

# YOUTH CAMPS

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A Review of the International Literature Around the Philosophies, Principles, Processes and Outcomes of Youth Camp Initiatives in Reducing Offending and Re-Offending Behaviours and Increasing the Success of Rehabilitation Efforts for Young People Coming in Contact with the Youth Justice System.

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# Executive Summary

This literature review was conducted to investigate the philosophies, principles, processes and outcomes of youth camp initiatives both in Australia and in New Zealand, the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The purpose of reviewing the international literature in this field was to compare and contrast the different models of youth camps. This will:

- Determine which of these key models are effective in addressing the needs of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous juvenile offenders and at-risk young people
- Provide a foundation for making informed decisions regarding best practice approaches in reducing offending and re-offending behaviours
- Assist policy makers in increasing the success rate of rehabilitation and reintegration back into the community upon a young person's release from a youth camp program

There were four youth camp models that were reviewed for the purposes of this report. These four models were (1) traditional boot camps, (2) wilderness and adventure camps, (3) sports and recreational camps, and (4) arts, music and cultural camps. Traditional boot camps emphasise military training exercises, strict discipline, punishment and obedience to authority (Atkinson, 1995; Caputo, 2004; MacKenzie & Donaldson, 1996). This type of intervention for juvenile offenders may be effective in reducing recidivism and rehabilitating offenders, but it is difficult to say with certainty due to many inconsistencies in the literature. More objective program design, assessment and evaluation methods are needed to increase understanding of the effectiveness of traditional boot camp interventions.

Wilderness and adventure camps involve taking young offenders to remote, rural or environmental locations where the clients have opportunities for "routine, personal space, regular meals and positive reinforcement" (Polson & Chiauzzi, 2003, p. 6). The literature has indicated that these types of camps have a greater likelihood of generating long-term behavioural change when compared with traditional boot camp strategies (Polson & Chiauzzi, 2003).

Sports and recreational camps focus on developing team work, fitness and physical strength through sporting and recreational activities (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2002). As was stated above for traditional boot camps, it is difficult to say with certainty how effective sports and recreational camps are in reducing recidivism in juvenile offenders, as only a limited amount of research has been conducted in the field of sporting and recreational intervention mechanisms.

Arts, music and cultural camps focus on all three areas of arts, music and culture in attempting to rehabilitate Indigenous juvenile offenders and reintegrate them back into society (Dryfoos, 1993). As was stated above for sports and recreational camps, not enough empirical research has been conducted to accurately determine the effectiveness of these interventions when addressing the needs of Indigenous juvenile offenders and at-risk young people.

The results of this literature review will provide a basis for policy makers, academics and community workers to make informed decisions regarding best practice approaches for juvenile offenders and at-risk youth from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous backgrounds. Careful consideration of all youth camp initiatives is important in ensuring that a best practice framework is adopted for the most appropriate treatment of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people. The development of structured best practice models for specific target groups may assist in reducing offending and re-offending behaviours in addition to increasing the chances of successfully reintegrating young offenders back into the community.

# Key Findings

- Traditional boot camp interventions for juvenile offenders may be effective in reducing recidivism and rehabilitating offenders, but it is difficult to say with certainty due to many inconsistencies in the literature
- The literature has indicated that wilderness and adventure camps have a greater likelihood of generating long-term behavioural change when compared with traditional boot camp strategies
- It is difficult to say with certainty how effective sports and recreational camps are in reducing recidivism in juvenile offenders, as only a limited amount of research has been conducted in the field of sporting and recreational intervention mechanisms
- Insufficient empirical research has been conducted to accurately determine the effectiveness of these interventions when addressing the needs of Indigenous juvenile offenders and at-risk young people
- More objective program design, assessment and evaluation methods are needed to increase understanding of the effectiveness of traditional boot camps, sports and recreational camps, and art, music, and cultural camp interventions
- There are certain elements that have been shown to be effective in reducing re-offending. These include family involvement in the treatment process, a high level of structure, high levels of intensity and duration, programs that are community-based and implemented by private providers, and multiple modes of intervention. For all young people but particularly for Indigenous youth, intervention programs need to be developmentally appropriate, include the involvement of the family and community, include meaningful involvement of key people in the young person's life (for example, other Indigenous people), be culturally appropriate, and be based within the community.

# Key Messages

This review of the international literature around the philosophies, principles, processes and outcomes of youth camp initiatives in reducing offending and re-offending behaviours and increasing the success of rehabilitation efforts for young people coming in contact with the youth justice system highlighted the following key points:

- There are four main types of youth camp interventions, traditional boot camps, wilderness and adventure camps, sports and recreational camps, and art, music, and cultural camps. These interventions have been plagued with a lack of research as well as inconsistencies in the research methods which have made it difficult to clearly ascertain a best practice model for reducing re-offending behaviours
- There is an immediate need for controlled trials of the different models that exist for dealing with at-risk Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people. It would be on the basis of these trials that specific programs could be devised that would be effective in addressing the issues of juvenile offending. The focus of further evaluation of youth camps also needs to provide a foundation upon which to compare their effectiveness to a range of alternative programs for at-risk youth, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous
- The development of structured best practice models for specific target groups may assist in reducing offending and re-offending behaviours in addition to increasing the chances of successfully reintegrating young offenders back into the community



# Introduction

Juvenile offending and at-risk behaviour displayed by young people is an issue that needs to be explored further both in Australia and from an international perspective. Delinquency and juvenile crime can impact not only on the individuals themselves, but also on families and members of the community who become victims as a result of juvenile offending (Cunneen & White, 2002; Mukherjee, 1997; cited in Borowski & O'Connor, 1997). Juvenile offending also impacts on the criminal justice system, as it is the police, courts and corrections resources that are utilised when dealing with and processing young people through the juvenile justice system (Cunneen & White, 2002; Mukherjee, 1997; cited in Borowski & O'Connor, 1997).

As delinquent behaviour and juvenile offending have widespread effects on both individuals and the community, it is an important issue that needs further investigation and consideration (Cunneen & White, 2002; White, 1997; cited in Borowski & O'Connor, 1997). There are many factors that may increase the likelihood of a young person engaging in delinquent behaviour, such as abusive domestic situations, drug and alcohol use, unemployment and limited participation in educational environments (Cunneen & White, 2002; White, 1997; cited in Borowski & O'Connor, 1997). Factors influencing juvenile offending and delinquent activities are complex, varied and can change, indicating that diverse approaches need to be considered when addressing the needs of offenders and at-risk young people (Cunneen & White, 2002; Wundersitz, 1997; cited in Borowski & O'Connor, 1997). Structured programs with regular in-built evaluation mechanisms are critical if best practice approaches are to work effectively with a diverse and challenging range of juvenile offenders and at-risk youth.

There have been many interventions used in recent times when attempting to address the needs of offenders and young people who are at-risk of becoming offenders in the future. Some of these interventions include formal and informal cautions, community based orders such as community service, in-home detention, and detention in custodial correctional facilities (Borowski, 1997; cited in Borowski & O'Connor, 1997; Omaji, 2003). There has been mixed support for each of these intervention

strategies, with most research findings suggesting treatment approaches that minimise formal contact with the youth justice system (Cunneen & White, 2002; Little, 2004; McGuire, 2001; cited in Bernfeld, Farrington & Leschied, 2001; Omaji, 2003). Diverting first time offenders and preventing further offending behaviour is important to consider when addressing the needs of at-risk young people (Little, 2004; Omaji, 2003). Consideration of Indigenous status and the individual needs of juvenile offenders and at-risk youth are necessary when developing programs to rehabilitate young people and reintegrate them back into the community (Cunneen & White, 2002; Mason & Wilson, 1988). This is important, as the needs of Indigenous young people are vastly different from those of non-Indigenous youth. Programs that strive to tailor treatment options to individual needs include various youth camp initiatives, which will be discussed below.

Youth camp alternatives can be classified into four broad groups:

- traditional “boot” camps
- wilderness and adventure camps
- sporting and recreational camps
- arts, music and cultural camps

Although youth camps can be discussed in terms of the four different models, it is important to highlight the fact that there are several features of youth camps that are common across all models. First, the primary goal of all youth camp interventions is to rehabilitate the juvenile and reintegrate them back into the community (Dryfoos, 1993). However, the way that this primary goal is achieved differs significantly between each of the youth camp models. A more detailed explanation of how each of the youth camps achieve the primary goal of rehabilitation and reintegration will be discussed later in the review. All of the youth camp alternatives utilise educational and vocational programs in addition to counselling for substance use issues (Dryfoos, 1993). Even though there are features common to all youth camp models, there are some differences in relation to the philosophical underpinnings of each of the camp models. The differences between the focus of each of the youth camp models can be viewed from the perspective of “treatment versus prevention”. Traditional boot camps and wilderness and adventure



camps are based on a “treatment” approach in comparison to sports and recreational camps and arts, music and cultural camps, which are based on a “prevention” approach (Caputo, 2004; Dryfoos, 1993; Mason & Wilson, 1988; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003).

Other interventions to address the needs of at-risk youth include formal and informal cautions, community based orders such as community service, in-home detention, and detention in custodial correctional facilities (Borowski, 1997; cited in Borowski & O’Connor, 1997; Omaji, 2003). These are considerably different from youth camps, in that there are limited strategies tailored to addressing the specific needs of individual at-risk youth and juvenile offenders (Omaji, 2003). Camp programs have been developed as an alternative to incarcerating juvenile offenders in custodial institutions, as it has been proposed that removing offenders and at-risk youth from their familiar offending environments and delinquent peer groups can assist in their rehabilitation and reintegration back into the community (Caputo, 2004; Dryfoos, 1993; Mason & Wilson, 1988; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003). However, it is important to note that although some camp initiatives appear to have been successful in achieving their goals and objectives, other programs have been shown to have iatrogenic effects (McCord, 1992). Iatrogenic effects refer to the unintended and undesirable consequences of a treatment strategy that result in opposite effects to those that were intended (McCord, 1992). An example of a program that produced some iatrogenic effects is that of the Cambridge-Somerville study (McCord, 1992).

The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study was a project started in the 1930’s to address some of the issues surrounding juvenile delinquency (McCord, 1969; McCord & Tremblay, 1992). This research was based on Cabot’s (1935; cited in McCord, 1969) philosophy that “delinquency could be deflected early in life if only the potentially maladjusted child had an opportunity to form a friendly, understanding relationship with another person”. Cabot’s (1935; cited in McCord, 1969) beliefs lead him to develop the Cambridge-Somerville Study, where approximately 650 young males were studied over a ten year period. The aims of Cabot’s research were to prevent delinquency in addition to developing stability in

the lives of at-risk young people by encouraging the delinquent boys to “make friends” with an adult counsellor (Cabot, 1935; cited in McCord, 1969).

Cabot’s research was experimental and so utilised both an experimental (treatment) group and a control group, with approximately 325 boys in each group (Cabot, 1935; cited in McCord, 1969). Boys who were recruited for the treatment group were involved in individual and family counselling, day trips, religious activities and educational programs in addition to youth camp programs (McCord, 1969; McCord & Tremblay, 1992). Participants in the control group were not exposed to any of the above activities. It is important to highlight that it is the youth camp component of the Cambridge-Somerville Study that is most relevant to this discussion, as this part of the study appeared to contribute to the iatrogenic effects that resulted from Cabot’s experiment. Several evaluations of the Cambridge-Somerville Study have been conducted, where it was found that no significant reductions in offending behaviour were discovered when comparing participants from the experimental group with participants from the control group (Witmer & Powers, 1948; cited in McCord, 1969).

Although some positive effects of the treatment were reported, such as developing conventional bonds, long-term evaluations indicated that there were more negative outcomes that outweighed the perceived benefits. For example, McCord and Tremblay’s (1992) evaluation indicated a range of negative outcomes such as an increase in criminal behaviour, relationship breakdown, unemployment, incarceration and psychological problems (McCord & Tremblay, 1992; Powers & Witmer, 1972). More specifically, participants in the treatment group were found to have committed more traffic, property and violent offences when compared with participants from the control group. Participants from the treatment group were also found to experience a higher rate of relationship breakdown, unemployment and incarceration in their adult lives in addition to a range of psychological problems (McCord & Tremblay, 1992; Powers & Witmer, 1972).

A critical explanation as to why the Cambridge-Somerville Study produced iatrogenic effects was that grouping delinquent individuals together (particularly

in the youth camp environments) may have provided opportunities for the boys to share their delinquent experiences and then consequently “learn” from each other’s offending behaviour. It is possible that this situation may have contributed to the increase in offending behaviour that was evident when the experiment was evaluated. Another explanation for these iatrogenic effects was that the program tried to provide parental role models to at-risk young males who had experienced rejection in their relationship with their own parents (McCord & Tremblay, 1992; Powers & Witmer, 1972). This was not an effective approach, as young people who have been rejected by their parents may not respond well to another authority figure serving as a “replacement”.

To sum up the findings, the Cambridge-Somerville Study assisted youth in developing conventional ties, but did not prevent further delinquency or offending behaviour (McCord & Tremblay, 1992; Powers & Witmer, 1972), and in fact contributed to a range of long-term negative life outcomes. In light of the discussion of this classic study, it is imperative that there is careful consideration of the possibility of inducing iatrogenic effects when new youth programs are being developed and implemented. That is, there is a need to undertake careful, thorough and methodologically sound evaluations of intervention programs in this field in order to establish their effectiveness, justify the allocation of resources and ensure that such programs produce positive outcomes.

This report will review, compare and contrast the four types of youth camp initiatives in addition to best practice models for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people as they relate to youth camp programs. Recommendations and directions for future work in this area including the need for more rigorous research and evaluations of these programs will also be discussed. It is important to highlight that a wide variety of international research is included in this review, but this review in no way includes every example of different youth camp initiatives from an international perspective. The authors included the most appropriate literature for the scope of this paper, in order to ensure that the review included an effective outline of the four youth camp initiatives and international examples of youth programs based on each of these four models.

The development of modern youth camp models can be traced back to the Cambridge-Somerville Study, which was a classic experimental study by Cabot (1935; cited in McCord, 1969). The Cambridge-Somerville experiment introduced many of the components that underpin the different youth camp alternatives that are in existence today. The four youth camp models that will be included in this review are:

- traditional boot camps
- wilderness and adventure camps
- sports and recreational camps
- arts, music and cultural camps

Traditional boot camps were the first types of camps to be implemented to address the needs of at-risk and juvenile offenders (Caputo, 2004). Wilderness and adventure camps were later introduced as a response to the perceived ineffectiveness of traditional boot camp approaches (Polson & Chiauzzi, 2003). Sports and recreational camps and arts, music and cultural camps are other alternatives that have been developed in response to the need to tailor rehabilitation options to individual offenders (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001; Mason & Wilson, 1988). All four youth camp models have the common goal of rehabilitation and reintegration utilising educational and vocational programs as well as individual and group counselling. This section of the report will review the literature relating to each of the four types of camps for juvenile offenders and at-risk youth. An outline of the nature of each of the four types of camps will be provided along with a description of illustrative examples of each type of camp. The similarities and differences of the four types of camps will then be discussed after each type of youth camp has been presented. Each subsection will also include a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of camp models in addition to a review of the characteristics of their implementation and evaluation outcomes.

# Traditional Boot Camps

## Features of Traditional Boot Camps

### Definition and Description

Boot camps, which are also known as shock incarceration programs, are modelled after military basic training and emphasize strict discipline and respect for and obedience to authority (Atkinson, 1995; Caputo, 2004; MacKenzie & Donaldson, 1996). The first boot camp programs were implemented in Georgia and Oklahoma in 1983 to help relieve prison overcrowding. These boot camps were focused on a military atmosphere and hard labour, while more recent programs offer an array of treatments and therapy within the daily schedule of activities (MacKenzie & Donaldson, 1996). A typical boot camp program may require participants to participate in a full day of activities beginning at five or six o'clock in the morning with the daily schedule including military drill and ceremony, physical training and physically demanding job assignments. There is no such thing as a typical duration for boot camps with some being held over a few weeks and others taking 90 days or more.

Included in these programs are such elements as personal living skills, daily household duties, educational programs, drill and ceremony, life skills training, vocational training, physical education, recreation, individual counselling and chaplaincy (Caputo, 2004). More treatment orientated boot camps have also come into practice with the program involving similar practices as the traditional, military-style boot camps while incorporating such elements as community service work, substance abuse treatment, and group and family counselling (MacKenzie, Wilson & Kider, 2001).

Although there are some juvenile boot camps that have a preventative philosophical basis, there is a much stronger emphasis on the treatment of current offenders. As boot camps were first initiated to reduce prison overcrowding and then to act as a viable alternative to incarceration most programs concentrate on treating the offender in order to reduce recidivism. This treatment philosophy will therefore mean that most programs are designed for the offending juvenile and the boot camps discussed will reflect this.

### Content of Programs

In general, boot camps differ from traditional youth detention facilities in participants, the level of structure in the environment, and the inclusion of the military model in the correctional environment. Facilities do not differ significantly in their levels of security, however traditional facilities have allowances for visitation, phone calls and letter writing that provide juveniles with considerably more contact with the community than in boot camps (Gover, MacKenzie & Styve, 2000).

Boot camps have been proposed in order to achieve several different goals. The theory behind the boot camp model is that the shock experience and extremely regimented period of incarceration will produce a strong disincentive for an individual to offend/re-offend. The strict discipline, tiresome and gruelling exercise and, drill and ceremony are intended to serve as a threat to discourage others from offending. Advocates of boot camps argue that certain components of the boot camp model work in a rehabilitative function through the strict discipline and military-like atmosphere to instill responsibility, discipline, and self-esteem. Another goal of boot camps is that they can assist in alleviating prison overcrowding if certain offenders who are or would be sentenced to a prison term are diverted to a shorter, yet equally punitive and effective boot camp sentence (90 – 180 days) (Caputo, 2004).

A positive adjustment to community is one of the goals of boot camps and the findings of studies that have addressed this indicate that individuals who complete the program were no more positively adjusted to the community than were those who dropped-out (quit or were dismissed), parolees and probationers (Caputo, 2004). Although boot camps may cause a positive attitude change in participants (MacKenzie & Souryal, 1995), this does not appear to carry over into the long term with graduates of boot camps no more or less successful than failures, parolees, and probationers in gaining stable employment, financial and residential stability, and education. These types of findings lead researchers to conclude that overall, the boot camp programs did little to affect community adjustment and behavioural change in the participants (Caputo, 2004).

### Participants

Juvenile boot camps are designed for first-time and non-violent offenders, aged between 15 and 25, with many camps targeting drug offenders. These camps tend to be predominantly geared towards males with Caputo (2004) reporting that upwards of 90% of programs are male-oriented. Participation is determined by the promise a young person shows, if they appear more likely to benefit from the program there is a greater chance of being included. This is why boot camp models are developed for low-risk (i.e., first-time and non-violent offenders) juveniles which have the best chance of being rehabilitated. Participation can be either voluntary or non-voluntary depending on the governing body.

### Duration

Traditional boot camp programs have been developed that can run over a very short period of time (one day) as well as for a considerably longer period of time (up to six months).

### Orientation

When they first began in 1983, boot camps were designed to prevent prison overcrowding and gradually grew to take on a more treatment-oriented philosophy. Currently, boot camps serve both a preventative and treatment philosophy with these as the basis for the types of programs and interventions that are included in the types of boot camp models.

### Case Studies

There are few, well evaluated boot camps specifically tailored towards at-risk youths. However, there are a number of boot camps that have been established to deal with already incarcerated juveniles and such camps that include rehabilitative measures can be adapted to at-risk youths. Although juvenile boot camps do operate in Australia, the majority of research has been conducted on programs in the United States. As these programs cover a wide range of approaches to boot camps and due to their similarities with programs in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, these will be the focus of this section.

Case study examples of boot camp programs that have been evaluated focused on discipline and respect in a military-style atmosphere. The Special Alternative Incarceration Program is an example of a traditional style of boot camp and is used by the Michigan Department of Corrections as a 90-day condition for being granted probation, once the program is completed satisfactorily. During the 90 days, participants are subjected to strict discipline, hard labour, physical training and participate in supportive programs in education, group counselling, substance abuse counselling and stress management programs. Written evaluations by camp supervisors at days 40 to 80 are submitted to the sentencing judge and probation officer (Harlan, 1997). These evaluations are the basis for the success or failure of a participant, however, it is the sentencing judge and probation officer who decides the success of the participant and hence the program. An example of a daily schedule for a New York boot camp can be seen in Appendix A.

The Intensive Confinement Center (ICC) in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania is an example of an adult boot camp and is a six-month program that emphasises military drill and ceremony, work, physical wellness and treatment programs such as life skills, basic education and drug and/or alcohol education and counselling (Lutze, 1998). Except for its population characteristics (male adults), the ICC is similar in many ways to juvenile boot camps. The boot camp group was compared to a similar group of participants at the Federal Prison Camp which is a traditional minimum-security camp providing inmates with the opportunity to develop their own programs (Lutze, 1998).

The evaluation involved a self-report questionnaire within two weeks of their arrival and again approximately six months after the camp. There were some differences between the two groups which may have affected the evaluation. The ICC participants were serving shorter sentences, were younger and were therefore younger at the time of their first arrest and were more likely to be single. An analysis of the results revealed that there were significant differences in discipline and coercion by staff, with greater levels reported by ICC participants. There were no significant differences between the groups on the importance of life skills, work, wellness, and sports, or abusive components of the overall environment. In common with most boot camps the participants felt that the program was beneficial, which is not a good indication of the effectiveness of a program as there are often considerable differences between 'felt' experience and observable results. In this case, although the elements of the ICC created good external and internal controls which supported rehabilitation there was no statistically significant difference between the ICC group and the comparison group (Lutze, 1998).

The Specialised Treatment and Rehabilitation (STAR) program is a school-based model which is aimed at reducing violence and preventing crime at schools and operates through the combined efforts of the school, the juvenile court and the juvenile probation department. The goal of STAR is to enable individuals to remain in school and to reduce disruptive behaviour, while also improving academic and classroom performances and instilling pride and discipline in participants. STAR also attempts to reduce the amount of delinquency referrals to the juvenile authorities (Trulson, Triplett & Snell, 2001). STAR was developed for 10 to 16 year olds with different levels of behavioural problems from breaking minor school rules to delinquent behaviour. The STAR program is run as either a short-term (often 1-day) or a long-term (a 24-weeks) program for more serious problems. The elements of the STAR program include regimented quasi-military drilling and physical activities as well as regular schooling (with drill instructors present) and extra-schooling such as reading, special presentations and study time (Trulson et al., 2001).

The results of the STAR program evaluation were positive from the perceptions of parents, teachers and STAR participants, who viewed the program favourably. Unfortunately, however, when compared to the participants of an Intensive Supervision Program (ISP), STAR participants were found to offend more; 53 percent compared to 36 percent. It should be noted that the main differences between the two programs was the quasi-military drilling and physical activities in STAR and the programs offered by the Montgomery County Juvenile Services, which encourages and sometimes demands parental cooperation (Trulson et al., 2001). The STAR program results are consistent with the Cambridge Somerville study as participants reported very positive outcomes, however, a proper evaluation revealed the complete opposite.

## Evidence of Effectiveness of Traditional Boot Camps

The effectiveness of the boot camp model can be assessed by a consideration of the positive and negative evaluation results of the model. Positive evaluation results of the boot camp model include:

- A positive effect on short-term attitude change.
- The inclusion of academic education, drug treatment or education, and life skills courses.
- Intensive aftercare components to aid offenders in completing the transition back into the community.
- Cost-effective in comparison to traditional prisons.
- Changes not related to nature of participation (voluntary or non-voluntary).

To elaborate on these points, MacKenzie and Souryal (1995) reported that during boot camp, participants developed more positive attitudes in contrast to offenders serving time in prison (see also McCorkle, 1995). This change in attitude was apparent in both traditional boot camps that focused on military training, discipline and hard labour as well as more treatment oriented programs. However, it was discovered that a decrease in anti-social attitudes was greater for graduates of boot camps where participation was voluntary, more time was allocated for rehabilitation and there was a higher dismissal rate (MacKenzie & Souryal, 1995).

Wilson, MacKenzie, and Mitchell (2005) analysed the results of 32 studies on boot camps situated in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. Wilson et al. (2005) concluded that the difference in impact on rates of recidivism between boot camp participants and comparison groups was roughly equal and that the overall results of their analysis suggest that no general reduction in recidivism can be attributable to boot camps.

In order to make certain of these results further analyses were run which considered that certain types of boot camps may be effective while other types may not. The influence of offender characteristics was also taken into consideration as was the methodological soundness of the studies or the

influence of methodological features. Once again a finding of no difference was reported (Wilson et al., 2005). However, when boot camp characteristics were analysed the results suggested that programs with a rehabilitative focus were more effective (Wilson et al., 2005).

Wilson et al. (2005) conclude that, overall, boot camps have no effect on rate of recidivism. Some studies found an effect in favour of boot camp participants while other studies found an effect in favour of the comparison groups. Moreover, Wilson et al. (2005) admitted that not all factors were accounted for in their analysis leaving room for further studies to provide a clear picture on the relationship between recidivism and boot camp participation.

The inclusion of academic education, drug treatment or education, and life skills courses shows that the model is flexible in changing in response to research. Boot camps also allocate more time to these activities than offenders would receive if they were in a traditional institution. Furthermore, some boot camps are developing an intensive aftercare component to aid offenders in making the transition from incarceration back into the community (MacKenzie & Donaldson, 1996).

Negative evaluation results of the boot camp model:

- Failure rates of approximately 30 to 40 percent.
- Similar recidivism rates to traditional prison settings.
- Evaluations do not discern between the effect of boot camps and the effect of aftercare programs.
- Little effect on long-term positive attitude and behavioural change.
- The quasi-military drilling and physical activities unique to boot camps do not play any significant role in the effects, if any, of boot camps.
- Graduates of boot camps no more or less successful than failures, parolees, and probationers in gaining stable employment, financial and residential stability, and education

To elaborate, boot camp failure rates of 30 to 40 percent (Parent, 1996; cited in Caputo, 2004) are particularly troubling when one considers the goals of rehabilitation and reducing prison crowding, as those participants who do not complete the program are sent to or returned to prison and this has significant implications for reducing recidivism.

Doris MacKenzie (MacKenzie & Brame, 1995; MacKenzie et al., 2001) undertook the major study on boot camps which involved a multi-site evaluation of boot camp programs in Georgia, New York, Oklahoma, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, South Carolina and Illinois. This research revealed that recidivism rates of boot camp graduates are similar to comparison groups (i.e., similar offenders who served their time in prison). In addition, the Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP) in its study on the costs and effectiveness of crime prevention strategies discovered that juvenile boot camps actually resulted in a 10 percent increase in recidivism rates, while surprisingly providing a taxpayer benefit of over \$10,000 (Crime Prevention Queensland, 2002).

There are some examples, however, of programs which affected a lower recidivism rate such as those in New York and Louisiana studied by MacKenzie et al. (2001). Unfortunately, as MacKenzie (1997) and the Koch Crime Commission (1996) assert, findings concerning the impact of boot camps on recidivism rates are inconsistent at best. The MacKenzie et al. (2001) meta-analysis of 29 studies of boot camp programs found lower recidivism in nine of the studies, higher recidivism in eight of the studies and no significant difference in the 12 remaining studies. Moreover, even when boot camps have been found to lower recidivism rates, this effect could be attributable to the treatment provided instead of the program itself or to the aftercare offered to participants (MacKenzie et al., 2001; MacKenzie, Brame, McDowall and Souryal, 1995). This highlights the inconsistency of the findings of boot camp studies and the need for more research to be undertaken in order to understand which specific factors in boot camps are effective in decreasing rates of recidivism.



## Summary

Strong aftercare programs may help to reduce recidivism by assisting offenders to make a successful transition back into the community, which may be the cause of the lower recidivism rates seen in New York and Louisiana. Aftercare programs may act on their own to reduce recidivism, making boot camps unnecessary. Taking into account the education and treatment programs provided, it seems more appropriate to conclude that the effect of boot camps is mediated by aftercare programs.

Supporters of boot camps claim that the strengths of boot camps lie in the strict and militaristic atmosphere, as it is assumed that these characteristics instill responsibility, positive growth and respect. Detractors of the boot camp model claim that the same military-style atmosphere and approach are weaknesses of the model and instead advocate a therapeutic foundation (Caputo, 2004).

The research to date on the effectiveness of boot camps seems to indicate that the military atmosphere of boot camps, the structure and the discipline are not effective in and of themselves in reducing recidivism. Instead, boot camp programs that utilise components such as therapeutic activities and follow-up in the community may be more successful in reducing recidivism. However, there are still too many inconsistencies in the literature and as Tyler, Darville and Stalnaker (2001) suggest:

*Boot camps could prove to be a valuable tool in juvenile justice, but stricter assessment and evaluation methods as well as better aftercare are needed before these politically appealing programs constitute an effective method of diminishing juvenile delinquency (p.445).*

Other recommendations that need to be considered were raised by the National Criminal Justice Association (1996). These recommendations include more specificity in defining the processes that are expected to elicit the desired changes in participants and that boot camp programs should carefully define and select target populations in light of their goals for rehabilitation, recidivism, cost reduction and punishment.

# Wilderness and Adventure Camps

## Features of Wilderness and Adventure Camps

### Definition and Description

The concept of wilderness and adventure camps was developed in response to the perceived ineffectiveness of traditional boot camp strategies for dealing with juvenile offenders (Ashcroft, Daniels & Hart, 2003; Atkinson, 1995). Wilderness and adventure camps are based on the premise that there is a greater likelihood of initiating long-term behavioural change in young offenders when they can be placed in a safe and supportive environment where there are opportunities for “routine, personal space, regular meals and positive reinforcement” (Polson & Chiauzzi, 2003, p. 6). Proponents of this type of program also argue that removing juvenile offenders and at-risk youth from a familiar setting characterised by offending behaviour and delinquency, and transferring them to an environmental or bush setting can assist them in thinking about the consequences of their actions and strategies for “getting their life back on track” (Greenwood, 1996).

### Content of Programs

There are many diverse and challenging activities that wilderness and adventure camp participants are required to be involved in. These activities include but are not limited to rock climbing, ocean quests, overnight solo survival experiences, alternative education and individual and family counselling (Roberts, 2004). Wilderness programs for at-risk youth can also include strategies to assist the clients in developing literacy skills, self-esteem and self-confidence as well as physical fitness and healthy lifestyle choices (Fuentes & Burns, 2002). Reviewing the literature relating to wilderness programs for juvenile offenders has highlighted the fact that these programs encompass a range of social, emotional, physical and educational aspects in their attempt to rehabilitate young offenders and reintegrate them back into the community.

### Participants

Participants involved in wilderness and adventure camps are usually serious, repeat juvenile offenders between the ages of 12 and 25 years (Atkinson, 1995; Greenwood, 1996). These individuals have typically had numerous contacts with the juvenile justice system, and many have been incarcerated in traditional correctional environments on more than one previous occasion (Atkinson, 1995; Greenwood,

1996). Staff who facilitate wilderness and adventure camps include social workers, psychologists and alternative corrections officers. The staff to client ratio ranges from one staff member to five clients to one on one relationships between staff and clients when individual therapy sessions take place (Roberts, 2004).

### Duration

The length of time that participants spend at wilderness and adventure camps can vary depending on the nature of the program. Shorter wilderness camps such as those facilitated by the Outlook Centre (Boonah, QLD) can be as short as 2 days whereas programs such as the Hope Centre Wilderness Camp (HCWC) in the United States runs for up to 3 months.

### Orientation

Wilderness and adventure camps are based on a treatment approach, as participants are sent to these types of camps usually after committing numerous previous offences (Greenwood, 1996). These types of camps can also be conceptualised as being treatment-based, as they emphasise personal reflection on the offending behaviour as well as strategies to assist the juvenile to minimise future offending behaviour (Greenwood, 1996).

A number of wilderness and adventure programs are in operation to address the needs of serious, repeat juvenile offenders. Programs from Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom will be discussed and will then be compared and contrasted. This discussion will include Rural Based Training Programs (Australia), Boys from the Bush (Australia), The Outlook (Australia), Vision Quest (United States), Hope Centre Wilderness Camp (United States) and Outward Bound (UK). The REFS (Regional and Extended Family Services) programs will also be reviewed.

## Case Studies

**(a) Rural Based Training Programs** have been a popular intervention strategy for at-risk youth since the late 1960's (Shoel, Prouty & Radcliffe, 1988). Rural Based Training Programs can be viewed as a variation of wilderness and adventure camps, as these programs focus on not only social and emotional dimensions, but also include comprehensive training to assist clients with developing vocational skills that can be applied to organisational environments (Green, 2000). Training at rural based programs includes assisting clients in acquiring appropriate work habits, vocational and life skills in addition to how to practically implement the training in a real work environment (Green, 2000). A previous review of the literature in this field has indicated that rural based training programs for juvenile offenders and at-risk youth, if designed and executed effectively, can increase the likelihood of rehabilitation and reintegration back into the community by providing an environment where young people can learn new skills in the absence of their offending peer group and often challenging domestic situations (Green, 2000).

### Strengths of Rural Based Training Programs

- development of literacy skills to assist clients in everyday living and requirements of securing stable employment upon release from the camp environment
- training in healthy lifestyle skills, nutrition and physical fitness to assist in rehabilitation and maintaining employment once a suitable job has been secured
- encourages team work, problem solving and personal development
- provides a natural setting for clients without the presence of their familiar offending peer group

### Weaknesses of Rural Based Training Programs

- clients may become unhappy, homesick or difficult to manage
- may be easier for program staff to treat clients abusively or with disrespect

- long distance from emergency services personnel, such as police, fire and ambulance
- remote / rural location results in personal safety risks to program staff

**(b) Boys from the Bush** is a program that aims to minimise contact with the criminal justice system among young male Indigenous people from the Cape York region of North Queensland (Carter, 2004). This intervention program considers both the risk and protective factors that may influence the likelihood of this target group engaging in delinquent behaviours (Carter, 2004). The intervention seeks to minimise the risk factors associated with offending through the development of positive protective factors enhanced by a new peer group of successful role models (Carter, 2004). This is achieved through program facilitators modelling cooperative, positive and non-violent relationships in addition to providing peer mentoring from the younger supervisors (Carter, 2004). Participants involved in the Boys from the Bush intervention are usually referred by the courts, the Department of Communities, the Police Service or a community justice group in the Cape York region. Many of the clients who participate in this program are from severely disadvantaged backgrounds, where parents are unemployed and the nuclear family structure is disjointed or doesn't exist (Carter, 2004). It is also important to highlight the fact that many of the program participants are "brought up" in delinquent peer groups, rather than in traditional family settings (Carter, 2004).

Staff who run Boys from the Bush are made up of both paid and voluntary workers. The team consists of a project director, approximately five case workers and five volunteers, who all work together as a team to facilitate the program and organise the structured activities for the clients (Carter, 2004). There are a variety of challenging activities that participants in the program are involved in. These include cultural activities tailored to learning more about Indigenous culture and values, environmental awareness tasks, physical fitness, survival techniques, cognitive skills, mentor support and building positive peer relationships, developing communication skills, self-reflection techniques and how to make healthy lifestyle choices (Carter, 2004).

### Strengths of Boys from the Bush

- offers reconnection with Indigenous culture
- provides challenging activities and adventures
- provides positive peer support and adult mentors to assist in developing healthy community relationships
- develops communication skills
- provides culturally appropriate discipline and reflective practice
- provides an environment which fosters personal reflection and thinking

### Weaknesses of Boys from the Bush

- program needs more funding to effectively achieve its stated outcomes
- more attention needs to be directed toward positions of stakeholders
- need to devise a case reporting system for program participants
- safety risks due to rural / remote location

(c) **The Outlook** facility conducts programs for juvenile offenders and at-risk young people in Boonah, a rural region located approximately 100 km west of Brisbane in Queensland. The Outlook programs are based on experiential models of treatment, and have been developed to address the needs of at-risk young people and juvenile offenders (Tansky, 2000).

The Outlook hosts a variety of programs, in order to cater for young people coming from a diverse range of backgrounds (Get Set for Work, 2005; Impact Projects, 1999). For example, the *Get Set for Work Program* is a 12 week intervention to assist 15-24 year olds in improving the skills needed to secure and maintain employment (Get Set for Work, 2005). Participants are involved in life skills training, team work activities, budgeting and are also assisted in learning about appropriate workplace behaviour

(Get Set for Work, 2005). Some of the wilderness activities included in this and other programs hosted by the Outlook include canoeing, rafting, abseiling and rock climbing (Simons, Meyers, Harris & Blom, 2003).

### Strengths of The Outlook

- the Outlook staff will design a youth program specifically for the needs of a particular target group
- organisations and community groups are also free to structure their own youth intervention and only utilise the Outlook's facilities
- programs utilise experiential learning in a natural environmental setting
- program staff are well trained and qualified
- rural location provides "time out" for offenders and at-risk young people

### Weaknesses of The Outlook

- safety risks for staff / clients due to remote location
- delays if emergency personnel are required (police, fire or ambulance) due to remote location
- possible access difficulties for families wishing to visit program participants if it is an extended program

(d) Another example of wilderness and adventure camps is **Vision Quest**. Vision Quest is an intervention program for juvenile offenders in Arizona in the United States, where clients participate in outdoor activities such as sailing, fishing and survival techniques as well as alternative education strategies (Greenwood, 1988). This program focuses on experiential education and life-skills training in addition to rebuilding family relationships in a natural environmental setting (Greenwood, 1988).

Vision Quest utilises three case workers supervised by a team leader who individually tailors treatment options for each program participant, emphasising

the accomplishment of behavioural goals, positive peer relationships and intensive aftercare supervision (Greenwood, 1988). Although no objective program evaluation has been conducted for Vision Quest, an evaluation of similar programs in the United States, such as Spectrum and the Outdoor Behavioural Health Care Program have indicated significant reductions in recidivism rates (Greenwood, 1988).

#### Strengths of Vision Quest

- focus on experiential education and life skills training assists participants in preparing for life outside the camp environment
- promotes positive peer relationships through group and team activities
- thorough approach to the rehabilitation of participants due to a structured aftercare program

#### Weaknesses of Vision Quest

- safety risks to staff / clients due to program operating in remote location
- increased distance from emergency services personnel
- possible access problems for parents and friends wishing to visit program participants

**(e) The Hope Centre Wilderness Camp** is another example of a wilderness and adventure camp that attempts to rehabilitate young offenders and at-risk youth (Clagett, 1989). This intervention operates in Texas in the United States, and caters for young people aged from 12 to 17 years who are emotionally disturbed and who have committed serious offences (Clagett, 1989). Most of the clients who participate in the Hope Centre Wilderness Camp (HCWC) are referred there by juvenile court judges (Clagett, 1989). The HCWC program bases its practices on the philosophy of rehabilitation, self-development and empowerment, to assist all clients in their successful reintegration back into society (Clagett, 1989). This intervention program aims to achieve these goals by offering program participants a variety of challenging and therapeutic activities, such as bush survival

skills, rock climbing, fishing, canoeing and both individual and group counselling therapies (Clagett, 1989). The HCWC is staffed by case workers and supervisors, who facilitate the activities and conduct both the individual and group counselling sessions (Clagett, 1989). A search of the relevant literature has indicated that one evaluation has been conducted on the HCWC, where it was found that 85% of program graduates did not re-offend during the first six months after being released from the wilderness camp (Clagett, 1989). Although the results of this evaluation appear to be promising, one evaluation alone does not mean that this program is in fact effective in reducing the recidivism rates of juvenile offenders who graduate from the HCWC.

#### Strengths of The Hope Centre Wilderness Camp

- promotes positive peer relationships through strong emphasis on team work and group communication
- development of self-esteem and personal development
- structured individual and group counselling for all program participants assists clients in holistic rehabilitation process

#### Weaknesses of The Hope Centre Wilderness Camp

- safety risks to staff / clients due to program operating in remote location
- increased distance from emergency services personnel
- possible access problems for parents and friends wishing to visit program participants

**(f) The Outward Bound Program**, which is based in the United Kingdom, originated in Wales after the Second World War to address the issues associated with juvenile offending at that time (Roberts, 2004). The program today is based on a rehabilitative philosophy, where staff assist the young offenders to develop work ethics, survival skills, team work and self-development in a natural environmental setting

(Roberts, 2004). Program participants are involved in a range of activities, including physical, social, emotional and psychological therapies (Roberts, 2004). Clients in the Outward Bound program are provided with diverse therapeutic techniques, to assist them in examining their offending behaviour from different perspectives. Providing these intervention techniques in a rural or natural environment can be argued to be a positive experience, as research has highlighted the importance of removing juvenile offenders from their familiar environments which are often characterised by delinquent peer groups and challenging domestic situations (Green, 2000).

Wilderness camps such as Outward Bound may be successful in rehabilitating young offenders, as this type of strategy provides an environment where the clients are able to reflect on their behaviour in the absence of negative influences, whilst at the same time being provided with a holistic therapeutic approach to assist them in their reintegration back into the community.

#### **Strengths of The Outward Bound Program**

- removing clients from their usual offending peer groups
- providing a natural environmental setting where clients are able to think and reflect on their offending behaviours

#### **Weaknesses of The Outward Bound Program**

- safety risks to staff / clients due to program operating in remote location
- increased distance from emergency services personnel
- possible access problems for parents and friends wishing to visit program participants

**(g) Regional Extended Family Services (REFS)** wilderness programs provide another example of this program model. Regional and Extended Family Services run programs to prevent young people who are at-risk of becoming homeless from becoming disconnected with their family and educational

institutions (Department of Communities, 2005). Young people between the ages of 14 and 17 years who have been identified as being at-risk of becoming homeless are taken on 5-10 day wilderness based camps (Department of Communities, 2005). Participants are involved in a range of activities, including mediation, counselling, mentoring, employment training and education in addition to bushwalking, fishing and rock climbing (Department of Communities, 2005). These wilderness programs are run by a small team of staff comprising counselling, educational and outdoor facilitators who are tertiary qualified in their particular area. The REFS wilderness program aims to provide at-risk young people with alternative educational options and therapeutic interventions in a natural environmental location, in order to address their individual needs and reasons why they are at-risk of becoming homeless (Department of Communities, 2005).

#### **Strengths of Regional Extended Family Services (REFS)**

- collaborative program design linking in with schools and other community groups
- individual and group counselling for clients and families
- opportunities for families to be involved in rehabilitation process
- structured follow-up program over the 12 months after clients leave the wilderness camp
- tertiary qualified staff

#### **Weaknesses of Regional Extended Family Services (REFS)**

- safety risks to staff / clients due to program based in remote location
- access may be difficult / delayed if emergency personnel are needed
- \$50 cost may make program inaccessible to some financially disadvantaged young people

(h) The Youth Enterprise Trust (YET) is an independent charitable organisation that was established in 1990. YET assists disadvantaged young people aged between 16 and 24 years through a personally challenging and intense program that begins in the Carnarvon Ranges in Central Queensland and transfers to a semi-rural area in South East Queensland for practical follow-up (YET, 2006). Graduation occurs after an intense two week experience where the goal is to develop personal and vocational goals. After completion of the program participants receive 12 months of encouragement and support by telephone from a volunteer “off-sider” (YET, 2006).

The main aim of YET is to give an opportunity to disadvantaged young Australians to identify and actively pursue their life goals, through participation in a program which stands as a “Rite of Passage” in their transition from adolescence to a responsible, creative, and self-reliant adulthood (YET, 2006).

### **Strengths of the Youth Enterprise Trust**

A greater attention to the individual participant: This is achieved by maintaining a low participant-staff ratio of three-to-one, with the maximum number of participants on the wilderness course being ten.

There is an emphasis on the individual and the program assists each participant to identify and maximise their unique talents and gifts.

The program offers financial scholarships which encourage participants that may otherwise be unable to be involved.

There is an emphasis on the transition from adolescence to adulthood and on obtaining independence in life, especially from welfare.

The mix of participants reflects a diversity of socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds.

### **Weaknesses of the Youth Enterprise Trust**

There is a lack of empirical evaluation of the program. This lack of evaluation means that it is impossible to tell if YET works to reduce recidivism

and if it does, what aspects of the program are involved in this reduction.

There are several common features inherent in the case studies that have been discussed above. Each of the wilderness and adventure programs that have been outlined:

- promote positive peer relationships
- encourage team work, problem solving and personal reflection and
- provide a natural setting for rehabilitation

Another common feature of these programs is that they all operate from rural and / or remote locations, which may increase the safety risks for both staff and clients. There are also some differences when comparing each of the wilderness and adventure programs:

- Boys from the Bush focuses specifically on Indigenous young people, whereas the other programs that were discussed do not delineate between cultural groups
- The Outlook Centre will either facilitate camp programs but also have the provision to allow community organisations to run their own camp programs from the Outlook facility
- REFS has strong links with schools and other community organisations, whereas the other wilderness and adventure camps do not

### **Evidence of Effectiveness of Wilderness and Adventure Camps**

One of the strengths associated with the wilderness and adventure camps models is the holistic approach to rehabilitation of young offenders. Utilising an approach that includes social, emotional, physical and psychological treatment options offers potential to address the multitude of factors that may be contributing to the young person’s offending behaviour (Roberts, 2004). Another strength of



these types of interventions relates to the natural environmental setting. Conducting camps for juvenile offenders and at-risk youth in rural or remote locations is thought to be effective in providing the clients of the program with a quiet, peaceful setting to allow them to reflect on their past behaviour whilst also having time to think about ways in which they can modify their negative behaviours in future situations (Carter, 2004; Green, 2000).

Although there are many strengths associated with wilderness and adventure camps programs, there are however some weaknesses that are important to discuss. The most significant weakness that has been identified upon reviewing the relevant literature relates to the safety aspect of conducting programs in remote locations (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003). Due to the fact that most of the young people who participate in wilderness and adventure camps are serious repeat offenders, there are safety risks to both staff and clients involved in such programs (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003). For example, if several clients become violent and injure another client or staff member, it may be difficult for other staff to restrain the troubled client(s) and minimise harm being suffered by other staff and clients. This highlights the need for clean and detailed forward planning as well as low staff to client ratios, in order to minimise potential harm.

Another weakness related to wilderness and adventure programs relates to the long distance some programs can be from emergency services such as police, fire and ambulance (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003). If staff or clients are seriously injured and are in need of emergency assistance, there may be delays in receiving service due to a program's remote or rural location. Rural and remote locations could also be seen as a weakness of wilderness programs, as it may be difficult for parents and friends of the program participants to become actively involved in the rehabilitation of their relative (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003). These and other potential costs of wilderness and adventure programs must be weighed and balanced against the potential gains to ensure that decisions regarding these programs are always made from a "best practice" approach.

## Summary

The case studies used to illustrate the different wilderness and adventure camp models outlined the philosophies on which these programs are based. Clearly these programs are based on the assumption that wilderness and adventure camps will have a positive effect on participants indicated by a range of outcomes including reducing recidivism and rehabilitating young offenders (Carter, 2004; Green, 2000; Roberts, 2004). Unfortunately, however this review was able to uncover only a limited number of objective evaluations of the programs, making it difficult to specify the exact degree of effectiveness in reducing recidivism rates and successfully reintegrating young offenders back into society. Objective evaluations that have been conducted can be summarised as follows:

- Vision Quest – graduates from the Vision Quest program were found to be approximately 50 % less likely to re-offend in the first 12 months after being released from the program when compared with a control group of similar young people who had been released from a custodial correctional facility (Greenwood, 1988).
- Outward Bound – an objective evaluation by Roberts (2004) indicated that participants in this program were found to display increased self-esteem and social skills in addition to a 20% reduction in recidivism rates 18 months after being released from the program.

It is clear that more structured evaluations are needed in order to measure the effectiveness of current wilderness and adventure programs as well as to provide future directions on best practice models in addressing the needs of juvenile offenders and at-risk youth. At the time of this review, it is therefore not possible to draw firm conclusions about the value of adventure and wilderness camps based on empirical data.

# Sports and Recreation Camps

## Features of Sports and Recreation Camps

### Definition and Description

In conducting this review of youth camp options for juvenile offenders and at-risk youth, it has been a recurring theme that only a limited number of studies have been conducted to assess the effectiveness of different types of camp programs. Sports and recreation camps are no exception to this rule.

Even so, there are a small number of studies from both Australia and the United States that provide a comprehensive insight into the nature of sports and recreation camps for juvenile offenders (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003).

Sports and recreation camps are based on the philosophy and belief that “participation in sport and recreation has the ability to deter young people from delinquent behaviour” (Mason & Wilson, 1988). There is strong theoretical support for this position indicated in the work of Mason and Wilson (1988) and Sallybanks (2003), which will be outlined here. It is of course recognised that other research is required to strengthen the hypothesis that sport and recreation may be a protective factor in reducing juvenile offending behaviour.

### Content of Programs

The activities offered by sports and recreation camps vary, but usually include a range of both individual and group sporting activities such as tennis, football, soccer, athletics, baseball / softball and hockey (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003). Sports and recreation camps cater for both male and female juvenile offenders, although the literature indicates that more males than females are referred to this type of intervention (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003). Removing juvenile offenders and at-risk youth from their routine environment, which is most likely characterised by delinquent peers and offending behaviour, has been argued to be an effective strategy in assisting these young people to reflect on their past offending behaviour whilst at the same time providing an environment where they can think of ways to modify their offending behaviour in future challenging situations (Green, 2000).

### Participants

Sports and recreation camps are a diversionary mechanism to assist in minimising a juvenile offender’s contact with the youth justice system

(Mason & Wilson, 1988). Most participants referred to sports and recreation camps are serious, repeat juvenile offenders with more than one previous contact with the youth justice system (Greenwood, 1996). Program participants are usually between 12 and 25 years of age, and have usually been incarcerated in a custodial corrections environment on previous occasions (Greenwood, 1996).

Staff who oversee sports and recreation camps for juveniles include social workers, psychologists, alternative corrections officers and sports and fitness instructors (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003). Sports psychologists may also be involved in facilitating sports and recreation camps for juvenile offenders.

### Duration

The duration of sports and recreation camps, like wilderness and adventure camps, can vary. As reported in Mason and Wilson (1988), typical sporting and recreation programs for at-risk youth run for approximately 1 week. However, depending on the resources available, organisations such as YMCA and Time Out can run youth sporting camps for as short as 2 days or as long as 4 weeks (Mason & Wilson, 1988).

### Orientation

Sporting and recreational camps for at-risk youth and juvenile offenders can be viewed from both treatment and prevention perspectives, as these programs include both treatment and prevention strategies to address the needs of the target group (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003). These programs do this in several ways:

- by catering for young people who have already committed offences as well as young people who are at-risk of committing offences
- by including a range of activities (not just sports and recreation) in their program, for example, providing opportunities for personal reflection on past offending behaviour in addition to developing social skills in order to encourage more appropriate behaviour in the future

### Case Studies

Even though there is only limited empirical evidence in relation to sports and recreation camp initiatives, there are several programs operating in Australia that may be promising. These programs include: (a) YMCA and (b) Time Out (Mason & Wilson, 1988). These two programs have integrated sports and recreation activities into their youth programs, and at face value, appear to have a positive effect. YMCA and Time Out programs provide participants and their families with “time out” from at-risk and offending behaviour by taking the young person out of the home environment and engaging them in sporting, recreational and social activities to develop more appropriate social skills and self-esteem (Mason & Wilson, 1988).

These programs appear to increase participants’ self-esteem, encourage participation in sporting and recreational activities and in turn, instill healthy lifestyle values and increase physical fitness levels (Mason & Wilson, 1988). In light of the fact that these apparent positive effects are based on anecdotal information rather than objective evaluation data, however, it will not be possible to conclude with certainty that these programs are effective until program evaluations that are structured and objective have been conducted (Mason & Wilson, 1988). In order to determine the appropriateness of sports and recreation programs for young offenders, programs need to be structured specifically for the target group of clients and be objectively evaluated using more rigorous research methods.

It may be useful for policy makers from all interested countries to examine a sports and recreation program in operation in France (as described by Mason & Wilson, 1988). According to Mason and Wilson (1988), France has developed a sport and leisure program for young people who are current offenders or who are at-risk of becoming offenders in the future (Mason & Wilson, 1988). This program involves a variety of sports and leisure activities, which explicitly target crime prevention and reducing recidivism as the primary goal of the program (Mason & Wilson, 1988). As this is a new initiative in France, no formal evaluation has been published, so the value of the program is not known. However, it is interesting to note the fact that France is the only industrialised country where the rates of juvenile delinquency and offending are decreasing (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003). The reader is referred to Mason and Wilson (1988) and Sallybanks (2003) for more information on this program.

### Evidence of Effectiveness of Sports and Recreation Camps

As was stated above, there is limited empirical research focusing on the effectiveness of sports and recreation camps in addressing the needs of juvenile offenders and at-risk youth. However, the results of the research that has been conducted contributes significantly to the theoretical underpinnings of the link between participation in sport and / or recreational activities and juvenile offending (Mason & Wilson, 1988; Sallybanks, 2003), as young people who participate in sports were reported to show higher levels of self-esteem and social skills. Although these findings are based on anecdotal evidence, more objective research may indicate that participation in sporting and recreational activities can be an effective strategy in reducing further offending behaviour and recidivism (Mason & Wilson, 1988). Mason and Wilson's (1988) report also offers explanations regarding perceived gender differences when examining the relationship between participation in sport and recreation and likelihood of engaging in delinquency and offending behaviour.

It has been hypothesised that young people can be deterred from participating in delinquent behaviours if they become involved in sports and recreational activities (Mason & Wilson, 1988). Possible explanations as to why this may be the case is that sports and recreational activities may improve a young person's self-concept, may provide relief from boredom and may also assist in increasing the young person's social control (Mason & Wilson, 1988). Although these explanations seem logical, a lack of research in this area which measures changes in these variables as a consequence or outcome of program participation does not allow the reviewer to conclude that sports and recreational activities actually result in the positive effects anticipated. More critically, further research investigating the relationship between sports / recreation and offending behaviour is necessary before any formal conclusions of the value of young people's participation in such camps can be drawn.

Reviewing the literature in this field has also highlighted the limited research conducted on gender differences in the relationship between sports / recreation and juvenile offending. Mason and Wilson (1988) proposed that young males who participate in sports were less likely to engage in delinquent activities when compared with young males who did

not participate in sports or recreational activities. Unfortunately, it is not possible to explain the current state of this hypothesis with certainty, as the authors were unable to locate objective data and had to base judgements on anecdotal and subjective information. The effects for females however were not clear, due to insufficient research into the relationship between sports / recreation and offending behaviour in young females (Mason & Wilson, 1988). It is clear then that further research is needed to more closely investigate the existence of possible gender differences in relation to the effects of sports / recreation on juvenile offending behaviour.

### Summary

In summary, it is difficult to make accurate recommendations about the effectiveness of sports and recreation camps based on the limited research in this area, although further research may indicate a reduction in recidivism rates in young people as a result of attending sports and recreation camps. More structured programs need to be developed with objective evaluation mechanisms if we are to accurately measure the effectiveness of sporting and recreational programs for juvenile offenders and at-risk young people. Until then, the general value of sports and recreation camps for young people might be weighed up in terms of their following relative strengths and weaknesses:

### Strengths

- improving young people's physical skills and strength
- engaging young people in team activities
- developing team work skills
- providing both individual and group activities to cater for individual clients
- developing communication skills
- developing self-esteem and self-confidence in the clients
- education on healthy lifestyle strategies and physical fitness awareness training
- improving clients' social skills

### Weaknesses

- programs may not be suited to female juvenile offenders (further research will address this lack of knowledge)
- encouraging physical activities may instigate aggressive or violent behaviour from some program participants
- aggressive or violent behaviour may result in increased safety risks to staff and other program participants

# Arts, Music and Cultural Camps

## Features of Arts, Music and Cultural Camps

### Definition and Description

In general, arts and music programs for young people tend to have a greater focus on risk prevention than rehabilitation. They are designed to increase academic success and reduce problem and delinquent behaviours by using arts and music activities to improve participants' attitudes towards drug use, school and the future. Art and music programs also attempt to increase positive peer and adult associations, build resistance to peer pressures, increase self-esteem, community involvement and self-efficacy in addition to reducing alienation from others and increasing interest in healthy activities (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001).

### Content of Programs

Youth arts programs can be used for at-risk youth and juveniles who are in custody to help prevent further criminal behaviour. They offer safe, engaging and constructive environments for young people who lack adult supervision during non-school hours, a time when they are most vulnerable to community violence and gang recruitment. An increasing number of communities are realising that art programs for at-risk youth offer an effective and more affordable alternative to detention and police-centred crime prevention. Youth art programs provide the opportunity for at-risk youth to engage in positive, constructive activities that have been proven effective in deterring delinquent behaviour (Americans for the Arts, 1997).

Cultural programs consider both rehabilitation and risk prevention and are designed to meet the needs of a specific population group (boys/girls, age groups, and racial groups such as African American, Hispanic, Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander). Although there is little empirical support, it has been suggested (Dryfoos, 1993) that attention needs to be given to language differences, social mores and specific cultural traditions if the programs are to be effective. Despite its intuitive appeal, based on the limited research available, it is difficult to make any conclusions on the necessity of cultural elements in juvenile intervention programs. The important factor is that the individuals who conduct the programs be sensitive to differences between individuals and cultural groups (Dryfoos, 1993).

Warfield-Coppock (1992) suggested that an appropriate cultural intervention for youths at-risk is an African-centred rites of passage program. A survey of 20 rites of passage experts and others affiliated with agencies or organisations that sponsored rites programs was conducted and these respondents reported having conducted 87 rites of passage programs between 1984 and 1992 and having initiated 1,616 youths. Ninety percent of the respondents indicated that knowledge of self and culture is crucial for youths in confronting the problems they face. This seems a glowing endorsement of the cultural model until one realises that this endorsement may not equate to practical results. If such programs are to offer a viable alternative to reactive interventions for at-risk youth then an increased knowledge of self and culture must be accompanied by a decrease in offending behaviours.

### Participants

Participants in the arts, music, and cultural camps are more likely to be of a younger age than participants in the other types of youth camps. For arts and music camps, participants can be as young as 10 and as old as 18. Cultural camps have a wider age range with ages from 15 to 25. For art and music camps participation is voluntary and is determined by the youth's age, criminal history, and attitude. Participation in cultural camps is determined by the individual's cultural background as only Indigenous youth can participate in an Indigenous program.

### Duration

Arts and music camps generally run for a comparatively short time from one day to a week while cultural camps can be anywhere from one week to one month.

### Orientation

Both arts and music camps and cultural camps are motivated by a preventative philosophy. The focus on at-risk pre-teens and teenagers as well as the type of programs used reflect this. There are some camps, however, with a treatment approach which concentrates on already offending juveniles.

## Case Studies

### Arts and Music Models

Arts and music models are distinct from cultural models and will be discussed separately. One musical program in the United States that is aimed at the juvenile offender is the Street Smart Dance/Training and Development of Dance Programming for Youth Offenders, developed and conducted by the Chrysalis Dance Company. Chrysalis was founded to promote and present innovative and humorous dance theatre of the highest quality, thereby enhancing the lives of its audience members which are participants as well as observers. Since 1991, Chrysalis has conducted the Street Smart Dance Program in partnership with the Harris County Juvenile Probation Department (HCJPD). Chrysalis tailors their program to the unique needs of the juveniles and the staff at the HCJPD state that the Street Smart Dance program is one of the best offered to their young offenders (Texas Commission on the Arts (a), 2002).

Programs developed and implemented by individuals are quite common and one such program designed by Monica Gomez for juvenile offenders presents the arts as a viable means of modifying behavior, fulfilling the need for risk-taking and identifying personal goals. These programs are also suitable for at-risk youths and groups with a specific need to improve performance skills, elevate morale or reconnect with creativity. This program involves teaching practical and immediately applicable techniques for improving morale and managing stress by redefining expectations of perfection, processing intense experiences and reconnecting with lifelong dreams using traditional arts disciplines and the ancient internal arts of T'ai Chi/Chi Gung (Texas Commission on the Arts (b), 2002).

### Cultural Models

In contrast to arts and music programs, cultural programs may work within other models, so that a wilderness and adventure camp may be implemented for Indigenous youth with an emphasis on Indigenous culture. Keeping this in mind, the first cultural program to be discussed is the Boys from the Bush program (Carter, 2004), which was discussed in the Wilderness and Adventure Camp section. In keeping with other cultural programs, Boys from the Bush looks at at-risk youth and the development of protective factors. Boys from the Bush include

cultural activities that are tailored to the participants learning more about Indigenous culture and values. Protective factors are further strengthened by culturally appropriate discipline and reflective practice and participant reconnection with Indigenous culture (Carter, 2004). A proper evaluation has yet to be undertaken on this program due to limited funding. However, on the surface it appears that it could be an effective preventative measure via the operation of the following mediating mechanisms: cultural activities, culturally appropriate discipline, reflective practice, and participant reconnection with their culture. The Africentric Adolescent and Family Rites of Passage Program uses a cultural approach and was developed by the MAAT Center for Human and Organisational Enhancement. This program was developed in order to reduce the incidence and prevalence of substance abuse and antisocial attitudes and behaviours by at-risk African American youths between the ages of 11.5 and 14.5 years who were living in Washington DC (Harvey & Hill, 2004).

Data was obtained from a three-year evaluation of a youth rites of passage demonstration project using therapeutic interventions based on Africentric principles. Africentric principles are a commonly agreed upon set of African-centred guidelines in which each person must successfully master in order to be given the community sanctioned titles of African "Man" or "Woman." At-risk African American boys with no history of substance abuse were referred from the criminal justice system, diversion programs and local schools. The evaluation revealed that participating youths exhibited gains in self-esteem and accurate knowledge of the dangers of drug abuse. Although the differences were not statistically significant, parents demonstrated improvements in parenting skills, racial identity, cultural awareness and community involvement. Evidence from interviews and focus groups suggests that the program's holistic, family-oriented, Africentric, strengths-based approach and Indigenous staff contributed to its success (Harvey & Hill, 2004).

The "I Have A Future Program" (IHAF) is a community-based service in Tennessee that focuses on career development in African American urban youths and uses an Africentric perspective in the provision of services (D'Andrea, 1996). The services provided



by IHAF are used by African American youths aged between 14 and 17 years who live in community centres in the low-income housing areas that are sites for the program. These services include career development classes, counselling and job preparation training, which are integrated with the Africentric perspective or more specifically, the Nguzo Saba. Developed by Dr. Karenga, the Nguzo Saba, which means the seven principles in Swahili, are the seven basic values of African culture which contribute to building and reinforcing family, community and culture among African American people as well as Africans throughout the world African community (Karenga, 2004).

Cultural programs aimed at Maori youth have been assessed and have also been found to be effective. These programs have a specific cultural component and are designed to provide rangatahi (Maori youth) with a sense of their Maori culture. Key activities are outdoor experiences, mentoring, building self-esteem, education, life skills, personal development, and cultural support. Participants are removed from opportunities for using alcohol, cigarettes and other drugs as well as removing them from risk situations and opportunities to commit offences. Peer support and ongoing mentor support also feature in these programs (Cunneen, 2001).

### Evidence of Effectiveness of Arts and Music Camps

Although there has been little research on the effectiveness of arts and music programs, there is one evaluation that provides some indication of the impact of arts and music programs on reducing recidivism rates. A national evaluation of the YouthARTS Development Project was conducted by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) in 1995. The YouthARTS Development Project combined the efforts of Federal agencies, national art organisations and a collaboration of local art agencies in order to identify, implement and refine effective arts-based delinquency prevention programs. The results of the evaluation were published in the May 2001 edition of the Juvenile Justice Bulletin (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001) and the evaluation was based on three projects; the Art-at-Work in Atlanta, Georgia, the Youth Arts Public Art in Portland, Oregon and Urban smARTS in San Antonio, Texas. These art agencies conducted arts-based demonstration programs for at-risk youth and provided participants training in art (visual art, drama, dance, graphics and photography), vocational areas and entrepreneurship, as well as an opportunity to use their skills, contact with adult role models and supervision in a safe environment (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001).

Each of the three projects were evaluated separately:

- For the Urban smARTS program in San Antonio, the results of the evaluation suggest that the program was successful in achieving its goal of keeping the youth participants engaged in positive after-school activities and preventing their involvement in delinquent behaviours. Program caseworkers concurred, noting that during the students' participation in the program, their behaviour and attitudes improved and they became more respectful of others (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001).
- In the Youth Arts Public Art program in Portland, most of the youth showed improvement in all program-related skills during the program period, particularly in their ability to cooperate with others. The project manager and artists also observed improvement in the participants' ability to work as a team and form new

friendships. There were noticeable improvements in participants' self-reported involvement in delinquent behaviour during the program period. In addition, a greater proportion of participants than comparison youth showed improvement in their attitudes toward school, resistance to peer pressure and self-efficacy (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001)

For the Art-at-Work program in Atlanta, all of the participants studied showed improvement in four of the program-related skills assessed by the evaluation: art skills, cooperating with others, participating, and communicating effectively with their peers. Responses from the participant survey reflect improvements in attitudes toward school, attitudes about drug use and the frequency with which the youth engaged in delinquent behaviours. Feedback from the probation officers tends to suggest the Art-at-Work program had a positive impact on the attitudes and behaviours of youth. Probation officers noted that youth who participated in the program demonstrated increased self-esteem and an increased sense of accomplishment and pride in addition to improving their relationships with their peers and family members (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001)

In spite of their apparent effectiveness, each of these program evaluations was plagued with several limitations. First, there was difficulty in gaining access to suitable control groups and response rates were poor, which are not uncommon problems in this area. Furthermore, a lack of funding and over-worked staff as well as problems with sample size, data collection and program stability all contributed to the evaluation's inability to provide a clear picture on the effectiveness of arts programs in America.

### Evidence of Effectiveness of Cultural Camps

The three-year evaluation of the youth rites of passage demonstration project using therapeutic interventions based on Africentric principles revealed that participating youths exhibited gains in self-esteem and accurate knowledge of the dangers of drug abuse. Although the differences were not statistically significant, parents demonstrated improvements in parenting skills, racial identity, cultural awareness and community involvement. Evidence from interviews and focus groups suggests that the program's holistic, family-oriented, Africentric, strengths-based approach and Indigenous staff contributed to its success (Harvey & Hill, 2004).

Evaluations of the Maori cultural programs revealed that they possessed high rates of participant retention, during and after the program and they assisted 90-95% of participants to cease offending for the duration of the program. Increased school attendance and enhanced school performance and appreciation of education were seen in 90% of participants. The evaluations look promising, however post-program recidivism rates were not evaluated and it would not be surprising if further analysis revealed that there was not a significant change in post-program recidivism rates (Cunneen, 2001).

## Summary

The arts, music, and cultural programs appear very promising with a number of strengths including:

- The opening up of participant's perceptions and creating new interest in subjects that they may find difficult
- Exerting a positive impact on participants' self-expression and self-esteem, while encouraging participants to respect and appreciate each other while developing their artistic and musical skills
- The main strength of the cultural model is that they provide participants with a stronger link to his or her own community, which may make re-integration easier and help prevent re-offending
- Another strength of this model is that these programs are inexpensive in comparison to the other models

D'Andrea (1996) argues that services for at-risk youths must include community involvement, neighbourhood change and multicultural considerations. It has also been proposed that influential individuals and organisations including politicians, church leaders, positive role models in the cultural community and human services agencies be included as collaborators.

Hammond and Yung (1991; cited in Harvey & Hill, 2004) have hypothesised that culturally relevant Social Skills Training (SST) programs for at-risk African American youths can be successful in violence prevention. The authors argued that very few examples of successful culturally relevant violence prevention programs exist, which suggests that despite the inclusion of a cultural aspect, the success of such programs may have little to do with the impact of culture.

If further research reveals that these programs are effective in reducing recidivism, then this will make the arts, music and cultural model an effective and economically viable prevention strategy.

Unfortunately, there are some weaknesses the most prominent being:

- The lack of a solid research base
- The inconclusive nature of empirical evidence relating to the value of such programs in reducing delinquency

Sufficient research has not been undertaken to ascertain whether or not the potential of these programs to reduce young people's antisocial behaviour is realised. The different programs that are available, some of which were discussed previously, indicate that art, music and cultural programs are viewed positively by both participants and organisers. It seems likely that further research will reveal that the art, music and cultural model is an effective means of prevention and intervention, but caution must be exercised as appearances can be deceiving and the art, music and cultural model may be more hopeful than helpful.

# Similarities and Differences

## Common Features

The boot camp model is similar to all the other models discussed in this report in relation to the premise that each model is based on. This premise assumes that only a relatively short period of time is required for a juvenile to change the way that they think and behave and maintain such a change when they return to the environment in which they first had problems. The rehabilitative approach of wilderness and adventure camps is similar to that of sports and recreational camps and arts, music and cultural camps. Wilderness and adventure camps, sports and recreational camps and arts, music and cultural camps are similar, in that these three camp models place a strong emphasis on not only addressing the offending behaviour of the young person, but also investigate the possible factors that may have caused the young person to become involved in delinquent activities in the first place (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Mason & Wilson, 1988; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003).

One common feature seen throughout the different types of camps is that these programs encompass not only physical and emotional treatment options, but also focus on developing program participants' social and psychological skills (Ashcroft et al., 2003; Mason & Wilson, 1988; Polsen & Chiauzzi, 2003). Another common feature is that, with the exception of arts and music camps, the other types of interventions (including cultural camps) place a significant emphasis on physical training, fitness, and discipline (Caputo, 2004; Mason & Wilson, 1988).

Arts, music, and cultural camps only share a few features with the other types of youth camp initiatives and these include the focus on building participants' self-esteem, abilities and confidence as well as providing them with the tools to help their relationships with others and other life skills (Clawson & Coolbaugh, 2001).

## Unique Features

Other than being committed to goals of rehabilitation, the boot camp model has little in common with sport and recreational camps and arts, music, and cultural camps. The military-style atmosphere and discipline is one of the unique features of the boot camp model, and one which research seems to indicate is not effective in reducing juvenile offending. Boot camps have an environment more akin to a prison than to a rehabilitation centre and more punitive measures are used in dealing with participants. These elements are changing with boot camps incorporating a greater emphasis upon rehabilitation and training. However, the environment and program structure still make the boot camp model distinct in its approach to dealing with rehabilitation and recidivism (Caputo, 2004).

The unique features of the wilderness and adventure camps concern the greater focus on life skills training and building peer relationships and the stronger emphasis on the importance of rehabilitation and reintegration of program participants (Ashcroft et al., 2003). Sports and recreation camps are different from the other types of juvenile camp interventions in the manner in which they strongly emphasise the development of sporting skills and physical fitness (Mason & Wilson, 1988).

The arts, music and cultural model is largely different from the other models through the methods that they employ to prevent recidivism and the focus on risk prevention as opposed to rehabilitation. Cultural programs use the participants' cultural affiliations to build self-esteem and bonds to their community in order to reduce the possibility of them re-offending, while arts and music programs use music and art to instill healthy attitudes and positive behaviours. Another difference is that this model is mainly geared towards at-risk youth as opposed to already incarcerated juveniles, and this means that elements available in the other models, such as counselling, and drug and alcohol treatment, are not available to the clientele of art, music and cultural programs.

# Best Practice Models

## Options for Indigenous Young People

In undertaking this review, it became evident that the field of youth camp intervention programs suffers from a lack of empirical evidence of program effectiveness based on rigorous evaluation efforts. There are several clear theories which the review has attempted to outline regarding the presumed mechanisms that might contribute to positive outcomes for participants. These models and theories offer a valuable insight into how rigorous evaluation might be conducted and what measures may be collected to indicate program effectiveness.

Within each of the four youth camp models that have been outlined in this review, there are features that have been identified which are appropriate in the treatment of juvenile offenders and at-risk youth. In order to effectively incorporate these components into a best practice model, a controlled trial for each model should be conducted. These trials would then be applied to Indigenous and non-Indigenous male and females juveniles, thereby enabling the best model for Indigenous juveniles to be confidently established. Unfortunately, it is difficult to assert which model is best for Indigenous young people when one considers the following factors: firstly, proper evaluations are difficult to perform and as a result of this, it is difficult to differentiate between the effectiveness of each model and how appropriate they would be for Indigenous youth. Secondly, most of the models are designed for males and are therefore unable to be applied to females. Moreover, with the exception of cultural models, the models discussed in this report have not been designed with the cultural needs of the participants accounted for.

An Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) review of current literature on youth crime prevention (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2002) reported that the models that are most effective are those that include a therapeutic component, and provide skills generalisable to the participants' environment in addition to providing an aftercare program. A number of boot camps and wilderness and adventure camps involve various therapeutic elements and environment-appropriate skills, while some also provide an aftercare program (although this is more prevalent in boot camps). Art, music and cultural programs also provide environment-appropriate skills and some form of therapy. This however, is

more limited than in boot camps and wilderness and adventure camps. The AIC review stated that recreation camps can contribute a small effect over the short term. However, these effects will not be sustained over time when a juvenile returns to their community. This does suggest the possibility that an aftercare program may increase the effectiveness of recreational camps. The AIC review also reported that programs targeting specific groups are effective and this indicates that a culturally specific program for Indigenous youth, combined with therapeutic elements and skills training as well as an aftercare program, would be effective in reducing recidivism rates among at-risk Indigenous youth.

An important point to remember is that the choice of model also depends on the age of the participants. If one is seeking to develop a model aimed at younger Indigenous juveniles, a sports and recreational or arts, music and cultural program may be appropriate. However, if one is trying to develop a model for older Indigenous juveniles who have had prior contact with the juvenile justice system, a boot camp or wilderness and adventure camp may be better suited to meet the needs of this group. Distinguishing between younger and older Indigenous juveniles when allocating them to a youth camp program is important, due to the fact that sports and recreation and arts, music and cultural camps are based on a preventative approach whilst traditional boot camps and wilderness and adventure camps are based on a treatment philosophy (Cunneen, 2001). For Indigenous youth, whatever model is chosen, the cultural element needs to be included such as can be seen in the Boys from the Bush Program (Carter, 2004), as this program offers a reconnection with Indigenous culture in addition to providing culturally appropriate discipline and reflective practices targeted specifically at the needs of Indigenous youth. Inclusion of a cultural element in programs for Indigenous youth is necessary because it acts as a protective factor helping to create stronger ties to the community, which decreases the probability of re-offending (Carter, 2004).

Whether an intervention takes the form of a boot camp, wilderness and adventure camp, sports and recreation camp, or arts, music and cultural camp or a combination of all, it might be concluded that a best practice model for at-risk Indigenous youth needs

to be (a) culturally and developmentally appropriate, (b) involve meaningful participation of Indigenous people and their family and community, (c) address multiple risk and protective factors, (d) incorporate a comprehensive and multi-dimensional range of program activities that focus on promoting a range of skills and contexts, (e) have clearly articulated aims and objectives with clear specification of how activities incorporated in the program should help achieve these goals, as well as (f) tailor drug intervention programs to the needs of the individual (Miller & Spooner, 2003).

One important factor in programs for Indigenous youth is the role of Indigenous cultural leadership. Just as it is important for the Indigenous young person's family to be involved it is essential that Indigenous elders are involved in the planning and implementation of any program that concerns Indigenous youth.

Indigenous cultural leadership is important because it enables youth programs to provide culturally appropriate discipline and reflective practices targeted specifically at the needs of Indigenous youth. This enables the proper inclusion of a cultural element in programs for Indigenous youth which is necessary because it acts as a protective factor helping to create stronger ties to the community.

### Case Management

Case management is a specialised form of service delivery and is an important part of youth camps because research has suggested that a closer and more involved management of youth camp participants is related to a greater reduction in recidivism (Bedell, Cohen, & Sullivan, 2000). Case management should be based on a comprehensive assessment process with the focus on the client rather than the program with the emphasis upon the individual's needs (Peck & Scott Jr, 2005). Case management reflects the mission and focus of the particular type of youth camp and this means that across the different models of youth camps the application of case management will vary significantly. It is even the case that youth camps of the same model will vary widely in the way they view and implement case management.

Bedell et al. (2000) analysed the results of eight reviews of case management in order to discover the most effective method. Bedell et al. (2000) concluded that a full service case management model is the most effective approach. A full service model aims to provide all the clinical and support services needed by the client through the direct involvement of appropriate specialists. The brokering of services should also kept to a minimum (Bedell et al., 2000). In order for a youth camp to implement a successful case management strategy it must be developed appropriately, clearly contracted, and monitored for effective and financially accountable service provision based on specified and desired outcomes (Bedell et al., 2000). These principles are implemented to varying degrees among the youth camp models. In boot camps, for example, case management and aftercare programs are more prevalent. While wilderness and adventure camps, sports and recreation camps, and arts and music camps do not unusually employ a case management strategy. Those that do however, are restricted by a lack of proper evaluation and careful monitoring.

### Conclusions

One theme that connects all the models discussed in this report is that there is a lack of a solid empirical background. Even boot camps, which have been subjected to numerous evaluations, are still plagued by uncertainties concerning their effectiveness. There is an immediate need for controlled trials of the different models that exist for dealing with at-risk Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people. It would be on the basis of these trials that specific programs could be devised that would be effective in addressing the issues of juvenile offending.

In addition to the need to establish a solid empirical basis for the models discussed in this report, the focus of further evaluation of youth camps also needs to provide a foundation upon which to compare their effectiveness to a range of alternative programs for at-risk youth, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. These alternative programs include Social Competence Training Programs, mediation in the form of conferencing and Intensive Supervision

Probation (ISP), collaborative case management, education programs involving school-based strategies, employment programs, mentoring programs and comprehensive programs such as multi-systemic therapy (MST). The abovementioned strategies may also help address the needs of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous juvenile offenders and at-risk young people and should be considered as part of a comprehensive approach that may well include youth camps to reduce delinquency (AIC, 2002). A number of factors were discussed in the AIC (2002) review of current literature on youth crime prevention and have been discussed throughout this report as important in the development and implementation of a prevention program:

- Programs should focus on addressing a number of risk factors as they have a greater effect than interventions that concentrate on only one risk factor
- In relation to the previous point, more holistic programs that work with the whole range of contexts within a juvenile's life, (for example, family, school, peers and community) are more effective than those that simply address one such area
- Effective programs alter participants' cognitions as well as behaviours, as offending behaviour is linked to limitations in juveniles' thought processes, problem-solving and decision-making abilities
- Effective interventions should involve elements that increase educational attainment and improve employment prospects in order to assist the participant in reintegrating back into the community
- In light of this, school-based programs should focus on emphasising behavioural skills and on retaining students in school
- Programs need to take into account the juvenile's cultural background

Furthermore, in connection with the practical aspects of at-risk youth intervention programs, it is

recommended that programs should:

- have clear aims and objectives with measurable outcomes and a clearly articulated theory of how activities implemented should contribute to achieving these aims
- have well-trained, committed and enthusiastic workers with ownership of the program and program integrity
- be targeted towards those individuals who would be most affected by the program
- be objectively monitored and evaluated to establish the effectiveness of the program, and identify features that are less effective so that the intervention can be improved and replicated (AIC, 2002)

To summarise, regardless of what form interventions take (for either both Indigenous or non-Indigenous juveniles and at-risk young people), there may be certain critical features or components of interventions that are effective in reducing recidivism. For example, any program aiming to reduce offending and re-offending behaviour should include family involvement in the treatment process, a high level of structure, high levels of intensity and duration, programs that are community-based and implemented by private providers, and multiple modes of intervention. For all young people but particularly for Indigenous youth, intervention programs need to be developmentally appropriate, include the involvement of the family and community, include meaningful involvement of key people in the young person's life (for example, other Indigenous people), be culturally appropriate and be based in the community (Miller & Spooner, 2003). It would appear that all of the four camp models that have been discussed have the potential to be effective as a stand-alone intervention for offenders and at-risk young people, as long as they are conducted within best practice guidelines, in order to prevent unintended negative outcomes (such as the iatrogenic effects that were evident in the Cambridge-Somerville Study). Future research in the field of youth camp initiatives may provide further information regarding the use of youth camps in conjunction with other community programs.



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# Appendix A

## Boot Camp Daily Program

|             |                                                                                               |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5:30        | Wake up and standing count                                                                    |
| 5:45-6:30   | Callisthenics and drill                                                                       |
| 6:30-7:00   | Run                                                                                           |
| 7:00-8:00   | Mandatory breakfast and cleanup                                                               |
| 8:15        | Standing count and company formation                                                          |
| 8:30-11:55  | Work and school schedules                                                                     |
| P.M.        |                                                                                               |
| 12:00-12:30 | Mandatory lunch and standing count                                                            |
| 12:30-3:30  | Afternoon work or school schedule                                                             |
| 3:30-4:00   | Shower                                                                                        |
| 4:00-4:45   | Network community meeting                                                                     |
| 4:45-5:45   | Mandatory dinner, prepare for evening                                                         |
| 6:00-9:00   | School, group counselling, drug counselling, pre-release counselling, decision-making classes |
| 8:00        | Count while in programs                                                                       |
| 9:15-9:30   | Squad bay, prepare for bed                                                                    |
| 9:30        | Standing count, lights out                                                                    |

(Clark et al., 1994; cited in Caputo, 2004).

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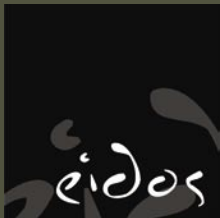
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