world, and just start jumping about [*laughs*].

6.1.4 The contingency of progress

A striking feature of these personal journeys is that they have invariably taken place against a background of highly adverse circumstances, including life stories marked by dislocation, isolation and neglect, violence, addiction and mental illness. While placing participants' achievements at the Academy in sharp relief, this is also a salutary reminder that the programme remains an intervention in a challenging wider social and cultural context, which participants must continue to negotiate after graduation.

While most, looking back, are very positive about their experience of the Academy and the impact it has had, others are more circumspect and there is sometimes uncertainty and ambivalence about the future. For some, clearly, the Academy represents the beginning of a journey away from risk and recidivism rather than its conclusion. In such cases, change is contingent, its confirmation requiring ongoing support beyond the reach and resources of the Academy.

Simone's testimony, for example, simultaneously reveals a grudging, qualified acceptance of the positive impact of the Academy in encouraging her to go back to school with a fatalistic and largely negative assessment of what the result will be.

I learnt more in 12 weeks at the Academy than I would have done in 12 weeks at school. Mainly 'cos I was there every day! 'Cos I was getting picked up from home, it was difficult not to go. And also 'cos I was getting a qualification, I wanted to stick it to the end. It was a relief when I got to the end. My body was aching, and it went through half my school holidays, which I wasn't too happy about. But it felt like a bit of an achievement. The good thing about the Academy is that it's not school. People don't take school seriously; they don't turn up all the time.

I don't know if anything's changed about me since I was at Dance United. I might seem more smiley and talkative now, but that's probably just 'cos I was always pissed off and tired when I was there. [Two of the staff in particular] used to get me really mad. That still happens, with teachers and stuff. But I like most of my teachers now, anyway. I don't think it changed me. I think it tried to. Oh, I don't know what it tries to do really. It tries to get people to get on with their lives. It's worth it though, and it gives you a qualification. And it gives you an experience of dancing and doing shows

I was glad to come back to school; it was like getting back to normal in a way. It's my last year this year. I'm about to do my mocks, and I've got to catch up on all my coursework that I missed last year. It's hard. My best subject is Health and Social. I just like it, I don't know why; I like my teacher. That makes a big difference to how good I am [in various subjects]. My worst subject is maths: we've got a new teacher this year and I can't stand her. I dropped business studies to do dance, my Head of Year recommended me for it, but nobody in there likes the teacher and they're all rude to her all the time…I'm going to be doing five GCSEs: Maths, Science, English language and literature, and Health & Social. I'm probably going to fail everything except Health & Social, 'cos I missed all my coursework and nobody's helping me catch up with it this year; my maths teacher can't even speak English properly.

Julie, while establishing better relationships with her family, has found it hard to distance herself from the disruptive influences and associations which helped to get her into trouble in the first place.

At the moment I'm kind of between groups of friends. I did fall in with some of the wrong crowd again recently, and went out and got myself into trouble. At the moment I'm just trying to be my own friend, if you know what I mean. Whenever I see people from before they always say "come for a drink", and then it's "have a line of coke" and I say "yeah", being stupid. But y'know, something bad always, always ends up happening. If they rang me now and asked me, I wouldn't go out. I've stayed away from it all for so long now. I've got some older friends who are a bit more mature. Like Emma! She comes and takes me out places, like to parks and stuff. It's nice to just sit there and watch the swans, or just go and drive about places.

I recently got locked up by the police again, for ABH. But that wasn't my fault. My cousin got drunk; he's got mental health issues, and he was chasing my friends with a knife, so I beat him up. That was a couple of weeks ago. But I won't be getting charged for that 'cos it was self-defence. It's hard to be good all the time. Actually, it's more like the other way around; it's so easy to get back into shit. Even though I know that at the end of the day I'm responsible for myself, it feels sometimes like it's other people who are the ones who get me into trouble. That's why I'm trying to stay away from all my old friends and just get on with my life, having a fresh start. But when you bump into people in the street it's hard to just go "y'aright?" and then walk on.

Meanwhile, for Shane and for Russell, two of the Academy's most successful graduates, embarking on a professional dance trajectory has created new tensions and uncertainties, caused largely by the social and cultural disjunction this represents. Shane is currently doing a BTEC in Performing Arts at Bradford College.

…at first I was really enjoying it, and getting up and going in everyday. But then just recently, I've dipped a bit. I've been going in a bit late quite often, and that's from going out in the evenings with college people.

There's all different people on my course, but not many with backgrounds like me. I don't know how to explain exactly what I mean by that. They're mainly all sound though, and we have a laugh together. Some of them are a bit bitchy, and that can be a bit stressful. A lot of people are not really involving themselves in things, like the shows we're supposed to be working on our own, and some of 'em are arguing with each other and going off in moods, and it all affects the team work. I'd say it's worse at college – those kind of problems – than at the Academy. There's more, like, personal conflict.

Russell, now graduated from the same course at Bradford College, remains committed to the idea of becoming a dancer but is concerned about the practicalities and how to secure everyday needs and so is drawn towards a culturally more familiar career route with the army.

Now I'm looking at working for about a year, so I can get some money saved up and some experience of the real world. The dancing world's a lot different. It's a bit far fetched, if you know what I mean. Things happen that wouldn't usually happen….I do really want to go and do another dance course. Northern School of Contemporary Dance is where I really want to go. It's like a University degree, and you can either pay for it or you go for an audition to see if you get picked…. It sounds pretty good. I'll probably go this year for the audition, then if I get in I'll turn it down and tell 'em that I want to work for a year and then come back the following year…for the next 6 months to a year, the plan is to just carry on working like I'm doing now. Get some money; get somewhere to live; get a car… that's the most important thing, getting on the road, because if I want to go to college in Leeds I won't want to get on a bus a 6am.

If I don't dance for whatever reason, then I've always wanted to join the Army…I don't know what's more of a priority, dancing or the Army. If I signed up with college I wouldn't get paid, whereas if I joined the Army I'd be getting paid as well as doing something I want to do. I want to do both really, but the Army's more practical in a way because of the financial side. Also, the Army's more equal in a way. I might do better there. In the Army, you're as one. Whereas in dance you've got to try and compete with all these thousands of people and do better than them.

6.2 Looking On – Stakeholder Perceptions

When approached to sum up their experiences of working with the Academy, the partner organisations and institutions that refer their clients and charges to the programme were unequivocally positive about the outcomes for participants.

6.2.1 The Youth Offending Teams

Paul O'Hara, Bradford Youth Offending Team Manager, felt that for the young people who were able to commit to the programme *'the quality of the experience and the range of skills they learn is very powerful and very dramatic - self control right through to team building, dealing with conflict and expressing themselves'*.

He went on to stress the crucial role of the Academy in building the right kind of confidence in young people and the fundamental importance of dance as a disciplined, physical activity in this:

'They're so lacking in self-belief and self-confidence in any formal setting. Not in their world – there they're quite loud, gobby even. But it doesn't serve them well in the outside world. Their whole language, verbally and the way they present to the public, their body language, is very aggressive, not socially acceptable. Using the physical side, using it to take control over their bodies, learning to be still and to focus is a huge learning point, which enables them to communicate with the rest of the world.'

In turn, he maintains, participants' achievements as dancers, performing to such a high standard in public, changes people's perceptions of them. *'In pure terms, the dance gives them status, recognition. Normally they're just related to as villains.'*

For the YOT, the bottom line is re-offending, '*but the key to that is to encourage people into learning, to develop new skills and competences. And the Academy does this*. *The live performances are the summit, but the other side – the portfolio of work, the literacy and numeracy, and also health and hygiene - is also important'.*

Similar sentiments were expressed by Jim Hopkinson, Head of Leeds Youth Offending Service, who believes that for the right people the Academy *'is a real life changing event. In terms of motivating young people to move on, in terms of confidence and destinations, moving into ETE and we are seeing clear evidence of this'*.

He also stressed the interconnectedness of the different elements of the programme, highlighting the importance of the informal learning of crucial life skills through dance:

'The idea of a performance after three weeks in front of an audience seemed ridiculous to us up front, yet they do it. It gives them a massive buzz and sense of achievement, which is fantastic because that can't come very often in their lives. But the other messages are central to it: to dance well they have to be fit and eat well, they can't turn up drunk and taking drugs, they're part of a team and can't let people down, they have to be disciplined and follow instructions. They need to think about all these things and do something about it. But you don't need to sit them down in a class or workshop and tell them. It's implicit. Clear and necessary without the need to spell it out.'

For both the YOT and the YOS, the expense for the programme is an issue and the role of the heads of these organisations as personal champions of the Academy project is clearly crucial. Jim Hopkinson points out that for the same amount that it costs to put one YOS client through the Academy programme he could place 10 others on a sports project, while also freeing up two support workers. *'But we continue to invest because we believe it works and we want to give it the opportunity to prove its outcomes. Anyone who goes to the performances is convinced by it. But when other people look at the balance sheet, questions arise. It's something we need to sort.'*

For Paul O'Hara, delivery is key. *'Other programmes promise the world and they never deliver. Whatever Dance United say they're going to do, they do it. There are very few opportunities for our young people to experience real quality. Youth offending is not a world that is renowned for those experiences. There's an issue with cost, but we get it'.*

Both men see the need for more flexibility in the future in order to increase the recruitment of young offenders on to the programme and to reduce rates of attrition. This might include the development of a more mixed model with a shorter or less intense programme for some, so that it could be integrated with other alternative education programmes as part of the drive to get more young people back into education and the need to deal with disaffected Year 10 students. *'We need to think about the doseage as it were – the level. Some slight variations of the project which might bring in a bigger market. We don't need an 'A' level programme for 'O' level kids.'*

6.2.2 The Magistracy

The wider support of local magistrates for the Academy programme is seen to be crucial to its longer-term development. For Paul O'Hara, *'One of the biggest problems I've had is persuading my magistrates that I'm not going soft. But they got it quite quickly once they saw the jump these young people were making'.*

In this regard, an evaluation of a performance and question and answer session undertaken by Academy graduates at the West Yorkshire magistrates' regional Youth Conference on 14 February 2007 is illuminating. 60 out of the 72 JPs who attended, or 83 per cent, gave the session the highest rating of 'very good'. Several declared themselves to be moved by

what they saw and a number described the Academy contribution as inspirational.

One wrote that it was *'Brilliant! Very emotional, kids can improve!'* another that it was *'Excellent – even the dubious were impressed'*. This is an assessment confirmed by the others, one of whom declared that it was *'Absolutely fabulous. Great to see these kids having a purpose and enjoying the structure and commitment'* before admitting that *'I was a bit "iffy" about this but soon convinced'*. On the same theme, but with an interesting conclusion, another wrote that he/she *'Was initially very sceptical but thoroughly enjoyed it. Pity [it's] not a sentence in its own right!!! [A] Good alternative to custody!'*

One of these magistrates, a member of the Bradford Bench, later visited the Academy to talk to staff and participants and afterwards concluded: *'I believe that the Academy dance project makes a significant contribution in changing the offending behaviour of the selected participants. I also believe that this unusual and controversial project uses dance – an unfamiliar medium in this context – to allow these young offenders to achieve a relatively high level of competence in a short time. This motivational force seems to open the door to permanent changes in lifestyle for these young people. The beneficial effects are self evident in the individuals, they look healthier, they present themselves in a more confident manner, and they are proud of their achievements and new qualifications. And seem to want to re-engage with society.'*

6.2.3 Prisons

HMP/YOI Askham Grange's own evaluation of their participants in the Academy programme finds many of the same personal and group effects recorded in this report. These include: a 'massive' increase in confidence and self-esteem; an understanding of what it is like to be professional; improved concentration, memory and sequencing; physical presence, improved posture and poise; a healthier lifestyle; patience, tolerance and compromise - the skills to work as a team; the camaraderie that comes with being part of a performance; trust, loyalty and commitment to a joint cause; the ability to listen carefully to music, to choreograph, an understanding of the basics of photography and filming and of live theatre performance.

Staff have seem a '*transformation in the residents attending'*, who gain transferable skills which bring benefits both to personal lives and make them more marketable when searching for employment on release.

Writing towards the end of Cohort A, the most recent to be covered by this report, Charlotte Harker, Education Manager at Askham, concluded that '*the whole Dance United experience has had a significant impact on the future of all twelve residents who have attended so far…The participants feel they have more reason to believe in themselves and have more drive and determination to achieve their goals'*.

Similarly, Caroline Senior, Regimes Manager at HMYOI Wetherby, reports that there has been a marked change in the attitude of those who have attended the Academy, which has improved relationships within the prison. '*They get much more self-confident, their interpersonal skills improve. Their outlook improves. It's a very positive experience, there's not one that hasn't had a positive experience. It's little steps, they improve as the course goes on. They become totally different '*

A key to this is that the Academy offer a total break from prison, *'so they can develop more freely, without always having to check themselves with a member of staff breathing down their necks'*. This does create a problem of management, however, of *'keeping things appropriate'* on their return.

Dance is recognised to be important because of its impact on self control and a range of more subtle social skills. *'They have to be still, to do what they are told and co-operate. Physical fitness is important but so is mental fitness. They know they have to concentrate and be careful because they could be lifting someone. In a classroom they can fidget, get distracted by the peer group, there's no energy outlet.'*

6.2.4 Local schools

The views of the schools and teachers sending students from inclusion units on to the Academy programme have been more difficult to gather, partly because most school participants took part in the earlier cohorts and also because they have been referred by a number of different institutions.

Nevertheless, the responses that have been received from school contacts largely confirm those of other partner organisations. What they stress in particular is the impact of the Academy on self-esteem, self-awareness, and concentration span, which makes participants more confident, motivated and focused in their learning when they return to school. Individual teachers attending the performances have been taken aback by what they have seen, remarking that students have changed 'beyond recognition'.

CONCLUSION

This report covers the two-year experimental phase of Dance United's Academy project, which started with the launch of the first full cohort at its new, dedicated premises in Bradford in June 2006. In this period six 12-week cohorts involving more than 70 young offenders and young people at risk of offending have passed through the Academy.

The Academy has been highly successful at engaging this volatile and often difficult-to-reach constituency. 50 per cent of entrants since June 2006 have completed the whole three-month programme, and three-quarters have taken part in a series of widely acclaimed public performances which mark the culmination of the programme's initial three-week performance project.

The outcomes for participants have been overwhelmingly positive. The Academy's dance-led education programme has delivered measurable increases in their capacity to learn and has imparted a range of so-called 'soft' skills, which can, in turn, be linked to very favourable 'hard' outcomes in criminal justice terms.

The lack of systematic data collection by referral agencies on these outcomes for their clients means that the picture is partial but the available evidence suggests that the Academy programme is associated with a significant reduction in re-offending. The number of cases is too small to furnish a robust statistical analysis but 12-month recidivism rates for YOT/S participants at the Academy are considerably lower than the local and national averages for young offenders. In addition, two-thirds of referrals to the Academy from the youth offending teams had a lower ASSET score after engaging with the programme. This indicates that they were less likely re-offend than before they started.

The Academy has also been very effective at influencing young people to re-engage with mainstream schooling and encouraging older participants into further education and employment. ETE - education, training and employment – is considered to be major 'protective' factor against re-offending. Only about 40 per cent of young people in the criminal justice system are in ETE and estimates of the proportion of prisoners released into ETE vary from a quarter to just over a half. This compares to 80 per cent of Academy participants traced at 3 months or more post-engagement.

The key learning outcomes for participants include increased confidence and self-awareness; more flexibility and self control; the capacity to cope with and adapt to challenges; improved communication skills; a willingness to reflect on and address personal strengths and weaknesses; and the ability to transfer learning between contexts.

A crucial factor in the success of the Academy is that it represents an approach to educational engagement, which, in its form, content,

methodology and intensity, is completely different from anything participants have previously experienced. Dance as a mechanism and a context is crucial to the processes that bring about change.

Participants are respected as worthy individuals in a supportive and non-judgmental environment, which is simultaneously defined by a highly-disciplined, creatively challenging activity, informed by real-world, professional production values. Much of their learning is mediated non-verbally, through the physical and performative aspects of dance, which require both mental and bodily control, teamwork and emotional engagement. A key process here is the development of 'embodied confidence', while the sense of achievement associated with successful public performance works alongside the acquisition of formal qualifications to sponsor ambition.

While some feared that the recruitment of contrasting constituencies to the Academy programme would be disruptive, the mixing of youth offending team clients and school refusers with young adult prisoners has, by introducing a mentoring dynamic, largely worked to the benefit of all participants. Nevertheless, the Academy programme does seem to work differently for different referral types, with impacts across the programme being more sustained among prison-based female participants while younger participants are more likely to display inconsistent trajectories.

One issue here concerns the phasing of the Academy programme. The initial three-week performance project is associated with a process of dramatic and near-universally experienced change. However, the tendency has been for this to by followed by a period in which indicators of impact fall, attendance slumps and the risk of participants leaving altogether rises. This has caused youth offending team partners to suggest that that a more flexible model, with a shorter programme for some, might help to both expand recruitment and increase initial retention rates.

The evidence on this is equivocal, however, while recent amendments to the programme have in any case much reduced this post-performance reaction. One danger of a radical programme re-structuring or a multiple programme format is that different models may produce different – possibly less favourable - results. The same is true with the issue of the numbers. An increase in cohort size would reduce unit costs but given the nature and methodology of the intervention, any dilution of its intensity or the optimum staff-participant ratio may well lead to a dilution of impact.

Ultimately, these are matters for further research and will form part of the future development of the Academy evaluation. As well as looking in more detail at the dynamics of different groups' engagement with the Academy programme, this will put more focus on the substance and sustainability of impacts by tracking and engaging further with participants in the wider contexts of their lives and over the longer term. In this it is vital that partner agencies and institutions support the research and evaluation project by collecting and providing systematic access to data on their referrals to the Academy.

REFERENCES

Audit Commission (1996), *Misspent Youth: Young people and crime*

Butler, J. (1993), *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. New York: Routledge.

Goodbourn, R., Higgins, S., Parsons, S., Wall, K. and Wright. J. (2005), *Learning to Learn to Learn for Life: research and practical examples for the Foundation Stage and Key Stage 1*, Stafford: Network Educational Press.

Gray, E,. Taylor, E., Roberts, C., Merrington, S., Fernandez, R. and Moore, R. (2005), *Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme. The final report*, Youth Justice Board

Harper, G. and Chitty, C. eds (2005), 'The impact of corrections on re-offending: a review of "what works"' (second edition), Home Office Research Study 291

HM Government (2005), *Reducing Re-Offending Through Skills and Employment*

HM Government (2008), *Youth Crime Action Plan 2008*

HM Prison Service (2007), *Annual Reports and Accounts 2006-2007*

Hurry, J. and Moriarty, V. (2004) *The national evaluation of the Youth Justice Board's education, training and employment projects*, Youth Justice Board

Medhurst, C. and Cunliffe, J. (2007), 'Re-offending of juveniles: results from the 2005 cohort', *Ministry of Justice Statistical Bulletin*

Miles, A. and Clarke R. (2006), *The Arts in Criminal Justice. A Study of Research Feasibility*, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Arts Council England, Department for Education and Skills.

Ministry of Justice (2007), *Offender Management Caseload Statistics 2006*

Niven, S. and Stewart, D. (2005), 'Resettlement outcomes on release from prison in 2003', Home Office Research Findings 248

Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (1997), *Realistic Evaluation*, London: Sage

Reid, K. (2005), 'The causes, views and traits of school absenteeism and truancy: an analytical review', *Research in Education*, Vol. 74

Solomon, E. and Garside, R. (2008), *Ten years of Labour's youth justice reforms: an independent audit* , Centre for Crime and Justice Studies

Stephenson, M. (2006), Young People and Offending: Education, Youth Justice and Social Inclusion, Cullompton: Willan Publishing

Youth Justice Board (2006), *Barriers to engagement in education training and employment*

APPENDIX 1: DATA GATHERING METHODS

- Attendance records
- Participant goal setting and goal review interviews conducted fortnightly
- Learning outcomes review completed weekly for each participant giving scores on several indicators, substantiated by written example/justification
- Ongoing ethnography – based on daily observation and field notes – from which are drawn participant case studies and character vignettes
- Participant focus groups
- Interviews with dance and support teams
- Audience evaluation forms
- Audience vox pops
- Academy weekly reports and staff meeting minutes
- Mid point, pre-exit and exit interviews with participants
- Tracking of participants at varying intervals post engagement, by telephone interview and through a sample of in-depth, ethnographic follow-up interviews
- Interviews with representatives of partner organisations
- Asset records
- Offence and conviction records

APPENDIX 2: LEARNING OUTCOMES REVIEW FORM

DU Academy Evaluation – Learning Outcomes Review Form

Participant's Name: Assessor: Date:
Week:

Behaviour	**Did this person break the formal rules of the Academy in this past week?** **Yes _ No _** **In terms of their overall general conduct, how would you rate this person's behaviour over the past week?** Largely inappropriate _ Mixed _ Largely Appropriate _
Discussion (evidence, example, and any qualifications by non-assessors of this particular participant)	
Health	**Was this person fit and well this past week?** No _ Sometimes _ Yes _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	
Readiness	**How committed was this person over the past week?** Not at all _ Partially _ Adequately _ Strongly _ Exceptionally _ **How would you rate their level of self-belief?** Non-existent _ Low _ Moderate _ Strong _ High _ **How self-controlled were they?** Not at all _ Partially _ Adequately _ Strongly _ Exceptionally _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	
Resourcefulness	**How would you rank their ability to:** **(a) use a 'visual' approach to learning?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _ **(b) use an 'auditory' approach to learning?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _ **(c) use a 'kinaesthetic' approach to learning?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _ **How well did they communicate and/or seek out and use information in order to support and develop their learning?** Poorly _ Partially _ Adequately _ Well _ Exceptionally well _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	

Resilience	**How well were they able to keep going and cope with the particular challenges of the Academy programme and environment over the past week?** Poorly _ Partially _ Adequately _ Very well _ Exceptionally well _ **How would you rate their ability to adapt and to actively solve problems?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	
Remembering	**How well were they able to remember what they have learned?** Poorly _ Partially _ Adequately _ Very well _ Exceptionally well _ **How would you rate their ability to apply the learning and skills acquired in one environment to others?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	
Reflectiveness	**How would you rank their ability to:** **(a) experiment with their learning?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _ **(c) self-evaluate?** Poor _ Partial _ Adequate _ Good _ Exceptional _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	
Context	**How would you assess the impact of any known internal and/or external contextual factors on this person's attitude, behaviour, and performance this past week?** Highly adverse _ Unhelpful _ No effect _ Beneficial _ Highly favourable _
Discussion (evidence, example, qualification)	

APPENDIX 3: GOAL SETTING AND GOAL CHECK FORMS[15]

DU Academy Evaluation - Goal Setting Interview

Participant's Name: Date:

1. What were you expecting when you began the Academy programme this week and did anything come as a surprise?

2. What went particularly well for you? What if anything do you feel you have learned?

3. What did the group as a whole do well and what does it need to work on?

4. Did you struggle with any of the activities or situations that came up? What did you find challenging and why? How will you overcome this?

[15] A slightly different variation of the form shown here has been used for Week 1 entrants after the Performance Project and for Week 4 and 5 starters on joining Week 1 of the following cohort. Since Cohort A, the goal checking exercise has been combined with pre-exit tutorials and the form amended accordingly.

5. What are you looking forward to during this programme?

6. Finally – imagine you are talking with your friends and family having completed the Academy programme. What 3 achievements would you be most proud of? [*Interviewer to prompt for clarification – e.g. if one of the answers is 'a good dancer', the respondent should be asked to say what this means, what makes a good dancer, etc.*]

DU Academy Evaluation - Goal Check Interview

Participant's Name: Date: Week:

1. How would you rate your overall experience of the Academy this week?

Awful ☐ Poor ☐ OK ☐ Good☐ Brilliant ☐

[If anything other than 'OK', prompt for explanation]

2. How do you think you've coped with the tasks and activities this week?
Not well ☐ Struggled a bit ☐ OK ☐ Quite easily ☐ Really well ☐

3. Was there anything that happened, anything the group did, or anything you personally achieved this week that made you feel especially good?

4. How well do you think (a) the group and (b) you personally followed the code of conduct this week? [*Prompt for examples*]

5. If you had to pick one thing in particular that you could change, and one thing that you needed to work on, for next week, what would those things be?

6. Has being at the Academy this week made any difference to the way you feel, or what you do, when you are not here? [*Prompt for explanation*]

7. How much progress have you made with the things you mentioned you would be most proud of achieving by the end of the programme? [*These being the original three goals and/or any new goals identified in previous reviews. Interviewer to remind respondent what these were if necessary and indicate if they need to do so. If respondent's response to the question is positive, interviewer to ask 'How have you done this?', if negative, ask 'What has held you back and what do you need to do to overcome this?*]

8. Has what you want to achieve during your time at the Academy changed at all in the light of your experiences this week or since the beginning of the current project? If so, why is this and what are your new goals?

APPENDIX 4: CHARACTER VIGNETTES (Cohorts 4 and 5)[16]

Terri, 15, F
Referred from Hanson School inclusion unit for a range of unmanageable behavioural issues – centred on angry outbursts, violence, and non-cooperation – that had seen her excluded from the mainstream classroom. Her poor standard of literacy, an unhappy family background, and negative peer-group behaviour formed the backbone of a cycle of disaffection from education and put her at serious risk of offending. With some dance experience and clear aptitude, she enjoyed much of the studio work at the Academy from the outset, and this provided the incentive for her to control her anger and problems with authority – although not without serious effort and some slip-ups. The Academy was an educational programme completely unlike any she had encountered previously, and she experienced it as a thoroughly emotional process –confiding in and seeking the support of female staff increasingly. Finished with a strong sense of achievement, affected by a 'willingness to be good', and committed verbally to returning to school the following year – hoping to either enter the army or take up a dance course at college after gaining some GCSEs.

Naomi, 16,
Referred from Leeds YOS, with whom she was involved for a string of offences. In the second week of the cohort made a court appearance for attempting to smuggle a mobile phone into the prison where her fiancé is serving a sentence. Soon after this she was thrown out of home by her mother, and took up residence in a hostel in Leeds. After a somewhat lacklustre start hampered by a lack of commitment in the studio, a resistance to the aesthetic of contemporary dance, and patchy attendance (which continued throughout the programme) she became one of the more focussed and engaged dancers. Was judged by dance staff, her YOS worker and other observers, to have demonstrably increased in maturity and personal responsibility during the course of the programme, which was particularly significant given that 'she'd never stuck at anything before' (Trudy, YOS worker). Such changes were attributed to a combination of an aptitude for and enjoyment of dance (she had some previous training in street dance), and the culture of the Academy where she was 'treated with respect' (Trudy) and supported both practically and emotionally.

Gary, 19, M
A self-referral, having heard about the Academy through his friendship with Jack. Living in sheltered accommodation in Little Germany, previously involved with Bradford probation service, and made a court appearance in Week 3 for being drunk and disorderly. Made significant progress in the studio from the outset, and was well liked by staff for his relative maturity and politeness. From Week 2 onwards was seen to be 'really throwing himself into it' (Rhiana, dance artist), enjoying the physicality and the discipline, drawing

[16] These vignettes were written by Paul Strauss, the embedded researcher on Cohorts 4 and 5, as part of the project ethnography. As in Sections 5 and 6 of the main report, participants' names have been changed to protect their anonymity.

connections himself between dance and his previous boxing training – which he was surprised to find significant parallels between. Excelled in Weeks 4-6, getting 'a big rush' from the two large-venue performances. However, raised some problematic issues outside of the studio. Younger participants were known to be using his flat as a base for socialising, drinking and drug taking. On one occasion this led to Julie (14) being reported missing by her parents, and an allegation of underage sex, prompting discussions around the concept of 'contamination'. His attendance as the programme progressed became increasingly patchy, and he had to be rung several times and/or have his door knocked on most mornings in order to get him out of bed. This led to conversations amongst staff about 'how far we go to force people to do it' (Dave, Academy staff). Finally left the programme in Week 8, having become a father.

Jack, 18, M
'On tag' after release from Wetherby YOI. Returning to the Academy having been involved in earlier cohorts and performance projects: therefore well versed in the Dance United culture and methodology. His high energy, sometimes disruptive and somewhat hyperactive persona was problematic from the outset, and drew in younger participants. However it contained within it an intense enthusiasm for the experience of performing, which he remembered with relish from his previous engagements. Reacted negatively to some group rifts and strong teaching discipline in Week 3, and his attitude and enthusiasm nose-dived sharply – causing him to walk out two days before the Alhambra performance. A range of complex contextual problems, including a diagnosed learning disorder and pressure from within his family not to complete the cohort. Could perhaps have been engaged with more successfully.

Shane, 16, M
Referral from Bradford YOT (Shipley) on an order 'of the lowest tariff' (Dave, Academy staff). Impressed dance staff from the beginning with his quality of movement and focus in the studio – where he generally excelled throughout the programme, despite having a markedly 'passive' learning style. Took to dance with great enthusiasm, practising at home and borrowing a DVD of another style from Wayne. Despite being marked out as a 'favourite' for his likeable, cheeky-yet-shy persona and perceived high potential as a dancer, underwent some severe peaks and troughs of energy and attitude. Much of this seemed connected to his activities outside of the Academy, often coming in tired, grumpy and hung-over; it was known anecdotally that he was being physically threatened by the 'victim' of his crime. Clashed with and rejected the authority of support staff on several occasions, and was feared lost in Weeks 7 and 8 when he developed a problematic partnership with Gary and the two were absent much of the time. But returned and finished very strongly, putting in exemplary performances and hoping to go on to further dance training either at Bradford College or Northern School of Contemporary Dance. For his mother Denise – a single parent who came to watch all of the open performances – 'it's amazing, I've seen a real change in him. Just his general confidence, and the way he talks to people. He used to just sit upstairs on his own on his computer every night…it's amazing that he can

stand up there in front of this many people and do something like this. Without even having had a drink!'.

Christina, F, 2?
Serving the longest sentence of the five Askham Grange women, with a parole date in 2009. A quiet, shy presence in the studio as well as around the Academy. Initially unsure of the discipline of contemporary dance, finding it physically hard work and comparing it unfavourably to both street dance (which she had done before) and the hairdressing courses she had been taking in the prison immediately beforehand. Was won over and became significantly more enthusiastic and engaged after the first performance, which gave her a massive confidence boost. Came to enjoy the routine – once she had become accustomed to it – and particularly getting out during the day, relieving the drudgery of prison life. Finished strongly, hoping to return to the Academy in the following cohort in some kind of 'role model' capacity. A notable change in her was her posture and improvement in embodied confidence: standing up straight, making eye contact, and conversing more freely.

Georgia, 15, F
A referral from Leeds YOS and returnee, having been thrown off Cohort 3 before the performance stage for unmanageable behaviour. Professed to be trying hard in early weeks to keep a check on her own behaviour and make it through this time, but a spark of defiance was ever-present. This variously resulted in: losing her temper and storming out of the studio, sulking and non-compliance, arguing with staff or other participants, feigning illness or injury. However put in a sterling first performance at the Alhambra, despite arguing with other participants immediately before going on stage. Her behaviour was interpreted by staff as a desperate need to draw attention to herself, boarding on cynical attempts to derail the programme – particularly when she began to spin a web of lies and deception surrounding an invented pregnancy and young child. The latter prompted discussion and disagreement amongst staff as to how far to intervene in participants' contextual issues – or indeed challenge suspected falsehoods – with YOS staff favouring a more rigorous/ investigative/ disciplinarian approach, not shifting the boundaries for one participant which would be perceived unjust by the group. Left, voluntarily, in Week 7 after being prevented from performing at Leeds because she turned up smelling of drink, then put on a final behavioural contract.

Kate, 34, F
The oldest Askham Grange participant, close to release. A mature, motivated and motivating presence from the outset – she took on a disciplining role in Week 3, telling off Jack and his disruptive followers in the circle. In later weeks this became fused with an increasingly supportive, maternal role for the younger participants – whom she helped to encourage and coax through difficult moments. In this way, as well as in others, played a bridging role between staff and participants (along with several other Askham Grangers) that was held to be a hugely significant factor in the overall cohesion of the group and success of the cohort. Worked extremely hard in the studio – despite finding the dancing physically hard going – and reflected on the

experience of performances as giving her confidence a huge boost and opening up her own horizons of possibilities beyond her release ('If I can achieve that, I can achieve anything'). Was bitterly disappointed to miss out on the final performances after a foot injury sustained in Week 9, coupled with discovering that she was beyond the upper age limit for the Arts Award. Nevertheless adapted to these setbacks impressively and adopted supporting roles in these last events, including a clinically prepared and confidently delivered speech at the Askham performance. Reflected that the programme had increased her general self-confidence, changed her outlook on young people and prompted her to make plans towards becoming a voluntary youth worker on release.

Chantelle, F, 2?
The driver for the Askham Grange group, living on the mother and baby wing separate from the other women with her infant child. Released from prison on the final day of the programme (having deferred the former in order to complete the latter). An extremely able, vigorous, and confident dancer who had previously performed with both professional dance and theatre companies, she was an exemplary figure in the studio and on stage. Initially somewhat aloof and struggling to contain her frustration and contempt at the disruptions caused by the younger group in early weeks; generally exhausted from the combination of driving and childcare. Gradually mellowed towards the irritations of the young participants – befriending and having a positive effect on several of them, particularly Simone, while maintaining her stern 'not-to-be-messed-with' edge (was impressively able to exercise discipline with just a look!) Given that studio and stage were not new experiences to her, she reflected that her most resounding sense of achievement during the programme was working with a mixed group and collaboratively overcoming the hurdles this posed to put on successful and high-standard performances.

Julie, 14, F
A Bradford school referral with problematic family and peer-group contexts. An immature, often disruptive presence at the Academy throughout much of the programme showing a general lack of commitment, manifested by – amongst other things – many unexplained absences including on crucial rehearsal days. Low energy levels, attributed to very poor diet and general lifestyle. Needed lots of coaxing from dance and support staff to make it through, including many morning phone-calls and taxis being sent to her house on several occasions. Sense from staff that the Academy was a distraction that she would take or leave as it suited her. Finished the programme without any evident changes in behaviour or outlook, as adamant as when she had begun that she wouldn't return to school.

Jodie, 25, F
An Askham Grange participant who had deferred her release to attend the Academy. An ex-heroin addict, her journey was one of both a blossoming of physicality and health, as well as growth in confidence and self-esteem – both of which were clearly visible to the observer. Both the dance itself –

performance and training – as well as the supportive and non-prison like culture of the organisation were key factors in this. Reflected herself on her attempts to use the programme as the first positive step in what was going to be a tough transition back into the outside world. Having found her own 'focus' and established her position within the Academy and group, she took on an additional supporting and nurturing role of younger participants, particularly Julie and Terri. Acted as an 'emotional gauge' between these problematic girls and staff, discreetly passing on contextual information when it seemed vital to do so.

Simone, 15, F
Referred from Leeds YOS. Living at home with her mother, who suffers from mental illness. Previous dance experience in the form of ballet classes at Northern School of Contemporary Dance and a Leeds street dance group, 'RJC'. A sullen, uncommunicative and resentful Academy participant who found it extremely difficult to express herself verbally. Had what staff described as a 'brick wall' persona, giving every outward impression of not wanting to engage in any activity or exchange with staff or participants, or indeed be there at all. Isolated herself from the rest of the group to a large extent, and communicated much of the time only with Naomi whom she knew previously from RJC. Despite outward impressions seemed to enjoy some dance sessions and could be very energetic and focussed in the studio, occasionally even cracking a smile. Developed slightly more open relationships with Dianne (Academy staff), Chantelle (Askham Grange), and some female dance staff towards the end of the programme. Could be tentatively said to have made some small incremental improvements to social skills and confidence, relative to the point at which she started. General lack of commitment to the programme as evidenced by patchy attendance and giving support staff the run around regarding morning pickups. Due to return to school September '07.

Suzanne, 19, F
An Askham Grange participant due for release November '07. Underwent perhaps the most dramatic change of all Cohort 4 participants during the 12 weeks. Began as a shy, somewhat timid, physically and socially awkward dancer and group member. Despite a physically tough first week, threw herself headlong into all aspects of the programme and by the first performances reflected that she had already 'come out of myself in a way that has surprised even me'. Speaking confidently at the post-performance Q&A sessions, and beginning to shed weight dramatically, this process continued throughout the programme and excelled particularly in the primary school teaching workshop. By the end of her time at the Academy was a bright, breezy, articulate presence – proud to have lost over a stone and having gained a real sense of achievement from the programme – exemplifying the concept of 'embodied confidence'. Looking forward to a CVS (Community Volunteers Service) placement in London followed by release and 'making a fresh start'.

Rachel, 15, F
A returnee, ejected from the Academy half way through Cohort 3 after much conflict, disruption, and a final altercation with dance artist Kathryn in the studio. Joined Cohort 4 in Week 6, professing herself to be a 'reformed character' and living up to her own billing to a large degree, going out of her way to demonstrate this to staff in a sometimes 'sickly sweet' manner. Lively, articulate and self-confident – gained significant pleasure and self-esteem from being given a leading role in the final performances, also turning to staff for emotional support over problematic family issues.

Jeremy, 16, M
Came to the Academy from Bradford YOT, on a Referral Order. A nervy, socially awkward presence in his first week at the Academy, his confidence and self-esteem then blossomed remarkably, mirrored by – to a slightly lesser, but nonetheless significant extent – improvements to learning capacities. His at times spiky, needy, and childish persona frequently frustrated staff and participants alike. However, that he came to be accepted and viewed affectionately as an important company member is testament to his own transformations as well as the strength of the group. A very visual learner, with complex special educational needs including dyslexia, he applied himself doggedly to the new challenges presented by dance and reaped the rewards from this effort, manifold, in terms of the personal validation he drew; from the experiences of team work and performance, in particular. Finished the cohort strongly, having never missed a day or been late. Six weeks after leaving the programme, he was attending a dedicated Special Educational Needs programme 5 days a week, while also participating in the Academy's youth dance group one evening per week. He was still on the books of Bradford YOT and his school's inclusion programme.

Gabriella, 15, F
The only school referral, and the youngest participant on Cohort 5. Problematic behaviour from the outset reflected a tumultuous social context: a father in prison, a stiflingly intense and rocky relationship with an older boyfriend, and suggested exposure to hard drugs. Initially extremely shy and intimidated by the Academy regime: practically mute, refusing to enter the kitchen space at break-times, and having to be cajoled into participating in dance sessions. Once comfortable with the routine and personnel, this shyness gave way to an awkward, uncommitted, uncooperative phase in which she tried to invent every excuse imaginable not to dance or participate in other activities. Frequently late, or absent, despite being driven in daily by her mother. Despite showing little evidence of positive change throughout most of the programme, readiness to learn improved dramatically in the run up to the graduation performance in the final full week. Gave an excellent performance and showed remarkable resilience in not reacting to deliberate attempts to distract her, from boyfriend and family in the audience. At the point of 6 weeks tracking, was attending a drama and dance project one day per week, to which she had been referred on by the school inclusion programme.

Emma, 23, F
Approaching the end of a 1 year sentence at Askham Grange, Emma gave up her studies in Business Administration at the prison to join the Academy, out of curiosity. While initially getting some enjoyment out of learning to dance, and particularly putting on the first performance, the programme then became rather tedious for her. In particular, the long drive every day (which she undertook), the curriculum and portfolio tasks which did not challenge her, and the annoyances of the behaviour of younger participants. 'I'm just not a dance type of person', she would frequently tell me. Nevertheless she dealt with these challenges in a stoic fashion, and danced throughout despite injuries and weak ankles, having a particular commitment to the notion of 'the company': not wanting to drop out – or make her lack of enthusiasm too obvious – for fear of negatively influencing the group. Tracked at 8 weeks, she had very recently been released from prison 'on tag'. Was doing nothing yet by way of ETE, but job-hunting furiously for admin roles. Had been to several interviews, but 'when they look at your CV and ask you what you've been doing for the last year, you have to say you've been in prison'. She has not yet been called back for jobs she feels she has ample experience for, and is starting to get disillusioned. 'If I don't get something soon I'll have to think about enrolling at a college or something'. She feels she is not getting the support she needs in this regard, from her probation officer or elsewhere.

Danny, 18, M
Joined the cohort in the final weeks of an ISSP with Bradford YOT. Left prior to the performance, in week 3, after having established himself as a key member of the group – well liked by all for his prodigious athletic talent, and his vivacious, jocular, cheeky persona that stayed just the right side of inappropriate. When the ISSP finished, he decided that he couldn't commit to the performance due to upcoming job interviews – resisting concerted attempts by dance staff to persuade him to stay. Showed strength of character and self-belief here, and agreed to continue attending for two days in order to teach others his dance material. Tracked 16 weeks after leaving; the job he had left the Academy in order to be short-listed for [door to door sales] had not materialised, and he felt the prospective employer discovering his status as a recent offender was the key factor in this. All involvement with the YOT finished, he has been NEET (not in education, employment or training) since, and is currently waiting for a security clearance document in order to begin casual labouring work on building sites.

Charlotte, 23, F
An Askham Grange referral, reaching the end of a short sentence. A rather immature and giggly presence at first – needing much attention and coaxing from dance staff. Often observed 'drifting off' during sessions, this low concentration span and self-esteem issues gradually improved over the course of the programme; in particular after the first performance. Full participation in dance activities hampered by injury, the severity of which was questionable. Period of unexplained absence during the middle of the programme, after a reported falling-out within the Askham Grange group.

Released from prison shortly after the cohort ended; gave no contact details for tracking purposes.

Chris, 17, M
Referred from Wetherby YOI. A quiet and self contained presence, particularly in the early weeks. Initially displayed a lethargic and unmotivated approach to dance. After the first performance, from which he gained an observable – if characteristically understated – sense of achievement, he went from strength to strength: dramatically improving in his motivation, enthusiasm, and ability to take on new material. Finished the course strongly, having become a focussed dancer and a physically transformed presence in terms of embodied confidence. Tracked at 8 weeks. Had been released from Wetherby just after Christmas, and now working for his dad – plastering – for the next few months, until he comes off his tag. Is then planning to go to college to do joinery NVQ level 1, and continue with his brick-laying NVQ 2-3, which he was doing when he was sentenced.

Will, 18, M
Wetherby referral. A charismatic and consequently popular participant. Significant commitment, motivation, and focus issues at first, gradually strengthening in all three areas. Notably poor at self-reflection and evaluation, as evidenced in interviews as well as Learning Outcomes scores. Implicated in bullying of other participants. Left the Academy early as his ROTL (released on temporary licence) was rescinded in Week 6 after he was found to have acquired and hidden tobacco outside of the Academy building. Released shortly afterwards; gave no contact details for tracking.

Michael, 17, M
A frequent offender; referred from Wetherby having already served several previous custodial sentences. ‘A handful’ from the outset, in support and dance staff’s terms, as evidenced by his contemptuous reaction to all forms of discipline or authority, his constant pushing of boundaries, and his temperamental participation in studio sessions according to his mood. Implicated in bullying of other participants. However began to participate more fully, take on directions, and generally push himself early in Week 2, as sessions began being geared towards performance rehearsal. Left the programme later in Week 2, before the performance, his ROTL having been rescinded after he was found with smuggled-in tobacco in his cell at Wetherby. Released shortly afterwards. Four unsuccessful attempts made to contact for tracking.

Jane, 30, F
An Askham Grange referral with at least 18 months left of a drug related sentence when beginning at the Academy. Already a strong interest in dance, gained in another prison, and serious aspirations of teaching dance to children on release. Extremely dedicated and focussed approach to dance training from the outset. An efficient, individual learner who later went on to develop co-operative learning, as well as teaching skills. Tracked 8 weeks after completing the programme, at Askham Grange. Reported her frustration at lack of opportunity to continue with dance in the foreseeable future. Had

returned to the prison education programmes of beauty therapy and hairdressing [NVQs]. Felt she could have been assisted more by Academy in terms of her dance future. Currently trying to research college courses in dance for after her release, as well as distance learning courses she could undertake while still in prison.

Rebecca, 22, F
Serving a sentence at Askham Grange. Enthusiastic about Academy programme from the outset, relishing the opportunity to experience day-release and interact with a diverse group of people. Suffering periodically from depression and emotional turmoil, about which she was open and expressive. An exemplary participant when 'up' – extremely generous with other learners, and excelled in the schools workshop. Reported gaining significant self-esteem boost from the experience of performing, as well as improved emotional well-being from the physical discipline. Was observed to experience a mid-cohort slump in a rather more pronounced way than most – also impacted by contextual issues related to childcare visits. Interviewed Rebecca at Askham Grange 8 weeks after finishing. Straight after the Academy she had gone on a daily community work placement, after which she was eligible to start doing paid work. Now working at MacDonalds every weekday, which is allowing her to save up money to help her get on her feet after release. Still hoping to set up a painting and decorating business, on the outside. Was feeling positive about her chances of being released after her next parole board hearing, in the next few months.

Florence, 18, F
Joined in Week 4, referred from Leeds YOS with whom she was just reaching the end of a long term Supervision Order. After initially problematic behaviour – rudeness towards staff, patchy attendance, low motivation and volatility in the studio – she settled into the group well. Learning Outcome scores improved steadily. Through observation, the most dramatic changes were her use of appropriate communication, controlling her temper better, and increased focus and motivation. Finished the programme strongly, one of the most vocal and enthusiastic company members, hoping to return and complete the performance segment of the next cohort. Spoke to Florence on the phone, 8 weeks after the end of Cohort 5. She was somewhat downbeat. She had rejoined Cohort A, but was kicked off in Week 2 or 3 after getting into a fight and punching a younger girl. Still, 'life goes on', she said. Had finished her Supervision Order, and was NEET, having just begun researching college courses in ICT starting Sept '08, and starting to apply for jobs.

Eve, 16, F
A Week 4 joiner, from Leeds YOS on a Referral Order. Complex contextual issues, including a violent relationship, affected her attendance and ability to focus throughout the programme. Some clashes with staff and other participants initially. Had a moment of indecision immediately prior to graduation performance, but was talked into going onstage. Planned on returning to complete performance phase of Cohort A. Interviewed by phone 8 weeks after end of Cohort 5. Had rejoined the Academy programme, but left again before the performance as she 'wasn't into it', and her personal life was

again tumultuous. Since the end of Cohort 5 has done an Entry2Employment course through Leeds Connexions, and is now enrolled on a full time NVQ (levels 1-3) in motor mechanics, which after 6 months of college study will link into an apprenticeship that she already has lined-up.

Grace, 24, F

Referred from Bradford Probation as part of a Drug Rehabilitation Requirement order. Extremely enthusiastic and dedicated in taster week, but was then absent much of Week 1 suffering from health problems related to heroin withdrawal. Extremely high learning outcomes scores peaked in the run-up to first performance, reflected by observations of continued high focus, matched with creativity and reflexivity in her approach to specific tasks as well as the programme generally. Shone on performance day, glowing with pride and a sense of achievement afterwards, and giving very confident answers to audience questions. Inexplicably failed to return to the Academy in any significant sense after the performance. Initially reported drug rehabilitation issues and illness, but was then uncontactable, and remained so for tracking purposes despite four attempts.