

AN EXPLORATION OF YOUNG OFFENDERS' LIFE TRAJECTORIES THROUGH NARRATIVE

By

HOLLY ACKLAND

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the research is to explore young offenders' (YOs') subjective narratives of their life trajectories, ascertaining what internal and external factors have influenced their criminal pathway and capacity to desist from further criminal involvement post-incarceration. Young people's (YP's) narratives were collected through semi-structured, life-story interviews. In addition, youth justice professionals' views were obtained through focus groups, to gain insight into the systemic strengths and difficulties as interpreted by those who worked within the organisation. Similarities and discrepancies between YP's and professionals' views are considered.

Numerous themes were established from YP's narratives and professional accounts, which highlighted a complex range of individual characteristics and elements of the system that have acted as both risk and protective influences across their life trajectories. Application of the Developmental Psychopathology framework (Cicchetti, 1984) was explored, to conceptualise the dynamic, interactive processes which occur between factors over the course of YOs' development.

The outcomes are relevant for professionals working with offenders, ex-offenders, or children at risk of offending, including professionals in the youth justice system and Educational Psychologists (EPs), with implications for practice.

DEDICATION

To the three young people who participated in this study for their thought-provoking accounts and unique insight into their lives. Also, to the professionals from the Youth Justice Service who made this research possible.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADHD: Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder

ASD: Autistic Syndrome Disorder

BPS: British Psychological Society

BYC: Beyond Youth Custody

DfE: Department of Education

DTO: Detention and Training Order

EP: Educational Psychologist

EPS: Educational Psychology Service

ETE: Education, Training and Employment

FTE: First Time Entrant

HCPC: Health Care Professions Council

HMIP: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons

LA: Local Authority

MoJ: Ministry of Justice

RQs: Research Questions

RQ1: Research Question One

RQ2: Research Question Two

SCH: Secure Children's Home

SEND: Special Educational Needs and Disabilities

STC: Secure Training Centre

TEP: Trainee Educational Psychologist

YJB: Youth Justice Board

YJS: Youth Justice System

YO: Young Offender

YOI: Young Offender Institution

YOT: Young Offender Team

YP: Young People

YSE: Youth Secure Estate

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter overview

This initial chapter aims to position the research, and its underpinning rationale. I begin by providing an overview of the national Youth Justice System (YJS) and recent policy changes, followed by an outline of the local YJ landscape. This chapter also considers the demographic profile of young offenders (YOs), prior to presentation of a summary of the remit of the current study.

1.2 Youth Justice System: a national picture (England)

Young people (YP) enter the Youth Justice System (YJS) when they have committed an offence and consequently given an out-of-court disposal or charged to appear in court (WYJB, 2016). As stipulated by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, the primary aim of the YJS is to prevent offending of YP aged 10-17 years. Additional foci include: to improve the wellbeing and positive outcomes of young offenders (YOs), reduce the number of YP who enter the YJS, and lower reoffending rates (Youth Justice Board, YJB, 2017a). Services provided by the YJS include: assessments, safeguarding, interventions (to address: offending behaviours, rehabilitation, and crime prevention), supervision, and resettlement support (YJB, 2013).

The Youth Secure Estate (YSE) consists of Young Offender Institutions (YOIs), Secure Training Centres (STCs) and Secure Children's Homes (SCHs). See Table 1 for descriptions.

Table 1: Description of settings which constitute the YSE

Setting	Description
YOI	YOIs accommodate YP aged 15-17 years, providing 900 places across 5 establishments for boys only; the design is similar to an adult prison (Taflan, 2017, MoJ, 2016).
STC	STCs are smaller, with each setting accommodating between 60-80 boys and girls aged 12-17 years and have a higher staff to YP ratio due to the increased vulnerability of YP.
SHC	SCHs facilitate 117 YP, are the smallest settings, offering 7-38 beds each and a high staff presence. SCHs cater for the most vulnerable boys and girls in the YSE, aged 10-17 with highly complex and challenging special educational needs (SEN), including significant psychiatric and developmental difficulties (Ministry of Justice (MoJ), 2016) (see Table 4). Approximately half of SCH residents have been placed by the LA on welfare grounds, under the Children Act 1989, for the protection of themselves and/or others (Department for Education (DfE), 2017).

1.2.1 Current political landscape

The YJS is arguably in a state of flux (Wood et al, 2017); conclusions drawn from a recent review (Taylor, 2016b) called into question the purpose of custodial sentences and urged a transition from punishment to rehabilitation as the main function of the YSE. See Table 2 for a brief overview of the political landscape and recent developments.

1.2.2 YP in custody: national trends

Recent statistics indicate that the average population of YP in custody aged 10-17 years in England and Wales is 868; it has decreased by 70% since 2007 and 10% since 2016, highlighting a rapid decline (YJB, 2018a, Taylor, 2016b). The overall number of first time entrants (FTEs) to the system is also declining and has reduced by 11% over the past year (ending 2017) (YJB, 2018a). Despite these statistics, figures do not necessarily reflect positive changes in YPs' behaviour, diversion from formal sanctions, and/or less reliance upon incarceration.

Table 2: Overview of the current political landscape

Issues	Initiatives / review findings	Measures implemented / outcomes
1997-2013		
Competing tensions existed between the proposed priorities of provision for YOs including both rehabilitation and punishment (Hall, 2013). To address this divide, a collaborative approach was initiated.	<p>The Youth Justice Team that existed, solely consisted of social service workers (Ryrie, 2006). A significant shift towards a multi-agency collaborative approach was required (Ryrie, 2006).</p> <p>As part of the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998, The Youth Justice Board (YJB) and Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) were established. The Youth Justice Board (YJB) has national oversight of operations within the YJS. Members of the YJB have extensive, recent experience of the YJS, and are required to guide developments within the YJS (YJB, 2017a). YOTs were established by the Act to coordinate provision of YJSs, forging a partnership between the police, social services, health, education, and probation (Crime and Disorder Act, 1998).</p>	<p>The YJB conducts research, publishes findings, shares best practice, and monitors progress.</p> <p>YOT practitioners are responsible for supporting, supervising, and caring for YOs who receive out-of-court disposals, serve community sentences and are released from custody. They hold pivotal responsibilities for rehabilitation.</p>
2014-2015		
It was found that 71% of YOs re-offended within 12 months of leaving custody. The punitive approach adopted within the YSE was not enabling YP to make positive resettlements. Custodial settings were criticised for focusing upon offending behaviours, rather than supporting rehabilitative skills that would enable YP to form an alternative life trajectory (MoJ, 2014).	A new YJ model was proposed in the 2014 paper 'Transforming Youth Custody' (MoJ, 2014), outlining education at the heart of rehabilitative practice and recommending an overhaul of the existing YSE to replace 'secure colleges' in place of YOIs, STCs and some SCHs.	In 2015, this proposal was rejected due to cost constraints and practicality (Bateman, 2017).

2015-2018		
<p>Reductions in the number of YP entering custody were observed; however, re-offending rates remained consistently high (67% re-offending rate within first 12 months after custody). Questions were raised regarding whether the existing system was outdated and ineffective, focusing too heavily upon risks of offending rather than desistance.</p>	<p>An in-depth review of the YJS was announced by 2015 and published in 2016 alongside a government response. The Taylor review (2016b) found that YOTs were too often working in isolation, as many agencies withdrew their support once YOTs became involved.</p> <p>Education provision within the YSE was criticised for its poor quantity and quality; due to staff shortages and increased levels of offender violence, opportunities for education were limited and mainly focused upon vocational training.</p> <p>Staff in STCs and YOIs were found to have insufficient experience and training for working with the highly complex needs of vulnerable YP, resulting in poor behaviour management (Wood et al, 2017, Taylor, 2016b). Limiting beliefs were found to be conveyed by staff members who often assumed YP could not succeed in education (Taylor, 2016b). In addition, due to the diminishing number of YP in the system and the closure of settings, YP gained placements further away from home making relationships difficult to maintain (Taylor, 2016b).</p> <p>Taylor (2016b) questioned the purpose and effectiveness of custodial sentences, stipulating that under 18s within the YJS should be viewed as ‘children first, offenders second’ (p.19). Taylor argued that, when sentenced, YP’s loss of freedom and deprivation of liberty is punishment enough. Therefore, the provision in YSEs should be geared towards addressing YP’s underlying difficulties and helping to prepare them for</p>	<p>After the Taylor review, the government-initiated reforms, signifying a period of reflection, change and development for the service. Within the Government response, some of Taylor’s recommendations were agreed, whilst a number appear to have been shelved or disregarded (Bateman, 2017).</p> <p>The Government response to the Taylor report outlined that a greater number of skilled staff were needed to form multi-disciplinary teams, including psychologists to create effective educative and rehabilitative responses and interventions. The requirement for an overhaul of the YSE was acknowledged, to ensure that sentences enable YP to receive the support they require to reform their lives. Consequently, two secure schools were agreed to be piloted. Furthermore, specialist secure units were approved to offer enhanced psychological support for the most vulnerable YOs, who present high risks to themselves and others (MoJ, 2017).</p> <p>Despite the government’s outlined commitment to implementing these recommendations, some argue proposed initiatives are yet to come to fruition (Wood</p>

	<p>successful reintegration. Conflicting purposes were highlighted in the Taylor report conflating punitive, prison principles which stifled the possibility of a rehabilitative culture, and/or productive learning opportunities.</p>	<p>et al, 2017). That said, since September 2017, adaptations to the function of the YJS have been implemented. Firstly, there is a distinct Youth Custody Service (YCS) within the overall HM Prisons and Probation Service; this holds responsibility for the daily workings within youth secure services and handling their performance. Secondly, youth secure services are now commissioned by the MoJ (YJB, 2017a).</p>
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The changing landscape may alternatively reflect wider, contextual, and political factors; for example, reported data only reflect statistics for YP who receive formal sanctions. Many criminal acts, however, do not result in a YJ response (Bateman, 2017).

Of all YP proceeded against in court during 2016-17, 73% were found guilty and only 6% were sentenced to custody, indicating that those who receive custodial sentences are in a small minority. See Table 3 for further description of YOs' custodial sentences.

Table 3: Characteristics of YOs' custodial sentences in England

Characteristic of custody	Description
Sex	The majority of YP in custody are male (97%)
Age	Most YP in custody are aged between 15 and 17 years (96%)
Ethnicity / background	55% are from a white ethnic background, whilst 45% are from a black, Asian or ethnic (BAME) minority background, highlighting the over-representation of YP from ethnic minorities. 22% of this BAME cohort represent YP from black ethnic backgrounds. Approximately 1 in every 10,000 white YP in the general population were in the YJS in 2015-2016, compared to 9 in every 10,000 black YP. Gypsies, Roma and Travellers (GRT) have also been found to be overrepresented within the YSE, making up 12% of the population within STCs (The Traveller Movement, 2016).
Type of offence	Violence against the person is the most common offence followed by robbery and sexual offences; together they make up 70% of all offences which result in custodial sentences
Type of sentence	Most guilty offenders receive community sentences (68%), which are mainly detention and training orders (DTOs), where YP serve half the sentence in custody and the other half in the community. The average length of sentence is 16 months (YJB, 2018a).

(YJB, 2018a, MoJ, 2017)

The disproportionality of YP from black, Asian or ethnic minority (BAME) backgrounds, as well as Gypsies, Roma and Travellers (GTR) in custody raises significant questions. Research indicates YP from GRT communities and BAME backgrounds are likely to experience increased prejudice from members of society, and professionals in authority (Lammy, 2017, Meek, 2007).

Therefore, do incarceration and conviction levels accurately reflect the degree of criminality and associated level of risk, or differences in sociocultural capital and discriminatory practices (Lammy, 2017)?

Despite the number of children within custody in England and Wales falling to the lowest recorded level, the rate of re-offending has risen highlighting an existing challenge for the YJS (Taylor, 2016). Currently 68% of YOs reoffend within a year of release from custody, and the average number of re-offences by reoffenders has increased to 3.79 (YJB, 2018a). Recidivism has been referred to as the norm rather than the exception, with effective resettlement becoming increasingly rare (LeBel et al, 2008, Taylor, 2016b). Furthermore, evidence suggests contact with the YJS can increase an individual's likelihood of committing further criminal acts, drawing them further into the system (Taylor, 2016b). See Appendix 1 for an overview of YPs' journey through the YJS and Appendix 2 for a summary of the support YP receive in custody.

1.3 YO demographics and characteristics

YP who remain in the YJS are characterised by entrenched patterns of offending, demonstrated by the positive correlation between the rate of reoffending and the number of previous offences (YJB, 2018a). Consequently, YP in the YSE are reflective of the most persistent and troubled YOs who have complex needs, and whose lives have been exposed to multiple risk factors (Taylor, 2016b, YJB, 2014a).

YOs are more likely than YP in the general population to experience poor mental health, have one or more mental health disorder(s), and have language, learning and/or social difficulties (Chitsabesan et al, 2006, McElvaney and Tatlow-Golden, 2016) (see Table 4). One in three YOs experience co-morbid psychotic conditions (Chitsabesan and Hughes,

2016). Over three quarters of this population will have engaged in substance misuse, experienced social services involvement, and have no educational or vocational qualifications (Youth Justice Board, 2014a). Extended periods out of education are not unusual, and school exclusion can lead to greater bonds with peers who share similar experiences (Chitsabesan and Bailey, 2006).

YOs' families are often described as dysfunctional and chaotic (Taylor, 2016b); over 50% will have been subject to abuse or neglect, and experienced difficult or traumatic events during their childhood (YJB, 2014a). YOs' backgrounds have often been characterised by social disadvantage, family breakdown, separation, loss and conflict (Wright et al, 2016a). There is a significant overlap between YP in care, the YJS and those in need of support from mental health services (Lambing, 2016); looked after children (LAC) are five times more likely to be cautioned or convicted (Taylor, 2016b).

Table 4: The reported prevalence of psychiatric, developmental, and other related difficulties amongst the YO population compared to in the general population.

Type of disorder/difficulty	YO/prison population	General population
Traumatic brain injuries (TBI)	65.1%	24%
Neurotic disorder	45%	13.8%
Personality disorder	66%	5.3%
Delusional disorders	8%	0.5%
Depressive disorder	8-29%	0.2-3%
Post-traumatic stress disorder	11-25%	0.4%
Anxiety disorder	9-21%	3.3%
Learning disability	20%	2%
Communication disorders	60%	5%
Substance misuse disorder	37-55%	7%
Attention Deficit Hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)	11.7-18.5%	3-9%
Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD)	15%	0.6-1.2%
Foetal Alcohol Syndrome	10.9%	0.1%

Wright et al (2016a), Chitsabesan and Hughes, (2016), Singleton et al (2003).

Table 4 highlights existing prevalence trends of psychiatric, developmental, and other related difficulties amongst the YO population compared to within the general population as depicted within the literature; however, these trends should be interpreted with caution as the statistics have been produced from a range of research, limiting opportunities for valid comparisons due to differences across studies (for example, in methods and sampling criteria).

With the changing population of YP in the YJS, adaptations are required to respond to their complex needs, and recent years have represented an unstable time within the YJS (Taylor, 2016b) (see Table 2).

1.4 Barriers to resettlement

1.4.1. YOs' custodial experiences

In 2014, after numerous self-inflicted deaths of YP in custody, the Harris review was commissioned which concluded that the experience of living within the YSE was not conducive to preparing YP for rehabilitation. Settings in the YSE were described as 'grim environments, bleak and demoralising', whilst the regimes were deemed 'harsh' and 'impoverished' (Harris, 2015, p.9).

A research report, published by HMIP in 2016, found that support for desistance in the YSE was ineffective; YP experienced poor relationships with case workers who provided little support for rehabilitation and frequently changed due to staff shortages. In addition, interventions, plans and targets were not personalised or tailored to meet individual needs (HMIP, 2016).

Recent survey data, collected from YP in YOIs and STCs, indicated that the majority of YP within the YSE want to stop offending; however, only 52% thought their custodial experience would make them less likely to reoffend (Taflan, 2017). The most highly anticipated difficulties

upon release included gaining employment (35%), re-entering education (33%) and sourcing accommodation (32%) (Taflan, 2017). Almost one fifth anticipated difficulties avoiding 'bad' relationships and gaining continued access to health services (Taflan, 2017).

1.4.2. Emotional vulnerability

YP leaving custody are likely to find positive adjustment to life within their community challenging due to their level of vulnerability, poor coping strategies and difficulties accessing support (Bateman and Hazel, 2015). The disproportionate levels of trauma present within YOs' childhoods can have long term detrimental effects upon their psychological, emotional and social development, and subsequent ability to desist from crime (Wright et al, 2016a).

Transition is often experienced as a period of disorientation and reorientation (Bateman and Hazel, 2015). Incarceration can disrupt normal routines and sever ties with existing support networks (Sampson and Laub, 1997). Upon release, the increased level of freedom and reduced structure can have a disorientating effect, and YOs are often given limited support for the requisite rapid adaptation.

Adjusting to a new life of 'going straight' can create emotional challenges, including isolation from one's previous associates and life-style and a sense of failure (due to lack of opportunities and experienced stigma, resulting in lack of hope for desistance), which can act as a barrier to developing a prosocial identity post-release (Nugent and Schinkel, 2016). In addition, YP may fear further sanctions and experience high levels of stress, anxiety and symptoms of adjustment disorders which can increase the likelihood of psychiatric illness (Nugent and Schinkel, 2016, Casey and Bailey, 2011). Many consequently seek comfort from returning to old habits and previous relationships (Taylor, 2016b).

1.4.3. Labelling and cumulative disadvantage

Sampson and Laub (1997) claimed that offenders experience 'cumulative disadvantage' because of labelling. YP's association with the term 'offender' can lead to greater social injustice and segregation from mainstream society, due to fewer conventional life options, as members of society may continue to view YP as potential offenders rather than reformed characters (Nugent and Schinkel, 2016). Social stigma attached to deviance is likely to make community reintegration more challenging, reducing access to prosocial networks and organisations (including schools and places of work). This can lead to victimisation and disempowerment, thereby lowering self-esteem and increasing mental health difficulties (Bateman and Hazel, 2015, Link et al, 1989). The lack of legitimate alternatives can increase the likelihood of further offending (Laub and Sampson, 1993, Lemert, 1951).

The cumulative, enduring, multiple disadvantages experienced by YOs can heighten the challenges faced when attempting to reintegrate into the community from custody (LeBel et al, 2008), requiring multi-level, multi-modal interventions both during and, more importantly, following completion of their custodial sentence.

1.4.4. Provision

Evidence indicates that YOs' relationships, education and substance difficulties are greater in the community than in custody, suggesting the controlled custodial environment may benefit specific areas of need (Chitsabesan and Bailey, 2006). Adversely, Taylor (2016b) found that support available for YOs often diminished following their release, and there is a wealth of evidence to suggest that the provision of mental health support in custodial settings is ineffective and ill aligned with recommendations in the literature (Chitsabesan and Hughes,

2016, McElvaney and Tatlow-Golden, 2016, Taylor, 2016b, Office of the Children's Commissioner for England (OCCE), 2011, Harrington and Bailey, 2005).

Professionals working with YOs across different disciplines (including law, social care and psychology) highlighted systemic constraints upon the effectiveness of mental health provision, including: poor resources, lack of opportunity for multi-agency working and an unhelpful emphasis upon assessment (McElvaney and Tatlow-Golden, 2016).

1.5 YJS: local landscape / context

The LA, in which the current research took place, is a shire county with pockets of significant deprivation and urbanism. For the first time since 2007, the number of YP entering the YJS in this LA has increased, and so too has the number of first time entrants (FTEs) (WYJS, 2017b). Re-offending rates are lower than national statistics; however, the number of re-offences committed by re-offenders is similar. See Table 5 for an overview of the characteristics of custodial sentences in the current LA.

Ongoing priorities outlined by the YJS include reducing re-offending and addressing desistance factors (WYJS, 2017b).

Table ¹⁵: Characteristics of YOs custodial sentences in the current LA

Characteristic of custody	Description
Sex	All nine YP who received custodial sentences in 2016/17 were male.
Age	In 2016/17, nine YP within the LA received custodial sentences, all of whom were aged 15-17.
Ethnicity	Of all offences committed in the county by 10-17 year olds in 2016, 90.15% known offenders were of white heritage.
Type of offence	68% of all offences committed included violence against the person, criminal damage, theft and drug offences.

¹ Statistics within Table 5 should be interpreted with caution due to the use of percentages for such low figures. These statistics were derived from data shared by the local YJS where this research was situated.

Type of sentence	In 2016/17, nine YP within the LA received custodial sentences, however, more detail on the type of sentence is unknown.
SEND / difficulties	Approximately 12% of all YOs are LAC, one third have communication difficulties, 19% have a learning difficulty, 21% have a statement of special educational needs and disabilities (SEND) and 30% have a diagnosis of ADHD. 45% of offences were reportedly committed under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. Approximately 60% of YP who enter the YSE experience mental health difficulties, compared to approximately 10% of YP in the general county population. Furthermore, 55% have a known TBI, 30% display depressive symptoms, and over 40% have self-harmed at some point during their past.
Re-offence rate / known outcomes for YP	Statistics indicate that approximately 28% of all YOs reoffend, and on average, reoffenders commit 3.38 reoffences. Eight out of the 111 YP on orders received early revocation due to good progress, reduced risk and reintegration into the community. 34% of YP were not, however, in suitable ETE by the end of their order. Of those YP released from custody in 2016/17, the majority obtained stable accommodation; however, one young person went missing and another was subject to a LA care order.

(WYJS, 2017a, 2017b, Lee, 2016)

1.6 Broad rationale for the current study

Nationally and locally, youth re-offending rates remain high and continue to rise, remaining an ongoing priority. The changing landscape within the YJS (with fewer YP within the YSE, with more entrenched patterns of offending and increased difficulties (Taylor, 2016b)), provides increased rationale for further desistance research to inform and strengthen future practice. Considering the complex interdependent difficulties faced by YP who enter the YJS, and the barriers experienced when transitioning from a custodial sentence back into the community, how do individuals manage to make a positive resettlement and desist from re-offending?

When initially scoping the literature in this area, I found that many papers focused upon statistical and/or official data of desistance (Gadd and Farrall, 2004), which may skew understanding of the concept (Stouthamer-Loeber et al, 2004). Quantitative research

papers typically consider demographic and psychometric data (Hein et al, 2017, Healy, 2010, Stouthamer-Loeber et al 2004). Of the qualitative papers in this area, many focused upon:

- experiences leading into crime and the criminal justice system (Nolan et al, 2017);
- an adult population (Berger et al, 2017, Weaver and McNeill, 2015, Honeywell, 2015, Liem and Richardson, 2014, King, 2013, Gadd and Farrall, 2004);
- specific interventions, therapies, programmes or services to aid desistance (Nugent, 2015, Wooditch et al 2014); and/or
- specific factors associated with desistance, for example: spirituality (Schroeder and Frana, 2009), religion (Stansfield, 2017, Deuchar et al, 2016), romantic relationships (Wyse et al, 2014), marriage (Craig and Foster, 2013), prosocial activities (Deuchar et al, 2016); or drugs (Carlsson, 2013, Schroeder et al, 2007).

A number of factors have been identified within research that affects desistance, but no strong or convincing evidence has been found to support which of these are salient.

This study endeavoured to create a deeper appreciation of how YP can be effectively supported through transition, informing future practice and interventions both within custody and the community, in order to aid crime prevention, prevent persistence into criminal careers and create fewer victims (Taylor, 2016b). Furthermore, this research may support greater public/community understanding of youth crime and desistance, helping to challenge negative meta-narratives surrounding YOs' ability to reform (Maruna, 2001).

1.7 Positionality: My development of research ideas

Throughout my career I have been interested in working with offenders and victims of crime. I have previously volunteered as a helpline counsellor for sexual abuse victims and perpetrators and as a community panel member for the YJS. From working with YP during my

time as a psychology secondary school and sixth form teacher, I have always been interested in adolescent development, YP's life trajectories and the role of education in supporting YP from a range of complex backgrounds. In my current role as a trainee educational psychologist (TEP), I have gained experience of supporting YOs alongside a team of EPs who deliver a range of work in this specialist area.

From discussions with EPs and YJ practitioners working in the YJS, I became aware of the growing re-offending rates and the challenge this posed at a local and national level. From scoping existing literature, I found a greater body of research exists to address the pathway to offending and risk factors, as opposed to the pathway from custody to the community (Gray, 2010, Stouthamer-Loeber et al, 2004, Gadd and Farrall, 2004). Laub and Sampson (2001) outlined that research has focused upon criminal onset, persistence and escalation, whilst desistance remains the most understudied area; therefore, further exploration of the factors involved with resettlement is likely to be beneficial in redressing this imbalance (LeBel et al, 2008).

1.8 Purpose of research

The aim of this research was to explore YOs' subjective experiences and accounts of resettlement and ascertain what internal and external factors influenced their capacity to desist from further criminal involvement post-custody. The impact of resettlement on identity is explored using a narrative approach consistent with current theory (McNeill and Weaver, 2010, Maruna and Farrall, 2004 and Maruna, 2001) and frameworks (Hazel et al, 2017), as discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2). This research collects YP's accounts through semi-structured interviews, which aim to elicit how their own characteristics and/or elements of the system have aided their criminal and desistance

pathways, to inform consideration of how these can be further developed. In addition, YJ professional views are obtained through Focus Groups, to strengthen contextual relevance and increase applicability of findings.

Through this research, I aimed to support YP in sharing a meaningful account, capturing their lived experience over time (before, during and after custody) using a narrative approach (Andrews et al, 2013, Cortazzi, 1994) (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5). A social constructionist approach was adopted that is 'principally concerned with explicating the process by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world (including themselves) in which they live' (Gergen and Gergen, 1984, p.266). Between-participant comparisons are not a primary objective with data obtained from YP, although some cross-case comparison was undertaken, by way of secondary data analysis.

Findings were expected to highlight strengths of local practice which have, from participants' perspectives, contributed toward their sustained, positive, post-release trajectories. I anticipated that the outcomes would be relevant for professionals working with offenders or ex-offenders, including professionals in the YJS and EPs, with implications for practice.

1.9 Expected outcomes and relevance to EP role

Since the emergence of multi-agency YOTs (see Table 2), more opportunities for collaborative, joint working have emerged across professions (health, social care, criminal justice) (Ryrie, 2006).

EPs work with children and YP with SEND to reduce barriers to positive educational and wellbeing outcomes, by working across contexts and systemic layers (individual, family, school system) (Miller et al, 2015). It is widely recognised that YOs have an increased

prevalence of: SEND, poor academic outcomes, school absence and mental health difficulties (see Table 4), therefore, EPs are well equipped to support this cohort of YP (Hall, 2013, Ryrie, 2006).

Funding streams for EPs are changing; previously EPs were employed by LAs and offered a non-chargeable service to schools. Now, many EPSs are underpinned by a mixed model of delivery, whereby statutory duties for children with SEND remains a core part of the role and are funded by the LA (Miller et al, 2015, DfE, 2011), whilst more creative work can be commissioned directly by schools and alternative providers (Beaver, 2011), enabling EPs to engage in more innovative ways of working.

The role of EPs within the YJS is emerging (Ryrie, 2006): however, this remains an underdeveloped area both within EP practice and research (Parnes, 2017). Evidence suggests that EPs working within the YJS remain in the minority (Hall, 2013, Farrall et al, 2006), and few published papers exist in this area. Conclusions drawn from those papers indicate that the role of the EP has a valuable place in the YJS, to: harness professionals' knowledge of SEND (Wyton, 2013), facilitate organisational change (Parnes, 2017), support across a YO's system (young person, family, professionals) (Hall, 2013), and work directly with YOs through casework (Ryrie, 2006) and therapeutic work (Farrall et al, 2006).

Within the LA where I am on placement as a TEP, EPs were initially commissioned to support assessments of YP, however, their role has since expanded to utilise a broader range of skills (see Table 6).

Table 6: The role of the EP within the current LA

Function of EP role	Description of how this function of the role has been utilised by EPs working with the YJS in this LA
Assessment	EPs have supported health assessments of YP, helping the service to pilot a Comprehensive Health Assessment Tool (CHAT) to provide screening for a range of physical and mental health needs. EPs also complete assessments as part of individual casework, including YP who are transitioning from the YJS to probation service.
Consultation	EPs have utilised their psychological skills and knowledge to provide guidance and advice to YJ professionals working with YOs through consultation.
Formulation	EPs provide support for YOs leaving custody, using formulation to consider what provision will be required to aid their transition into the community and help meet their needs. Information from assessment and formulation is shared with the probation service.
Training	EPs have provided training for YJ professionals, harnessing their understanding of SEND and the complex needs of the YO cohort within the YJS. Needs assessments have been completed with staff to identify further training requirements and opportunities.
Multi-agency working	EPs work with other organisations and professionals to aid collaborative, joint working and promote a shared understanding of YP's needs. EPs liaise with professionals from educational settings to ensure appropriate placements and provisions are made to cater for the individual needs of YP. Further opportunities for EPs to work more closely with the YJ health team has been highlighted by the YJS as a future objective.

1.10 Overview of structure for remainder of the volume

After introducing the topic area and providing a rationale for my study, Chapter 2 presents theories of desistance and findings from contemporary studies which focus upon YOs' experiences of resettlement and transition from custody into the community.

Chapter 3 provides a rationale for the narrative methodological approach adopted and outlines data collection procedures, ethical considerations and analysis.

Chapter 4 and 5 present and discuss the findings in relation to existing literature and theory.

Chapter 6 considers the implications and limitations of the findings, alongside an exploration of this study's unique contribution to knowledge.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter overview

This chapter aims to provide an overview of: resettlement practice in England and the LA, desistance definitions and theories and an exploration of existing studies which gather YOs' perspectives on reintegration following incarceration.

Definitions of desistance vary widely, which can present difficulties for researchers. In the current study, desistance is defined as an ongoing process, rather than a period of sudden abstinence. Theories of this complex phenomenon have developed over time; more recent contributions outline the complex interactive dynamic interplay between internal and external factors, which is supported by findings abstracted from the literature review. Finally, I consider how desistance can be conceptualised using a developmental psychopathology framework.

2.2 Re-settlement practice in England

Custody can present a unique period of stability for some YP who otherwise lead chaotic, turbulent, and troubled lives. Likewise, this period provides professionals with an opportunity to understand and challenge YPs' reasons for offending, helping to prevent them from returning to old habits on release (MoJ, 2014). Despite this window of opportunity, interventions used to support YOs' rehabilitation, reportedly have an offending focus rather than desistance focus (Hampson, 2017, HMIP, 2016); they place emphasis on reducing YP's risk factors, as opposed to harnessing their protective influences. In contrast, Taylor (2016b)

suggested greater focus should be placed upon building YP's personal resources and social capital. Punitive responses from the YJS have been criticised for inadvertently entrenching YPs' challenging behaviours and experienced difficulties, increasing the likelihood of further offending (Wright et al, 2016b, Taylor, 2016b). The government response to the Taylor review did, however, reiterate the YJS's commitment to 'punish' crime (MoJ, 2016) (see Table 2).

The YJB (2014c) published professional guidance to increase effective resettlement planning, placing emphasis upon seven objectives: education, training, and employment (ETE), transitions, accommodation, health, substance misuse, families, and finance. The YJB (2014c) suggested that effective casework is required to proactively support YOs' transitions and changes across their journey proactively in the YJS. Effective casework reportedly involves: multi-agency assessment; comprehensive, multi-level personalised resettlement plans created from the outset; timely exchange of information across services; and co-ordination of agencies to ensure continued, seamless support upon release (YJB, 2014c).

This approach has recently been criticised, with argument that a unified framework is required, to operationalise a set of principles. Hazel et al (2017) claimed that successful resettlement needs to be reconceptualised within the YJS, moving away from short-term fixes and a 'symptom focus'. Instead, an evidence-informed approach focusing upon identity and development is proposed (McKay et al, 2013, McNeill and Weaver, 2010, Maruna, 2001). This shift is based upon research findings which indicate that YOs need to change how they see themselves to make an effective transition into the community (McNeill and Weaver, 2010, Maruna and Farrall, 2004). Arguably, by targeting the underlying cause (self-narrative), the symptom (offending) will consequently reduce to ensure that behaviour aligns with one's inner script.

Recent resettlement practice reforms by the YJB for 2017/18 indicate greater emphasis upon personalised planning for YP's desistance pathways (YJB, 2017a, HMIP, 2016) and understanding offending behaviours from a developmental perspective, to aid formulation of YOs' needs through cumulative understanding of events and experiences across YP's life-span (YJB, 2017a, Welsh Government, 2017) (see Appendix 3 for details of current initiatives to reduce re-offending).

2.2.1. Resettlement practice: a local context

AssetPlus is adopted as a holistic assessment and intervention tool. AssetPlus is used by custodial and community services which support YOs to reduce risk of harm and potential re-offending. It is designed to be an 'end-to-end' tool that can be utilised from the moment a young person enters the secure estate, throughout their entire journey. AssetPlus produces a single record that can be accessed by all relevant parties. It incorporates factual information alongside professional judgement. Data are updated as necessary, and reviews are conducted once every 6 months (YJB, 2014). AssetPlus is used to assess YOs' strengths, needs and level of risk to aid intervention planning. This tool has been informed by desistance theories and is designed to support personalised desistance provision for YOs (HMIP, 2016), by increasing practitioners' understanding of the reasons for offending, and the circumstances surrounding the behaviour.

The LA YJS has recently undertaken a research project to develop professionals understanding of how trauma affects YOs. This is an ongoing project, and staff are keen to utilise findings to aid assessment and intervention processes. Practitioners aim to consider how YP's experiences, background and life events may have influenced their behaviour, and contributed towards their offending (WYJS, 2017b). Trauma informed practice provides a

distinct shift from offending focused provision; rather than adopting punitive approaches, practitioners are encouraged to consider how YOs backgrounds and lived experiences have affected their behaviour and engagement. This approach promotes flexible responses to creatively address challenging behaviours without rejecting the individual (Wright et al, 2016b).

As part of a shift towards a more empathic approach to working with YOs, professionals have been trained in motivational interviewing (Miller, 1983): a therapeutic approach to supporting YP's readiness for change and commitment to the change process. This approach promotes YP's self-efficacy by supporting their perception that they can positively re-shape their life trajectory, consequently aiding motivation to desist (Hettinga et al, 2005).

2.3 Defining 'desistance'

The issues surrounding defining desistance are broadly acknowledged within the literature and can create methodological difficulties when attempting to measure such phenomena. There is no universal definition from which researchers work; instead authors tend to outline the chosen definition they have applied within their research. Meanwhile, others argue the term 'desistance' is unhelpful, and that one should focus upon the presence or absence of recidivism instead (Laub and Sampson, 2001).

2.3.1. Termination

Initially, researchers (Farrall and Bowling, 1999, Shover, 1996) proposed that desistance was defined by the cessation of deviant acts, or the spontaneous moment when an individual's criminal career ends. This concept of a definite turning point was criticised by others; Farrington (1986) highlighted that an individual can cease criminal behaviour for a prolonged period without fully cutting all ties. This poses difficulties for researchers, raising

questions such as: what can truly be defined as desistance? How can researchers ever be sure that someone is desisting from criminal activity as opposed to 'taking a break' or simply not getting caught? It has been proposed that the only real way to know whether someone has truly desisted from crime is when they are dead; even then, whilst their behaviour could be analysed retrospectively, there would still be no way of knowing the true moment of 'termination' (Soothill et al, 2013, Maruna, 2001).

2.3.2. Rational choice

The 'rational choice' model of desistance suggests that there is an individual decision-making contribution to desistance, as 'going straight' is a choice. This theory was supported by research that found individuals' reported reasons for deciding to quit were often rational thought processes (Warldorf, 1983). In contrast, Knupfer (1972) found that the reasons for cessation can appear trivial; moreover, a factor that one person identifies as desistance may be the same factor another person links to acceleration. Understanding the reasons why people 'give up', does not provide an explanation as to how people maintain desistance in the face of adversity, temptation, and challenges. Such an ability would arguably require a lasting change in values, lifestyle or 'personality', which Prochaska et al (1994) found can take up to ten years to accomplish.

2.3.3. Continuity

Alternatively, Maruna (2001) stated desistance is 'the long-term abstinence from crime among individuals who had previously engaged in persistent patterns of criminal offending' (p.26). Desistance is therefore defined by continuity of non-deviant behaviours, as opposed to change. Maruna (2001) recognised that avoidant motives or deterrents such as prison, loss of employment or relationship breakdown, are not enough by themselves to

fuel desistance. Instead, one must consider how a range of interacting factors influence an individual's motivation and ability to maintain abstinence in the face of complex criminogenic circumstances. In the same way that alcoholics may refer to themselves as 'in recovery', the meaning of desistance within this definition indicates that 'going straight' is a complex, ongoing process, which can involve lapses and relapses, creating a 'zig-zagging' profile, rather than a linear process or 'on'/'off' dichotomy. This definition is widely used within contemporary literature (McMahon and Jump, 2017, HMIP, 2016), and is adopted for the purposes of the current study.

2.4 Desistance theories

The most common theories documented within the literature can arguably be separated into those which emphasise subjective or structural changes (Laub and Sampson, 2001), whilst recent models have posed an interplay between both. Interactional theories of desistance have been deemed by researchers in the field as the most credible (King, 2013, Farrall, 2002; Maguire and Raynor, 2006; McNeill, 2003; McNeill and Whyte, 2007). The theories outlined in this section provide a snapshot of how explanations for desistance have evolved over time (see Figure 1 for a visual representation).

2.4.1. Ageing out of crime

One initial ontogenetic theory of desistance is based upon the biological process of maturation/ageing. Researchers suggested that discontinuing criminal behaviours was due to the passage of time (Rutherford, 2002, Glueck and Glueck, 1940). Glueck and Glueck (1940) proposed that criminal impulses naturally decline from age 25 years onwards, which researchers hypothesised may be linked to lowered testosterone levels (Gove, 1985, Cline, 1980); however, there is no conclusive link between the age-crime curve and testosterone

curve, suggesting there is no clear cause and effect relationship (Farrington 1986). It was later suggested that maturation was an important element in the ageing process linked with desistance (Glueck and Glueck, 1940), though this aspect of the theory also lacked thorough exploration. The ageing theory has since been highly criticised as reductionist, not accounting for social or institutional factors (Maruna, 2001). Moreover, the process of ageing is complex, with multiple internal and external changes, and the theory fails to uncover which aspects of ageing, (if any), are most significant (Sampson and Laub, 1992). Furthermore, this theory fails to explain *why* there is a sudden, accelerated decline in criminal activity amongst young adults (Maruna, 2001).

2.4.2. Social bonds theory

Sampson and Laub (1993) offered an alternative theory, based upon informal social bonds and ‘turning points’. This theory posed that relationships and employment could provide individuals with additional reasons to go straight, increasing their likelihood of successful desistance. Supportive evidence indicated that a ‘good’ marriage, employment, education and having children had a positive effect on refraining from delinquent behaviours (Laub et al, 1988, Trasler, 1980). Consequently, increased social bonds are likely to reduce the appeal of offending, as the individual has ‘more to lose’ (e.g. spouse and/or employment), therefore, serving a social control function (Sampson and Laub, 1997). The mere existence of these social bonds, however, is not enough to assure successful resettlement, although the strength and quality of these aspects are undeniably interrelated (Laub and Sampson, 1993).

This theory could be deemed deterministic, as it cannot account for the role that individual or subjective factors play in desistance, including free-will, motivation, choice and

autonomy (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). More recent theories have added further conditions, for example, the prosocial effects of marriage are also dependent upon the spouse and their characteristics (Rutter, 1996).

2.4.3. Subjective model

Both the ageing and social bonds theory arguably fail to consider the phenomenology of desistance; the individuals' lived experiences (Maruna, 2001). Conversely, Leibrich (1993) attributed sustained desistance to cognitive changes, including, how an individual interprets the world around them. Caspi and Moffitt (1995) suggested that individuals perceive objective surroundings subjectively. People can be exposed to the same social and environmental circumstances yet form different understandings and responses.

Support for this theory was presented by Shover (1996), outlining that the formation of alternative perspectives, increased awareness of time, and development of prosocial goals are important elements within the desistance process. Subjective theories of desistance called for new research methodologies, using qualitative methods to elicit views (Maruna, 2001). Strictly subjective models have, however, been criticised for underestimating the role of social conditions and/or life events. Therefore, this theory fails to acknowledge the causal, interrelated nature of social and subjective factors in the process of desistance (LeBel et al, 2008).

2.4.4 Identity transformation

Maruna's theory of identity transformation rests upon the notion that individuals create 'narratives' or stories, which help them to explain what they did and why they did it

(McAdams, 1993). These self-narratives can arguably play a significant role in shaping behaviour, and consequently, desistance.

Maruna (2001) found there to be three distinguishing features of desistance narratives or 'redemption scripts', including 'generative motivations', 'the core self' and 'sense of agency'. Generative motivations, or finding a way of 'making good', serve numerous functions: an avenue for fulfilment and validation; a method of relieving one's own guilt, receiving societal acceptance, and inadvertently helping oneself. The core self can separate itself from the party responsible for deviant acts as a self-protection mechanism; however, both persisters and desisters are likely to experience conflicted locus of control, striving to take responsibility for their actions, whilst framing some behaviours as beyond their control. Desisters may form downward social comparisons to protect themselves against shame, or alternatively, apply internal logic, for example, believing they were wrongly accused by authorities, thereby creating distance from mainstream societal values. Finally, a sense of agency and greater self-efficacy was found in desistance narratives, desisters had a clear plan and a strong belief that they could make it work. Furthermore, self-determination was a common theme amongst desisters compared to persisters, who communicated little vision of what their future may hold.

Despite the vast support for this theory within the literature, Healy (2010) argued that Maruna's contribution cannot explain *how* offenders change their narratives, resulting in a theory which promotes a reactive response. Healy (2010) stated the focus of Maruna's theory is upon making sense of criminal pasts which does not lend itself to prevention of re-offending.

2.4.5 Cognitive transformation theory

Giordano et al's (2002) theory of cognitive transformation accounts for the reciprocal relationship between individual and environmental aspects, outlining that the cognitive shifts that play a vital role in an offender's life changes are typically supported by both contextual elements and individual actions. The positive impact of environmental factors, or 'hooks for change' upon the desistance process, are dependent upon an individual's attitude and ability to maximise available opportunities. This includes an individual's openness to change; exposure to environmental stimuli (a hook or set of hooks); visualisation of a replacement, prosocial identity and distance from one's former identity; and no longer viewing criminal activities or previous life choices as appealing. These stages are interrelated: for example, increased readiness to change can heighten an individual's exposure and susceptibility to environmental hooks for change, which results in a shift in identity that leads to a sustained reduction in deviant behaviours.

Giordano's theory is aligned with underlying concepts within social bonds theory; however, Giordano additionally suggests that individuals require certain prerequisite skills and resources to make successful prosocial changes, suggesting that individuals change, not only because they have the added responsibility of partner and employers who depend upon them, but because they have started to view their lives differently.

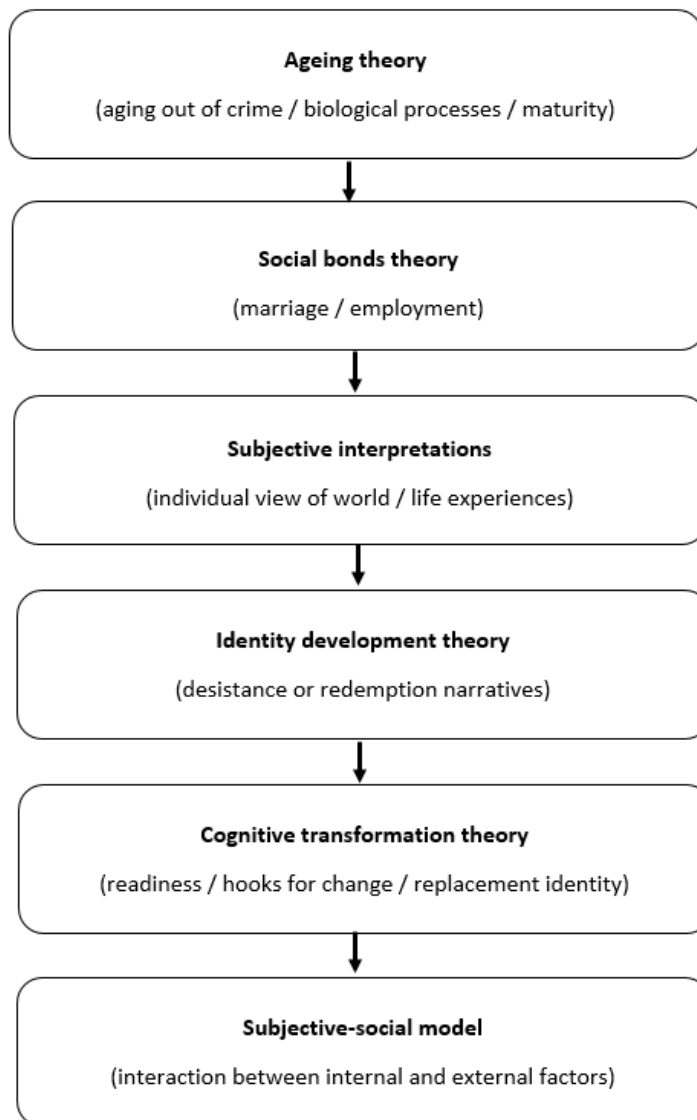
2.4.6 Subjective-social model

Consistent with Giordano et al's (2002) interactive perspective, LeBel et al (2008) coined the subjective-social model, which incorporates both subjective perspectives and social life events as predictors of life outcomes and recidivism. This theory rests upon the idea that positive opportunities are not enough on their own to predict desistance; the

impact of social factors is dependent upon subjective characteristics. For example, positive shifts within an individual's mind-set can lead to greater determination when seeking employment, and consequently lead to greater financial stability, increased self-esteem, a sense of belonging and lower likelihood of re-offending. Within this example, the offender must develop a sense of resilience, and have a robust attitude towards job hunting to not be deterred or disheartened by setbacks or obstacles. Consequently, subjective changes precede social changes. This model combines both individual and wider factors, highlighting the interactive nature of processes which govern desistance.

Taking into consideration the existing desistance theories and the multi-layered, interactive risk and protective factors which influence desistance (see Section 1.3. and 1.4), a need for an overarching systemic framework to encompass both the subjective and social factors, and to account for individual differences within this process, was highlighted (Unruh et al, 2009).

Figure 1: Overview of desistance theory development



2.5 YOs views on desistance: a systematic literature review

I now summarise a systematic literature review, conducted to establish existing research findings from studies that had obtained YOs' accounts of desistance, and their experiences of transition from incarceration to the community.

2.5.1 Method

Congruent with the focus of the current research upon individual perspectives and subjective meanings, I decided only articles which included qualitative research would be

included. Furthermore, papers focusing upon adult populations, interventions and/or specific factors associated with desistance were excluded. American and Australian studies were incorporated to widen my search findings, compensating for the lack of UK literature, which specifically met my inclusion criteria (see Table 7 and Figure 2). The methodology used for this systematic review is based upon the guidelines by Boland et al (2017) for structured, methodical, and transparent stages.

Table 7: Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Criteria	Inclusion	Exclusion
Article type	Peer-reviewed scholarly articles	Unpublished theses, non-peer reviewed articles, books, book chapters
Publication date	2000-present day	Before 2000
Philosophical approach	Interpretivist, constructionist, ethnographic or phenomenological approach	Positivist approach
Geographical location	UK, American or Australian studies	Studies conducted outside of the UK, America or Australia
Methods	Mixed methods, interviews, focus groups or questionnaires using open questions	Questionnaires or self-reports using closed questions
Participants	‘young offenders’, ‘delinquents’ or ‘juveniles’ addressed as a whole population Adolescents (13-17 years) or young adult (18-29 years)	Selective populations of YOs singled out based upon type of crime e.g. sex offenders Participants below 13 or over 29 years No specified upper age limit
Data analysis	interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), thematic analysis, narrative analysis, ethnographic analysis, qualitative computer software programmes	Quantitative computer software programmes

Paper focus	Individual experience or perceptions Desistance, rehabilitation, re-entry or transition as a collective entity Research, including, primary data collection, and/or which is part of a larger study conducted by the author	Individual programmes, interventions, therapies or services Specific desistance factors i.e. religion Non-research papers or articles with a solely theoretical focus Articles using secondary data – sourced from researchers other than the author
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2.5.2 Types of study

Two searches were conducted using two different databases: PsychINFO (1967 to present) and ProQuest Criminal Justice. A range of other databases were considered through a trial and error process, these particular two were chosen due to their high number of papers with a criminal focus, and the greater number of search results produced from search terms.

The search term used for the first PsychINFO (1967 to present) search was ‘desistance’ (in article title). This search included English language, peer-reviewed articles from the last 18 years (2000-2018) with adolescent (13-17 years) or young adult (18-29 years) populations. The first search returned a total of 99 articles. After following a screening process, three papers from this systematic search were included in the literature review (Terry and Abrams, 2017, Panuccio et al, 2012 and Haigh, 2009).

A further search was conducted on the ProQuest Criminal Justice database. For this second search, the search terms used were ‘offend*’ (in all article) AND ‘transition’ OR ‘resettle*’ (in article title) AND ‘custod*’ OR ‘communit*’ (in article title). The second search returned a total of 66 articles. After conducting a screening process, another three papers

from this systematic search were included in the literature review (Beal, 2014, Meek, 2007 and Abrams, 2006).

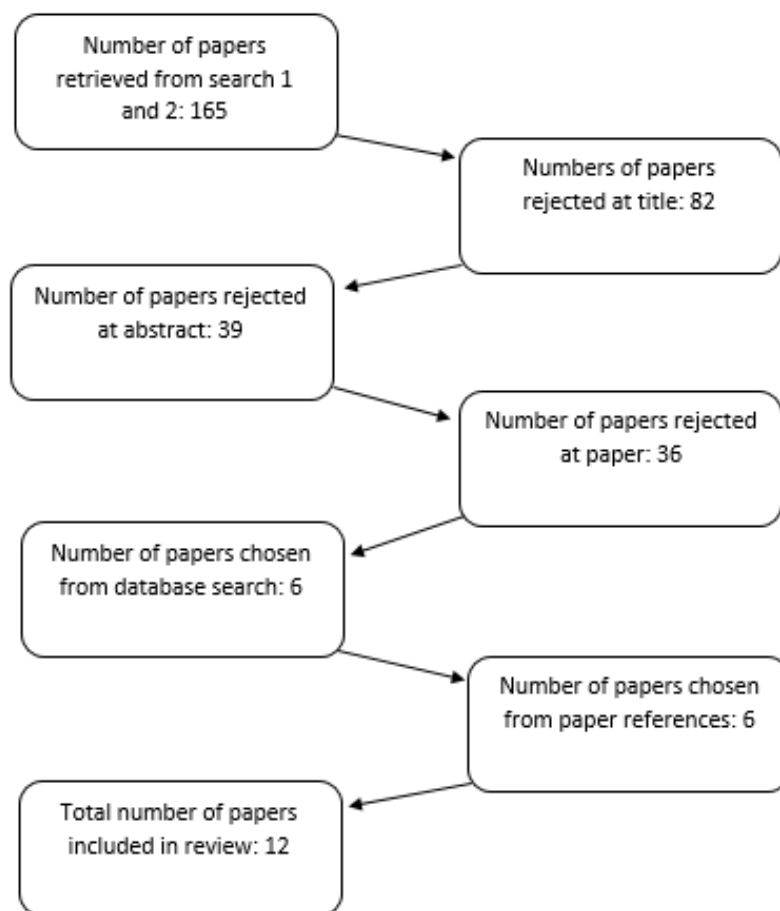
An additional six articles were included that were not found through either search, but from hand searching through reference lists and applying the same screening process (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Hampson, 2016, Abrams, 2012, Inderbitzin, 2009, Unruh et al, 2009 and Todis et al, 2001).

Both databases and search terms were determined through trial and error processes, to identify which databases and terms would produce journal papers most relevant to the research questions. See Table 8 for an overview of search terms that were trialled. As suggested by Bolan et al (2013), articles from searches were firstly screened by reading the titles and abstracts to determine their relevance, applying inclusion and exclusion criteria to exclude articles (see Table 7), then reading the full paper to determine whether to include it in the final sample of papers.

Table 8: Search terms trialled during initial literature searches

Key words trialled during initial literature searches		
Methodology	Sample	Topic
Voice Account Qualitative Perception Subjectiv* Narrative Life-course Life story	Adolescen* Juvenile Delinquen* Ex-prisoner	Re-entry Risk Protective Factor Influence Predict* Reintegration Incarceration Recidivism Re-offend* Post-release Imprisonment Identity
Asterisks were used to search for word stems, for example, 'delinquen*' would include 'delinquent' and 'delinquency'.		

Figure 2: Summary of exclusion process from both database searches



2.5.3 Participant and sample characteristics analysis

Across the twelve papers there is a total of 190 participants (participants): 153 males and 27 females, whilst one study did not specify sex ratio (Abrams, 2006). Due the national demographics of the offender population (1.3), a male bias is arguably desirable within research samples in order to increase generalisability of findings (Allen and Dempsey, 2016). The number of participants ranges from one to fifty-one, with an average number of 16.

The range of studies was derived from different countries (7 US studies, 4 UK and 1 Australian), therefore, one must take into account the varying criminal and judicial systems that are represented, which may influence participants' lived experiences. The stage in YPs'

desistance journeys differed across the papers, including YOs nearing release (Abrams, 2012), those back out in the community (Haigh, 2009) and studies that tracked YPs' journeys across this transition period (Hampson, 2016, Abrams, 2006). Furthermore, researchers' definition of YOs or juveniles (depending on the country) also differed; some participants were known to be repeat offenders, having experienced numerous periods of incarceration (Terry and Abrams, 2017), compared with YOs who had only been given warnings for one-off offences (Haigh, 2009), or community-based judicial orders (Unrah, 2009). Some studies included 'persisters' who had re-offended upon release (Terry and Abrams, 2017, Panuccio, 2012, Abrams, 2006), whilst others focused solely upon 'desisters' (Todis et al, 2001).

How researchers measured desistance was also mixed; for example, Panuccio et al (2012) collected data from a range of sources, whilst Haigh (2009) asked participants themselves whether they had continued to commit crimes. Subjective accounts of offending history may not, however, have yielded trustworthy data, and may have been influenced by social desirability bias. Some researchers acknowledged the restraints of using self-report methods in their paper, and consequently created their own criteria and/or definitions to define desistance (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Terry and Abrams, 2017, Panuccio et al, 2012), or positive resettlements (Todis et al, 2001) as informed by their data and professional opinion.

Different definitions of desistance and measuring instruments can make direct comparisons between findings difficult; however, this is representative of a broader issue across the research in this field. It is challenging for researchers to know whether YP have continued to offend but have not been caught for their offences. Moreover, there is likely to be a much wider population of young offenders desisting in society who had previously

evaded conviction or incarceration. Some studies were also dependent upon volunteer samples (Terry and Abrams, 2017, Todis et al, 2001) which suggests there is a broad range of perspectives that are not represented in the data.

Some studies had particularly small sample sizes (Beal, 2014, Meek, 2007), reducing the generalisability of results to the wider YO population. Researchers mainly sourced participants through purposive (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Terry and Abrams, 2017, Abrams, 2012, Panuccio et al, 2012, Unruh et al, 2009) or convenience (Abrams, 2006) sampling techniques, which can reduce representativeness of results. However, constraints upon access to and recruitment of YOs can make this population hard-to-reach.

Some researchers gathered additional quantitative demographic and recidivism data; for example, Abrams (2006) compared the research sample against wider norms to gauge representativeness. Qualitative studies are not, however, designed to permit broad inferences; instead, they aim to acquire in-depth, rich data to aid contextualised understanding of lived experience, and contribute to theory development (Polit and Beck, 2010, Creswell and Miller, 2000), which arguably these papers achieve.

2.5.4 Results

Table 9: Summary of study and participant characteristics

	Study	Participant characteristics / demographics	Sampling / recruitment method	Interview location/ setting	Criminal history/youth justice involvement	Method/position	Data analysis
1.	Abrams (2012)	20 male participants aged 15-17 from 2 facilities housing YOs that offered specialised treatment services, interventions and therapies African American (6), white (5), white/African American (2), African (2), Hmong (2), white/native American (1), native American (1), Latino (1)	Purposive sampling technique Presentation given, YPs who expressed interest were screened and parental consent sought 2 participants data were excluded from final report	US Juvenile correctional facilities housing 14-18 yr olds	Repeat offenders or felony offenders who were preparing to leave their setting and make transition into community. Range of prior offences including sexual assault, theft, robbery and weapons possession	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Part of a larger ethnographic study conducted over 4 years, however, this paper focuses on qualitative, semi-structured interviews with YP during a 3-week period prior to release which lasted between 30-90 minutes Measured participants motivation to change by own categorisation system derived from result 	Analysed exit narratives Coded transcripts Thematic analysis conducted by researcher and graduate research student unconnected to data collection
2.	Abrams (2006)	10 YOs aged 13-19 (male/female ratio unknown) Housed at a facility where a CBT treatment	Convenience sample, YP who enrolled in transition programme, 30 approached, 15	US Correctional facility in Minnesota for adjudicated males and females aged	Range of prior offences including robbery, assault and firearm possession 3 of the 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualitative fields research design 2-5 semi-structured interviews per participant lasting 30-90 mins each, 27 interviews in total, 	Thematic analysis using computer software Codes

		<p>program was provided followed by a transition program</p> <p>African American (3), American (2), Native American (1), white (3), white native American (1)</p>	gave consent, 10 took part	13-19	participants were re-arrested within 3 months of release	<p>average of 3 per participant, staged at different time periods (over 3-6 month period) – covering pre-release to post-release</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Also analysed facility data and recidivism rates of participants 	produced through inductive analysis
3.	Beal (2014)	<p>2 male participants discharged from a British YOI, aged 15 and 16</p> <p>Ethnicity unknown</p>	No details provided	UK	<p>One participant was known for burglary, assault and theft</p> <p>The second participant's offences were unknown</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Case study design 3 semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant at different points in time Task-based activities was used 	Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)
4.	Haigh (2009)	<p>25 participants, 14-24 years</p> <p>15 (14-17 yr olds), 10 (18-24 yr olds)</p> <p>8 females, 17 males drawn from services for 'at-risk' YP</p> <p>Ethnicity unknown</p>	Drawn from sample of 'at risk' youth through service providers	<p>Australia</p> <p>Range of community settings including a cafe, hostel and community hall</p>	<p>Range of convictions from imprisonment to one-off cautions</p> <p>Range of offences from minor (e.g. shoplifting, graffiti) to major offences (e.g. armed robbery, burglary)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Semi-structured interviews lasting 30mins – 1 hour 	<p>Not stated</p> <p>Themes presented</p>

5.	Hampson (2016)	<p>11 YP aged 13-18 years, 1 female, mean age of 16 on receipt of sentence, almost 25% children looked after</p> <p>All North Walian participants in English custody</p> <p>5 North Walian YP in a YOI for focus group</p>	<p>All YP given DTOs from North Wales released during certain time frame YOT staff liaised with researchers, informing when YP were due for release and supporting interviews</p> <p>Only 4/11 remained offence-free after 12 months</p>	UK – Wales	<p>All given DTOs and released</p> <p>Mean of 9 previous convictions, mean age of 1st detected offence – 12 yrs, almost 75% committed no offences during licence.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11 YP (8 Time 1 and/or Time 2 interviewees plus three previous custody-leaver interviews) took part in interviews - soon after release (time 1) and just before licence end (time 2), however, not all participants took part in both interviews • All participant 's completed written questionnaires • 3 interviews with parents/carers 	Deductive thematic analysis
6.	Inderbitz in (2009)	<p>5 male participants aged 19-20 of African American and Latino heritage, who accessed maximum security juvenile correctional facility</p>	<p>Fieldwork conducted where researcher was a moderate participant. Data based upon 5 YP the researcher had got to know well, who provided in-depth detail</p>	US Interview location = community	<p>All violent offenders served on average 3 years in maximum security setting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Casework, life history approach • Autobiographical narratives were elicited from multiple conversations, and informal interviews with participants • Part of a larger ethnographic study conducted over 15 months • Approximately 1 visit per week to the setting during unstructured/free times 	Not stated – a form of deductive thematic analysis presumed

						<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participant observations, each visit lasted 6-8 hours, field notes taken 	
7.	McMahon and Jump (2017)	<p>21 male participants aged 13-17 years</p> <p>Persistent YOs from 3 YOTs in England, 7 from black or minority ethnic groups, 14 participants from white ethnic origin</p> <p>participants separated into 2 groups – persisters vs desisters (YP who re-offended within 6 month tracked period vs those who did not)</p>	Purposive sample selected by liaising with YOT managers	UK Interview in YOT offices	All recently sentenced and serving an intensive surveillance and supervision program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case study methodology • Interviews with YP (25mins – 2 hours), time 1 (initial interviews) and time 2 (exit interviews) • Weekly phone logs over 6-month period • Additional interviews with YOT, managers and nominated significant others e.g. parent/carers 	Thematic analysis
8.	Meek (2007)	<p>1 male participant aged 20</p> <p>Gypsy traveller</p>	<p>Unknown</p> <p>Data drawn from larger study</p>	UK Interview in prison and probation office	Served 1 st prison sentence for grievous bodily harm (GBH)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case study design • Interviews – time 1 (whilst in prison), time 2 (6 months after release) • Drawn from larger qualitative study 	Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)
9.	Panuccio et al (2012)	<p>14 participants, 13 males, 1 female, aged 14-19, average age 17</p> <p>African American and</p>	Purposive sample approached prospective participants	US	participants had been released from confinement for minimum of 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case study design • Case files, observations, interviews (with YP and case managers), focus groups 	Exploratory analysis Themes produced

		Hispanic origin	through a juvenile re-entry programme, which was a condition of parole		months, maximum of 1 year Half participants (7) defined as 'desisters'	(with YOs and family members) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Part of a larger study looking at a family case management programme for YOs 	through open and axial coding
10.	Terry and Abrams (2017)	15 male participants aged 19-24 Latino or Hispanic (9), Black (4), White (1), and Filipino (1)	Purposive sample participants previously involved Telephone survey - asked if happy to be contacted for future research Sent email/letter regarding study, applied inclusion criteria to respondents	US Different community interview locations including participants' homes or private settings	All participants were formally incarcerated (1 or more times) at a juvenile camp for medium to high risk young men participants had been back in the community for an average of 3.8 years 8 had been re-arrested since release Time since last arrest ranged from 1 month – 4 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Each participant had 2 interviews with a 1-2 month gap Narrative approach Within-case analysis using inductive coding and cross-case analysis 	Thematic analysis using computer software Additional analysis of language
11.	Todis et al (2001)	15 participants, 8 males, 7 females, different cultural backgrounds participants defined as	Staff in correctional facilities nominated YP who had made	US Interview location chosen by participants	participants known to be engaged in ETE, no arrests since leaving the facility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 year study ethnographic life history approach Participant observations (approximately 3 hours) 	Thematic analysis using computer software

		successful desisters as informed by facility staff	positive resettlements A variety of demographics were chosen from consenting respondents	e.g. work or home		each) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unstructured interviews 	
12.	Unruh et al (2009)	51 participants, 41 males and 10 females Adolescents/juveniles (age range not specified)	Purposive sampling technique applied Maximum variation sampling to ensure mix of gender, types of crime and ethnicity	US Interview location = correctional facility, residential facility or probation office	39 participants were or had been in long term custody setting, 12 were on probation or had resided in a short-term detention setting or community based juvenile justice services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Combined naturalistic inquiry and grounded theory Data from a previous study as part of local needs assessment for re-entry intervention Semi structured interviews with YO's whilst incarcerated or on probation prior to an adulthood intervention over the course of 3 years (1999-2002) Interviews lasted 15-45 minutes 	Inductive and deductive coding methods based upon ecological theory Final codes entered into qualitative computer software Thematic analysis

2.5.5 Analysis: study characteristics

All 12 papers are positioned within a constructionist paradigm, presenting ethnographic, phenomenological, qualitative or hermeneutic research (Mertens, 2013). Researchers focused upon collection of 'pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended, and contextualized (e.g., sensitive to place and situation) perspectives' (Creswell and Miller, 2000, p.125), with validity procedures designed to ensure authentic, trustworthy data. Some researchers were specific, informing the reader of their qualitative approach; for example, Beal (2014) and Meek (2007) applied IPA, whilst Unruh et al (2009) drew upon grounded theory.

Half of the studies (Abrams, 2012, Panuccio et al, 2012, Inderbitzin, 2009, Unruh et al, 2009, Meek, 2007, Todis et al, 2001) presented data drawn from larger scale research projects and 3/12 studies involved the same researcher, indicating that there is a small pool of researchers within the field who focus upon YOs' desistance, rehabilitation and transition experiences.

All studies incorporated interviews in their methodology, mainly semi-structured (Beal, 2014, Abrams, 2012, Haigh, 2009, Unruh, 2009, Abram, 2006), with 2/12 papers using informal or unstructured interviews (Inderbitzin, 2009, Todis et al, 2001). Recorded interview times ranged from 25 minutes (McMahon and Jump, 2017) to 2 hours (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Terry and Abrams, 2017). Interviews are an effective method of eliciting views, gaining detailed accounts and exploring individual meanings; therefore, the choice of method in these studies complemented the overarching aims and research questions. One researcher made reference to an initial fieldwork testing process, Unruh (2009), which

outlined completion of a pilot study with two adolescents in a correctional facility, providing an opportunity to modify their procedure and interview protocol, based upon this process.

3/12 papers used more than one method (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Hampson, 2016, Panuccio et al, 2012). Panuccio et al (2012) extracted data from case files, observations and focus groups; Hampson (2016) incorporated written questionnaires; and McMahon and Jump (2017) recorded 'phone logs. The same three studies additionally collected the views of parents, carers, family members or significant others, in focus groups (Panuccio et al, 2012) or interviews (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Hampson, 2016). McMahon and Jump's (2017) was the only study to also interview YOT managers, whereas Beal's (2014) was the only paper to specify that activity-based tasks were incorporated into their interview procedure. Multiple methods of data abstraction can be viewed as advantageous, as triangulation of evidence can increase credibility if findings are corroborated (Creswell and Miller, 2000). By not relying upon a single incident for data collection, researchers are also able to gain a range of perspectives, aiding greater understanding of phenomena. Furthermore, considering the increased communication difficulties associated with the research population (see Table 4), multiple forms and stages of data collection can help cater for these.

Some studies were conducted over a prolonged period; for example, Abrams (2006) met with participants over 3-6 months, and Unruh (2009) conducted the research over 3 years. The data presented in 3/12 papers (Abrams, 2012, Inderbitzin, 2009, Todis et al, 2001) were part of larger ethnographic studies, aimed at data collection within 'real world' contexts, increasing transferability of results. This qualitative design enables researchers to

gather information from a range of resources, aiding construction/abstraction of meaning and understanding from the perspective of participants (Mertens, 2014).

In contrast, Haigh's (2009) research offers only a snapshot, collecting data at one point in time. Prolonged engagement in the field is a method of increasing credibility, as researchers gain an improved understanding of the context in which participants' perspectives are formulated. It also provides researchers with increased opportunities to solidify results by comparing interpretations formed from existing data, with further data collection to confirm or challenge assumptions (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Greater rapport and trust built between researchers and participants can also aid elicitation of more detailed accounts, increasing credibility.

3/12 papers explicitly adopted an autobiographical narrative or life history approach (Terry and Abrams, 2017, Inderbitzin, 2009, Todis et al, 2001), to explore a range of experiences throughout participants' life span and afford opportunities for participants to tell their story from their perspective. Such an approach indicates that researchers believed YPs' past experiences, development and history were significantly linked with their ability to desist from further criminal activities, and/or make positive resettlements.

Two papers outlined the use of financial compensation for participants' time (Unruh et al, 2009, Terry and Abrams, 2017). Methods of compensation can create ethical challenges, as payment could be interpreted as a bribe, and may affect the responses provided by participants if their motivation for participation is largely materialistic. Researchers did, however, outline the symbolism of this gift as a compensatory gesture which, considering the attrition rates highlighted across the research papers, is arguably advisable. For example, McMahon and Jump (2017) had 21 participants for the initial

interview and only 7 for the exit interviews. Similarly, follow-up interviews by Panuccio et al (2012) had to be conducted at different times due to attrition rates. Some researchers were more transparent than others in explaining reasons for attrition or exclusion of data in the final write up.

Locations of research ranged from community settings, including participants' homes (Terry and Abrams (2017, Todis et al, 2001), cafes and hostels (Haigh, 2009), to prisons (Meek, 2007), correctional or residential YO facilities (Abrams, 2012, Abrams, 2006, Unruh et al, 2009), and YOT buildings (McMahon and Jump (2017). One could argue that participants are likely to be more relaxed within their home or informal community settings, which may influence their willingness to engage in interviews. On the other hand, open public settings or home environments can be busy and/or noisy due to the presence of other members of the public or family members. Environmental distractions could have affected participants' ability to focus on the interview, and the presence of others may have affected the honesty of accounts.

Some studies incorporated both interviews in formal judicial settings (time 1), as well as interviews within the community upon release (time 2) (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Meek, 2007). Conducting interviews over a period of time in both contexts enables researchers further to corroborate their interpretation of results, reduce environmental effects and account for changing perspectives over time.

Qualitative researchers are advised to provide the reader with rich, thick detail, to contextualise the people or place of study, to help readers be transported to the situation or setting, thereby, increasing their ability to establish trustworthiness and applicability of findings (Creswell and Miller, 2000). The level of description and transparency varied across

the papers; for example, Hampson (2016) provided little detail of participant demographics in order to prevent identification, whereas, Abrams (2006) provided rich detail of the 2 participants in the sample to contextualise their contrasting narratives (Abrams, 2006). Some papers did not specify the age range of participants (Unrah et al, 2009), ethnicity (Haigh, 2009) or criminal history (Beal, 2014). Limited information can make it difficult for the reader to interpret findings, or gauge concurrent validity.

Inderbitzin (2009) was the only researcher to claim that participants played an active role in the research process, contributing to the research focus and questions. Including participants in shaping research and placing value on their suggestions communicates a level of respect which can fuel engagement, thereby increasing authenticity of results.

Methods of analysis varied across the papers, with researchers using qualitative software systems, or thematic analyses conducted by the person/s. Some researchers focused solely upon the similarities and differences between accounts, whereas, other papers presented each individual's stand-alone account separately, alongside comparisons (Beal, 2014). One researcher made explicit reference to an overarching ecological framework (Unrah et al, 2009), which was used to inform the coding scheme and analysis of themes across different systemic domains.

Some researchers adopted methods to increase objectivity and reliability of analysis procedures. For example, looking for contradictory evidence (Todis et al, 2001), a consensus-building coding process conducted by two researchers reviewing one another's code categories (Unrah et al, 2009), and use of a 'blind' researcher during the data analysis stage who was not involved in data collection (Abrams, 2012). Human error may, however, weaken reliability of evidence. For example, Hampson (2016) outlined loss of data as a

result of recording failure, therefore, it may be that not all their participants' perspectives were represented in the findings.

There are numerous features of the existing literature that I was determined to harness in the design of my own study and the data analysis. Researchers highlighted the importance of considering the process of desistance within an individual's life-span, therefore, I decided to adopt a narrative life-story approach within the current research, to capture YOs' perceptions of their developmental pathways (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3). In line with previous research approaches, I adopted a constructionist approach to obtain YP's views within the context in which they were formed. My findings add to the small pool of narrative research undertaken to explore YOs' life trajectories.

Considering the lack of YJ professional views represented within the literature, I aimed to incorporate their perspectives to create a holistic understanding of the complex factors at play, by comparing YP's views with those who work closely with them.

Across the results from the twelve papers there are some recurring themes which can be organised under two categories: desistance and cognitive skills. See Figure 3 for a thematic map which visually represents the main and subordinate themes.

Table 10: Main themes and summarised findings extracted from literature review papers.

No.	Focus of study	Main themes	Summary of findings
1.	<p>Qualitative interviews with male YOs at the point of release after a period of incarceration</p> <p>Exploration of practical and cognitive support strategies</p>	<p>Practical strategies for exit</p> <p>Individual responsibility</p> <p>Contending with friends and family</p> <p>Future vision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> participants who were highly motivated to change referred to the significant role of education and employment in supporting positive life changes, alongside cognitive strategies to reduce impulsivity (e.g. self-talk) participants generally agreed that the responsibility for change lies with the individual Many viewed their social circles (e.g. peers) as temptation or a barrier to change to be avoided, however, highly motivated participants were able to view others as support participants with low motivation had an unclear future vision and lack of belief in their ability to go straight
2.	<p>YOs' experience of transition and perceived challenges</p> <p>Focus upon how their interpretation of challenges affects their transition process and what coping methods are used</p>	<p>Preparing to go home: anticipated challenges</p> <p>On the outs (in the community): experienced challenges</p> <p>Crime temptations and coping strategies</p> <p>Sources of and use of support</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anticipated challenges included managing social circles and influences (friends, family), obtaining ETE, and being mentally prepared for increased freedom. Experienced challenges included distancing oneself from peer groups or gangs, sacrificing a sense of belonging for the development of new 'ex-offender' identity, practical difficulties including financial and forming new connections/friendships Temptations and/or pressures included old friends, accommodation, and the need to make money quickly. Coping strategies included 'selective involvement' with old friends, keeping busy and removing self from temptations. Family reportedly provided emotional and practical support and some participants accessed community support also

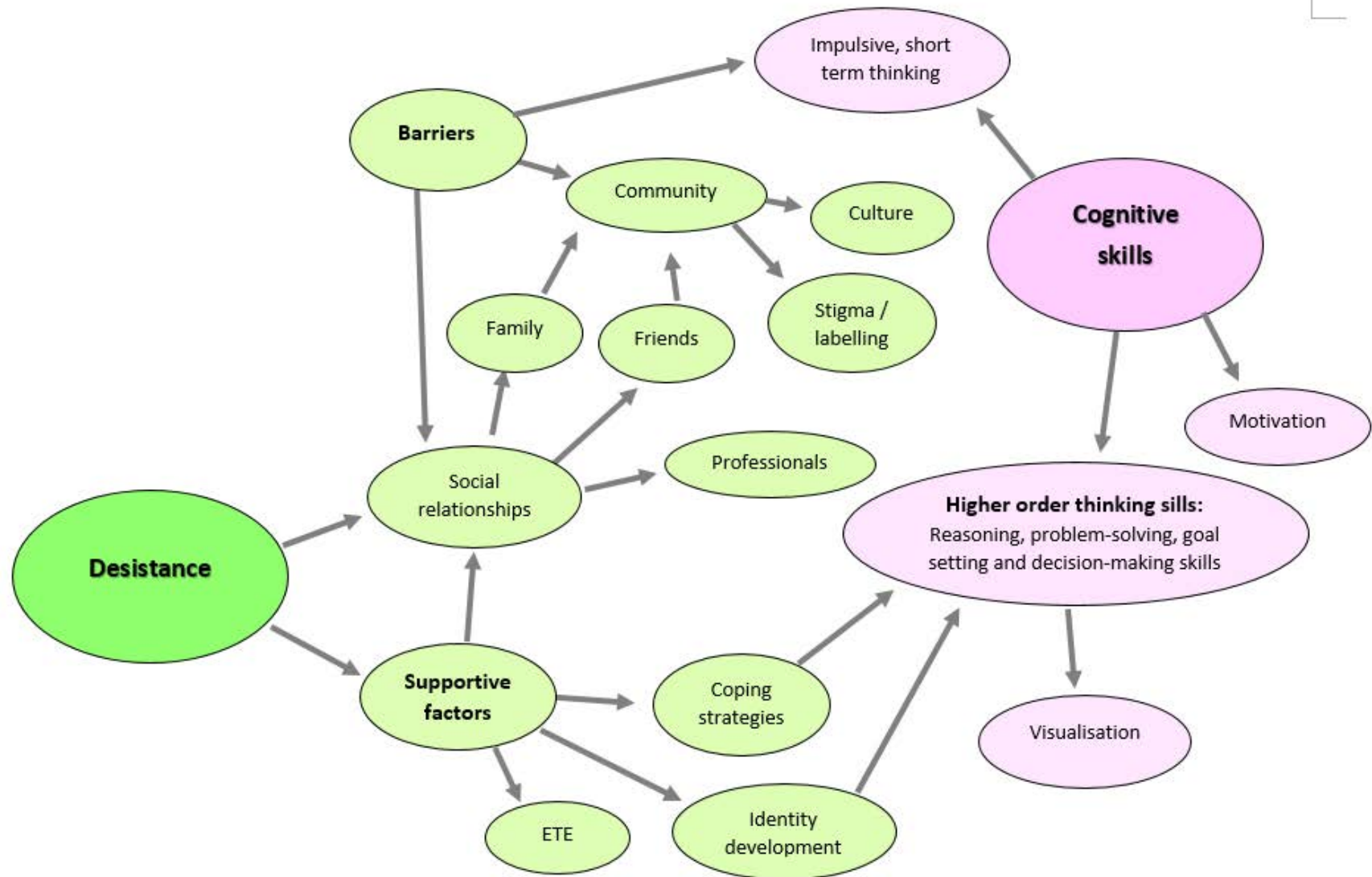
3.	YOs perceptions and experiences of transition from a YOI	Goal-directed approach to transition Self-efficacy Identity development	Successful desistance was linked to having: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • motivational and achievable goals, • believing in one's ability to reach goals and having a sense of control over life outcomes; and • the ability to reconstruct one's identity from offender to none-offender.
4.	Reflections of YP with history of offending regarding their transitional experiences, including biographies and future plans	Routine actions and habitual thinking Decision-making processes Relevance, actions and choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous criminal acts had become normalised and somewhat automatic, spurred on by drug use, adrenaline, social status, and financial benefits • participants emphasised individual responsibility and choice to consciously decide to go straight. Desisters were often still committing low level criminal acts • Thought patterns in relation to criminal behaviour are influenced by broader, contextual factors • Individuals have to choose between competing pathways
5.	Interviews with North Walian YP serving sentences in England regarding their custodial and resettlement experiences.	In custody After release	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participants interpretation of custody ranged from being easier than expected, to experience of bullying and mental health difficulties • Placements further from home, made sustaining relationships, accessing social support, and maintaining their North Walian identity difficult • Many participants lacked preparation or confirmed plans for ETE upon release • Prolonged involvement with YOT was viewed as a barrier to moving on and a loss in social standing • Offenders short-term view on life can make it difficult for them to visualise their future • Prison was not viewed as a deterrent

6.	A sociological analysis of YPs' transitional journeys from correctional facilities to the community Autobiographical narratives obtained including hopes and fears for the future	Looking into the future: a view from inside Plans of the emerging adults First months out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participants reported both fear and excitement regarding transition • Fixed release dates were related to fluctuating risky behaviours; some distanced themselves from staff as their focus shifted to those on the outside • For some, future plans involved further criminal activities, motivated by financial and practical incentives and temptations • Some focused upon smarter criminality rather than desistance • Temptations often outweighed motivation to go straight • Social difficulties on the outside included lack of job prospects, making new friends, lack of support or structure • A contrast to the level of respect experienced inside, some were big fish in small ponds
7.	Interviews with early desisters Researchers specifically consider the balance between structural and agentic changes	Agency Hooks for change Process of desistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desisters were confident in their ability to go straight and distanced themselves from previous criminal status by 'knifing off' social links, and actively sourcing prosocial activities that would align with new ex-offender identity • 'Hooks for change' or turning points can stem from ETE, which often provides individuals with structure, routine, purpose, and motivation • Desisters often increased their involvement with prosocial others • Persisters in contrast were distinguished by unstable relationships, lack of ETE and low confidence to change
8.	A case study of a Gypsy-Traveller, exploring experiences of custody and transition	Culture and identity Community and institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cultural norms of the Gypsy-traveller community were linked to difficulties going straight; expectations and unwritten social rules were highlighted in relation to violence, family, substances, and the law. • Experienced prejudice was perceived as a further barrier • Stigmatisation and negative attitudes towards travellers from the community and authorities were recounted • Prison was not believed to serve a rehabilitative function

9.	Qualitative case studies of YOs released from secure confinement Researchers consider relationship between motivation, social support and desistance	<p>Motivations and desistance</p> <p>Sources of motivation towards desistance</p> <p>Family support Support from programme staff</p> <p>Family and programme mutual support</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desistance was believed to be driven by personal motivation; those lacking motivation often did not have ETE in place and experienced tensions at home which caused mental and emotional strain • Incarceration provided an opportunity for individuals to start to think differently, visualising the future and considering cause-effect links in decision making • Desisters found family support, relationships, social bonds, and defined goals to be important. • Professional support was valued, which strengthened family relationships and supported development of prosocial thinking patterns • Collaborative and joint working was deemed most effective
10.	Narrative methods including in-depth interviews with formally incarcerated young men Study focuses upon decision-making processes in relation to criminal involvement and desistance	<p>Appearance</p> <p>Feeling marked</p> <p>Associations with others</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two groups of participants were distinguished: those 'on the road to desistance' and those 'running in circles' • Those 'on the road to desistance' had effective decision-making skills that enabled them to consider alternatives, navigate challenges and consider consequences • They also conveyed an ability to apply strategies to manage risk and internal motivation to go straight • participants going around in circles focused upon staying away from the law and remaining hidden from authorities • participants spoke of changing their physical appearance to separate from criminal ties and prevent themselves being associated with gang membership • Experienced stigma from communities, neighbourhoods and authorities presented barriers to desistance • Navigating peer relationships was an ongoing process • These outside influences could have a detrimental impact on their desistance potential

11.	Ethnographic, life history approach Exploring resilience amongst YP who engage in criminal activities	Life history Current life status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participants' early years were characterised by lack of structure, education and/or adult presence • Many engaged in self-destructive behaviours • Correctional programmes provided structure, routine, support from caring adults, opportunities for learning, skill development and success • Post correction supports were deemed insufficient to support a smooth transition and rehabilitation • Individual motivation and desire to go straight was not enough to be successful
12.	Exploration of YOs perceived barriers and protective factors to becoming healthy, productive adults Researchers analyse factors within an ecological framework	Individual Family Peers Community Education Employment Independent living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived barriers to desistance included poor decision-making skills, influence of old friends (e.g. association with gangs, substance use), 'offender' label (stigma can affect employability), accommodation and finances • Supportive factors included goal setting skills, strong bonds, family support, prosocial activities, education and employment • Work was often sourced through alternative routes e.g. friends

Figure 3: Thematic map providing overview of main themes



2.5.6 Conclusions

Many of the papers outlined YPs' perceived difficulties during transition, and the significant challenges faced in the pursuit of 'going straight'. Abrams (2012) highlighted the significant fears and doubts held by YOs as they anticipated life 'on the outs', back in the community. Haigh (2009) referred to the loss and uncertainty involved with desistance. Similarly, Inderbitzin (2009) found that YP experienced release from correctional facilities as 'frightening', due to the increased level of responsibilities and required independence for young adults on the outside. These vulnerable YP are often left feeling isolated (Abrams, 2012) or lost (Inderbitzin, 2009), due to the nature of the challenges they face. In parallel, conflicting or unsupportive contextual factors often present as a barrier to positive resettlement. YP are often: motivated to desist, able to predict accurately the temptations, challenges and hurdles they are likely to face (Abrams, 2006), and understand what is required to make a positive resettlement (Beal, 2014), yet, lack the skills, resources or support to navigate risks effectively (Inderbitzin, 2009, Todis et al, 2001), preventing them from becoming healthy, independent adults who are able to sustain their intentions to desist from criminal activity (Unrah et al, 2009).

Some of the papers indicated the importance of individual factors in the road to desistance, including: internal motivation and openness to change (Abrams, 2012), use of strategies and coping methods to navigate challenges (Abrams, 2006) and effective decision-making skills (Inderbitzin, 2009). In contrast, other researchers found that a range of complex, interrelated internal *and* external factors were influential during a YP's transition, which influence likelihood of successful desistance, including structural, social, contextual and individual factors. For example, Meek (2007) concluded that both autonomy

and social factors are important in this process. Similarly, McMahon and Jump (2017) found both structural and agentic changes were significant in YP's journeys, whilst Panuccio et al (2012) highlighted that agentic resolve and support networks are necessary for successful desistance, and Terry and Abrams (2017) referred to the interplay between internal and external factors. Unruh et al (2009) applied an ecological theory to conceptualise the range of interacting factors across different systems.

Aligned with Maruna's (2001) findings, the importance of offenders distancing themselves from their 'offender' label to create a new 'ex-offender' identity was reiterated (Mahon and Jump, 2017, Terry and Abrams, 2017, Beal, 2014, Abrams, 2012, Inderbitzin, 2009). Furthermore, support was found for Giodano et al's (2002) cognitive transformation theory (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Pannuccio et al, 2012) and LeBel et al's (2008) subjective-social theory of desistance (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Abrams, 2012) (See section 2.7.6.)

The thematic map (see Figure 3) demonstrates how the same factors were found to be both supportive and detrimental to the desistance process. For example, social relationships can be a barrier or a supportive factor, depending on their nature, and the individual's ability to resist, manage and/or navigate relationship dynamics. This example highlights the importance of personal agency and self-determination, alongside wider contextual influences. The range of factors highlighted on the thematic map which affect YPs ability to make successful resettlements, stresses the importance of adopting a multi-level approach to analysis, for example, the developmental psychopathology framework (see Section 2.6).

2.6 A Developmental Psychopathology framework

Desistance theories and research findings from the literature review place emphasis upon the role of internal and/or external factors, based upon an underlying premise that desistance is not achieved in a social vacuum. Researchers have highlighted the importance of adopting a holistic, developmental approach to understanding criminal behaviour and desistance, to explore the unfolding nature of psychological, biological and social processes over time, and how these affect later behaviours. (Sampson and Laub, 1997). Farrington (2002) emphasised the role of childhood experiences in predicting later anti-social behaviour. Stouthamer-Loeber et al (2004) found that low physical punishment by parents in early adolescence was a desistance factor, and Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argued that low self-control developed in childhood could present as a risk factor. Moffitt (1993) adopted a life-course perspective upon anti-social behaviour, outlining that YP's neurological difficulties interact cumulatively with their criminogenic environments across development, which can result in 'pathological' personalities

Current desistance theories overlap, differing largely in the weighting placed upon influencing factors (Stouthamer-Loeber et al, 2004). To encapsulate the interactive processes involved in desistance, I believed it would be helpful to view these relational factors highlighted in existing theories through the lens of a single framework.

Developmental psychopathology (Cicchetti, 1984) is an 'integrative discipline that seeks to unify within a developmental, lifespan framework, contributions from multiple fields of enquiry' (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002, p.7). In the context of the current study, this enables incorporation of the diverse literature and theoretical explanations of desistance

processes, amalgamating ideas and findings into a coherent, integrative model (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002) (see Figure 4).

Developmental psychopathology has proved useful in multiple domains, including anti-social behaviour (Frick and Viding, 2009) and adolescents' trajectories (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002). The framework was originally designed to help understand 'pathology'; the disruption and disturbance to development (including psychopathological disorders) in relation to healthy, adaptive functioning, identifying differences between individuals processes and pathways (Frick and Viding, 2009). In Chapter One (see Section 1.3), I explored the demographics of YOs compared with the general population, concluding that YOs have increased likelihood of psychological disorders, developmental disturbances, and maladaptive functioning (see Table 4).

YOs development is often disrupted by adverse childhood events that can have enduring affects across their life trajectories (Wright et al, 2016a); for example, early childhood trauma or maltreatment can lead to externalising displays of aggression and deviant behaviours during adolescence (Manly et al, 2001). Moreover, when YP become incarcerated (Steinberg et al, 2004), their normal routines, attachments with family and friends, and engagement with education are interrupted (YJB, 2006). This disruption can influence acquisition of the necessary skills to make successful transitions into adulthood, by delaying psychosocial development. In turn, this delay can make decision making processes, impulse control, emotional regulation, and planning for the future more challenging, and negatively impact upon YOs' ability to make positive resettlement post custody (Wright et al, 2016a, Chitsabesan and Bailey, 2006).

The framework enables one to examine the links between outcomes and earlier adaptations in functioning over time (Cicchetti and Cohen, 2006), for example, linking YOs' desistance to: the timing of criminal behaviour onset, stability of behaviour, historical factors, childhood experiences, environmental influences, as well as the offender's emotional, cognitive, social and interpersonal functioning. I believe developmental psychopathology is relevant to the study of YOs, who tend to have greater dispositional and contextual risk factors associated with their behaviour, which have emerged through a range of causal processes (Frick and Viding, 2009).

An organisational approach to development is adopted by the framework, understanding this concept as a range of age and stage-related tasks. Individuals who have unresolved tasks from previous stages may lack personal resources, and/or the ability to navigate challenges within the next stage (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002). YOs are all individual; each young person has had unique developmental experiences that have shaped their journey into custody, as well as their ability to make a positive adaptations post-release. Developmental psychopathology researchers recognise the active role of the individual in making choices: neither genes nor early life experiences irrevocably shape destiny (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002). Moreover, focus is placed upon how individuals interpret their life events, and the meaning they attribute to them. How individuals perceive, respond, and adapt to life events inevitably shape their trajectories (Elder, 1985).

Developmental psychopathology rests upon concepts from general systems theory (Von Bertalanffy, 1968) including equifinality: reaching the same outcome from different starting points, and multifinality: reaching diverse outcomes from the same starting point. For example, YOs may share some developmentally similar characteristics, however, not all YP who

experience traumatic life events during their childhood will be more likely to display anti-social behaviour and delinquency in adolescence (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002, Moffitt, 1993). Equally, after a period of incarceration, some YOs will pursue an adaptive, desistance pathway, whilst others will remain upon a maladaptive, offending pathway (see Figure 5 for figurative illustration). Within offending or desistance pathways, the same life event can produce positive or negative responses depending upon individual interpretation, adaptive responses, and wider social contextual influences (Laub and Sampson, 1997).

I judged the developmental psychopathology framework to be highly applicable to the study of YOs, as it emphasises individual differences across developmental pathways based upon unique interactions between risk and protective factors. This framework can help to untangle why a similar range of factors may be present within YOs' lives, yet their ability to desist will differ, illuminating the unique set of dynamic transactions between internal and external influences. By focusing upon offending and desistance pathways over time, I believed the findings from this study could contribute towards a more nuanced understanding of turning points and causal influences.

2.7 Summary

Desistance, as depicted in the literature, is a complex phenomenon; there is no one universal definition, and in the same vein there is no prescriptive formula for a successful transition. Existing UK research on the experiences of YOs during this challenging transition period from custody to the community is sparse; moreover, few studies have gathered multiple perspectives, despite researchers highlighting the valuable insight that professionals and parents can offer (HMIP, 2016). Furthermore, little research has focused upon the early stages of desistance; however, Bottoms et al (2004) argued this should be a

fundamental focus of the literature. This strengthens my rationale for the current research, to address some of these gaps in extant literature.

I believe the developmental psychopathology framework is applicable to YOs' experiences of desistance as it is characterised by a multi-level analysis of an individual's needs and capacities across their developmental life span, within context (Cicchetti and Cohen, 2006), aiding analysis of participants' unique pathways and causal processes. Furthermore, the focus upon development is coherent with recent practice updates (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2) and literature (e.g. life history, autobiographical approaches adopted by Terry and Abrams, 2017, Inderbitzin, 2009 and Todis et al, 2001). Despite YOs' exposure to conditions of adversity, the current study aims to adopt a strengths approach, highlighting what personal resources and external factors promote successful rehabilitation.

Figure 4: A Developmental Psychopathology framework to encompass desistance processes

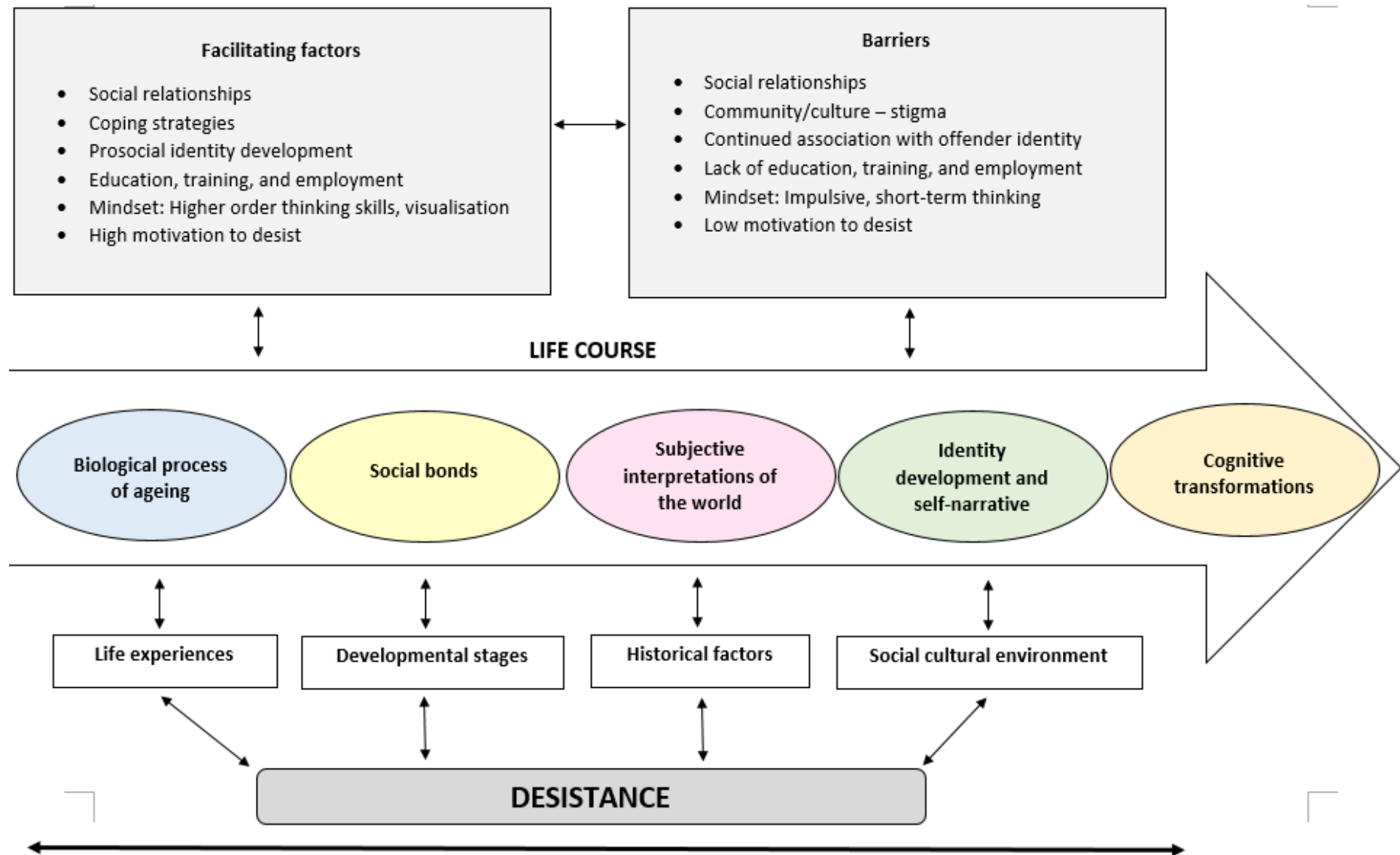
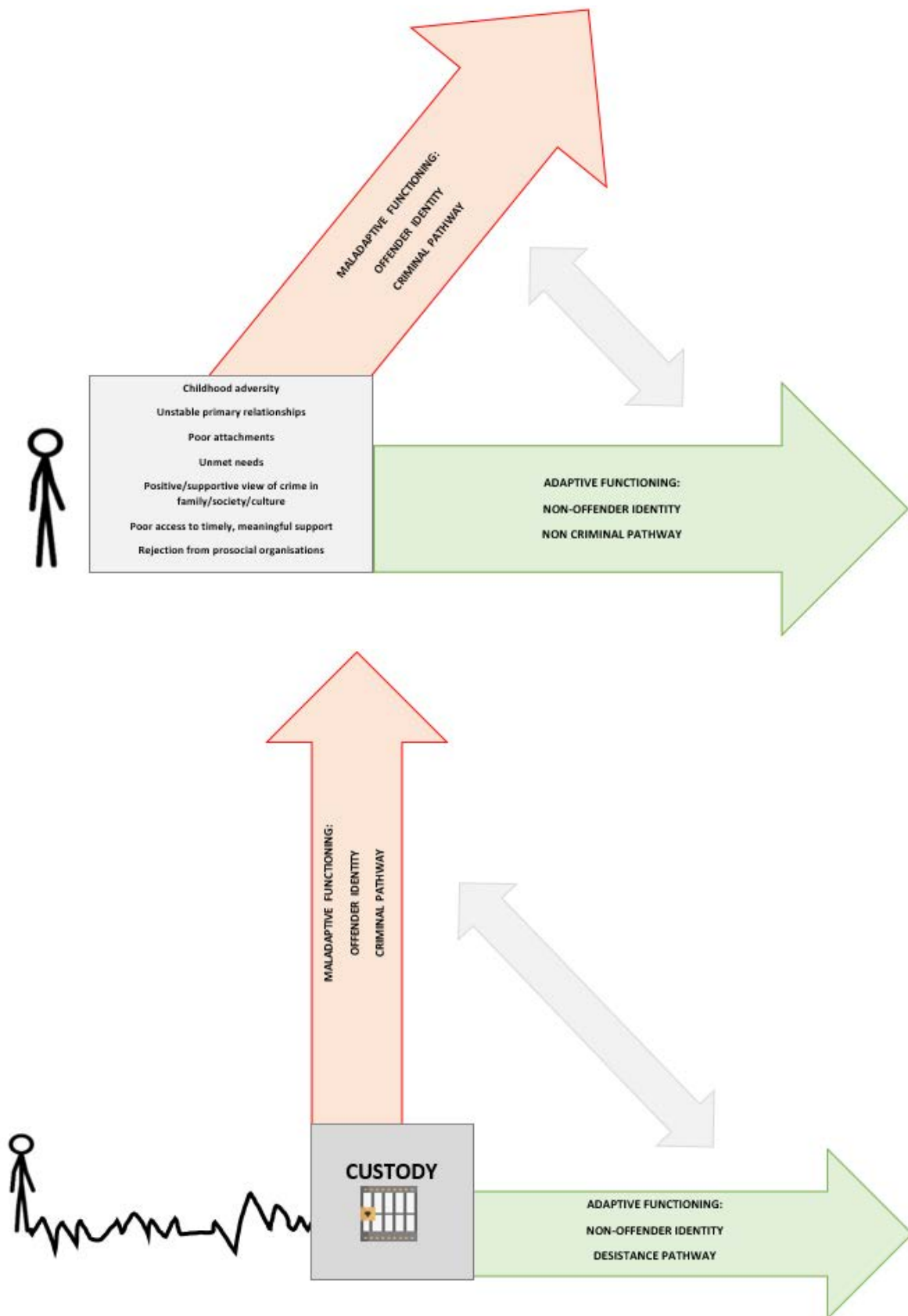


Figure 5: Visual representation of multifinality within YOs trajectories



CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter overview

This chapter provides a comprehensive description of the current study's methodology, beginning by outlining the research questions, before providing a description and rationale for the choice of narrative inquiry in this research, drawing upon my social, constructionist, epistemological stance. Participant selection and recruitment criteria are outlined, alongside ethical considerations, data collection and data analysis procedures. Finally, in my pursuit of high quality research, the trustworthiness and dependability of data are considered.

In this chapter, greater weighting has been given to research question one (RQ1) as the primary focus of this study (see Section 3.2).

3.2 Research questions

Primary research question:

RQ1: a) How do YOs account for their life trajectories through narrative?

b) What protective and risk factors are perceived by YOs in relation to their criminal and desistance pathways?

Secondary research question:

RQ2: a) What do professionals perceive as protective and risk factors to desistance?

b) How do these align with and differ from YP's perceptions?

See Figure 6 for an overview of how the RQs have been addressed and Table 11 for an explanation of RQ development.

Figure 6: Map of strategies used to address research questions

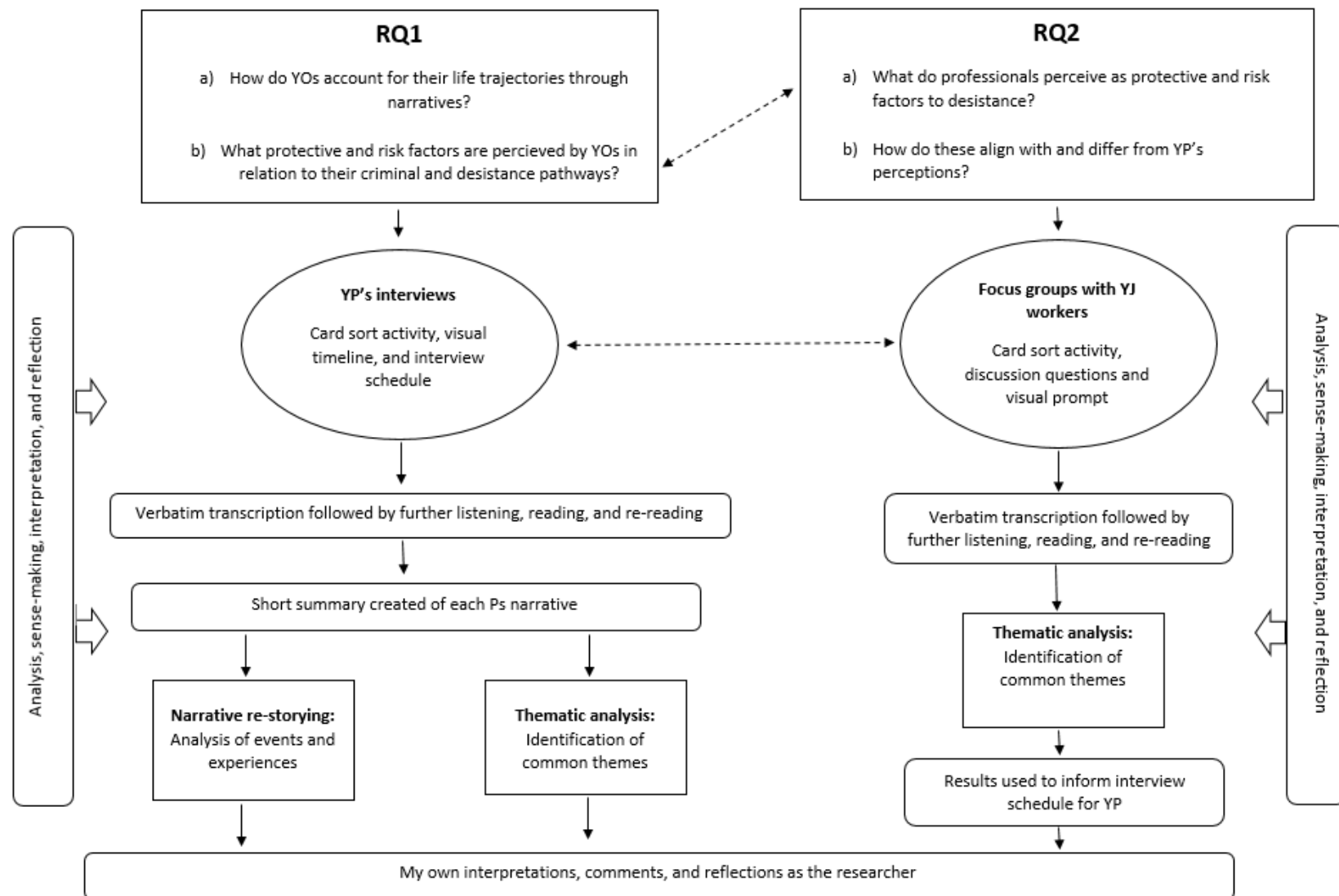


Table 11: Research Question Development

Research questions considered during early stages of the research process	Final questions
<p>Primary research questions considered during early stages of research process:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What facilitating and challenging factors are perceived by young people as they re-enter the community after custody? • To what do young people attribute their successful resettlement and desistance from crime? • What factors are involved in determining desistance as opposed to persistence in young offenders post-custody? <p>Secondary research questions considered during early stages of research process:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do professionals perceive as facilitating factors and barriers to desistance and positive resettlement? How do these align with and differ from young people's perceptions? • How do ex-offenders experience identity development / change prior to, and through the process of resettlement? • How do ex-offenders negotiate the conflicting nature of their previous ('offender') identity with their new ('reformed') identity? 	<p>Primary research question:</p> <p>RQ1: a) How do YOs account for their life trajectories through narrative? b) What protective and risk factors are perceived by YOs in relation to their criminal and desistance pathways?</p> <p>Secondary research question:</p> <p>RQ2: a) What do professionals perceive as protective and risk factors to desistance? b) How do these align with and differ from YP's perceptions?</p>
Rationale	
<p><i>Primary research question:</i> In line with the developmental psychopathology framework (Cicchetti, 1984) (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6), it was judged that resettlement could not be conceptualised, or studied as a singular period. Existing literature outlines that desistance is a multifaceted phenomenon, affected by a multitude of internal and external factors across YP's life course (see Chapter 2.5.6.). Consequently, rather than focusing specifically upon the period after incarceration, I became interested in YO's criminal and desistance pathways across their developmental life span. This enabled me to explore how events and experiences within participants' backgrounds had shaped their personal resources and ability to successfully navigate challenges during transition periods.</p> <p><i>Secondary research question:</i> Despite the concept of identity not being included within my secondary research question, this remained an area of interest, as can be seen within the results section (see Chapter 4, Section 4.9.4). It was believed that professionals' views could provide further insight into the risk and protective factors YP encounter during their criminal and desistance pathways, adding greater depth and contextual understanding. See Section 3.6 for further rationale of focus groups.</p>	

3.3 Epistemological stance

All research is moulded by the researcher's philosophical assumptions; these beliefs underpin and shape decisions regarding what is studied (ontology), and how it is studied (epistemology) (Thomas, 2013). Despite using different methods to address RQ1 and RQ2, my epistemological stance underpinning the research process remained consistent.

Within the current research, I aimed to gain a greater understanding of the complexities within YOs' socially constructed realities, and the interacting factors which affected their constructions through interviews with YP and professional focus groups. My primary RQ was concerned with gaining an understanding of the meaning attributed by YP to their subjective experiences; therefore, the aim of my research and subsequent choice of methodology (narrative inquiry) were consistent with social constructionism.

Within the social constructionism paradigm, knowledge is understood as an active construction in the minds of individuals, rather than a singular objective truth (Lincoln and Gaba, 1985). Emphasis is placed upon eliciting multiple meanings attributed to events by individuals, thereby discovering *their* truths (Elliot, 2005). It is acknowledged that social, cultural, and historical processes are central to how one experiences, understands, and interprets their lives (Lincoln and Gaba, 1985). Furthermore, the link between the researcher and the researched is interactive (Mertens, 2014), as the researcher provides their own interpretation of the constructions formed by participants (Schwandt, 1994).

Consistent with the constructionist paradigm, narrative researchers believe that every person has their own unique way of weaving together their lived experiences, to gain an understanding of themselves and their position within the social world (Elliot, 2005). An

individual's construction and reconstruction of personal stories is influenced by the social context in which it is formed and the audience that receives it (Ward, 2012).

3.4 Design

Consistent with the approach taken by researchers within the field (See Chapter 2, Table 2.5.5), a multiple case study design was utilised to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities involved with YOs' criminal and desistance pathways (Mertens, 2014). This design was well suited to my RQs as I aimed to gain rich detail regarding the dynamic influences involved in these processes, from a small group of participants (Thomas, 2013). Different methods were used within this case study (see Figure 6), to strengthen my overall understanding of YOs' life trajectories.

During the process of analysis, I placed emphasis on representing individuality and uniqueness in each case. In addition, some cross-case comparisons were undertaken by way of secondary data analysis, to illuminate similarities and differences within YP's accounts.

3.5 Young people's interview: Choice of methodology: *Narrative inquiry*

Narrative inquiry is based upon the assumption that people make sense of their lives in a storied format; linking an interconnected sequence of events to form a plot, with a beginning, middle and end, including a series of actions and reactions (McAdams, 1993). This approach assumes that people 'actively construct the world through narratives' (p.86, Murray, 2015), to form an understanding of ourselves and the world. Narrative inquiry combines the epistemological underpinnings of phenomenology: how participants construe their experiences; and hermeneutics: interpretation of underlying meaning within participants' accounts, which may not be presented at a surface level (Reissman, 2008).

The purpose of narrative is consistent with a social constructionist perspective, narratives are not believed to be factual accounts but personal representations (Webster and Mertova, 2007). Researchers, therefore, aim to gather results with verisimilitude: an appearance of truth, credibility, and authenticity (Webster and Mertova, 2007) (see Section 3.16).

Narrative methodology enables participants to share their life experiences, including, the highs, lows and turning points, portraying these as they were experienced and interpreted (McAdams, 1993). Personal stories can depict a range of critical events and/or epiphanies: periods which cause a tension between the lived reality and the aspired (Czarniawska, 2004). These tensions can cause individuals to re-evaluate and take action, to realign their lived experience with their desired trajectory (Webster and Mertova, 2007). Turning points represent 'times of decision or opportunity when life trajectories may be directed on to more adaptive or maladaptive paths' (Rutter and Rutter, 1993, p.244). The salience of narrative is not only storying the past but forming a script for the future, encompassing both real and imagined trajectories (Reissman, 2008).

3.5.1 Rationale for narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry was believed to be an appropriate method for this study, as stories can provide insight into the interacting, wider systemic factors surrounding the individual, including their culture and the society in which they belong (McAdams, 2005). I judged that narrative inquiry complemented the developmental psychopathology approach taken in this study, as sequential links could be illuminated within individual life stories and diverse pathways. A vantage point could be provided to understand how YOs viewed their lives over time (Atkinson, 2007) and gain access to deep emotional content (Gray, 2010).

Narrative inquiry was consistent with my social constructionist approach, as it has idiographic, qualitative origins, extracting subjective life experiences expressed through words, rather than obtaining objective, quantifiable, generalised truths regarding the nature of life (Clough et al, 2004). Language is positioned as both constructive and constitutive as opposed to a transparent medium to depict the world (Josselson, 2011).

I judged that narrative inquiry was relevant to the study of YOs criminal and desistance pathways because:

- narratives can illuminate periods of transition within life trajectories. The role of turning points has been highlighted as significant within desistance research and psychological theories (Giordano et al, 2002, Sampson and Laub, 1993) (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4),
- the construction of narrative has been closely aligned with construction of identity (Mishler, 2000), a concept closely linked with desistance (See Chapter 2, Section 2.4.4) (Maruna, 2001),
- exploration of identity development was judged to be particularly relevant to the study of YOs, as late adolescence is positioned as a period of development when one's sense of identity and the ability to reflect upon one's lives as a story is formed (Arnett, 2000),
- narrative inquiry is known to be an appropriate method for use with marginalised populations (McAdams, 2005),
- a range of different creative methods can be used to elicit stories. Considering the increased literacy and communication difficulties associated with the YO population (see Chapter 1, Table 4), I believed it was important to have a range of methods available to aid engagement; and
- oral story telling is viewed as a natural part of everyday living, therefore, I would not be asking participants to do anything unfamiliar to them (Reissman, 2008).

3.5.2 Young people's interviews: Consideration of alternative qualitative methodologies

When planning this research, I considered a range of qualitative methodologies, exploring their strengths and limitations in relation to my research questions and aims, before deciding upon narrative inquiry.

Table 12: Evaluation of alternative methodologies considered

Methodology	Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA)	Ethnography	Grounded theory	Discourse analysis
Distinguishing features	Focus upon participants lived experiences Collects participants subjective accounts	Researcher becomes immersed in research (e.g. participant observations) Focus of analysis is a group of individuals who share similar beliefs and behaviours, within a given context	Focus upon theory development which evolves during the course of the research Specific, strategic steps followed in data analysis	Focuses upon understanding participants use of language
Strengths in relation to this research	Appropriate for homogeneous samples (e.g. YOs) Aims to understand the meanings participants give to events and experiences (e.g. leading up to, and including desistance)	By immersing myself in the lives of YOs I could have built relationships with participants, obtained multiple forms of data, gained a more in-depth understanding of contextual factors affecting their experiences and accounts.	Theories specifically relating to YO's desistance are sparse, therefore, focus could have been placed upon furthering theory development in this domain	By analysing the meaning of YOs choice and use of language, greater insight could have been gained into deeper, underlying meanings nested within a wider sociocultural context
Limitations in relation to this research	When planning the study, I originally thought IPA may be used, however, it is recommended to be used with a sample of 4-6 participants	Although widely used in desistance literature (Abrams, 2012, Inderbitzin, 2009, Todis et al 2001), this methodology would not have been practical or ethical given the remit of	Large sample sizes are required to identify patterns of action across numerous people, which would detract from individual meaning and the depth	Rather than focusing on the nuances of language, I aimed to understand YOs lived experiences and events over their life span, analysing the content of the

	IPA does not capture the chronological ordering of events over time which desistance literature suggests is important – to consider not only what factors affect desistance but when	this study and wider constraints	<p>extracted from accounts</p> <p>My main aim was to understand individual experience, not to develop theory</p> <p>Reduced flexibility in data analysis</p>	<p>stories themselves rather than the latent meanings abstracted from how these stories were communicated. Consequently, this methodology would have been too narrow and oblique to address the current RQs</p>
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(Thomas, 2017, Mertens, 2014)

3.6. Focus groups with professionals: Rationale

To explore what factors professionals' thought were influential in supporting and compromising YP's desistance attempts, focus groups were conducted. Alongside their inherent value, focus group data were intended to inform and shape the content of YO interviews, increasing relevance within the LA context. Additionally, I endeavoured to gain insight into current YJ practices within a local context, alongside the strengths and difficulties of the system as interpreted by those who worked within the organisation. Focus group methodology was believed to be appropriate as the YJ team could be considered a naturally occurring, homogenous group with shared experiences (Kitzinger, 1995).

3.7 Young people's interviews: Approach

3.7.1. Narrative approach

Atkinson (1998) proposed that most individuals are 'eager to tell of their experience, to tell the stories they have lived, because they are what they know best and also what are of most interest to them' (p.22). The interviewer's role, therefore, is actively, but unobtrusively, to facilitate the elicitation of participants' stories through a collaborative process of meaning-making.

Narratives are most commonly gained through interviews as this provides an opportunity for participants to provide their own personal accounts, with researchers encouraging the creation of detailed narratives in relation to participants' experiences (Murray, 2015, Josselson, 2011). Narrative interviews allow a level of flexibility regarding structure, duration, and content.

How to conduct a narrative interview is not prescriptive; yet, the nature of it should not be obtrusive (Elliot, 2005). Adopting a narrative approach to the interview process

enabled me to adopt a conversational and respectful interviewing style, flexibly structured by questions from an interview guide (see Appendix 4).

3.7.2 Life story research

There are different forms of narrative research including: biographical (researcher accounts of participants' experiences); autobiography (written by participants about their lived experiences); oral history (participants reflect upon particular events, considering their causes and effects); personal experience story (relates to single or multiple episodes in a participant's life); and life history (portrayal of participant's entire life span) (Creswell et al, 2007).

Arguably, a life course perspective is the most helpful framework to analyse YOs' unfolding lives within a sociocultural context (Laub and Sampson, 2001). Life story methodology has been widely used and advocated within desistance literature (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.4) and aims to capture an insider's view on the life lived, uncovering the subjective meaning assigned to events (Atkinson, 2007). Moreover, it is consistent with my interpretation of YOs' lives across developmental pathways, within the developmental psychopathology framework (Cicchetti, 1984) (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6).

Life story narratives aim to explore how an individual's identity and personality have been shaped over time, alongside the underlying beliefs and values of the individual (Atkinson, 2007). They can provide deep insight into how and when identity change occurs for offenders (King, 2013), alongside the connections, relationships and interdependence between individual, social circles, and their environment (Kerby, 1991).

3.7.3 Semi-structured interviews

Purist narrative approaches to interviewing are known to minimise the involvement of the researcher (Thompson, 2017). The interview may begin with an open statement such as, ‘tell me about your life from the beginning and until we are here today’, an approach which can be uncomfortable for some (Horsdal, 2017). Alternatively, some researchers suggest providing participants with a list of key issues, or specific time periods to discuss, may help to alleviate uncertainty and provide an understanding regarding the nature and direction of the interview (Murray, 2015, Reissman, 2008).

Due to the increased prevalence of speech and language difficulties amongst this cohort, I perceived that a free-flowing interview style may be difficult to achieve and could cause participants to feel overwhelmed, and/or to condense their story (Elliot, 2005, Atkinson, 1998). Consequently, consistent with existing researchers in this field (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.4), individual semi-structured interviews were chosen to promote in-depth expression and elaboration of experiences and views (Thomas, 2013).

3.8 Ethical considerations

Guidance outlined by British Psychological Society’s Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2014) and the British Educational Research Association’s Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011), were drawn upon to address ethical challenges relevant to this study and how they could be addressed. Before participant recruitment or data collection began, ethical approval was secured from the University of Birmingham’s (UoB) Research Ethics Committee (see Appendix 5 for application document) and the Research Governance Board within the LA.

Table 13: How ethical requirements, relevant to focus groups and interviews were addressed

Issue	How it was addressed
Informed consent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All participants (involved in interviews and focus groups) were informed of what their involvement in the study would entail through oral discussion and written information. participants were asked to provide oral and written consent. Opportunities to ask questions were given. • See Appendix 6 for a copy of the focus group consent form. • See Appendix 7 for a copy of the consent form used with YP.
Confidentiality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject to participant's consent, interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded. Audio recordings and written notes were stored in a locked filing cabinet prior to their transfer to a secure, encrypted file, stored, along with transcriptions of interviews, on the University of Birmingham's network and on an encrypted USB. • See Appendix 8 for a copy of the information sheet provided for professionals with details of confidentiality.
Risk of harm to participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participants were debriefed and had an opportunity to ask questions after the interview and focus group.
Right to withdraw	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Relevant to focus group participants only) Withdrawal from the study was not possible for participants after the focus group (once they had contributed their views). This was explained to participants orally at the beginning at the beginning of the focus group, and I gave them an opportunity to withdraw before it began.

Table 14: How ethical issues were addressed for interviews

Issue	How it was addressed
Confidentiality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prospective participants' identities were not disclosed to me; 3rd party 'agents' (case managers and social workers) from the YJS reviewed case lists and identified individuals who met inclusion/exclusion criteria. Invitations to participate were shared during the 'agents' next session with the prospective participant (see Appendix 9 for a copy of the information sheet provided for YP); only at the point of the ex-offenders signalling they agreed to participate was their identity communicated to me to allow me to make initial contact; • No personal information was recorded in the write up; all names and participant details were anonymised. Names of the YJS and LA were also anonymised. Any comments or quotes which could identify an individual were not used in the write up;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual interviews took place in a setting which offered necessary levels of privacy and security from both participant's and researcher perspectives; and • Subject to participant consent; interviews were audio-recorded. Audio recordings and written notes were stored in a locked filing cabinet prior to their transfer to a secure, encrypted file, stored, along with transcriptions of interviews, on the University of Birmingham network and on an encrypted USB.
Right to withdraw	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All interview participants were notified of their right to withdraw both in writing and orally. participants were provided with my contact details should they have wished to withdraw from the study at a later date. During the debrief, they were advised of the date after which it would no longer be feasible to withdraw their data; • There would not have been any consequence for participants who wished to withdraw from the study. The audio recording of their interview, and any partial or complete transcript, would have been erased from all storage devices, and the data removed from any analysis. Payment (amazon voucher) was not contingent on completion of a research interview or on the inclusion of interview data in the data corpus presented in the thesis.
Risk of harm to participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewing ex-offenders about their experience of resettlement could potentially have raised some sensitive issues. However, a strengths-based approach was taken; all participants were informed of their right to withdraw and exclusion criteria for participant recruitment was implemented, to ensure all involved had the mental health and mental capacity to engage in the planned interview; • At all research stages that included communication with participants (recruitment, consent form, interview script), they were made aware that, if they were to communicate any significant risks to themselves or others during the interview, safeguarding procedures would be followed; • participants were debriefed and had an opportunity to ask questions after the interview (see Appendix 10 for debrief information document); • Aftercare arrangements were planned and would have been implemented if a young person communicated significant distress in the course of the interview. An opportunity to talk with a 3rd party professional after the interview would have been offered and a later follow up undertaken to ensure no lasting effects on individual wellbeing; • I took into account that the research sample may have had poor communication skills, literacy skills and / or mental health. The BPS' guidelines (2014) for research were adhered to, alongside the Mental Capacity Act (2005) and related Code of Practice (2007). An exclusion criterion was used to ensure no participant experiencing high levels of mental distress or turbulence on her / his life was included in the study; and • Efforts were made to make participation in the interview easy and enjoyable through harnessing methods which accommodated participants' levels of language and / or literacy skill, including, a card sort and visual timeline.

Risk of harm to researcher	<p>Prior to each research interview:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Final checks were undertaken with the allocated YJW regarding the prospective participants' state of mind, and / or any recent life events which may render the timing of the planned research interview injudicious; • Given no contra-indications were suggested through these checks, a mutually convenient time and venue was agreed for the research interview with the YP by text message, and noting that I was looking forward to meeting them; • The telephone number I shared with YP was not a personal one. A cheap mobile phone and pay as you go sim card was purchased for the purpose of this research and destroyed afterwards; • I familiarised myself with the planned interview venues to double-check suitability and ensure that my planned risk management arrangements were robust and comprehensive; and • (Immediately prior to the meeting), I utilised the EPS 'safe visiting protocol'. I informed my placement supervisor within the EPS of when and where I was meeting with participants. I provided an address, details of arrangements and contact telephone number. I set an agreed time that my supervisor could expect a telephone call from myself after the interview, to let him know I was safe and well. If he had not heard from me by this set time, he would have raised a safeguarding concern to admin staff within the service, who would then have followed the necessary procedures to ensure my safety. <p>During the interview:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I utilised UoB's teaching on personal safety by, for example, checking exit routes and visibility when organising seating arrangement; and • Spending time at the beginning of the meeting to build rapport, and also monitor the YP's apparent state of well-being, so that if, for example, an interviewee appeared agitated or ill at ease, the interview may be truncated or, in more extreme of pressing circumstances, discontinued. <p>After the interview:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authentic thanks were offered to the YP, giving them the Amazon voucher and checking they could find their way home if necessary (if not, a taxi journey would have been organised to their home address); • Following through the EPS's 'safe visiting protocol', I telephoned in once I had reached my own car and was ready to leave the research site; and • To debrief after interviews, I accessed supervision from both my placement and University supervisors.
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3.9 Participant selection, recruitment and contextual information

3.9.1. Focus groups with professionals: Recruitment

Prior to my first focus group, I met with YJ professionals at the beginning of a team meeting to discuss the remit of my study, share resources, outline participant recruitment criteria and details of the intended focus group. Through discussions, I arranged to return the following week to complete two focus groups, one in each area of the county. It was suggested by YJ professionals that this would be the most feasible way to conduct the focus group research, as the two teams rarely met together. It was also believed professionals working in the different locations and systems may hold some contrasting views; therefore, it would be important to capture voices to represent each team.

The first focus group took place straight after a team meeting in which professionals were reminded of the research and asked if they would participate voluntarily. The second focus group was conducted in the place of a team meeting and arranged by a Practice Leader (YJ professional).

3.9.2 Young people's interviews: Recruitment

Firstly, I met with professionals from the LA's YJS to discuss the practicalities of recruitment for the study and explored their professional views about the most suitable process for approaching ex-offenders to take part. Advice was sought regarding how to minimise stigma, anxiety, and resistance in recruitment.

An email was sent to my 3rd party contact within the YJS (including an attached participant information sheet and an outline of exclusion/inclusion criteria), who shared the information amongst relevant members of the team, who worked with ex-offenders who

had spent time in custody. From this point, I had telephone conversations with individual case managers and social workers regarding potential participants. YJ professionals acted as an information conduit and helped to screen suitable and unsuitable prospective participants, using agreed inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Section 3.9.4).

Once a potential participant had been identified, necessary information was shared with the young person via a third party YJ professional to outline the premise of the research, explain their ethical rights, and to ascertain if they would be willing to take part. This information was presented in an accessible medium (see Appendix 9). No personal details or information about prospective participants were shared with me until an individual had given consent for me to approach her/him. Once consent had been obtained, the YP was contacted directly via text message (using a mobile phone that was specifically purchased for this study) to arrange a suitable time and location to meet. The YP themselves were asked where and what time would be most convenient.

3.9.3 Focus groups with professionals: Participants

I aimed to gather a working group of eight professionals, for example, two EPs and a mix of professionals from the YJS (including social workers, un-qualified practitioners, parent workers and/or managers); however, to accommodate practical constraints, I conducted two smaller groups (see Table 14).

Table 15: Overview of focus group participants

First focus group	Second focus group
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • four participants including: an EP, case manager practitioner, probation officer and mental health practitioner • the EP involved in this focus group was my supervisor within the EPS at that time on placement within the LA • took place in a large meeting room within a YJ building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • four participants including: two case manager practitioners, a social worker and an operations manager • took place in a small office in a YJ building

Some additional professionals who had been expected were unable to attend due to workload demands and other commitments.

3.9.4. Young people's interviews: Participant sampling criteria

Inclusion and exclusion sampling criteria were amended during the course of the research due to practical constraints and advice provided by YJ professionals. My initial sampling criteria included YP who had no evidence of re-offending or convictions for a minimum of six months since their release from custody, however, this criterion was reduced to one month. See Table 16 for an outline of the original inclusion/exclusion criteria and Table 17 for my rationale of this amendment.

3.9.5. Young people's interviews: Final sample

The final sample consisted of three YP aged over 16 years from the LA (see Table 21). Two participants had made a positive resettlement in the community after a period in custody, with no evidence of reoffending or convictions for over six months since their release according to YJ records. In addition, Jack's results (initially collected as part of fieldwork testing procedure) (see Section 3.10.2) were included in the data corpus of the study.

Table 16: Original inclusion/exclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria/Exclusion criteria	Practical constraints/perceived difficulties
<p>Inclusion criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • over 16 years • from the West Midlands • has served a custodial order • the YP had existing or prior involvement with the YJS • YP had made a positive resettlement (no evidence of re-offending or convictions for 6 months+ since their release) <p>Exclusion criteria:</p> <p>Significant SEND and/or life events which deem participation in the study inappropriate as advised by YJ professionals' discretion - whether they believe the YP has the mental capacity to give fully informed consent and if their participation is likely to cause distress and/or harm.</p>	<p>Originally, I aimed to obtain a purposive sample from the LA, of 4-6 YP over 16 years old who had made positive resettlements (i.e. no evidence of reoffending or convictions for over 6 months since their release) following a period in custody. Gender was not a planned inclusion/exclusion criterion; however, it was expected the sample would be mostly male as this reflects the population demographics of ex-offenders (see Chapter 1, section 1.3).</p> <p>When I shared these criteria with YJ professionals, they expressed concerns regarding recruitment of YP who had desisted for more than six months. Professionals outlined that most YOs released from custody were known to continue offending following release. In addition, potential participants who did meet the original criteria were either found to be uncontactable, as they no longer engaged with the YJS, or proved unwilling to participate in the study. Consequently, criteria were adapted (see Table 16).</p>

Table 17: Amended inclusion/exclusion criteria and rationale

Amendment to criteria	Rationale
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • YP had made a positive resettlement (no evidence of re-offending or convictions for one month+ since their release) 	<p>During my initial meeting with YJ professionals, we discussed the sampling process and suitable selection criteria for young people to take part in the interviews. It was suggested that the proposed inclusion and exclusion criteria may need to be relaxed in order to recruit a sample of eligible YP. Specifically, requiring 'no evidence of reoffending or convictions for over 6 months since their release' was considered restrictive and unrealistic, as few YP within the authority would meet this criterion (YJ professionals struggled to think of any, as most had continued to re-offend).</p>

	<p>Furthermore, my personal understanding of the term 'desistance' evolved throughout the course of the research from immersing myself in the literature. I questioned the benefit of only obtaining accounts from YP who had not received formal sanctions after their release, as the definition of desistance adopted in this study acknowledged the complexities involved in the process, including lapses and relapses (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3). Moreover, researchers have emphasised the theoretical benefits of obtaining early desistance narratives (King, 2013).</p>
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Despite not meeting initial inclusion criteria, he did meet the amended criteria, and I judged that his narrative provided useful insights regarding criminal and desistance pathways (see Table 17 for rationale).

By analysing all three narratives, similarities and differences could be identified between two YP who had longer sustained periods of desistance, compared with one young person whose short-term attempt was shortly followed by a further conviction.

3.10 Young people's interviews: Developing the interview schedule

Interview schedules aim to provide the researcher with prompts and possible questions to draw upon, without imposing restrictive levels of direction (Atkinson, 1998). Fewer questions and less structure is believed to be beneficial, so that participants maintain control over what is said and how it is delivered, maintaining the structure, form and style intended (Elliot, 2005).

The wording and variety of questions included in the interview schedule for this study were influenced by Atkinson's (1998) and McAdams' (1993) suggested life interview content; the schedule was designed to cover the individual's life course. Questions were chronologically grouped within a thematic framework covering one life stage at a time, with links made with the individual's overall criminal journey. Themes included: family background, life events / memories, criminal activity, custody, release, transition, present, and future. These themes were represented on a visual aid (see Appendix 11).

A range of different questions were used to form an interview schedule (see Appendix 4) that would guide responses, encourage reflection, and promote meaning-making (Atkinson, 1998). Questions were designed to be jargon-free, linguistically simplistic and related to participants' life experiences (Elliot, 2005). I included a mix of open-ended descriptive questions

(designed to elicit detailed, in-depth responses), structural questions (aimed at organising knowledge or events), and contrast questions (encouraging exploration of dimensions of meaning) (Spradley, 1979) (see Table 18 for examples).

Table 18: Range of questions included in interview schedule

Style of question	Example of question used in interview schedule
Structural	'What important events do you remember from your childhood?'
Open-ended	'How might you describe your school years?'
Contrast	'How did your relationships with family/friends change as you got older?'
Feeling	'How did you feel about yourself?'
Closed question, followed by an open question	'How confident are you that you will continue to desist from further criminal activity? (0-10)? Why?'

In alignment with recommendations by life course researchers, additional queries and commentary were included to develop an easy, relaxed ambiance, aiding engagement (Thompson, 2017). participants' responses were followed up by verbal prompts, to invite further elaboration regarding elements of their narrative I found particularly interesting or wished to know more about (see Table 19 for examples). In addition, I was able to use previous information abstracted from professional focus groups to inform question development.

Table 19: Range of verbal prompts used in interviews

Style of prompt	Example of prompt as used in interviews
Indirect	'It sounds like you've grown in confidence?' 'Sounds painful?'
Direct	'How did you cope with that?' 'Why was that?'
Clarification	'You enjoyed the drugs 'too much', or enjoyed the actual crime?' 'So, you thought you'd spend your life in prison then?'

Thompson (2017)

3.10.1 Tailoring / differentiating the interview

Research findings suggest that traditional interview methods need to be adapted for YP, to cater for a range of communication needs and preferences. Punch (2002) suggested that innovative, practical activities can make an interview experience less intimidating by shifting the power balance between the researcher and researched.

Interviews aimed at collecting narratives are not restricted to a 'question and answer' structure; use of different resources can be included to act as memory or conversation aids, for example, photos, records, or memory boxes (Creswell, 2007). Elliot (2005) highlighted the benefits of using a visual template to outline key life events in a written format (life history grid); this can then be used as a conversation tool. Consequently, I decided to provide a visual timeline (see Appendix 11), including pictures and key words to indicate which stages and events in their life I sought to gain information about. I believed a visual aid may be helpful to support communication, acting as a cue that could be referred to without interrupting the flow of the interview (Creswell, 2007).

In addition, a card sort activity (see Appendix 12) was designed to stimulate discussion; participants were required to rank a range of factors derived from desistance literature (see Table 20). The card sort was designed to facilitate participants' thinking about which features affected their desistance pathway. I was interested to explore whether findings from the literature were consistent and/or meaningful within the context of participants' own lives.

Table 20: Factors included in card sort activity and supporting evidence

Factor	Supporting evidence
Age of criminal onset	Abrams, (2012), Laws and Ward (2011), Rutherford (2002), Glueck and Glueck (1940), Gove (1985), Cline, (1980), Moffitt (1993)

Maturity / stage of life / age on release	Hazel et al (2010)
Self-narrative (positive outlook, ability to create new / alternative identity)	HIMP (2016), Maruna (2001), Ward and Marshall, 2007, Burnett and Maruna (2004) Gadd and Farrall (2004)
Self-efficacy, sense of control / power over future outcomes	Beal (2014), Burnett and Maruna (2004), Maruna (2001)
Motivation / ambition to 'go straight'	Panuccio et al (2012), LeBel et al (2008)
Social support (family, friends, personal relationships)	McMahon and Jump (2017), HMIP (2016), Panuccio et al (2012), Laws and Ward (2011), Abrams, (2006), Barry (2006), Maruna (2001)
Social skills	Parker et al (2014), Department for culture, media and sports (DCMS) (2010)
Social / leisure activities	Parker et al (2014), DCMS (2010), Unrah et al (2009)
Employment / education / financial position	McMahon and Jump (2017), Cripps and Summerfield (2012), Panuccio et al (2012), Unrah et al (2009), Uggen (2000), Sampson and Laub (1993) Baltodano et al (2005)
Housing / accommodation	Laws and Ward (2011), Cripps and Summerfield (2012), Unrah et al (2009)
Independence from substances (drugs/alcohol)	Barry (2009, 2010)
Self-esteem, feelings about oneself	HMIP (2016), Maruna (2001)
Confidence, belief in ability to 'go straight' / achieve goals	McMahon and Jump (2017), HMIP (2016), Maruna (2001)
Sense of purpose / meaning in lives	HMIP (2016), Maruna (2001)
Remorse	Maruna (2001)
Ability to make sense of past experiences	Maruna (2001)
Desire to help others / create positive outcome from experience	Maruna (2001)

3.10.2. Fieldwork testing

Fieldwork testing was conducted to trial the interview schedule with a young person who had recently been released from custody four weeks previously (Jack). Due to the perceived success of the process and outcomes (as judged by participant feedback), no significant adaptations were made to the schedule or card sort activity.

3.11 Data collection procedures: methods and tools

3.11.1 Focus groups with professionals: Procedure

Each focus group lasted approximately one hour and followed a broad schedule (see Appendix 13). The aim was to explore the relevance of reported research findings to the population of YOs in this LA, considering practitioner experience. I used visual information to structure the focus group and provide prompts for participants so that my voice, as the researcher, was heard as little as possible. The same card sort activity was incorporated in focus groups as it was in YP's interviews (see Appendix 12). This activity was intended as a useful catalyst for discussion and debate amongst focus group participants.

3.11.2 Young people's interviews: Procedure

Interviews lasted between 50-120 minutes. I found the length of engagement surprising, especially with Luke whose interview lasted approximately two hours. Consistent with some previous researchers (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.5), it was considered appropriate to provide participants with a token of compensation for their time (Amazon vouchers).

I aimed to: listen actively to each participant's narrative, be non-judgemental in my verbal and non-verbal responses, avoid interrupting and create space for participants to tell their story in the form they wanted (Elliot, 2005, Atkinson, 1998). Empathic reactions, body and facial signals were used to aid connection and engagement (Horsdal, 2017).

The content of each interview and the questions asked varied (see Section 3.10.1). A range of questions were used from the interview schedule alongside additional supplementary questions (in response to participants' accounts) to aid reflection, gain clarification and demonstrate my interest in the YP's narrative (Murray, 2015).

Table 21: Participant information

participant	Age at interview	Interview location	Sex	Ethnicity	Age at first offence	Nature of offences (in chronological order)	Number and length of custodial sentence(s)	Known support, intervention, and placements	Period of desistance (not including time spent in custody)	Additional info
1 (Jack)	17:3	YJC	M	White British	13:11	Assault, possession of drugs, driving vehicle without licence, theft, burglary, handling stolen goods, motor vehicle offence, burglary without intent to steal 20 offences in 15 th year	Jack had 1 Custodial sentence of 18mths split 9 in custody 9 in community. Release from custody: [REDACTED] Return to custody [REDACTED] Remanded: [REDACTED]	2015 – child in need plan	Period of desistance at time of interview (01.08.17): 4 weeks, 3 days	Re-offended whilst out on licence (during time of interview). Went back to custody [REDACTED] for 3 offences, despite pleading not guilty.
2 (Luke)	17:11	Local community centre	M	White British	13:8	Theft, assault, theft, burglary (multiple), robbery, damaged property, criminal damage, breach of conditions (failure to	Luke stated that he was remanded four times before receiving a	Had a placement with foster family. Received an EHCP following	Offence free from April 2016 Period of desistance at time of interview	Gained early revocation in court ([REDACTED] for good behaviour and progress as recommended by

						show up/comply)	custodial sentence for 18 months	multi-professional assessment (including EP assessment) whilst in a STC	(21.08.17): 1 year, 4 months	YJ practitioner. In full time employment at time of interview.
3 (Mason)	17:8	Home	M	White British	13:4	Assault, ABH, robbery, motor offences, TWOC (taking vehicle without consent)	Mason had one custodial sentence	3 months in custody, 3 months on license	Period of desistance 11.08.15 – 02.04.17. There was a desistance period between these two offences of 20 months. Period of desistance at time of interview (02.10.17): 6 months	Reoffended (TWOC offence) and returned to the local YJS on a community order; received YRO for 6 months. Prior to this he received DTO for another offence and was then supervised on licence.

3.12 Young people's interviews: Narrative analysis

Numerous methods can be adopted to analyse narratives. Researchers within this field attend to language, form, social context, and audience to varying degrees, depending upon research aims (Reissman, 2008). Lieblich et al (1998) suggested that approaches to analysis can be characterised by whether researchers examine content or form (see Table 22).

Polkinghorne (1995) distinguished between analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. 'Analysis of narratives' involves the study of stories into common elements, resulting in a description of themes. This incorporates a paradigmatic, "bottom-up", inductive process, deriving themes from commonalities within the data, as opposed to application of theoretical concepts. On the other hand, 'narrative analysis' involves the study of events, gathering common elements together to form a story which provides descriptions of event happenings in the form of a plot.

Researchers suggest that category-centred analysis, for example, inductive analysis, can be complemented by close analysis of individual cases (Reissman, 2008). Consequently, I decided to use both approaches to data analysis to address my RQs. Thematic analysis focused upon the content of narratives, whilst narrative restorying harnessed analysis of form within participants' accounts.

Consistent with desistance theories (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2 and 2.4.5) and approaches to form analysis within narratives (Czarniawska, 2004) (see Table 22), turning points were judged to be of particular interest to highlight periods of transition within participants' pathways.

Table 22: Factors analysed by narrative researchers

What?	Content	Form
Why?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Considered a more traditional approach, narratives are viewed as a series of events and experiences which occur over time • This approach is not restricted to analysis at an individual level. Instead individual accounts can be used as a gateway to form greater understanding of social factors and the interactions between them • Systematic, categorical analysis can be applied to abstract common themes or patterns within narratives. These can be compared across participants to identify collective or similar features 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus is placed upon how the individual has pieced together and told their story. Examining how the teller has formed coherence within the narrative and the complexities that unfold rather than what is told (the content) • Structural properties can be identified within narratives to analyse the form of the narrative • This approach can provide the researcher with a deeper insight regarding how the individual views and makes sense of the social world
How? (example)	<p>Lieblich et al (1998) highlighted numerous stages of categorical content analysis: selection of subtext (amalgamating all relevant sections of text to be analysed) and definition of content categories (identification of themes which occur across the text by grouping units e.g. words, sentences, or groups of sentences).</p> <p>Categories can be pre-determined by applying theoretical assumptions or empirically formed from the data. Categories are produced by sorting material into categories so that all text is allocated into a grouping. Conclusions can then be drawn from analysing the frequency of units within each category to infer most prominent themes.</p>	<p>Labov and Waletzky (1967) developed a structural model of narrative form which proposed that narratives could be analysed for the following properties: abstract (an overview or outline of subject matter), orientation (information about the context and background including salient facts), complicating action (what happened and the events which followed), evaluation (the meaning placed upon the events), resolution (how it came to an end), Coda (final statement about resolution and return to present perspective).</p> <p>Czarniawska (2004) refined this model to include equilibrium (continuation of life without interruptions), complications (events or experiences which destabilise equilibrium) and action (steps taken to redress the balance)</p>

3.13 Method of data analysis: Research Question One: Young people's interviews

3.13.1 Transcription

Interview audio recordings were transcribed soon after the interview dates and included: the words of the researcher, pauses, emphasis and exclamations (Murray, 2015). To preserve the manner that participants communicated their narratives, non-lexical utterances (such as 'erm' and 'er'), repetitions and false starts were incorporated (Mishler, 1986). I judged the more detail provided in transcriptions, the more clues available to the reader to understand the meaning conveyed by the researched (Elliot, 2005). I believed it was significant to note body language, repetitions, and actions to support the use of spoken language. Furthermore, my words as the researcher were incorporated so that the nature of exchanges were transparent, and the reader aware of the context surrounding the narrative (see Appendix 14 for example extracts).

The first stage of analysis involved reading transcriptions to gain an understanding of broad themes, structure, and global meanings (Josselson, 2011). Transcriptions were then re-read, and the original audio recordings were repeatedly re-listened to, to ensure interpretations were suitably representative (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.13.2. Short summary

Condensed summaries of each participant's narrative were created, designed to familiarise myself and the reader with each account (Murray, 2015). Each summary includes a beginning (life before custody, events which influenced criminal involvement), middle (conviction for criminal offences, life experiences during custody sentence/s) and end (life after custody, redefining oneself as an ex-offender) (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3).

3.13.3. Narrative restorying

Drawing upon concepts from Polkinghorne's (1995) 'emplotment' process, the content of narratives was analysed chronologically; this involved synthesising data to provide a coherent, whole account of each participant's narrative, to allow analysis of how and why events occurred (Polkinghorne, 1995).

Firstly, stories were analysed to identify key elements, including events (accounts and happenings which serve a descriptive function) and experiences (the meaning created and attached to events which provide an evaluative function) (Labov and Weletzky, 1967). Key life events and experiences were then categorised chronologically to present a coherent whole (Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2000, Cortazzi, 1993), alongside my own interpretations as a researcher. It is important to acknowledge that 'narrative smoothing' took place during this process to provide a more comprehensible, accessible plot, by extracting events that I believed were not directly relevant to the story (Spence, 1986). A balance has been provided between my voice as the researcher (interpretations) and participants' views (direct quotations) to increase credibility.

Narrative that I judged to represent a turning point or misalignment (between the real and desired self) were highlighted within the narrative restorying result tables (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1, 4.6.1, 4.7.1) and discussed within my interpretations.

3.13.4 Thematic analysis

Identifying themes, patterns and contradictions within participants' narratives can aid the researcher's and readers' understanding, through more detailed exploration of meaning (Josselson, 2011, Huber and Whelan, 1999). Each participant's narrative was firstly coded then converted into themes (see Appendix 15 for an outline of the conversion

process, from codes and themes for each participant), through a process of successive inductive narrative analyses, following stages outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) (see Table 23). Tables have been created to summarise main-themes and sub-themes which are supported by exemplar quotations and my own interpretations.

See Appendix 17 for a list of codes generated from YP's narratives and supporting quotations.

Table 23: Stages of thematic analysis.

Stage	Explanation of actions
1: Familiarising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbatim transcription of audio recordings was completed. • I re-listened to the audio recordings multiple times to familiarise myself with the data. In addition, I read and re-read the transcriptions to develop an in-depth understanding. • Initial ideas were emerged regarding interesting patterns and these were compared to the written reflections from each interview.
2: Coding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manual, data-driven coding of the whole data set was completed. • All data was separated into 'units' (a sentence or multiple sentences) and allocated one or more codes (some extracts were believed to fit into multiple codes). • I created as many codes as necessary to represent patterns in the data. • It is important to note that the wording/definitions of codes were created by myself and designed to closely represent participants accounts. • It is also significant to note that discussions and responses, which arose from the card sort activity, were included as part of the main data set and incorporated within the thematic analysis process. This was not believed to affect the trustworthiness of the themes abstracted because if participants only spoke about a particular factor as part of the activity, the frequency of this code would be minimal across the whole transcription and therefore, did not equate to an overarching theme.
3: Theme production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patterns and relationships between codes were considered. • Codes were analysed and combined to create main or overarching themes. • Again, it is important to note that the wording/definitions of themes were created by myself and designed to closely represent participants' accounts. • See Appendix 15 for outline of how codes were converted into themes.
4: Reviewing themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once all the data had been coded and allocated to an overarching theme, I re-read the entire data set and re-listened to the original audios to consider how accurately the data represented the themes and vice versa. • Some re-coding and movement was necessary to account for some elements which had been missed initially. • I considered whether the overarching themes truly reflected the data set if they matched the key ideas noted down during the interviews/ post-interview reflections, and whether they did justice to the complexities within accounts.

5: Defining themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I explored each theme, identified interesting patterns, and deciphered what each theme represented. • A range of sub-themes were identified to break down the content of main themes, so they were not overly heavy. A final thematic map to represent main and sub themes was created (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2, 4.6.2, 4.7.2). • Through detailed analysis, I considered the overall 'story' within my data set and the individual story represented by each theme. • See Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2, 4.6.2 and 4.7.2 for themes abstracted from YP's narratives alongside supporting quotations.
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3.14. Method of data analysis: Research Question Two: Focus groups with professionals

Thematic analysis

The data analysis methodology for RQ2 was the same as the thematic analysis conducted for RQ1, applying a process of inductive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to abstract the most common themes from the focus group data. See Table 23 for an outline of the stages followed within thematic analysis.

See Appendix 18 for a list of codes generated from professional focus groups and supporting quotations.

3.15. Feedback to participants

Findings from the current study were shared in person with managers within the YJS and professionals from Focus Groups to: aid reflection upon current practice, review of processes (where appropriate), consider what was working well, alongside what could be adapted to support more successful resettlements.

Results from this study were also presented to colleagues from the EPS (who directly and indirectly support the YJS), to aid reflection upon their role with these vulnerable YP, and how their role could facilitate better outcomes for this cohort through: assessment,

formulation, consultation, intervention, monitoring, and multi-agency working. Furthermore, results were shared with EPs from the wider region who had experience of working in YJSs.

Attempts were made to feedback to the YP who took part in the study (via phone calls, text messages and through YJ professionals), however, none of the participants responded to these attempts.

3.16 Trustworthiness and dependability of data

It is important to detail how the quality of research can be determined by the reader (Webster and Mertova, 2007). Due to the social constructionism paradigm drawn upon for this research, it is assumed that reality is not absolute. Instead, it was recognised that individuals can hold multiple realities that are socially constructed, as well as time and context dependent (Mertens, 2015). Arguably, qualitative research positioned within this paradigm should not be judged using the same criteria as traditional quantitative methods based upon measurable, objectivist assumptions which originate from quantitative research (Golafshani, 2003).

Making judgements upon the integrity of narrative research calls for alternative measures (Yardley, 2000, Webster and Mertova, 2007, Reissman, 2008) and terminology which is consistent with the epistemological stance from which it originates (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Narrative inquiry has a hermeneutic emphasis and seeks to uncover individual truths rather than generalisable events or findings; therefore, Polkinghorne (1988) suggested that reliability should be re-thought of as 'dependability' in narrative inquiry, and validity as 'trustworthiness'. Trustworthiness and dependability can be conveyed through meaningful analysis, ease of access to data and transparency (Polkinghorne, 1988). See Table 24 for a summary of steps taken to address quality, dependability, and trustworthiness of data.

Table 24: Steps taken to address threats to quality, dependability, and trustworthiness of data

Suggested criteria to establish the trustworthiness and quality of narrative research	Description of how this criterion has been considered and addressed in the current study
<p><u>Coherence</u>: links have been made to form chronological, coherent and ordered accounts, taking into account evidence of convergence (similarities shared) and divergence (differences across narratives) (Reissman, 2008). The study makes sense as a coherent whole, demonstrated through clarity provided at each stage (Yardley, 2009).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Chapter 4, Section 4.3, summaries were provided of each participant 's narrative alongside narrative restorying to produce coherent accounts that were accessible to the reader. • Similarities and differences across narratives were analysed and communicated. Deviant or negative cases, in which, narratives did not fit with themes produced were acknowledged. • In Chapter 3, knowledge and grounding was conveyed regarding methods used and their theoretical background. • Alternative methods were considered and discussed.
<p><u>Persuasiveness</u>: theoretical links and claims have been supported by evidence derived from participants' accounts and alternative explanations have been explored (Reissman, 2008).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Chapter 3, a systematic literature review was conducted to scope existing findings in the area.
<p><u>Transparency</u>: detailed information is available which depicts the path taken by the researcher, including how methodological decisions were made and how interpretations of data were produced (Reissman, 2008).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within this chapter, a rationale has been provided for the choice of methodology, including consideration of alternative methods. In addition, a detailed explanation of data analysis procedures was covered and the process of transcribing, coding and developing themes has been outlined (see Appendix 15). • I was reflexive in my approach; considering and communicating how my characteristics, background and interests may have impacted upon participants and the data (see Chapter 1, Section 1.7). • A paper trail has been created to aid readers' understanding of the process undertaken, including examples of coded transcripts, description of the development of codes and interpretations (see Appendix 15).
<p><u>Impact and importance</u>: the presentation of the research is able to support the reader think or feel differently about phenomena, providing useful theoretical or real-life outcomes (Yardley, 2009).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within this research, I have taken account of what was already known in the field through previous research explored in Chapter 2. • Research questions, methodology and intended outcomes were generated towards building on the existing knowledge in this area. • Implications for practice are outlined in Chapter 5 and 6.
<p><u>Sensitivity</u>: background literature has</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A systematic literature review was conducted and an

<p>been thoroughly explored (sensitivity to existing literature), the socio-cultural context of participants' narratives has been considered (sensitivity to socio-cultural context). Inconsistencies, alternate interpretations and complexities have been acknowledged within the data (sensitivity to the data) (Yardley, 2009)</p>	<p>understanding of previous research addressing a similar topic and/or using similar methodology was reviewed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Chapter 6, reasons are outlined as to why participants' views may or may not have been expressed, in the way that they were are considered, drawing upon previous research findings. • An inductive, thematic process was adopted so that categories and patterns were not imposed by myself as the researcher. • Inconsistencies and complexities within the data were sought out, highlighted and addressed, for example, see Chapter 5, section 5.4. • Direct quotes and exemplars were included in Chapter 4 and 5. • The influence of the researcher has been acknowledged; through a process of reflexivity and reflection, I considered how my actions and characteristics influenced the process – see Table 3.17.
<p><u>Commitment and rigour:</u> analysis has been carried out with substantial breadth and depth, providing justification of how participants were recruited and selected (Yardley, 2009).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Chapter 3, Section 3.9.4, inclusion and exclusion criteria were outlined and justification provided for amendments

3.17 Reflexivity

Creswell and Miller (2000) highlighted the importance of disclosing researcher biases and assumptions. By openly considering how these factors have shaped the research, readers are better equipped to decipher credibility and trustworthiness of findings (Elliot, 2005). 'Reflexivity' can aid transparency: 'the tendency critically to examine and analytically to reflect upon the nature of research and the role of the researcher' (Elliot, 2005, p.153).

I am aware that my role as the researcher was inseparable to the research process (Creswell and Miller, 2000). How I approached and analysed the data was influenced by my own intellectual autobiography, theoretical perspective, and personal interests; for example, my prior interest in YJ drove me to conduct research in this area and consequently, I outlined my research rationale early in this paper (see intro Chapter 2,

Section 2.3.2) so that readers would understand my position as the study proceeded (Creswell and Miller, 2000).

When approaching this research, I was conscious of how my own background and demographics would affect my interactions with participants and consequent interpretation of results. participants' responses, openness, and transparency would have been undoubtedly impacted by my own characteristics. participants' interpretation of these factors was likely to have affected the content and style of their delivery; for example, the degree to which they wanted to convince me of personal truths within their narratives. These influences have continually been reflected upon throughout this paper.

I am also aware that my social constructionist assumptions may have impacted upon my understanding and formulation regarding YP's difficulties. In my role as a TEP, I adopt a holistic problem-solving framework to aid hypothesis development and formulation. In line with current policy which underpins my practice (e.g. SEND code practice (Department for Education (DfE), 2015), I strive to elicit and advocate YP's views. Furthermore, I aim to understand the underlying causes of presenting behaviours, which may have affected my interpretation of YP's accounts and increased the level of empathy held towards participants.

Findings from the current study represent my personal constructions of participants' subjective accounts that were co-constructed with myself as the researcher (Mishler, 1986). Arguably, it is difficult to be wholly reflexive regarding analytical procedures within narrative research (Elliot, 2005); for example, categorisation, coding, and theme development during analysis, was undoubtedly shaped by my own intuition and prior psychological knowledge. Consequently, I aimed to increase transparency by sharing my thoughts, reflections, and interpretations at each stage of analysis. Moreover, my own personal and emotional

responses to the material have been documented alongside elements of participants' accounts which resonated with me (see my reflections within narrative restorying tables in Chapter 4) (Doucet and Mauthrer, 1998). In addition, personal reflections were noted after each interview and focus group, including: key themes, additional details about the interview and content of conversations that occurred afterwards (Murray, 2015). These reflections aided development of my approach, based upon feedback responses, and my reflections on these. Example reflections have been included in the Appendix and can be referred to by the reader to aid their ability to be transported to the setting/situation though rich detail and reflexivity (see Appendix 16) (Creswell and Miller, 2000).

As the narrator, I acknowledge my active role within the research process (Elliot, 2005). Subsequently, the transcript was written in the first person, using 'I' to represent my voice and making myself highly visible within the text. I also included my verbalisations alongside participants' so that my influence upon the data was transparent (see Appendix 14).

3.18 Summary

This chapter has provided rationale for the application of narrative inquiry to answer the current research questions. This approach is consistent with existing literature within the field; moreover, it complements a developmental approach to understanding successful desistance, as a process which is mediated by events and experiences across a young person's life-span. Data collection procedures have been summarised, alongside analysis and interpretation methods. The remaining chapters provide an overview of results, considering how findings were optimally theorised, and support current practice developments.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS: RESEARCH QUESTION ONE

RQ1: a) How do YOs account for their life trajectories through narrative?

b) What protective and risk factors are perceived by YOs in relation to their criminal and desistance pathways?

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the current research, representing YP's life story narratives encompassing their life experiences prior to, during and after custody. Each participant's narrative was analysed separately, and multiple stages of analysis were conducted including: narrative restorying and thematic analysis (see Section Chapter 3, Section 3.13 and 3.14). Multiple direct quotations have been used in the presentation of these findings, ensuring participants' voices have been privileged and their interpretations have been represented, alongside my own interpretations as a researcher. Links are drawn between the current findings and previous conclusions drawn from the literature review. Implications for practice are discussed throughout and the application of the developmental psychopathology framework is explored.

Section 4.2 presents a brief character sketch for each of the three participants, to provide a meaningful context for the narratives summarised in Section 4.3.

Section 4.4 reiterates RQ1, with a reminder of the principal methods through which this was addressed:

- narrative restoring; and
- use of thematic analysis of each narrative,

with the narrative restoring and thematic analyses for Jack, Luke and Mason respectively, presented in Sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

Findings derived from these analyses are then considered in an integrated discussion in Section 4.8, which considers findings in relation to extant research reported in Chapter 2, harnessing the theory of developmental psychopathology (Cicchetti, 1984) to explicate the complex array of factors influencing the developmental trajectories and life choices of YP who enter the YJS and who, following release from custody, are expected to desist from further criminal activities.

Section 4.9 then considers implications for practice: a theme which is further developed, when findings from focus groups with professionals, have been presented in Chapter 5.

4.2 Introducing participants: brief overview

The context in which each interview took place, alongside researcher reflections, is summarised in this section to aid transparency.

4.2.1. Jack

Jack's interview took place at a Justice Centre in his local area. After an initial 'no show' and a cancellation due to exams, his interview was arranged by his YJW, and considered as one of his statutory sessions as part of his order. Jack had been out of custody for just over one month at the time of interview (see Chapter 3, Table 21).

As Jack entered the room, his YJW went to make him a cup of tea; I gained the impression he was used to being treated as an equal by professionals. Consequently, I was concerned to provide a relaxed, conversational approach during the interview which lasted one hour, six minutes. Jack was tall and broad in stature. He wore a sleeveless t-shirt exposing his muscular arms and spoke in a deep voice.

Jack was open and talkative, whilst presenting as agitated at times and checking his phone. At one point during the interview, a police car pulled up in the car park and he became unsettled: he left his seat, began shouting and exited the room. Jack soon returned after a conversation with his YJW, who reassured him that the police could not make arrests at the YJC, and they had not come to arrest him.

At one point, Jack became wary of how the information he shared could affect him, inferring that he had committed various crimes that he had not been convicted for. I was informed that on the day of his interview, he was later 'picked up for burglary'. Consequently, this interview took place during a relatively short period of desistance. However, this may not be wholly accurate; for example, he may have continued offending throughout this period but have not been caught!

See Appendix 14a and 14b for extracts from Jack's narrative.

4.2.2. Luke

Luke worked full-time in construction, so the interview took place on a weekday evening at a local community centre in walking distance from his family home. Luke's interview was surprisingly lengthy, lasting almost two hours (one hour, 55 minutes). He seemed keen to share his life story, and his willingness to engage appeared to be supported by the relationship he had with his YJW.

Professionals involved with Luke spoke of him with compassion; he appeared to be held in high esteem as a 'success story'. The receptionist at the community centre was keen to tell me how far he had come, from a young person in the community who was 'always causing trouble' and 'always seen with blood on him'.

During the interview, Luke spoke about childhood experiences which affected his later outcomes. I could see how factors beyond his control during his early life, had shaped his later behaviour and motivated his criminal involvement.

Luke did not appear interested whether he received vouchers in payment for his time or not, which made me wonder whether his involvement was motivated by his wish to 'give something back'. One month after this interview took place, Luke's order was revoked by the courts. This may have occurred for numerous reasons, including: all aspects of the contract being completed, assessed low likelihood of reoffending and acknowledgement of good progress (Ministry of Justice, 2015).

See Appendix 14c for an extract from Luke's narrative.

4.2.3. Mason

Mason also worked full-time in construction and his interview took place in his home. The interview started in his living room, but I soon formed the view that this was unsuitable as family members walked in and out. I asked to move to the dining room: a quieter and more confined area, which had more formal seating; the interview continued there.

I interpreted from Mason's body language and oral contributions that he had difficulty expressing himself verbally. I found that he gave little eye contact and his tone of voice was monotonous throughout, regardless of the topic or story he was recalling. Mason's language was basic and direct; he delivered emotional content with little expression. Mason often provided limited responses. As a result, I thought this interview the most challenging, and found myself asking more questions to prompt further elaboration. Upon reflection, I believe I over-compensated for Mason's apparent oral language and/or

social communication difficulties. I also wonder whether the home environment was a help or a hindrance.

This was the shortest of the three interviews (1 hour), and Mason expressed no interest in hearing from me again or gaining a copy of the results.

See Appendix 14d for an extract from Mason's narrative.

4.3 Summary of each participant's narrative

A summary of each participant's life story is provided in tabular form below from my own interpretations.

Table 25: Jack's overarching storyline

Segment of story	Interpretation
Beginning	<p>During Jack's childhood his parents separated, and due to family altercations, he moved to a new house and location at the age of 7. At the age of 12, he began committing crimes with his friends, which Jack viewed as a source of entertainment and way to challenge authorities. Soon after, Jack was excluded from his secondary school which gave him increased opportunities to hang around with his mates, something in which he found comfort after his mother passed away, aged 14. After his bereavement he gained a sense of connectedness and belonging through his social network of friends, who played an important role in encouraging criminal behaviours.</p> <p>Jack enjoyed the thrill of his crimes and dodging punishment. During his adolescence, he smoked cigarettes and started taking cocaine.</p>
Middle	<p>Jack described how his crimes increased in severity, from shoplifting to robbing people's houses. He described his more serious acts with a sense of real excitement and danger. Eventually, Jack was convicted for robbery and given a custodial sentence. Whilst in custody, he quickly rose to the top of the pecking order due to displays of aggressive, masculine behaviours. Inside he benefited from educational opportunities and gaining qualifications to support his transition. Jack described the important role that fitness played in his time inside; he valued the support that gym staff provided, giving him a platform to talk about his experiences.</p>
End	<p>Leaving custody induced a sense of fear and disorientation; he felt underprepared and scared of returning. He believed professionals within custody had stigmatised him as someone who would soon return. Since re-entering the community, he had felt as though authority figures were against him, willing him to fail. He described</p>

	<p>being victimised by the police and holding a significant hatred for them. He also felt the terms of his order prevented him from moving on with his life; adhering to YJ session times formed a barrier to employment.</p> <p>Desistance promoting factors included, the formation of his relationship with his girlfriend, and re-establishing a sense of structure in his life, after the routine he had become accustomed to in custody had diminished. As he looked towards his future, he aspired to get married to his Irish girlfriend, find work, and settle down.</p>
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Table 26: Luke's overarching storyline

Segment of story	Interpretation
Beginning	<p>Luke was born into a family with a father who had a criminal background, and a mother who had difficulties with alcohol. At around 13 years old, Luke was excluded from secondary school. He described being 'kicked out' of numerous educational settings afterwards, including a pupil referral unit (PRU).</p> <p>At the age of 14, he first tried the substance 'MCAT', which he described as a life-changing drug. Whilst taking this, his identity changed: he viewed himself and others in a different light, struggling to care about anything except his friends and drugs. MCAT and crime interacted and were inter-dependent in his life, creating and sustaining an addictive cycle. Whilst in this cycle, he got beaten up by a victim of his robbery. He described obtaining a lasting head injury which had long term consequences including fatigue and confusion.</p>
Middle	<p>Luke's engagement and frequency of criminal behaviours rapidly increased whilst taking MCAT. He described going from being someone who had never been in trouble, to someone who was getting arrested on a daily basis. After numerous warnings, he was given a custodial sentence which he served in a local secure training unit (operated by G4S at the time). He described his relationships with professionals, educational input and drug sessions as beneficial.</p> <p>Luke enjoyed his first custodial placement; it was a nurturing environment with staff who cared for him. He described a significant relationship with a YJW, who visited him during his time there. Luke likened this placement to being around his friend's house but not being allowed out; he found it easy. When he came to leave, he felt underprepared and wished to stay within the safety of the routine he had become accustomed to.</p> <p>After his release, he suffered with lack of confidence and self-belief. He returned to the same area, with the same set of friends. After 3-4 months back in the community, he was back inside the YSE on another custodial sentence. He was in and out of police stations and secure units. Some of his custodial placements took him miles from home.</p>
End	<p>His experience in London was a stark contrast to his local placement, with harsher regimes and staff who were less forgiving. Re-entering custody so quickly after his release was viewed as a positive experience and a significant turning point. He reflected upon his behaviour and considered what his potential life outcomes would be if he were to carry on down the same path of criminality.</p> <p>Before returning home, he had a foster placement for approximately 9 months, via</p>

	<p>the local Barnardo's Remand and Intensive Care Scheme. Luke formed close bonds with his carers and struggled to detach himself when it came time to leave. He resented returning home to be faced with his mother's drinking habit.</p> <p>Since re-entering his local community, he had gained full-time employment. This had a positive impact on his confidence, feelings of self-worth and belief in his ability to go straight. He had earned the trust and respect of his manager and clients, which he prided himself on and held in high esteem. Despite maintaining the same friendships, Luke limited the time he spent with them, preferring to be indoors. In addition, he actively removed himself from situations which could have presented risks, abstained from hard drugs and engaged in positive social and leisure activities, such as fishing with his father.</p> <p>Due to his successful transition, his order was due to be revoked by the courts. He was looking forward to gaining increased independence when he moved out from his home in the future.</p>
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Table 27: Mason's overarching storyline

Segment of story	Interpretation
Beginning	<p>Mason described a major turning point in his life was when his mother passed away when he was 7 years old. He developed uncontrollable anger that caused him to lash out aggressively towards others. Despite family and professionals (e.g. counsellor) trying to help, he was not willing to listen at this point. At around 11 years old, he started smoking cannabis. His challenging and criminal behaviour escalated and resulted in an exclusion from secondary school. After being picked up by the police for fighting, he was charged with assault and placed in custody.</p>
Middle	<p>Upon release, his secondary school did not want him to return and share his experiences of custody with other pupils. A placement in a specialist setting was provided where there were fewer pupils, and he was able to manage his anger more successfully. He described not feeling confident in his ability to go straight and felt he would return at some point.</p> <p>After approximately 2 years desistance, Mason was caught in possession of a bike that was not his. He was sentenced to 3 months in a secure unit and 3 months on a community-based order in the community for which he was placed on a tag. Despite thinking his tag was an effective preventative measure, he felt confined and controlled by restricted the times he was allowed out.</p>
End	<p>Mason no longer took cannabis and had distanced himself from previous social circles. He had found employment and was thinking positively towards his future career in construction.</p>

4.4: Overview

The purpose of RQ1 was to understand what meanings were constructed by YOs of their life events and experiences over time. Furthermore, to highlight what risk and protective factors shape YOs' criminal and desistance pathways.

The two forms of data analysis used in this study address both parts of RQ1 from different angles. Therefore, results from both modes of analysis are presented for each participant in turn:

- *Narrative re-storying*: firstly, a figurative illustration of each participant's developmental pathway has been presented, encouraging the reader to consider each participant's unique set of risks and protective influences that have impacted upon their life trajectories. I have then presented a tabular representation of each participant's narrative re-storying. Data has been sequenced by myself into events and experiences to form a chronological account for each participant. Components of each participant's journey that I judged to have a protective influence upon their development were indicated in green, whilst perceived risks to adaptive functioning were indicated in red. Elements of participants' narratives which I believed indicated turning points were underlined. Finally, a summary of findings from each participant's narrative re-storying, in relation to their criminal and desistance pathways has been provided.
- *Thematic analysis*: A thematic map and tabular representation are provided to display findings from each participant's thematic analysis, to further highlight the common themes abstracted from each account. For each thematic map and tabular

representation of themes, risk factors are highlighted in red, protective factors in green and multidirectional factors in grey.

I used a bottom-up thematic analysis method, therefore, what participants referred to most frequently within their narratives are represented as themes. This encourages readers to consider what YP thought were the most important factors across their criminal and desistance pathways.

After the presentation of results from narrative restorying and thematic analysis, a discussion of research findings for RQ1 is provided, including how the findings align with the developmental psychopathology framework, followed by an exploration of implications for practice.

4.5: Jack: Research question one

Figure 7: Risk and protective factors across Jack's life course

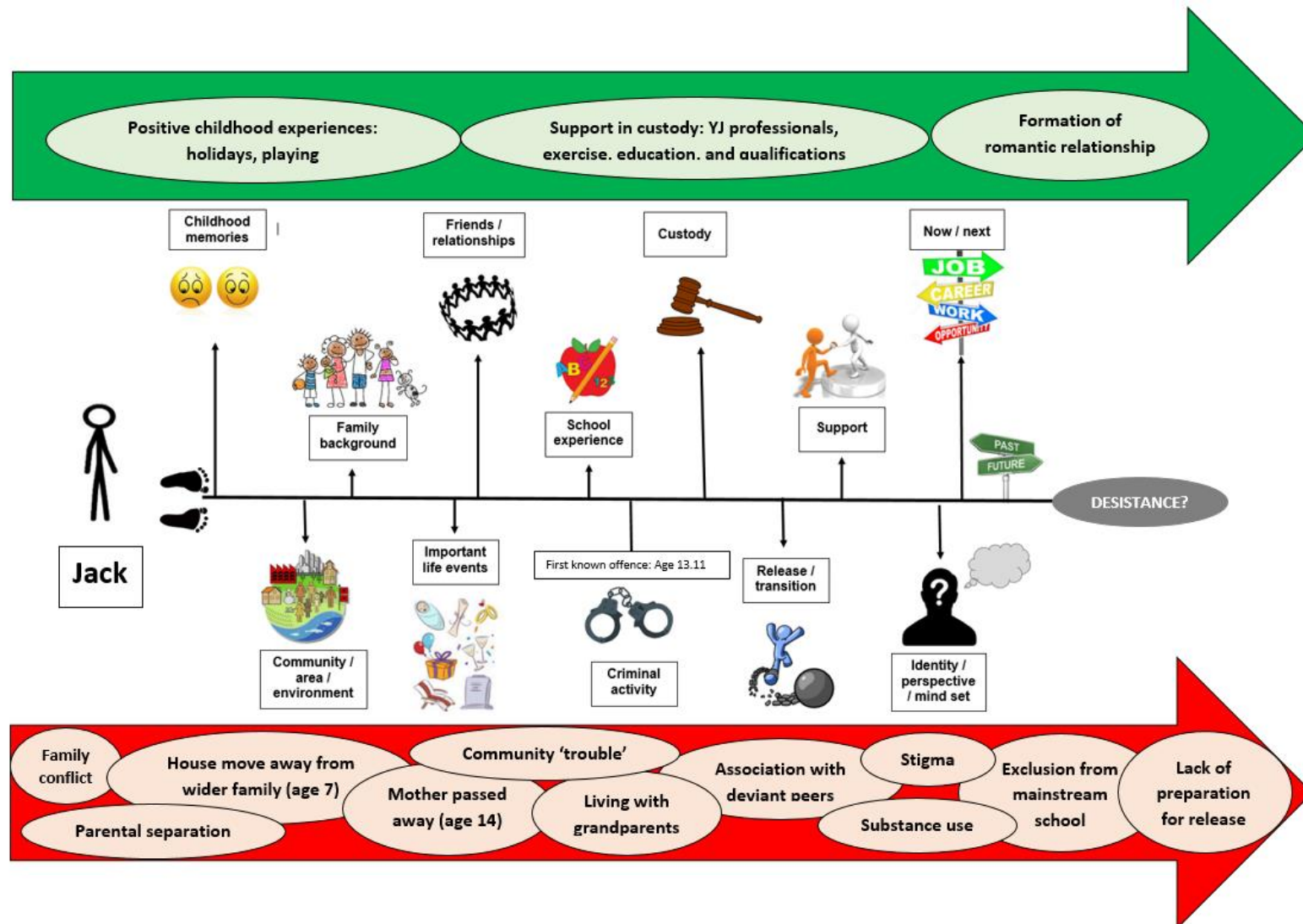


Table 28: Restorying of Jack's narrative, highlighting key chapters and events, alongside exemplar quotations and interpretive researcher comments

Chapter	Key events	Events – exemplar quotations	Experiences - exemplar quotations	Descriptive comments
Childhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family holidays Playing Hanging out with friends 	'holidays... to Cornwall' 'my parents weren't together from a very young age' 'playing football...stood on a nail...only about 4 or 5 then' 'hang around with the local people on the streets'	'happy... it's nice down there' 'I don't actually remember my parents being together'	Jack recounted some happy childhood memories, including holidays, playing outdoors, and hanging around with friends. One memory that stood out for him was standing on a nail whilst playing football at approximately 4 years old. He outlined that his parents separated at an early age.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parental separation Moving house 	'I moved over here when I was... 7 years of age or something' 'had a lot of family close round but... we had to move'	'a bit too much trouble local' 'family issues, after my dad split... always being a bit of a tw*t, always turning up'	Jack spoke about moving areas and houses when he was younger (approximately age 7) due to trouble in the area and more specifically with his mother and father's separation, with his father trying to take him and his sister out when no arrangements had been made.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> As Jack recounted a memory of standing on a nail, he conveyed a sense of masculine bravado, laughing off an incident that clearly would have been painful. Perhaps to convince me/himself of his macho identity. I wondered how the macho element of his self-narrative had been affected by his early life events, 'family issues', parental separation and conflict. To what extent were his needs met as a child? Had he developed a macho exterior as a self-protection mechanism? Despite limited information about Jack's father, one might question how his relationship with him had affected his development, growing up as a young boy without a stable male role model. Furthermore, what he learnt from witnessing his father's behaviours and what this taught him about how to be a man and what masculine traits are valued by members within his community. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack recounted some positive events and experiences during his childhood when he felt, 'happy'. Jack's parental separation may have caused uncertainty and anxiety at a young age, increasing his emotional vulnerability and need belonging through 				

stable relationships.

- Distance was created from wider family members when Jack moved to a new house, which led to a reduced support network and a greater need to take care of himself; increasing his experience of unstable relationships.
- When Jack mentioned the 'trouble local', he may have been referring to anti-social behaviour of community members. Jack may have learnt societal norms and effective coping strategies through social observation.

Pre-custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary school Exclusion Bereavement Change of educational placement Attending a PRU 	<p>'went to primary school in X'</p> <p><u>'I went secondary school but didn't last very long... always getting excluded'</u></p> <p><u>'after my second year they just told me they didn't want me to come back'</u></p> <p>'I went to a PRU'</p>	<p>'messaging about, never listening to anything, just kicking off and that'</p> <p>'weren't many people from the school who lived round near me so I just had a few school friends'</p> <p>'It was alright, chilling, didn't learn a thing though'</p> <p>'there was no school work there... or if there was, nobody did it'</p>	<p>As he entered secondary school he was soon excluded and placed in a PRU which meant his friends did not live near him in the local area, he had to get a bus to school, he described how this led to a degree of social isolation within his community.</p> <p>Jack spoke of his exclusion from school and experience at a PRU, where he reportedly engaged in little educative activities.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First criminal acts Forming social bonds 	<p>'12 maybe... it started off with the local community support, we used to throw stuff at their vans'</p> <p>'I started shop lifting and by the end of my criminal career I was kicking off doors every day'</p>	<p><u>'I just got in with the wrong crowd I suppose'</u></p> <p>'We'd do it together.. split up into 2's... meet up at the end'</p>	<p>During his childhood he described turning to his friends for comfort (after his mother passed) and discovering a sense of belonging with them. He first began committing crimes around the age of 12, his friends would encourage each other.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bereavement 	<p>'My mum passed away a few years ago... lived with my nan and grandad since'</p>	<p><u>'I'm only young and I lost my mum obviously it f**ks you up doesn't it... 14'</u></p> <p>'found comfort in my friends, being around people...whether</p>	<p>Disruptive life events included his parents splitting up when he was young, his mother passing away at 14 and moving in with his grandparents. He explained the negative impact his mother's passing had on his mental health,</p>

			it's getting into trouble or what' 'I'd hate to ever use it as an excuse'	however, he was keen to stress that he did not use his bereavement as an excuse for his criminal acts. In his grief, he turned to friends for comfort.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustained criminal behaviour Substance use 	'I'd be out driving all the cars... new car every week' 'I started dabbling in the cocaine'	'adrenaline rush... feel one up ' 'egging each other on' 'enjoy getting chased around... get away and just laugh about it' 'I thought I was the man'	Jack continued down a criminal path, committing numerous crimes, during this time the type of drugs he was taking increased in severity. Incentives for his criminal behaviour included substances, excitement, self-esteem and money.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I wondered how Jack's educational experience had affected his self-esteem and whether he thought he was capable of achieving greater educational outcomes. What messages did staff in the PRU convey about his capabilities? And how did being placed with other YP who similarly did not conform to mainstream educational expectations affect his understanding of social norms and expectations? Jack's criminal career began by antagonising local authoritative workers, displaying his discontent for authority figures and rejection of unwritten mainstream social rules. Within Jack's narrative there was a conflict between taking responsibility and creating excuses, for example, stating that his mother's death created psychological damage, causing him to forge stronger links with deviant peers who offered a sense of connection and belonging. On the other hand, he stated that he would not use his mother's passing as an excuse for his behaviour; indicating a conflicting locus of control. Perhaps using his bereavement as an excuse for his behaviour signified a desire to reconnect with society by demonstrating a discomfort with his past anti-social acts to align his behaviours with social order. Crime was positioned as a thrill and Jack described criminal deviance with a sense of excitement. I wondered after his mother's death whether he felt he had any reason not to pursue a life of crime, whether his behaviour was used to communicate complex emotions and/or a way of finding meaning in his life when his surroundings were uncertain. Committing crime made him feel like 'the man', offering him a sense of achievement and purpose. It was something he felt he was good at, perhaps the only thing. 				
Risk and protective factors within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The loss of his mother signified a significant loss and childhood trauma that undoubtedly affected his psychosocial development. His underdeveloped psychosocial skills may have affected his short-term thinking patterns which governed his criminal involvement. Jack's experience of being excluded from school marked a significant turning point within his narrative, and his first omission from society, being 				

<p>labelled as different. As a young person he did not conform with conventional expectations of behaviour, his subsequent isolation from mainstream society was likely to have affected his identity.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack spoke as though he was almost proud of attending a PRU, engaging in little educative work and dodging academia. However, his lack of knowledge skills and qualifications posed barriers to later employability and marketability. Attending the PRU caused separation from the friends he had (who attended a mainstream school), further enhancing a sense of isolation, reducing commitment to conventional societal values and increasing his involvement with deviant peers. 				
Custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entering custody Establishing hierarchal position Family visits Fitness Engaging in support and interventions 	<p>'Education, yard... get a phone call and a shower'</p> <p>'I got some qualifications out of it, I got maths and English functional skills level 1... sports leaders courses'</p> <p>'my nan and grandad would come up every month'</p> <p>'spent a lot of my time down the gym when I was in there, try and get myself fit'</p>	<p>'I was alright as soon as I went in because in the first few days I got into a fight and I absolutely battered the kid, and they thought, yeh he's alright, he can have a scrap an that, we'll bring him on'</p> <p>'fights in there every single day... you've got to work your way up'</p> <p>'They just get picked on, half of them don't come out their cells' 'gym staff...would stay and chat with you for hours, they are really supportive, they are good'</p>	<p>Jack described the culture within custody as hierarchal, that individuals must work their way up the pecking order through fighting and demonstrations of masculinity, whilst those at the bottom get picked on.</p> <p>Jack appreciated the support offered by the gym staff in custody, he mentioned how they invested time in him.</p> <p>Jack described education as a positive element of his custody experience, gaining qualifications that were practically applicable in the outside world.</p>
<p>Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack's masculine bravado was used to convey his success within the YSE, using his physical strength to socially climb the peaking order. It seems ironic that he was inside to help him reform, to prevent him from committing further anti-social acts, whilst he was using anti-social behaviours inside to get ahead, gain respect and make his time easier within the YSE. If this environment breeds violence and fear how can it effectively equip YP for resettlement? Once again, Jack found himself surrounded by other YP who has been ostracised from society, deepening his perception of 'us' and 'them'. 				

Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack spoke of the positives of his custodial sentence, gaining an opportunity to re-engage with education, gain qualifications, prioritise his physical health and gain a sense of achievement. He spoke about his achievements in custody with pride and appeared to seek affirmation from me for his accomplishments. It appeared that these opportunities provided valuable opportunities to develop his self-esteem and self-worth, challenging any perception previously held about his inability to achieve or excel in any area related to education. Overall, his custodial experience increased his social capital by broadening his knowledge, skills, and marketability. 				
Post-custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Release from custody Transition back into the community 	'walking out them gates' 'Build up to leaving custody'	'It was the best feeling ever' 'everyone's supposed to have it but it was just no-where to be seen' <u>'It was mental, the cars looked like they were f**king flying'</u> <u>'I was scared, I just kept thinking I was gonna go back in there'</u> <u>'you've been in a submarine for 6 months, you come back up, the altitude has changed'</u>	Despite describing his release from custody as 'the best feeling ever', Jack displayed some emotional vulnerability when he outlined his initial fears. He described not feeling prepared for this process of transition and believed that this was an area of YJ practice that could be improved. He outlined that the preparation for his release was 'no-where to be seen'.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Within Jack's narrative he was quick to place blame on the system, for example, by highlighting there was a lack of preparatory support prior to release, as though the system had set him up to fail. He highlighted the difficulties associated with transition, dropping his bravado to admit he was 'scared' on release. His initial period of resettlement was characterised by fear and I wondered how much of this was a result of his lack of confidence in his ability to go straight? Would he have feared going back inside as much if he believed he had the right skills and resources to successfully desist from future criminal activity? 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack's lack of preparation for release increased emotional difficulties upon release and feelings of disorientation. Rather than feeling confident in his ability to desist, he felt scared and returning. 				
Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coping strategies Relationship formation 	'I've known her for years and that, just got together when I came out'	'I'd encourage anyone coming out of custody to get themselves a good relationship	Jack spoke of the positive influence his girlfriend has had in his life, providing him with a greater sense of purpose. Jack explained the difficulty of

		'keeping busy'	and settle down... you need support' 'it's when you've got nothing to do you think, I'll go and do this then, f**k it.. why not'	having spare time after custody and spoke of the importance of social and leisure activities.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moving on Experienced barriers to desistance Stigma 	<p>'the police are bringing me back in for no reason'</p> <p>'I will be walking down the road and they will drive alongside me 3 mile an hour, just, they want me to know that they're there'</p> <p>'last few days...helping out on the scrap metal for a recycling company'</p>	<p><u>'I've been pissed off because I want to go out and get work now and I feel like I can't because I've got these sessions to attend'</u></p> <p>'I don't have the time in the day' 'People always expect me to fail'</p> <p>'they terrorise me... I try moving on but they just won't let me, they just wanna see me fail'</p> <p>'in jail, you've got your routine, out here you haven't'</p>	He described numerous barriers to moving on, including his criminal record and YJ sessions, he felt held back by the system. Jack explained his main barrier to positive life outcomes is the police, their perception of him and the label he has been given. When he spoke of the police he became animated, flustered, and used a louder voice. More broadly, he referred to other people's lack of belief in him, describing how he had always been told he would spend his life in prison. Lack of routine and structure was also referred to as a barrier to desistance.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack positioned the 'system' as the most significant barrier to successful desistance, which was likely to be affected by his experiences of social rejection and exclusion, for example, from the school environment. When talking about strategies to achieve success, it was often caveated by comments regarding systemic constraints that prevented him from moving on with his life. Placing responsibility for success or failure on factors outside of his control, impinged upon him by an unjust and unfair system, positioning himself as a victim to a system which is not fit for the purpose of rehabilitation. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jack's support strategies included his relationship with his girlfriend and keeping busy, emphasising the role of positive relationships, connectedness and a sense of purpose within his early desistance narrative. Jack believed that authorities wanted to keep him inside, claiming that the very people who were employed to support YOs to make positive resettlements, wanted him to fail, demonstrating his negative view of those in positions of power. He conveyed a sense of anger and hatred in relation 				

to professionals within the system, seemingly focusing more upon other people's belief in his capacity to desist than his own. This highlighted the role of other people's perceptions in YOs ability to go straight. Jack may have found identity reconstruction more challenging due to the lack of positive recognition from others.

Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tag coming off • Creating a dream • Visualising the future 	<p>'I've got 30 days left, that's it then, no curfew, no tag'</p> <p>'I've got a CSCS card now so I'm going to look for work...start with labouring... work from there'</p> <p>'allows me to go on to a building site... isn't gonna be a fun job, but you'd have a good laugh on the site'</p>	<p>'I didn't think I had one... thought I'll do this till I end up in jail'</p> <p>'(5 years from now) I'd like to be just happy, still with my woman'</p> <p>'I want to be a bricklayer'</p> <p>'get married, get my own place and that, be working'</p> <p>'if you think I cannot do anything positive... you're just going to do negative... because you don't believe in yourself'</p> <p>'I'm quite clever, I know what people really wanna see'</p> <p>'I do feel bad, that was wrong of me to go into people's houses'</p> <p>'I'm not proud of my past... but the fact that I can talk about it shows... it is, the past'</p>	<p>Jack outlined that he never thought he would have a future outside of jail, he thought he would maintain the same cycle of criminal behaviour until he was given 'a good old sentence'.</p> <p>In the short term, having his tag removed and obtaining employment were viewed as priorities. Jack described the importance of having a positive outlook and believing in himself. Long term, he provided a detailed description of where he would like to be in 5 years' time, outlining his desire to settle down and get married.</p>
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Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways)

- Jack highlighted that the type of employment he was able to gain on the outside was not going to be 'fun', a distinct contrast to the thrill he described of criminal acts, perhaps indicating a difficulty he faced finding the same pleasure, excitement, and gratification by going straight. When comparing his sense of success, instant financial rewards and increased self-esteem when committing crime, it was easy to understand why a life of a graft, working his way up in a job of little interest that does not pay well, did not provide him with an appealing alternative.
- Despite his description of his preferred future, I wondered to what degree he truly believed in his ability to make this dream a reality, compared to

simply talking the talk and telling me what he perhaps thought I wanted to hear. By his own admission he was aware of what other people wanted to see.

- Jack outlined that he felt a sense of remorse over his past actions but protected himself emotionally from this by stating that he did not feel shame over his actions.

Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter

- Jack referred to a shift in how he saw himself and his capabilities, from assigning himself to a life of crime, to believing that he could have a life outside of jail. He referred to a positive outlook and greater self-belief as he embarked on his future. His ability to visualise an achievable, realistic pro-social identity may have provided a helpful incentive to go straight.

4.5.1. Summary of findings from Jack's narrative re-storying in relation to his criminal and desistance pathways

Within Jack's early years, he experienced a high level of uncertainty and loss, which I believe is likely to have increased his emotional vulnerability, and desire for belonging and connectedness. Jack referred to the 'trouble local' during his childhood which may indicate experienced difficulties, and/or anti-social behaviour within his neighbourhood.

Jack outlined that he did not experience success within academia and described that he was always 'messaging about' and 'kicking off'. The social exclusion experienced from his school setting, increased his exposure to other YP committing deviant acts. He found 'comfort' from associating with the 'wrong crowd' and appeared to gain a sense of acceptance, enjoyment, and fulfilment, from time spent with peers committing anti-social acts. Jack's gravitation towards crime appeared to be driven by a desire to experience accomplishment.

Jack depicted a macho identity, as he referred to the time he 'battered' a kid in custody. This persona may have been used as a protection mechanism and could have been perceived as a desirable attribute within his community.

Jack's negative view of authorities was exacerbated when he started getting in trouble with the police, and he formed the opinion that authorities were out to 'terrorise' him. His perception that he had been stigmatised, led to greater perceived difficulty accessing mainstream society, providing little incentive for reform (see Table 28, pre-custody section).

In contrast to his macho façade, he described feeling 'scared' upon his release from custody; he was no longer a big fish in a small pond, but someone he believed to be judged by civilisation as a second-class citizen.

Figure 8: Thematic map: Jack

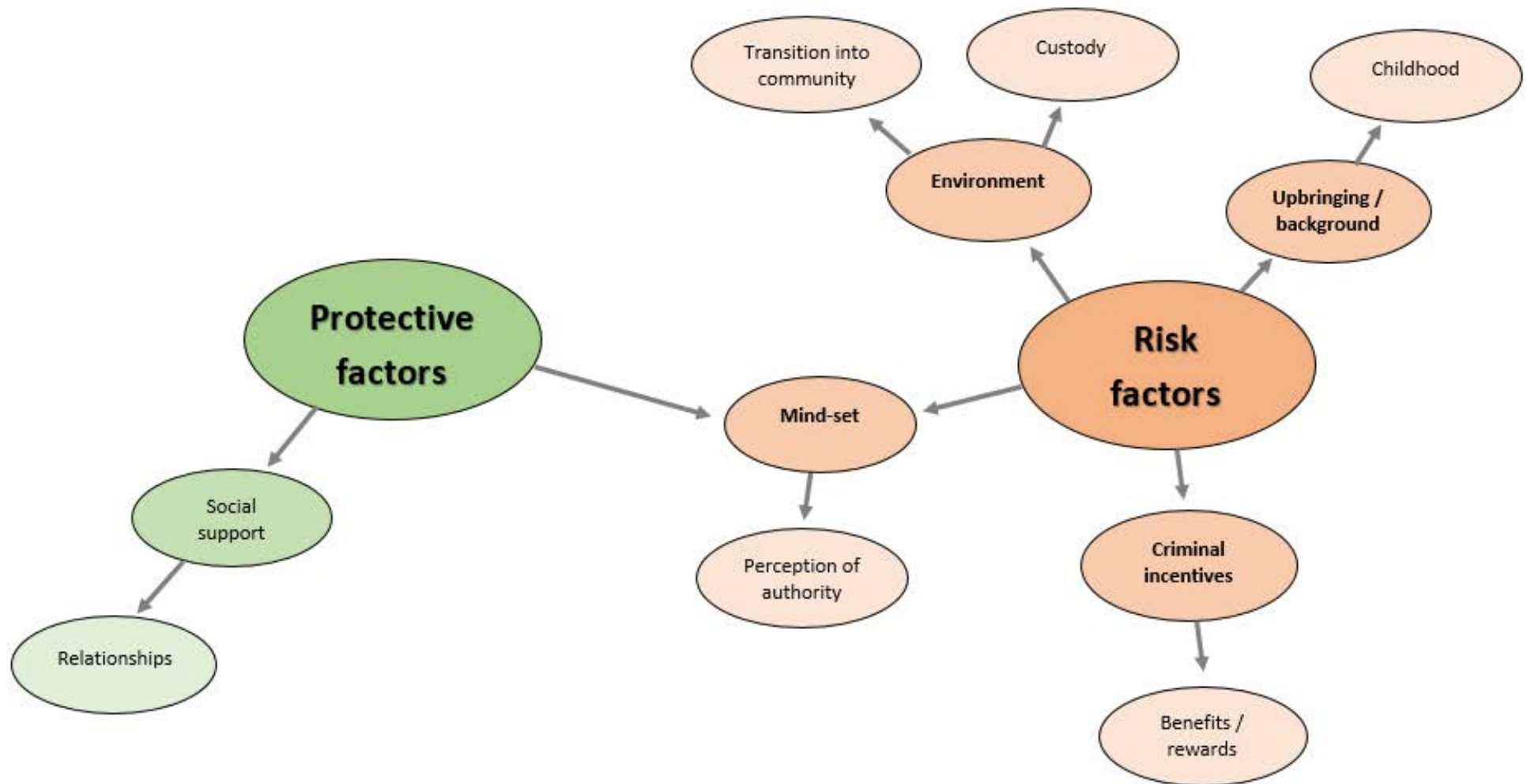


Table 29: Themes abstracted from Jack's narrative

Main theme	Sub-themes	Exemplar quotations	Interpretation
SUBORATINE THEME: RISK FACTORS			
Upbringing / background	Childhood	'my parents weren't together' 'My mum passed away a few years ago' 'Obviously, it f**ks you up'	Jack characterised his childhood through loss, highlighting the significant impact that his mother's death had upon his development and wellbeing.
Environment	Custody Transition	'its only tempting if you're around the people that are gonna tempt ya' 'the best thing for me is to get as far away from this town as possible... I've got all the people I ever offended with in this town'' 'preparation, that's the main thing' 'I just kept thinking I was gonna go back in there'	Returning to the same location (where he committed his crimes and the friends he committed them with still reside) was described as a barrier to desistance and a temptation. Jack believed that he was under prepared for his transition back into the community, he described feeling disorientated and fearful.
Criminal incentives	Benefits / rewards	'everywhere you look there's stuff worth money... taking everything' 'straight in the shop for a 50 gram' 'I thought I was the man'	Jack spoke of the appeal of his criminal acts and the rewards he enjoyed, including: adrenaline, financial reward, substances and gaining access to a grander lifestyle. It also seemed to provide him with a sense of belonging amongst friends.

Mind-set	Perception of authority	<p>'They aren't on my side, they're against me'</p> <p>'I hate them... horrible f**kers'</p> <p>'they just want me to lash out at them... then they're happy because they can arrest me'</p> <p>'need to be positive, need to think positive'</p> <p>'I've just got something to work for'</p> <p>'I do feel bad, that was wrong of me to... take their stuff'</p> <p>'look at the people who have done it before... where they have ended up... early grave or in a jail cell'</p> <p>'I'm worth more than jail'</p>	<p>Jack described the importance of having a positive outlook and having something to work towards, a sense of purpose.</p> <p>Jack conveyed a sense of remorse for his previous criminal acts, considering the consequences of his actions and impact upon his victims. He spent time in custody, thinking about his crimes, considering his path in life, and reflecting upon his life course.</p> <p>Despite stressing the importance of a positive mid-set, Jack explained how he felt victimised by the police, as though they are out to get him. This was a theme that ran throughout his narrative.</p>
SUPERORDINATE THEME: PROTECTIVE FACTORS			
Social support	Relationships	<p>'I like living with them (nan and grandad), they help me out as much as possible'</p> <p>'see your friends and that, get happy from being around your friends'</p> <p>'positive activities... constructive for your time'</p> <p>'I've joined like a local 6 a side team... get me out the house... good laugh'</p> <p>'The best thing for anyone that's been in jail is employment because in jail, you've got your routine, out here you haven't'</p> <p>'my mrs... she's a good woman, very good for me, helping me out, keeping me on the straight and narrow'</p>	<p>His relationship with his grandparents and girlfriend were depicted as important sources of support in his life. Friends reportedly provided social support and a sense of belonging after his mother's death.</p> <p>Jack spoke of the importance of social and leisure activities, describing the positive benefits of playing sport.</p> <p>Jack explained the significance of having employment, to keep his mind active and maintain a sense of structure and routine'</p>

4.5.2. Findings derived from thematic analysis of Jack's interview

Jack highlighted a range of barriers to desistance, including: *criminal incentives*, *environment*, and *upbringing*. He found returning to the same location post-incarceration difficult as he was 'around the people that... tempt ya', highlighting the influential role of deviant peers in his criminal pathway. *Social supports*, on the other hand, were deemed a facilitative factor, including his relationships with his nan, grandad and girlfriend who helped to keep him on the 'straight and narrow'. In contrast, he depicted his *mind-set* as a bidirectional influence, which could be supportive of desistance if he was thinking positively (e.g. 'I am worth more than jail'), or as a barrier when fixating upon his antagonistic view of authorities (e.g. 'they're against me').

Jack explained that he did not feel prepared for the period of transition from custody to the community, he felt fearful that he was 'gonna go back in there'. Re-entering the same community in which he had previously offended, he was exposed to increased temptations; he stated, 'I've got all the people I ever offended with in this town'. Furthermore, he described a range of rewards reaped from his criminal acts (e.g. 'money' and feeling like 'the man'), which provided clear *incentives* for re-offending. Conversely, leisure activities (e.g. football for 'a local six aside team') were highlighted as an important influence within his desistance pathway, alongside employment which provided him with a 'routine'. Jack stressed the importance of being able to use his time meaningfully during the resettlement period. His employment was not, however, stable at the time of interview.

4.6: Luke: research question one

Figure 9: Risk and protective factors across Luke's life course

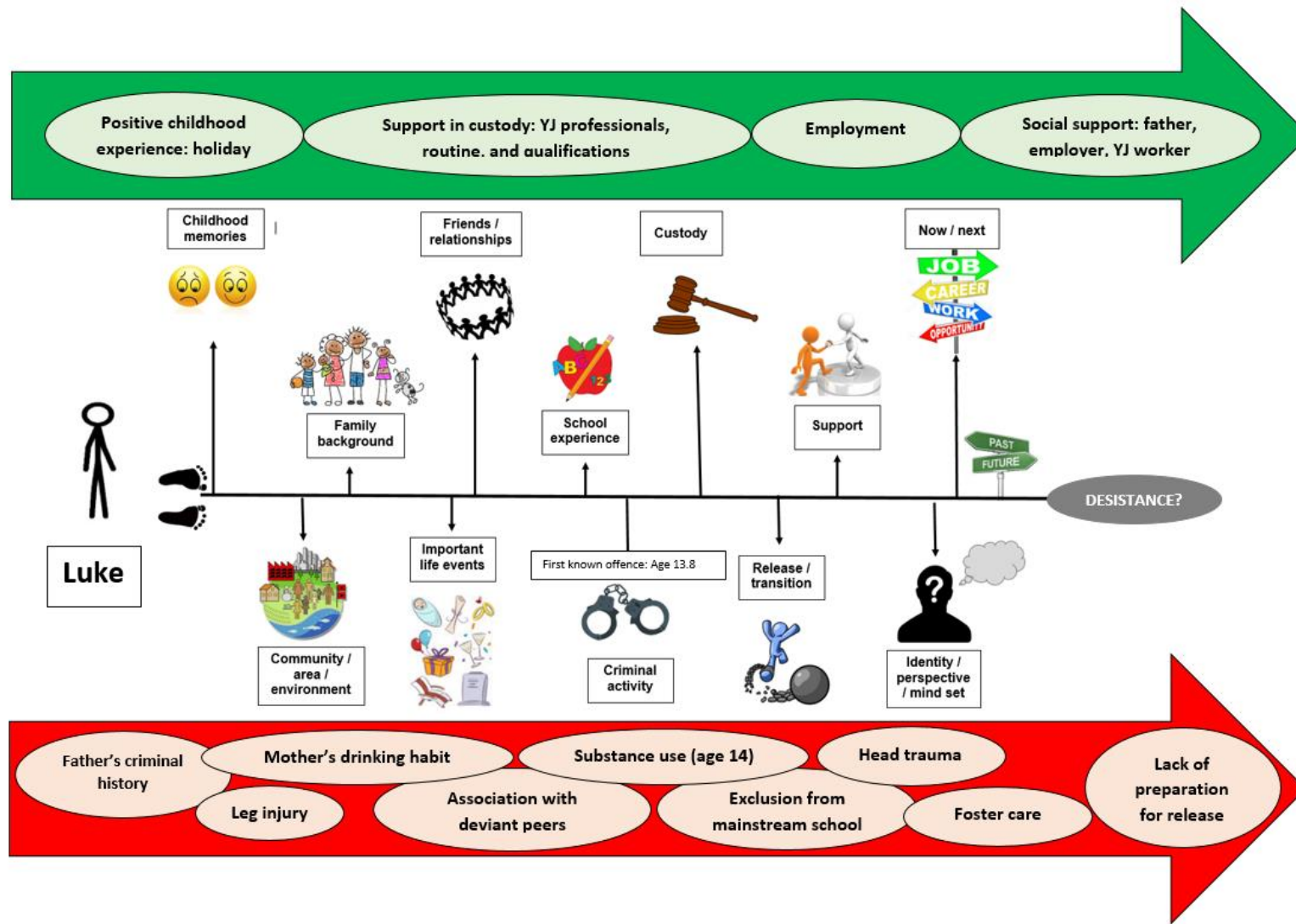


Table 30: Restorying of Luke's narrative, highlighting key chapters and events, alongside exemplar quotations and interpretive researcher comments

Chapter	Key events	Key events - exemplar quotations	Key experiences - exemplar quotations	Interpretative comments
Background / Childhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holidays Father's history Mother's drinking Leg injury 	<p>'Mum, my dad, my 2 brothers Holidays... going out with my mates'</p> <p>'he's been in jail when he was a kid... category A'</p> <p><u>'I used to play football and I snapped my leg'</u></p>	<p>'my mums drinking...that's really the only negative thing about my childhood'</p> <p><u>'started getting into robbery and I turned all my (football) career away which I really...regret'</u></p>	<p>Luke struggled to recount many early childhood memories in any detail. He did, however, talk at length about his mother's drinking habit and mentioned his father's past criminal involvement. Luke explained that a scout had offered him a football opportunity, however, he had an injury and took a different path.</p>
<p>Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Luke held regret regarding a lost footballing opportunity due to injury. I wondered how this disappointment and lack of fulfilment had affected his views about himself and his life potential. Crime perhaps acted as a misplaced pursuit for accomplishment. Once his dreams of being a footballer had died, did he believe he was capable of pursuing any other legitimate career paths? 				
<p>Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Luke's childhood was characterised by his mother's drinking habit, which may have impacted upon her psychical and psychological ability to care for Luke, causing him to rely upon himself to meet his own needs and turn to alternative figures in his life for support. Luke highlighted how his life could have taken a different, prosocial pathway if he was able to pursue his footballing career, however, physical injury prevented him from maximising this opportunity. Consequently, his belief in his ability to form a prosocial identity may have diminished as a result. Luke referred to his father's criminal past, highlighting a historical background link. One might question how his father's previous criminal behaviour affected Luke's perception of crime and deviance, whether his father's time inside had normalised incarceration and minimised his interpretation of the secure estate as a deterrent. 				
Pre-custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exclusion from secondary school 	<p><u>'I was perfect you know until I got to about year eight and then I got banged... move me to XXX'</u></p>	<p>'I enjoyed Primary school'</p> <p>'I didn't want to go... Just wanted to be with my mates, always'</p>	<p>Luke explained that he had no issues in education until he was at secondary school where he was</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special school placement 	<p><u>(school), got kicked out of there... sent me to XXX PRU, got kicked out of there'</u></p>	<p>'best school time...do three lessons, you're on a trip... lessons were half an hour long...three of them and you go paintballing...no qualifications'</p>	<p>excluded and began attending a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU). Luke indicated that he had little interest in school and 'just wanted to be with. mates'.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking substances • Association with deviant peers • Criminal behaviour • Prioritising friends 	<p><u>'about 14...I tried MCAT...then it really went downhill.. getting arrested'</u></p> <p>'knifepoint robberies and knifepoint burglaries...started getting serious'</p> <p>'I was robbing my own family'</p>	<p>'I couldn't stop because basically I was addicted'</p> <p>'didn't really give a s**t about no one. All I really wanted to do was to be out with me mates and be on drugs'</p> <p>'Personal hygiene... respect... loyalties... completely goes out of the window'</p> <p>'either went jail or...I'd probably end up killing someone, or... myself'</p> <p>'it was like four of us, a group of four of us and everyone was doing the same thing'</p>	<p>Luke described being scouted for his football skills but throwing away his opportunity when he gained a leg injury, delving into a life of crime. Luke described the addictive nature of the drug he started taking at 14, MCAT. Whilst on the drug he described not caring about anyone or anything, except being with his mates and being on drugs. With reduced inhibitions, his crimes became more severe and he believed if he did not end up in prison he could have ended up 'killing someone' or himself.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head trauma from a fight with a victim 	<p>'few years back I got full on, full on battered'</p> <p>'it was my own fault... I robbed the wrong person and got caught red-handed'</p> <p>'took home in a van and got left on my doorstep'</p> <p>'had problems ever since'</p>	<p>'thought I was going to die'</p> <p>'I can't breathe, can't do nothing. I've been sick, blood... rushed me straight into hospital'</p> <p>'get headaches...that painful, they'd proper make me cry...couldn't sleep'</p> <p>'had a head scan.. Nothing serious come back...they put me on these anti-relaxants'</p>	<p>Luke described an incident when he got caught stealing and was 'battered'. This incident left him with severe headaches which caused sleep difficulties. When he was out of custody he had a 'head scan', nothing serious was highlighted but he was put on medication to help him sleep.</p>

Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways)

- Periods of criminal activity were described as collective, joint ventures, 'it was like four of us, a group of four of us and everyone was doing the same thing', indicating a sense of shared responsibility.
- I was surprised at Luke's resolve in pursuit of his criminal pathway, being 'battered' by his potential victim had no bearing on his desire to pursue further criminal pursuits.

Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter

- Luke, similarly to Jack, was excluded from school and attended a specialist provision, resulting in a degree of social exclusion, reduced academic qualifications and increased association with deviant peers.
- He highlighted taking substances as a major turning point in his life, transitioning from minor to major criminal acts. Luke outlined that substance use changed his outlook, he no longer cared about himself or others.
- Luke's outlined head injury incident could be construed as a relevant biological factor, given the higher prevalence of YOs with TBI (see Chapter 1, Table 4), however, this reportedly did not cause any serious lasting damage. Luke was, however, placed on medication which may have affected his temperament.

Custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support received in custody • Establishing a routine • Gaining qualifications • Restorative justice process 	<p><u>'I've never been in trouble...keep getting told off, keep getting told off.. and bang they made an example of me'</u></p> <p>'I got 18 months... on good behaviour and in total I done 4 weeks on remand'</p> <p>'I done loads of things...skills... think I come out with about 18 qualifications in the end'</p> <p>'You just get loads of help, drug use, drug workers'</p> <p>'I've met up with a few of my people like, and I apologised'</p>	<p>'It was literally being around your mate's house, not being allowed out' 'everyone just chills... it's absolutely easy... you got a pool table, Xbox one...'</p> <p>'I knew everyone, everyone knew you. It was just like a big laugh'</p> <p>'it sounds mad like but it was, it was enjoyable...you got mollycoddled...'</p> <p>'feels a bit better... you can show to the other person that you have changed...'</p> <p>'X (previous YJW)... she wouldn't let me give up on myself...got to know her more... like a mate...I could trust, I could say things and I knew she wouldn't say anything'</p>	<p>Luke described how his first time in custody was 'enjoyable' because it felt as though he was round at his 'mate's house, not being allowed out'. He explained that his first time in custody was 'easy' because staff 'mollycoddled' him and he was allowed numerous privileges. Whilst he was there he gained qualifications and met some of his victims through a restorative justice program. He described a special bond with one professional called 'X (previous YJW)' who became like a 'mate' to him and did not 'let him give up'. Luke spoke fondly of her and this relationship appeared to</p>
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			'I never had a qualification when I've been in there'	hold significant importance to him.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I found it surprising to hear how easy Luke had found his time in custody, describing it as 'enjoyable'. The emphasis he placed upon nurturing relationships with female staff members indicated his desire to feel wanted, loved and cared for. Experiences he may not have gained from his own mother during his childhood due to lack of emotional availability and substance misuse. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Luke was on a downwards spiral and positioned custody as a way out, preventing him from causing more damage to himself or others. He described the nurturing influence of the custodial environment and professionals who worked there. He described a setting which helped to meet his basic needs and regaining physical health Luke appeared to thrive on the attachments formed with YJ workers and seemed to use this as a catalyst for change. Luke positively responded to having someone who believed in him and his capacity to go straight, increasing his self-determination. Custody provided an opportunity to gain knowledge and marketable skills to aid employability. Furthermore, his experience of a restorative justice programme was perceived as a positive influence, to have an opportunity to prove to his victims that he was a reformed character. 				
Release, transition and re-conviction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-entering the community Lack of preparation Loss of confidence 	<p>'I was expecting to do nine-month... got out a bit earlier'</p> <p>'when I first come out well, I'd ask, I'd go back to my house and I'd asked for food'</p>	<p><u>'it feels a bit weird going out because you just want to be in there...It's mad'</u></p> <p>'I've just lost loads of confidence... I just get really wary about things'</p> <p><u>'I'm not used to it... I'm used to being locked up...you just pick up a routine...you want to stay in the routine'</u></p> <p>'you got no confidence...you think oh no, I'm not going to be able to do this'</p>	Luke explained that it felt 'weird' when he was released as he became so accustomed to being kept indoors and following a strict routine. When he received an early release, he felt as though he 'weren't really prepared'. The lack of structure and containment made him feel wary and somewhat fearful, lacking confidence.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remanded back in custody in London 	<p>'I went for good behaviour, got my good behaviour, come straight back out...straight back...robbery offence with a</p>	<p><u>'like s**t man, they're not messing around</u></p> <p><u>I struggled... just got used to being back out... I enjoyed my freedom'</u></p>	After his first stint in custody Luke returned to the same area and thought he would be able to handle going back to the same friendship

		<p>knife crime’ <u>‘bang, and reoffended straightaway’</u> <u>‘before I knew it, I was back inside</u> <u>I was out for about three or four months’</u> ‘got remanded twice down London, twice over here and then I got a sentence’</p>	<p>‘it’s my own fault really... I believed in myself that I be all right when I come back to my mates’ ‘London...completely different ballgame... if you piss around... different matter your door’s locked till seven in the morning... it did help me a lot like’ ‘too attached to my mom...miles away...horrible...crying down the phone’ <u>‘I’m lost...this is not for me, I don’t really wanna be in this life no more’</u> ‘I thought, I’ll be going to a man’s jail soon... I don’t really want to be doing this <u>‘coming straight out, to go straight back in... helped me a hell of a lot that’</u></p>	<p>group, however, he was quickly sucked back in to criminal behaviour. After a ‘robbery offence with a knife’ he was ‘back inside’, only, his subsequent periods in custody were described as much more challenging compared to his first. He was sent to an institute in London, further away from his family, where the regime and staff were stricter. Upon reflection, Luke thought re-entering the system so quickly did him a favour in the long run as it was then he decided he needed to change.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foster placement 	<p><u>‘they put me back in that care home and I was there for about nine months in total’</u></p>	<p>‘It got to the point where I didn’t want to go home...I settled down too quick ...got too attached, way too attached to my carers’ ‘I liked them too much and it’s, I got too close to them’ ‘I do miss it...was really like a second mum and dad... It was a bit weird coming home...I was more close to really them than what I was to my mum and dad...</p>	<p>Luke fondly described his time at a foster care placement where he became ‘attached’ to his carers. He found the transition back home challenging as his relationship with his parents was less established at the time. Luke spoke about having regrets leaving his carers as he came home to witness his mother ‘pissed’.</p>

			I do regret coming home...don't like going home because my mum is pissed'	
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luke described how he felt institutionalised in custody which made transition a difficult adjustment. He was used to having minimal freedom, then catapulted into the outside world where he had endless freedom. He craved the stability and security of the routines and structure, consequently feeling safer and more contained inside than he did outside. This change in circumstances and his struggle to adapt resulted in diminished confidence. • Luke returned to the same area, with the same friends and quickly returned to old habits. This may have posed less threat than trying to forge a new, unknown pathway. • His need for stable, loving, and healthy attachments was evident throughout Luke's narrative. I found it sad to hear Luke describe his feelings towards his foster carers, stating he 'liked them too much' and became 'too attached'. Despite providing an experience of healthy relationships, the separation presented more broken ties. • His second stint in custody resulted in a shift in Luke's thought patterns and signified a positive turning point towards desistance but why did this shift not occur until his second period of incarceration? 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I interpreted his foster placement as a risk factor as the close bonds he formed with temporary carers were severed, leading to a sense of loss. This experience provided a comparison to his own home life and highlighted a contrast to the care he experienced from his own parents and their capacity to care for him. • Lack of preparation prior to release led to reduced confidence to succeed through an alternative, legitimate pathway. 				
Post-custody / Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment opportunities • Increased confidence • Abstaining from substances and crime 	<u>'one of my dad's mates...was willing to give me a second chance'</u> 'my godfather's brother he's like self-employed builder and that, and I kept asking him and he said I had to prove myself like to him. I just kept trying my hardest and	'something to show for it...makes you feel better...something to be proud of' 'they don't look down on you because they know your past, but they see you've changed' 'I only got my confidence back when I got my job... going into people's houses...'	Luke explained how he was given a 'second chance' by a family friend, an opportunity to prove himself through a working role. His employment reportedly aided his confidence. It seemed important to Luke that someone had believed in him, someone had given him the life

		hardest then <u>one day out of the blue, he just phoned me up and said you want some work. And then he's offered me an apprenticeship</u>	'I know everyone is working nowadays. I think it's about generation, age' ' <u>there was no drugs... I didn't get the temptation...I did... seven months without it so I can do the rest of my life</u> ' 'one more thing, and I'm looking at a very long time...'	line he needed to go straight. His period in custody helped to remain substance-free and the threat of a potentially longer or adult sentence acted as a deterrent from further criminal activity.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing proactive desistence strategies 	<p>'Keep myself to myself and stay away from everyone'</p> <p>'stopped going out, stop getting involved in trouble'</p> <p>'I'll hang round them, but if something is going on then, I'll walk away'</p>	<p>'I just think more cleverly...is it really worth it?'</p> <p>'I built the confidence up to say no to things...stuck my finger up to everyone and just said I'm not into that no more.... I'm not a sheep I'm my own person'</p>	Luke described how he has removed himself from social situations which could lead to 'trouble'. In order to minimise risk or temptations he thinks before he acts, says no to things and stays at home more often. His increased confidence was linked to his ability to effectively utilise these strategies.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accessing social support Mother's drinking Labelling 	<p>'she nearly died... doctor told us if she ever drinks again she'll die'</p> <p>'I'll pay for the night fishing, one week my dad will ...there's me, my dad, and one, two of my dad's mates what had gone there. We rented the whole lake out'</p>	<p>'she must not think about us as much as what she thinks about a drink...Because she knows for a fact, if she keeps it up she'll be dead by next year...So, I don't have much respect for my mum'</p> <p>'I like being able to do the 24-hour fishing sessions with my dad...talking to him and that, it gives you a buzz like'</p> <p>'My name got brought up straightaway, because my past... I</p>	<p>At home, Luke described a stronger bond that had been formed with his father, enjoying leisure activities together. His mother, on the other hand, reportedly continued to drink which left Luke with diminished respect for her.</p> <p>Luke referred to being labelled due to his offending past and being brought in for questioning for crimes he had not committed.</p>

			know I'll have to deal with that for a good few years ain't it'	
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luke outlined a resilient approach to creating opportunities for himself post-release, describing a self-determined attitude to job seeking. • He stated that his mind-set shifted, he was able to think more rationally about the consequences of his actions and long-term implications which acted as a deterrent from further criminal activity. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luke's relationship with his father could be perceived as a supportive resettlement factor, alongside the prosocial activities they shared together, supporting his reformed identity as an ex-offender. • His relationship with his mother remained challenging. His perception that his main care giver placed greater importance upon alcohol than him, possibly acted as a barrier to desistance, negatively affecting his confidence and self-esteem, as well as, providing a source of frustration. 				
Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating long term goals • Detachment from YJ involvement 	<p>'Just X (YJW) once a fortnight but I'll be finished in September'</p> <p>'I done my order... for about two years... I done that good...they're taking me back to court in September to revoke my order'</p>	<p>'Five years time? Err, getting house...car...my own house, my own family'</p> <p>'I want to be left home by at least by 20... I don't want to be living with my mum and dad all my life'</p> <p>'I want to be my own person, and my own independence really'</p>	<p>Luke explained that his progress and efforts had been recognised and his order was soon to be revoked, ending all contact with the YJS. As he looked towards the future, he aimed to be independent, owning his own home and possessions, with his own family.</p>
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luke had specific long-term goals that he had set for himself, including leaving home by age 20. Such goals seemed to support his desistance efforts, providing greater incentives. • Gaining his independence was a driving force for Luke, expressing a desire to take control over his life trajectory and gain a sense of autonomy over his future outcomes. • It was interesting to note that his reward from authorities for desisting and making a positive resettlement was the revocation of his order. Taking something away due to the absence of criminally and deviant behaviours, as opposed to providing something to reward the positive contributions he was making to society. • Despite the progress he had made, Luke outlined that he is still questioned by his mother and the police about his whereabouts due to his past and being labelled as an offender. He conveyed friction between his old and new identity, raising questions regarding how YOs go about successfully 'de-labelling' themselves. 				

Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter

- Finishing his order and involvement with the YJS was likely to provide a protective factor for future desistance, reducing his experienced stigma and enabling a process of 'de-labelling' in the eyes of the law and society.
- Luke appeared to resent the continued involvement with the YJS, as it is conflicted with his new reformed character and was perceived as a factor, preventing him from moving on.

4.6.1. Summary of findings from Luke's narrative re-storying in relation to his developmental pathway

When describing his background, Luke stated that his father had 'been in jail', and his mother had an ongoing issue with 'drinking'. His mother's drinking habit left him thinking, 'she must not think about us as much as she thinks about a drink', leading to feelings of low self-worth. Luke sought positive reinforcement from friends, stating that he, 'just wanted to be with his mates'.

Luke outlined his lack of interest in education and during secondary school he was permanently excluded, consequently attending a specialist provision where he gained 'no qualifications'. During this time, his peers were similarly committing anti-social acts and taking substances.

In the course of his criminal pursuits, he described being 'full on battered' by a victim, leaving him with a lasting head injury. Luke explained that he would, 'get headaches that bad that sometimes I'd cry', consequently he was given 'anti-relaxants'.

Custody provided a safe-haven which he likened to 'being round your mates house', somewhere he was 'mollycoddled' and developed a significant relationship with his YJ worker (see Table 30, custody section). Luke conveyed custody as an experience which aided his social capital, 'I done loads of things...skills... come out with about 18 qualifications in the end'.

Luke felt underprepared for release from custody, describing transition as 'mad' and 'weird', a time when he had 'no confidence' and felt 'wary'.

Attachments were a key influence across Luke's life span. He spoke of the emotional difficulties associated with becoming 'too attached' to adults. The presence of positive

relationships was highlighted as a facilitating factor in his pursuit of desistance; crime was perceived as 'not worth' the risk, 'I've got the trust now which I won't break'.

Figure 10: Thematic map: Luke

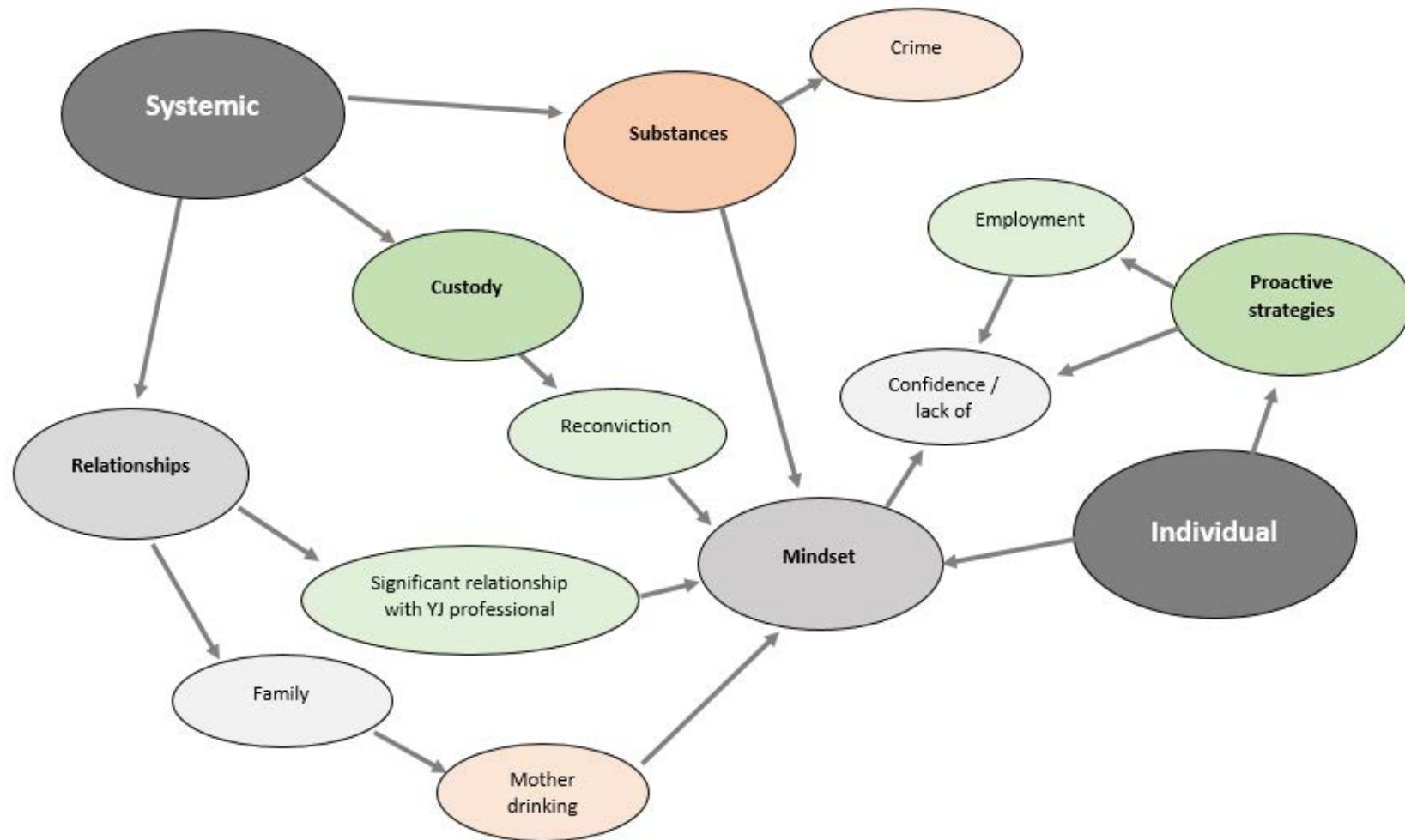


Table 31: Themes abstracted from Luke's narrative

Main theme	Sub-themes	Exemplar quotations	Researcher interpretation
SUPERORDINATE THEME: SYSTEMIC			
Custody	Re-conviction	<p>'if I didn't go in, I wouldn't have half the respect I've got for people now'</p> <p>'you just got into a routine where it's like, I don't really want to be leaving'</p> <p>'I did enjoy being in their like because...the routine, the people, the staff'</p> <p>'I was trusted that much, they take me out to X every Friday'</p> <p>'take you under their wing like you're their son... do things for you like you're their own... you get attached to them'</p> <p>'it does help you... when you go in there with a bit of respect and you treat people the way you want to be treated'</p> <p>'when I went back in, I just changed my way of thinking... the way I act'</p>	<p>Luke outlined positive aspects of custody, including the routine, support and interventions provided. It was described as an environment that aided reflection and development. The system described ran on trust and respect which he responded well to. Custody was a place of nurture for Luke, where professionals treated him like 'their own', a place he did not 'really want to be leaving'. Subsequent custody placements were not, however, described positively and with harsher systems in place, Luke started thinking differently.</p>
Relationships	<p>Family relationships</p> <p>Significant relationship with YJ professional</p> <p>Mother drinking</p>	<p>'she didn't care about nothing else other than drink, so I stopped really caring about anyone and just started getting into trouble'</p> <p>'I don't want to be sitting there on the phone to my mom while she's crying her eyes out'</p> <p>'I'm so close to my dad like since I've been out like... I'm older and now I tell them the truth'</p> <p>'pay back my mum and dad for what I put them through'</p> <p>'X (previous YJW) was...really good. She helped me the most'</p> <p>'(YJW) She is the main responsibility of helping me out, of</p>	<p>Luke described his family relationships as playing an important role across his life journey so far. He identified his mother's drinking as a promotive factor towards his criminal behaviour, whilst the more recent (post-custody) bond he has developed with his father was perceived as a source of support for desistance, alongside his motivation to pay his 'mum and dad back' for what he put them through. During custody family relationships were strained as his mother often became</p>

		<p>anyone XXX. Definitely... helped me a lot of the way through my order'</p> <p>'She went out of her way to help you like she'd go to her last leg'</p> <p>'she'd be reasonable and flex my hours'</p>	<p>upset.</p> <p>Luke referred to the significant impact that his relationship with his old YOT worker had. He established a close bond with her, felt he could trust her and perceived that she went above her job role to help him.</p>
SUBORDINATE THEME: INDIVIDUAL			
Substances	<p>Crime</p> <p>Head trauma</p>	<p>'MCAT, it was mad...the best time of my life... nothing can beat that buzz'</p> <p>'you are a completely different person I went off the rails'</p> <p>'I didn't care about nothing or no one...all you want is money and more drugs'</p> <p>all the offences, and never ever been straight headed'</p> <p>'group of four of us and everyone was doing the same thing'</p> <p>'I could have said no and walked away. But I didn't, and carried on doing it'</p> <p>'I don't get no temptations anymore' 'chance that, I could enjoy it too much... it's not worth taking the risk'</p> <p>'I was full-on mashed-up...battered'</p> <p>'I thought I was going to die'</p> <p>'I went straight back out... next day'</p>	<p>Luke described the role of drugs in the change of his mind-set and his involvement with crime. He explained when he was taking drugs he stopped caring about anyone or anything else, including himself. All of his crimes were committed under the influence of substances and often with the incentive of gaining more money for drugs. His peers at the time were also committing similar offences, taking drugs, and committing crime were group acts. Despite having a significant traumatic head injury after being 'battered' by a victim of his criminal behaviour, Luke said he 'went straight back out', continuing to offend. He attributed his lack of reflection and unwillingness to deviate from his behaviour down to drug use.</p>

Mind-set	Confidence / lack of	<p>'I did more things... no one had really had the courage...but... nothing or no one would have been stopping me'</p> <p>'Didn't care about myself... didn't care about me mum, me dad, me brothers...wanted to be with my mates'</p> <p>'I lost all my respect for everyone'</p> <p>'I just changed my way of thinking and what I did and the way I act'</p> <p>'this is not for me, I don't really wanna be in this life no more'</p> <p>'if you want to reach your goal...you won't stop until you can... achieve that'</p> <p>I come out I had no confidence whatsoever'</p> <p>'my new job... helped me build my confidence up'</p>	<p>Luke described the shift in his mind-set across his life journey so far. From not caring about himself or others whilst on drugs and prioritising spending time with friends. To changing his thought processes after re-entering custody, considering where his life was heading and what he wanted from his future. Once out of custody social supports, including employment, were key in building his self-esteem and confidence, to believe he could achieve his goals. As a result, he began thinking more positively about himself and his potential outcomes in the future.</p>
Pro-active strategies	Employment	<p>'I just keep myself to myself and stay away from everyone'</p> <p>'I don't really go out anywhere, I'm always in the house'</p> <p>'I just look at things in a completely different way now'</p> <p>'offered me the job so I just took it with both of my hands, and, it's the best thing I've done so far'</p> <p>'if you want something just go and buy it'</p>	<p>Luke outlined a range of proactive strategies he had employed to successfully desist from further criminal activities including: going out less often, considering the consequences of his actions and removing himself from situations which could lead to reoffending. His employment was described as a significant motivating factor for desistance, providing him with reduced incentive for criminal behaviour due to increased finances and a greater sense of purpose.</p>

4.6.2 Summary of findings derived from thematic analysis of Luke's interview

Luke also outlined a range of intertwined, individual (*mind-set, proactive strategies*) and systemic factors (*substances, custody, relationships*) affecting his criminal and desistance pathways. Both *relationships* and *mind-set* were depicted by Luke to have a bidirectional influence, whilst *substances* were described as a barrier, and *custody* and *proactive strategies* depicted as facilitating factors.

Within Luke's narrative, substance mis-use outlined a turning point in his life trajectory, when he 'went off the rails'. His substance use was linked with a short-term mind set and increased criminal incentives, 'all you want is money and more drugs'.

Luke's relationship with his mother was influenced by her drinking habit which fuelled his lack of care for himself and others; he stated, 'she didn't care about nothing else other than drink, so I stopped really caring about anyone and just started getting into trouble'. In contrast, his relationship with his YJ worker was characterised by trust, respect and flexibility; he described this connection as harbouring the 'main responsibility' for his ability to desist.

Custody was described positively as a turning point and opportunity for change, where he 'got into a routine' and learnt 'respect'. Prior to incarceration, Luke outlined a short-term mind-set fuelled by use of *substances*. Whilst in the YSE, however, he thought, 'I don't really wanna be in this life no more' and began thinking more positively about himself and his potential life outcomes (see Table 31, mind-set section).

Since re-entering the community, Luke had developed a range of *proactive individual strategies* to support desistance, including removing himself from tempting circumstances (e.g. 'keep myself to myself').

4.7: Mason: Research Question One

Figure 11: Risk and protective factors across Mason's life course

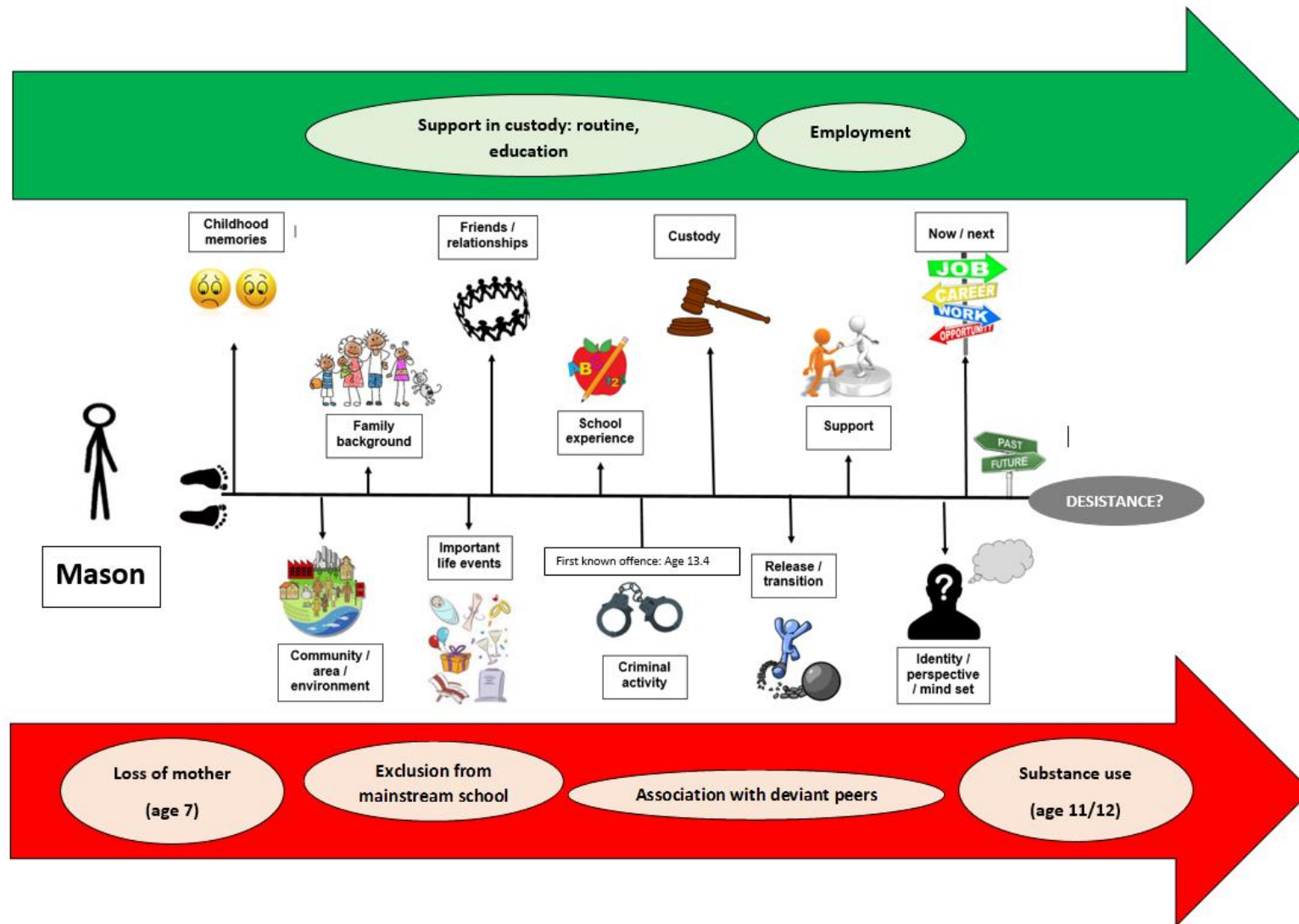


Table 32: Restorying of Mason's narrative, highlighting key chapters and events, alongside exemplar quotations and interpretive researcher comments

Chapter	Key events	Key events – exemplar quotations	Key experiences - exemplar quotations	Interpretative comments
Childhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loss of his mother 	<p><u>'it was all good and then my mum died... when I was seven'</u></p>	<p><u>'I just went downhill'</u> <u>'I just lost it. I just didn't care about my life'</u></p>	<p>Mason described his childhood took a different turn when he lost his mother aged 7.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early memories of anger issues 	<p>'used to fight the first person I seen' 'somebody said something wrong, and I just used to... keep whacking them' 'go out with the lads from the estate and I used to just go round fighting'</p>	<p>'most of it (childhood) was like bad memories' 'There ain't been no really good, happy times' 'I kept on just lashing out at people... going into my own zone to fight' 'it was just a little trigger...that's all it takes... mad one.... lose my mind... switch' 'couldn't calm myself or anything'</p>	<p>Mason struggled to recount positive, happy memories from his childhood, explaining they were always counterbalanced by something negative. Mason described feeling out of control with his anger after his mother died, lacking effective strategies to manage his emotions and being physically aggressive towards others.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School / education Exclusion Attending a special school 	<p>'I kept on getting excluded and that for fighting' <u>'I got kicked out of one school and move to another school... With less pupils'</u> 'I had like one fight in 2½ years being there'</p>	<p>'year nine, I switched completely... didn't think of anyone else or think of anything... kept on losing my temper' 'It made me feel better because there's less people there' 'I chilled out'</p>	<p>He was excluded from school due to his behaviour which reportedly made him angrier. Mason described a smaller specialist school that he attended, which he believed aided his ability to successfully cope with the complex feelings he experienced.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Criminal activities Taking substances 	<p><u>'I started smoking weed... When I was about 11 or 12'</u> 'finish school... me and my mates would just chill at the park...we had</p>	<p>'I didn't think that far ahead.... I just thought at that time... I weren't thinking of nothing.' 'it was a release... at the time, I felt</p>	<p>Mason first went into custody for assault, he explained how his anger was overwhelming, he could not control it at the time. His mind-set</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Association with deviant peers 	a fight... got caught... put back on this order'	<p>good'</p> <p>'I used to think it was good at the time'</p> <p>'changes your mental health and stuff... nothing was happening. So I used to smoke more of it'</p>	whilst he was conducting these acts was fixed in the here and now, he was not thinking about the consequences of his actions or possible long-term impact of his decision making, he acted upon impulse. Fighting was a 'release' for him. Acts were often committed in the presence of peers and under the influence of cannabis.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> One might question what strategies and interventions were implemented during his time in a mainstream setting to aid his emotional regulation and what early support was available to prevent him from pursuing a life of crime. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason outlined a significant turning point in his life towards aggressive and anti-social behaviour, this was the loss of his mother. He experienced overwhelming anger and lacked the strategies and support to manage these emotions successfully, consequently his anger was communicated through his behaviour e.g. fighting. Similar to Jack and Luke , Mason was excluded from a mainstream school and placed in a specialist setting, communicating that adults in the mainstream setting could not support his behaviours. The language used, 'kicked out' and 'excluded' provides a sense of segregation and rejection, reducing his commitment to mainstream conventional norms. The role of peers and substances were outlined as promotive factors for crime and anti-social behaviour. In line with Jack and Luke , taking substances was associated with a short-term outlook on life that fuelled his criminal behaviour. The specialist setting that Mason outlined had less pupils and a higher 1:1 which helped to keep him calm, developing his emotional regulation skills. 				
Custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing a routine Engaging in education 	<p>'I was there for three months'</p> <p>'only had one fight and that was because some lad tried whacking me with a pillow and I just switched'</p> <p>'make phone calls to people'</p>	<p>'I thought it was gonna be easy.... but... when you speak to people... heard them crying on the phone...feel down...'</p> <p>'you've just got to get on with it... It was hard at first but... get used to it'</p> <p>'you had quite a strict</p>	<p>He explained that there was a clear structure and routine in custody, he appreciated opportunities to keep his mind active.</p> <p>When he heard from family, they would sometimes become upset which would make him 'feel down'.</p>

			routine...structure...you knew what you were doing' 'basic literature, IT... It was useful... keeps your mind off...things' 'it was sound'	
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason outlined one violent act committed whilst in custody, indicating the ongoing emotional regulation difficulties he had. He referred to the practical support he received whilst incarcerated including education, however, made no reference to psychological or emotional support. One may question Mason's readiness to leave custody and whether his time had equipped him to manage his feelings in effective ways in the outside world. Mason also described the positive features of custody and described the experience as 'sound', however, similarly to Luke he re-entered custody for a second time before sustaining a longer period of desistance, raising questions regarding the rehabilitative capacity of custodial sentences. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason benefited from the routine, structure and educational opportunities provided in custody, helping to keep his mind occupied and increasing his marketability for employment opportunities upon release. 				
post-custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Release / transition Put on tag Giving up substances 	'I got put on tag' 'I used to go out for a couple of hours at night' 'I had strict, I times to be in and stuff, and if you are late... they put it down as a warning'	'seeing people and stuff...feels a bit strange' <u>'I didn't take it (weed) when I was inside... may as well knock it on the head'</u> 'At night, that's where all the crimes are happening.. so... I thought it was better being in at that time' (whilst on tag)	When Mason was released on license he had 3 months on tag alongside other conditions. He outlined that being on tag reduced the likelihood of him being involved in criminal activity. Mason gave up cannabis when he came out, after being clean in custody.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-conviction Association with deviant peers 	'About five months ago... <u>someone come over when we were playing football and asked about a motorbike and we just bought it... I didn't think about nothing at the time'</u>	'all of my mates smoke weed... we just thought, it's something to do... everyone was bored'	Mason was reconvicted after approximately 'two years' of desistance. He was caught alongside his friends for a TWOC (taking without owner's consent offence). Mason described acting in the moment and connected the event with substance

				use.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Similarly to Jack, Luke was placed on an electronic tag when he was released from custody to limit his freedom and reduce the hours he could spend outside his home to minimise offending opportunities. Furthermore, this tag acted as a reminder of his label of 'offender', potentially creating a barrier to identity reconstruction. The language he uses to describe the incident that caused him to return to custody places indicates a mix between shared and individual responsibility, e.g. 'we just bought it', 'everyone was bored', 'I didn't think'. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason continued to spend time with deviant peers after his first period of incarceration, which led to increased risk of further formal consequences. Mason outlined the positive influence of support in custody, helping him to abstain from substance use and positively impacting upon his mental health. 				
Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopting proactive / coping strategies Employment 	<p>'keep out of people's business. Just keep your mind off things and keep myself to myself...'</p> <p>'I'm off drugs... best way'</p> <p>'Play football... find things to do and go different places... bike rides...'</p> <p>'I've been working'</p>	<p>'I still see them... but I don't hang around with them no more... everyone's changed...does their own thing'</p> <p>'one session a week (with YJW) talk about different things... It's helpful....'</p> <p>(work) 'keeps my mind off things.... I like to be occupied'</p>	Mason explained that he actively avoids trouble by: keeping himself busy, engaging in positive social activities, making new friends, thinking positively, considering the consequences of his actions, keeping off drugs, maintaining employment applying alternative strategies to provoking situations and utilising support networks.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason referred to similar individual strategies as Luke, by actively removing himself from social situations that could result in offending and remaining-substance free. He indicates that his whole group of friends had changed, suggesting that with time and maturity his friends were no longer pursuing or engaging in criminal activities. He outlined the importance of finding constructive and meaningful ways to fill his time to promote desistance. 				

Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason outlined the protective influence of employment in his life, keeping his mind ‘occupied’, providing a sense of purpose and increasing daily structure. 				
Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Planning for the future Forward-thinking 	‘I think there’s another couple of months left or something...’ (sessions with YJW)	‘Want to just stay in construction’ (5 years) ‘have my own house and settle down...new start and fresh start’ ‘I feel quite confident... I feel different than what I did before’ ‘I feel positive going forward now. More than what I did a couple of years ago... when I come out before I thought I was just going to get back in trouble again’.	Mason explained he feels positively about the future and confident in his ability to desist from further criminal activity. He is able to visualise he future and believes he has something worth working towards. Mason attributed associated his ability to desist to his mind-set and self-belief in going straight.
Interpretative comments and reflections: perceived relevance to main plot (criminal and desistance pathways) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mason expressed self-determination and confidence in his ability to desist from further criminal activity. His narrative whilst talking about the future was self-orientated, ‘I feel positive’, ‘I feel different’, ‘I feel quite confident’ indicating that he feels responsible for his future outcomes. He conveyed his desire for a ‘fresh start’, however, one might question how easy it is to achieve this clean slate in the eyes of society once you have been labelled an offender. 				
Risk and protective factors highlighted within this chapter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Similarly to Jack, Mason’s future plan involved increased independence and autonomy. Having clear goals and achievable aspirations is likely to have provided a positive influence on resettlement as it supported his reconstruction of a prosocial identity. 				

4.7.1. Summary of findings from Mason's narrative re-storying in relation to his developmental pathway

Mason stated that his childhood was, 'all good and then my mum died'; he 'switched', started 'lashing out' and would 'go round fighting'. He linked his increased feelings of anger with his school exclusion; 'they just kept on kicking me out... made me... get more angry'. Mason's exclusion from school increased his association with deviant peers; he stated, 'because I wasn't in school in the day, used to go out with the lads from the estate... just go round fighting'. Mason started smoking weed during adolescence which he explained, 'changes your mental health'. He described his anti-social, aggressive acts as a 'release' because he 'didn't have nothing to calm... down', indicating that his behaviour served an emotional regulation function.

In custody he had an opportunity to become free from substances as he stated, 'I didn't take it when I was inside'. He also gained a sense of structure through a 'strict routine'.

Mason's period of transition from custody was described as 'strange', and after 22 months of desistance, he found himself back inside after committing a TWOC (taking a vehicle without consent) offence with friends that he described as 'something to do... everyone was bored'.

Since his release, he highlighted that employment was as an important factor as it, 'keeps my mind off things', indicating that having a meaningful way to spend his time was of importance and supported legitimate aspirations such as having his 'own place'.

Figure 12: Thematic map: Mason

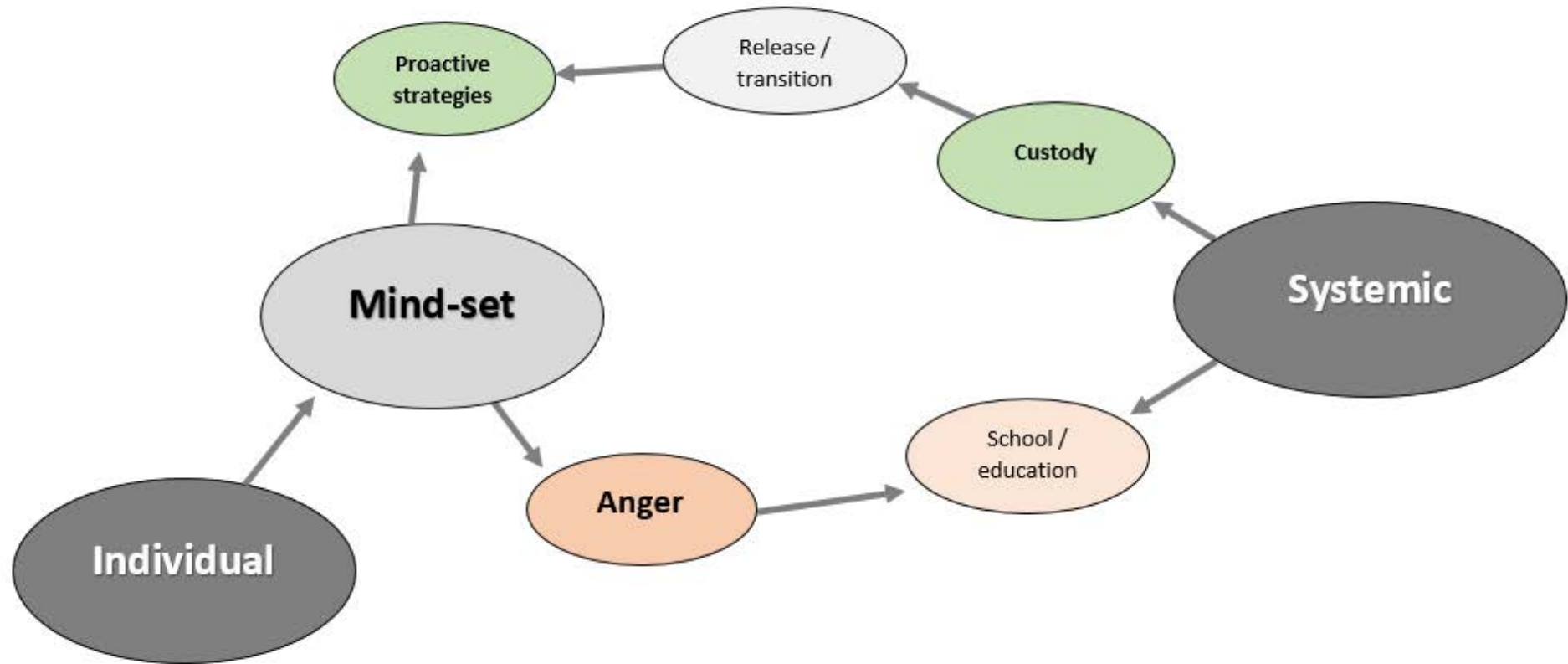


Table 33: Themes abstracted from Mason's narrative

Main theme	Sub-theme	Supporting / exemplar quotations	Description / interpretation
SUPERORDINATE THEME: SYSTEMIC			
Custody	Release / transition	<p>'it's a big shock and that because you don't really know anyone'</p> <p>'You do like to lessons, you have break... another two lessons'</p> <p>'they (staff) all used to be sound'</p> <p>'when you get restrained... have to go to your room for the rest of the day...next day, you are allowed out, fresh... sound with you again... they just forget about it...'</p> <p>'I had support all the way through'</p> <p>'drug sessions...go through...what it does to harm you... it was useful...'</p> <p>'A little bit (prepared for the transition), but not as much as I thought I would be'</p> <p>'When you were allowed out but it was just like a little cage, like a little football hut... It felt a bit strange'</p>	<p>Going to custody was described as a 'big shock' which required a period of adjustment. Mason outlined that support was in place for him throughout his sentence, including clear routines, education, and drug sessions. He described staff as 'sound', explaining they did not hold a grudge and would allow a new leaf to be turned over each day.</p> <p>Mason described not feeling as prepared as he had hoped when released. He described the 'strange' feeling of being put of tag and still having his freedom restricted.</p>
SUPERORDINATE THEME: INDIVIDUAL			
Mind-set		<p>'thought I don't care about my life no more, I can do what I want'</p> <p>'because I was young, and I didn't think about it'</p> <p>'I just started thinking differently'</p> <p>'since I come out of that, I just thought, think of the future'</p> <p>'everyone was bored...it's just something to do'</p> <p>'I used to just ignore everyone....never really used to listen to no one.... I wish I'd listened to them... if I'd listen to them, I wouldn't be in where I am'</p>	<p>Mason described a shift in his mind-set, from only thinking about the present moment (committing crime was just 'something to do'), to now thinking about the future and consequences of his actions upon himself and others.</p> <p>Mason linked his lack of previous foresight to his developmental stage and lack of maturity. His exclusion from school affected his perception of self-worth, recounting thoughts such as, 'I don't care about my life no more'.</p>

		<p>'here and now.... That's all I used to think about. I didn't used to care about (other people), now I do...'</p> <p>'I feel bad, feel bad for the people and the stuff I've done, but, I just couldn't help it'</p> <p>'I know I can get through it, whatever comes in front of me'</p> <p>'I don't get tempted... don't see the point... if I hurt them, it's just going to go back down the same route...'</p> <p>'I think why did I even do it... waste of my time'</p> <p>'when I come out... I thought there's no point doing it (weed). It's a waste of money'</p>	<p>Mason displayed an ability to reflect on his past behaviour and expressed remorse for his actions and the impact upon his victims. He wished he had listened more to others instead of acting impulsively in the moment. Mason conveyed a positive outlook and a degree of confidence in regard to his future prospects. His time in custody reportedly helped him give up drugs and reflect on his behaviour.</p>
Anger / aggression	School / education	<p>'it was all good, and then my mum died and that when I was seven... And then I just went downhill. I started fighting at school and out in the community and stuff. Just get my anger and stuff out'</p> <p>'I started fighting at school and out in the community... Just get my anger and stuff out'</p> <p>'Kept switching and going into my own zone to fight'</p> <p>'kept on kicking me out... made me like get more angry... I just kept on fighting'</p> <p>'at the time, it was a release...'</p> <p>'I started smoking weed.. about 11 or 12' 'it changes your mental health and stuff'</p> <p>'I kept on getting excluded and that for fighting'</p> <p>'I wasn't in school... used to go out with the lads from the estate... fighting'</p> <p>'I chilled out there... wasn't a big place'</p>	<p>Much of Mason's childhood was characterised by aggression. He described having a temper he could not control. He indicated that his anger stemmed from his mother's death and was fuelled by his exclusion from school.</p> <p>Mason made links between smoking cannabis, his mental health and criminal behaviour.</p> <p>School was described as a place that ostracised Mason, he was excluded because of his behaviour. The time he spent away from school increased his opportunities for criminal involvement. His experience at the special school were described more positively, as a place where he 'chilled out'.</p>

Proactive factors / strategies		<p>‘just meet new people and stuff’</p> <p>‘I try and stay away from people that are doing bad things’</p> <p>‘I do more work, and keeps my mind off things... I like to be occupied’</p> <p>‘I’m off drugs... best way for me’</p> <p>‘It would just be a lot longer sentence... don’t want to have the hassle of it ‘Maturity... Because it makes you think, makes you think properly’</p> <p>‘they ain’t got nothing else to look forward to’</p>	<p>Mason described a range of strategies he has adopted to help him refrain from any future criminal activity including meeting new people, staying off drugs and keeping his mind active.</p> <p>An awareness of the punishment that could occur should he commit another crime, reportedly acts as an effective deterrent. Mason outlined that he has a new circle of friends that he has created, keeping away from those who are still in trouble with the law.</p>
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4.7.2 Thematic analysis of Mason's narrative

Mason similarly outlined individual *proactive strategies* and *custody* as facilitating factors in his life-story narrative.

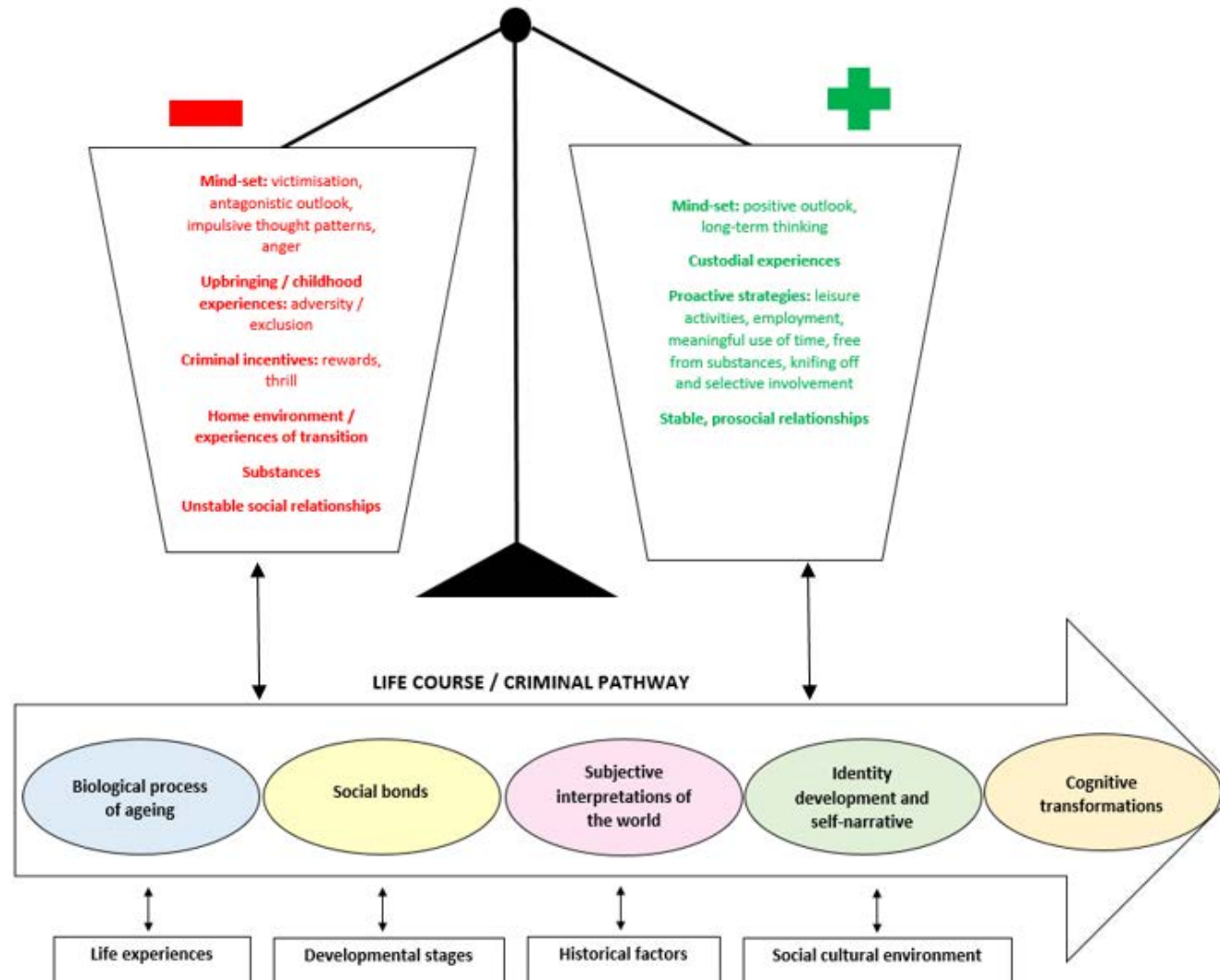
Custody was described as a supportive environment where he received professional support for substance misuse and educational input. He stated that he 'had support all the way through'.

Since release from custody, Mason reported a range of *proactive strategies* that he used to facilitate desistance and navigate temptations within the community, including remaining free from substances, meeting new friends, and distancing himself from previous social networks; 'I try and stay away from people that are doing bad things'.

Mind-set was again outlined as a bidirectional influence; when committing criminal acts, he described a short-term view of life and did not care about himself or others, 'here and now.... That's all I used to think about'. In comparison, he reported that he now thought of the future, could reflect upon his past actions, and felt remorse for previous deviant behaviour; 'I feel bad... for the people and the stuff I've done, but I just couldn't help it'.

Mason attributed his previous crimes to an underlying *anger*, developed as a result of his mother's passing, and the social exclusion he had experienced throughout his life; he stated 'my mum died... and then I just went downhill. I started fighting at school and out in the community'.

Figure 13: Summary of protective and risk factors abstracted from YP's narratives, within the developmental psychopathology theoretical framework



4.8 Discussion of findings from RQ1

See Figure 13 for a summary of protective and risk factors abstracted from YP's narratives, within the developmental psychopathology theoretical framework (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6).

4.8.1. Background / childhood

Consistent with literary findings (see Section Chapter 2, Section 2.5.5), participants' home environments were commonly described as: unsettled; chaotic, and detrimental to their wellbeing. Experiences of growing up were characterised by loss, rejection, separation, and bereavement. All of which reportedly created instability, a level of uncertainty and an increased need for belonging. Briere (2002) found that parental unresponsiveness or physical unavailability can result in long term psychological distress due to unmet needs (love, attachments, and nurture), which can result in an increased sense of emptiness, desire for connection and sensitivity to rejection.

Furthermore, all three participants had been excluded from a maintained school, attended a specialist educational setting, and lacked academic qualifications prior to custody. Mason described how he was 'kicked out' of school, and Jack described how his school, 'didn't want me to come back', inferring a degree of experienced rejection and segregation from mainstream society. During this unsettled period, participants described getting in with 'the wrong crowd' (Jack), turning to substances and seeking positive reinforcement through alternative criminal pathways; strategies which may have been used to mask their emotional vulnerability (Briere, 2002). Once participants had taken this pathway, it was portrayed as having a spiralling affect. The combination of substance abuse (which appeared to numb their consciousness and fuel distorted thought patterns), alongside instantaneous rewards and the

emotional release associated with criminal acts led participants further down the metaphorical rabbit hole.

4.8.2. Turning points

Numerous turning points were highlighted, leading into and away from crime. Life experiences which appeared to accelerate criminal trajectories included: loss, grief, and rejection. The meanings participants attached to turbulent family circumstances and events were linked with increased risk taking. For example, Luke repeatedly referred to his mother's drinking habit, which reportedly fuelled a short-term outlook on life, substance-misuse, and gravitation towards deviant peers. This is one example which highlights the interplay between broader contextual factors and individual experiences, as family environments were not always supportive of an individual's desire to change (Abrams, 2012).

Custody was highlighted as another significant turning point within YP's narratives. Support received in custody reportedly focused on meeting individual needs, developing skills and prioritising mental and physical health. Even though participants gained practical qualifications which possibly increased their marketability for employment, less emphasis appeared to be placed upon support for emotional and social skills. Provision for these areas of development were reportedly indirect, for example, through connections built with professionals.

4.8.3. Custody

As highlighted within the literature, custody itself did not appear to act as a deterrent (Taylor, 2016b, Meek 2007); participants returned time after time. Both Mason and Luke indicated they were not ready for release after their first period in custody and had little

confidence in their ability to go straight. After multiple sentences, Mason and Luke spoke of the deterrent of a 'man's prison' and the knowledge that their next sentence would be more serious if they were to be convicted again.

Custody was described as a 'way out' (Jack); an opportunity to come off the self-destructive merry-go-round, get clean from substances and reflect on their life trajectories. participants conveyed positive experiences of custody as close social bonds were formed with professionals, and opportunities were available for skill development and educational pursuits (Unrah et al, 2009, Todis et al, 2001). Not all custodial experiences were viewed as easy, however; for example, Luke's reconviction led to a contrasting experience involving harsher regimes, compared to previously being 'mollycoddled' during sentences. Interestingly, the increased expectations were received positively and acted as a deterrent for Luke (see Table 30, Release, transition and re-conviction).

Participants' journeys through the YSE differed; for example, Luke received sentences further away from his home and had periods in foster care. Luke's foster care experience created yet another loss and period of readjustment. Jack described how he 'didn't want to go home'. This statement provided some insight into his own family experiences and the type of environment he was likely to be returning to.

4.8.4. Emotional impact of transition

Custodial release was described by the three YP in this study as a period of disorientation and reorientation, for which they felt underprepared; all three participants used language to describe their experiences, which suggested disorientation as a key element of their journey through the YJS. For example, Luke used the term 'mad' 49 times within his narrative to describe his experiences. This finding is consistent with previous

research which highlighted the bewildering effects of transition (Hampson, 2016, Bateman and Hazel, 2015).

All three YP described a strangeness on release: 'it was mental, the cars looked like they were f**king flying' (Jack), 'I was happy, yeah, but it did feel a bit weird' (Mason), 'I didn't know what to do...weird...I'm used to being locked up' (Luke). For Luke, the lack of certainty experienced upon release, led to a desire to remain in custody; 'you just got into a routine where it's like, I don't really want to be leaving' (Luke). Rather than acting as a rehabilitative aid, incarceration appeared to diminish participants' confidence in their abilities to navigate daily life challenges and increased their reliance upon others. This is congruent with conclusions drawn from existing literature, which suggests that contact with the YSE can increase a young person's likelihood to remain within the system (Taylor, 2016, Meek, 2007).

Release from custody was described as a period laced with fear, anxiety, and low self-esteem (Hampson, 2016, Inderbitzin, 2009, Abrams, 2006). Luke highlighted how he longed to remain in the routine associated with the custodial environment. The sense of safety and security inside left participants feeling unprepared to navigate risks independently in the outside world. Different strategies were employed by participants to aid desistance, including: prosocial leisure activities (e.g. fishing, football, paintball); selective involvement with peers; remaining free from substances; keeping busy; investing greater time in social relationships (e.g. Luke spending quality time with his father); and creating their own structure in their daily lives. ETE played a significant role in developing confidence, providing a meaningful way to spend their time, and increasing exposure to pro-social others.

4.8.5. Social and environmental factors

What appeared to have made transition more difficult for participants, was the lack of structure in their lives upon release. Having a clear routine in custody was linked to reducing boredom; 'you're thinking about... completing the tasks... it keeps your mind off... different things' (Mason). Routine was viewed as a promotive desistance factor, for example, Jack stated 'when you've got nothing to do, you think, I'll go and do this then, f**k it there's nothing better to do', increasing the temptation of crime. This indicates the causal interaction between environmental (structure, routine), and individual factors (sense of purpose, motivation).

Re-creating a sense of routine and structure in the outside world was difficult for participants to achieve due to the dependency upon wider systemic opportunities and/or constraints. Consistent with previous research findings (Hampson, 2016, Abrams, 2006) and LA statistics (WYJS, 2017a) (See Chapter 1, Table 5), not all participants had ETE placements upon release; for example, Jack was released in June but had to wait until September to start his college course, during this period he reoffended. This indicated that lack of immediate ETE placement, can result in an absence of structure and increased free time, leading to greater experienced temptations and lowered motivation (Panuccio et al, 2012, Inderbitzin, 2009). Without ETE in place, onus is on the individual to navigate the challenges and risks associated with increased free time, highlighting the importance of prior planning to ensure smooth transitions.

4.8.6. Influence of intra-personal factors, interaction with environmental factors and outcomes for the YP

Participants' narratives varied regarding the degree of experienced autonomy over past and future actions; for example, Luke conveyed a strong sense of individual responsibility for change, 'if it was my mates that was making me do things, I'd still be out there now to this day doing it'. In contrast, Jack's narrative was characterised by external blame towards systemic factors; for example, Jack directed culpability at the YJS for presenting a barrier to desistance and willing him to fail, minimising the degree of perceived free-will. The belief that authorities and members of society were against him, may have caused his disregard of societies' rules, disconnecting him with mainstream society and resulting in an antagonistic view of the world. Ironically, the more crimes he committed, the less accepting and supporting members of society were likely to be (Maruna, 2001). One may hypothesise that this became a self-fulfilling prophecy for Jack; he believed that other people thought he would fail and therefore, his actions were consistent with this belief. That said, Mason and Luke had similar experiences, but used perceived stigma as motivation to prove people wrong (see Section 4.8.7). Demonstrating the importance of individual, subjective factors upon social factors (LeBel et al, 2008).

4.8.7. Stigma

Despite participants' expressed intentions to move on with their lives, the label of offender was seemingly hard to shift (Terry and Abrams, 2017, HMIP, 2015). For example, Luke outlined, '...my name got brought up straightaway, because my past...I know I'll have to deal with that for a good few years'. Similarly, Jack stated, 'the police are bringing me back in for no reason'. Both Mason and Jack made reference to being placed on an electronic tag

upon release, signifying that they were judged as a member of society who could not be trusted without increased surveillance; a physical reminder of their identity as an offender and the societal distinction between 'us' (law abiding citizens) and 'them' (criminals).

In support of Hampson's (2016) findings, continued offence-focused YOT work was interpreted by participants as having a detrimental impact upon forming a non-offender identity; 'it's embarrassing... got to go and meet your YOT worker...their thinking, oh he's still getting into trouble... It takes too long' (Luke). Likewise, Jack stated, 'I want to go out and get work now and I feel like I can't because I've got these sessions to attend every day'. participants referred to both the practical constraints (obtaining employment) and the social connotations (increased stigma) attached to prolonged involvement with YJ professionals, which should arguably be considered within future practice.

4.8.8. Subjective-social interaction between factors

Subjective factors (e.g. self-determination, motivation, resilience) appeared to precede participants' ability to make effective social changes (LeBel et al, 2008); for example, all participants gained employment opportunities yet how they responded to these differed. participants' ability to maximise their employment prospects appeared to be linked to their subjective interpretations, motivation and self-determination.

Luke's employment provided a great sense of achievement, helping to develop his confidence. He stated, 'I work around the area... when I go past something, I think, yeah, I did that... it makes you feel better'. Moreover, Mason described how others in the community 'respect' him more, indicating the experienced benefits of establishing an ex-offender identity. These personal and social benefits were judged to be too valuable to lose through continued criminal activity; consequently, employment served a social control

function (Sampson and Laub, 1993). These findings support the importance of social bonds, including ETE, to support individual change (Giordano et al, 2002, Sampson and Laub, 1993).

All participants found it difficult to articulate and specify which factors had affected their ability to make a positive resettlement; 'it's just mad. I don't know, I don't know what's made me change my way I am, it's just, I don't know' (Luke). Whilst Mason minimised the process of transformation; 'when I come back out, I just thought, I've changed, I'll be a changed person'.

All three participants made reference to a shift in their outlook on life and assessment of risk; more established decision-making processes and increased awareness of cause-effect links were highlighted; 'I think, if I hurt them, it's just going to go back down the same route' (Mason), 'that won't make you happy. I'm not spending my life in jail' (Jack). participants were therefore demonstrating an ability to weigh up risks and benefits associated with their actions, decision making skills that have previously been found to support one's ability to desist (Panuccio et al, 2012, Unruh et al, 2009).

Differences across participants narratives included: availability of 'hooks for change'; engagement with prosocial institutional opportunities (e.g. ETE); positive social relationships, and increased motivation to shed one's offender identity. These results support McMahon and Jump's findings (2017) and Giordano et al's (2002) theory which highlighted the role of 'hooks for change' in prosocial identity development and establishing a new non-offending life trajectory.

4.8.9. Changing identities

Consistent with Maruna's (2001) findings, all participants appeared to have a conflicted locus of control, between taking responsibility and creating excuses and/or minimising their actions. When referring to criminal acts, all participants conveyed a degree of relinquished individual responsibility, by referring to deviant behaviour as shared, joint ventures; for example, Jack stated 'we used to throw stuff at their vans', 'we'd do it together', 'egging each other on'. Participants neutralised their behaviours by rationalising that 'everyone' was doing it (Maruna, 2001).

Within Jack's narrative, he tussled with accountability, stating that he would never want to use his life events and maternal loss as an 'excuse', yet, he outlined that losing your mother 'f**ks you up'. This internal conflict indicated that despite wanting to take ownership, he deemed his behaviours as out of his control. Jack outlined that after his mother's death he was vulnerable and got in with the 'wrong crowd', providing a legitimate reason for his actions that was aligned with conventional societal values. Furthermore, he expressed that he felt 'bad' about his actions and acknowledged they were 'wrong'. By expressing remorse, his behaviour may be deemed more socially acceptable (Maruna, 2001).

Jack and Mason outlined their intentions to prove authenticity (Maruna, 2001), 'I would want to do school again... so I could like, prove a point' (Mason), 'I proved my mum and everyone around wrong' (Luke). This self-determined attitude to verify oneself as an 'ex-offender' can be contrasted to Jack's defeatist attitude; 'my past, my criminal record, it could prevent me from getting certain jobs... are they gonna let a contractor go in to houses and do bricklaying who's a previous burglar? probably not'. Whereas, Luke dispelled these

reservations and referred to the benefits of being perceived as a reformed character; 'they can trust me and leave me in there on my own, which is nice... they see you've changed'. This highlighted the importance of other people's perceptions to the young person in their desistance pathways.

It is known that Jack went on to reoffend, maintaining approximately four weeks in the community before re-arrest. One might question whether this was enough time for him to develop generative pursuits, an element found to be key in desistance narratives (see Chapter 4, Section 4.9.4). Jack had not yet started full-time ETE, he was left with increased spare time and few meaningful pursuits. The excitement and thrill that he received from offending had not been replaced. Available employment opportunities for Jack upon release were comparatively unfulfilling, he stated that labouring was not going to be 'fun'. His negative perception of alternative pathways available to him, may have increased the likelihood of pursuing further criminality, to seek a sense of empowerment, excitement and achievement that appeared to be missing from his life as an ex-offender. This places importance upon current practice to establish viable alternative options, which are viewed as appealing and incentivising for YP.

YOs' ability to visualise their future and set achievable goals has previously been linked to desistance (Unruh et al, 2009). participants future goals included increased independence through stable employment, marriage, and accommodation. participants' confidence in their ability to achieve their goals seemed to vary; for example, Jack identified numerous barriers which could prevent his dream from becoming a reality. In comparison, Mason said he felt 'positive' and 'confident' moving forward. Increased confidence to change has previously been linked with successful desistance (McMahon and Jump, 2017).

For Mason and Luke, the longer-term benefits of shifting their identities from 'offender' to 'ex-offender' were evident through the increased 'trust' and 'respect' gained from others, seemingly improving their confidence, perceived self-worth and self-esteem.

Consistent with Haigh's (2009) findings, participants' shift to an ex-offender identity required sustained changes in their thoughts, perceptions and actions.

4.9. Implications for practice from RQ1

4.9.1. Developmental Psychopathology Framework

The developmental psychopathology framework (Cicchetti, 1984) provides helpful ways to conceptualise the similarities and differences between YP's narratives (see Chapter 2, section 2.6). Developmental psychopathology considers the role of socio-cultural factors which shape individual pathways, encompassing the interactive role of internal and external factors that have been emphasised within this research.

The concept of 'multifinality' or 'equifinality' can aid understanding of individual differences across participants criminal and desistance pathways (see Chapter 2, section 2.2). participants in this study shared some similar life events (loss, grief, school exclusion, custodial sentences), they were from the same area and began committing crime at approximately the same age (see Chapter 3, Table 21). Yet participants described diverse lived experiences, leading them to different points within the desistance continuum. Furthermore, all three participants may eventually achieve long term desistance, however, how they arrive at that destination might be different. Arguably, it is important to recognise and understand the multi-directional influences across the life span to successfully influence future outcomes. See Figure 14 for a visual representation of equifinality within this study, depicting a range of diverse factors (including life events and experiences), which can lead to desistance and persistence pathways.

The significance of adopting a developmental psychopathology approach to working with YOs was highlighted through the findings. All three participants described difficulties with developmental tasks typically associated with adolescence, including: understanding cause and effect, judging risk, and controlling impulses. Whilst participants were committing crimes they reported a short-term, impulsive mind-set, reckless behaviours, uncontrollable and disproportionate aggression, and minimising estimations of danger. These difficulties have been linked to trauma responses from childhood events (Wright et al, 2016b).

4.9.2. Cumulative Disadvantage

Findings highlighted that YOs' life trajectories are not linear, instead they are full of twists, turns and challenges. Each life event can have multiple external and internal consequences, creating a 'snowball effect' (Sampson and Laub, 1997). For example, incarceration or school exclusion, may be part of a cycle of influence and disadvantage (see Figure 15).

participants' pathways were littered with risk factors and adverse life experiences, which I believe impacted their ability to navigate and successfully overcome developmental tasks. Higgins (2003) stated that disturbed family functioning, and/or childhood maltreatment, is linked to increased negative growth experiences and maladaptive responses in adolescence. Furthermore, Briere et al (2008), highlighted that cumulative traumatic events in YP's lives can result in complex intertwined difficulties during adulthood, as risk factors can persist and even magnify over time.

Although it was not studied in the current research, there is also evidence to suggest childhood adversity can impact upon brain development and cause greater levels of aggression and anxiety, that may lead to increased self-destructive behaviours (e.g. substance

misuse) (Liddle et al, 2016); indicating a gene-environment interaction within YOs' cumulative cycles of disadvantage.

Arguably, it is important for professionals to consider how support can interject cycles of disadvantage, to minimise cumulative effects. Adolescence is a period of transition when biological and psychological systems are restructured. It therefore provides an ideal opportunity for professionals to support YP's life trajectory realignment, and to establish a more competent developmental pathway (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002).

4.9.3. Turning points

From the current findings, it would be difficult to distinguish whether structural changes preceded agentic changes or vice versa: a dilemma highlighted by LeBel et al (2008) as to which came first, the chicken or the egg? What is emphasised within the findings, is the importance of 'hooks for change' or turning points in creating new prosocial life trajectories. The hooks for change within Luke and Mason's narrative, arguably held projective qualities (Giordano et al, 2002).

Employment provided participants with greater opportunities to be surrounded by prosocial others. Employers conveyed an important message by offering second chances and adding credibility to their pursuits of a non-offender identity. A vast array of benefits were associated with stable employment, including: increased confidence; greater independence; financial gains; exposure to prosocial others; a sense of accomplishment, and heightened self-esteem. In contrast, Jack, who was not in stable ETE, highlighted the difficulties associated with increased free time and lack of purposeful activities. Jack did, however, refer to some form of employment opportunities. Therefore, it is important to note that exposure to prosocial opportunities alone does not necessarily ensure successful desistance attempts. Equally, some YP may make positive resettlements without exposure to such prosocial factors, highlighting

the importance of individual differences (Giordano et al, 2002) and the concept of multifinality within the developmental psychopathology model.

YP's ability to access and/or maximise prosocial opportunities as potential catalysts for change, is variable depending upon their personal perceptions, interpretations, and motivations (Giordano et al, 2012). Desistance focused work should arguably place greater emphasis upon YOs' experiences; this could be achieved by incorporating their voices and creating opportunities for collaboratively co-created interventions which acknowledge the role of personal agency alongside the importance of hooks for change and turning points (MCMahon and Jump, 2017, McNeil, 2006, Farrall, 2002).

4.9.4. Identity transformation

Findings from RQ1 provide support for identity transformation theory of desistance (Maruna, 2001); Jack's narrative consisted of numerous elements associated with a 'condemnation script' including: emphasis upon societal prejudice; a future that had been pre-written (dependent upon life chances); minimal personal control over outcomes; a sense of victimisation and the quest for happiness through material gains or experiential thrills. In comparison, Luke and Mason's narratives communicated a greater sense of autonomy over their futures, increased belief in their ability to achieve desired outcomes and had established higher, prosocial purposes.

To maintain a sense of personal equilibrium, changes in identity from offender to ex-offender, are likely to be incremental and involve gradual evolution (Maruna, 2001). Luke, who at the time of the study had the longest period of desistance, did not reject his old identity but used it as a point of reference, explaining how his previous experiences had contributed to his new sense of self. Luke had found meaning in his past behaviours; rather than running from them, he appeared to use them as a catalyst to 'make good'.

YJ interventions may be required to strengthen YP's ability to create and commit to reformed identities. Autobiographical or narrative approaches to therapeutic work with YOs may be helpful to support the process of identity reconstruction.

4.9.5. Redefining desistance

It is important to note that there were a greater number of similarities between participants' narratives compared to differences, highlighting the parallels between YOs' lives (see Appendix 19 for further exploration of similarities and differences). All participants communicated a desire to change, an understanding of their role and agency within the change process, and a level of remorse for their actions. The similarities shared between participants, indicates that, despite their varying extent of desistance, all three participants were on the same continuum, yet they had become involved with the current study at different points (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Barry, 2007). This raises questions regarding the usefulness of the term desistance which assumes a clear distinction between a 'desister' and 'persister'; it may be 'erroneous to assume there are vast and enduring differences' between them (McMahon and Jump, 2017, p.11). Arguably these terms are unhelpful when attempting to understand YP's journeys through crime.

A new way of defining desistance is called for, that is more reflective of the varying stages and fluctuations across YP's journeys that often include zig-zagging in and out of crime. Formal monitoring of deviant behaviours or formal sanctions through quantitative data, is arguably an unreliable method to measure desistance. Instead, understanding the process of desistance from the perspective of YP goes a greater way to capturing personal growth and identity development.

Figure 14: Visual conceptualisation of equifinality within YOs pathways

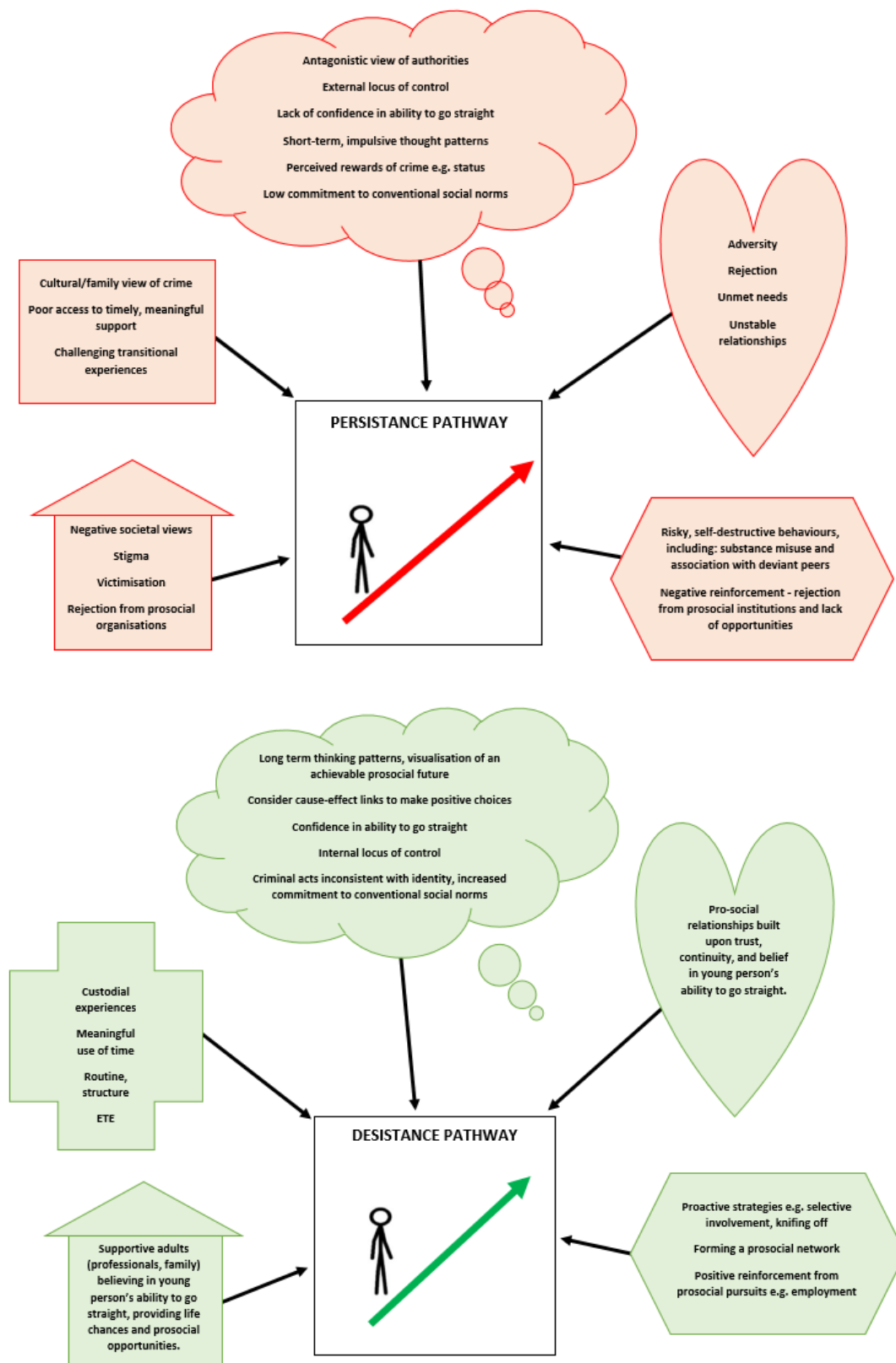
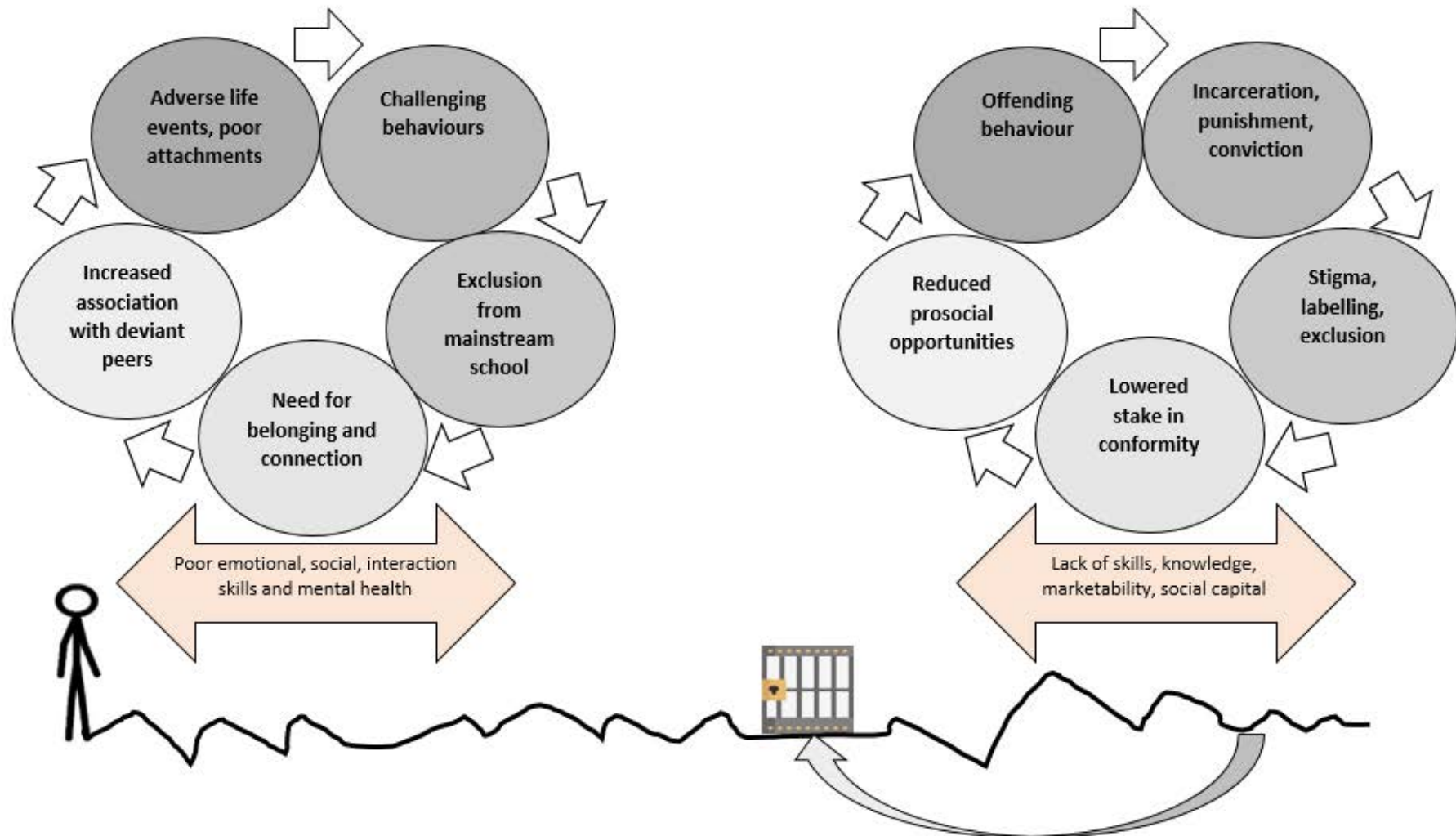


Figure 15: Visual conceptualisation of cumulative disadvantage across YOs life span



CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS: RESEARCH QUESTION TWO

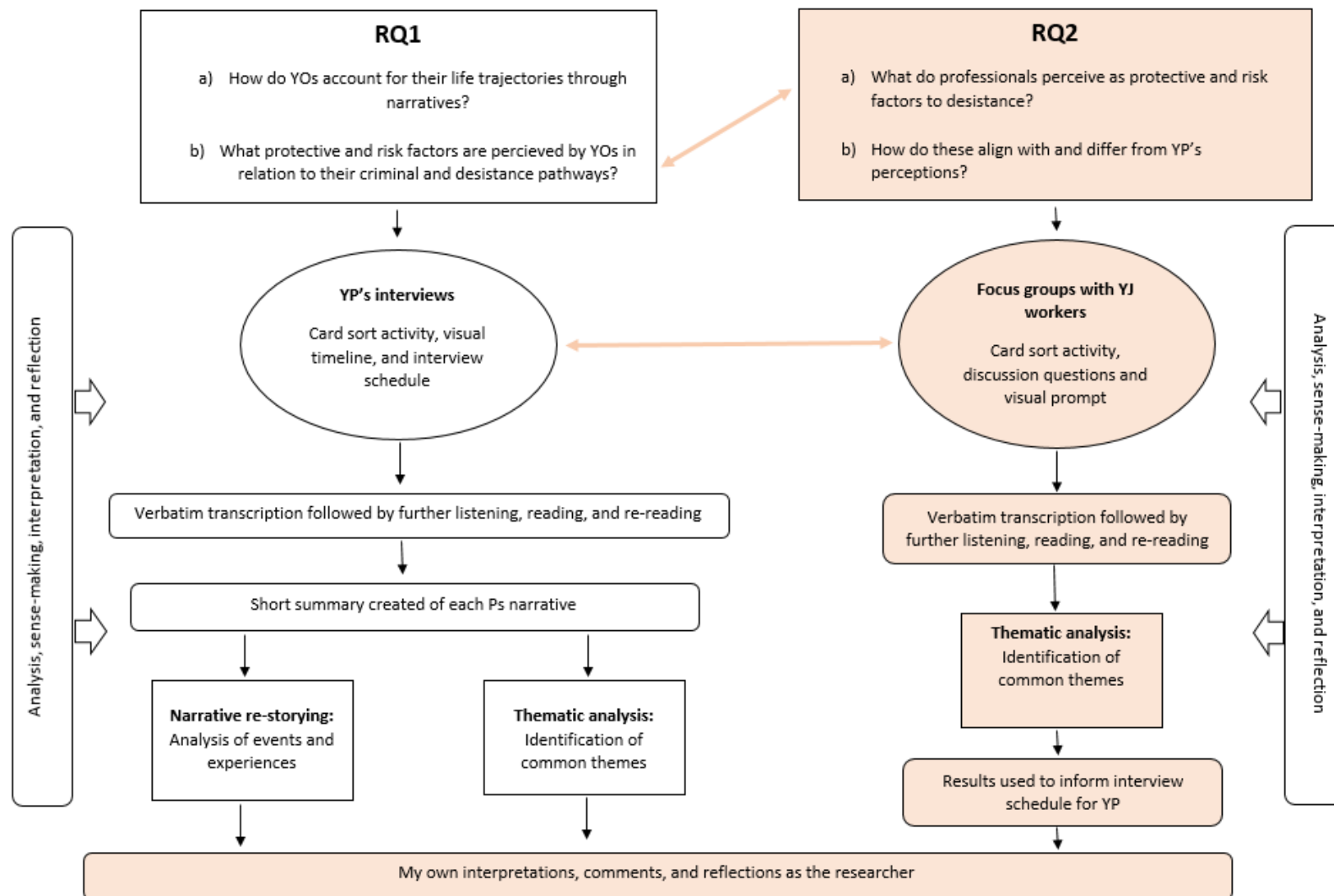
- RQ2: a) What do professionals perceive as protective and risk factors to desistance?
b) How do these align with and differ from YP's perceptions?

5.1. Overview

RQ2 aimed to explore what factors professionals believed to be important to desistance, and consider how their views aligned with, and differed from, YP's perceptions. Both aspects of this question have been addressed through a thematic analysis of the transcripts from professional focus groups (see Figure 16). This form of analysis enabled me to identify the most prominent themes and patterns from each focus group, aiding my understanding of the degree of importance associated with each desistance factor, from the view of professionals in the field.

For each focus group, superordinate and main themes are represented on a figurative map as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) to highlight the multidirectional nature of the factors abstracted. This is supported by a tabular representation of themes including direct quotations and my interpretations. A summary is then provided of findings from each data set, before addressing RQ2b (p.186). The chapter finishes by providing a discussion of results from RQ2 (p.188) and considering implication for practice (p. 190).

Figure 16: Map highlighting strategies used to answer RQ2



5.2. Focus Group 1: RQ2a

Figure 17: Thematic map: Focus Group 1

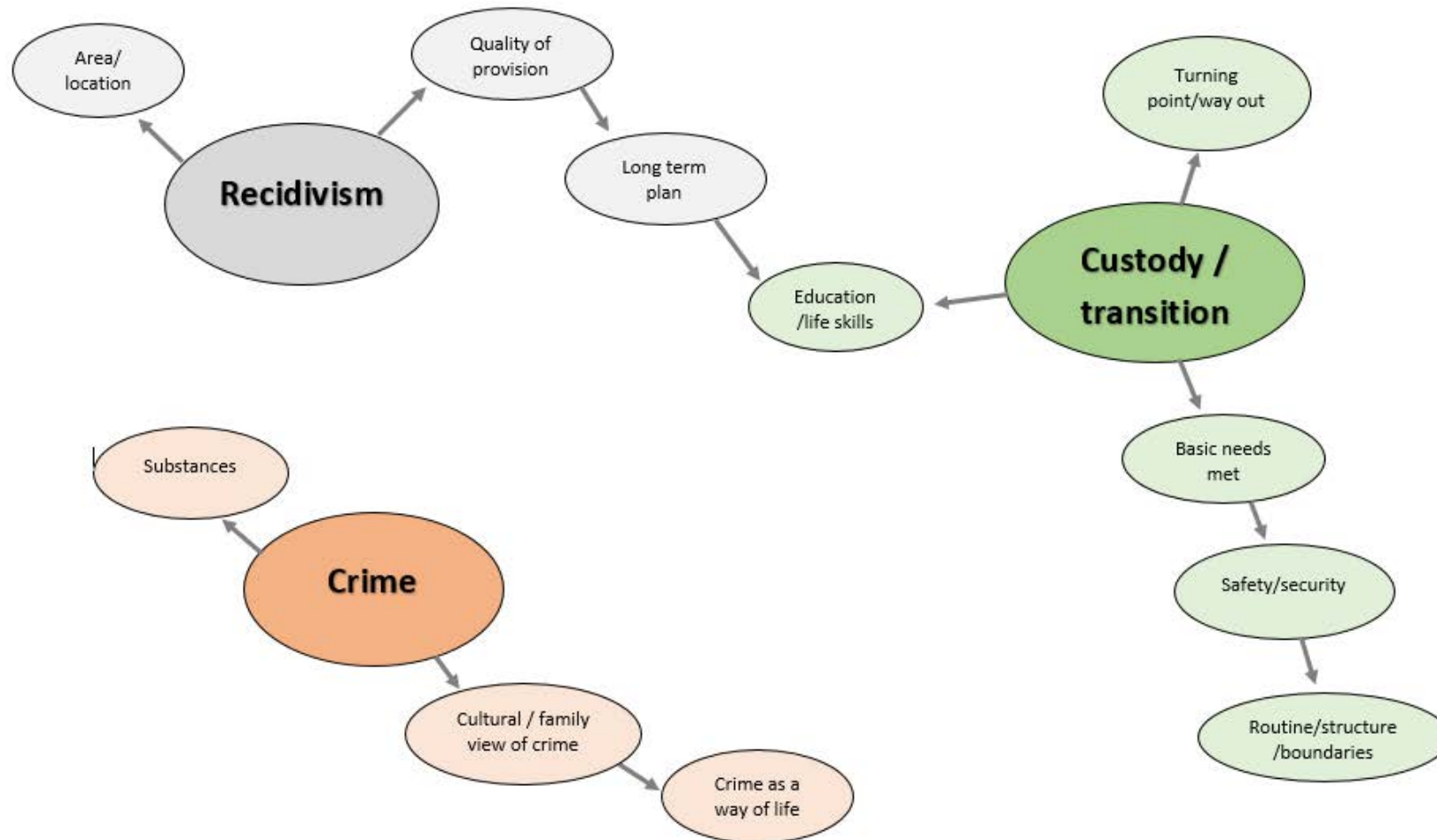


Table 34: Themes abstracted from Focus Group 1

Superordinate theme: Crime		
Main theme	Supporting quotations	Interpretation
Substance s	<p>‘what you see is a shift of individuals not using drugs whilst they’re in custody everything changes because they’re not on drugs, they’re not drinking, they’re not associating themselves with their peers’</p> <p>‘when you’re getting knock back after knock back it’s easier to go back to that life where they can make money dealing drugs’</p>	<p>Getting clean of substances during custodial sentences was perceived as a significant factor which helps YP to think clearly, reflect upon their lives and take control.</p> <p>On the outside, the temptations of selling drugs and earning a better an income or avoiding knock backs from employers may be difficult to resist due the instantaneous financial gains.</p>
Crime as a way of life	<p>‘It’s so difficult to challenge those patterns of behaviour isn’t it, even if you’ve been out of them for 12 months, to suddenly go back into them, it’s still easy.. ‘</p> <p>‘It’s easier to go back to what you know rather than try hard to do something different...’</p> <p>‘So even if they’ve got good intentions, how difficult is it if you’re parent is saying, come and have a beer you haven’t had a beer in 12 months’</p> <p>‘the most difficult factor is if they just see it as... it’s just expected, i’ll be in and out of custody probably for the rest of my life...’</p> <p>‘I think returning to an environment that hasn’t changed has to be solely... the biggest’.</p>	<p>Professionals outlined the difficulty YP face when they are returning to environments where nothing has changed – they may have chaotic home lives, family and friends who encourage or promote criminal behaviour – it is easy to fall back into the same patterns of behaviour when the systemic factors around you are the same. For some, crime becomes a way of life, a path they are bound to.</p>
Cultural / family view of crime	<p>‘the travelling community... it’s the expectation is on that YP that you will provide for your family in the way we have always provided through crime’</p> <p>‘if you’re returning to an environment where the family is pro criminal, to a peer group who are pro drugs and alcohol...’</p> <p>‘Particularly the traveller community... it’s taken for granted that</p>	<p>Professionals highlighted that for some YP, they have a culture which advocates criminal behaviour, it is expected that they will be in and out of custody their entire lives. Professionals referred to the traveller community, as they believe within this community crime is often viewed as an important way to provide for your family. For these individuals, who do not see custodial sentences as a deterrent, their experience in custody</p>

	<p>that's part of life, that they go into custody and come out again and it doesn't seem to phase them'</p> <p>'its lifestyle isn't it, culture, we've got, even not travellers and they just deal with it how they deal with it, they're just consistent all the way through...'</p>	almost seems irrelevant to them.
Superordinate theme: Transition (from custody to community)		
Turning point/ way out	<p>'it was a place of safety, where he could actually sit and reflect on behaviour... it was a kind of moment of realisation I suppose that things needed to change'</p> <p>'when he got into custody, reflected about where he was at... if he hadn't been stopped and put into custody he probably would of ended up dying or committing serious offences because he was so entrenched in that lifestyle'</p> <p>'removing himself from the group... he wouldn't of been able to do that off his own back because of what loyalty he probably would have had, to be then taken out... it gave him an easy way out of that group...'</p> <p>'going into custody removed him from that risky situation and gave him that time... to reflect about where he was in his life and what risk he was putting himself at, so for him it was really positive '</p>	Custody can reportedly provide a safe haven for YP, remove them from negative external influences, provide them with a secure base in which they are no longer amongst temptations. Custody can provide a reflection point, a way out for these YP to take stock of where their lives are heading and provides them with the space that they may decide to do something differently.
Education /life skills	<p>'they learn a lot of skills in there because they're in education, and the education is tailored to their needs, so it does, that kind of focus, particularly in secure training centres (STCs)'</p> <p>'There are rotas... they learn how to mop a floor, they learn how to put their own washing in the washing machine... They feel safe with the routines and the boundaries don't they... '</p> <p>'a lot of the YP we work with haven't got any qualifications, when they're in custody one of the good things they do get is their basic English and maths, so they get a certificate, which gives them a</p>	Professionals thought one of the best aspects of custody was the educational provision available for YP. Many of these YP have been out of education for many years, this affords them the opportunity to gain some basic, relevant qualifications which can help them progress on the outside in career paths. In addition, custody provides clear boundaries and structure. YP are given responsibilities to promote independence and increase their life skills, taking responsibility for self-care i.e. washing.

	starting point'	
Basic needs met	<p>'I can definitely think of a few young people who felt really settled and really relaxed in custody'</p> <p>'everything changes because they're not on drugs, they're not drinking, they're not associating themselves with their peers'</p> <p>'they are in a routine where they get up early, eat 3 meals a day'</p> <p>'it was a place of safety'</p> <p>'almost see it as a break from life somewhere to actually refocus, rest, actually get clean... be looked after, be warm, be dry, be fed... Those basic needs.'</p> <p>'Maslow's hierarchy of needs... if you think about those basic needs of people who are homeless or living in chaos, those basic needs are met in a custody setting...'</p> <p>'Sometimes it's safer to go back... it's the place they've had structure, they've felt settled, they've felt safe... it can be quite tempting to go back in, where you know you've got those stable factors...'</p>	Despite custody being positioned as a deterrent/punishment, professionals described how many YP benefit from being in custody, it removes them from their chaotic lives and provides them with a secure base – somewhere they can be fed, come off drink/drugs, build relationships with supportive professionals, have a routine/structure in their lives and avoid the temptations/outside influences that promote criminal behaviour.
Routine/ structure/ boundaries	<p>'They feel safe with the routines and the boundaries don't they...'</p> <p>'Routine's huge, you think of children when you have kids and people say love and boundaries, love and boundaries, and it's absolutely true, love, boundaries, rules and routine'</p>	Professionals outline the beneficial effects of the strict routines and boundaries in force in custody which provides a sense of security and safety for these vulnerable individuals. YP respond well to the clear expectations, alongside, rewards and consequences.
Safety/ security	<p>'they almost see it as a break from life somewhere to actually refocus, rest, actually get clean, y'know, be looked after, be warm, be dry, be fed... Those basic needs...'</p> <p>'Sometimes it's safer to go back, y'know, it's the place they've had structure, they've felt settled, they've felt safe, they've come back out to the chaos, reality of life, actually it can be quite tempting to go back in, where you know you've got those stable factors... '</p>	The safety/security offered in custody was deemed as an attractive quality of custody for YP. This environment may be a stark contrast to home environments and provide them with a secure setting in which to replenish, get clean, improve their physical and mental health etc.

Superordinate theme: Recidivism		
Area/ location	<p>‘for the YP to feel they have to remove themselves from the family system, the peer system... is massive, it’s really difficult and like we said we can’t move all our YP’</p> <p>‘It depends where they go, because if they go to the local one (like XXX, custodial institution) then it’s easy’</p> <p>‘If I think of the YP I’ve worked with locally, if I think of those who have gone into XXX have actually done... fared... ..better... because the support and family contact can continue’</p> <p>‘you can get other services that you want to link that YP to into, they might be willing to go into XXX because its local, whereas they won’t go further afield’</p> <p>‘if they’re local it’s easier to logistically arrange’</p>	<p>Professionals spoke about both the pros and cons of YP being released and returning to their local area. In their local area they can benefit from community, family and social support, however, they may be surrounded by the very people they were offending with or who present temptations which can make them more likely to re-offend.</p> <p>Services can take a more collaborative approach and offer YP continuity if they are local. However, local placements or home environments are not always the best place for the YP to be or conducive to a life on the straight and narrow.</p>
Long term plan Quality of provision	<p>‘you can throw a child into custody but if nothing happens to them whilst they’re there and they’re left flailing with no plans for when they come out... if there’s no plan then the plan will always be to return to what you had before’</p> <p>‘It’s having nothing set up for them either, if we haven’t done our job whilst they’re there, getting them into education...’</p> <p>‘he wasn’t so nervous then coming out... had something to do... if nothings set up its quite easy to go straight back in again...’</p>	<p>Professionals explained the importance of YP having something to go on to – whether that be education or employment, having a positive route mapped out ahead through prior planning and preparation for transition.</p>

5.2.1 Summary of findings from Focus Group 1

5.2.2. Barriers to desistance

Consistent with national statistics (see Chapter 1, Table 5), professionals in Focus Group 1 described YP in the YJ system as having: poor self-esteem, low confidence, poor mental health, and lack of optimism, which highlighted their perception of the vulnerability of this cohort. Professionals emphasised how easy it was for YOs to ‘go back to what you know’ and revisit old habits when they were released from custody to ‘fit in’ and regain a sense of belonging. Desistance from crime can reportedly require the individual to sever ties with family, friends and existing support networks. Professionals highlighted that YOs are subject to social pressures, including peer influence; often, the friends of YOs are still engaging in anti-social behaviour and it can be challenging for YP not to get attracted back into that way of life.

Custody was described as a ‘place of safety’ and positioned as a break for YP from their often chaotic and disordered lives; time within the YSE provided an opportunity to ‘get clean’, gain life skills, experience a sense of achievement in education and benefit from clear rules and routines. Professionals indicated that the level of care experienced by YP in the YSE may significantly differ from that which they are accustomed to. Consequently, YP can become institutionalised and struggle with transition into the outside world; professionals spoke of YP’s temptation to breach conditions of their community order, so they could return to the safety and security of custody. One participant stated, ‘it can be quite tempting to go back in, when you know you’ve got those stable factors’.

Professionals posed a valid question: if the reason or function of the crime has not changed, then why would their behaviour? For example, if a young person is originally offending for financial gain and upon release, find themselves in financial hardship whilst struggling to find legitimate work, it is understandable why YP find returning to criminal activity so appealing. One participant highlighted that it is, 'difficult to challenge those patterns of behaviour'. The lack of opportunities which await YP on the outside, including poor employment prospects or alternative pathways, can reduce YOs' motivation to desist.

Professionals outlined the role of wider systemic factors such as culture, community, and social norms upon a young person's offending behaviour. Furthermore, participants recognised the multidirectional dimension of numerous factors which could present as either supportive or hindering influences.

5.2.3. Facilitating factors

Professionals emphasised the role of family as a facilitating factor, in terms of: practical support (attendance at court); attitudes (expectations and beliefs), and background (criminal history of parents). It was inferred that YOs would have a better chance of making a positive resettlement if: family members played an active supporting role; held high aspirations for the young person, and there was no criminal offending history within the family.

Furthermore, professionals outlined custody itself as a positive influence because it removed YOs from their crime and substance-abuse cycle and harnessed a period of reflection, alongside an opportunity to develop their self-esteem.

Through restorative justice practices, professionals indicated that they could support YOs' ability to develop victim empathy, a factor believed to have a positive effect on desistance. Remorse for one's crimes was viewed as a helpful step towards reform, however, a certain level of maturity and abstinence from substances were deemed prerequisites for effective reflection upon criminal acts.

Professionals stipulated that a change of area can be beneficial to aid the process of developing a new 'non-offender' identity; by moving to a new area, YP can reportedly avoid the influence of existing social networks, including gangs. Although, most YOs were believed to achieve more positive outcomes ('faired better') when they returned to their local environments, with the right support in place. Joined-up services and collaborative working was deemed paramount, alongside effective preparation for release.

Accommodation was also viewed as an important factor, alongside continuous support, and consistent supportive relationships with professionals.

5.3: Focus Group 2: RQ2a

Figure 18: Thematic map: Focus Group 2

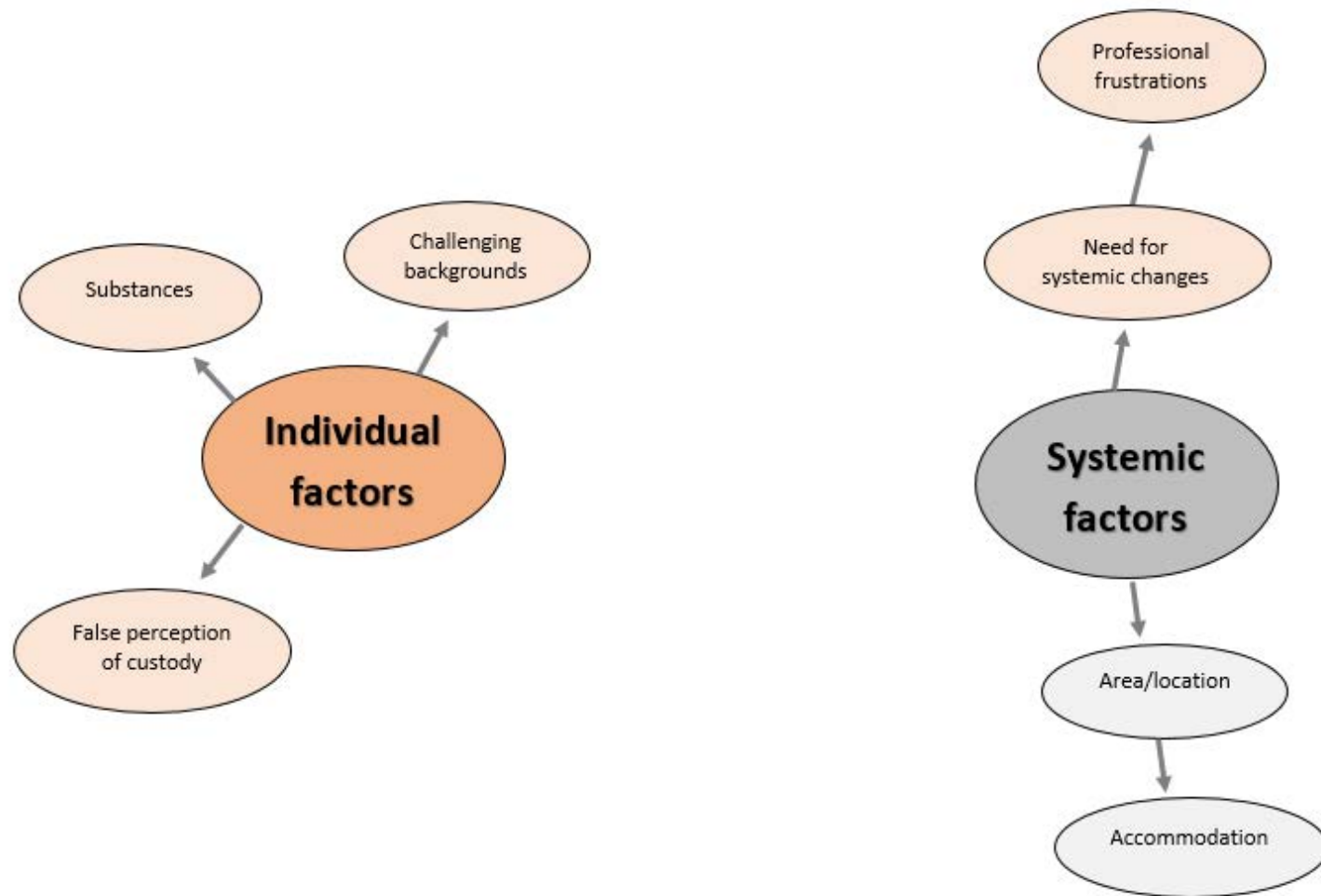


Table 35: Themes abstracted from Focus Group 2

Superordinate theme: Systemic factors		
Main theme	Supporting quotations	Interpretation
Need for systemic changes	<p>‘we have young people who have order after order after order... we’re looking at is why the order works for one person and not another young person and why do we keep doing the same thing on the orders knowing that that’s not working’</p> <p>‘instead of waiting for it to actually go to custody and then looking at it... it needs to be done before then... a lot earlier’</p> <p>‘if we keep doing the same, same-old same-old then we are going to keep getting the same-old same-old’</p> <p>‘what we’re doing now doesn’t work so we’ve got to do something differently’</p>	Professionals referred to the high reoffending rates, system failings and the requirement for urgent changes in practice. Promotive, preventative measures were believed to require more attention and focus. Professionals highlighted that things need to be considered and executed differently as the impact of their work is far from adequate.
Professional frustrations	<p>‘resources have impacted hugely on the work that we do’</p> <p>‘They talk about us being creative autonomous practitioners but we’re not and we’re so governed by knowing that people will complain at a drop of a hat, that we’re having to check ourselves all the time’</p> <p>‘I feel like I’m banging my head against a brick wall... we need a whole change in our approach, how we’re approaching these YP’</p>	Despite the desire to change their professional approach, participants highlighted how they are constrained by the framework in which they work and wider systemic factors. These restraints cause professionals to feel frustrated. Lack of resources and budget cuts were mentioned as restraints upon creative working.
Area/location	<p>‘came out, did well initially, was in another area, started migrating back to the area he offended, and it wasn’t long’</p> <p>‘just keeping family contact sometimes is very difficult because they’re placed miles and miles away and the family don’t have the means to get there’</p> <p>‘it is very difficult to keep that sustainability going... when they’ve been so far away from home’</p> <p>‘we’re expecting them to live somewhere ridiculous and they say no – well that’s it, you’ve made yourself homeless because you’re not prepared to go there...’</p>	On one hand, professionals believed it is important for YP to stay local, so they have social supports and their family nearby. When they are placed far away from home professionals face difficulties continuing support and maintaining consistency for the YP. On the other hand, being placed back into the same area, around the same peers and social groups can promote continued criminal involvement.

Accommodation	<p>‘instead of getting palmed off from home to home to home, he feels now he has a base and he’s happy and contented’</p> <p>‘on their 18th birthday they’re homeless because the accommodation they’ve been offered is so far away’</p> <p>‘Its stable accommodation as well...’</p> <p>they can’t get accommodation, or they’re not seen as worthy of having accommodation or we’re expecting them to live somewhere ridiculous’</p> <p>‘18-21... you can’t go on a waiting list for a counsellor or your own tenancy’</p>	<p>Professionals highlighted the importance of accommodation in making a positive resettlement, however, aired their frustrations over some of the policies in place for vulnerable YP leaving custody which can leave them with unstable housing options or homeless.</p> <p>Participants were particularly passionate when it came to the transition for YP from custody into adulthood, they felt the support in place is suddenly pulled away and the system does not support these YP at this crucial developmental stage, especially those who are in care.</p>
Superordinate theme: Individual factors		
False perception of custody	<p>‘rather than hearing it through peers who may give a false representation, they can hear from people who have actually been inside’</p> <p>‘they can come out of custody and it’s a badge of honour, instead of saying that they were bullied inside which they might of... persuading YP that its actually an alright experience...’</p> <p>‘I had one who believed he would be given a key to his cell, so he could let himself in and out...’</p> <p>‘the adults that have been to custody... the picture that they’re giving him is it’s alright, you’ll do alright, so in his head – I’ll be fine’</p>	<p>Professionals highlighted how YP’s perception of custody is warped due to those coming out using it as a ‘badge of honour’, misrepresenting their time inside to peers and adult influences. Programmes that gave YP a real insider’s view of custody and an opportunity to hear from people who have been inside are no longer running.</p>
Substances	<p>‘he thinks he’s going to get sent down... and he’s seeing it as a positive that he might be able to get off the cannabis if he was to go inside’</p> <p>‘the change in him, because ‘I can get through the day without cannabis, I can get through the day without smoking...’</p> <p>‘there was a significant substance misuse problem’</p> <p>‘if they could stay off drugs, we get so many drugs offences now...’</p>	<p>Professionals highlighted the strong link between substance abuse and criminal activity. YP coming off substances inside is a significant benefit of custody, an opportunity to get clean and overcome addiction.</p>
Challenging backgrounds	<p>‘the prison population is over represented by children in the looked after system’</p> <p>‘school can’t cope with them, parents can’t cope with them so they end up in the care system and often care can’t cope with them and so they</p>	<p>Professionals highlighted the complex presentations of YP in custody and high emotional vulnerability resulting from very challenging backgrounds. These YP have often experiences high levels of rejection, through their family, community, schooling and social</p>

	<p>will end up somewhere else'</p> <p>'it's the ones who have a very narrow view of life... they only know who they know... you haven't got particularly educated families here...'</p> <p>'A lot of our kids, when you look at their history they've got so much rejection in there and they just feel no one wants them'</p> <p>'these children often haven't got families around them that want them or anything to do with them'</p> <p>'sometimes family isn't the right place for some YP'</p>	<p>groups. Often home environments are unstable and damaging. There is a large proportion of YP on custody from the looked after system.</p>
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5.3.1 Summary of findings from Focus Group 2

5.3.2. Barriers

Professionals expressed frustration at a failing system and constraints (including budget cuts) that limited their way of working; one participant stated, 'I feel like I'm banging my head against a brick wall... we need a whole change in approach'. Continued professional support is not always available in the community, especially for those transitioning into adulthood and professionals highlighted, it could be difficult for YOs to engage with services in the community; for example, children's services cease their support at age 18, which can present difficulties with accommodation and resettlement.

The stigma imposed by society was viewed as a significant barrier to desistance; professionals reported that YP as a collective population, often experience isolation because of societal views. Furthermore, YP within the YJS have often experienced high levels of rejection from: family, care systems and education; 'school can't cope with them, parents can't cope with them, so they end up in the care system'. participants highlighted that many YOs return to substance use when released, as a coping strategy to manage adversity.

YOs often have low self-esteem and do not believe they are capable of a life outside of crime. Professionals indicated that this view is then compounded through societal influence, highlighting the interconnected factors which affect desistance. In addition, crime may appear to be a more viable, beneficial option as YP may be able to make more money through deviant acts than they are pursuing legitimate employment opportunities.

5.3.3. Facilitating factors

Participants highlighted the importance of ‘trauma informed’, holistic practice; taking into consideration the range of diagnoses, presenting difficulties and experiences faced by this complex cohort over their developmental life span.

Similarly to participants in Focus Group 1, professionals highlighted the advantageous aspects of the custodial environment including routine, structure and stability. YOs gain an opportunity to: engage in educational activities; achieve qualifications and experience a sense of fulfilment. Whilst in custody, YOs were described as a ‘captive audience’, as they were free from substances. Again, the role of parents and family support was emphasised alongside stable accommodation upon release.

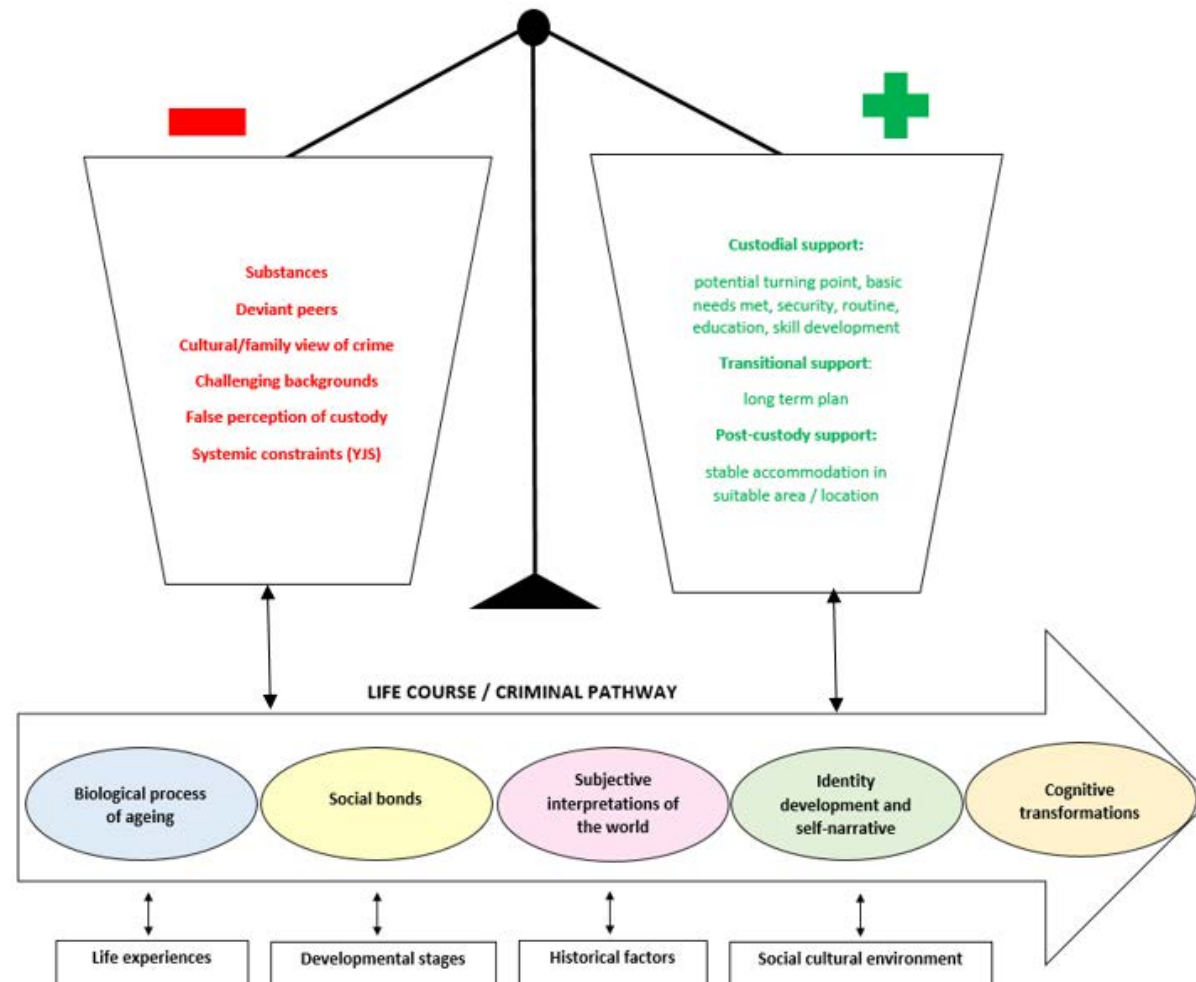
See Figure 19 for a summary of protective and risk factors abstracted from professional focus groups, within the developmental psychopathology theoretical framework (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6).

5.4. RQ2b How do professional views align with and differ from YP’s perceptions?

Common factors that were abstracted from both professionals and YP’s accounts included: *custody, environment or area, substances, and background/upbringing*.

I have interpreted that both professionals and YP placed emphasis upon the importance of substances within criminal pathways, as they can: form a barrier to desistance; diminish long-term thinking, and the ability to reflect upon their actions.

Figure 19: Summary of protective and risk factors abstracted from professional focus groups, within the developmental psychopathology theoretical framework



Both sets of participants highlighted that challenging backgrounds and life events could heighten vulnerability and pose a threat to positive resettlement. Furthermore, the importance of residential location upon release was stressed, highlighting the benefits and risks associated with being placed back into the same environment where the young person offended.

YP's narratives placed greater emphasis on the role of relational supports (relationships, social support), and individual factors such as mind-set and personal desistance strategies. In contrast, professionals focused more heavily upon practical supports (long-term plan, accommodation), cultural factors (norms, patterns, societal views) and systemic influences (professional frustrations and need for change with YJS), adopting more of a holistic view of the interactional factors surrounding YOs upon release.

Findings indicated that what professionals and YP view as the most important components for successful desistance may differ, which could lead to misaligned priorities within practice. Despite these differences, professionals from both focus groups did identify relational and social supports within the card sort activity as being significant (see Table 36), however, this did not emerge as a stand-alone theme within professional accounts.

5.5. Discussion of results in relation to RQ2

5.5.1. Focus Group 1

In line with Maruna's (2001) theory of identity transformation, professionals highlighted that custody could provide a supportive environment that enabled YOs to change how they think and feel about themselves and an opportunity to create a new script. Although professionals added a caveat consistent with Giordano et al's (2002) theory, stating that the opportunity of a custodial sentence is not enough by itself to create positive

outcomes. Instead, it would reportedly depend upon each unique individual's interpretation of their time in custody and their ability to use this time inside as a vehicle for change; for example, if YOs have assigned themselves to a life in and out of jail, and this is viewed as the norm within their social circles, a young person is reportedly less likely to utilise their sentence as a turning point or opportunity for identity change.

Findings were consistent with Sampson and Laub's (1993) social bonds theory, inferring that employment can provide a significant turning point for YOs.

5.5.2. Focus group 2

Consistent with results from the systematic literature review (see Chapter 2, Figure 3), 'mind-set' was raised as a significant barrier to desistance; in particular, YOs' lack of foresight or ability to visualise their future can result in short term thinking patterns with little regard for future consequences.

Supportive of Maruna's (2001) findings, participants stipulated the importance of: individuals valuing their own lives; having a sense of purpose and direction; feeling accepted within society and gaining a sense of belonging. Furthermore, professionals viewed relationships held between YJ workers and YOs as beneficial, when based upon trust and consistency.

In line with Sampson and Laub's (1993) theory, the formation of romantic relationships was believed to support desistance, due to an increased sense of responsibility and motivation, providing an incentive to desist and serving as a social control function.

Professionals emphasised the need for flexible, community-based support for YOs that are easily accessible, rather than clinic-based sessions which rest upon a medical model (Taylor, 2016b). Participants believed that sustained support across custody into the

community was key, ensuring that there was an effective resettlement plan in place for each young person.

5.6. Implications from RQ2

5.6.1. Alternative approaches to custodial practices

Questions have justifiably been raised regarding the role of custodial sentences in equipping YP with the necessary skills for successful transition. Taylor (2016b) called for a systemic change, to view YOs as ‘children first, offenders second’ (p.19). Are punitive, non-voluntary custodial environments conducive to rehabilitation? Arguably not, considering the current and previous findings which indicate that YP often follow a zig-zagged journey in and out of custody, returning multiple times (Maruna, 2001). Considering the broader challenges faced by this population upon release, can more be done to support YP to increase their protective factors, and provide environments which support their trajectory and enable optimal success? Are we, as a society too narrow minded or judgemental to condone truly rehabilitative practices, as opposed to punishment?

What would desistance focused, rehabilitative practice look like? Arguably, greater importance needs to be placed upon emotional and psychological support within custody and the community. YOs need support to develop effective strategies that will aid the pursuit of a non-offending pathway, regardless of existing socio-cultural and environmental risks. However, solely placing the emphasis and responsibility for change with the person least equipped to successfully implement this change (the young person), seems ineffective and unethical (Todis et al, 2001).

Table 36: Differences between YP's and professionals' responses to the card sort activity

	Summary of responses and discussion stemming from card sort activity	Reflections / comments
Focus groups with professionals		
1	<p>The first focus group applied the theory of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943) to organise the factors in order of significance. This theory suggests that for individuals to actualise their potential they must have their physiological, safety, love and self-esteem needs met first (in hierarchal order). Factors which were linked to meeting YP's basic needs were highlighted as the most important in YP's successful desistance pursuits. Family, accommodation, and independence from substances were picked out as the most influential factors.</p> <p>participants also added three of their own factors. <i>Professional support</i> and <i>relational support</i> were believed to be of the same ranking as <i>family</i>, <i>accommodation</i>, and <i>independence from substances</i>. One participant highlighted that YOs can develop a 'massive attachment' to their YJ workers. participants reported that their relationships with YJ professionals are different because they are 'constant' and will not give up on them like professionals in other settings (e.g. schools where they might be excluded).</p> <p>The group expressed the difficulty in rating the range of factors as all were believed to be of equal importance. The second factor the group added was 'type of crime', although participants thought this held lower significance. The group decided that most factors would be ordered differently depending upon the individual young person.</p>	<p>It was interesting that participants adopted a strategic approach to ordering the factors by applying a psychological theory. This provided a level of insight regarding how professionals understood YOs' behaviour and the hierarchal layers of support that needs to be in place to achieve desistance.</p> <p>It was noted that the participant who mentioned professional relationships was an EP and spoke of her experiences as a professional outside of the YJS, referring to her own observations regarding the importance placed upon these relationships by YP.</p>
2	<p>participants from Focus Group two also expressed that all the factors identified within the literature were 'all important', 'interlinked' and 'equal' to YP's successful desistance. For example, substance use was linked to mental health. Professionals inferred that by supporting a young person's mental health this would likely reduce their substance intake. Due to the perceived inter-related nature of factors, participants decided to put them 'in a big long line', however, one participant did make a distinction between mental and emotional factors compared to practical factors.</p>	<p>Focus group two's discussions which stemmed from the activity were hinged upon the need for change within the YJS and wider systemic constraints. For example, when referring to involvement in research and the desire to use findings to shape practice, participants one participant outlined that they 'need permission to do things differently' within the current framework</p>

	<p>participants thought that psychological and emotional factors were highly important and often linked to YP's ability to source, engage or maximise practical or social elements. For example, one participant outlined that before YP become involved in leisure activities such as sport, they need a prerequisite level of confidence and self-belief. participants explained how offending support for YP is focused upon a narrative approach, helping them to 'make sense of their past' and rebuild their experiences in a positive light.</p> <p>Within the discussions related to the task, participants also briefly referred to trauma informed practice and the recent research they had been involved in which they were awaiting feedback from and hoping to embed results into their practice.</p>	<p>in which they are working. These discussions indicated feelings of frustration and a distinct lack of professional autonomy.</p> <p>I was interested to hear of the use of a narrative approach within YJ work and the perceived relevance of this approach by professionals who work closely with the population of YOs, providing support for a narrative approach towards YP's interviews.</p>
Young people's interviews		
Jack	<p>Jack picked out a <i>sense of purpose</i>, 'you need a dream really, you need to picture where you want to be', <i>confidence to achieve goals</i>, <i>social supports</i>, 'can't do it all on your own' and <i>education/employment</i> 'helps you with structure'. Jack also added his own factor which was 'preparation' for release which he described as 'the main thing' to aid adjustment, reduce fear and increase YOs' ability to get 'back on their feet'.</p> <p>During this activity he also mentioned the significance of his relationship with his girlfriend and his desire to 'move on' with his life. Jack used anecdotes to explain why specific factors were important, for example, when exploring the role of <i>location and accommodation</i> he explained that one of the times he was picked up by the police was because he had stolen a car in order to drive back to his home town from a new location.</p>	<p>As I presented each factor in turn, Jack agreed that all factors were relevant.</p> <p>Whilst talking about the activity, he explained the interconnected nature of factors. For example, he linked motivation and self-belief. He explained, if you do not believe you are capable of anything better than 'why waste your time trying' to desist, 'you're not gonna bother'.</p>
Luke	<p>Jack highlighted <i>housing and accommodation</i> as the most important factors, because YP 'could be scared of that area', for example, if a young person was returning to an environment where previous gang members still lived, 'rather go back inside', 'bang, breach straight away'. He described accommodation placements as 'unfair' as 'you ain't given any option', indicating a lack of experienced control. Luke shared his knowledge of other offenders' difficulties and experiences, rather than his own in reference to this particular factor.</p> <p><i>Independence from substances</i> was highlighted as the second most important factor because</p>	<p>All factors were explained and collaboratively discussed with YP to make the terms used within the literature more accessible</p> <p>Luke asked when he did not understand the meaning of words. For example, when presented with 'remorse' he said 'I don't know what that means' indicating some communicative difficulties.</p>

	'you're a completely different person when you're drinking and when you're on drugs'.	
Mason	<p>Mason chose <i>maturity</i> as the most important factor because it 'makes you think... what is the point of doing it if you don't have to'. This indicated that he linked maturity with more advanced decision-making skills and greater awareness of cause-effect links between actions and consequences.</p> <p>When asked if there was anything else he believed to be important, he stated 'going out and doing things... keep my mind occupied' suggesting that limiting free time and increasing his ability to use his time meaningfully had been important to him in his pursuit of desistance.</p>	<p>Mason's responses were quite limited in response to the activity, which again may have been due to interaction difficulties.</p> <p>Despite not making explicit reference to ETE within his response, the importance Mason placed upon meaning pursuits indicated the pivotal role of ETE.</p>

Targeted support arguably needs to be focused at varying levels; for example, individual, family/care system and community. Family, carers, friends and/or significant others could be incorporated into custodial and community interventions, increasing their capacity to promote positive change (Unruh et al, 2009, Inderbitzin, 2009, Abrams, 2006). Communities also have a role in supporting YOs' transitions, and bridging the gap between custodial settings, by providing prosocial opportunities and supporting conforming aspirations (Inderbitzin, 2009).

Before bespoke interventions can be implemented, professionals need to gain a holistic understanding of YP's needs and strengths; this is consistent with the aim of AssetPlus (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1) which is designed to increase professionals understanding of the underlying causes/reasons for offending behaviours, and the range of risk factors faced by the young person (Hampson, 2016).

5.6.2. Toward a strengths-based developmental approach

Arguably, more importance should be placed upon supporting YOs' individual strengths and resources to create a shift from offending support, to desistance support (Taylor, 2016b); rather than focusing upon punishment, custodial sentences should arguably prioritise the enhancement of YP's psychological wellness, developing relational connections and building upon personal resources (Masten and Curtis, 2000).

YOs often belong to disorganised, impoverished communities which lack positive opportunities for YP to flourish (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3) (Wachs, 1996). Furthermore, YOs' lack of success in academia, heightens the requirement for alternative avenues to develop their strengths, personal resources and self-esteem (Siegel and Scovill, 2000).

Cowen (1994) outlined numerous factors related to YP's psychological wellness and competence, including: secure early attachments; wellness enhancing environments; acquisition of emotional regulation strategies, and empowerment to apply effective decision-making skills. Custody provides a valuable opportunity to promote strong connections between professionals, family members and YOs.

YP from turbulent backgrounds may not have had opportunities available to build successful, adaptive psychological, emotional, and cognitive coping strategies (Moffitt, 1993). Therefore, the stresses associated with transition are likely to cause high levels of anxiety which can cause YP to seek the comfort of their previous lives. Cognitive skills should therefore be targeted and supported during YP's sentences, to aid their capacity to effectively problem-solve, navigate risks and find solutions to daily dilemmas and temptations.

Evidence-based interventions are required which promote competent, effective resolutions to developmental tasks (Moffitt, 1993); for example, as highlighted in the current results, YOs will not necessarily remove themselves from previous social circles in their pursuit of desistance, but instead, may find ways to successfully navigate the influence of peers through techniques such as selective involvement. The development of such strategies has previously been linked with increased confidence to desist (McMahon and Jump, 2017).

5.6.3. Interactive framework

Themes abstracted from professional focus groups and YP's interviews, illuminated perceptions of a complex web of interaction between individual characteristics and socio-cultural influences. YP indicated that the influence of some factors upon the individual were multidirectional, for example, mindset (see Chapter 2, Figure 3). Arguably, the range of intertwined, facilitating factors and barriers highlighted within participants' (YP and

professionals) accounts can most accurately be represented through an interactional framework. Consequently, I believe Giordano et al's (2002) and LeBel et al's (2008) theories are most applicable of existing desistance theories to explain the process of desistance within the current study, as both place emphasis upon the causal interactions between subjective and social factors.

Professionals could benefit from using a developmental psychopathology framework within resettlement planning, formulation, and intervention. This could be used to conceptualise each young person's intertwined individual risk and protective factors, across multiple systemic layers, and over their life-span, to individualise targets, provision, and outcomes. Drawing upon the premise of developmental psychopathology may urge professionals to consider how life events and experiences have impacted upon a young person's development over time. This model could aid shared understanding between members of an individual's system (e.g. family and professionals) and support a holistic, collaborative approach to needs analysis. This framework is arguably consistent with recent LA initiatives to adopt an evidence based a model, which encompasses a long-term perspective of YP's needs across their developmental stages (e.g. trauma-informed practice, see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1).

Considering the range of complex influences that affect YP's desistance attempts and identity reconstruction, I have encapsulated these factors within a visual representation of the developmental psychopathology framework to illuminate the social, psychological, environmental, and emotional processes at play across different competing pathways (see Figure 20).

5.6.4. Relational support

Todis et al (2001) suggested that secure relationships with adults are crucial to this vulnerable cohort of YP due to the likelihood of unmet emotional needs from childhood and poor attachments with caregivers.

Consistent with previous literature (HMIP, 2016), YP in this study highlighted the importance of relationships with supportive professionals. Furthermore, participants indicated that it was important for supportive adults to believe in their ability to go straight. This provides support for Panuccio et al (2012) who found that social supports could positively affect YO's motivation to desist.

Despite early adverse life events often experienced by YO's, Wright et al (2016a) stated that secure, trusting relationships with professionals can aid their mental health, wellbeing and development of personal resources; 'a significant, long-lasting, positive impact can still be achieved even with highly traumatised young people whose development has been severely constrained as the brain's neuroplasticity means that it can rewire itself at least into an individual's late thirties' (p.7). YJ practitioners are urged to approach YP's challenging behaviour creatively, addressing the behaviour whilst minimising perceived rejection (Wright et al 2016a).

5.6.5. *Transitional support*

Custody was perceived by 'successful desisters' (Luke, Mason) and YJ professionals, as an escape from an otherwise turbulent life, providing a valuable opportunity for change (Todis et al, 2001). Transitional supports to aid YP's resettlement from a custodial environment (associated with increased security, structure and lack of independent decision making), into the outside world was, however, judged inadequate by YP and professionals.

This finding was consistent with previous conclusions drawn within the literature (Hampson, 2016).

Professionals in this study highlighted that the progress made by YP in custody was almost futile, because many are 'returning to an environment that hasn't changed'; the magnitude of temptations, challenges and risks which face YP upon release are undeniable (Hampson, 2016, Inderbitzin, 2009). Many YOs have lacked opportunities within their childhoods to build positive personal resources and lack the skills/qualifications necessary to be marketable to employers (Inderbitzin, 2009). For some, the number of socio-cultural risk factors upon release, may outweigh individual protective factors (Luther et al, 2000).

Findings from the current study indicate that to desist successfully from crime, YP may need to: rebel against family traditions; break or limit social connections; segregate themselves from their previous life, and/or form new prosocial bonds, all of which can cause a sense of fear, loss, and uncertainty (Hampson, 2016, Inderbitzin, 2009, Abrams, 2006). Consequently, professionals indicated that for YOs, 'it's easier to go back to what you know'. These findings pose wider questions about transition processes and resettlement planning, which Jack outlined was 'nowhere to be seen' (Jack). Greater emphasis should arguably be placed upon comprehensive planning for gradual, supported transitions using opportunities for phased returns to help acclimatise YP and prepare them for release (Hampson, 2016).

5.6.6. Continuity of support

Narrative accounts from YP in this study, alongside professional perspectives, supported the argument that custody alone is not enough to prevent re-offending. Custody represents a very short period in the context of an individual's life span (as depicted in Chapter 4, Figure 15). A short, intense period of support, whilst removed from the stresses

and temptations of normal life, is unlikely to facilitate sustained change. Instead, I believe YOs require support to implement changes within their home environment and social/cultural context.

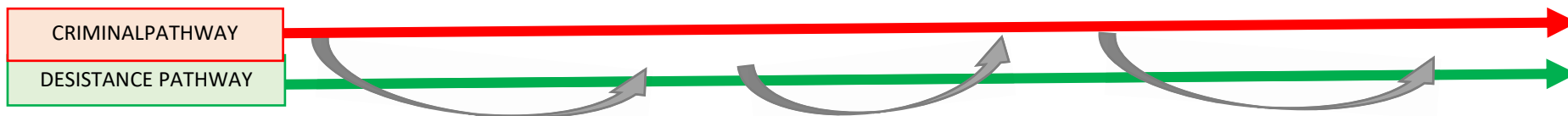
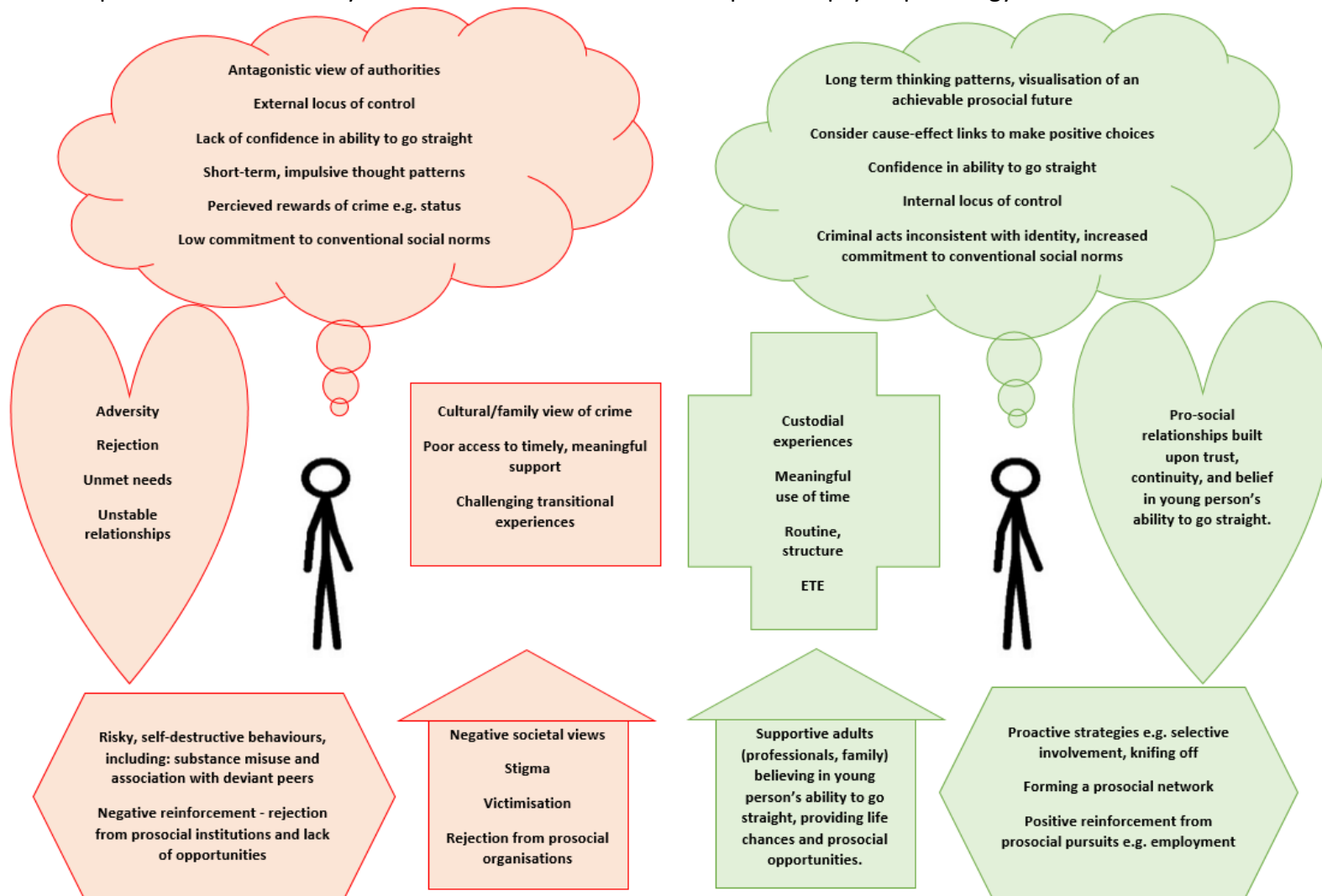
It is widely accepted that treatment benefits for YP rarely generalise beyond the intervention setting, unless support for generalisation and adaptation are included in the treatment plan (DiClemente and Velasquez, 2002). This links with key tenets of all systemic theories; that behaviour is produced by the system and is not a characteristic of the pathologised individual (Von Bertalanffy, 1968). Consequently, environmental conditions at multiple levels, across multiple contexts, need to be rebalanced to facilitate sustained change for individuals, and particularly those whom lack personal agency, social and cultural capital. Yet, findings suggest there is a lack of continuity between services across environments (custody and community) and YP's life span (Inderbitzin, 2009). For example, once YOs turn 18 years of age, they are transferred to adult probation services (Taylor, 2016b). There is 'no continuity of relationships or provision of services. Indeed, it is this very disjuncture between custody and community services which makes effective resettlement so rare, and reoffending often inevitable' (Taylor, 2016b, p.16). More support needs to be available in the community for YOs, to increase engagement through greater accessibility. A level of consistency must be achieved to provide YOs with wrap-around, multi-agency support across custody and the community (Inderbitzin, 2009).

5.6.7. Professional autonomy

YJ professionals communicated an in-depth understanding of the complex force field of risk and protective factors which face YP during rehabilitation; however, their voices appeared to have been unheard and/or undervalued. Arguably, professionals 'must be

equipped with sufficient powers, and then trusted to take the right decisions with the most challenging children, if they are to reduce reoffending and thereby create fewer victims' Taylor (2016b, p.5). Increased opportunities should be provided to utilise professionals' understanding of the complexities faced by this cohort, through greater autonomy and trust from those creating policies and shaping the direction of the YJS.

Figure 20: Visual representation of identity re-construction within the developmental psychopathology framework



CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Chapter overview

This concluding chapter provides a summary of the findings, before outlining the contributions of the current study to theory and narrative methodology. Practical implications are considered, including those for EPs. Methodological limitations are discussed prior to consideration of the trustworthiness and dependability of the findings and their interpretation. The chapter finishes with some personal reflections from the research process.

6.2 Summary of findings

YOs' narratives within this study indicated the important role of cognitions and mind-set in desistance attempts. This was highlighted as a bidirectional influence which could heighten the probability of re-offending (through short-term thinking, underdeveloped problem-solving abilities, and poor cause-effect links), yet also aid desistance (through long-term thinking, more advanced problem-solving abilities, and increased consideration of cause-effect links). The development of these cognitive skills was linked with identity development; by perceiving themselves as 'ex-offenders', participants seemingly adjusted their thought patterns to align with their new identity and redemption script (Maruna, 2001).

The development of a prosocial identity was influenced by 'hooks for change', including: social bonds (such as relationships with professionals, employers, and family); secure ETE, and meaningful ways to spend their time. Employment evidently provided a social control function for Luke and Mason, supporting desistance pathways. The extent to

which agentic changes preceded social changes was explored; for example, cognitive shifts (increased motivation and/or self-esteem) were linked with greater social opportunities, such as employment, although as noted above, the inter-relationship between these factors was evident. The effect, directional influence and importance placed upon each factor was different for each participant, emphasising the role of individual differences across criminal and desistance pathways.

Professionals highlighted the extreme vulnerability of YP within the YJS, recognising that many YP's childhood experiences were characterised by loss, bereavement, and trauma. These beliefs were consistent with YP's narratives within this study and are also widely reported in policy and research literature (Taylor, 2016b, HMIP, 2016, YJB, 2014a).

Upon reaching adolescence, all three YP were engaged in a spiral of criminality, risky behaviours, and substance abuse. Findings highlighted the process of cumulative disadvantage across participants' development, emphasising the impact of early adversity upon development of personal resources, and consequently criminal and desistance pathways. Despite zig-zagging in and out of custody, Luke and Mason explained a range of proactive individual strategies and social supports that made re-shaping their trajectories appear more achievable to them.

The important role of supportive professionals was highlighted across all three participants' narratives. Luke highlighted that having a professional who continually believed in his ability to desist was associated with increased self-determination and confidence in his own orientation. Trust, flexibility, and continuity were valued within Luke's relationship with his YJ worker.

Consistent with the rehabilitative goals of custodial sentences (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2), custody was highlighted as an opportunity to grow, reflect, and consider

alternative life trajectories; however, YP and professionals consistently reiterated that this experience was not sufficient to prevent re-offending. Furthermore, transition was highlighted as a disorientating and anxiety-provoking period, with which YOs had felt ill-equipped to cope, due to underdeveloped psycho-social skills and personal resources, alongside challenging environmental factors, and absence of meaningful support. Consequently, the security of a life 'on the inside' increased in appeal for Luke. Furthermore, the coping strategies adopted by Luke and Mason to aid successful resettlement, promoted isolation and segregation from the past associated from whom these participants had previously found social acceptance and companionship.

Societal norms, (negative) perceptions held of YOs and lack of prosocial opportunities were highlighted by professionals and YP as barriers to successful desistance. All three YP referred to experiencing stigma and hostile judgement within their community. Jack, who had the shortest period of desistance spoke of the impact of his sense of victimisation upon his commitment to conventional societal norms, rejecting the systems he felt rejected by. Prolonged involvement with YJ professionals was viewed by Luke as a barrier to identity reconstruction, due to ongoing reinforcement of his past self/identity.

Whilst YP in this study stressed the importance of their own, and workers' individual factors and relational support, professionals emphasised wider systemic constraints which prevent more collaborative working across the continuum from custody into the community.

6.3: Recommendations

Recommendations from RQ1 are outlined in Table 37 and RQ2 in Table 38. Suggestions made most frequently (three or more times) in extant literature are presented in purple font. See Figure 21 for a visual representation of how recommendations could be implemented to minimise cumulative disadvantage across YOs life span.

Table 37: Summary of recommendations from RQ 1

Practice recommendations	Research recommendations
<p><i>Pre-custody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Societal shifts are required in relation to how YOs are viewed, to ensure increased access to prosocial opportunities upon release (Inderbitzin, 2009, Maruna, 2001). Community work is recommended to reduce stigma and increase public empathy / willingness to give YOs a second (third or fourth) chance (Todis et al, 2001). • A shift in perceived purpose of custodial sentences is required, from offending focused to desistance focused to reduce stigma (McMahon and Jump, 2017). This shift requires a top down approach, providing professionals with clear guidelines (Hampson, 2017, 2016). <p><i>Custodial support</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interventions to be bespoke and tailored to individual needs and strengths (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Taylor, 2016b, Beal, 2014, McNeill et al, 2012, Meek, 2007) rather than providing a best fit of interventions readily available (Wright et al, 2016b) • Custodial interventions to support YP's development of navigational, problem-solving skills and proactive strategies to manage social relationships (e.g. selective involvement and knifing off strategies) (Abrams, 2012, 2006). YP require support to aid their understanding of cause-effect links, strategies to manage impulsivity and promote long-term thinking (HMIP, 2016, Unrah et al, 2009, McNeill et al, 2012). • Interventions to be targeted across different systemic layers, to increase impact, including 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researchers to consider the application of developmental psychopathology as an overarching framework to amalgamate the range of social and subjective factors within desistance theories. • Future research could explore the effectiveness of the developmental psychopathology framework within practice (e.g. use within needs analysis, formulation, planning and interventions). • Research to assess the effectiveness of transitional interventions which are targeted across systemic layers which start prior to release and continue long-term. • Research to further explore differences between professionals and YP's views. Moreover, to consider gathering parent/carers views also, to understand their perceptions and what support would be required for parents/carers to aid their ability to create a wellness enhancing home environment for YOs returning from custody.

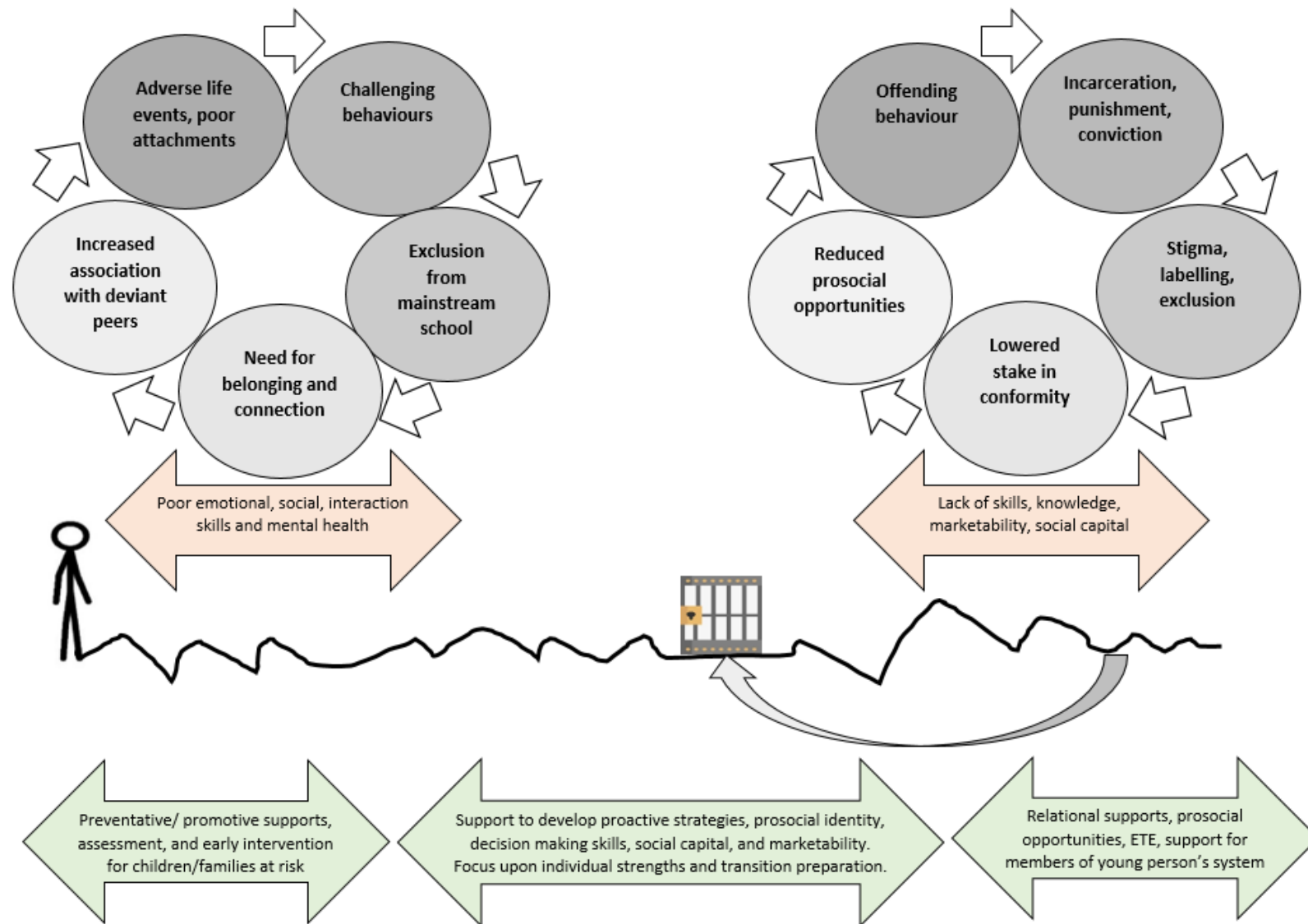
<p>individual, family/carers etc (HMIP, 2016, Unrah et al, 2009, Abrams, 2006).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater focus to be placed upon transitional supports (Abrams, 2006, Todis et al, 2001) and wrap-around community support (Inderbitzin, 2009). • Custodial and community interventions need to consider the systems in which the young person functions to ensure relevance to YP's sociocultural context (Meed, 2007). • Support to develop social capital including opportunities to practice and apply newly developed skills and knowledge (McNeill et al, 2012) • Need for increased multi-agency working (Hampson, 2017, Taylor, 2016b) <p><i>Post-custody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professionals to support increased availability of 'hooks for change' including prosocial opportunities upon release (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Beal, 2014, Todis et al, 2001, Unrah et al, 2009), for example, re-engagement with schools and colleges to provide YP with routine, structure, skill development and support • Importance of consistent relational supports across custody and the community. Vital role of prosocial, supportive individuals (professionals and family members) (Panuccio et al, 2012), who believe in the young person's capacity to go straight (HMIP, 2016, Todis et al, 2001) in order to aid motivation and self-belief • Importance of timely support post release, for example, immediate ETE opportunities available (Taylor, 2016b, Unrah et al, 2009). • Consideration of the length of YOT involvement to optimise successful outcomes and the length of time YO's have to declare their criminal history (Maruna, 2001) whilst reducing attached stigma. • Support for professionals is required to enhance their ability to support YP, strengthening their capacity to offer warm, open and stable relationships through increased training, balanced workloads and supervision (McElvaney and Tatlow-Golden, 2016). • Support to develop pro-social networks (Unrah et al, 2009) • Support for set-backs, relapses and challenges throughout desistance pathway, alongside realistic professional expectations (McNeill et al, 2012) 	
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Table 38: Summary of recommendations from RQ 2

Practice recommendations	Research recommendations
<p><i>Pre-custody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role and function of custody to be viewed as an opportunity to enhance YP's skills, personal resources and social capital, rather than serving a solely punitive purpose (Taylor, 2016b, Wright et al, 2016b). • EPs to support at different levels (individual, school, custody, community), including work focused upon early identification and prevention in educational settings and broader community (Beal, 2014, Ryrie, 2006) • Preventative work to be conducted to help identify and support YP at risk of offending (Todis et al, 2001) <p><i>Custody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater involvement of YP within interventions, so that YOs feel as though provision is designed with them as opposed to being done to them, aiding self-determination, and commitment to change (McMahon and Jump, 2017, HMIP, 2016, McNeill et al, 2012). • Interventions within custodial environments could support identity development through autobiographical and narrative approaches (Beal, 2014, Maruna, 2001) to help YP to perceive their actions and opportunities differently (Abrams, 2012, Haigh, 2009). • Due to the complexities in YOs' lives and intertwined risk factors, collaborative working across the criminal justice system, social services and mental health services is required (Wright et al, 2016b, Taylor, 2016b) • Thorough assessment to gain an in-depth understanding of individual needs and strengths (Beal, 2014, HMIP, 2016) • Strengths focused approach to harness personal resources and ability to navigate challenges and turning points successfully, maximising opportunities for pro-social change. Use of strengths focused language, rather than offending focused to minimise stigma (McNeill et al, 2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researchers to consider the usefulness of desistance terminology as it may be more relevant to describe desistance on a continuum (McMahon and Jump, 2017). • Future research to consider the use of visual and practical aids to support vulnerable populations and/or participants with communication difficulties to share their stories within narrative inquiry. • Researchers to consider how appropriate narrative inquiry is an approach with participants with known or suspected cognitive difficulties or delayed development due to the prerequisite skills required to effectively engage in this research process and reflect upon one's life story • The role of EPs within the YJS may be an area of future research focus, to consider how EPs skills are currently being utilised within services and how these collaborative working relationships could be strengthened • Research could explore how institutions can strengthen preventative and promotive work with children at risk of offending and/or returning from custodial

<p><i>Post-custody</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific focus upon transitional planning and provision, including continuous, wrap-around support across custody and the community (Taylor, 2016b, Inderbitzin, 2009, Abrams, 2006). • Greater consideration and provision to support the emotional effects of transition are needed (Inderbitzin, 2009). 	<p>environments. For example, how schools and colleges can support inclusion, aid integration, sense of belonging and opportunities to maximise potential.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research could further explore early desistance narratives, considering the influences which shape and how YP could be supported to develop early prosocial narratives to support identity change.
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Figure 21: Proposed virtuous cycles: how recommendations could be implemented to minimise cumulative disadvantage across YOs life span



6.3.1. The role of EPs

EPs are well placed within the community to support YOs' transition from custody to the community at micro and macro systemic levels (individual, family, organisation, society) (see Section 1.9). See Table 39 for an overview of how EPs could provide support at different levels.

'EPs are frequently commissioned to supervise other professionals working within Local Authorities' (Dunsmuir and Leadbetter, 2010, p.11). This could arguably form an important part of EPs role within YJSs. Within the context of the current LA, EPs could provide supervision to support implementation of trauma-informed practice, and approaches used by professionals to support YOs' rehabilitation such as motivational interviewing (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1). Motivational interviewing is underpinned by psychological theory and requires skilful delivery (Miller, 1983), an area EPs would be appropriately able to support (Dunsmuir and Leadbetter, 2010).

EPs may, however, face constraints restricting multi-agency work with YJSs. Financial restrictions placed upon LAs have resulted in budget cuts within EPSs and for some, an increased focus upon statutory elements of the role (Lee and Woods, 2017). Opportunities for work with YJ teams is likely to depend upon local budgets and priorities (Miller et al, 2015). EPs are, therefore, required to initiate and negotiate opportunities in order to form and strengthen links with YJ teams. This may become an easier task as more research emerges in this area: an area to which trainee EPs are well-placed to contribute (for example, Parnes, 2017), as are the small numbers of EPs currently contracted to work within the YJS.

Table 39: The role of EPs in relation to supporting desistance

Level	Role of EP	Supporting evidence
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early preventative work could be undertaken within education settings to identify children who are exposed to multiple risk factors. • Training for YJ professionals could be provided in relation to formulation, planning, goal setting and theoretical grounding for evidence-based interventions which are sensitive to developmental change and consider YP's developmental stages rather than chronological ages. • Direct therapeutic work may be undertaken by EPs with YOs which may focus upon autobiographical approaches / cognitive re-framing / replacement discourses. • Individual casework can be completed by EPs to assess a young person's strengths and needs, gather multiple perspectives to create a working formulation and provide recommendations to be implemented to support the young person. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing support for vulnerable YP, to harness their life outcomes is a fundamental aim of the EP role (Beaver, 2011). EPs provide assessments of YP's cognitive, emotional, social and physical needs (DfE, 2011). • EPs harness psychological, problem-solving frameworks to aid formulation and assessment of YP's needs (Beaver, 2011). • Training is one of the five core functions identified with the EP role (Miller et al, 2015). EPs within the current LA have provided support to harness professionals understanding and knowledge through training opportunities (Chapter 1, Table 6). • EPs are well equipped to deliver therapeutic work for YP within educational and community settings (BPS, 2016).
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family interventions could be provided by EPs as part of the re-integration support when YOs are released from custody which include the YP in the design. This integrative work could begin in custody, inviting family, friends, or carers to engage in rehabilitative interventions with them to support their capacity to aid positive resettlement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EPs work systemically and are well placed to engage with YP's wider structures including families (Beaver, 2011, Rylie, 2006). • EPs possess relationship building skills that enable them to harness communication between members of a young person's system (Hall, 2013).
Organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EPs could further research within the field and provide training for YJ professionals and school staff based upon findings from studies which prioritise the voice of YP. Training may also be provided to increase professional understanding of adaptive and maladaptive development amongst adolescence and how effective adaptations to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducting research is a primary role of the EP. The current study is an example of how research can be utilised to support YJ professionals understanding of YO's needs and effective provision. • The majority of EPs work is completed within schools,

	<p>developmental challenges can be supported amongst YP.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through increased understanding in schools, less exclusions may be required, reducing the potential emotional implications of experienced social rejection from an educational establishment. • EPs could support members within organisations (YJE and schools) at a systems level to create approaches to working with YOs or children at risk of offending through approaches which prioritise inclusion and wellbeing. Facilitating the creation of wellness enhancing environments through their approach, policy and procedures to optimise YP's experience of success (Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2002). • Relational approaches could be promoted in schools and YJSs that fuel connection and secure attachments with alternative care figures could be promoted within schools and YSE's. • EPs could provide supervision for YJ professionals, to support their emotional capacity to offer warm, open relationships to YOs. Furthermore, supervision could also be utilised to support YJ professional's implementation of a trauma-informed approach. • Preventative work could be supported in schools, to harness professionals' ability to identify and support YP at risk of offending, increasing professionals' awareness of the link between low educational achievement, non-attendance, exclusion, and offending behaviour. 	<p>work with professionals is undertaken to harness their understanding and facilitate systemic changes that enhance YP's developmental opportunities (Miller et al, 2015).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of the EP role involves working at a strategic level, for example, advising policy changes (DfE, 2011). • Within the current LA, evidence-based relational approaches to behaviour management are promoted within educational settings through training and consultation, for example, training school staff in emotion coaching. • Preventative support and early intervention are key aims of the EP, to provide timely support to prevent YP's difficulties from magnifying across their life span (DfE, 2011).
Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through training, ongoing research and consultation approaches EPs can challenge perceptions within societies which stigmatise YOs by encouraging people to see them as 'children first, offenders second' (Taylor, 2016b, p.19). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EPs can use their psychological skills to facilitate change within other people's opinions and actions through consultation skills (Beaver, 2011).

(Beal, 2014, Ryrie, 2006)

6.4. Trustworthiness and dependability

See Table 24 in Chapter 3 for overview of criteria against which trustworthiness and dependability were measured in this study.

I am aware that findings drawn from the data are influenced and shaped by my presuppositions, as I entered the research process with my own beliefs and assumptions; for example, the interview activity was shaped by my knowledge of prior research in the field (See Chapter 3, Table 20). Consequently, I have aimed to be transparent with theoretical assumptions that may have guided my approach and analysis, by outlining my understanding of findings from the literature review (Murray, 2012).

Trustworthiness of participants' narratives may be questioned; participants could have been influenced by me as the researcher, tailoring their narrative to mislead or 'con' the audience, participant's narrative may leave listeners and readers with scepticism (Riessman, 2008). This may be particularly relevant to consider when reading Jack's results, as the interview took place in a YJ building, counting as one of his statutory sessions. Consequently, he may have been more likely to regard me as an authoritative figure; his perception may have influenced the content of his account and increased his desire to persuade me of his desistance through socially desirable answers (Unruh et al, 2009).

Retrospective accounts may be selective and incomplete, moulding memories to 'fit' or make sense with one's present identity (Polkinghorne, 1995). Each participant's narrative was portrayed from a present perspective, which may be different from how they experienced events at the time, or lacking in depth, complexity or accurate portrayal of original motives. In this research, I had no way of falsifying events, which arguably challenges the trustworthiness of results, however, regardless of methodology, researchers are unable to uncover the past as it

truly was (Gadamar, 1976). Furthermore, narrative inquiry does not aim to identify falsifiable facts (Elliot, 2005), instead I endeavoured to elicit participants subjective truths.

6.4.1. Participant feedback

Yardley (2009) suggested that allowing participants to provide feedback on analysis can be one way to increase dependability of data, by ensuring that their views have not been misconstrued, however, this was not possible in the present study. Some may argue that it would not have been appropriate to present analysed results to participants, due to the complexities involved with the analysis process and theoretical application. It is questionable how additional information from participant feedback could have been constructively used (Yardley, 2000).

There are numerous possible reasons why the YP in this study were unwilling to engage in proposed feedback procedures:

- One reason may be that participants associated me with the YJS and/or perceived me as an authority figure, acting as a deterrent. Jack, for example, communicated an antagonistic view towards those in positions of power.
- I question how participants perceived their involvement, it could be that in their attempts to reform their identities, they wanted to distance themselves from parties that reminded them of their offending pasts.
- Mason stated during the interview that he was, 'not bothered', about hearing the outcomes of the study; his response could have been influenced by his communication difficulties, for example, if he thought he would be required to verbally contribute his views further.

- Participants' motivation to engage in the study appeared to be harnessed by their relationships with their YJWs. Luke said, 'when they asked me... I said yeah... it was no problem to me... they've helped me out, so why can't I help someone else out?' indicating that he viewed his involvement as a means of giving something back. Similarly, Jack outlined, 'I'm trying to help others because that's what you're doing it for really isn't it?' He may, however, have been telling me what he thought I wanted to hear. As participants' involvement with the YJS decreased (for example, Luke gained early revocation and had finished his order by the end of the study), perhaps so did their commitment to the research.
- Jack stated, 'talking to you, I'm making sense of it', indicating that the narrative interview approach aided his personal sense making. Despite this positive feedback, it is important to note that his interview took place as a statutory session as part of his order. Jack appeared to be less willing to engage when his involvement presented less personal benefit to himself, a characteristic that Mauna (2011) associated with persistence narratives.
- Communication attempts at the end of the study may have also been hindered by changes to personal contact details, for example, new phone numbers.

6.5. Methodological limitations

Utilising narrative inquiry methodology and a case study approach resulted in a small sample size. Similar to previous studies within the literature review, participants were recruited using a purposive sampling method (see Chapter 3, Section 3.9), only recruiting YP who met the sampling criteria. Therefore, findings lack broader application and transferability to the wider population of YOs. Furthermore, my participants were sourced through the YJS, and only

included YP who were contactable and willing to engage. Arguably, these criteria led to an unrepresentative sample, as there are likely to be many other YP desisting who are no longer involved with the YJS, and/or would be unwilling to participate. Considering participants' attempts to 'knife off' or separate themselves from their criminal pasts and create new non-offender identities, it is understandable why some YP, who were approached for the study, did not want to engage.

The aim of narrative inquiry is not to produce generalisable data; due to small sample sizes, findings cannot be assumed to be indicative of the wider population (Horsdal, 2017). The aim of this study was to enhance theoretical generalisations and inform professional practice rather than apply results to the wider population of YOs. Researchers have proposed that even from small samples, greater insight can be gained regarding which factors help shift the odds in favour of YOs during the desistance process (Inderbitzin, 2009), as narrative allows greater access to the subjective viewpoint adopted by the individual (Bamberg, 2006).

One might argue that regardless of the approach taken within this research, it is impossible to truly understand things from the perspective of the researched. The researcher's interpretation, 'exists in a complex matrix of alternative representations' (Koch, 1998, p.1188); to help the reader decipher the legitimacy of my interpretations, I have adopted a reflexive approach throughout, making theoretical, methodological and analytical decisions transparent. Moreover, I have demonstrated how my interpretations of the findings have been formed, by reflecting on my own background and prior experience (see Chapter 1, Section 1.7), as well as providing the reader with a journey through the literature (see Chapter 2).

Data collection and analysis risked being influenced by confirmation bias, 'the seeking or interpreting of evidence in ways that are partial to existing beliefs, expectations, or a hypothesis in hand' (Nickerson, 1998, p. 175), as I had already conducted a literature review

and two professional focus groups prior to conducting YP's interviews. I was, however, explicit with participants about what I had found from the literature search (see card sort activity, Appendix 12). Furthermore, questions included in the interview schedule were open as opposed to leading, broadly covering participants' life span, therefore, each young person governed the direction of their own interview. Additionally, the data analysis methodology utilised a bottom up approach, therefore, theme production was data-driven rather than determined by my theoretical assumptions (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

6.6. Contributions of the current study

6.6.1. Narrative methodology

This study highlights the benefits of using a narrative approach to research, through the collection of rich, detailed accounts that were analysed both for content and structure, using different analytical tools (thematic analysis and restorying). This enabled me to consider not only what was said, but how it was said, shedding light on complex phenomena experienced by a vulnerable cohort of participants. My research presented an often unheard population with a platform to express their lived experience and provided an opportunity to be listened to. Furthermore, the process of restorying narratives illuminated the causal links and cumulative nature of life events and experiences upon participants personal resources across participants developmental pathways.

Studies using a narrative approach within future research, may consider the suitability of recommended data collection procedures to attain their research purpose; it is important to consider whether traditional narrative interview methodology, involving minimal researcher input and free-flowing interaction, is appropriate for the given sample and RQs.

In the current study, adaptations were made to account for the vulnerabilities and difficulties associated with the YO population, including interaction and communication difficulties (Bryan et al, 2007, Snowling et al, 2000). Despite these adaptations, it was noted that one participant still appeared to struggle to express his views; limited vocabulary may have restricted or distorted the meaning conveyed within his narrative (Beal, 2014). McAdams (2005) argued that narrative inquiry requires some higher level cognitive skills; the credibility and usefulness of narratives, rests upon participants' capacity to reflect, convey insight and understanding. Similarly to previous research in the field, participants' reflective capabilities appeared to vary (Unruh et al, 2009); Mason's ability to engage may have been affected by his cognitive skills, as he gave limited responses which indicated poor reasoning skills through language. The card sort was, however, a useful tool to aid elicitation of YP's views and further my understanding of factors judged as most important within desistance. Practical activities may be further developed by researchers for interviews with the YO population.

6.6.2. Theory development

Narrative data can inform conceptual inferences or 'theoretical propositions', applying theory to strengthen knowledge, explain or aid social understanding of phenomena that can become the basis for further research (Reissman, 2008).

Findings from the current study provide support for interactional models of desistance (LeBel et al, 2008, Giordano et al, 2002) and for identity transformation theory (Maruna, 2001). Complex interactions between social and subjective factors were highlighted, and insight was gained regarding the nature and direction of these interactions; for example, prosocial bonds and employment were found to influence motivation and self-esteem positively, indicating that social factors may precede or be a condition for development of agentic factors. However,

findings also indicated that cognitive shifts may be a prerequisite for maximising opportunities for change, which suggests the direction and influence of these factors may depend upon identity development, shaped by both internal and external influences.

I propose that the developmental psychopathology framework can be used to amalgamate factors highlighted within existing theories, to aid practitioners' understanding of the complex force field of interactive influences present during YOs' journeys away from crime. Further research could be conducted to explore the use and benefits of this framework in practice (e.g. planning, formulation and intervention).

In this study, participants were at different stages of desistance, which allowed insight to be gained from a young person's narrative who was 'starting to stop' (McMahon and Jump, 2017). The similarities drawn between more and less established desistance narratives, suggests that a continuum to represent desistance would be more relevant than dyadic/binary distinctions between desistance and persistence (McMahon and Jump, 2017).

In addition to analysing YOs' accounts, professional views were explored, and both similarities and differences highlighted. Findings indicated that the professionals in this study placed greater emphasis upon systemic influences. In contrast, YP emphasised the role of relational support and individual changes such as mind-set. The findings, therefore, indicate that YP and professionals may hold contrasting beliefs regarding what is most important for successful desistance. Consequently, more collaborative, joint working between YP and professionals may be helpful to aid bespoke, tailored approaches. Future research may explore the views of individuals within YOs' wider systems, to consider how their perspectives facilitate or hinder YP's chances of success; for example, parent views could also be incorporated.

6.7 Reflexive commentary: final reflections

As a reflexive practitioner, I believe it is important to reflect upon what I have learnt through the process of conducting this research. There have been various learning points that have helped to shape my thinking and practice in my role as a TEP:

- The nature of this research changed over time in response to practical and ethical dilemmas and constraints. This highlighted the importance of being adaptable in my approach and being creative in response to presenting hurdles, learning points which I believe are highly applicable as a TEP.
- This research has enhanced my awareness of the discrepancies that can emerge between different parties' perspectives upon the same presenting behaviours. For me, this highlighted the importance of advocating for YP in my role and adopting a social constructionist approach to casework, by gathering multiple perspectives from different parties, before creating my own hypotheses regarding underlying influences upon externalising behaviours.
- Professionals stressed the difficulties YP face when returning to environments that remain unchanged. Consequently, I have reflected upon who I work with in my role as a TEP in order to influence change. This has increased my desire to work systemically in my role, to negotiate opportunities to work directly with families and members of YP's wider systems, to increase the long term impact of my involvement and the likelihood of sustained positive change.
- YP's accounts indicated that custody was not enough to discourage them from re-offending. Furthermore, participants' highlighted the vital role that schools can play in social inclusion; they provide a prosocial organisation where positive relationships can be formed, individual skills can be harnessed and a sense of belonging can be

achieved. This led me to consider the use and effectiveness of punitive processes within educational settings, increasing my interest in relational approaches which I now advocate in my practice (for example, emotion coaching, (Gus et al, 2015)) to help shape behavioural policies and procedures at an organisational level.

- I have reflected upon how my understanding of the term desistance developed over the course of the research, from a binary concept to a continuum. This has increased my commitment to becoming a flexible, non-judgemental and open-minded practitioner. By being aware of my own preconceived ideas and/or assumptions when entering new situations or approaching casework, I can endeavour to ensure that they do not constrain my thinking or hypotheses.
- YP's narratives emphasised the difficulties associated with being categorised as an 'offender', which led me to reflect upon the use, benefit and purpose of using labels within my own practice. As a TEP, I think critically about the language I use to describe YP's needs. I believe a label presents one construction that can be used as a lens to view a young person's strengths and difficulties. It is important, however, to consider the impact of labelling and possible alternative constructions which could be utilised in order to aid shared understanding.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: YP's journey through the YJS

There are various staged responses which can shape YPs' journey through the YJS (YJB, 2017a), including:

- **Prevention programmes:** Community prevention programmes designed to target YP at risk
- **Diversion:** assessments are conducted to decipher risks and needs of the young person. Opportunities for multi-agency, collaborative working are promoted and aimed at finding informal resolutions. For example, a community resolution.
- **Out-of-court disposals:** when the police arrest or formally assess a young person, they can be released with no charge, be referred for a YOT assessment, receive a Youth Caution or Youth Conditional Caution or their case may be transferred to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS).
- **Decision to prosecute:** if CPS decide to prosecute, the case youth court will determine whether the case can be heard there or passed to the crown court.
- **Placement after custodial sentence:** If the young person receives a custodial sentence they will be securely escorted to an establishment by the youth custody service. Their placement will depend upon information provided by YOT caseworker and informed by assessment results. Three types of custodial establishments exist in England, including: secure children's homes (SCHs), secure training centres (STCs) and for under 18 years, young offender institutions (YOIs). Settings range in size, resources and services, however, all aim to prioritise health and education, provide YP with an individualised plan and to provide access to a range of support, including a caseworker, social worker, local YOT professionals and confidential advocacy services run by charities.
- **Resettlement:** every young person leaving custody should have an individualised plan which takes into account assessment results and serves to ensure their needs are prioritised and plans for release are supportive and achievable.
- **Community supervision:** many YP will have a community element as part of their sentence which must be served once they have left custody and overseen/supervised by YOTs, this is called a Detention and training order (DTO). Once a young person's order has been completed, focus is placed upon transition to mainstream support services.

Appendix 2: Support and intervention YP with custodial sentences

- **YOT practitioner:** the young person's allocated YOT worker is involved throughout the custodial process and strives to maintain consistent contact with the young person and parents/guardians
- **On remand:** once a young person has been arrested, they may be detained in LA accommodation whilst awaiting further proceedings.
- **Arrival in custody:** YP receive assessments as soon as possible using a comprehensive health assessment tool (CHAT) which includes assessment of mental health, education and substance abuse. If requires, YP can gain access to bespoke provision for their needs (e.g. doctors or drugs specialists). A reception interview is conducted with the young person and a risk assessment is completed. Information is shared from the young person's YOT team.
- **Initial planning meeting:** key professionals are brought together with the young person's parent/s or guardian/s to discuss resettlement plans, including: accommodation, health provision, financial support, ETE, managing risk (to victims and others) and offending behaviour work. Actions, targets and outcomes are agreed and informed by assessment results. Barriers for successful reintegration are considered, including, resources and availability of community supports. This meeting takes place within the first 10 days from when the sentence is agreed.
- **Sentence plan review meeting:** held to review targets, monitor progress towards early release and adapt goals as required
- **Urgent risk planning meeting:** arranged if the young person is deemed to be a risk to themselves and others to undertake a risk assessment and plan appropriate responses
- **Annual review meetings:** for those YP who are serving long-term sentences, annual reviews are held to consider development in relation to targets
- **Release preparation meeting:** designed to review the young person's plan and consider necessary requirements for license. Accommodation needs must be assessed, alongside educational provision (to be provided by the LA if school aged), training and employment opportunities.
- **Final release preparation meeting:** held to ensure all practical arrangements are in place for transport, accommodation and support within the community
- **Parole:** for YP serving long-term custodial sentences, a parole assessment report may be required to inform licence conditions, all of which must be explained to the young person in an accessible format, taking into account learning and communication difficulties.
- **Release:** the young person is required to meet with their case manager on their day of release and a home visit is conducted within the first 5 days, monthly visits are conducted thereafter.
- **Released on license:** Some YP will continue to serve their prison sentence in the community with certain stipulations and rules that must be followed. If a young person is deemed to be of high risk, they are likely to be allocated an intensive surveillance or supervision condition which may involve prohibited activity and require them to be under electronic monitoring.
- **Post-release review:** this meeting is to be attended by the young person, parent or guardian and professional from the secure estate attended. The meeting is aimed at reviewing a young person's progress and achievements in line with their order.

- **Breach of conditions:** YP serving part of their licence in the community as part of their DTO, can be recalled if their licence conditions are breached; for example, if they reoffend or pose a heightened risk to others. Consequently, they may be summarised before a youth court or a warrant may be given for their arrest, prior to court proceedings.

(YJB, 2014, 2013, Crime and Disorder Act, 1998)

Appendix 3: Current initiatives to reduce re-offending

Business initiatives outlined by the YJB for 2017/18 to help reduce reoffending include: trialling and extending the 'Enhanced Case Management Approach', broadening the 'reducing reoffending project', pursuing the 'YJ workforce development strategy', managing the 'YJ Application Framework' and successfully applying AssettPlus (YJB, 2017a).

The Enhanced Case Management Approach is underpinned by a 'Trauma Recovery Model', aimed to ensure that provision is personalised to individual, developmental needs. This model is designed to provide a common framework for practitioners, to support a longer-term view of YP's needs, and promote preventative actions. Initial results from a Welsh trial of this approach indicated a positive impact upon YPs' quality of life, and relationships with professionals, alongside societal benefits, including reduced chances of reoffending (Welsh Government, 2017).

Across the EU, the Reducing Reoffending project aims to promote a multidisciplinary approach to rehabilitative provision in order to increase YPs' engagement, motivation and self-worth. The project aims to foster greater opportunities for YP in the community post-release, and to improve rehabilitative pathways (Barrett et al, 2015).

Based upon evidence of best practice, the YJ work force development strategy outlines a strategic framework, which can be applied at an organisational level to develop collaborative training resources (Searle, 2017).

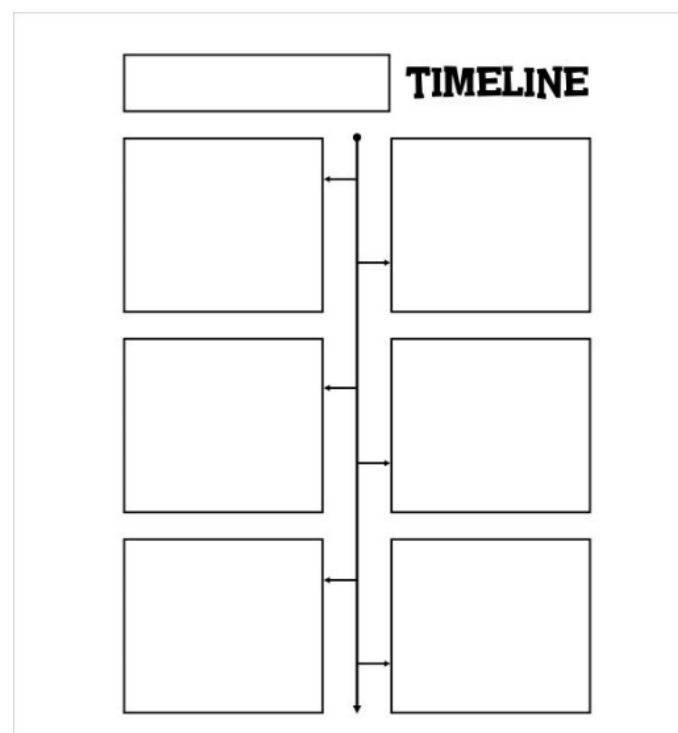
Appendix 4: Interview schedule used with young people

- Check through the consent form and invite young person to ask questions.
- Remind the young person of the key messages from the information sheet including right to withdraw at any point and ability to withdraw their data from the study at any time up until two weeks after the interview date.
- Check that it is OK to record the interview and explain that I may note down some things that I am interested in so I can remember to come back to them later. Explain that they can ask for a break at any time they wish.
- Explain that I am interested in them and their experiences so as to help improve services and practice with young offenders re-entering the community. There are no right or wrong answers, I am interested in their subjective experiences, therefore, I will not say very much.
- Outline of timings (approx. 60 mins) and structure of interview. Explain a further meeting can be arranged if needed.
- Allow an opportunity for any questions to be asked / answered.

Warm up / ice-breaker activity (i.e. something unrelated to topic such as conversation starters)

LIFE STORY ACTIVITY: from birth to now (timeline will be provided, participants will be encouraged to annotate it with words and drawings. Support will be provided with this by myself. Participants may bring memory aids with them to talk about, for example, photographs.

A similar timeline to the image provided below will be drawn up (with 8 boxes) on large paper prior to interview. This will be used to structure the 8 interview sections and record points made by participants.



1. Family background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where/when were you born? • Who lived in the family home with you? What can you tell me about your family background / how you were brought up? Can you describe the community you grew up in?
2. Life events / memories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your earliest memory? Happiest childhood memory? Most difficult childhood memory? • What important life events can you remember from your childhood? What ages did these occur? • How did your relationships with family / friends change as you got older? • Did you have any jobs growing up? Did this contribute to your family income? If not, what did you spend your money on? • How might you describe your school years? Did you have any positive or negative experiences at school which you can remember? What did you like / not like about it? • When did things change or have they always stayed the same?
3. Criminal activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When / at what age did you first engage in criminal activity? What else (if anything) was happening in your life at this time? • How might you have described yourself (the person you were) then - whilst you were offending? • Can you describe your outlook on life then? What was important to you at this time? Who was important to you at this time? What did you enjoy doing in your spare time? • How did you feel about yourself?
4. Custody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you tell me about/describe your journey into custody? How did you get there? • What was the experience of custody like for you? • Did you experience any difficulties/challenges? How did you overcome these? Did you have any specific coping strategies? • Was there anything that made your period in custody easier? What / how? • Did your time in custody have an impact on how you saw yourself (your identity as a young male/female)? How?
5. Release	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you feel about being released? • Did you feel emotionally / physically / mentally prepared for this transition? What contributed to you feeling this way? • Did you believe you could make a successful resettlement and not return to criminal activity? Why? How? What were the risks? What support did you need? How did you manage? You're one of the success stories: how come you've done well while many others haven't? • How have things been different for you since your release? • Can you describe your journey from custody back into the community? • Has this period of resettlement come easily? • Are there any aspects of the life you led before custody that you miss?
6. Transition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What things have caused you difficulties / to experience negative

	<p>feelings since leaving custody? How did do/did you try and cope with these things? What might have helped? What is it about you that helps you to cope? Are the difficulties you've experienced since custody been different to those you experienced before your time in custody? How?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What things have made you feel proud (that things have worked out well) or have helped you since leaving custody? How did you come about these things? • What things do you think have helped you to make a successful transition? Are these the same things that have helped you to refrain from further offending?
7. Now	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you describe where you are in your life now? • Who / what is important in your life now? How do you spend your spare time? • How would you describe yourself now as a person? Can you describe your outlook on life? • How do you feel about yourself? • Why / how do you think you have managed not to get drawn back into further criminal activity? What has made this possible for you? Are there people / services that have supported you through this process? What has made your identity transition to an 'ex-offender' easier? • CARD SORT ACTIVITY: FACTORS AFFECTING DESISTANCE (see below)
8. Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you see your future? • What are your hopes/aspirations? • What is it about you that will help you to reach those goals? • What might stop you from achieving/fulfilling these? • In 5 years from now, if your life had worked out exactly how you had hoped, what would it look like? What would be different? • What support do you have that will help you to get there? • What additional support do you think you need / wish were available? • How confident are you that you will continue to desist from further criminal activity (0-10)? Why? • How important is it that you desist from future criminal activity (0-10)? Why?

Note: these questions are to be used as prompts, they have derived from literature findings and will be refined from content of the professional focus group.

CARD SORT ACTIVITY

Additional 'build on' questions: Why? / How? / Can you help me to understand what you mean by that? / What makes you say that? / Can you provide me with an example? / Can you tell me more about that? / How did that make you feel? / Can you tell me what you were thinking?

Interview ending:

- Thank participant for their contribution
- Distribute amazon voucher
- Summarise their accounts and check for accuracy / if there is anything they want to change or add
- Collaboratively discuss whether a further meeting is required
- Ask how they found the process – level of difficulty? Emotive?
- Remind young person that their allocated youth justice worker is aware of our meeting, reiterate the option for further support available to them – I can let the worker know that this is required if they wish to ensure they follow up on this.
- Remind them of my number/contact details (on debrief sheet) if they think of further questions, remind them that summary of findings will be sent out.
- Ensure opportunity for young person to ask questions.
- Ask if they would they like an information sheet of findings sent to them once research completed.

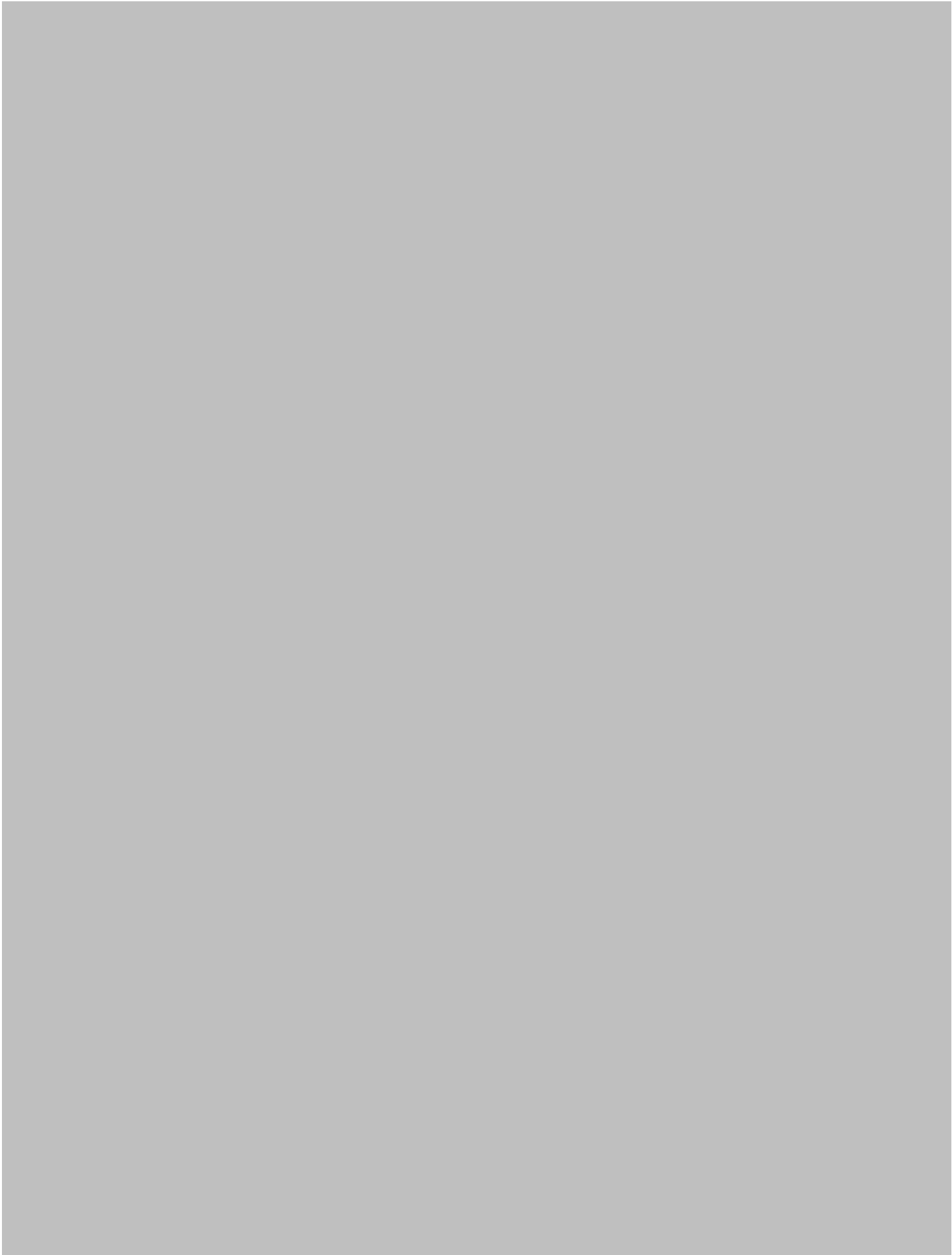
Appendix 5: University of Birmingham Ethical Review

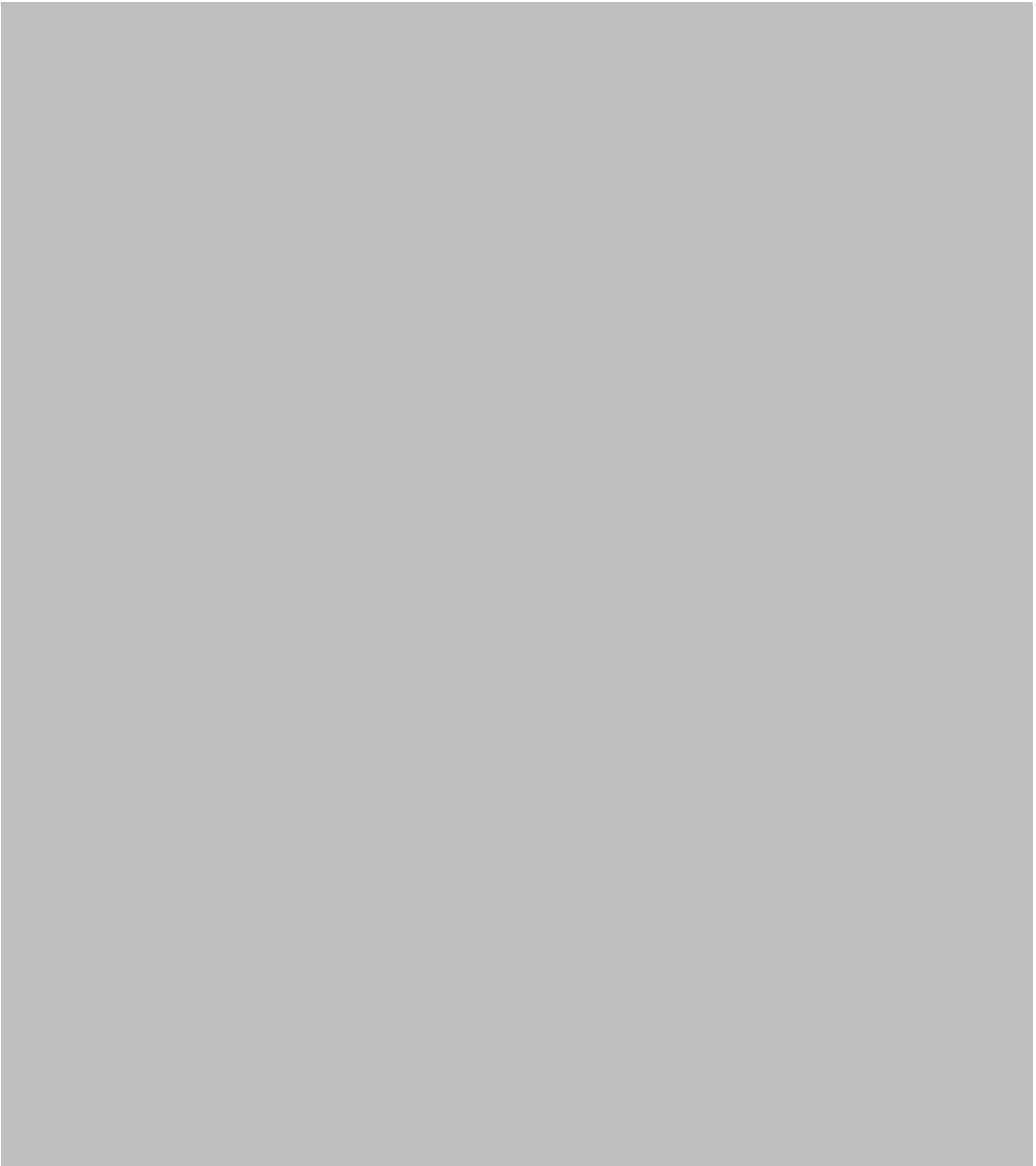






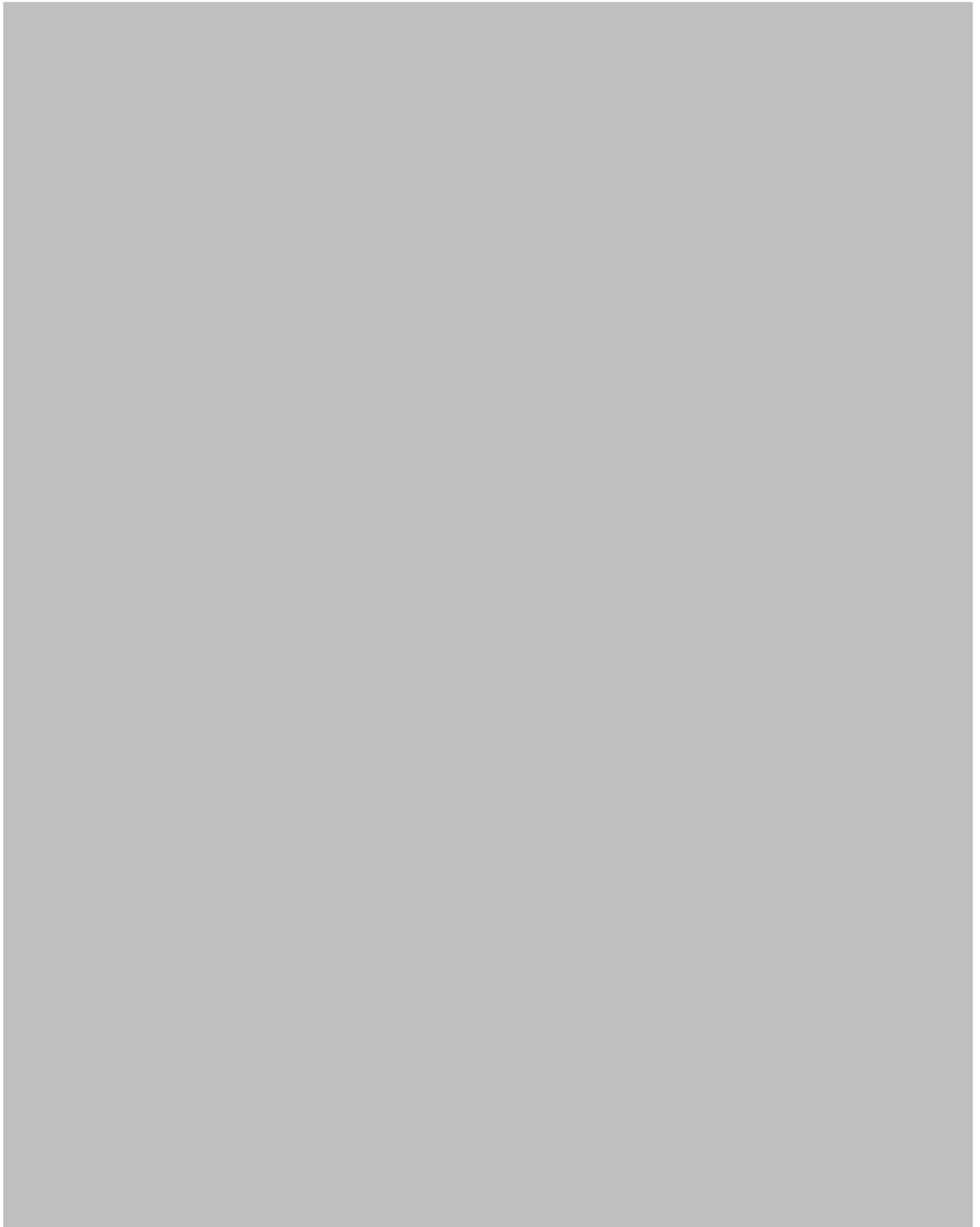




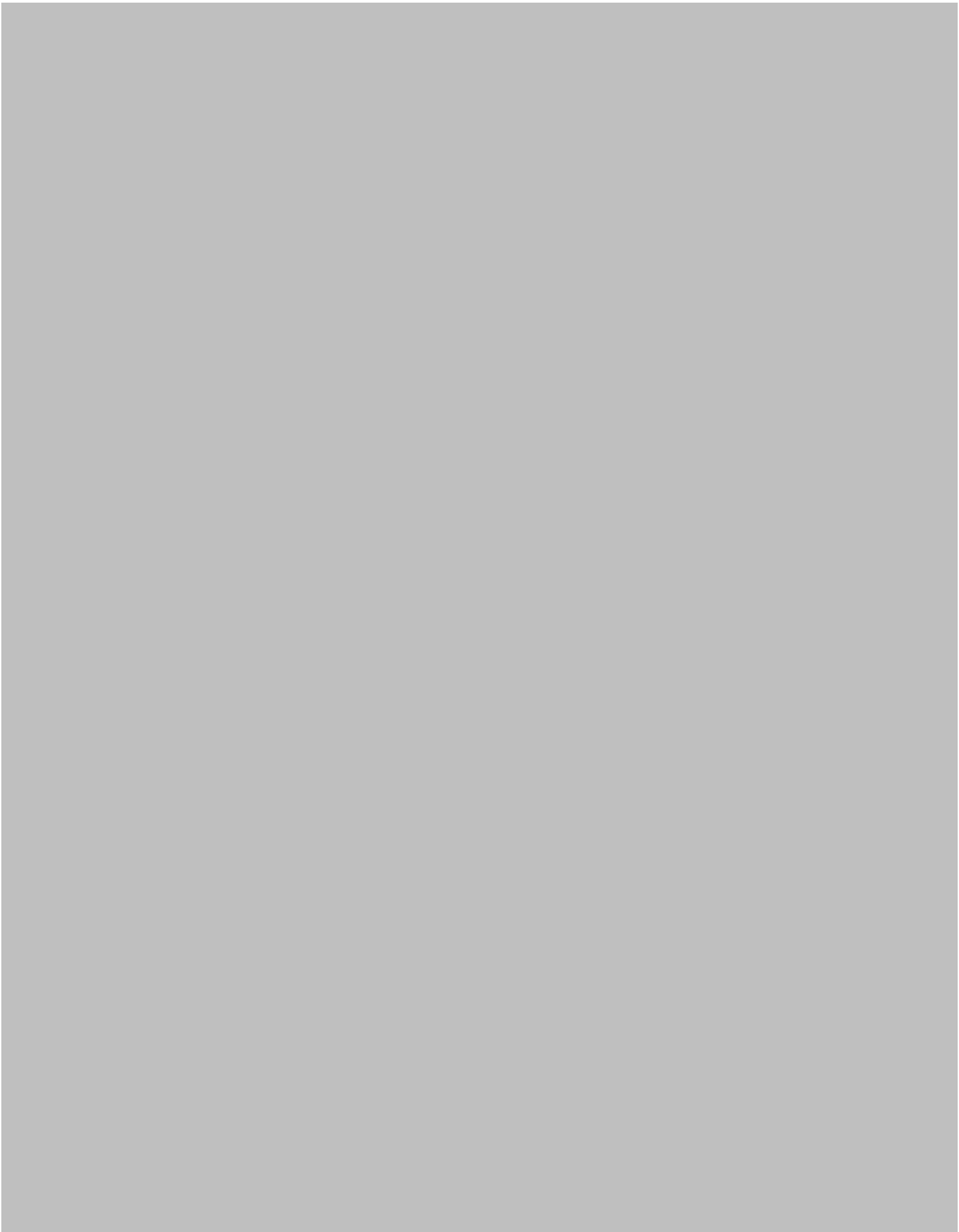














Appendix 6: Focus group consent form for YJ professionals

I _____ would like to take part in the study looking at what is helpful and unhelpful for ex-offenders during their period of resettlement into the community. This study is being carried out by Holly Ackland, Trainee Educational Psychologist, as part of a Professional Doctorate in Educational Psychology at the University of Birmingham. The study will entail a focus group to explore the views of professionals who provide services for offenders regarding the prominent factors contributing to positive resettlements for this group of young people. After which, the researcher will conduct between four and six interviews with young people who have made successful resettlements after a period in custody to learn about their experiences.

I have read the information sheet and understand that:

Please tick:

The focus group will last approximately one hour.	
My taking part is entirely voluntary. If I decide to, I can leave the focus group at any point without explanation.	
It will not be possible to identify my contribution from recordings, so I will not be able to withdraw my views after the focus group.	
My views and identity will be kept confidential unless I say anything that suggests I or another are at risk from harm, in which case Holly would seek guidance from her research supervisor and follow the necessary safeguarding procedures.	
My views will be audio-taped using a Dictaphone and Holly may also take some hand-written notes. All hand-written notes and audio recordings will be typed-up using pseudo-names or codes, the original recordings and notes will be deleted or destroyed. The notes and recorder will be kept locked in a filing cabinet that only Holly Ackland has access to. The anonymised transcripts will only be available to Holly, her University Supervisor and University assessors. All electronic versions of anonymous documents will be stored on the University of Birmingham secure network.	
Computer records will be kept on a Secure Network. In adherence to the Data Protection Act (1998) records will be kept for 10 years, after which point they will be destroyed.	
I agree to anonymised quotes being used as part of the study.	
<p>The results of this study:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Will be used for Holly's University Doctoral Thesis • Will be shared with professionals from the Educational Psychology Service meetings • Will be made available to professionals within the YJS and other services that work with offenders and may be used to inform practice • May be written up for professional journals or shared at conferences for people working with offenders (XXX will not be named when reporting outside of the area). 	

Signed.....Date.....

Please return to: Holly Ackland

If you have cause for any complaint about this study please contact XXX, Principal Educational Psychologist or XXX, University of Birmingham Research Supervisor.

Appendix 7: consent form for young people

I _____ agree to take part in the study looking at what is helpful and unhelpful for ex-offenders during their period of resettlement from custody into the community. ***Please read each statement and circle your response (Y = yes, N = no). If you are unsure about the meaning of any of these statements, please ask.***

Right to withdraw.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I agree to take part in this study and I understand my role in this research is entirely voluntary. I know that if I want to, I can leave an interview at any point without explanation. I can also ask for my interview information not to be used in the study up until 2 weeks after the interview date. 	Y	N
Compensation... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I will receive an Amazon gift voucher to the sum of £10 per hour. I understand this compensation will not be affected if I decide to leave the study at any time or decide I do not want my data used in the final report. 	Y	N
Confidentiality... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand my views will be kept confidential unless I say anything that suggests I or another are at risk from harm. If this is the case Holly will talk to my Youth Justice case worker and they will take action to safeguard those at risk (http://www.warwickshire.gov.uk/wscbresources). 	Y	N
Privacy... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I agree for my views to be audio recorded on a Dictaphone and listened to by Holly only. I give permission for Holly to type up my interview recording with a different name and use this in her research. I agree to anonymised quotes being used as part of the study. 	Y	N
Data usage and storage... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand how the results of this study will be used and who will see them. I understand computer records will be kept on a Secure Network. Records will be kept for 10 years. I will not be identifiable in this record. 	Y	N
Contacts... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I know who to contact if I decide I want to withdraw my data from the study. If I have any questions or concerns about the study I know who I can contact. 	Y	N

Signed.....
Date.....

Please return to: Holly Ackland

If you have cause for any complaint about this study please contact XXX, Principal Educational Psychologist (XXX.gov.uk) or XXX, University of Birmingham Research Supervisor ([XXX](#)).

Appendix 8: Participant information sheet for YJ professionals

Who I am

My name is Holly Ackland, I am training to become an Educational Psychologist and studying at the University of Birmingham to complete an Applied Child and Educational Psychology Doctorate. I am currently in my second year of training and looking to complete my thesis research in the field of youth justice, more specifically, desistance from criminal activity.

My research aims

I am interested in finding out about the experiences and views of young people that have made positive resettlement into the community after a period in custody. The aim of the research is to explore young offenders' subjective experiences and accounts of resettlement and ascertain what internal and external factors have influenced their capacity to desist from further criminal involvement post-custody. The impact of resettlement on identity will be explored.

Purpose of research

My proposed research is strengths-based, collecting young people's accounts, in order to highlight elements of the system that have aided resettlement, and inform consideration of how these can be further developed

Justification for this research

- *Rising reoffending rates:* The number of children within custody in England and Wales has fallen to the lowest recorded level; however, the rate of re-offending has risen (Taylor, 2016). Currently, 69% of young offenders sentenced to time in custody reoffend within a year upon release (Taylor, 2016b). Recidivism has been referred to as inevitable or the norm rather than the exception (LeBel et al, 2008, Taylor, 2016b).
- *Vulnerability of population:* Young offenders are more likely to suffer from poor mental health, be diagnosed with a mental health disorder, have learning difficulties and/or social difficulties (Christsabesan et al, 2006, McElvaney and Tatlow-Golden, 2016). The cumulative disadvantage of these individuals can heighten the challenges faced when attempting to reintegrate into the community (LeBel et al, 2008).
- *Difficulties faced during transition:* Young people leaving custody are likely to find positive adjustment to life within their community challenging due to their level of vulnerability, mental health needs, disordered home environments, poor coping strategies and difficulties accessing support (Bateman and Hazel, 2015).
- *Improving practice:* Through better understanding the internal and external factors which aid the desistance process, future practice and interventions could be informed both within custody and the community to aid crime prevention, prevent persistence into criminal careers and create fewer victims (Taylor, 2016b).
- *Existing literature:* A greater body of research exists to address the pathway to offending and recidivism, as opposed to the successful pathway from the

custody to the community; therefore, further exploration of the factors involved with resettlement is likely to be beneficial in redressing this imbalance (LeBel et al, 2008).

How will the data be collected?

- An audit of XXX demographic data to provide contextual information
- A focus group for professionals within the YJS to help shape direction of research and interview questions
- Individual interviews with 4-6 ex-offenders who have made positive resettlements

Your involvement

I am interested in finding out your views, beliefs and understandings about:

- how young people make positive resettlements into the community after a period in custody
- what internal and external factors have influence young people's capacity to desist from further criminal involvement post-custody
- the impact of resettlement on identity

These items will be discussed as part of a focus group, where you can express your views alongside other colleagues as a group. It is my role as researcher to facilitate and stimulate this discussion. The session will be recorded using a Dictaphone and shortly after transcribed and coded.

What is a focus group?

A focus is a structured group conversation which encourages communication between participants to elicit individuals' thoughts, attitudes, and perspectives. The group is facilitated by the researcher who remains neutral and allows participants to speak freely about a given topic.

What will the findings be used for?

- As part of my University Doctoral Thesis
- In a report for people working with young offenders in XXX summarising findings and making recommendations
- In reports for professionals working with young offenders and ex-offenders
- It is expected the findings may be used to inform and strengthen existing services for young people transitioning from custody into the community.

What will happen to the data that is collected?

The research findings will be shared through a research report for the Local Authority. A summary will be shared with yourself, parents and other professionals from the Local Authority. Please note, your individual name will not be included within any of the reports, and the audience will not know who has said what. All data

collected will be anonymised to ensure your information is kept confidential. Dictaphone recordings will be transcribed and transferred into electronic documents.

All electronic documents will be kept on a password protected memory stick and deleted once the research has been written. If you wish to withdraw from the study at any point you are welcome to leave the focus group. Equally you are able to skip questions if you wish. Please be aware, however, that if you leave part way through the focus group or decide afterwards that you do not wish for your views to be included you will not be able to withdraw your contribution from the study as it will not be possible to identify your unique input. It is, therefore, important that if you decide you do not wish to have your views included in the data, you leave before the focus group session begins. There will be a reminder of this process and a highlighted opportunity to withdraw at the beginning.

If you would like to ask me any questions you can contact me
[REDACTED] or 079** *****).

Thank You.

Appendix 9: Interview participant information sheet for YP

Hello...

My name is Holly Ackland, I'm training to become an Educational Psychologist. Educational Psychologists help young people (age 0-25) to have positive experiences in life. I am studying at the University of Birmingham and my supervisor is called XXX.



you cope.

Why am I contacting you?

- I am interested to hear about the experiences and views of young people.
- I'd like to know more about individuals who have settled back into the community after custody without reoffending.
- I would like to find out what has helped you to stop offending, what you have found difficult and what helps

What are the aims of this research?

- To share your views with professionals so they can learn from your experiences
- To help improve services so they are better able to support other young offenders in the future.



What does the research involve?

Time and place: I would meet you in a place you feel comfortable for approximately an hour. We can meet more than once if there is a lot to talk about.

Location: you can choose from meeting at a council building, the Youth Justice Centre, your college or school, a cafe, or a library.

Compensation: you would get an Amazon gift voucher, £10 per hour that I spend with you to thank you for your time.

Support: your Youth Justice worker will know about our meetings and can offer you support if you need it. You would be able to contact me at any time by email if you have any questions.

Flexibility: If you change your mind, you can leave the study any time without giving a reason. You can ask for your information to be removed within 2 weeks after our meeting. If this was the case, you would still receive your amazon voucher.

What happen with the information you give?

- If you agree, I will audio record the interview and type up this recording as quickly as possible afterwards using a made-up name. I will then delete the audio recording.
- The typed-up interview notes will only be seen by: Sue, my supervisor, the university examiners and me. Any paper copies of notes or recordings will be kept in a locked cabinet which only I can open.
- I will not include your name or any private information about you in any reports I write and I will be careful to make sure you are not identifiable from reading the report.




How will the findings of the study will be used?



- As part of a University assignment
- In reports for people working with offenders and young people in XXX and other areas
- To try and improve services and re-offending rates.

How can you get involved?

- You can tell your key worker you are happy for me to contact you.
- You can e-mail me your name and details to  (or your key worker can do this for you)



Who can you contact if you have a question or complaint?



- Question: On the day that we meet there will be time to ask me any questions you may have.
- Complaint: contact XXX, University of Birmingham Research Supervisor (XXX@bham.ac.uk) or Dr XXX, XXX Educational Psychology Service placement supervisor (XXX.gov.uk).

"Thank you for your time"



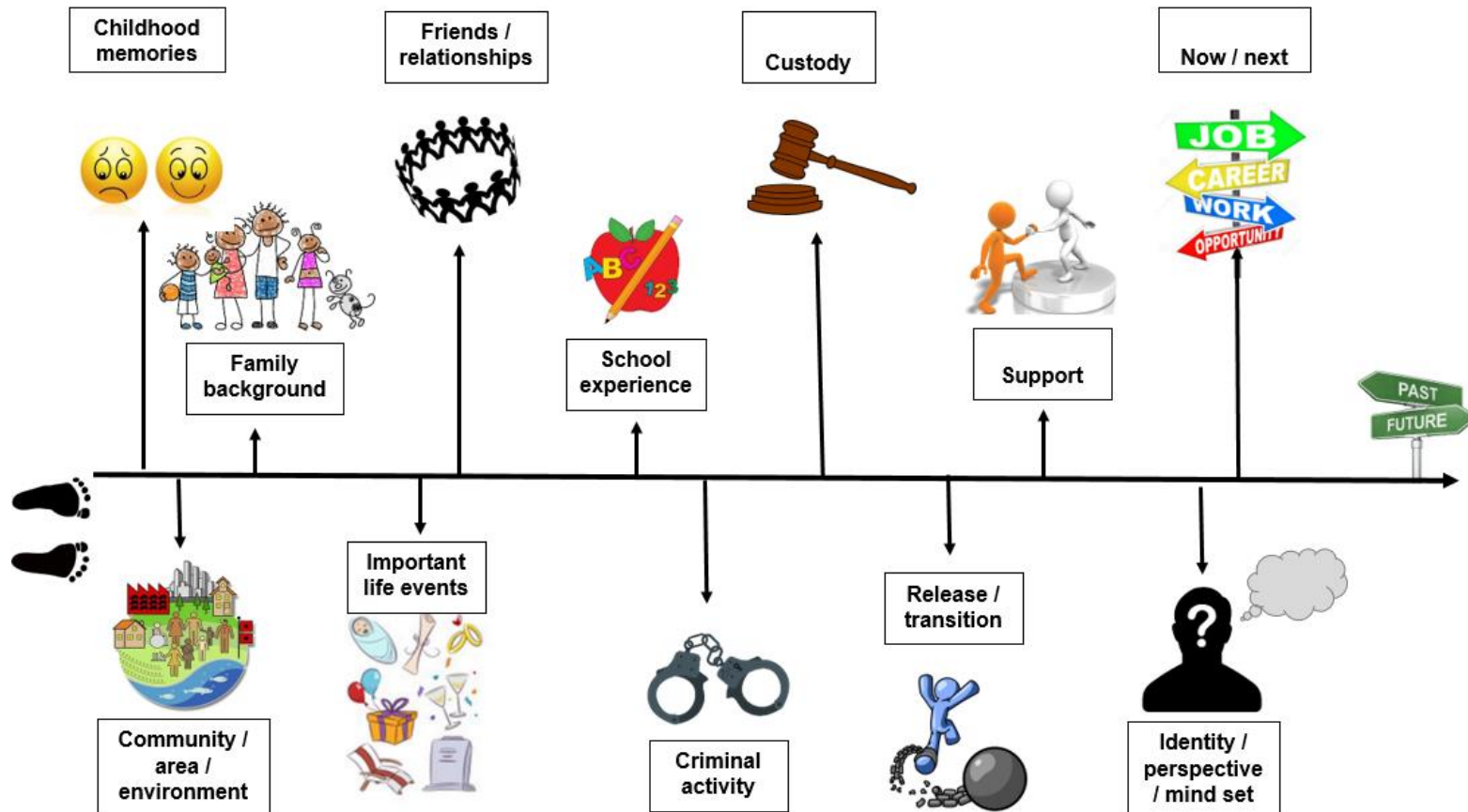
Have you been affected by something we discussed today?

Would you like to talk about this further?







People you can talk to...








- Me (Holly Ackland)
Contact details ()
- At the Youth Justice Centre:
Designated staff member
- At home:
Your parent(s) or carer, friends or partner
- Online or over the phone:
 - The Samaritans - contact details (tel: 116 123, www.samaritans.org)
 - ChildLine - contact details (tel: 0800 1111, www.childline.org.uk)



Appendix 11: Visual interview aid for YP



Appendix 12: CARD SORT ACTIVITY: To what extent do you think the following factors influenced your ability to make a positive resettlement and desist from crime (participants are to rank/rate each factor from lowest-highest influences upon their ability to make a positive resettlement).

<p>Age of criminal onset</p> 	<p>Maturity / stage of life / age on release</p> 
<p>Self-narrative (positive outlook, ability to create new / alternative identity)</p> 	<p>Self-efficacy, sense of control / power over future outcomes</p> 
<p>Motivation / ambition to 'go straight'</p> 	<p>Social support (family, friends, personal relationships)</p> 

<p>Social skills</p> 	<p>Social / leisure activities</p> 
<p>Employment / education / financial position</p> 	<p>Housing / accommodation</p> 
<p>Independence from substances (drugs/alcohol)</p> 	<p>Self-esteem, feelings about oneself</p> 
<p>Confidence, belief in ability to 'go straight' / achieve goals</p> 	<p>Sense of purpose / meaning in lives</p> 

<p>Remorse</p> 	<p>Ability to make sense of past experiences</p> 
<p>Desire to help others / create positive outcome from experience</p> 	

Note: factors for this activity derive from literature findings, these will be refined from content of the professional focus group

Appendix 13: Focus group schedule for YJ professionals

“Hello and welcome to this group discussion. My name is Holly Ackland and I am conducting this research as part of my Professional Doctorate in Educational Psychology at the University of Birmingham. Thank you for your willingness to take part in this focus group which is seeking the views and perspectives of professionals who work with offenders on the facilitating factors and barriers to young people making positive resettlements (no reoffences) post custody. I am particularly interested in gaining your views at this point in my research (beginning of the process) as I am keen to make my research as relevant and useful as possible to the target audience (professionals who work with offenders). The data collected from this group will contribute to my doctoral thesis and help shape my approach / direction / questions for the interviews I will conduct with young people (ex-offenders) in order to increase the practical applicability of findings”

Introduction

- Outline structure and timeframes for questions/ranking activity
- Participants are advised to draw upon their own professional experience, there are no right or wrong answers. Participants can utilise examples from their practice to illustrate their points if appropriate.
- It is expected that professionals will have varying opinions and professional experiences as we are referring to a diverse group of young people. I am keen to obtain a diverse range of opinions and to highlight contrasting/conflicting views – they do not have to agree with one another.
- For the purpose of this group I will remain neutral so I do not influence the content or direction of the discussions in any way
- The focus group is designed so that participants communicate between one another, asking one another questions, exchanging anecdotes and commenting on experiences – focus is not upon addressing me as the researcher
- Remind participants all names will be anonymised and individuals will be unidentifiable in report.

Group ‘rules’

Ask participants to suggest ground rules for the group so that individuals feel safe contributing their opinions/ideas/thoughts and the focus group successfully gains *everyone’s* perspectives on the topic area. These can be written on a flip chart so they are visible throughout the session.

Suggested group ‘rules’ may include:

- Confidentiality, what is discussed in the room should stay in the room to adhere to confidentiality
- Be respectful of others views, whether or not you agree with them, everyone’s opinions are equally important
- Listening to one another, only one person speaks at a time, no talking over one another (this will help with recording). Can raise hand if you have a point whilst someone else is speaking and we can come to you next.

Warm up

Introduce selves. Ice breaker i.e. explain their role and state time spent in YJS or amount of experience working with offenders (ensure all members have a chance to speak i.e. go round the circle/room).

Body of group discussion:

Discussion topic	Provisional questions / items
Facilitating factors	<p>Why do you think some young people are more easily able to refrain from further criminal activity?</p> <p>What do you think helps young people to make successful resettlements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• post custody• during custody• pre-custody <p>How are these factors affected by:</p> <p>4 Person</p> <p>5 Context</p> <p>6 Timing</p> <p>Do the young people who you know of who have refrained from further criminal activity post release for 12months + share any similar traits? Or environmental / situational similarities?</p> <p>To what do you think young people attribute their successful resettlement and desistance from crime?</p> <p>CARD SORT ACTIVITY (see Appendix 6): To what extent do you think the following factors influence young people's ability to make a positive resettlement and desist from crime? This is to be completed as a group activity with participants having to rank/rate each factor (from lowest-highest influences upon young people's ability to make a positive resettlement)</p>
Barriers	<p>What do you think young people find difficult about making the transition from custody to the community? What do you think are the main challenges / barriers?</p> <p>What factors do you think are involved in determining persistence as opposed to desistance in young offenders' post-custody?</p> <p>What do you think are the temptations / appeals of returning to a life of crime?</p>

Prompts which may be used during the focus group:

- Could you explain what you mean by that
- Could you talk more about that
- Can you provide an example?
- How have you established that opinion?
- What makes you say that?
- Why do you agree / disagree?
- What do other people think?
- Has anyone else got an opinion on that?
- Let's have some other comments

Closure

- Feedback, reflect and summarise emerging/key themes
- Identify individual differences, contrasting experiences and perspectives
- Check for accuracy and seek elaboration where needed
- Reaffirm consent for data to be retained for transcription and analysis
- Allow for any questions from participants
- Clarify next steps in my research and when / how they will be able to access the findings

Appendix 14: Exemplar transcripts

Key: Analysis of transcription

Code	Description
Red script	Researcher's words
Black script	Participant's words
Blue script	YJW's words
Green script	None-verbal expression (e.g. coughing, laughing)
Purple script	Action (e.g. participant gets out of their seat, YJW enters the room)
Italic script	Emphasised words
Parentheses	Uncertainty over spoken words (e.g. words said too quickly to hear clearly or mumbled words)
Underlined	Turning points (as perceived by myself)

14a) Excerpt 1 from Jack's narrative

(Jack gets up and looks out of the window, the police car is still in the car park)

Are you going to be coming to see me again or did you kind of wanna get it done today?

If possible

How long do you reckon we've got left?

10 minutes? Is that alright?

I don't really wanna hang around if I'm honest

That's alright

(Jack sits back down)

So is there anything you think would stop you apart from the police?

Nope

(YJW enters room)

alright mate, they're here for a meeting with the fire service and stuff so stop panicking

Obviously, I don't need to panic because I've done nothing wrong but they just like

harassing me don't they

Yeah

(YJW looks at me and raises his eyebrows)

They just wanna cause as much discomfort to my life as possible

Well alright mate, I think we've got an agreement that they don't come and arrest people here anyway, obviously this is your time to do your work with us and it's no good if you've got to come down here with the fear of being arrested because you can't focus on the sessions, so don't worry

Alright then, cheers

14b) Excerpt 2 from Jack's narrative

As you were growing up can you pin point when things changed for you when you became more involved in criminal activities..

I just went into it, I'd just mess around, I used to enjoy getting chased around by the police, I just used to love the adrenaline rush like when the police were after me, and then (laughs) you'd just be running for your life (laughs) and you'd get away and just laugh about it

Can you remember the first time that happened?

Yeh (laughs)

How old were you?

I was probably 12 ish maybe, roughly, I'd say something like that..

Mmm...

I remember it, it started off with the local community support, we used to throw stuff at their vans and then they got on top of the youth club and then throwing stuff off the youth club and then the police come and they were just chasing us around the area for ages.. just fun (laughs).. hiding and they'd find you and you'd just have to run off again (laughs)

Was it funny? Was it fun at the time?

yeah, it was enjoyable yeh

Was it?

It was enjoyable after, at the time you're a bit scared and that, then after, just laugh about it, didn't get us, feel one up

How did things progress from there then?

Then... I dunno, that was just petty crime, I was always on the shoplifting, never ever been caught for shoplifting my whole life, I used to just rob anything I could get my hands on, I just didn't see the point in paying for it when I could just take it

Mmm...

just walk in, chocolate bar, little energy drink, whatever I want, just go in and take it out the shop and just go out with it because I felt like I could

Mmm...

but obviously, that's wrong, cus the man whose shop it is he's just trying to run his business ent he, he's just trying to put his bread and butter on the table for the family and that

How did it go from 'petty' things to bigger things?

I dunno, I just thought it was too easy thieving and that so I just thought I could do it, I went from the shoplifting then I went around opening car doors at night, cars that were unlocked, emptying them of whatever's in there, tom toms, whatever, phones or purses left in the car, take them, then er I started on the sheds an stuff, bikes out the sheds, then I started popping open garages for better bikes or motorbikes or whatever and then I er, got onto the houses and then that's what I got locked up for

Were your friends doing the same kind of stuff?

Yeh, we all was, we'd do it together, we'd all just, when we were doing the cars an that, 5 of us would go out we'd just split up into 2's, just that street, that street, that street, we'd all meet up at the end and put our stuff together, you know, see what we got..

What would you get then? What would be the.. the benefit of doing it?

you get the money out of it, you get whatever out of it, I mean we were all bad little cigarette smokers at the time as well

Really?

all mad on the roll ups and that, get 20 quid and straight in the shop for a 50 gram, that was just what we did, I don't even smoke anymore now

Don't you?

Nah

What were you like back then, did you do drugs or drink alcohol or anything?

Nah, I started smoking weed but I didn't really like it much, it just used to mong me out so never really took to weed much

Mmm...

and then before I went to jail first I started dabbling in the cocaine, started dabbling in that, used to like that, but then erm like all my orders and that, like this, If I was on the cocaine now, I would not of turned up here, obviously I don't do none of that shit no more

Why not?

Because I just learnt my lesson being in jail and that, that's not the life I want..

How long were you there for?

Just under a year.

14c) Excerpt from Luke's narrative

What happened when you went into care then? How long was that for?

Err, it just kept getting extended. At first I got three month, and then, that's when I first come out and, like I said, I went straight back in, and then come straight back out and then, they put me into there and I reoffended which is, took me straight back down, and then when I come back out, they put me back in that care home and I was there for about nine months in total like...

Were you?

It got to the point where I didn't want to go home. Wanted to stay but....

Why was that then?

I don't know. Just. Because. Because I'd had like three, four years away where I'd been away from my mom, really from the family and not really lived at home because...

Mmm...

I've always been in and out of police stations like. I've spent most of my time in police stations than I would at home. But, like then, like, when I come out I went straight into care so it was really like going back at home. But then I settled down to quick and I, I got to attached to them but, I do regret, not in a bad way, but I do regret kind of coming home like that because it's just, it's annoying. XXX XXX, my brothers and that, whereas there, I'd go home, I just go to my room and I just chill. Didn't hear nothing for the rest of the night, which I do kind of miss like. But now, when I go home and that it's just loud because my little brother is always on Xbox. It's like, I don't know, it's like normal kids but it's, I just got too attached, way too attached to my carers.

What do you mean by too attached?

I don't, I just, I got, I like them too much and it's, I got a lot too close to them, like when it got to the point of me coming home, it's like pffff. I was excited to come home because I hadn't been home for like nearly three or four years but, it's like...

Mmm..

I don't really want to, but, I do wish, if I could have made the choice, I wish, I would have, it's not, not stayed there full-time but I did have the chance of staying. Come home for the week and go back to them for the weekend...

Mmm...

But I was more excited about coming home, coming home and coming home but I do, I do regret it quite a bit because it's just not the same because when I get home I wouldn't have too, I could just chill like but, now, when I get home I just listen to my brother. I just listen to him shouting at the Xbox and that. And when I get back from work and that I want to chill, I want some peace and quiet...

Mmm...

And it's just like, my little brother on the Xbox *all* the time so,...

Mmm...

So in that way, I do miss it and, like I said, I got, I got really close to my carers like. It was really like a second mum and dad. I got a lot too attached like so. It was a bit weird coming home first because really, I got to the point where I was more close to really them than what I was to my mum and dad...

Really?

I'd be more with them than I would with my mum and dad because I enjoyed like being there and I enjoyed with them like. Because my dad works nights and that so I don't really, I don't really. The only time I see him is on the weekends

Mmm....

Because I work as well. And my mum, I get on with her but, like I said, I don't really get on with her as much as I do with my dad. But it's just mad it's. Since unclear I got out I just, I knew I got really close to them but, obviously, things have happened since like. So I don't really, I get on with my mom loads init but obviously it's just. When she was drinking she got ill yeah? And she nearly died and that and the doctor told us she ever drinks again she'll *die* init. But since I've been back home, she started drinking again ain't it. So, I don't have much respect for my mum than what I do for the other side of my family. So that's why do regret it in a way, coming home from my care home, because when I get home and that as well, I have to listen to my mum pissed, and I know for a fact that she is *dying* because she started drinking again so. Which, it annoys me a lot because she used to, used to blame it on me getting in trouble and that but, like say to her now, what is your excuse because if anything, and perfect compared to what I used to be...

Mmm..

So, that's what I mean, I do really miss, I do really miss coming, well not in a bad way, I do really miss coming home. Well I do regret coming home full-time because I have to get home and most of the time my mum is *pissed* out of her head so.

How do you manage with that, how do you cope?...

Err. I get angry and that obviously because I know that $\frac{1}{4}$ of her liver is already dead and it's never going to grow back. And I know for a fact, I know what's happening, because she's doing exactly what she's doing the last time though. Belly starts going all swelled up with the fluid on her liver and that like, and I can blatantly see it and I can see her going all yellow in the face and that again. But I just, it's just quite hard for me like because what I, she used to try to blame it on me but now it's like, what is her excuse because the thing what I feel is as well is because, it was mad because when I come home it seems like, I know it's not, but it seems like to me, when I come home, she started drinking again but she, I knew, but she was drinking before I come home anyway...

Mmm...

But me personally, it seems like to me, well, it's like obviously, you've been away from the family for a long time and you don't really know what goes on at home and you come straight home to mom, obviously, nearly dying, well pretty much dead, I don't know how she did survive the doctor said. But, that's what I mean, she stopped drinking for a year, bang, started back up, and it's like well, you can't really think that much about us because the doctors already told you this year. She had to hospital this year, and the doctor already told her, $\frac{1}{4}$ of your liver is dead but, if I was you, I wouldn't even sniff it and, she's just gone back on to what she used to drink, which made her ill last time. So, like I told her, I care about you and that but, I don't, I don't really respect, well I respect her but not as much as I do towards my dad. Because obviously I don't know. Ever since, I don't, I just like, I'm a bit of a daddy's boy now so...

14d) Excerpt from Mason's narrative

Did you like school?

It was alright but, I would want to do school again...

Would you?

So I could like, prove a point but, obviously, it's the past not the future.

What point would you want to prove by going back?

About going back to secondary school to start again so I get, so I could actually stay through instead of getting kicked out and stuff.

So when did you get kicked out?

I got sent down when I was 14 and they wouldn't let me, they weren't going to take me back, the school, [REDACTED] they were going to take you back in. Because I was on tag and that, they took me back. And then, they didn't want me in the school no more because they didn't want me to tell the stories of what happened and stuff. Said they send me to XXX, what's in XXX. And then, I chilled out there...

Did you?

Because it weren't a big place, like there weren't that many people there, I chilled out. I had like one flight in 2½ years being there ...

Mmm...

I chilled out proper. And then, I come back out after I finish school and that. We'd just do, me and my mates would just chill at the park and that. Then one day we just thought do what we want, and just had another fight. And then, the day we had a fight we got offered a mountain bike and we just got caught on it and I just got put back on this order.

So the first time you went into custody, what was that for?

Er, that was for assault....

And when you got excluded from school, how did that feel?

Like, it just felt like, what was the point in even doing that because I've come back in, I didn't even have no trouble and that when I went back in. And then, it seemed like, I had like two months left my order, and then they decide to kick me out...

Were you angry?

Yeah I was angry. And then, because I only used to finish at, I used to finish at 12:30 at [REDACTED] ...

Mmm...

The half 12 for the first couple of moths then I went on to... Then, at least get dropped off home, and I used to meet my mate. He weren't in school because he used to do sessions at home. We used to go pick your sister up from XXX and all the teachers used to just look at me like, look at him. He's completely changed and that. And then before when I used to do drugs and that, and then when I come out, I don't, I thought there's no point doing it. It's a waste of money.

When did you start doing drugs?

When I was about 11 or 12....

What did you start taking?

I started smoking weed and stuff...

And how did that affect you do you think?

Like, I just used to, like, I used to think it was good at the time...

Mmm...

But now I look back, I just see, it just made me more like, mentally, like. Because it like it changes your mental health and stuff...

Mmm...

How did it change your mental health?

Like, used to just like, like, feel like, I weren't, nothing was happening. So I used to smoke more of it, more of it...

Appendix 15: Development of themes

The tables below outline how codes were transformed into themes and sub-themes. Some important points to note regarding this process include:

- Codes that were related to one another were grouped together to form themes.
- Main themes and sub-themes were identified by frequency, counting the number of units within each code.
- Some codes were considered significant enough to be converted into main or sub-themes due to the frequency of units (sentences) that were associated with this code., for example, 'mindset' was converted to a main theme in Jack's narrative. Whilst some less frequent codes were merged with other codes (e.g. location and accommodation merged to become code 10 in Luke's narrative). Some of the least frequent codes were removed (e.g. code 14 with Luke's narrative, 'attitude towards police' was removed due to the small number of units (4) within the code).
- The wording used to describe themes was chosen by myself as the researcher during the thematic analysis process, therefore, may not be reflective of participants language. For example, the term 'mindset' may not be a term within participants vocabulary, however, the wider audiences were also considered during this process also (e.g. what would constitute as helpful and accessible terminology when relaying findings to colleagues, professionals, and academics).

15a) An overview of themes generated from Jack's narrative

Main theme	Sub-theme	Codes
Upbringing / background	Childhood (a)	Schooling / Education (7) Location (c)
Mindset (9)	Perception of authority (15)	Positive outlook (4), Reflection (k), Remorse (z), Future (5) Self-belief (21)
Social support (e)	Relationships	Family (s), Friends (p), Professional support (g) Social/leisure activities (o)
Criminal incentives	Benefits/ Rewards (u)	Adrenaline (t), Amusement/enjoyment (v), Upper hand on authority figures (w), Ease (x), Entitlement (y), Substances (1), Self-esteem (2), Access to a better lifestyle (3), Alleviate boredom (12)
Environment	Custody	Structure/routine (20), Qualifications (6), Conflict (d)
	Transition (8)	Preparation (13), Fear (14) Employment (11), Restrictions (17), Location (c)

15b) An overview of themes generated from Luke's narrative

Main theme	Sub-theme (s)	Codes
Relationships	Family relationships (c), Significant relationship with YJ professional (15) Mother drinking (e)	Childhood (a), Family background (b) Chances / opportunities (12), Attachment (13), Foster placement (s), School (d), Trust / respect / responsibility (5)
Mind-set (h)	Confidence (w)	Independence (x), Future (7)
Custody (m)	Re-conviction (t)	Routine (o), Qualifications (p), Restorative justice (q), Social and professional support in custody (r), Re-entering community (u)
Substances (f)	Crime (g) Head trauma (l)	Self-care (k), Peers/friends (i), Leisure activities (6)
Proactive strategies (2)	Employment (y)	Desistance (3), Finances (z), Professional support post-custody (4), Substances (f) Location/ Accommodation (10)

15c): An overview of themes generated from Mason's narrative

Main theme	Sub-theme	Codes
Anger / aggression (e)	School / education (f)	Childhood / background (c) Family (a), Loss (d), Substances (l), Crime (k), Peers / friends (h)
Mind-set (i)		Life choices / reasoning (g), Attitude towards police (m) Remorse / reflection (w), Desistance (1), Future (2)
Custody (n)	Release / transition (s)	Professional support (o)
Strategies / promotive factors (t)		Employment (v)

Appendix 16: Example of reflections. Notes from focus group 1

- A disappointing number of professionals stayed for the focus group after their meeting, however, it was optional attendance and I still gained a range of professionals from different roles.
- Discussions had outside of the focus group centred around systemic issues, for example, retention of staff, colleagues off sick with stress, others stretched to cover their work load, training issues, poor recruitment, low staff numbers, increased pressure.
- Obtaining a focus group sample proved difficult and for those working within the system, it appeared to be a chaotic experience within the organisation. The reflection of young peoples' chaotic lives within a chaotic system?
- Participants' reflected on previous practices they thought had worked well, for example, holding Combined Risk Intervention and Safeguarding Planning (CRISP) meeting before a YP's custody release.
- Surprising findings for me included the perception of custody as a positive experience for YP (as opposed to a deterrent) and the significant restraints experienced by YJ professionals, presenting significant barriers to best practice – a real sense of frustration was conveyed regarding the constraints of processes in place.
- Interesting use of a psychological model (Maslow's hierarchy) to order and prioritise factors in card sort.
- One participant was quieter and less vocal than the others, had to invite and prompt involvement as well as return to points that had been cut off. This participant mentioned having less experience working with high risk, custody cases, so perhaps thought her contributions were less valid and perhaps, so too, did the rest of the group.
- Points to consider for next focus group: participants looked towards me at times to direct their responses, almost looking for a reaction, encouragement, or confirmation that their contribution was valuable. Perhaps sitting further away from the group would be beneficial, as well as ensuring facial expressions and responses are kept to a minimum. The layout of the room was potentially not ideal with a large table in the middle that acted as a barrier almost. Importance of timings was questionable, whether to relax timings when valuable discussion is taking place. The practical difficulties of taking notes whilst steering the focus group provides questions regarding the importance of note taking.

Appendix 17: Codes generated from YP's narratives

17a) An overview of codes generated from Jack's narrative

Quotations	Codes
<p>I was raised, I was born in X (a)</p> <p>my parents weren't together from a very young age, I don't actually remember my parents being together (a)</p> <p>My mum passed away a few years ago when we were already living over here in rugby and I've just lived with my nan and grandad since... (a)</p> <p>when my mum passed away obviously it did fuck me up, y'know I'm only young and I lost my mum obviously it fucks you up doesn't it... 14 (years old) (a)</p> <p>It was just family issues, after my dad split, always being abit of a twat, always turning up trying to take me and my sister out and that, when he hadn't arranged anything (a)</p> <p>(how old were you?) 12 maybe, ish, roughly, I'd say something like that.. I remember it, it started off with the local community support, we used to throw stuff at their vans and then they got on top of the youth club and then throwing stuff off the youth club (a)</p> <p>we used to just to just play football out on the street (a)</p> <p>stood on a nail, went straight through the bottom of the trainer... I was only about 4 or 5...that's about the oldest I can remember (a)</p> <p>I remember happy holidays and stuff... I've been on loads of holidays, I used to go on holidays to Cornwall and that, down to Devon... (a)</p> <p>I was younger when I was with my old friends...just hanging around and that, knocking about an that (a)</p> <p>I stopped speaking to him because he used to tell me off for getting into trouble but he only wants the best for me, he's my dad (a)</p>	Childhood (a)
<p>I moved over here when I was like in Year 3 so like 7 years of age or something, then came to rugby, settled in around rugby (c)</p> <p>I moved from one bit of rugby to a different bit.. just moved, a change of scenery (c)</p> <p>I quite liked it (X), had a lot of family close round but there was just abit too much trouble local... so we had to move over here.. (c)</p> <p>All the people in that school live local but I live far away so... I just had a few school friends and then people in the local area (c)</p> <p>placement in XXX (town)...over there but I wanna be with the people in rugby...get myself a little 150 pound car...drive over and that's how I ended up getting arrested (c)</p> <p>knows exactly where I'm heading anyway, I'm going back over to mine in X... police flying out of everywhere... I took the chase (c)</p> <p>its only tempting if you're around the people that are gonna tempt ya... No, thankfully their (friends) not in the area anymore.. (c)</p> <p>best thing for me is to get as far away from this town as possible, because I've got all the people I ever offended with in this town (c)</p>	Location (c)
went to primary school in X.. went to school around here (7)	Schooling /

<p>I went secondary school but didn't last very long, well ish, about 2 year I lasted... always getting excluded...after my second year they just told me they didn't want me to come back (7)</p> <p>Just messing about, never listening to anything, just kicking off and that (7)</p> <p>I went to a PRU... alright, chilling, didn't learn a thing though... there was no school work there or nothing, or if there was nobody did it (7)</p> <p>they (PRU) used to just do activities and stuff, it was fun...mountain biking canoeing and stuff, swimming an that, take us golf range... (7)</p> <p>you were glad of education in there because that was a good 5 hours out your pad which is a lot in there...education is a god send.. (7)</p> <p>sports courses and that, I was on personal wellbeing courses (7)</p>	<p>education (7)</p>
<p>was an adrenaline rush, kicking the door, bursting in there and ransacking the place (t)</p> <p>fucking Jack pot, everywhere you look there's stuff worth money and I'm just taking everything I can get my hands on (u)</p> <p>You get the money out of it, you get whatever out of it (u)</p> <p>I used to enjoy getting chased around...love the adrenaline rush like when the police were after me...laugh about it (w)</p> <p>funny, hiding and they'd find you and you'd just have to run off again (laughs)... it was enjoyable (v)</p> <p>didn't get us, feel one up (w)</p> <p>new car every week... (3)</p> <p>when you've done it and gone to jail and you're known for doing it, you can't do it anymore, you've got to switch up your game (w)</p> <p>I just didn't see the point in paying for it when I could just take it (x)</p> <p>I just thought it was too easy thieving (x)</p> <p>I went from the shoplifting then I went around opening car doors at night... started on the sheds, bikes out the sheds... popping open garages for better bikes or motorbikes or whatever...got onto the houses (x)</p> <p>whatever I want, just go in and take it out the shop and just go out with it, because I felt like I could but (y)</p> <p>all bad little cigarette smokers at the time...get 20 quid and straight in the shop for a 50 gram (1)</p> <p>I was out burglaring every day, and then all night I was getting coked up, I had a bad little habit (1)</p> <p>At the time, I thought I was the man because I was driving around in whatever the hell I felt like... I felt good, (2)</p> <p>I thought it was nice, living this lifestyle (3)</p> <p>before I went to jail first I started dabbling in the cocaine (1)</p>	<p>Benefits/rewards (u)</p> <p>Adrenaline (t)</p> <p>Amusement/enjoyment (v)</p> <p>Upper hand on authority figures (w)</p> <p>Ease (x)</p> <p>Entitlement (y)</p> <p>Substances (1)</p> <p>Self-esteem (2)</p> <p>Access to a better lifestyle (3)</p> <p>Alleviate boredom (12)</p>
<p>fight in there every single day... people who stay in their shell on the first two tables... fighting because they want to work their way up (d)</p> <p>(bottom of hierarchy) get picked on, half of them don't come out their cells, voluntarily ride the bang up (d)</p> <p>I was alright as soon as I went in because in the first few days I got into a fight and I absolutely battered the kid (d)</p> <p>they thought...he's alright, he can have a scrap an that, we'll bring him on (d)</p>	<p>Conflict (d)</p> <p>(custody)</p>
<p>encourage anyone coming out of custody to get themselves a good relationship</p>	<p>Relationships /</p>

<p>and settle down, because that's what's helped me a lot (e) you can't do it all on your own, you need support, you do (e)</p> <p>I haven't seen him (dad) for a few years no, I've been speaking to him again though recently (e)</p> <p>(relationship with dad) Trying to work on it... it's family, it's important at the end of the day en it, you only get one family don't ya... (e)</p> <p>she's a good woman, very good for me, helping me out, keeping me on the straight and narrow.. helped me out a lot.. (e)</p> <p>Its me, my sister and my nan and grandad... I like living with them, they help me out as much as possible, they're good to me like (e)</p> <p>Just go and see your friends and that, get happy from being around your friends an that (e)</p>	<p>social support (e)</p>
<p>an education woman come and see me... filled me out a bricklaying course application... I've been accepted (g)</p> <p>I got some qualifications out of it, I got maths and English functional skills level 1... I did the sorts courses, erm, sports leaders courses, level 1 and level 2 which is alright (g)</p> <p>X (YJW) supports me and just wants the best for me don't he (g)</p> <p>they're funding my CSCS card for me... allows me to go on to a building site, to do just labouring...isn't gonna be a fun job, but you'd have a good laugh on the site with the boys wouldn't ya (g)</p> <p>if I can get a certified job there, they can shorten, take my work and hours into account, I'd still have to meet with people over the week (g)</p> <p>Sometimes, I think it's good to have a bit of structure, whereas, if I didn't have any plans for the day I could end up staying in bed (g)</p>	<p>Professional support (g)</p>
<p>massively important (having a sense of purpose), and being confident to get there (confidence to achieve goals)... if you don't have a plan in life, like a lot of criminals just live for the day...just the quick fix (4)</p> <p>what is the quick fix doing for ya this time next week, fuck all is it, you're just in the same situation tomorrow (9)</p> <p>I never use it (loss / family separation) as an excuse... (k)</p> <p>need to be positive, need to think positive (4)</p> <p>you need a dream really, you need to picture where you want to be and what you want to be doing...you need to have your idea (5)</p> <p>the main thing is when you come out of jail, never look back at the place, keep looking forward (4)</p> <p>I've just got something to work for, I feel like I can plan a future to build round now (4)</p> <p>before I was living for the day, whereas now I live for the future (5)</p> <p>like I do feel bad, that was wrong of me to go into peoples houses and take their stuff that they've worked hard for (z)</p> <p>If you don't have remorse then you think its acceptable so if its acceptable why aren't you gonna go and do it again (z)</p> <p>look at the people who have done it before, look where they have ended up...in an early grave or in a jail cell (k)</p> <p>thinking back now, my best bet was to stay in school, I could have had qualifications now.. (k)</p>	<p>Mindset (9)</p> <p>positive outlook (4)</p> <p>Reflection (k)</p> <p>Remorse (z)</p> <p>Future (5)</p> <p>Self-belief (21)</p>

<p>Come out and not a penny. I've worked out how much money I've earnt, so where the fuck is it, just wasted it all, but if you go out and work for your money you treat it a lot better don't ya, you don't take it for granted do ya (k)</p> <p>My prison time has given me a lot of time to think, a lot, a lot of time to think about what I want to get out of my life (k)</p> <p>everything's alright for the day...you don't get a pension from it, you certainly aren't gonna get a mortgage from it are ya (k)</p> <p>I just learnt my lesson being in jail an that, that's not the life I want.. (k)</p> <p>obviously, that's wrong, cus the man whose shop it is he's just trying to run his business ent he (z)</p> <p>bad thinking about it, terrible that persons got to come home from hard days graft and find their front door hanging off(z)</p> <p>at the time I didn't give a fuck.. I just thought fuck it, I was happy, just never thought twice about it.... obviously now I've grown up (9)</p> <p>I just thought, I'll fix my shit up (9)</p> <p>(5 years from now) I'd like to be just happy, still with my woman and that... get married, get my own place and that, be working.. (5)</p> <p>I feel good to be honest, I feel like erm, theres places I can go (4)</p> <p>there's only so long you have to start declaring stuff for, before long people won't have a clue about my past (4)</p> <p>you've got to have a positive outlook because if you don't think positively... you're not going to try are ya (4)</p> <p>I'm making sense of it and I'm trying to help (9)</p> <p>I'm not proud of my past, I couldn't be but...I don't feel the need to be ashamed anymore, I've done my punishment for it (k)</p> <p>got to feel confident in yourself.. if I put my mind to it I can do it (4)</p>	
<p>it's just keeping busy, it's when you've got nothing to do you think, I'll go and do this then, fuck it... why not (12) (o)</p> <p>my tag's been extended so that I can play football, I've joined like a local 6 a side... get me out the house... good laugh down there (o)</p> <p>just got to find stuff, like I enjoyed my adrenaline rush...replaced that, I went paintballing with my mates...not the same but it's still fun (o)</p> <p>it's positive activities isn't it, its constructive for your time (o)</p>	Social/leisure activities (o)
<p>It was the best feeling ever walking out them gates... love it... (8)</p> <p>Build up to leaving custody, everyone supposed to have it but it was just nowhere to be seen for me, it just wasn't there... (8)</p> <p>before you leave you should have a plan for the first month, what you wanna achieve... I'm sure it's meant to (happen) like (8)</p> <p>preparation, that's the main thing, it's like, say you've been in a submarine for 6 months, you come back up, the altitude has changed, y'know they allow to adjust but one day you're locked up in a cell, the next day you're out in the big wide world, there's no in-between.. (8)</p> <p>It was mental, the cars looked like they were fucking flying (8)</p> <p>You've just got to get on your feet.. I was scared at first, yeh I was scared, I just kept thinking I was gonna go back in there.. (8)</p>	Transition (8)
<p>The best thing for anyone that's been in jail is employment because in jail, you've got your routine, out here you haven't..(11)</p>	Employment (11)

<p>I've worked with friends, friends dads and stuff like that, helping out on the scrap metal for a recycling company... (11)</p> <p>I want to be a bricklayer...I'm going to look for work... start with labouring and that, just to get onto the site, just work from there (11)</p> <p>I guess I could just go around doing jobs for people that trust me couldn't I (11)</p> <p>finances, otherwise you won't have the money to do stuff you want to (11)</p>	
<p>my past, my criminal record, it could prevent me from getting certain jobs...are they gonna let a contractor go in to houses and do bricklaying who's a previous burglar...chances are, probably not.. (17)</p> <p>I've been pissed off because I want to go out and get work...feel like I can't...sessions to attend every day...put me in a tough situation (17)</p> <p>I can't do it at the moment because of all the sessions I've got, I don't have the time in the day (17)</p> <p>I'm on a 7 7 tag, I'm only allowed out 12 hours of the day (17)</p>	<p>Restrictions (17)</p>
<p>it just my past en it, I just can't forget it, they won't let me (15)</p> <p>the officers and that whilst you're in there, on me way out, the officers 'see you soon mate', fuck off, I never wanna see you again (15)</p> <p>They aren't on my side, they're against me, they won't ever be on my side (15)</p> <p>the only way they would be on my side is if I was away from here with a new police service and when I'm a law-abiding citizen (15)</p> <p>I hate them (police), fuck them, hate them.. horrible fuckers (15)</p> <p>the police are bringing me back in for no reason (15)</p> <p>we'll go and arrest him, we'll flip his house upside down...for no fucking reason, I don't know how they got the warrant for it (15)</p> <p>these lot (police), they terrorise me (15)</p> <p>I try moving on but they just won't let me, they just wanna see me fail, them police will not be happy until they've got me a double figure sentence and then they'll be like, we've done a good job here boys (15)</p> <p>the police... will drive alongside me 3 mile an hour, just, they want me to know that they're there...want me to lash out... and then their happy because they can arrest me (15)</p> <p>If I moved...we've got one of our criminals, he's just moved into your town, keep an eye out for him...they'd love it (15)</p> <p>they love coming and arresting me for no reason what so ever (15)</p>	<p>Perception of authority (15)</p> <p>(Label / stigma, Victimisation)</p>

17b): An overview of codes generated from Luke's narrative

Code	Quotations
Childhood (a)	<p>holidays, holiday, going out with my mates. Can't really remember much from when I wasn't older (a)</p> <p>I can't really think of my memory of my childhood (a)</p> <p>Camp Hill. Well XXX (town)...Mum, my dad, my 2 brothers...it's always been that...(a)</p> <p>that's really the only negative thing about my childhood. My mum drinking all the time (a)</p> <p>good job that I weren't at home because they come to my house and tried kicking the door off (a)</p>

	<p>my little brother and that, he was like only 11 / 12 at the time...My mum...petrified. Scared them (a)</p> <p>I've always been in and out of police stations like. I've spent most of my time in police stations than I would at home (a)</p> <p>police knocking on your door 24 hours, is Jake in? (a)</p>
Family background (b)	<p>My dad still gets it to this day... he's been in jail when he was a kid (b)</p> <p>the amount of people that said no and then one day, someone was willing to give him another chance and, he took it (b)</p> <p>Now is a supervisor now and security at UPS (b)</p> <p>he's completely different to me like....it was like, theft of cars...back in them days all it was about was cars (b)</p> <p>he spent quite a bit of time in category A (b)</p>
Mother's drinking (e)	<p>mums drinking... a bit of an alcoholic now...she just didn't stop (e)</p> <p>I do regret coming home full-time because I have to get home and most of the time my mum is pissed out of her head (e)</p> <p>When she was drinking she got ill yeah? And she nearly died (e)</p> <p>the doctor told us if she ever drinks again she'll die (e)</p> <p>since I've been back home, she started drinking again ain't it. So, I don't have much respect for my mum (e)</p> <p>but I do regret coming home big time. Not like full-time like for my dad and that, but I don't like going home because my mum is pissed (e)</p> <p>So that's why do regret it in a way, coming home from my carer, because when I get home... I have to listen to my mum pissed (e)</p> <p>I know for a fact that she is dying because she started drinking again (e)</p> <p>it annoys me...she used to blame it on me getting in trouble...but, like say to her now, what is your excuse...I'm perfect compared to what I used to be (e)</p> <p>I get angry...because I know that ¼ of her liver is already dead and it's never going to grow back... I know what's happening (e)</p> <p>Belly starts going all swelled up with the fluid on her liver... I can blatantly see it and I can see her going all yellow in the face... it's just quite hard for me (e)</p> <p>she used to try to blame it on me but now it's like, what is her excuse (e)</p> <p>it seems like... when I come home, she started drinking again but she, I knew, that she was drinking before (e)</p> <p>come straight home to mom, obviously, nearly dying, well, pretty much dead, I don't know how she did survive the doctor said (e)</p> <p>she stopped drinking for a year.. started back up (e)</p> <p>you can't really think that much about us because the doctors already told you this year... ¼ of your liver is dead but, if I was you, I wouldn't even sniff it and, she's just gone back on to what she used to drink (e)</p> <p>if you want to do that to our life... there's only so much I can do. I can put it away down the sink... which I do but she just goes out and get some more (e)</p> <p>she's an adult ain't it so, and she knows what she's doing, and she knows... she's going to end up dying but she still don't stop so (e)</p> <p>I know for a fact that she can't, she must not think about us as much as what she thinks about a drink (e)</p> <p>she knows for a fact, if she keeps it up she'll be dead by next year...and she just carries on drinking (e)</p>

	<p>it's too late anyway because a doctor told in January that if you keep drinking, you keep drinking and next time you come back you'll... in the ward (e)</p> <p>this might be a bit horrible but like I said to her, I can't wait until it's too late for you so I can turn round and tell you, do you wish you listened now (e)</p> <p>It gets me so angry like... she knows I start getting angry, neighbours start calling police... when police come... I start attacking them (e)</p> <p>got to a point where she didn't care about nothing else other than drink, so I stopped really caring about anyone and just started getting into trouble (e)</p>
Family relationships (c)	<p>pay back my mum and dad for what I put them through like, give them a bit of peace (c)</p> <p>to be honest I didn't really give a shit about her (c)</p> <p>I've lost loads and loads of respect for my mom... I did get really attached to her like, but ever since she started drinking again (c)</p> <p>as long as she is all right then I'm all right (c)</p> <p>I don't have nowhere near as much respect for her now compared to when I first come out. Nowhere near (c)</p> <p>I got on with them because obviously, they're my parents....But now, compared to when I got out...I don't know if it's because I'm older (c)</p> <p>I'm so close to my dad like since I've been out like... because I'm older and now I tell them the truth... Everything's changed... just easier (c)</p> <p>if someone come round now and tried scaring my mum or summat...I have to, I'd hurt them like because it's my mum (c)</p> <p>I get on with her but, like I said, I don't really get on with her as much as I do with my dad (c)</p> <p>Since I got out I just, I knew I got really close to them but, obviously, things have happened since (c)</p> <p>I don't really, I get on with my mom loads (c)</p> <p>I talk to my dad now about things like and... my dad knows what it's like. He's been through it all, he's been through the system, he knows the police, he knows the system. He knows how it is... So, it's a bit easier for me to talk to my dad than anyone else like. (c)</p> <p>now when I go home and that it's just loud because my little brother is always on Xbox. It's like, I know, it's like normal kids (c)</p> <p>when I get home I just listen to my brother. I just listen to him shouting at the Xbox (c)</p> <p>when I get back from work and that I want to chill, I want some peace and quiet...my little brother on the Xbox all the time (c)</p> <p>my dad works nights and that so I don't really, I don't really. The only time I see him is on the weekends because I work as well (c)</p> <p>My mum and dad as well, what I put them through as well like...they stuck by me the whole time (c)</p> <p>if something goes missing of mine... I don't even look, I go mad straight away... and it's 'how do think we used to feel when stuff of ours went missing?' (c)</p> <p>I pay them back still as much as I can, I do as much as I can for them, so (c)</p> <p>So, bit of a daddy's boy now (c)</p> <p>so long as my brothers and my dad is all right...Then I'm all right (c)</p> <p>I got on with my dad but I didn't really get on with him as much as what I do now</p>

	<p>(c)</p> <p>say if I went out and robbed summat, I go home and tell my dad, because I know, I, I get on with him loads now, I I know I can tell him things like (c)</p> <p>whereas used to before, I'd never say nothing...so. It's (custody) help me in a lot of ways (c)</p> <p>as long as my youngest brother, my oldest brother and my dad is all right then I'm all right init? (c)</p>
School (d)	<p>I enjoyed Primary school (d)</p> <p>I was perfect you know until I got to about year eight and then I got banged and I got kicked out of XXX (d)</p> <p>move me to XXX (town), got kicked out of there within two week, sent me to XXX (location)PRU, got kicked out of there (d)</p> <p>they took me back so many times, kept getting kicked out like and then just I didn't want to go. (d)</p> <p>(PRU) The best school time I've ever been...You do three lessons, you're on a trip (d)</p> <p>the school (PRU) was shut down because no one would go out of the school with a qualification (d)</p> <p>the lessons were half an hour long, and you'd have three of them and you go paintballing (d)</p> <p>I would have no qualifications...there's good things and bad things... (d)</p>
Peers/friends (i)	<p>didn't really care about nothing really wanted to be with my mates (i)</p> <p>My friend at nursery with Ciaran and Cameron from when I've been grown up so, it was just a group of four of us, so, I've known them literally all my life, so we've always been together with always done everything together (i)</p> <p>All I really wanted to do was to be out with me mates and be on drugs and stuff a group of four of us and everyone was doing the same (i)</p> <p>they still asked me to do like some things, but it's like no. (i)</p> <p>I just wanted to be out and always with me mates. Just wanted to be with my mates- always. (i)</p> <p>they've done it without going into jail (i)</p> <p>me one other friend, both got sent down ain't it, so. But he was in there for a completely different thing (i)</p> <p>all our other mates, they changed themselves really (i)</p> <p>Though I meet them obviously through the week and that for a spliff and that but, that's about it...I don't really have nothing to do with hardly anyone (i)</p> <p>every single one of my offences, I've never had a code E...they say its influence (of peers) but it's not because I've stopped myself (i)</p> <p>They used to try and say, I used to get pressured by my mates (i)</p> <p>I've proved that it's not my mates that was making me do things because, if it was my mates that was making me do things, I'd still be out there now to this day doing it. (i)</p>
Self-care (k)	<p>I didn't really care what I look like (k)</p> <p>I still take them on the odd time if I am getting, like, I've started to wean myself off them so I don't, so I don't rely on them (k)</p> <p>I don't want to be on tablets for the rest of my life (k)</p> <p>your personal hygiene and stuff like that, you will respect and like your loyalties to</p>

	<p>people...It just completely goes out of the window (k)</p> <p>sometimes I don't sleep...I've got like tablets like to help me really sleep at night....</p> <p>Like anti-relaxants... but, I've stopped taking them now (k)</p>
Substances (f)	<p>you can't just blame it on drugs because it is you as well (f)</p> <p>I didn't care about nothing or no one, and that's because what the drugs (f) they just stop you from caring about anything or anyone (f)</p> <p>all you want is money and more drugs... (f)</p> <p>MCAT, it was mad. It was a mad, it was a mad, mad drug. Anyone you speak to what has tried it, they'll tell you...it's an unbelievable drug (f)</p> <p>It was just crazy....best time of my life. It was literally, the best. Nothing will ever beat that (f)</p> <p>I'll never, never, never, never, nothing can beat that buzz. That's how good the buzz was. (f)</p> <p>you can get it nowadays, but it's nothing compared to how it used to be... that was a foreign dirty drug... it was proper dirty. (f)</p> <p>you are a completely different person when you're drinking and when you're on drugs (f)</p> <p>about 14, obviously I tried MCAT... it really went downhill from there... it's just always in and out, pretty much every day getting arrested... (f)</p> <p>MCAT, because I'd never been in trouble, I was always good then, as soon as I started taking that, bang, I just went downhill (f)</p> <p>I just enjoyed it too much, of being always like, I just enjoyed the buzz (f)</p> <p>I couldn't stop because basically I was addicted to it (f)</p> <p>The thing is I've never, all the offences, and never ever been straight headed. It's always been on drugs or drink (f)</p> <p>the main thing that sent everyone wild was MCAT (f)</p> <p>MCAT was just a mad drug and it sent everyone off the rails (f)</p> <p>I was fine until I started taking drugs, and then as soon as I started taking drugs I went off the rails (f)</p> <p>They all tried it, but I loved it...it was just the best buzz of your life, the best experience you will ever have in your life like and nothing will ever top it (f) nothing will ever beat it... it was just a mad, mad drug (f)</p> <p>I can't keep blaming it on drugs and that because it was just, it was me as well like but the main thing that sent me off the rails was when I started not giving a shit about anything was the drugs.. I could have said no and walked away. But I didn't, and carried on doing it so... Half the drugs and half of me really (f)</p> <p>I think the main thing was with drugs (f)</p> <p>I've just gone back to how I used to be before I started taking drugs and that, and before I started getting into trouble (f)</p> <p>I don't really drink no more...I might go out once or twice on a Friday or Saturday night (f)</p> <p>I can't drink vodka, because if a drink vodka I'll end up in the cells, without fail, 100 percent (f)</p> <p>In drugs...it's different because weed and that, it's different because I've never ever known anyone to go and smoke a spliff and go and make an offence...(f)</p> <p>drugs or alcohol just send people wild. Definitely me (f)</p> <p>the main one is alcohol ain't it-that sends most of the people off the rails...the main</p>

	<p>thing for most people what get recalled, drink (f)</p> <p>I only really started caring... since I started behaving and stop getting into that circle of things, stop taking drugs and that (f)</p> <p>don't do anything, don't sniff nothing (f)</p> <p>I do smoke weed and that but it's like everyone pretty much smokes weed... I'm not going to give it up because I can't see any problem I've causing (f)</p> <p>that's the only drug I take, weed... that's literally it because I wouldn't even dare take anything else. (f)</p> <p>A bit of beer on the weekend and that...Downtown and that, but that's literally it...no drugs or nothing (f)</p> <p>I think I enjoyed it (crime) because of the drugs. Then when I come back out, and there was no drugs about no more... I didn't get the temptation (f)</p> <p>I know for a fact that if I wanted it I could go and get it... like I did seven, seven months without it so I can do the rest of my life without it (f)</p> <p>I don't really get no temptations. The only drugs I would really take nowadays, if I was going to take any drugs is cocaine or summat (f)</p> <p>I wouldn't go back down to that route, I would not get back into that routine of taking them dirty drugs and, nasty, nasty drugs (f)</p> <p>someone turned round and like hey I'm getting some of this. Anyone 17 or 18...Would get that temptation...but, now...I don't touch anything (f)</p> <p>I got to a point, when I come out, they was on about drug testing me...you can drug test me if you want because I'm not going down back that routine (f)</p> <p>I don't get no temptations anymore for any drugs. (f)</p>
Mind-set (h)	<p>I didn't care about anything or didn't care about anyone (h)</p> <p>Didn't care about nothing. Didn't care about myself, didn't care about anyone, didn't care about me mum, me dad, me brothers (h)</p> <p>Didn't really care about my family...didn't really give a shit about no one. (h)</p> <p>I did more things than what other people did like because, no one had really had the courage to do it but... I didn't care about nothing or no one (h)</p> <p>I'd do whatever I wanted... nothing or no one would have been stopping me (h)</p> <p>I'd got into a circle where it just didn't care (h)</p> <p>either went jail or...I'd properly end up killing someone, or I'd end up killing myself (h)</p> <p>My own fault (h)</p> <p>if my dad can do it then surely I can do it as well (h)</p> <p>I thought I'm lost, I've gone back to the same thing (h)</p> <p>this is not for me, I don't really wanna be in this life no more so, I just stopped going out, stopped doing things that we was doing (h)</p> <p>I thought this ain't the life of me and I don't really want to be in out for the rest of my life so I just, I had to do something about it and just stop doing what I was doing (h)</p> <p>you just think to yourself, why, why, why did I do this (h)</p> <p>it's like well, you should have thought about it before you did it (h)</p> <p>I just thought I can't keep doing back in, back out, back in back out (h)</p> <p>I just thought, this ain't the life for me no more (h)</p> <p>when I come back out, I just changed the set of, way I think (h)</p> <p>I think that helped me going back down there as well because like, I thought, I'll be</p>

going to a man's jail soon like ... I don't really want to be doing this (h)

I thought I can't deal with this, like, I don't want to be in and out in and out (h)

I thought yeah, it's just a little, little mess around, slipped up... it's like bang and straight back inside, and it's like I'm not looking forward to this (h)

I've got to prove myself, prove to people that I've changed and I wanted another chance (h)

I want to change so I'm changing (h)

I don't want to... get back into that thing of going back out and getting back into that... slipping back to that way (h)

I ain't really got a choice, so I had to get used to it... it's helped me loads (h)

what I was doing before, it was my own choice and then it's my own choice to stop, which I have so (h)

I'm not looking at a two-year sentence for doing something pathetic (h)

I've got myself settled now, looking at getting an apprenticeship. So it's not, nowhere near worth it (h)

I thought I'd better start changing the way I am so I did (h)

I just think more cleverly like... is it really worth it? No it's not (h)

now I think about it (h)

one more thing and I'm looking at a very long time so I really need to start changing my ways and my act. So I did. (h)

I thought I had to do something like, to say thank you to them really...And I've proved them (h)

Well, I proved my mum and everyone around wrong ain't it because they thought I was just going to get straight back in to it (h)

I hate having to think about if I do something wrong... I couldn't handle it...being in the cells...I got used to being my own thing like.. working like (h)

I think I'm strong enough in myself anyway to not go and do summat like that (drugs) because I know what it did to me and I know like, it would just ruin me. (h)

now it's, it's completely different situation. (h)

I'd rather stick to the way I am than rather go back down that route and lose everything (h)

I'd rather that and rob summat than go and play football which, I do I really, really do regret it (h)

basically, up yours, I'd rather go out and get high (h)

I would not be able to handle the cells on my own no more because I, I've not been in that predicament for two or three years and it's like, it's like going back to square one again, it's, that's not for me (h)

I know for a fact, I take one line then it's going to lead to another one and another one and another one, yeah? (h)

it was either carried on drinking and getting into trouble, or like I said, change my life start doing things and what I want to do (h)

If you ain't got no ambition or motivation to stick to what you doing then, like I said, it's, your stuffed really (h)

If they want help...you can't really do anything... if they don't really give a shit about and they still don't want to change their life (h)

if you want to reach your goal, then you stick to it and you won't stop until you can, like achieve that goal (h)

Crime (g)	<p>I got offered scouts...started getting into robbery and I turned all my career away which I really, really, really regret (g)</p> <p>I snapped my leg started getting crime and I just chucked it all away (g)</p> <p>Mine were burglaries and stuff like that (g)</p> <p>to rob a shop or something like that, it's like I used to do that when I was about 13/14 (g)</p> <p>I just hate them... probably because of my experience with them (g)</p> <p>I was getting to the point where I was robbing my own family... that's how bad it is (g)</p> <p>just money, taking things like games, my dad's games...back then they used to be worth some money (g)</p> <p>when you start going into crime and that, starts becoming like an addiction to you as well because you just get used to it and you keep doing it (g)</p> <p>you don't stop until you get caught... it is like a mad little circle (g)</p> <p>I'd never been in trouble, to within six months I'm being sent down like, it was mad that I'd never been involved with the police (g)</p> <p>I was never been known by the police to having been arrested the most times out of anyone in XXX (town) (g)</p> <p>I'd never been arrested to being arrested pretty much every day (g)</p> <p>robberies, burglaries really (g)</p> <p>then it would start again to a serious point like knifepoint robberies and knifepoint burglaries... and obviously that's when it started getting serious and I started getting sentences (g)</p> <p>I was the youngest person in XXX (town) and IOM and PPLO...PPL whatever I can't think of what it's called (g)</p> <p>I didn't care I would rob anyone off the estate like. Got to the point like, where I was robbing my own family (g)</p> <p>my mum always thought when the police or something come round, she was expecting them to say that they'd found me dead or summat (g)</p> <p>so I had to do what I had to, do an that, I got a buzz off it (g)</p> <p>I just loved, I just love the buzz of it like, everyone did (g)</p>
Attitude towards police (14)	<p>I start getting into big trouble when the police come. (14)</p> <p>I absolutely hate them... Hate them with a passion (14)</p> <p>some of them are all right but the bad ones give them a bad name (14)</p>
Head trauma (I)	<p>a few years back I got full on, full on battered...ever since that...my head's just constant headaches, constant (I)</p> <p>I can't sleep at night, I can't relax. So they put me on some sleeping things (I)</p> <p>I was full-on mashed-up...battered (I)</p> <p>it was my own fault...I robbed the wrong person and got caught red-handed (I)</p> <p>I get took home in a van and got left on my doorstep and I can't breathe, can't do nothing. I've been sick, blood, everything (I)</p> <p>bang, rushed me straight into hospital, want me to stay in there for days and days. Stayed in there for about a day and a half. I discharged myself (I)</p> <p>I've had problems ever since for years and years now (I)</p> <p>I had a head scan the other – meant to have it in jail but it didn't happen... appointment happened when I got out (I)</p> <p>done my head scan and that. Nothing serious come back (I)</p>

	<p>they put me on these anti-relaxants, see how they help me with headaches (l) Ever since, I don't really, I still get the odd headache like, but nowhere near. (l)</p> <p>I'd get a headache, like, pretty much all the time...3 or 4 times a day (l)</p> <p>It was like that bad, I couldn't even sleep (l)</p> <p>I'd get headaches that bad that sometimes I'd cry, like, that painful, they'd proper make me cry at night and that, because I couldn't sleep (l)</p> <p>it probably didn't help with all the stress and that, that I was going through at the time... I spent most of my time at the police station (l)</p> <p>I thought I was going to die or something man (l)</p> <p>fully battering me like. Full on leather cosh and that (l)</p> <p>took me in the van and drop me off on my doorstep and drove off ain't it, because they didn't want people knowing who they were (l)</p> <p>Soon as police come, red button straightaway for an ambulance...Rushed straight into (l)</p> <p>I can't really remember. Knocked out about a hundred times, I think I was knocked out about 16 times It was mad. (l)</p> <p>I went straight back out, that's what I mean, I went straight back out the next day the next day. That's what I mean. MCAT, it was mad. (l)</p>
Custody (m)	<p>He (dad) used to hate having to come and see me because he knows how hard it is to walk away (m)</p> <p>I kept having to put the phone down... I don't want to be sitting there on the phone to my mom while she's crying her eyes out (m)</p> <p>I've never been in trouble... boom, and I've been sent down (m)</p> <p>not expecting nothing...I keep getting told off, keep getting told off, keep getting told off.. bang, they made an example of me (m)</p> <p>It was lucky it was my first offence because I got 5 ½ years....(m)</p> <p>at night and that, when you haven't got nothing to do, it's all you really do, think what have I done (m)</p> <p>it didn't really help me stop reoffending the first time (m)</p> <p>you do think, do think a hell of a lot when you're in there (m)</p> <p>when I got there, there was only two other people in my unit. I was the longest person on there for the whole time (m)</p> <p>it was horrible the first time... all I wanted to do was get back out and get back on the drugs (m)</p> <p>it help me with my respect because, like I say, I lost all my respect for everyone I didn't give a shit about no one or anything (m)</p> <p>I got 18 months... on good behaviour and in total I done 4 weeks on remand (m)</p> <p>I got remanded twice down London, twice over here and then I got a sentence (m)</p> <p>if I didn't go in, I wouldn't have half the respect I've got for people now (m)</p> <p>my patience... before I went in, you would lucky if I could sit down for 10 minutes (m)</p> <p>It was literally being around your mate's house, not being allowed out, being with your mum and dad (m)</p> <p>the women staff, just mollycoddled you like you're their kids...at XXX, xbox, pool tables, boards, plasmas in your rooms...Takeaways (m)</p> <p>it was like being round your mates house with your mum and dad, but not being allowed out (m)</p>

	<p>The staff, the people you live with... it's all about respect (m)</p> <p>It's a good and a bad thing but, it's bad like for going there but, then I suppose, when you're there, it's a good thing because... just stopped reoffending (m)</p> <p>it was like my house... I just knew everything back to front. I knew everyone, everyone knew you. It was just like a big laugh (m)</p> <p>you do get punished in the way but, in a way, you don't because if you good and obviously, you get things (m)</p> <p>The main thing is that that is the TV. TV rooms everything. Like, if you ain't got a TV then you're lost, literally, your lost... You can't just sit there and listen to your radio for months and months, and months on end (m)</p> <p>There's much more good things than there is bad things like (m)</p> <p>I got to the point where I was trusted that much, they take me out to Cov every Friday. (m)</p> <p>you don't get no bullies and that in there. If someone is a bully in there, the whole unit will batter them (m)</p> <p>just chilling... You're with everyone for 24 hours a day...that's really your home till you are out (m)</p> <p>everyone just chills... it's absolutely easy... you got a pool table, Xbox one (m)</p> <p>it's like being at your mate's house but you're not being allowed out (m)</p> <p>all I thought about, when I went in the first time was, ah, I wonder what they're doing, wonder what he's doing... after a few months... you stop thinking it (m)</p> <p>It hurt my mum a lot.. having to speak to her down the phone and that while she is crying her eyes out...I'd have to put the phone down (m)</p> <p>I don't really care. It's just another day for me...they come and see me on Christmas Eve... they break down (m)</p> <p>I don't want to be seen this like. You either stop crying or I'm going to walk off (m)</p> <p>I thought I got sick and tired, sick and tired of being indoors so I had to do summat to change so I went for good behaviour, got my good behaviour (m)</p> <p>I don't like being locked up and I don't like being in places like where I know for a fact I can't get out of (m)</p> <p>He (dad) did really, really, really find it hard (m)</p>
Routine (o)	<p>you just got into a routine where it's like, I don't really want to be leaving (o)</p> <p>you get up, do your room, do your unit, eat your food, go to school then come back, eat your food, go back to school, come back, play a bit of pool, play a bit of Xbox, like your activities (o)</p> <p>I just got used to being in that routine (o)</p> <p>It wasn't long enough (XXX, 1st sentence), I wasn't there long enough to pick up the routine (o)</p> <p>when I first come out well, I'd ask, I'd go back to my house and I'd asked for food and that because in there, you just pick up a routine (o)</p> <p>you just get into a thing where you just want, want to stay into that, you don't want to stay in there, you want to stay in the routine. (o)</p> <p>I know people grow out of it, but in a way you don't grow out of it because when you come out, your routine and that is just completely different (o)</p> <p>I feel better because I've done summat with my life now and I'm not back in that routine where some people still are, but I've pulled myself out of it (o)</p> <p>I've got into a routine where, I'm not, I don't get in trouble so, I don't really, I want</p>

	to stay that way (o)
Qualifications (p)	<p>It's not as high as you would have got in school.. but it still qualifications I can show (p)</p> <p>I passed bricklaying, I passed painting in decorating, tiling, carpentry (p)</p> <p>I've got loads and loads of qualifications. Maths, English, cooking (p)</p> <p>I done loads of things...skills (p)</p> <p>I never had a qualification when I've been in there, now I've got everything, the hair beauty level II (p)</p> <p>I come out with a red folder. I think I come out with about 18 qualifications in the end (p)</p>
Restorative justice (q)	<p>I've met up with a few of my people like, and I apologised (q)</p> <p>I went up to meet with the person I did the knifepoint robbery and the burglary, but obviously, they didn't want to meet me, because they was too scared, which I said I can, I can understand that (q)</p> <p>It feels a bit better for me to go and say sorry because, it, it weren't me when I was doing that stuff, it was drugs (q)</p> <p>you feel better, you feel better in yourself (q)</p> <p>I know it's only an apology like...but... you can show to the other person that you have changed...you didn't really mean, really did mean to do it (q)</p>
Attachment (13)	<p>They just take you under their wing like you're their son...they do things for you like you're their own... you get attached to them (13)</p> <p>XXX... it was enjoyable like because... you got mollycoddled (13)</p> <p>I just got too attached, way too attached to my carers (13)</p> <p>I settled down too quick and I, I got too attached to them (13)</p> <p>I liked them too much and it's, I got too close to them (13)</p> <p>I do miss it...I got really close to my carers like (13)</p> <p>It was really like a second mum and dad. I got a lot too attached (13)</p> <p>when I come back out, I think the main thing is I did get a bit too attached from my family when I come back out because I went straight back in (13)</p> <p>I got to attached too my mom... and going back down there, it's nearly hundred miles away (t)</p>
Significant relationship with YJ professional (X (previous YJW)) (15)	<p>the only thing that help me with that is X (previous YJW) (15)</p> <p>she wouldn't let me give up on myself... she would make me like carry on (15)</p> <p>if I went to say like I'm not doing this X (previous YJW), she'd, she'd just say things and that, and it's like, makes you think about it...I might as well do it because it's like, like she's saying two months is nothing compared to another eight (15)</p> <p>she helped me load with my order and that, X (previous YJW) (15)</p> <p>I think the main thing is X (previous YJW) init.. My old, my old YOT worker (15)</p> <p>I could talk to her about more things than I could talk to anyone (15)</p> <p>I got really close and that to X (previous YJW) and she's like, very, very like, reasonable with me (15)</p> <p>If I couldn't make, if I'd be late or I couldn't make an appointment most workers would be bang, grief, straight back in....She'd be flexible and change my appointment (15)</p> <p>she knew that I couldn't deal with long hours and on my timetable used to put like seven hour sessions and that and it's like well X (previous YJW), I'll fail, because I'm not doing this seven-hour session, so she's started putting my I was down to like</p>

	<p>three hours and four hours (15)</p> <p>I think she helped me a lot as well because if she could see I was being pulled back in then she just remind me about things (15)</p> <p>She is the main responsibility of helping me out, of anyone X (previous YJW) (15)</p> <p>she helped me a lot of the way through my order (15)</p> <p>I knew her, got to know her more... it was more like a mate to me than what I could trust, I could say things and I knew she wouldn't say anything like... I could say things to X (previous YJW) (15)</p> <p>most YOT workers, they are more about a job than anything bought, with X (previous YJW)...She'd act like, she's not, she ain't got a job, she's acting like she's there to help, not as a job (15)</p> <p>most YOT workers are there just for the job...I didn't see X (previous YJW) there is a job, she's there to help people (15)</p> <p>I got on with X (previous YJW) really well, she got on with everyone (15)</p> <p>nearly, out of everyone in our whole group, X (previous YJW) was the worker for all of us like, and she helped all of us (15)</p> <p>X (previous YJW) was good like really, really good. She helped me the most (15)</p> <p>I got on with X (previous YJW) really well and she just help me like loads and did things like, like I said meetings, meetings she'd sorted them she'd help me out (15)</p> <p>I come out I had no confidence whatsoever... X (previous YJW) and that they help me (15)</p> <p>I wanted to do carpentry and like that, and they help me get onto an apprenticeship (15)</p> <p>I was with X (previous YJW) for about three or four years ain't it so... She'd come and see me when I was in there (custody) (15)</p> <p>I seen X (previous YJW) more as someone there to help me (15)</p> <p>most YOT workers, they just do it because it's a job like at the end of the day whereas X (previous YJW) is completely different... She went out of her way to help you like she'd go to her last leg to help you (15)</p> <p>most of them, you missed, you say no to a seven hour session... bang you get a breach straightaway... X (previous YJW), she knew I couldn't do long hours...most hours I can do is about three or four hours (15)</p> <p>she'd be reasonable and flex my hours...they let me go fishing with one of the workers... They let me go fishing but then I'd stay fishing, instead of doing three or four hours, I go there and do six, seven hours because that summat I enjoy doing... it would help me (15)</p>
Social and professional support in custody (r)	<p>You just get loads of help, drug use, drug workers (r)</p> <p>you're mollycoddled by the staff, the female staff (r)</p> <p>it's completely different for the female staff the men staff (r)</p> <p>Men are like, not dickheads, but if you piss them around then they'll piss you around (r)</p> <p>with the women staff, it's, it's like being at home with... more than one mom (r)</p> <p>say if somebody is being bullied... The staff are so good... because they can see someone's vulnerable getting bullied and that (r)</p> <p>to the person who is doing it, they'll fuck you over big time, because it's not about that (r)</p> <p>It's all about chilling and that... there is a lot of support (r)</p>

	<p>loads of support in all different things because you got vulnerable people (r)</p> <p>you've got kids coming in... 13 year old kid's come in there who is absolutely scared to death, the staff are really really good with them (r)</p> <p>I was having to meet Amy Shakespeare two / three times a week, like and now that name ain't mentioned (r)</p> <p>social workers absolute shit... No help whatsoever (r)</p> <p>both my social workers, I seen them once, both once each and that was out of about four years (r)</p> <p>since I come out, then it's completely different with the social workers but that's because of YOT...because YOT won't let nothing, if you do need some help with something then you're getting it (r)</p>
Foster placement (s)	<p>when I come back out, they put me back in that care home and I was there for about nine months in total (s)</p> <p>It got to the point where I didn't want to go home. Want to stay (s)</p> <p>I'd had like three, four years away where I'd been away from my mom, really from the family and not really lived at home...when I come out I went straight into care so it was really like going back at home (s)</p> <p>I do regret, not in a bad way, but I do regret kind of coming home like because it's just, it's annoying... whereas there, I just go to my room and I just chill (s)</p> <p>Didn't hear nothing for the rest of the night, which I do kind of miss (s)</p> <p>when it got to the point of me coming home, it's like phff (s)</p> <p>I was excited to come home because I hadn't been home for like nearly three or four years but, it's like...I don't really want to (s)</p> <p>I do wish, if I could have made the choice, I wish, I would have...not stayed there full-time but I did have the chance of stay during the week and home on the weekend...(s)</p> <p>I was more excited about coming home, coming home and coming home (s)</p> <p>I do regret it quite like, quite a bit because it's just not the same because when I get home I wouldn't have to, I could just chill like (s)</p> <p>It was a bit weird coming home first because really, got to the point where I was more close to really them than what I was to my mum and dad (s)</p> <p>I'd be more with them than I would with my mum and dad because I enjoyed like being there and I enjoyed with them like (s)</p>
Re-conviction (t)	<p>when it started... getting serious... help me as much as they could... And it worked... (t)</p> <p>when I started going down London... that was a completely different ballgame. Like, if you piss around with the staff... it's a completely different matter like (t)</p> <p>most of the people down there just think they're rockhard (t)</p> <p>I'm not here mate to just try and take over the unit mate, I'm here to do my time and get out (t)</p> <p>I've always been on the best units because I've always been good in there (t)</p> <p>I don't go in there thinking, oh yeah I'm hard and I'm going to kill you. I'm in there because, and I want to do, and hurry up and get out (t)</p> <p>down there it's completely different situation...when your doors locked, your door's locked till seven in the morning and then that's it (t)</p> <p>it did help me a lot like (t)</p> <p>it's my own fault really...they weren't going to let me come straight back into my</p>

	<p>area that I, that I believed in myself that I be all right when I come back to my mates, but obviously I wasn't allowed a drink, bang and reoffended straightaway (t) come straight back out, come straight back to XXX (town), and bang, robbery offence with a knife crime straightaway, straight back in. I went guilty and that because I knew I was in the wrong, I'd breached all my things (t)</p> <p>I did my time in there and then when I come out and went straight back in, I got remanded again and completely did not like it one single bit (t)</p> <p>when I went back in from coming back out, I completely didn't like it. I was out for about three or four months and I went back in (t)</p> <p>I struggled to do it because I just got used to being back out (t)</p> <p>it was a completely different environment to being in there (t)</p> <p>from when I come out and went straight back in, I don't know I just had a different view on things...I just enjoyed being out too much (t)</p> <p>I think it's from when I come out to going straight back in, I didn't like it one single bit because I'd enjoyed being out. I enjoyed my freedom so (t)</p> <p>when I come out I got straight back into it, and then when I went back in (t)</p> <p>I really think it's because when I went back in, I just changed my way of thinking and what I did and the way I act and that I don't know. (t)</p> <p>I think it helped me a bit going back in from coming straight out, to go straight back in... Yeah ... I think that helped me a hell of a lot that (t)</p> <p>it was horrible when I ring my mum up or summat and she'd be crying down the phone and that and it's like. I didn't really want to be listening to it so I'd have to put the phone down, and it's hard, it's hard for me to put the phone down on my mum... Because obviously it's her son (t)</p> <p>Sent me down London a few times. I think it's cos they didn't have a bed anywhere else (t)</p> <p>XXX weren't taking on anyone so the only really places 'round here, cos they didn't want to move me too far from my family (t)</p> <p>it was only remand, cos I wasn't on trial for a bit and obviously I stayed not guilty, but then I went guilty (t)</p> <p>it's just, it happened so quick.. before I knew it, I was back inside...It was like shit man, they're not messing around (t)</p> <p>I don't really know I'm doing it, so when I went back to court and pleaded guilty, asked for another chance, given another chance (t)</p> <p>when I went to Oak Hill, the first time, it was a completely different situation: I was still on drugs, I was on a session when I got arrested and I went straight there and I was on a comedown (t)</p> <p>I was a bit wary then because they could plainly see I was on drugs, and they blatantly know that I'm on drugs (t)</p> <p>When I first went down to opiates, it was a bit like, nervy like because it's like the first ever time and because of how small I was and that, and I thought you, they are going to try and bully me...But no, it was that, nothing like that (t)</p>
Confidence (w)	<p>I built the confidence up to say no to things...Which I have done since I come back out (w)</p> <p>basically, I just stuck my finger up to everyone and just said I'm not into that no more (w)</p> <p>I had to do something with 40 other different people (towards apprenticeship)...I</p>

	<p>said, basically can send me home (w)</p> <p>when I come out of there I had no confidence, nothing. I was shy (w)</p> <p>now I've got my new job and that my boss... helped me build my confidence up, meet new people, everything</p> <p>when I come out I had no confidence, nothing (w)</p> <p>I didn't believe in, everything, I, I give up, I just give up... I give up on everything (w)</p> <p>When I first come out it was like, it felt weird it felt like I just had to get, really I had to go back in there (custody) because I got that used to being in there (w)</p> <p>I've just lost loads of confidence and loads of things since I've been out like (w)</p> <p>I won't, I used to love being in cars and being on bikes and stuff like that, I won't go on one (w)</p> <p>I just get really wary about things (w)</p> <p>I'm so wary about so many things now...cars and that. It's, I get a bit wary and that of them (w)</p> <p>when you come out, you got no confidence or nothing and you think oh no, I'm not going to be able to do this so I'm going to bother (w)</p> <p>the number of times I got to the point where I felt like not doing anything anymore (w)</p> <p>it depends how you feel in yourself as well, and how strong you are compared to your order (w)</p> <p>I mean it's only in his last couple of months where I've got my confidence back (w)</p> <p>I didn't have no confidence whatsoever (w)</p> <p>I only got my confidence back when I got my job...because obviously working and like I said, going into people's houses and that (w)</p> <p>it's helped me build my confidence up so much and just things what I can do like. (w)</p> <p>now I'm working and that it's helped me loads... it's building my confidence up (w)</p> <p>You got confidence then, you're gonna stick to it (w)</p>
Re-entering community (u)	<p>it feels a bit weird going out because you just want to be in there (custody)...It's mad (u)</p> <p>when I come out it was... like when you see a cargo or something, it's like phew, a bit nervy because you're not used to that (u)</p> <p>ever since I got out there, I'm so wary in cars. Anyone going above 30, 40 miles an hour I'll get out. I, I just don't want to stay in the car (u)</p> <p>Come home and it was like, this is weird like I'm I'm not used to it. I'm used to being in there, I'm used to being locked up (u)</p> <p>It's just a bit weird when you first come out (u)</p> <p>I done three years of my order.. it's got to a point where I was ready to just give up, then, I just thought.. I might as well do it, see if anything happens (u)</p> <p>I got used to being indoors... feels weird like, going out for hours... want to go home. I'm just used to being indoors. (u)</p>
Employment (y)	<p>if I had a job behind an office... I'd get sacked... I'd just piss around...because I get bored, like no tomorrow (y)</p> <p>it's all hands on...I'm outside... I absolutely love it (y)</p> <p>summat I've always wanted to do... I can't sit and write or do factory work or nothing like that...It has to be hands-on or it's no good for me (y)</p> <p>I've got something to show for it, my work (y)</p>

	<p>I work around the area and sometimes when I go past something I think yeah I did that... it's like it makes you feel better in yourself (y)</p> <p>oh yeah I did that and it's like, it looks good... it's something to be proud of like (y)</p> <p>It took me like nearly 2 years before I could even get a job (y)</p> <p>one of my dad's mates...owned a business, so he was willing to give me a second chance and start me part-time work (y)</p> <p>I just tried my hardest to get a job...I kept asking people and it was like ah, no because of theft and robbery (y)</p> <p>he offered me the job so I just took it with both of my hands, and, it's the best thing I've done so far (y)</p> <p>my mates have changed as well, because everyone's working. That's what I mean, no one gets in trouble no more...all of us work (y)</p> <p>my godfather's brother he's like self-employed builder and that, and I kept asking him and he said I had to prove myself like to him (y)</p> <p>So, I just kept trying my hardest and hardest then one day out of the blue, he just phoned me up and said you want some work. (y)</p> <p>then he's offered me an apprenticeship and that so it's like, it's not worth going to do some little poxy thing on the street for my job...(y)</p> <p>It's like everything. Landscaping... Windows, fitting windows (y)</p> <p>I know everyone is working nowadays. I think it's about generation, age nowadays (y)</p> <p>working like... I'd get up to, everyday at half seven, eight o'clock, bang go to work. (y)</p> <p>my job, I took it, you can only take it once with two hands and which I've done (y)</p> <p>it means way more to me than what someone's going out taking a bike or something that was yeah (y)</p> <p>this is a good start because if want to go in something else, I've got like the references and stuff to say I have changed... I am better (y)</p> <p>it's not like...I'm not working on site, I'm working and going into people's houses and I'm doing stuff, so I've got the responsibility (y)</p> <p>they don't look down on you because they know your past but they see you've changed... You want, you want a future like, not being in and out of jail all of your life so (y)</p>
Finances (z)	<p>most people all they really want is the money, and money, and money, and money (z)</p> <p>financial yeah it is, yet it is a big part of life, money (z)</p> <p>I can go home, treat my little brother or summat (z)</p> <p>I help my oldest brother out as well because he doesn't know how to look after his money (z)</p> <p>I get paid like weekly and I've still got money at the end of the week because.. I've always been good with my money (z)</p> <p>I work. I enjoy my money now init, like instead of having to go and all all get it, I get it given to me at the end of the week (z)</p> <p>I've got summat looking forward for me at the end of every single week. I can go out and buy my own stuff instead of taking other things (z)</p> <p>I can go, one week I'll pay for the night fishing, one week my dad will (z)</p> <p>I can pay for things I want...what I need (z)</p>

	<p>within a couple of days you've spent that, whereas with this, I've constantly got it every single week (z)</p> <p>I've constantly got money now because I'm working an that (z)</p> <p>I don't think about getting in trouble...if I want summat, I'll go buy it, like I don't think nothing about going to take it no more (z)</p> <p>if I can't buy it I'll wait and save until I can buy it like (z)</p>
Independence (x)	<p>I don't care, I'm not a sheep I'm my own person I'm not going to follow yous because yous want me to (x)</p> <p>the older you get, the more things you can do and, like obviously, that's when you start becoming your own individual person and you ain't being looked after by your mum (x)</p> <p>It's like when you get to 17, 18... your mum is not going to pay that for you, and when you got your own job and that (x)</p> <p>I can go, go and buy things without, I don't have to ask my mum (x)</p> <p>I can stand on my own 2 feet now, aint got to rely on my mum and dad to do stuff (x)</p> <p>don't like being home for as long as my oldest brother is because it will get the point where all I'll do is rely on my mum and dad (x)</p> <p>I want to be my own person, and my own independence really...(x)</p> <p>It seems heartless like I can't be at my house until I'm like twenty something like my brother (x)</p> <p>I want to be left home by at least by 20 summat, because I don't want to be living with my mum and dad all my life (x)</p> <p>if you get into that route you're going to just, you're just going to rely on everyone to do things for you and it's, I'm not like that, I like to do my own things and I like to do it myself. (x)</p>
Proactive strategies (2)	<p>the social bit is going downtown.. that's about it really... the only really time we go out is, really is the weekend (2)</p> <p>That chance that, I could enjoy it too much and go back down that road... it's not worth taking the risk (2)</p> <p>That's what I mean, nowadays I wouldn't take it because it could be to the point where I'd be like... keep doing it, keep doing it (2)</p> <p>So I just keep myself to myself and stay away from everyone (2)</p> <p>I don't really go out except for the weekends so....it helped me, being indoors (2)</p> <p>I'll hang round them, but if something is going on then, I'll walk away (2)</p> <p>I do not risk nothing...Anyone is doing anything likely to be trouble, I walk away (2)</p> <p>I just got used to being indoors so I don't really go out anywhere, I'm always in the house... (2)</p> <p>I just look at things in a completely different way now. I do things in a completely different way (2)</p> <p>I go home if they're doing summat like (2)</p> <p>I stopped going out (2)</p> <p>before... if there was an opportunity, I'd be straight through the window (g)</p> <p>I think what helped me as well is drugs. There's nothing round no more so I ain't got the temptation to get back into it no more. (2)</p> <p>I know for a fact that I wouldn't touch no drugs nowadays (2)</p> <p>I stopped going out, stop getting involved in trouble. Anything come to my door I</p>

	<p>just turn it away (2)</p> <p>if I...start slipping back, then I know I'll be looking at our really long time and, I don't want to be in and out of jail for the rest of my life. Definitely not. (2)</p> <p>I'm not on the radar any more. I don't go out. (2)</p> <p>I go out, on a Friday or Saturday night like...Which every normal teenager does like but, I don't go out through the week, not at all. (2)</p> <p>I don't really go out either (2)</p> <p>if you want something just go and buy it or just, here you are, have... the money (2)</p> <p>about to go and rob or something, I'll give you the money... don't go and rob something while you with me...Because I'm not like that anymore (2)</p>
Chances / opportunities (12)	<p>they give me another chance, so and I proved it to them, proved it to my mum... proved it to the courts (12)</p> <p>I've completely changed the way I think...from when I come back out, it was a They gave me another chance, so, had to take it (12)</p> <p>it is my own fault but, now people have given me the chance to prove...Which I have, I just keep up that way (12)</p> <p>my past is my past and I've got, a quite serious, quite serious past like. (12)</p> <p>people are starting to see that it's not me... I've proved myself too many times. Like the police, like (YJW) and that geyser's bike who it was (12)</p> <p>(YJW) knew it weren't me. But it's the principle... I showed the CCTV and that, and they was all gobsmacked... I'm not like that no more (12)</p>
Support – post-custody - professional (4)	<p>Just (YJW) once a fortnight but I'll be finished in September though (4)</p> <p>All right but she's just a bit, just a bit soppy she is. She is more like a grandma than YOT worker. She is just, she's just too caring. Too nice. (4)</p> <p>I'm really starting to get fed up with it. It's way too long now, way way too long...it's stupid man.. (4)</p> <p>they are reasonable with me (4)</p> <p>I'm not in there for long so... whereas used to be, I've been in there for hours and hours but now, you're lucky if I'm in there for 10 or 15 minutes (4)</p> <p>I'm getting really really, really, really tired and sick of seeing YOT... I've seen them too many times (4)</p> <p>She just comes, asks if I need anything if I'm all right and that... If I've got anything needs doing, she'll just do it with me quickly (4)</p> <p>I only really need phone contact ain't it, but (YJW), she just comes to the house which I ain't got a problem with. (4)</p> <p>still once a month of me having to deal with the YOT and it's like I've dealt with them too much (4)</p> <p>now I'm getting older and that it's like, you're not going to be there for the rest of my life (4)</p> <p>I really do want to stop, really having nothing to do with you, because it's embarrassing (4)</p> <p>you got work, I mean when you're in front of your boss...it's embarrassing (4)</p> <p>when you're about or something, and you got to go and meet your YOT worker... I don't really want them doing it because their thinking oh he's still getting into trouble...no mate, I'm not, it's just my order (4)</p> <p>It takes too long. (4)</p>
Trust / respect /	I've got the trust now which I won't break because it's took like a long time to build

responsibility (5)	<p>the trust up (5)</p> <p>now I'm trusted it's, then I want to keep it that way (5)</p> <p>I don't want to go back to "I can't let him in my house he might, he might go through my bedroom or you might rob my TV." It's not like that. (5)</p> <p>I can go in there and they can trust me and leave me in there on my own, which is nice, like you're in the house (5)</p> <p>like I told her, I care about you and that but, I don't, I don't really respect, well I respect her but not as much as I do towards my dad (5)</p> <p>it does help you a bit like, when you go in there with a bit of respect and you treat people the way you want to be treated (5)</p> <p>You got no respect or anything down there, then, God help you (5)</p> <p>It's been quite hard for me to build my trust up and my confidence and, all that (5)</p> <p>I'll go down town... you get them dickheads still...it's like "I'm not fighting you mate because if I get nicked, I've lost everything – my job...I've lost everything like my trust. (5)</p>
Leisure activities (6)	<p>I used to play football and I snapped my leg (6)</p> <p>I was at a tournament and West Brom scouts and that was talking to my dad I've always been good at it like but, it's, I just, everything I started getting into trouble and I snapped my leg and that, it's, I've never done it since (6)</p> <p>I go fishing all the time with my dad... Every single week (6)</p> <p>I like being able to do the 24-hour fishing sessions with my dad and that. I get like, when you talking to him and that, it gives you a buzz (6)</p> <p>You can rent log cabins out like for 24 hours... there's me, my dad, and one, two of my dads mates what had gone there. We rented the whole lake (6)</p>
Future (7)	<p>Five years time? Err, getting house, getting things, getting car (7)</p> <p>I'll be like nearly 24, 25... I'm getting older and older and it's more and more scary...it's like I'm an adult, I am 18 in like a week and ½, so it's like gee, it's like it's legal to do anything (7)</p> <p>I'm hoping to have my own house, my own family (7)</p> <p>If I really wanted to I could go and get my own place...As soon as I've got myself stable and I've got myself on my feet then, I'll be sweet (7)</p> <p>I've only been working now seven months so it's just, I'm just really getting myself on my own 2 feet like...And boom, I'll be, I'll be out (7)</p> <p>I done my order for another for about two years or summat... I done that good, and they know that I don't need to be on it no more (7)</p> <p>They're taking me back to court in September to revoke my order... it's a big, like, help as well really (7)</p>
Desistance (3)	<p>They got me in the other week like for theft of a motorbike but... they had the whole place covered by CCTV... that's the only really, my name is only been brought up... for about two/three years (3)</p> <p>I don't really want to get back involved... robbing of this shop...I might not be there but I'll get but done just as worse as what you will because, I'm outside the shop with you... I'm still on orders (3)</p> <p>if someone comes out of jail or something, and they've got nothing... no TV, nothing, no councils, no nothing, and you think...I'll go and rob something (3) life... that's their life then from now on (3)</p> <p>they'll be straight back in- in, out, in, out, in, out... your natural habitat is really</p>

	<p>jail.... It's like your institutionalised... You get to used too it (3)</p> <p>In men's jail and that, you probably got more friends in there than what you have out here (3)</p> <p>If you get quite a big stretch like, nine times out of 10, most people I know what's had a big sentence, now, they're just in and out of jail all their life. (3)</p> <p>it annoys me...they keep going on about reoffending...I've been out...nearly a year...if I was going to reoffend I would have done it by now (3)</p> <p>I know for a fact...my mates have done a lot of things... and where was I to be seen? Nowhere because I walk away (3)</p> <p>I don't carry knives no more, I don't have nothing to do with them. It's like, I've stopped doing that stuff, I don't get involved (3)</p> <p>when my name or something gets brought up, (YJW) goes mad, but it's well, the principal (3)</p> <p>with the bike. My name got brought up straightaway, because my past...I know I'll have to deal with that for a good few years ain't it? (3)</p> <p>It gets me mad...(being labelled) But I know it's my own fault really (3)</p>
Location / Accommodation (10)	<p>if you don't like that area or that house... they ain't giving you any option, you're either in there or you're going back in (10)</p> <p>say like I was in Birmingham...in a gang or summat... full gang violence and, but when I come out, bang, put me straight back in that area... you're not going to stick to your accommodation or your housing, so, bang, grief straightaway (10)</p> <p>you're involved with gangs, you come out for a gang shooting or violence or summat, it, bang and they put you back in the area, you're thinking yo, I'm here on my own and I've got whole gang against me...I'm not living round this area no matter what, I'd rather go back inside (10)</p> <p>one of the most common things for to come back in, is the breach and not going back to the care home... because they don't want to go back to that house and they don't want to go back to that area (10)</p> <p>you ain't really got a choice. Where that's unfair... they could be scared of that area... think that's the main one that one...Housing and accommodation (10)</p> <p>you get a long sentence, then you will be in and out of jail for the rest of your people come out and they put them in an area...tell the YOT worker I'm not going in that area, and I'm not living in that house and they still put them in there (10)</p> <p>they blatantly know they're going to run off and not come home and bang, they're getting re-called straight up for that (10)</p> <p>depending on the house and the accommodation and what area and that, can, depending on the young person... quite a main one for people reoffending (10)</p> <p>I don't know, because I got put the other end of Stratford, like Alcester like... You had that temptation like ah, shall I just go and take a bike and drive back or something (10)</p> <p>with me I was that far away, I didn't even think about something stupid like that. I didn't even know my way home... I didn't even know where was. So, it depends...how far they put you (10)</p> <p>They can put you somewhere they blatantly know... you know roughly you ain't got far... Then most people will give it a good attempt to get home like (10)</p> <p>when they put you like the other end of Stratford or something, I didn't even know where it was (10)</p>

17c) An overview of codes generated from Mason's narrative

Quotations	Codes
<p>I've lived in this area for 14 years (c)</p> <p>there were happier times... Happy memories... but most of it was like bad memories, like just lashing out (c)</p> <p>ain't always struggled...but...can't get sleep (c)</p> <p>ain't been no really good, happy times...every time something happens, something bad happens as well...changes...the way you feel (c)</p> <p>I used to work with my dad now and again...He does building...self-employed (c)</p>	Childhood / background (c)
<p>they (family) were trying to help me out (a)</p> <p>we used to stay at mine nan's and grandads as well on separate days (a)</p> <p>He (dad) was trying to keep me out of it and stuff but, we weren't having none of it (a)</p>	Family (a)
<p>my mum died and that when I was seven (d)</p> <p>after that I just lost it (d)</p> <p>then I just went downhill (d)</p>	Loss (d)
<p>I was just getting more wound up (e)</p> <p>I started fighting at school and out in the community... Just get my anger and stuff out (e)</p> <p>I kept on just lashing out at people... Kept switching and going into my own zone to fight (e)</p> <p>people saying...petty things. Just used to switch....used to feel great (e)</p> <p>every time somebody said something wrong...keep whacking them (e)</p>	Anger / aggression (e)
<p>I don't care about my life no more, I can do what I want (i)</p> <p>I used to just ignore everyone....I never really used to listen to no one (i)</p> <p>obviously, it's the past not the future (i)</p> <p>I didn't think that far ahead.... just thought at that time...weren't thinking of nothing (i)</p> <p>that is the past and you just think of the future, that's all you think about. Because you can't really do nothing about it (i)</p> <p>I can't really help about it now because it's already gone (i)</p> <p>because I was young and I didn't think about it. And then when I realised it, it's happened. (i)</p> <p>I just didn't care about my life (i)</p> <p>I just didn't think of anyone else or think of anything (i)</p> <p>I just thought, I've changed, I'll be a changed person... (i)</p> <p>I didn't really want to be going back in there, now, because I've just come back out and I just want to move on with my life. (i)</p> <p>I just started thinking differently (i)</p> <p>I knew it was my fault (i)</p> <p>It was useful because like it kept your mind off things as well. Because obviously you're thinking about doing and completing the tasks and stuff so it keeps your mind off... Different things (i)</p> <p>it was in Lincolnshire (custody)... it felt bad at the time but...That's what I just thought... get on with it and just come out (i)</p> <p>I thought it was gonna be easy...(custody) (i)</p>	Mind-set (i)

<p>I just used to think about fighting. And just, I thought, it was just a little trigger. Just lash, just click, it's just a little click, that's all it takes. I used go just on a mad one. Like just lose my mind (i)</p> <p>I didn't think about nothing at the time, and then we got caught on it and we thought about it (i)</p> <p>I never used to think about things... since I come out of that, I just thought, think of the future. What's it going to lead if I keep, doing being like this (i)</p> <p>just here and now.... That's all I used to think about (i)</p> <p>I just couldn't help it (i)</p> <p>it was a release... at the time, I felt good (i)</p> <p>don't see the point... if I hurt them, it's just going to go back down the same route (i)</p> <p>I feel like I can do anything (i)</p> <p>I know I can get through it, whatever comes in front of me (i)</p> <p>when I come out before I thought I was just going to get back in trouble again (i)</p> <p>I can't get sleep (i)</p>	
<p>it's the people in school... they just drag me into things (h)</p> <p>used to finish at 12:30...used to meet my mate. He weren't in school (h)</p> <p>everyone's changed. Like, everyone does their own thing and that (h)</p> <p>we all used to just think about fighting (h)</p>	Peers / friends (h)
<p>St Giles down the road... (primary school) (f)</p> <p>I kept on getting excluded and that for fighting (f)</p> <p>I finished my years there and then went to secondary school (f)</p> <p>I had the odd fights here and there when I was in secondary school (f)</p> <p>when it got to year nine, I switched completely (f)</p> <p>I didn't even have no trouble and that when I went back in... I had like two months left my order, and then they decide to kick me out (f)</p> <p>I was on tag...they didn't want me in the school no more because they didn't want me to tell the stories of what happened(f)</p> <p>So they send me to Shaftesbury, what's in Kersley... I chilled out there... Because it wasn't a big place... weren't that many people there (f)</p> <p>I got kicked out of one school and move to another school... With less pupils... It made me feel better because there's less people there (f)</p> <p>I done my GCSEs (f)</p> <p>(custody) It was just like, like basic stuff like. Like literature, IT (f)</p>	School / education (f)
<p>I wasn't in school... used to go out with the lads from the estate and I used to just go round fighting (e)</p> <p>kept on kicking me out... just made me like get more angry (e)</p> <p>I just literally was all calm, and didn't really want to fight... no more (e)</p> <p>when I come out on the streets and that, I just kept on fighting (e)</p> <p>I just lashed out and just kept on fighting, and... I just kept on losing my temper pretty quick... (e)</p> <p>I just couldn't calm myself or anything... I didn't have nothing to like calm me down....I just used to fight the first person I seen... (e)</p> <p>I had like one fight in 2½ years being there... I chilled out proper (e)</p> <p>I think the more people there, the more triggers, more people I can just lash out at and stuff (e)</p>	Anger / aggression (e)

I just don't get angry like that anymore (e)	
I did think about going to college but...I realised like, if I go to college, I probably be the same as what was in school... back to my old ways (g) it was the right decision at the time, if I went now I probably would have been kicked out of college as well... causing more trouble (g)	Life choices / reasoning (g)
I just think they're doing their job trying to help the community (m) trying to get all the bad people who are doing crimes and that off the streets, because obviously you don't want it in the neighbourhood... (m) They've been quite good with me (m) they're doing their job, they're trying to do their own thing... it's their job, their life (m)	Attitude towards police (m)
we had a fight we got offered amount of work and we just got caught on it and I just got put back on this order (k) That was for assault (first time in custody) (k) some lad just come over to us... everyone was bored and that...we just thought, it's something to do... we'll just buy it... We just bolted on the mountain bike and then we got caught on it (k) (re-offended) About five months ago... Just because someone come over when we were playing football and asked about a motorbike and we just bought it (k)	Crime (k)
I used to do drugs and that (l) I didn't take it (drugs / weed) when I was inside... you can't and I just thought may as well knock it on the head (l) I started smoking weed and that... When I was about 11 or 12.... I used to think it was good at the time... (l) it may be more like mentally like. Like it changes your mental health and stuff... used to just like feel like, I weren't, nothing was happening. So I used to smoke more of it, more of it (l) All of my mates smoke weed and that (l) when I come out...I thought there's no point doing it (weed). It's a waste of money (l)	Substances (l)
they (members of staff) were all sound and that... they were all just nice people (o) when you get restrained... you used to have to go to your room for the rest of the day...next day, you are allowed out, fresh. Then, they all used to be sound with you again....forget about it (o) every couple of weeks you had little drug sessions... it was useful (o) provided me with little sessions...I had support all the way through (o) I just have one session a week.... (with YJW) I just talk about different things what happened... It's helpful (o) I was getting counselling... it weren't really helping me that much...That was when I was like, that was when I was like 10 or 11...(o)	Professional support (o)
three months... (in custody) Another three months... (on tag) (n) it weren't that bad, it was all right like (n) it's a big shock and that because you don't really know anyone like. So you have to get used to knowing people (n) I got along with them and only had one fight and that was because some lad tried whacking me with a pillow and I just switched (n)	Custody (n)

<p>of them were sound and that. But then like, every time someone new come in like, they all tried giving it the big one and that so (n)</p> <p>you do like your little school classes...lessons, you have break, and then you have like, another two lessons. You have lunch, then you have another two lessons, you go back to your room for half an hour (n)</p> <p>You can make phone calls to people... family and friends (n)</p> <p>have your dinner, and you have like activities to do at night... games (n)</p> <p>I was there for three months (n)</p> <p>its sound, like you had quite a strict routine. You had a structure for the day and you knew what you were doing (n)</p> <p>I got on with everyone...then from there. It was sound (n)</p> <p>Some people think that it's like a little holiday... Because they got nothing to do in their lives (n)</p> <p>you heard them crying on the phone... slightly making you feel down (n)</p> <p>They were a bit upset... I couldn't really do nothing about it at the time (n)</p> <p>(changed) A little bit... just my anger and that (n)</p> <p>It weren't that aggressive. It was just like when like people do stupid things like, that's the only time they get aggressive (n)</p> <p>hard at first but then you... just get used to it (n)</p>	
<p>when I come out...they (school staff) just used to think I was going to go back down the same path (s)</p> <p>A little bit, but not as much as I thought I would be (s)</p> <p>seeing people and stuff... I thought everything were different with me... all changed... pretty quick (s)</p> <p>Well, it feels a bit strange seeing everyone and that again (s)</p> <p>I got put on tag and I was on unclear and I used to just go out. Like, between school and that, I used to go out for a couple of hours at night and stuff... Or go and see my grandad or something (s)</p> <p>Just got used to it... I had strict times to be in and stuff, and if you are late... they put it down as a warning. You had three warnings. And you can go back in for 28 days (s)</p> <p>You just get used to it again (s)</p> <p>At night that's where all the crimes are happening, at night so. With me, I thought it was better being in at that time (s)</p> <p>I was happy yeah but it did feel a bit weird... you weren't allowed out...it was just like a little cage, like a little football hut (s)</p> <p>It felt a bit strange for the first couple of weeks but then I just got used to it (s)</p> <p>just felt weird (s)</p> <p>used to be boring, like I used to be just sitting at home... Just sitting there never having to do nothing (s)</p> <p>I just started staying out later and then it was like, kept my mind off things (s)</p>	Release / transition / post-custody (s)
<p>Just changing the way I am... I try and stay away from people that are doing bad things (t)</p> <p>do my own thing. Like, staying out of people's way (t)</p> <p>I like to be occupied. I like to be doing a bit physical (t)</p> <p>I still see them (old friends) and that, I still speak to them and that but I don't hang around with them no more (t)</p>	Proactive strategies / promotive factors (t)

<p>I go out, go out quite a bit and socialise, but I just go out and just enjoy myself (t)</p> <p>Just keep myself...keep out of people's business. Just keep your mind off things and keep myself to myself... (t)</p> <p>I'm off drugs and stuff. It's the best way for me.... I feel better (t)</p> <p>I don't get tempted or nothing no more... if someone kicked off on me... I wouldn't even want to fight them... I'd just try and talk it out (t)</p> <p>You just think about other things like what I can look forward to (t)</p> <p>(friendships now) It's just like people from other areas and that, instead of the same area... still from this town but on different estates (t)</p> <p>From going like to the park.... just meet new people and stuff, down the parks and that (t)</p> <p>(hobbies) Play football, me and my mates and that play football (t)</p> <p>find things to do and go different places and that. We go on bike rides (t)</p> <p>just going out and doing things. Like keep my mind occupied (t)</p> <p>we'd all be together when something happened... And now, when something happens, I just out of it (t)</p>	
<p>I used to work with my dad... I enjoyed it straightaway (v)</p> <p>I've been working for about a year and ½.... working with my dad... keeps my mind off things.... Like going out and getting into trouble (v)</p> <p>Sometimes I work on a Saturday... I don't have to worry about spending money and stuff (v)</p> <p>I can just go out and spend my money on decent things....whatever I want... clothes, trainers, new bikes (v)</p>	Employment (v)
<p>I would want to do school again... prove a point but, to start again...so I could actually stay through instead of getting kicked out (w)</p> <p>I didn't used to feel bad afterwards and then, when the effects come back I used to think, why did I even do it? (w)</p> <p>I wish I'd listened to them, that's what I feel. Like because if I'd listen to them, I wouldn't be in where I am (w)</p> <p>the things I done wrong, like, I feel bad, feel bad for the people and the stuff I've done (w)</p> <p>it's just one of them things I couldn't stop myself doing. And now, I can just completely stop myself doing it and I don't see the point in it (w)</p> <p>now, I look back at it and that's it, I think why did I even do it. It was a waste of my time (w)</p> <p>I look back on it and I just feel bad for people...Why did I even do it? (w)</p> <p>didn't even used to respect me...people...used to think I was a bully (w)</p>	Remorse / reflection (w)
<p>two years (length of time out of custody) (1)</p> <p>(re-offending) Because they've got nothing to do... so they go back to thinking I can still do this... because they got no one else to look to and that. Like they ain't got nothing to do in their lives so they just think I've got somewhere to stay in my food and that I've got somewhere to stay and my food and that, so I'm not bothered (1)</p> <p>(re-offending) I think they'll be a lot harsher than they was last time... lot longer sentence... I just don't want to have the hassle of it (1)</p> <p>Maturity... more calm...I see why people act the way they are... makes you think properly...why is the point in doing it if you don't have to (1)</p>	Desistance (1)

<p>some people don't think. Some people just go out and do it again, but some people do think and even carry on with their lives (1)</p> <p>most people do it on and on and again.... Because they ain't got nothing else to look forward to (1)</p>	
<p>(5 years time) have my own house and settle down and that. Like try, like try and have a new start and fresh start... (2)</p> <p>I feel quite confident... I feel different than what I did before...(2)</p> <p>I feel positive going forward now. More than what I did a couple of years ago (2)</p> <p>(look forward to) The future and getting on with my life... (2)</p> <p>moving on... get my own place...do my own thing, like chillout (2)</p> <p>Want to just stay in construction... quite easily carry on what I'm doing (2)</p>	Future (2)

Appendix 18: Codes generated from professional focus groups

18a): Focus Group 1: codes and quotations

<p>whats happening pre-custody. depending on where a young persons at in terms of how things are in their family, how supportive the family are in terms of them going through that process, y'know from a parent simply being with them in court, supporting them to a parent being absent, that can be a massive factor in itself, how they even go into custody in the first place.(a) (b)</p> <p>I've worked in 2 secure training centres and supervised in them and when they used to get their YOT visits they would be bouncing off the walls with excitement because they are a familiar face and it breaks up their routine and things like that, I think it does mean a lot.. and they often want to phone you as well, I don't know if you get that but we always had to facilitate phonecalls and things (b)</p> <p>I've worked with a YP who was, prior to custody was, very chaotic, he had been removed from the family home, he was moving from one placement with social services to another, so really really chaotic, parents had almost washed their hands of him a little bit and he went into custody (a) (e) (b)</p> <p>I think when we've got kids who have gone into custody and its kind of a one off offence and stuff, it was their first offence but it was a big offence, I think those are the families that come together and say, we need to do something differently, and that's where you might see change, but if that doesn't happen it's a massive barrier, the family, systemic (a) (b) (d)</p>	<p>Family (a)</p> <p>Relationships / Social support (b)</p> <p>Unstable home environment (e)</p>
<p>I think returning to an environment that hasn't changed has to be solely.. the biggest.. if you're returning to an environment where the family is pro criminal, to a peer group who are pro drugs and alcohol.. (d) (j)</p> <p>Its so difficult to challenge those patterns of behaviour isn't it, even if you've been out of them for 12 months, to suddenly go back into them, its still easy.. (f)</p> <p>Its easier to go back to what you know rather than try hard to do something different.. (f)</p> <p>they come out and they're round at their mates and they've all got the weed and alcohol and they are all there to celebrate their release and they are straight back into.. how they were.. (j) (i) (f)</p> <p>so even if they've got good intentions, how difficult is it if you're</p>	<p>Family criminal history (c)</p> <p>Cultural / family view of crime (d)</p> <p>Criminal activity as a way of life (f)</p> <p>Travellers (g)</p> <p>Sense of belonging (25)</p>

<p>parent is saying, come and have a beer you haven't had a beer in 12 months or.. (d) (f)</p> <p>And then even if they've got really good individual characteristics, they may want to change but its really difficult to do that isn't it.. Because more than anything we want to 'fit', we want to feel a sense of belonging.. (25)</p> <p>I think also the attitudes of that family and their own backgrounds, so where you've got parents who might be known to probation, who may have been in and out of custody, the YPs view of custody, what to expect and whether they view it as something they are particularly scared about and don't want to be there or whether they accept its part of normality.. Mmm, if it's normalised in the family.. (c)</p> <p>Particularly the traveller community, people I've worked with, for them, a lot of the YP I've met you have gone into custody, it's taken for granted that that's part of life, that they go into custody and come out again and it doesn't seem to phase them, whereas a lot of YP who haven't had that experience and grown up around it maybe more fearful of it and it may have more of an impact in terms of them coming out and not reoffending.. (d) (c) (g)</p> <p>the most difficult factor is if they just see it as.. it's just expected, i'll be in and out of custody probably for the rest of my life.. (f)</p> <p>Its things like expectations, so if you're thinking of, for example, the travelling community you were talking about, it's the expectation is on that YP that you will provide for your family in the way we have always provided through crime or whatever, then the expectation is that they will just continue.. (g) (d) (f)</p> <p>I think its lifestyle isn't it, culture, we've got, even not travellers and they just deal with it how they deal with it, they're just consistent all the way through.. (d) (g)</p>	
<p>I worked with who was entrenched with peers who were in gangs, there were drugs, weapons (j) (i)</p> <p>he was in that situation, not thinking about his future or anything other than what he was doing at that time and he got arrested and remanded in custody (h)</p> <p>I think if you look at the reason behind offending, if you look at quisitive crime, if you think of drug users, very dependent, needing money, that quisitive crime just continues, it's a way of life.. so if</p>	<p>Crime</p> <p>Short term thinking (h)</p> <p>Peers/friends (i)</p> <p>Substances (j)</p> <p>Financial reward (k)</p>

those things don't.. if the core reason for offending doesn't change then nothing will.. (k) (f)	
<p>you can throw a child into custody but if nothing happens to them whilst they're there and they're left flailing with no plans for when they come out.. if there's no plan then the plan will always be to return to what you had before, so its that kind of old thing where if you don't make changes, nothing changes, just stays the same (p) (r)</p> <p>I can definitely think of a few young people who felt really settled and really relaxed in custody (o)</p> <p>what you see is a shift of individuals not using drugs whilst theyre in custody, y'know, everything changes because theyre not on drugs, theyre not drinking, theyre not associating themselves with their peers so you get to see that person more fully as an individual.. (o) (j) (i)</p> <p>Its having nothing set up for them either, if we haven't done our job whilst theyre there, getting them into education.. education to go in.. colleges to go in.. (r) (w)</p> <p>I'm not doing that, well I'm afraid you have to.. (s)</p> <p>they learn a lot of skills in there because sometimes they have to, that is the routine they have to do, you know (s) (w)</p> <p>its kids who have been out of education for years and suddenly they are in a routine where they get up early, eat 3 meals a day, the chaos is kind of subsided because they're in education, and the education is tailored to their needs, so it does, that kind of focus, particularly in secure training centres (STCs) are really positive I think... (w) (s) (o)</p> <p>it was a place of safety, where he could actually sit and reflect on behaviour, so although parents had removed themselves from him in a sense, it was a kind of moment of realisation I suppose that things needed to change... (n) (o) (p)</p> <p>when he got into custody, reflected about where he was at and it was a really positive thing because if he hadn't been stopped and put into custody he probably would of ended up dying or committing serious offences because he was so entrenched in that lifestyle (n) (p)</p> <p>going into custody removed him from that risky situation and gave him that time, like you said, to reflect about where he was in his life and what risk he was putting himself at, so for him it was really positive and he came out into a new area and went to college... (n)</p>	<p>Custody</p> <p>Reflection (n)</p> <p>Basic needs - Safety/security, sleep, mental health, getting clean (o)</p> <p>Turning point / A way out (p)</p> <p>Long term plan (r)</p> <p>Routine/structure/ boundaries (s)</p> <p>Education / life skills (w)</p>

(o) (w)

removing himself from the group.. he wouldn't of been able to do that off his own back because of what loyalty he probably would have had, to be then taken out, its like, ive been caught, so I have to go.. not forced him but it gave him an easy way out of that group.. (p)

I think when I've spoken to people before that have been in and out of custody they almost see it as a break from life somewhere to actually refocus, rest, actually get clean, y'know, be looked after, be warm, be dry, be fed.. Those basic needs.. (o)

Yes, if you think about.. maslows hierarchy of needs.. if you think about those basic needs of people who are homeless or living in chaos, those basic needs are met in a custody setting.. (o)

There are rotas.. they learn how to mop a floor, they learn how to put their own washing in the washing machine.. They feel safe with the routines and the boundaries don't they.. the life skills.. they're not.. (w) (s)

Routine's huge, you think of children when you have kids and people say love and boundaries, love and boundaries, and its absolutely true, love, boundaries, rules and routine. If we think of ourselves, if I'm left to my own devices and have no routine or wasn't working I don't know what I would do.. (s)

Particularly those who are in for really short bursts into custody, where there isn't really enough time for them to settle into that routine or really take education by the horns, not that I'm saying people need longer in custody, because we don't want to do that either, but the lengthy stays.. They can be more powerful can't they, it's having the chance to properly make changes (s)

Sometimes its safer to go back, y'know, it's the place they've had structure, they've felt settled, they've felt safe, they've come back out to the chaos, reality of life, actually it can be quite tempting to go back in, where you know you've got those stable factors.. (o)

when you look at.. when you speak to some of them and they say they haven't been to bed since 3 o'clock in the morning, they wouldn't get away with that.. No, in custody, its bed at 10, up at 6 or whatever.. and that can affect your mental health can't it if you're sleep deprived, again, its basic needs isn't it (s)

a lot of the YP we work with haven't got any qualifications, when they're in custody one of the good things they do get is their basic

<p>English and maths so they get a certificate, which gives them a starting point, one of these kids who haven't been in custody don't ever get the chance to do that, it's quite hard to get them into a facility where they can manage to do it, custody is a good place for that to happen (w)</p>	
<p>so for the YP to feel they have to remove themselves from the family system, the peer system.. is massive, its really difficult and like we said we can't move all our YP (a) (x) (i)</p> <p>It depends where they go, because if they go to the local one (like XXX) then its easy, I've been with somebody on that AIM intervention, working on sexual offences, who you worked with as well, I saw him every other week and continued with the work because I was able to, because it was just a local visit really but if he had been placed somewhere else I would of only been able to go to the standard reviews and I wouldn't of been able to have that ongoing intervention.. (x) (1) (2)</p> <p>That's something that maybe is actually quite important, where the YP gets placed because that can impact not only on our impact but on the family contact, because y'know if you're thinking about a family having to find the transport or just maybe the time to do the journeys, if it's the local STC then it's so much easier.. If I think of the YP I've worked with locally, if I think of those who have gone into XXX have actually done.. faired.. ..better..yes I think so, I wouldn't like to put money on it but it seems that way because the support and family contact can continue.. (1) (x) (2)</p> <p>But also, other agencies are able to go in, because I know at XXX, you can get other services that you want to link that YP to into, they might be willing to go into XXX because its local, whereas they wont go further afield.. (1) (x) (2)</p> <p>You can better prepare them for release if they're more local can't you, because as you say, you can get other services involved in actually thinking about release.. (1) (x) (2)</p> <p>Even with our service (EPS) and thinking about careers, I know careers is going up to XX but you'd have to do them all in one visit whereas if they're local its easier to logistically arrange isn't it.. (x) (1)</p> <p>I guess the difficulty is when we've got a group of YP, all with the same offence, all in the same group together, you have to separate them so that means that they are more spread about (x)</p>	<p>Area/location (x)</p> <p>Professional support (1)</p> <p>Consistency (2)</p>

<p>with coming out of custody, for YOT in the area he came from, they didn't want him to go back to the same area as he would have the same people and gangs around him, so he had a contract which meant he could not have contact with those individuals in those gangs, which then gave him that fresh start, without this identity that he had in the past in the area he was known, and was then able to go off to college and making a better chance for himself.. (x) (i) (p)</p> <p>So that's about professional help as well isn't it because without.. well who moved him location.. was it police or YOT or.. well he was told by YPT that he wouldn't be able to return to his home area and then I'm not sure how it came to that decision but he was asked if there was anywhere else he would want to go and he had a brother I think in X, so his plans were maybe to come and live with his brother (1) (x)</p> <p>obviously we can't move every YP (x)</p>	
<p>I had quite a successful one that we started from the moment he got in there, I think he went to XX, from the moment he was there..(1) (2)</p> <p>he got a place at Leamington college, and then I think he was actually housed, the college support him with his housing, the YOT kind of instigated that from the area he was from, got him into college here and then got the funding for him to be housed in what I think was a student flat share.. (w) (5) (k)</p> <p>if they have some kind of support or something positive.. reinforcement whilst they're in custody, for some its actually being in education isn't it.. It gives them a sense of success I think as well (w) (4)</p> <p>There is that element.. I can be educated.. I'm not stupid.. I can actually do something and achieve something because I think for such a lot of them in their schooling when they're being excluded and being moved to provisions that aren't particularly helpful or supportive, it does make a massive difference... (4) (w)</p> <p>I think it can do, particularly if you've supported that person before they've gone into custody.. yeh if you're continuing that level of support that was provided before.. ..then theres consistency then, you were there before, you were there during their sentence, you can be there afterwards (1) (2)</p> <p>I haven't been so involved with visits recently, I have in the past where I've been weekly, fortnightly to go and see someone throughout a year long sentence, but quite often what we're doing is</p>	<p>Support</p> <p>Education (w)</p> <p>Routine/structure (s)</p> <p>Sense of achievement / praise (4)</p> <p>Accommodation (5)</p> <p>Financial support (k)</p> <p>Professionals roles (Remit/restrictions/ Frustrations) (6)</p> <p>Rewards and consequences (8)</p>

<p>just reviews and stuff isn't it, we're kind of missing that support maybe.. (1) (6)</p> <p>you'd say goodbye to them but you'd never know, none of the staff would ever know, what happens next.. (6)</p> <p>I think rewards are a big thing, an incentive, telling them they're good, bigging up their confidence, you know because when I worked there.. when they did certain things, something good, even as a group if they got unit of the week it would mean they could get their Chinese, or if they did a good piece of work in education they might get more tuck, there would be incentive there to do the right thing, and if you didn't you would get tings taken away as well, so they would build an understanding – if I do this, I get that.. It's very consequential... (8)</p> <p>I think XXX do the bronze silver gold platinum rewards for behaviour, so if you behave well over a certain period you go up an award and each reward you get.. They're quite obsessed over that, so y'know you'd get weeks of being very calm, because everyone wants the TV on.. an extra muffin? I'll do it, whereas they would probably never even do that.. The power of rewards.. (8)</p> <p>I just think being told you're doing well is huge, rather than y'know being told you're not.. It's making things achievable isn't it (4)</p>	
<p>If someone walks in quite confident, if they have that confidence, self-assuredness, does that quickly become.. is that quickly seen as a façade, like its just a mask to hide something else (9) (14)</p> <p>Sometimes they come in quite brazen.. I think more like your travellers and things like that, they're very.. (9) (g)</p> <p>you'd see a change, even if they'd come in not confident or even if they were confident you could talk to them so they could see it from the other side.. (1) (9)</p> <p>Well they're kind of forced into it when theyre put into custody so they have to deal with it.. its how they deal with it, some of them walk in very very confident, whereas some would walk in sheepish, haven't got a clue what is going on .. (9)</p>	<p>Confidence (9)</p> <p>Façade (14)</p> <p>Travellers (g)</p>
<p>You look at resilience of the YP, it's a strange one because sometimes if they're less resilient they may really struggle in custody and that may be a big factor in thinking I do not want to go back there, but sometimes if they have more resilience, they are better able to think about the future more positively, so it's a difficult one character</p>	<p>Individual factors</p> <p>Resilience (12)</p> <p>Ability to think</p>

<p>wise.. (12) (13)</p> <p>Yeh, it's that lack of mastery isn't it, that lack of optimism, in terms of they don't think there's anything positive in their future then they're not optimistic about what that will look like, they don't think they've got the capacity to change.. Havent got any incentive to change.. (21) (13)</p> <p>I guess they are able to develop those kind of reflective skills a little bit more when theyre not on the drugs and away from those other influences.. (n) (j)</p> <p>Maybe empathy itself is a big factor in terms of re-offending, because actually if you can really tap into someone's victim empathy, you can get them to start thinking about their behaviour differently.. but if someone lacks empathy.. it can be far more difficult so maybe empathy in itself is quite a big thing, a characteristic that would impact upon reoffending and behaviour going back into the community.. (15)</p> <p>adults, when I've worked with adults with custodial sentences, a big thing for them was the guilt of leaving their partner or children, letting them down was a reason they didn't want to go back into custody, just that maturity really, realising if they go back, the impact they're going to have.. and in YOT you kind of don' get to get to that point (16)</p> <p>It's things like that lack of empathy, lack of self-care, could be mental health problems, low self esteem.. If they just don't think they can achieve anything in terms of education or work or anything, they just think they're destined for that life really.. (15) (20)</p> <p>we spoke about empathy didn't we... Does that come alongside maturity because if you think about a 13 year old for example, they're really developing those skills.. so maybe remorse and development of empathy and development of maturity really come hand in hand (15) (16)</p>	<p>about future (13)</p> <p>Empathy (15)</p> <p>Lack of maturity (16)</p> <p>Low self-esteem (20)</p> <p>Lack of optimism (21)</p> <p>Reflection (n)</p> <p>Substances (j)</p> <p>Peers (i)</p>
<p>If you look at the ION (?) scheme, if you look at the type of offences they commit, its all kind of quisitive theft, burglaries all that kind of stuff and they're the ones in and out of custody, breaching, whereas sexual offences.. other types of offences that are to do with one part of their lives or a one off almost are unlikely to re-offend (27)</p> <p>I don't think its necessarily about the age I think its more about the type of offence and the lifestyle, I'm not sure age has a massive baring on it (27)</p>	<p>Type of offence (27)</p>

<p>I saw him for accommodation, I even did video link ups with him if I couldn't get there and I invited accommodation providers in to interview him so they were able to meet with him – even through a screen – so he had somewhere to go on to because he left his flat before he went in there (5) (r)</p> <p>we got colleges to come in and we had a college interview as well.. that didn't last because he ended up getting a job but it was a good, y'know, paid employment (w) (28)</p> <p>he wasn't so nervous then coming out.. had something to do.. if nothings set up its quite easy to go straight back in again.. (r)</p> <p>I was talking to someone the other week about entering back into work and stuff and he was like the trouble is I'll only get paid like minimum wage, whereas if I carry on drug dealing, I get a lot of money, a lot of money, so why would I do that? Why would I get a job for minimum wage? So the lack of opportunity is probably a real barrier.. (29) (k)</p> <p>And the knock backs as well.. they may apply for a load of jobs but no, not with your criminal conviction.. or no, you haven't got the experience or the qualifications, when you're getting knock back after knock back it's easier to go back to that life where they can make money dealing drugs (32) (j) (k)</p> <p>Its really tough isn't it when you're faced with a criminal record, when you're trying to get jobs and they're few and far between, and if you're an employer with 100 applicants what's the easiest way to get rid of some, you get rid of some with past convictions (28) (32)</p> <p>What about social skills.. that's huge.. because actually if you've got the skills to go into an employer and say this is my history, this is where I'm at.. Or build relationships with people.. Mmm if you haven't got social skills that's really difficult.. (33) (28)</p>	<p>Next steps</p> <p>Long term plan (r)</p> <p>Education (w)</p> <p>Accommodation (5)</p> <p>Employment (28)</p> <p>Low income (k)</p> <p>Rewards of criminal acts (29)</p> <p>Restrictions (30)</p> <p>Criminal record (31)</p> <p>Rejection (32)</p> <p>Social skills (33)</p> <p>Substances (j)</p>

18 b) Focus Group 2: codes and quotations

<p>as a service.. we are looking at is this in more detail because we have young people who have order after order after order and then go into custody, so what we're looking at is why the order works for one person and not another young person and why do we keep doing the same thing on the orders knowing that that's not working and ultimately end up in custody because they're not engaged by it (a)</p> <p>so we'd be looking at some trauma work and stuff like that, you know, how to do that differently when someone's always been on an order and been on an order and another order, which is a clear indicator that they could possibly end up in custody, so we need to do that differently, so I think as a service we'd be looking at it in a different way (a)</p> <p>instead of waiting for it to actually go to custody and then looking at it, what needs to be done, it needs to be done before then really and a lot earlier, because.. we know the people who go to custody usually have multiple orders, so if we know that, we can change that (a)</p> <p>we.. have to look at these orders when they are not engaging with us properly and why aren't they engaging us, and we need to do things properly, because if we keep doing the same, same-old same-old then we are going to keep getting the same-old same-old (a)</p> <p>the programmes that they get in custody are very ad hoc.. if your sentence is on the Thursday and they've already started a programme and that's a 6 week programme, you're not going to be able to get into that 6 week programme until 6 weeks down the line when you might be out in a couple of weeks, they won't put you on that 6 weeks programme...(a)</p> <p>I need to go to the chief officers board to get permission to do things differently you see, I mean we started doing some things differently within the framework that we've got, but unless we get the backing of our chief officers.. we need permission to do that differently.. I'm not saying it's going to work, I'm not but what we're doing now doesn't work so we've got to do something differently (a)</p> <p>about them getting institutionalised, I think that can happen with an order.. if they go from YRO to YRO to YRO.. it becomes meaningless.. we haven't really got anything between a YRO and a</p>	<p>Systemic factors</p> <p>(a) Need for systemic changes</p>
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custodial, to try and get abit more impact in their lives..(a)	
<p>I mean there is no doubt about it resources have impacted hugely on the work that we do, a few years ago one of our colleagues took one of the lads down to the seaside.. but because of money we just have to go in, do work with them, we talk to them.. but sometimes that's not enough and it would be lovely to be able to be.. Just showing them there is other stuff out there, there's a world out there, outside of that little cocoon that they've been living in.. (b)</p> <p>They talk about us being creative autonomous practitioners but we're not and we're so governed by knowing that people will complain at a drop of a hat, that we're having to check ourselves all the time.. what most of these kids really want is they want us to go in, have that contact, physical contact, they might need a hug occasionally but we can't do that, but we can't can we because it might bite us on the bottom basically.. (b)</p> <p>I feel like im banging my head against a brick wall.. we need a whole change in our approach, how we're approaching these YP (b)</p> <p>And what do we need to do differently to try and get to, I'm not saying it doesn't work, I'm not saying it doesn't work.. I know, I know... What I am saying is, we've got to try things differently (b)</p> <p>all the stuff that we agreed at the first review, some of it hasn't come through in the plan, so even though hes not my case ive had to email and say look this is what we agreed, we agreed help (b)</p> <p>there was almost like.. like a tick box exercise, lets just do a little plan and that'll do and we'll send it to the YOTs then but actually there's much more to it than that and I did raise these questions.. (b)</p>	(b) Professional frustrations/ system limitations/ restraints
<p>we have another with substance misuse issues, demanding monies demanding all sorts of things so that he could live the lifestyle he wanted (f)</p> <p>Or they get a lot out of it that feeds into their ego and they don't have anything else.. financial and stuff like that, its very hard to get a YP to accept an apprenticeship shall we say when they're getting more money from the crime they are committing, how do you weigh those two up, how do you say to a YP you need to into this job you need to do this apprenticeship and get not a lot of money and you stick to that and you'll have a fabulous life and do</p>	<p>Crime</p> <p>Financial reward (f)</p> <p>Short-sighted (3)</p>

<p>everything you want to do, everything will be hunky dory, to them saying.. they know how much they were earning prior to custody doing what they were doing, if they were doing it for financial reward.. (f)</p> <p>they know they could be making a lot more than what they get doing an apprenticeship, they don't even have to do a lot to do that because the apprenticeship pays so poorly.. it used to be 99 pounds a week didn't it.. (f)</p> <p>And I think that's another problem with YP is actually its very short sighted and its very difficult to put old heads on young shoulders, in actual fact this will affect them for the rest of their lives, their jobs and stuff like that, because they don't have that concept of next week, next month, next year.. (3)</p>	
<p>so one I had in custody.. he was bullied abit, every time I used to go and see him he would be crying on my shoulder, bit of a tough guy, bit of a leader shall we say, saw a completely different side of him in custody (g)</p> <p>It will be really interesting to see what happens because he's got a really long sentence, whether he will use this to reflect on his life and turn a corner actually.. (o)</p> <p>Its consistent boundaries really.. Which a lot of parents fail to do, which is why they are in the system (p) (4)</p> <p>they have never had opportunity to achieve anything anywhere else usually, because of being excluded from school (k) (4)</p> <p>on the intensive supervision and surveillance which is 25 hours of activity a week and an electronic tag.. they would rather go to custody where, as you say, all there needs are met, they haven't got the worry of getting back in time, so it takes away the attraction of going out and being able to offend, they know the confines of custody will keep them safe basically (h)</p> <p>once they are in custody, you know they get institutionalised really really quickly. They have the routines there for them: the time they get up, jobs for them to do, their meal times are on a regular time and it's the only time in some of the cases that they have felt that real structure supporting them and so of course when they come out, they really struggle with it (p)</p> <p>came out, did well initially, was in another area, started migrating back to the area he offended and it wasn't long, think there is a</p>	<p>Custody</p> <p>Hostile environment (g)</p> <p>Basic needs met (h)</p> <p>Substances (i)</p> <p>Education (j)</p> <p>Sense of achievement (k)</p> <p>Area/location (l)</p> <p>Planning for the future (n)</p> <p>Reflection (o)</p> <p>Routine/structure (p)</p>

<p>warrant out for his arrest now with adults because he's 18 and gone to probation And that's it isn't it no matter where they go, even if they don't go back to their local area, they seem to gravitate.. (l)</p> <p>I've got a YP at the moment who is due in court in December.. he thinks he's going to get sent down..and he's seeing it as a positive that he might be able to get off the cannabis if he was to go inside.. (h) (i)</p> <p>We have had young people in the past who have done something to get back into custody because they feel that actually they have thrived in that sort of structure...(p)</p> <p>the change in him, because 'I can get through the day without cannabis, I can get through the day without smoking, so when I leave here why would I want to pick it up again'.. (i)</p> <p>in my experience of custody is actually the one thing that is good in there is the education so these young people come out with piles of certificates from the courses that they have done, which they are really proud of.. the skills they learn in there, in terms of education, there does seem to be a lot of opportunity, and I think it is one of the best things about it....(j) (k)</p> <p>I think that's the problem and I think distance as well as you know for our prisons.. to be able to keep their routes in where they are residing and where they have got to come back out to..(l)</p> <p>even just keeping family contact sometimes is very difficult because they're place miles and miles away and the family don't have the means to get there or, if they do but not very often (l)</p> <p>that first review that you do in custody where you do the plan and you're already planning for resettlement, really important, because it can take a long time as we know, to get things in place to make sure when they come out their not hunting for education that's suitable, or accommodation that might be appropriate.. (n)</p>	
<p>it's about building that relationship which takes a long time and building the trust that you're not going to go anywhere, you are going to keep trying.. He doesn't trust any professionals at all (c)</p> <p>they've got no consistency and that's why I think we need to be really careful about changing case managers and things like that because they need that consistent person.. - I'm not going anywhere, I'm always here, y'know.. (c)</p>	<p>Support</p> <p>(c) Building relationships</p> <p>(d) Engagement</p> <p>(q) Professional</p>

<p>One of my LAC who could of gone to custody a couple of weeks ago and didn't, very lucky, because we stepped in and did stuff that we perhaps shouldn't because he's 18 but we did anyway, kept him out of custody (r)</p> <p>now the most important resource we have is ourselves and the most important thing we can do at the moment is sit with them and give them some time (c)</p> <p>whilst they're in their they're usually quite a captive audience, their usually off the substances, so you can talk to them properly, for the first time in some cases..(d) (i)</p> <p>I used to spend time with his sister downstairs and he'd stay upstairs, the only time I got him to come down.. I brought up the subject of their mother, who is dead, and she started to talk about him, and that was the point he came down the stairs (d)</p> <p>I said, 'I don't know how to engage with him any differently than I did because he was so difficult – he was probably the most difficult young person I've ever worked with and I tried everything to get my foot in the door, to get into the house'... I still felt I failed him... he was doing quite well at one stage, erm and he's gone off and he's gone off, he gone back to exactly the behaviours that put him on the intensive supervision and that was running with travellers (d)</p> <p>what we try and do in YJ is we have a set of rules but we'll bend them, manipulate them, make them work, make an individual plan for that YP within a rigid framework.. I think that's what other agencies won't do.. (q) (r)</p> <p>I think support is crucial, I think if they haven't got support in place they are much more likely to fail, definitely (q)</p> <p>there was a significant substance misuse problem. He would be up 'till all hours of the night and then he would just sleep through the 10 o'clock, well for his reparation anyway – I used to do later appointments. I moved my appointment times around... (r) (i)</p> <p>I'm doing substance misuse with him, Compass are also involved with him through school, that is also something he is looking at (i)</p> <p>even though hes off the substances there are still issues that we need to deal with, things like, some of the trauma, so he was off the substances but his head was racing, now how can he focus on</p>	<p>support</p> <p>(r) Flexibility</p> <p>(i) Substances</p> <p>(z) professional approach</p>
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<p>an educational course if hes got a racing head, he needs the psychological support as well, he needs that putting in place, he also had an incident where he had his heart restarted.. unless you deal with the health side you're not going to get the results or benefits from the training that's on offer...(z)</p> <p>It's a holistic approach that's needed..(z)</p> <p>we would do a narrative approach to help them understand.. make sense of their past experiences and that's one of the main model that I would use in my work with YP because I think unless that start to break down their experiences and rebuild them again in a more positive light or if they can't rebuild them in a positive light, perhaps look at how they could of handled it differently, unless they can do that, that's really the basis of our YO work..(z)</p>	
<p>ive had some, not that have been to prison but on their 18th birthday theyre homeless because the accommodation they've been offered is so far away (x) (l)</p> <p>they haven't got any financial support, the benefits aren't in place, they cant get from A to B.. obviously benefits is a priority but for all sorts of reasons it breaks down, anyone whose on PIP, personal independent payment, can get stopped at the drop of a hat and YP can get left with no financial support, and it takes so long to get it in place.. (1)</p> <p>so I've got two, one that's sleeping in a tent and one that's just sofa surfing and they're going over to probation at 18.. its like they just cut everything at the age of 18, so they have support from us, which can be quite a lot of support from us, go to 18 and its just like pulling the rug from beneath their feet.. right, you're on your own now, survive! Which is really sad.. And people will ask why they carry on offending.. (v)</p> <p>we shouldn't have to incarcerate them.. But when they come out.. it's really hard to get them engaged in something outside because there isn't anything (s)</p> <p>Education should be in the areas that they live in.. Whatever you do needs to be in their community so that it can be sustainable when they come out and I think that is the difficulty with some of the education that they do inside, the programmes they do, it is not sustainable when they come out. (j) (l) (s) (m)</p> <p>It is all very isolated even though we try and do a very good plan and an exit plan for young people on an order, and that's why they</p>	<p>Transition</p> <p>Lack of support within community (s)</p> <p>Reputation in community/label (u)</p> <p>Failure to support transition to adulthood (v)</p> <p>Accommodation (x)</p> <p>Requirement for improved outreach work (y)</p> <p>Sustainability (m)</p> <p>Financial support (1)</p>

do half of their order in the community on license but, you know, it is very difficult to keep that sustainability going.. when they've been so far away from home (l) (m)

giving people permission so they can almost go and stalk the YP... so health feel its ok to knock on the door and sit on the doorstep and stuff like that, or go for a walk rather than come back to a clinical place.. being more consistent about it and giving that permission to do that, and giving the time and space to do that because obviously its very time consuming to do that, to turn up at that house every morning, to be there at 10 clock whether you like it or not I'm going to be here till you talk to me type thing (y)

Health use the Health model rather than a social model and actually, you know, one of the difficulties we have is that we expect these young people to come to us (y)

the Health model is if they don't turn up that's it, that they don't give any more appointments. You know what I'm saying is... you should be there, you should be there, on his doorstep. OK you can't force him to talk to you, but you've got to build up trust with this young person – how are you going to do that? Because he is not going to come in there, into a waiting room, into a room and talk to you. He's not going to do that (y)

Its stable accommodation as well.. (x)

they cant get accommodation or they're not seen as worthy of having accommodation or we're expecting them to live somewhere ridiculous and they say no – well that's it, you've made yourself homeless because you're not prepared to go there.. (x) (l)

Community.. if they've been quite prolific offenders they get quite known within their local community and its almost like they'll come out and its like, whats the point? They've already been labelled with that.. Or they're busy living up to it.. (u)

childrens services pull out on their 18th birthday and these YP, although they have a PA until theyre 21, with a little support, financial support, and that relationship they've had with the social worker that can often be a few years.. its gone.. its just gone.. (v)

I don't think that's just down to our looked after population (...) that is for any YP aged 17-18 who is having difficulty, now aged 17-18 the accommodation, 18-21.. you cant go on a waiting list for a counsellor or your own tenancy (x) (v)

<p>when some YP come out they big up their time in prison.. so other YP don't see it as something to worry about because 'oh I enjoyed it, we had a PlayStation and all this kind of stuff'.. (t)</p> <p>when we did the programmes like 'Prison Me No Way' I think they were really good because they gave YP a taste of custody, rather than hearing it through peers who may give a false representation, they can hear from people who have actually been inside, actually see what a prison looks like and it's a shame we don't do those.. we haven't done it for a long time have we.. (2)</p> <p>one of the things that I think is really obvious that we didn't see 15 years ago is, erm, I don't care, there is definitely an attitude of, I don't care, bring it on, bring it on, and like X said, they can come out of custody and its a badge of honour, instead of saying that they were bullied inside which they might of, one I can think of.. aahh its this this it's the other, persuading YP that its actually an alright experience.. you get fed, you get clothed (t) (2) (g) (h)</p> <p>That young man we were talking about earlier hes not actually worried.. yes he is worried about getting a custodial sentence but the adults that have been to custody that have gone back to custody, the picture that they're giving him is it's alright, you'll do alright, so in his head – I'll be fine (2)</p> <p>we totally accept they do use it as a badge of honour (1)</p> <p>I had one who believed he would be given a key to his cell so he could let himself in and out.. (2)</p>	<p>Re-offending</p> <p>Bravado (t)</p> <p>Positive/false perception of custody (2)</p>
<p>We know the prison population is over represented by children in the looked after system (4)</p> <p>school cant cope with them, parents cant cope with them so they end up in the care system and often care cant cope with them and so they will end up somewhere else (4)</p> <p>Sense of control, that's not easy to get because if they've come from the looked after system, that sense of control is removed from their lives (4)</p> <p>Especially those that have been to custody because you don't see those who have seen the world and had rich childhood experiences, you don't see them going to custody, its the ones who have a very narrow view of life.. they only know who they know, ok families don't tend to move but you haven't got</p>	<p>Family history</p> <p>Challenging backgrounds (4)</p> <p>Complex presentations (5)</p> <p>Emotional vulnerability (6)</p>

<p>particularly educated families here.. (4)</p> <p>A lot of our kids, when you looks at their history they've got so much rejection in there and they just feel no one wants them (4)(6)</p> <p>these children often haven't got families around them that want them or anything to do with them (4)</p> <p>That rejection.. that's going on.. (6)</p> <p>sometimes family isn't the right place for some YP and families would survive better if that YP was able to survive living somewhere else, independently with support from the family, I mean a lot of families do that naturally when they go to Uni or start work but when that is interrupted somehow because they are offending (4)</p> <p>he's been in care homes for years, he's been smashing them up, he's been assaulting people, he's been using substances, he's been very difficult to engage, everybody who came across him was very wary of him, especially when he's in courts, smashing the doors of the courts and scribbling on walls and things, very very difficult young man to engage, got ADHD and I think conduct disorder as well, so he left care at 18, he's got minimal support (4) (5)</p> <p>I think with him, you know that he's been involved a lot with adults, it's quite apparent, groomed by adults, you know that's who he's gravitated to (4) (6)</p> <p>dad wanted mum to have an abortion when pregnant – she refused and had this child and he's just been rejected really. I think the family tried but not very hard and because he wasn't wanted. It was made clear he wasn't wanted – not by mum (4)</p> <p>he has got ADHD, which is quite severe and it wasn't diagnosed until quite late. His behaviour, from quite a young age, it was quite difficult and I think that is what his dad struggled with and then the brothers tried to parent him as well (5)</p> <p>I think mum used to give into him for a quiet life so parenting is absolutely crucial with these young people (4)</p> <p>he would be extremely vulnerable in custody (6)</p>	
another thing with the desistance that doesn't happen often	Recidivism

<p>enough is the restorative justice side of it, meeting with the victims, it does help with the desistance (7)</p> <p>since he came out of supported lodgings where he was living on his own but quite closely supervised by childrens services he's reunited with his birth mother and his birth brother, he's got himself a girlfriend and the difference that has made has been massive so we've had a form of period of desistance and I would of said 6 months but unfortunately the last crime committed was when he was leaving the supported accommodation which is a real shame because his whole personality has transformed and he is a completely transformed young man and I think it was that that kept him out of custody because the magistrates saw the difference.. his whole attitude has changed, got too much to lose, loves being with his mum again, loves being reunited with part of his family and his girlfriend is just the most stabilising factor in his life, he feels accepted, he feels accepted for the first time instead of getting palmed off from home to home to home, he feels now he has a base and hes happy and contented (x) (10) (8) (9)</p> <p>protective factors.. relationships.. Boyfriend/girlfriend I would say.. when I know a YP is in a relationship and its steady, I think 'yes'.. Especially for the boys, having a girlfriend and a job are two of the biggest factors.. (10)</p> <p>Remorse is crucial, if they don't feel any remorse, they're not going to care about victims or the public.. (11)</p> <p>If all our YP took part in hobbies we wouldn't see half of them in the team at all, so the ones that play football, I've just had one that nearly went custody that plays rugby and y'know, he's got every positive factor going but one of the big things for him is that he's a county rugby player and the magistrates really liked that, really liked that, because they know it's a protective factor (12)</p> <p>mental health.. thats some of the most important stuff, if they haven't got this, they've got nothing (13)</p> <p>self-esteem, feeling about themselves.. if you can get that, that's when you're going to get your social and your leisure activities, because they are actually starting to look at themselves.. (14)</p> <p>if they could stay off drugs, we get so many drugs offences now.. (i)</p> <p>loving themselves.. they use this to mask some of their mental health stuff..(13)</p>	<p>Restorative justice (7)</p> <p>Sense of belonging (8)</p> <p>Stability (9)</p> <p>Relationships – BF, GF (10)</p> <p>Remorse (11)</p> <p>Social/leisure activities (12)</p> <p>Mental health (13)</p> <p>Self-esteem (14)</p>
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<p>we've got to change society and the way we view our YP, as a nation we don't particularly like our YP, families like their YP but facilities, we've gone through all this austerity, y'know youth clubs have been slashed, we do not value our YP.. I'm thinking back to my younger days.. you'd sit and have meals, you'd sit and have conversations, you'd do things as a group, as a family and I think as a society we've lost that now.. (15)</p> <p>Well we don't live around our extended family like we used to because we've travelled, with the way that jobs and careers have gone.. (16)</p> <p>I think that's largely down to the media, you've got all your social media, you've got your phones, your I-pad, computers, you TV that's on.. everything is on 24/7 these days, so there's all these distractions around which I think has taken away from things like family meals.. (and the art of conversation).. (16)</p> <p>it's like an unrealistic world.. and if you do feel down or fed up for a minute.. there's something wrong with me because I'm feeling like that rather than accepting that y'know we need down time and we need time to sit back and not worry (16)</p> <p>we need to start thinking within our rigid society rules, we need to be a lot more flexible (16)</p>	<p>Societal changes</p> <p>Societies view of YP (15)</p> <p>Modern society pitfalls (16)</p>
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Appendix 19: Similarities and differences between YP's narrative accounts. 19a) Key similarities between YPs' narratives (events/experiences)

Chapter	Similarity	Examples (quotations)	Interpretation / link to literature
Childhood	Unstable home life	<p>'my mum passed away a few years ago when we were already living over here in rugby and I've just lived with my nan and granded since' (Jack)</p> <p>'my mum drinking...She is that, a bit of an alcoholic now.... she just didn't stop so that's really the only negative thing about my childhood. My mum drinking all the time' (Luke)</p> <p>'most of the time my mum is pissed out of her head' (Luke)</p> <p>'it was all good, and then my mum died and that when I was seven' (Mason)</p>	participants' childhoods were characterised by loss, separation and grief. These findings are supported by previous literature indicating that YOs have often experienced trauma and been subjected to turbulent family lives (Wright et al, 2016a, YJB, 2014a, Todis et al, 2001)
	Exclusion from school	<p>'I went secondary school but didn't last very long... I was always getting excluded and that, then after my second year they just told me they didn't want me to come back' (Jack)</p> <p>'I was perfect... until I got to about year eight and then I got banged and I got kicked out...' (Luke)</p> <p>'they weren't going to take me back, the school... Because I was on tag and that... they didn't want me in the school no more... they send me to XXX (specialist provision)' (Mason)</p>	In line with existing literature findings (Taylor, 2016b), participants had difficult school experiences which led from exclusion from maintained settings, periods out of education (e.g. on reduced timetables) and lack of qualifications.
	Specialist educational setting	<p>'I went to a PRU...It was alright, chilling, didn't learn a thing... it was fun though, they used to take us out mountain biking canoeing and stuff, swimming an that, take us golf range' (Jack)</p> <p>'sent me to XXX PRU, got kicked out of there.... they took me back so many times, kept getting kicked out like and then just I didn't want to go' (Luke)</p> <p>'it weren't a big place, like there weren't that many people there, I chilled out' (Mason)</p>	All participants had attended a specialist educational setting. Luke highlighted how he zig-zagged in and out of school placements, mirroring his criminal pathway. Jack highlighted the lack of educational benefits from such a setting, whilst Mason referred to the emotional benefits.
	Age of criminal onset	<p>'I was probably 12 ish maybe, roughly, I'd say something like that... it started off with the local community support, we used to throw stuff at their vans and then they got on top of the youth club and then throwing stuff off the youth club' (Jack)</p>	The start of participants criminal pathways coincided with adolescence which could provide evidence for an aging theory of desistance which links increased criminal

		<p>'Well, round about 14. At first, like, I, I'd never been in trouble and then about 14, obviously I tried NCAT and that. And then it really went downhill from there like' (Luke)</p> <p>'I got sent down when I was 14' (Mason)</p>	activity with lack of maturity and/or higher testosterone levels, suggesting participants may have naturally grown own of crime through the aging process (Glueck and Glueck, 1940)
Pre-custody	Substances	<p>'I started smoking weed but I didn't really like it much... before I went to jail first I started dabbling in the cocaine' (Jack)</p> <p>'I was out burglarin every day, and then all night I was getting coked up, I had a bad little habit' (Jack)</p> <p>'all the offences, and never ever been straight headed. It's always been on drugs or drink' (Luke)</p> <p>'I was fine until I started taking drugs, and then as soon as I started taking drugs I went off the rails' (Luke)</p> <p>'When I was about 11 or 12.... I started smoking weed and stuff...' (Mason)</p>	Consistent with data from LA which indicated almost half of YOs commit crimes under the influence of substances (WYYS, 2017a), all participants linked their criminal behaviour with substance use which reportedly contributed to a short-term outlook of life, a lack of self-care and accelerated criminal activities. Haigh (2009) previously outlined the link between crime, substance use and automatic thinking.
	Short term thinking	<p>'Because I didn't give a f**k then, I wasn't thinking about it' (Jack)</p> <p>'Didn't care about nothing. Didn't care about myself, didn't care about anyone, didn't care about me mum, me dad, me brothers, didn't really care about nothing really' (Luke)</p> <p>'I just thought I don't care about my life no more, I can do what I want' (Mason)</p>	All participants described a short-term mind-set when they were committing crimes, not considering the impact or consequences of their actions.
	Perceived benefits of crime	<p>'drive out to these big mansions in the middle of no-where, middle of the day time when they're at work, knock the door, no answer, I'd kick the door straight off, and that was an adrenaline rush' (Jack)</p> <p>'I just enjoyed it too much, of being always like, I just enjoyed the buzz, and I don't know it's just, I just got to the point where I started enjoying it... I was addicted to it like so bang it was just constant' (Luke)</p> <p>'I used to feel great.... at the time, it was a release...at the time, I felt good' (Mason)</p>	When describing their criminal acts, participants outlined the benefits experienced including adrenaline, enjoyment and a release. Desistance, therefore, required a change in behaviour but also a change in how they perceived anti-social behaviours (Haigh, 2009).
	Friends as a main source	<p>'I found comfort in my friends, being around people, I found comfort in that just having fun with people, whether it's getting into trouble or what, I used to find</p>	participants described the crucial role of friends whilst growing up. In comparison to

	of social support	<p>comfort in it' (Jack)</p> <p>'Just go and see your friends and that, get happy from being around your friends' (Jack)</p> <p>'I just wanted to be out and always with me mates. Just wanted to be with my mates' (Luke)</p> <p>'I've known them literally all my life, so we've always been together with always done everything together' (Luke)</p> <p>'I used to meet my mate. He weren't in school because he used to do sessions at home' (Mason)</p>	<p>their turbulent home lives and unstable relationships with parental figures, friendships appeared to provide a level of consistency that was unique in their lives. Mason described spending time with friends who were in similar positions (e.g. out of school) (Chritsabesan and Bailey, 2006).</p>
Custody	Authoritarian / hostile environment	<p>'in the first few days I got into a fight and I <i>absolutely battered</i> the kid, and they thought, yeh he's alright, he can have a scrap an that, we'll bring him on' (Jack)</p> <p>'There's fights in there every single day' (Jack)</p> <p>'bullying now then, obviously the bullies, you, you don't get no bullies and that in there. If someone is a bully in there, the whole unit will batter them, literally' (Luke)</p> <p>'only had one fight...I just switched... Proper quick... jumped up and whacked him' (Mason)</p>	<p>participants descriptions of the YSE shared some similarities, including reference to the violence and hostility that has previously been found to characterise these environments (Taflan, 2017, Wood et al, 2017). There appeared to be irony in Jack's insistence that there were no bullies inside because if anyone was they received physical abuse.</p>
	Positive experiences	<p>'the gym staff would help you out, they would stay and chat with you for hours, they are really supportive, they are good' (Jack)</p> <p>'I er I got some qualifications out of it, I got maths and English functional skills level 1... sports leaders courses, level 1 and level 2 which is alright' (Jack)</p> <p>'It's absolutely easy... you got a pool table, Xbox one...' (Luke)</p> <p>'it's like being at your mate's house but you're not being allowed out' (Luke)</p> <p>'you're mollycoddled by the staff...take you under their wing like you're their son' (Luke)</p> <p>I done loads of things...skills... I never had a qualification when I've been in there, now 'I've got everything, the hairy beauty level II... I think I come out with about 18 qualifications in the end' (Luke)</p>	<p>In contrast to the authoritarian, hostile environment referred to by participants, the benefits of being within the YSE were also emphasised (Hampson, 2016). All participants described the positive elements of education, learning and opportunities for skill development inside. They also described a nurturing environment with adults who genuinely cared about their wellbeing and took the time to listen to them.</p>

		<p>'You just get loads of help, drug use, drug workers' (Luke)</p> <p>'I knew everyone, everyone knew you. It was just like a big laugh like really' (Luke)</p> <p>'it weren't that bad, it was all right' (Mason)</p>	
	Custody as a period of reflection / turning point	<p>'My prison time has given me a lot of time to think... about what I want to get out of my life... it's no lifestyle is it, you don't get a payday from it, you don't get a pension from it, you certainly aren't gonna get a mortgage from it are ya' (Jack)</p> <p>'I really think it's because when I went back in, I just change my way of thinking and what I did and the way I act and that. I just think more cleverly now... is it really worth it?' (Luke)</p> <p>'I just started thinking differently... I just literally was all calm, and didn't really want to fight and that no more' (Mason)</p>	All participants referred to custody as a period of reflection, presenting an opportunity to start thinking differently and consider cause and effect links in regard to future actions (Panuccio et al, 2012).
Transition / re-entry to community	Fear upon release	<p>'I was scared, I just kept thinking I was gonna go back in there and I don't wanna do that' (Jack)</p> <p>'ever since I got out there, I'm so wary... really wary about things' (Luke)</p> <p>'when I come out I had no confidence whatsoever' (Luke)</p> <p>'I had to go back in there because I got that used to being in there, and when I come out it was like... when you see a cargo or something, it's like phew, a bit nervy because you're not used to that' (Luke)</p> <p>'when I come out I thought I was just going to get back in trouble again' (Mason)</p>	As highlighted in existing literature, participants found re-entry into the community a difficult transition that evoked feelings of anxiety (Bateman and Hazel, 2015, Inderbitzin, 2009).
	Lack of confidence and/or preparation	<p>'preparation, that's the main thing, it's like, say you've been in a submarine for 6 months, you come back up, the altitude has changed, y'know they allow to adjust but one day you're locked up in a cell, the next day you're out in the big wide world, there's no in-between' (Jack)</p> <p>'Build up to leaving custody, everyone's supposed to have it but it was just nowhere to be seen for me, it just wasn't there' (Jack)</p> <p>'I weren't really prepared to get out...I didn't know what to do. Come home and it was like, this is weird like I'm I'm not used to it' (Luke)</p> <p>'when I come out I had no confidence, nothing. I didn't believe in, everything, I, I give up, I just give up' (Luke)</p>	The disorientation and reorientation experienced upon release led participants to conclude that the preparation and planning for release was insufficient, supporting previous findings within literature (Hampson, 2016, Abrams, 2006).

		<p>‘when I come out I thought I was just going to get back in trouble again’ (Mason)</p> <p>‘it feels a bit strange seeing everyone and that again’ (Mason)</p>	
	Routine and keeping busy	<p>‘in jail, you’ve got your routine, out here you haven’t, you’ve got your sessions, but 2/3 hours a day.. whereas if you were working, it’s just keeping busy’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘you just want, want to stay into that, you don’t want to stay in there, you want to stay in the routine’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘do more work, and keeps my mind off things’ (Mason)</p> <p>‘I like to be occupied’ (Mason)</p>	Supportive of Todis et al’s (2001) findings, correctional programmes reportedly provided participants with routine and structure which was difficult to replace in the outside world leading to increased free time and a lack of meaningful ways to spend it.
	Positive perception of support received after custody	<p>‘I had education people... come and see me ... she’s filled me out a bricklaying course application for September at college and I’ve been accepted but I need to go and have an interview’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘XXX (YJ worker). She is the main responsibility of helping me out, of anyone’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘I just have one session a week....I just talk about different things what happened and stuff like that...’ (Mason)</p>	All participant’s mentioned the positive role that professionals had in their journey, providing both practical and emotional support. These findings are consistent with existing literature (Panuccio et al, 2012).
	Numerous convictions / re-convictions	<p>‘when I got out before I was in a placement in XXX staying over there’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘knows exactly where I’m heading anyway, I’m going back over to mine... as soon as I come back in there’s police flying out of everywhere’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘it went from a point like I was never been known by the police to having been arrested the most times out of anyone in XXX (town) like’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘I got 18 months doing line I got on good behaviour and in total I done 4 weeks on remand like. I got remanded twice down London, twice over here and then I got a sentence’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘they weren’t going to let me come straight back into my area that I, that I believed in myself that I be all right when I come back to my mates, but obviously I wasn’t allowed a drink, bang and reoffended straightaway’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘Er, two years’ (between convictions) (Mason)</p>	Research findings within the field of desistance suggest that incarceration and custodial sentences do not serve a rehabilitative function (Taylor, 2016b, Harris, 2015, Meek, 2007). All participants described a zig-zagged pattern, in and out of custody indicating that their experienced within the YSE did not act as enough of a deterrent to prevent further criminal activity (Hampson, 2016). None of the participants managed to make a positive resettlement after one period in the YSE, providing support for the notion that time

			spent in incarceration does not aid rehabilitation.
Present	Growing out of crime	<p>‘obviously now I’ve grown up... everything’s alright for the day, it will give you some money for the night, it might give you money for a week...but its no lifestyle is it’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘the older you get, the more things you can do... that’s when you start becoming your own individual person and you ain’t being looked after by your mum...when you got your own job’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘I know everyone is working nowadays. I think it’s about generation, age nowadays’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘everyone’s changed. Like, everyone does their own thing and that’ (Mason)</p>	All participants made reference to the role of growing up and maturity in the pathway to desistance, this arguably provides support for the aging theory (Glueck and Glueck, 1940), however, this theory is reductionist and ignores other factors that are likely to play an interactive role in this process alongside the biological course of aging (e.g. cognitive development and shifts).
	Diminished responsibility	<p>‘we’d do it together, we’d all just, when we were doing the cars an that, 5 of us would go out we’d just split up into 2’s’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘I just got in with the wrong crowd... everyone just used to bounce off each other’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘it was like four of us, a group of four of us and everyone was doing the same thing’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘they’d just drag me into things and stuff (Mason)</p> <p>‘I just couldn’t help it’ (Mason)</p>	Consistent with Maruna’s (2001) theory, participants communicated conflicted locus of control. When they explained their crimes they often minimised their individual responsibility by emphasising the joint, collaborative elements involved and/or outlining their lack of control over their actions.
	Remorse	<p>‘I do feel bad, that was wrong of me to go into people’s houses and take their stuff that they’ve worked hard for, that’s wrong, who am I to do that, they’ve worked very hard for that to support their family and kids and that’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘show to the other person that you have changed...you didn’t really mean, really did mean to do it’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘the things I done wrong...I feel bad, feel bad for the people and the stuff I’ve done’ (Mason)</p>	Remorse was conveyed by each of the participants in relation to past actions, however, I question to what extent Jack shaped the content of his narrative to meet the perceived expectations of the audience (myself as the researcher).
	Intention to go straight / viewing	<p>‘what the f**k is the point of just keep getting locked back up for the rest of my life, I just thought, I’ll fix my s**t up’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘this is not for me, I don’t really wanna be in this life no more so, I just stopped</p>	Individual motivation to go straight was conveyed by all participants, however, talking into consideration Jack’s continued

	behaviour differently	going out, stopped doing things that we was doing' (Luke) 'it's just one of them things I couldn't stop myself doing. And now, I can just completely stop myself doing it and I don't see the point in it' (Mason)	criminal behaviour, one might infer that motivation is not enough by itself (Todis et al, 2001).
	Stigma	'they love coming and arresting me for no reason what so ever so y'know' (Jack) 'they terrorise me' (Jack) 'My name got brought up straightaway, because my past... I know I'll have to deal with that for a good few years ain't it? And it still won't go' (Luke) 'when I come out and stuff, they just used to think I was going to go back down the same path' (Mason)	All participants described the stigma that was attached to their 'offender' label which led to increased suspicion by authorities and difficulty making a fresh start (Unrah et al, 2009).
	Second chances	'last few days, I've worked with friends, friends' dads and stuff like that, helping out on the scrap metal for a recycling company' (Jack) 'he offered me the job so I just took it with both of my hands, and, it's the best thing I've done so far... it's helped me build my confidence up so much' (Luke) 'someone through my dad like, one of my dad's mates, oh I don't know, it was, he owned a business, so he was willing to give me a second chance and start me part-time work' (Luke) 'I used to work with my dad' (Mason)	Each participant described employment opportunity that had arose since leaving custody. Consistent with previous research findings, these opportunities were reliant upon friends and family to provide second chances rather than conventional methods of job seeking (Unrah et al, 2009). Despite all receiving employment, not all participants made a positive resettlement providing support for Giordano et al (2002) and LeBel et al's (2008) interactional theories. participants ability to maximise the opportunity or 'hook for change' was seemingly dependent upon subjective factors.

19b) Key differences between YPs narratives (events / experiences)

Chapter	Difference	Example quotations	Description/link to literature
Crime	Type of crime	<p>'I went from the shoplifting then I went around opening car doors at night... emptying them of whatever's in there... then er I started on the sheds an stuff...then I er, got onto the houses and then that's what I got locked up for' (Jack)</p> <p>'robberies, burglaries really. And then it would start again to a serious point like knifepoint robberies and knifepoint burglaries and stuff like that' (Luke)</p> <p>'I just lashed out and just kept on fighting' (Mason)</p>	participants had been involved in a range of different crimes to varying degrees of seriousness. Whilst Jack and Luke had committed burglaries, Mason had committed physical assaults on others.
	Description of crimes – playing down vs playing up	<p>'I'd kick the door straight off, and that was an adrenaline rush... bursting in there and ransacking the place, it's like a scratch card because I've been in and they're absolutely empty, there's f**k all worth anything in there, but I've been in other ones and it's just the f**king Jack pot' (Jack)</p> <p>'I was driving around in whatever the hell I felt like... big Audi Q7's and that and driving round in them like the man at 15, 16 years of age, driving cars that people work 20 years to be able to buy, I felt good, I thought it was nice, living this lifestyle' (Jack)</p> <p>'robberies, burglaries really. And then it would start again to a serious point like knifepoint robberies and knifepoint burglaries and stuff like that' (Luke)</p> <p>'the day we had a fight we got offered a mountain bike and we just got caught on it and I just got put back on this order' (Mason)</p> <p>'everyone was bored and that... We just thought, we'll just buy it, it's just something to do. We just bolted on the mountain bike and then we got caught on it' (Mason)</p>	Jack's descriptions of crime appeared to be somewhat glamorised compared to Mason and Luke's. This finding suggests that Jack's perceptions of the benefits of crime and the temptations were more prevalent within his narrative, indicating that he still viewed these behaviours as appealing which may have formed a barrier to desistance (Giordano et al, 2002). Luke and Mason on the other hand appeared to down play the benefits and distance themselves from the person who committed the crimes (Maruna, 2001).
	Feelings towards authorities	<p>'they just wanna see me fail, them police will not be happy until they've got me a double figure sentence and then they'll be like, we've done a good job here boys, I hate them, f**k them, hate them' (Jack)</p>	participants expressed different feelings towards the police. Luke and Jack used the word 'hate' when describing their attitude towards the police,

		<p>‘some of them are all right but the bad ones give them a bad name. So, because, I don’t know it’s just, I just hate them, I hate them. I don’t know why, I don’t know, probably because of my experience with them like but, I just, I just absolutely hate them’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘they’re doing their job, they’re trying to do their own thing’ (Mason)</p>	whilst Mason conveyed a more accepting viewpoint.
Custody	Length of sentence	<p>‘Just under a year’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘I got 18 months doing line I got on good behaviour and in total I done 4 weeks on remand like. I got remanded twice down London, twice over here and then I got a sentence’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘I was there for three months’ (Mason)</p>	participants describe varying lengths of sentences, however, regardless of the time spent in the YSE all participants went on to reoffend, questioning the effectiveness of custodial sentences and their role in rehabilitation (Taylor, 2016b, Meek, 2007).
	Family impact / social motivation to go straight	<p>‘when they come and see me on Christmas Eve and that, it’s like, like they break down and that’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘I proved my mum and everyone around wrong ain’t it because they thought I was just going to get straight back in to it and that’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘what I put them through as well like. And they stuck by me the whole time as well so I thought I had to do something like, to say thank you to them really’ (Luke)</p> <p>‘sometimes you had, like when you speak to people, you heard them crying on the phone and that, and I’m like, slightly making you feel down’ (Mason)</p>	Luke and Mason spoke of the difficulties associated with having a negative impact upon loved ones whilst inside. Furthermore, the support they received from their families reportedly served a motivational function in regard to desistance, a broader incentive outside of themselves to go straight. This highlights the important role of family support (Panuccio et al, 2012).
	Restorative justice	<p>‘I went up to meet with the person I did the knifepoint robbery at the burglary, but obviously, they didn’t want to meet me, because they was too scared, which I said I can, I can understand that...It feels a bit better for me to go and say sorry because, it, it weren’t me when I was doing that stuff, it was drugs’ (Luke)</p>	Luke was the only participant to make explicit reference to a restorative justice approach. Despite he described benefits, practical implementation issues can emerge from victims not engaging in this process (WYJS, 2017a).
Post-custody	Romantic relationships	<p>‘my mrs... she’s a good woman, very good for me, helping me out, keeping me on the straight and narrow.. I’ve just got something to work for, I feel like I can plan a future to build round now’ (Jack)</p> <p>‘I’d encourage anyone coming out of custody to get themselves a good relationship and settle down, because that’s what’s helped me a lot’</p>	The role of a romantic partner was only highlighted within Jack s narrative, providing him with added incentive to go straight by having to think about someone else and how they will be impacted by his actions. Mason and Luke made no

		(Jack)	such reference.
	Perceived control over future / Self-determination	<p>'now that I'm out I've been pissed off because I want to go out and get work now and I feel like I can't because I've got these sessions to attend every day' (Jack)</p> <p>'I want my own company, are they gonna let a contractor go in to houses and do bricklaying who's a previous burglar... chances are, probably not' (Jack)</p> <p>'I've stopped myself and what I was doing before, it was my own choice and then it's my own choice to stop, which I have' (Luke)</p> <p>'I just tried my hardest to get a job, get a job, and get a job and...I kept asking people and it was like ah, no because of theft and robbery... I've got to prove myself, prove to people that I've changed and I wanted another chance' (Luke)</p> <p>'It took me like nearly 2 years before I could even get a job' (Luke)</p> <p>'I've got to prove myself, prove to people that I've changed and I wanted another chance' (Luke)</p> <p>'I feel like I can do anything...' (Mason)</p> <p>'I'm mostly there... I know I can get through it, whatever comes in front of me' (Mason)</p>	<p>participants conveyed varying degrees of autonomy regarding their future trajectory and the amount of control they perceived in relation to their life outcomes. Jack outlined more of a blaming, accusatory attitude, highlighting the range of barriers inflicted upon him. In contrast, Luke and Mason outlined a 'can do' attitude based upon self-determination and positive thinking. These findings provide support for the role of subjective changes in desistance pursuits (LeBel et al, 2008).</p>
	Perceived influence of peers	<p>'I think the best thing for me is to get as far away from this town as possible, because I've got all the people I ever offended with in this town yeh' (Jack)</p> <p>'like they say its influence but it's not because I've stopped myself and what I was doing before, it was my own choice and then it's my own choice to stop, which I have' (Luke)</p>	<p>Contrasting views regarding peer influence were outlined by participants. Jack felt that being in close proximity to the same people he offended with presented a barrier to desistance. In comparison, Luke stressed the role of individual choice and his ability to control his own actions, despite what others are doing. Again, this provides further support for the role of subjective factors, in this case, the importance of perception of individual responsibility.</p>
Present	Strategies	'You've just got to find stuff, like I enjoyed my adrenaline rush... I've	A range of strategies were described by

		<p>replaced that, I went paintballing with my mates last week' (Jack)</p> <p>'I stopped going out, stop getting involved in trouble. Anything come to my door I just turn it away' (Luke)</p> <p>'I'll hang round them, but if something is going on then, I'll walk away... I'm not looking at a two-year sentence for doing something pathetic... I've got myself settled now, looking at getting an apprenticeship... it's not, nowhere near worth it like' (Luke)</p> <p>'I try and stay away from people that are doing bad things and stuff' (Mason)</p> <p>'I still see them and that, I still speak to them and that but I don't hang around with them no more...' (Mason)</p> <p>'it's just like if someone kicked off on me I wouldn't even, I wouldn't even want to fight them or anything... I just try and talk it out...' (Mason)</p> <p>'It's just like people from other areas and that, instead of the same area... They're still from this town but on different estates' (Mason)</p>	<p>participants to support their desistance attempts. Jack's strategies involved replacing the adrenaline rush gained from crime with other prosocial activities. Furthermore, reducing the amount of spare time to minimise boredom and temptations. to minimise free time and effectively manage relationships with peers. In comparison Mason and Luke referred to 'knifing off' and 'selective involvement' as effective strategies, to reduce their exposure to tempting situations that may jeopardise their freedom. Rather than completely remove themselves from previous friendship groups, they both decided to knife off certain aspects of their offending past and maintain selective involvement with peers (McMahon and Jump, 2017, Abrams, 2006).</p>
	Smarter criminality	<p>'when you've done it and gone to jail and you're known for doing it, you can't do it anymore, you've got to switch up your game' (Jack)</p> <p>'I'm quite clever, I know what people really wanna see' (Jack)</p>	<p>Jack was the only participant to refer to smarter criminality as opposed to desistance (Inderbitzin, 2009), indicating that he placed greater focus upon how to avoid authorities compared with Mason and Luke, rather than make a successful resettlement.</p>
	Reason / motivation to participate	<p>'obviously coming down here now and talking to you I'm making sense of it and I'm trying to help others because that's what you're doing it for really isn't it' (Jack)</p> <p>'when they asked me, I was, I said yeah. Like, it was no problem to me or nothing. It's just, they've helped me out so why can't I help someone else out' (Luke)</p> <p>'it don't really bother me to be fair... Not bothered' (Mason)</p>	<p>The reasons why participants became involved in the study and their level of invested interest appeared to differ. Jack referred to the benefits of narrative, the process of sense making. Whilst Luke spoke about generative motivations, the desire to 'make good' by helping others (Maruna, 2001). Mason on the other hand did not convey a specific motivation but outlined his lack of interest</p>

			in further correspondence.
	Social acceptance of ex-offender identity	<p>'I try moving on but they just won't let me, they just wanna see me fail, them police will not be happy until they've got me a double figure sentence' (Jack)</p> <p>'all people of changed, like for better, to me. I think they respect me more' (Mason)</p> <p>'I've got the trust now which I won't break because it's took like a long time to build' (Luke)</p> <p>'they don't look down on you because they know your past, but they see you've changed and they can see... You want, you want a future like, not being in and out of jail all of your life' (Luke)</p>	<p>Mason and Luke referred to the social benefits which arise from being accepted as an 'ex-offender' by members of society, building the trust and respect of others. Mason and Luke seemingly interpreted it as a challenge to provide themselves and their 'legitimacy', ability to go straight (Maruna, 2001). In comparison, Jack highlighted the difficulties involved with moving on due to others fixed perception of him, conveying more of a defeatist attitude and low confidence to change (McMahon and Jump, 2017).</p>

19c) Discussion of similarities and differences between YP's themes

Within both 'known' desisters' (Luke and Mason) narratives, the themes of 'custody' and 'proactive strategies' emerged as facilitating influences. Luke and Mason's strategies involved specific ways to manage the influence of their peers, including 'selective involvement' and 'knifing off'. Jack outlined the desire to move as far away from offending peers as possible to reduce temptations.

Luke and Mason readily acknowledged the benefits of serving a custodial sentence, whereas, custody was not highlighted as a prominent theme within Jack's account. I interpreted from this that Jack placed less emphasis upon his time inside the YSE in relation to his ability to desist from further criminal activity. Instead, Jack maintained an externalising, antagonistic, blaming outlook upon authorities and the YJS, believing professionals were out to get him and willing him to fail. This highlighted how Jack's responses to social opportunities were influenced by his subjective mind-set and interpretation of those opportunities (LeBel et al, 2008), for example, YJ professional support was viewed as a hindrance not help by Jack Furthermore, I believe this indicates that Jack had an external locus of control and perceived a lack of autonomy over future outcomes (Mauna, 2001).

The role of stigma and victimisation was most prevalent within Jack's narrative, who was the only participant known to re-offend after interview, and his account was the only one which incorporated criminal incentives as a theme. This highlighted a potential difference between early and established desistance narratives. Jack was more blaming of factors outside his control, seemingly taking less responsibility for his actions; for example, explaining his mother's death 'f**ks you up'. Jack has been yet to develop a redemption

script: a self-narrative that promotes desistance through greater self-determination and self-efficacy (Maruna, 2001). Furthermore, Jack was arguably less open to change, which may have been due to little exposure to environmental hooks (e.g. stable ETE opportunities), which made it more difficult for him to visualise a non-offending identity (Giordano et al, 2002).

The most common influencing factors highlighted across all three accounts was mind set which was presented as a bidirectional influence by all three participants. An ability to visualise and plan for the future was linked with successful resettlement, alongside a positive outlook and reflective capabilities. Jack stipulated that a positive outlook was required for desistance but did not necessarily express views consistent with a positive mind set or refer to any specific strategies to support this.

Criminal incentives and temptations remained a prominent theme within Jack's narrative, indicating that the allure of a life of crime perhaps outweighed his motivation to go straight (Inderbitzin, 2009). Furthermore, he continued to view criminal activities and his previous life choices as appealing: a factor related to persistence (Giordano et al, 2002).

The proactive strategies described by Luke and Mason to manage their relationships with deviant peers were consistent with what researchers in the field term 'knifing off' (Maruna and Roy, 2007), separating themselves from aspects of their offender identities.

Employment was described as a 'hook' for change; it allowed him to build the trust of employers, provided an opportunity to excel and gain a sense of achievement, thereby helping him to develop his confidence and self-esteem.