A realistic inquiry of welfare-orientated diversionary practice within a Youth Offending Team in supporting the wellbeing of young people within the community

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Abstract

Practice diverting young people (YP) away from the Youth Justice System has become more prevalent in England and Wales. However, such practice is piecemeal, and scantly evaluated. Welfare-orientated 'Child First' practice represents one model of diversion where improving wellbeing associates with improved life outcomes and recidivism.

This study provides a realistic inquiry as to how one Local Authority Youth Offending Team (LA YOT) implements diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of YP. A realistic evaluation framework was employed (Pawson and Tilley, 1997) which was also informed by affordance theory (Volkoff and Strong, 2013). Contexts, mechanisms and outcomes pertinent to diversionary practice supporting wellbeing were abstracted from stakeholder knowledge, further developed using a realist synthesis of the literature and refined using hybrid thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) of realist interviews carried out with six practitioners that work within the LA YOT.

Findings provide insight into the use of community engagement approaches, strengths-based practice frameworks, integrated multi-agency working, and the implementation of evidence based therapeutic practice supporting diversion and wellbeing. Implications for both research and practice are discussed in relation to both redistribution of priorities and resources in YOTs and the role of Educational Psychologists (EPs), in supporting welfare-oriented diversionary practice.

Dedication

"Sometimes when I've worked with a young person for a long time all they might do is act like they don't want to be there and shrug their shoulders or look at the floor…but one day when they want to, when they're ready, they open up just a teeny tiny bit…and bit by bit, over time it all comes out – friends, school, mum, dad, drink, drugs…and they might say 'I can talk to you, you're alright'…and suddenly there's lots of work that can be done. This sort of thing only happens because you're there, and you've been there".

This work is dedicated to young people experiencing adversity who are exposed to the Youth Justice System and are all too often pejoratively understood. I hope that this research can make at least some contribution to the better future that you deserve.

It is also dedicated to the integrity of youth offending practitioners who put the child before the offender and work with young people in the community to divert them away from the criminal justice system, quietly building better futures, day in and day out. Thank you for the work that you do.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMBIT: Adolescent Mentalisation-Based Integrative Therapy

CMOs: Context, mechanism and outcomes.

CMOCs: Context, mechanism and outcome configurations.

EHCP: Education, Health and Care Plan.

EP: Educational Psychologist.

EPS: Educational Psychology Service.

FTE: First Time Entrant.

GLM: Good Lives Model.

IPT: Initial Programme Theory.

LA YOT: Local Authority YOT.

MAW: Multi-agency Working.

MRPT: Middle Range Programme Theory.

PbR: Payment by Results

RE: Realistic Evaluation.

RNR: Risk Need Responsivity Model.

RS: Realist Synthesis.

SEND: Special Educational Needs and Disability.

SLA: Service Level Agreement.

TEP: Trainee Educational Psychologist.

YJB: Youth Justice Board.

YJS: Youth Justice System.

YO: Youth Offender

YOT: Youth Offending Team.

YP: Young Person.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Chapter overview

This introductory chapter outlines the contextual positioning and underlying rationale for the research. This will involve defining wellbeing in the context of this study, contextualising diversionary practice and the positioning of the researcher as a Trainee Educational Psychologist (TEP) in relation to the Local Authority Youth Offending Team (LA YOT).

1.2. Study context and rationale

1.2.1. The Youth Justice policy pendulum

The first attempts to separate young people from adults who had been convicted of offending in England has been reviewed by Bateman and Hazel (2014) as dating back to 220 years ago. Over time, the older established policy frameworks of liberal legalism have become integrated with innovations of the twentieth century such as welfare, rehabilitation and criminological expertise (Garland, 2001). The development of penal welfare structures in the modern day have also been subject to 'policy pendulum swings' over time between that which is punitive and that which is rehabilitative in nature (Andell, 2019).

From the 1970s, youth justice policy gave way to being contrary to the principles and intentions of liberal reformers (Garland, 2012). Such a transition towards more hard-line policies of deterrence and retribution have been associated with a range of factors including neoliberal and capitalist economics, changes in societal structure, the movement from the welfare state from the post-war consensus welfare cuts and austerity measures under the Thatcher government. These are discussed in greater depth by Garland (2001), who argues that such changes in societal structures and socio-economic policy led to there being less informal means of preventing crime, through an increase in houses being left empty for longer periods during the day due to suburbanisation; an increase in both females and males

working; self-service shopping areas; and anonymous tower blocks. Increased crime rates during this period were met by punitive and retributive measures by the Thatcher government, including the reintroduction of children's prisons, zero-tolerance policing and mandatory sentencing.

Policies that were subsequently adopted by the New Labour Government from the 1990s followed a similar punitive trend. Here an emphasis was placed on political ideology of 'The Third Way' (Giddens, 1998) where the responsibilities of individual citizens were emphasised and the traditional association of offending with social inequality was ignored / overlooked (Goldson, 2002). New Labour's 'third way' youth justice policy development included the Audit Commission's (1996) Misspent Youth Report alongside subsequent policy which perpetuated discourses of youth being "out of control" and acting with impunity due to a bureaucratic and ineffective YJS (Squires and Stephen, 2005). In this context, the Bulger case was a particularly significant example of events catalysing punitive policy change in the YJS.

The Audit Commission was heavily influential in the corporatist model of youth justice that developed from the Crime and Disorder Act (1998). This involved the radical restructuring of youth justice provision, led by the establishment of the Youth Justice Board (YJB) to provide a centre from which control and strategic monitoring could be imposed (Newburn, 2002). Under this legislation, all LAs are required to maintain a YOT which partners the police, probation, social care, health and education to facilitate interagency intervention at a local level (Gelsthorpe and Morris, 2002). YOTs are governed by managerialist policy set out by the YJB, including time limits associated with statutory orders administered to convicted young people, performance targets based on offending rates, standards and the utilisation of evidence-based practice and submission of reports to account for value for money (Bateman, 2014; Muncie and Hughes, 2002).

These post-1998 developments led to a bifurcation of youth justice policy. On the one hand, YOTs were established during the course of a 'punitive turn' in policy that was discussed despairingly as "the sleep of criminological reason" (Goldson, 2010, p. 155). This involved the expansion of the scope or 'net-widening' of the YJS to incorporate behaviour that would not have been given a formal sanction previously (Bateman, 2014). This included the wider utility of child imprisonment; stronger community-based penalties, less diversion from court and the development of anti-social behavioural orders (ASBOs) (Goldson, 2002). The result was an increase in sanctions by around a quarter of a million a year from 2002 to 2008 (Bateman, 2017). On the other hand, however, this contrasted with the development of the use of evidence-based approaches and enlightened practices used at the local level by YOTs. This includes a revival of interest in the social nature of crime (Smith *et al*, 2000) and restorative justice (Crawford and Newburn, 2002).

1.2.2. The development of diversionary practice in the Youth Justice System

The criminalisation of children and the socially constructed increase in offending rates following net-widening resulted in pressure on the YJS due to increases in statutory workload (Bateman, 2014). This increase in service demand was incompatible with the development of austerity politics following the 2008 financial recession, resulting in a shift in youth justice policy (Bateman, 2017). This involved commitments to reduce the number of convicted first-time entrants (FTEs) to the YJS and custody numbers in the YJS through measures which divert YP away from formal sanctions (Smith, 2017). This is referred to as 'diversionary policy' and involved the development of apparatus at the 'pre-court level' outside of the formal YJS, such as Out of Court Disposals and Community Cautions (Bateman, 2016). The result has been a reduction in the number of YP convicted by 79% and an 82% decrease in FTEs between 2007 and 2015 (Taylor, 2016).

An emphasis on diversion follows evidence that contact with the YJS increases the likelihood of reoffending and may interfere with a pathway where many YP mature out of crime (Andrews and Bonta, 2010a). Further, YP exposed to the YJS overwhelmingly experience social exclusion and disadvantage, as summarised in 1.2.2. This prompted the work of the Taylor Review (2016) which outlined "that almost all of the causes of childhood offending lie beyond the reach of the Youth Justice System" (p.3) and called for a series of reforms within the YJS. This includes a movement towards a 'Child First' model, where the rights and needs of the child precede punitive considerations (Case and Haines, 2015). It also re-emphasises the duties of LAs and YOTs to meet the Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND) of these YP, as set out within the Children and Families Act (2014) and the SEND Code of Practice (2015).

Reductions in statutory caseloads from diversionary policy have widened the scope with which YOTs can re-configure their provision around preventing formal entry into the YJS through non-statutory interventions, which is referred to as 'diversionary practice' (Haines *et al.,* 2013). For some YOTs in Wales and Surrey, this had led to the development away from a dominant risk-led system to one that embodies a 'child first' and 'welfare-orientated' philosophy (Bryne and Case, 2016; Haines et al., 2012). A 'stocktake' analysis of the activities of YOTs in England and Wales found that 75% deliver a 'bespoke' range of preventative interventions outside their core statutory duties in the community (Deloitte, 2015). It also found that only 15% of YOTs operate as 'standalone' units, with most participating in holistic multi-agency working. In a review of 34 Youth Justice Plans for YOTs, Smith and Gray (2018) found child-oriented welfare to be a core theme which reflect 'child-centred', participatory principles, a focus on developmental needs and use of diversionary welfare orientated programmes in the community. Examples of activities carried out by YOTs in England and Wales available within literature are provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Extracted examples of diversionary activity within YOTs.

Examples of diversionary activities carried out following reviews of YOTs by Smith and Gray (2018); Smith, (2015); Taylor, (2016); Deloitte, (2015); Talbot, (2010)
• Restorative justice programmes in the community. • Harmful sexualised behaviour interventions. • Trauma informed practice within community settings. • Outreach work with YP in the community. • Contributing towards the Troubled Families Programmes • Contributing to Early Help and other social care proceedings in the community. • Partnering Children's Services Teams. • Youth Justice and Liaison Diversion Schemes • Use of mental health and speech, language, communication and neurodevelopmental screening tools • Commissioning primary mental health workers, speech and language therapists, EPs, occupational therapists. • Working with the voluntary sector, community organisation and the LA to provide activities for YP in the community.

Whilst there are positive indicators of a movement towards a diversionary welfare and rights-oriented model of practice, there are compelling criticisms of current policy and practice. The contracting role of the formal YJS has highlighted those who are most vulnerable and socially excluded left within it have poor outcomes, 69% reoffending within a year (Taylor, 2016). Further, the formal means through which YOTs are evaluated which focus on offending rates and risk management principles remain largely unchanged and incompatible with the unevaluated and unmonitored diversionary activities carried out by YOTs (Deloitte, 2015). As a result, diversionary activities have evolved in a piecemeal fashion and are poorly evaluated or understood. Where attempts to establish emergent models of practice within YOTs have been made (Smith and Gray, 2018), these have highlighted that these are underpinned by multidimensional perspectives (Table 2). The pre-existing influence of former risk-management interventionist policies and practices remains significant, as opposed to the welfare-orientated evidence base upon which it is based (Kelly and Armitage, 2015).

Table 2: Models of practice arising as themes from Youth Justice Plans following Smith and Gray (2018).

Models of practice arising as themes	**Description**
'Child First' welfare-orientated approach	This emphasises the wellbeing and needs of children, irrespective of their offending. The implicit assumption is that offending will reduce as an indirect result. Youth Justice Plans reflecting this typology typically emphasise the developmental needs and social disadvantage experienced by youth offenders, and holistic integrated diversionary services with statutory and non-statutory organisations within the community.
Risk management	These approaches emphasise offending behaviour, its consequences, and the need to manage it to protect the public. Here, activity is focused on statutory supervision and managing court orders. Though there may be some acknowledgement of diversionary intervention strategies, these are associated with formal Ministry of Justice Targets.
Targeted intervention	These tend to prioritise specialised provision which is aimed at YP's criminogenic needs and vulnerabilities (e.g. educational engagement, family breakdown, substance misuse neglect and trauma, gang exploitation). A narrowing of intervention focus has been associated with cuts to services and restructuring, which in some cases may involve outsourcing some services to charitable trusts.

1.2.3. Youth Justice in the current socio-economic context

Whilst the logic of austerity politics partially explains the movement towards diversionary policy, it also paradoxically dictates wider policy which runs counter to the welfare-orientated evidence base that diversion is based upon (Bateman, 2017). Whilst the withdrawal of Youth Justice interventionalism aligns with the evidence, cutbacks to resources to mainstream provision in the community do not. Bateman (2017) argues that a decrease in young people entering the YJS has been used to justify considerable cuts to YOTs, rather than the redistribution of resources towards addressing the social structural explanations of offending, as espoused within the Taylor Report (2016). This has been referred to as 'benign neglect' where austerity policy that perpetuates structural disadvantage is also likely to have long-term negative impact on offending rates (Fox *et al.,* 2011; Cohen, 1979). For instance, the most recent United Nations Special Rapporteur Statement on Visit to the United Kingdom (2018) outlined strong concern that:

"Local authorities, especially in England, which perform vital roles in providing a real social safety net have been shrunk and underfunded, public spaces and building including parks and recreation centres have been sold off" (p. 1).

The Institute for Fiscal Studies predicts a rise in child poverty by 7% from 2015 to 2022 and child poverty rates as high as 40% (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2017). Austerity measures have meant that many LA's have scaled back Youth Justice provision or have outsourced services to the private or voluntary sector, rather than making greater support available in a way that impacts the conditions which cause or sustain offending (Garside and Ford., 2014). Participation and self-determination within society is a key aspect of pro-social maturation and desistance through adolescence and the association between offending and austerity

policy that perpetuates socio-structural disadvantage is well-established within the evidence base (Bateman, 2017).

Austerity politics have also led to specific changes to the way services in the community are structured, which have further consequences for the accessibility of support in the community for young people at risk of or involved with offending. The implementation of payment by results (PbR) policies within social care and community youth justice provision involves the transference of financial risk to those commissioned to deliver services and the incurrence of financial penalties for failing to meet key targets, such as reducing recidivism (Bateman, 2014). However, these policies have been criticised for resulting in a decrease in resources to work with the most troubled or vulnerable children who reoffend precisely where there should be a great level of resourcing (Smith, 2014). Furthermore, it results in short term targets that relate to considerations of economies of scale rather than long term developmental outcomes for children and holistic approaches to their wellbeing (Bateman, 2014). In the context of austerity, this ignores both the socially constructed context of the decline and the welfare-orientated premise of diversionary approaches.

1.2.4. Socio-structural marginalisation and Youth Offending

The intersection of structural disadvantage with experiences of adversity for YP known to the Youth Justice System (YJS) is well established. YP known to the YJS are "disproportionately drawn from working class backgrounds with biographies replete with examples of vulnerability" (Yates, 2010, p. 2). Black, Asian and minority ethnicity populations represent 16% of the young offending (YO) population but less than 5% of the general population (Lammy, 2016). Looked After Children are six times more likely than the general population to be cautioned or convicted (DfE, 2017). Systematic review research has found that between 25% to 66% of youth offenders had been on the child protection register, experienced abuse

and neglect, been involved with or experienced to substance abuse, and had experienced family loss or bereavement, amongst other sources of trauma (Wright *et al.,* 2016).

There is a correlation between YP who have offended, and those who experience mental health problems (Chitsabean and Bailey, 2006). A third of YP in the YJS, both within the community and the secure estate in England and Wales have been diagnosed with a mental health condition (Taylor, 2016; Chitsabean and Hughes, 2016). The actual prevalence of mental health conditions within this population is likely to be higher, as evidence suggests the presence of a high rate of undiagnosed difficulties relating to experiences of trauma, abuse, familial psychopathology and other adversities (Harvey, 2011).

Children who experience learning difficulties are disproportionately more likely to experience mental health problems (Emerson and Hatton, 2007). This is also true for the youth offending population where YP with social communication learning difficulties and mental health needs are over-represented (Bryan *et al.,* 2007). This includes neurodevelopmental conditions (Hughes *et al.,* 2015) and diagnosed and undiagnosed traumatic brain injury (Williams *et al.,* 2010). Other examples of over-represented learning difficulties include those relating to developmental language disorders, oral competence and low levels of language, literacy and numeracy skills (Hayes and Snow, 2013).

1.2.5. Interactional theory and offending

Critical criminological theory provides a range of explanations for offending, including: social disorganisation (Shaw and McKay, 1942); differential association (Sutherland, 1937); Strain Theory (Cohen, 1955); differential opportunity (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960); norm transmission theory (Shaw and McKay, 1942); and control theory (Gottredson and Hirschi, 1990). However, these tend to favour the role of structural forces over individual agency (Alleyne and Wood, 2010). Whilst socio-structural forces external to the individual play a

significant role in influencing offending, there is a large body of work that has emerged which posits that human agency also plays an interacting role (Bushway and Paternoster 2013).

Interactionalist theory outlines that offending is the product of an interaction between structural forces and human agency (e.g. Weaver, 2012; Bottoms, 2004; Farrall, 2002). Weaver (2012) highlights the reflexive nature of social roles and relations where individual identity and action are guided by the conditioning influence of the structural and cultural context. The presence of neoliberal, capitalist ideals which promote consumerism and material success as an indication of valued citizenship is presented as one such interacting socio-structural influence for youth illicit activity (De Benedictus, 2012). Disadvantaged young people with neoliberal values are driven to pursue the same access to capital materialism that their more privileged counterparts are afforded (Densely, 2014). Thus, offending occurs as a result of unmet expectations in a society whereby capitalist society presents universally desirable goals of material capital but provides the opportunity to do so to a limited number of people (Alleyne and Wood, 2010). This strain between unmet expectation and limited opportunity has been associated with resentment towards mainstream society which elicits crime as an active response to a lack of opportunity to meet consumerist ideals through prosocial means (Bulbolz and Simi, 2015; Densley, 2014)

1.2.6. Defining wellbeing

There is a lack of consensus over the use of wellbeing terminology in practice across educational and youth justice spheres (Greig *et al.*, 2019; Ward *et al.*, 2012), and other disciplines (Manwell *et al.,* 2015). Wellbeing-orientated definitions of mental health within education and the Youth Justice System (YJS) consider it as the promotion of a positive state of being, informed by salutongenic, positive psychological and human needs-based

philosophies (Ward and Stewart, 2003). Clinical understandings of mental health understand it as being the absence mental ill health and therefore tend to focus on prevention and response rather than promotion (Bhugra and Till, 2013).

These and other conceptualisations present ontological challenges for operationalising wellbeing as a construct within research. In the context of critical realism (see section 2.2), practice supporting wellbeing is not considered a fixed but a corrigibly observed and contextually dependant conceptual representation of the object. This depends on a shared apparatus of meaning existing between the observer (researcher) and the observed (practitioners working within the LA YOT). In this sense, a definition of wellbeing was favoured as it best represents that which underpins 'Child First' welfare-orientated models of practice in the context of the LA YOT, which is the focus of this study, as outlined in 1.2.3. and 1.2.4. This tries to move beyond defining young people (YP) who have offended through deficit and risk and towards a positive orientation of human needs required for the fulfilment of psychological wellbeing (Ward *et al.*, 2012). Here, wellbeing is where an individual "realises their potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and are able to contribute to their community" (WHO, 2014).

1.2.7. The context of the Local Authority Youth Offending Team

Information informing the context of the LA YOT was sourced from both internal documents and those that are publicly available. This includes, for example, the Youth Justice Plan which is mandated by section 40 of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998), and the Service Level Agreement (SLA) between the LA YOT and the Educational Psychology Service (EPS). These sources are anonymised and provided with the consent of senior staff within the LA YOT (see section 6.4). Alongside these sources, the authors role as a TEP working within the LA YOT was also drawn upon to provide insight. In-keeping with the critical realist

approach which underpins RE (see section 2.2), it is assumed that the author's understanding of the LA YOT is fallible given the limitations of subjectivity (Bhaskar, 1998). However, it holds the advantage of utilising the researcher's positioning within the LA YOT to gain a generalised understanding of the social programme from the stakeholders involved with it (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

The LA YOT that is the focus of this study serves a city-based LA that scores highly across multiple indices of deprivation. The most recently published Office for National Statistics Index of Multiple Deprivation (2015) shows the LA as being amongst the top 20 for the highest levels of income deprivation, which all have at least 21% of the population living in deprived households and 18% of working age adults in employment deprivation. The LA also measures as one of the highest in England in their 'extent' summary measure of deprivation change between 2010 and 2015. This highlights that deprivation has intensified since austerity measures following the 2008 financial recession. Anonymised information on community provision within the local authority suggest that the LA has been forced to cut-back a range of services in the community, including children's services and those for vulnerable adults. The scaling back of community services supporting young people also include the closure of Sure Start Centres across the LA as well as youth community provision and libraries. Many of those services remaining have become increasingly reliant upon voluntary roles and operating at a reduced capacity. In addition, social care provision has been restructured across the LA, as have community paediatric and health services due to redundancies and job losses.

To gain an insight into the offending trends in the LA in relation to the national context, the most recent reoffending data from the 12 months period between 2017-2018 was obtained from internal records within the LA YOT which represented a cohort of 214 young people involved with the LA YOT during this period (Table 3). Comparative national offending data

for England and Wales was sourced from the Ministry of Justice and Youth Justice Board Youth Justice Statistics for 2017-2018 (MOJ and YJB, 2018). Reoffending rates year on year between 2017-2018 were higher than the national and regional average, as is the average number of re-offenses. The precise number of FTEs for the LA YOT could not be obtained but is detailed on the LA YOT's Youth Justice Plan as also being slightly higher than the national average.

Table 3: The offending rates for the Local Authority compared to England and Wales.

	Local Authority	**England and Wales**
Overall reoffending rate	**43.6%**	**40.9%**
Male reoffenders	88.5%	83%
Female reoffenders	11.2%	28%
Average number of reoffences	3.96	3.74
Reoffenders aged 10-14	40.8%	41.3%
Reoffenders aged 15-17	35.6.1%	40.8%

The EPS works with the LA YOT as part of its 'core offer' of LA-funded work within its SLA. Work commissioned includes providing statutory assessment and support for YP referred by the LA YOT for an Education, Health and Care Plan (EHCP), supporting with organisational development work, and providing consultation and supervision to support practitioners working within it. Service priorities of the LA YOT are multi-directional rather than of an overarching coherence, reflective of the national YJ landscape discussed in the previous section. Its Youth Justice Plan acknowledges oversight of formal targets in line with the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and its partnerships with local police and crime plans, and statutory supervisory duties. However, priorities and activities also align with welfare-orientated diversionary priorities. The LA commits to putting "the needs of children and YP stay at the heart of the agenda at all times" (LA YOT Youth Justice Plan, 2018). To these ends, diversionary provision and priorities informs activities which support the wellbeing of YP in the community as summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: A summary of welfare-orientated diversionary activities and priorities within the LA YOT extracted from associated documentation including the Youth Justice Plan, internal documents such as working group minutes and personal communication with senior managers in the LA YOT. Activities which were supported by EPs are represented by an Asterix.

Diversionary priority	**Description of activity**
Multiagency Crime Prevention Group	Partnerships with LA and voluntary organisations to co-ordinate of a range of activities and facilities that YP can be involved with in the community which "constructively occupy YP and provide positive choices".
Integration with the Troubled Families Programme	This involves a payment by results initiatives launched by the government in 2010 (DLCG, 2012), incentivising LAs to improving the outcomes of families which "cause high costs to the taxpayer" (p.9). Associated roles involve supporting family stability and employment, improve educational engagement and prosocial activities in the community, reducing offending.
A community resolution clinic	The involves engaging with the community to improve the number of face-to-face encounters between 'victims and offenders. Restorative principles are used, including restorative conferencing. This part of a broader regional LA approach to restorative practice delivery.
Integration with the Early Help protocol*	Supporting child and families through attending team around the family meetings, developing early help assessments and related support in the home.*
Partnership with children's services teams and engagement in education, training and employment (ETE)*	Though ETE is no longer a formal measure taken by the YJB, the LA YOT is committed meeting a target of 80% for its population, recognising it a "a key protective factor against offending". Actions taken include: • Support from the LAC Virtual Head. • Work with schools to support restorative approaches.* • Co-ordinating with the LA SEND team to raise the profile and needs of those disengaged with education.*

	• Regular convening of strategic meetings to improve provision for those not in education, employment or training (NEET). • Coordination with other roles such as education and welfare officers, area head teacher and Special Educational Needs Coordinator (SENCO) groups, post 16 employment and training providers and other children's services.*
Co-located specialist children's services*	• CAMHS counselling psychologist on site. • Substance abuse services on site. • EP support on site on a periodic basis for consultation, supervision, training and other support.*
Training to support community outreach work*	Training from a range of external providers alongside multi-agency partners within the LA (e.g. the EPS, the speech and language therapy service, and CAMHS). EP training involved the following areas: therapeutic modalities (restorative approaches, counselling, narrative approaches, solution focused and cognitive behaviour techniques); developmental trauma; speech, language and communication; neurodevelopmental conditions (e.g. acquired brain injury and autism spectrum condition), adolescent mental health, SEND protocols and policies e.g. Education, Health and Care Plans (EHCPs), legal frameworks on exclusion, amongst other areas.*
Commitment to supporting Special Educational Needs and Disability obligations under the SEND Code of Practice (2015) and Children and Families Act (2014).*	• Working towards the Youth Justice Project Quality Mark (YJ Quality Mark), (Achievement for All and the Association for YOT Managers, 2018). • Development of working groups to support best practice for SEND intervention and adaptions. * • Supporting joint formulation of the needs of YP entering the YJS.* • A whole staff audit of knowledge around SEND in the LA YOT to inform targeted training.*

1.2.8. The role of the researcher within the Local Authority Youth Offending Team

As part of the SLA between the LA EPS and LA YOT, I was commissioned to spend approximately half a day a week working with the LA YOT, under the supervision of a qualified EP. Throughout the duration of this placement, I developed both a research and practice interest in this area, which is an underdeveloped area of EP practice (see section 1.3.5) and relates to a socially excluded population with a high incidence of developmental needs (see section 5.4.3). As the placement developed so did the opportunity to contribute to organisational change in relation to its wellbeing-oriented organisational priorities. A summary of EP involvement is represented in Table 4.

1.2.9. The development of the research rationale from an organisational development perspective

The rationale for this research developed from the culmination of the researcher's involvement with the welfare-orientated organisational priorities of the LA YOT. Aims raised from key stakeholders within the LA YOT, both practitioners and managers, included the need to understand whether welfare-orientated diversionary priorities and practices espoused at the organisational level have impact 'on the ground' in improving wellbeing. At the time of commissioning the research, these remained largely unevaluated, as formal offending accountability structures were dominant, despite the reconfiguring of activities and resources in the LA YOT towards welfare-orientated diversionary practice. By understanding more about how and in what circumstances diversionary practice might successfully support positive wellbeing outcomes for YP, it was expected that indirect associations with offending could be more clearly articulated and logically hypothesised. This may provide a basis from which any redistribution of resources and reconfiguration practices and supportive structures in the LA YOT towards welfare-orientated diversion that works in context could be informed.

A second rationale was the impetus to address concerns raised by stakeholders that espoused approaches disseminated on the organisational level (e.g. through policy, resources and training) may not be generalisable or adequately supported to the complex and unstructured community contexts that practitioners work in. Associated contextual challenges included the need to balance competing statutory risk management roles and 'Child First' philosophies and specific barriers to engaging the YP (e.g. distrust), concerns over professional risk of operating within unstructured community environments and limitations of competency. Overall then, there is rationale for evaluation from an organisational development perspective, not only for an improved understanding of "what works" in practice but also what works in context to inform further policy and practice.

1.2.10. Rationale for realist inquiry from a Youth Justice perspective

The above rationale for inquiry chimes with areas of paucity within the youth offending literature. The gap between service demand and take-up within the community for the young offending population is well reported (Chitsabesan and Hughes., 2016; Barrett *et al.*, 2006). This is associated with a range of barriers, from those that are psychological (e.g. distrust) to those associated with the inflexibility of statutory provision and other social adversities (Zlotowitz et al., 2016). Intervention which supports the wellbeing of socially excluded YP is likely to be more effective than that which is control-orientated (Adler et al., 2016; Andrews and Bonta; 2010; Lipsey, 2009). The movement towards diversionary activity within the YJS offers potential for such approaches to be made accessible for YP in the community (Bateman, 2017). However, there is both a lack of coherence over the delivery of such practice within YOTs and evaluation to allow integration between diversionary practice and its evidence base (Smith and Gray, 2018). This research therefore provides an insight into an element of diversionary activity that is a 'hidden' and poorly understood but pertinent aspect of the YJS (Bateman, 2017).

Operationalising the ‘what works’ evidence provides an additional challenge in establishing coherent evidence-informed and effective practice in this area. To these ends it is necessary to discuss the relevance of the use of a critical realist approach in the context of the development of ‘what works’ literature within criminology. Over the past 30 years or so the hegemonic ideology within criminological research has shifted from a position that ‘nothing works’ to one that focuses on ‘what works’ (Cullen and Gendrau, 2001). The nothing works era is characterised by relativist or impossibilist claims that effecting social change through the application of knowledge is idealistic, as major transformation in the social structure is required, rather than piecemeal change. The work of Robert Martinson (1974) is often referenced as a salient example of the ‘nothing works’ position, as his review of 231 rehabilitative interventions in prisons surmised that “the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism” (p. 25).

However, Martinson’s research was the product of a theoretically weak conceptualisation of ‘what works’, where various interventions were collated in a way that obscured the positive effects of different interventions on different groups under differential conditions of implementation. Martinson (1979) subsequently wrote a corrective, clarifying that his work did not claim that ‘nothing works’ but that his research indicated that intervention programmes worked in different ways. However, despite this, Martinson’s work has frequently been misrepresented under the mantra of ‘nothing works’ to highlight the perceived failure of incarceration to support the ideal of community-based rehabilitation (Matthews, 2010). The rejection of the rehabilitative ideal in prisons also gave credence to conservative policy that penal austerity and punitive measures can reduce crime (Cullen and Gilbert, 1982).

The movement from ‘nothing works’ to ‘what works’ has sought to overcome the nihilism of the former by sharpening research instruments and methods and systematically interpreting evidence so that it better informs policy (Matthews, 2010). However, the ‘what works’ movement is problematised by a reliance on instrumentalist conceptualisations which rely on the experimental paradigm to capture complex open systems (Matthews, 2009). Such methods have produced mixed findings across contexts, which are not easily attributable to the intervention itself (Tilley, 2001).

A further limitation of ‘what works’ research is its rigid implementation of research instruments akin to a form of ‘cookbook criminology’ which ignore the need to adapt methodology to the context of implementation in which the intervention programme is being evaluated (Matthews, 2009). The result is that youth offending intervention programmes have been criticised for over-generalising that which has efficacy in the evidence base, without sufficient consideration for the way in which certain interventions work differently, depending on the contexts in which they are implemented (Case and Haines, 2013). There is a range of examples of large-scale rehabilitation intervention policy and programmes under the assumption that they will work unconditionally, which have failed to work as intended and have even had unforeseen negative effects in some aspects of their implementation (e.g. Haggerty, 2009; Cann, 2006; Hope, 2004; Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Aside from the empirical limitations of ‘what works’ criminology, there are also concerns around how its conceptual limitations have translated into policy irrelevance, due to a focus on trivial issues, the use of impenetrable language and research having little reference to socio-political context (Currie, 2007). This has been referred to as ‘so what?’ criminology, highlighting the need to better establish and disseminate criminological knowledge in a way that is policy and context-relevant (Currie, 2007). There is a growing opinion that critical realist criminology offers a way of reconciling theory, method and practice that moves away

from ‘cookbook criminality’ to acknowledge the theories which explain causality in the context of intervention implementation (Matthews, 2010).Critical realists also argue that this approach is more policy-relevant as it offers contextually-situated explanations rather than the discovery of numerical results or ‘facts’ from reviews and research that speak directly to ideas and choices implemented by policy makers (Pawson, 2006). This provides the rationale to situate this research within a critical realist framework of ‘so what?’ criminology to contribute towards the emerging realist diversionary evidence base.

1.2.11. Rationale from an Educational Psychology perspective

Aside from its contribution to the youth justice literature, this study also offers the opportunity to develop insight into the role of the EP within YOTs in supporting diversionary practice; an area not yet explored in the literature. The role of EPs supporting a multi-agency case formulation and intervention planning to support practitioners in enhancing the wellbeing of YP has been espoused in YJ policy implementation guidance (YJB and Welsh Government, 2014). There has also been some other recognition of the EP role in supporting youth justice practice (Wyton, 2014; Hall, 2013; Ryrie, 2006;). However, the overall picture is one where EPs are in great demand but are under-resourced across the YJS. Concerns about access to EPs was a key finding in a survey of 450 professionals working with YOTs (SEND Custody Project, 2016). Talbot (2010) found that 34% of YOTs reported working with EPs and only 10% of the YOTs had a formal service level agreement. The underdeveloped evidence base also reflects youth offending as a re-emerging but important area of EP practice (Parnes, 2017), and therefore scope for this research to contribute to paucity in the evidence base.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1. Chapter overview

This study aims to further understanding of how practitioners working within the context of a LA YOT support the wellbeing of young people through diversionary practice using a Realistic Evaluation (RE) approach (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). This section provides an overview of the design of the study, including the process of abstracting the object for inquiry, the underpinning principles of critical realism and the use of RE.

2.2. Research structure and design

The RE design of this study is structured into five stages (Figure 1). The first involves defining the object of evaluation. This refers to the boundaries and focus of that which is being evaluated (Brinkerhoff, 1983). In the context of RE, the object of evaluation is referred to as a social programme, or a system of activities that result in improved social outcomes for individuals or groups (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). To attempt to define what underpins the social programme for this research, contexts, mechanism and outcomes (CMOs) were abstracted from stakeholder knowledge utilising the author's positionality working within the YOT as a trainee educational psychologist (TEP).

This process of defining the object of enquiry through abstracting underpinning CMOs provided focus for a review of the literature to be carried out using a Realist Synthesis (RS) approach (stage 2). This allowed the configuration and refinement of initial programme theories (IPT) which may explain the association between CMOs. Maintaining fidelity to the RE design, the next stage of the cumulative process of theory testing and refinement was that of 'empirical observation'. This comprised the use of Realist Interviews (RIs) to collect qualitative information on the retrospective experiences of six stakeholders who work within the LA YOT (two EPs, two social workers, and two case managers). The final stage of the

study involved presenting the resultant programme theories that had been empirically tested and refined towards the middle range.

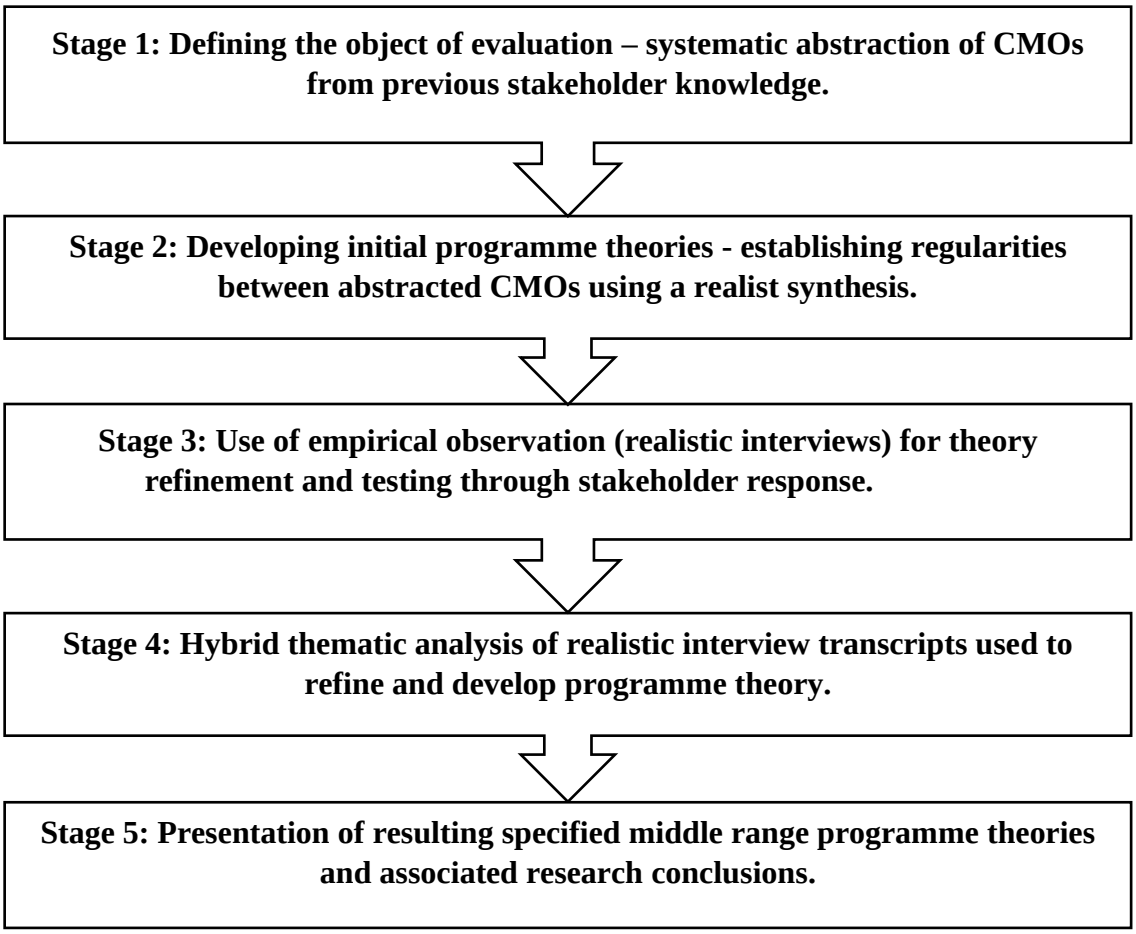


Figure 1: Research structure

2.3. Critical realism and the relationship between the subject and the object

This research assumes a critical realist epistemology which presupposes a three-layer stratification between the ontological objects that exist in reality and which are observable through the subject's conceptual apparatus (Mingers, 2004). This is further explicated in Table 5. A further key tenet of critical inquiry is that the real world which exists is stratified into that of structure and agency, which have different properties.

Here agency refers to action facilitated by an actor that has the capacity for consciousness and goal planning (Volkoff and Strong, 2007). This manifests in events which can partially be observed as single instances in the layer of the actual.

Structure refers to material artefacts and concepts that may, in certain circumstance, be acted upon and modified as a result. There are therefore key distinctions between structure and agency, such as structure being temporally separate from agency, given that it creates the conditions for actions and so is assumed to pre-exist it (Carter and New, 2004), and structure being more stable and enduring than agency.

Table 5: A summary of ontological stratification relative to epistemology according to critical realism informed by Bhasker (1998) and Mingers (2004).

Epistemological stratification	Description
Reality	Reality is made up of structures. These relate to natural objects, material human artefacts, social structures and concepts e.g. language. Reality cannot be observed as structures exist independently of our perceptions of them.
Actual	Structures in reality are temporally separate from agency. Structures pre-exist agency as they create the conditions needed to cause certain mechanisms. New or altered structures may emerge as a result but these post-date associated actions and so are still temporally separate. Actions or mechanisms in the actual generate events and outcomes which form the layer of the actual, a foundational layer of the real. However, these actual events and outcomes may not be observed directly.
Empirical	Our perception of reality is fallible due to the limitations of our own perception, cognitions and subjective horizons. However, by evaluating the object critically through a process of empirical enquiry and testing. This process is 'retroductive' which involves working backwards from empirically observed events to making logical associations to the mechanisms that could have produced them and the contextual conditions that could have afforded such actions.

As structure and agency are assumed to exist independently of each other, the structures of reality also exist independently of our perception of them, given the role of human beings as actors in the production of knowledge as a social practice. Our perception of the world is fallible and limited to the horizons of our cognitions, and as such we have to critically examine individual, observable aspects of the object to logically determine that which represents it. This involves a process of retroduction where one works backwards from the empirical observations of events or outcomes in practice that are observable to make empirically informed assumptions about that which is likely to cause them.

Sayer (2010) distinguishes two processes involved in retroduction, to improve our understanding of the social object, termed systematic abstraction and concrete research (Figure 2). This is a sequential process where first, systematic abstraction involves extrapolating observable aspects of the object. Critical realism assumes that in order to engage in thinking or research on an object, its structures must first be abstracted. However, as objects have complex stratified multifaceted properties our perception of them is superficial and limited. It is therefore necessary to examine the structures of the object in a systematic way so that they can be extracted in their parts and then later combined and examined through empirical enquiry or 'concrete' research.

Concrete research involves combining these structures within the conceptual framework of generative causation to work out how they may logically combine to produce the observed event. In the case of this research then, this involves examining closely what an object (diversionary practice in a LA YOT does (mechanisms) in a particular situation (context) to determine outcomes where the wellbeing of YP is enhanced.

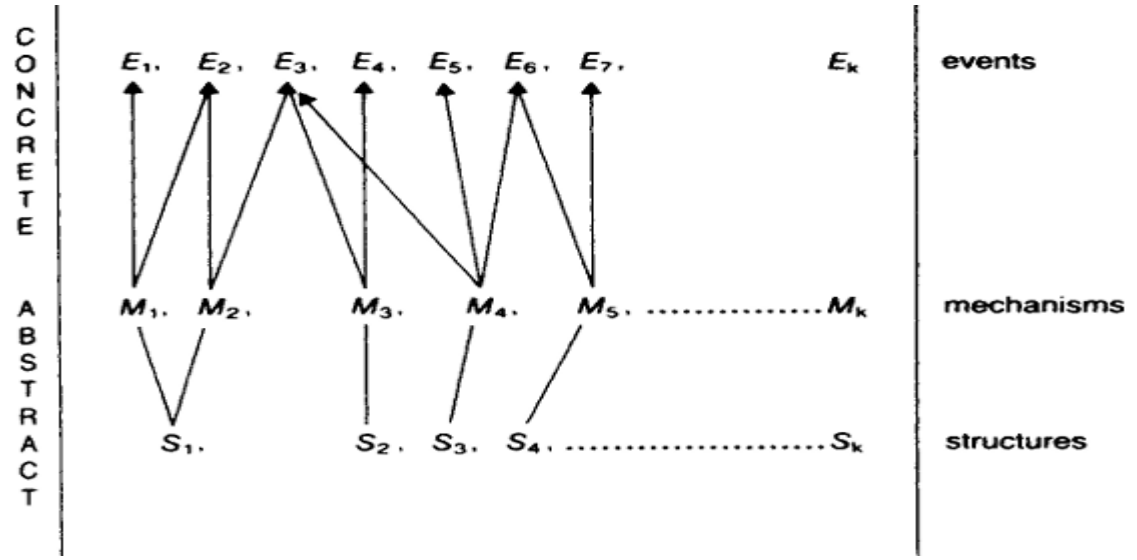


Figure 2: The processes of abstraction and concrete research within realistic inquiry (Sayer, 2010, p. 117).

2.4. Generative causation

In critical realism, abstracted structures can also have causal properties. This is not considered the same as a cause which leads to an effect, but rather that which resembles a latent acting potential. Here, the causal properties of structures are considered as 'generative mechanisms' described as "the ways of acting of a thing" (Bhaskar, 1998, p.38), or its "causal powers and liabilities" (Sayer, 2010, p. 104). The activation of the causal properties of structures is dependent on its interaction with other structures, which also have causal powers or liabilities. Thus, causation is seen as generative as it depends on the relationship and nature of the structure of the object in both having ways of acting and structures which have the conditions for this action to occur. This is summarised in Figure 3.

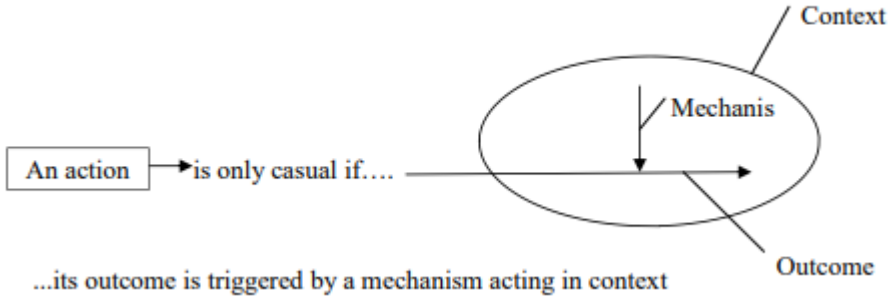


Figure 3: A diagrammatical representation of generative causation (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. 58).

Harre's (1972) metatheory of causation provides a useful distinction between successionist and generative theories of causation which outline the benefits of the latter, outlined in Figure 4. Successionist causation refers to the assumption that regular and consistent associations (successions) of events can be combined with putative social laws to explain causation where other variables are controlled for. Conversely, generative causation depends not on regularities of repeat occurrences but the structural conditions and mechanisms which are necessary for causal occurrences to occur in the first place. It therefore goes further to explain causality in context rather than assume generalisation. Here explanations of causation depend on the precision of the configuration of structures which underpin the event. The lighting of the gunpowder, for example, depends on certain conditions, such as it being dry, of the correct composition of materials, as shown in Figure 5.

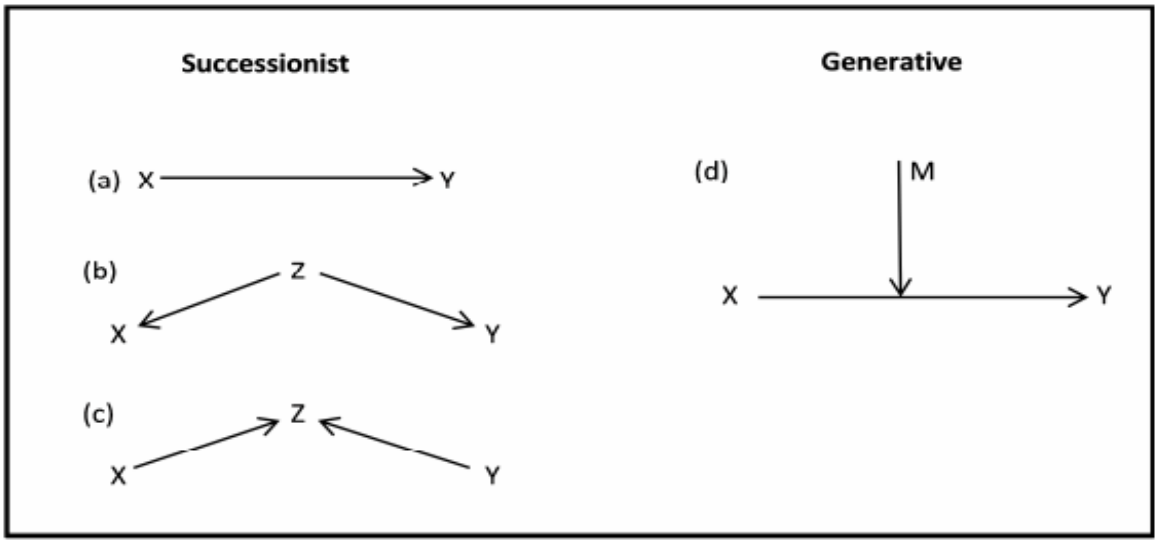


Figure 4: Models of successionist and generative causation (Pawson and Tilley, 1998, p. 68)

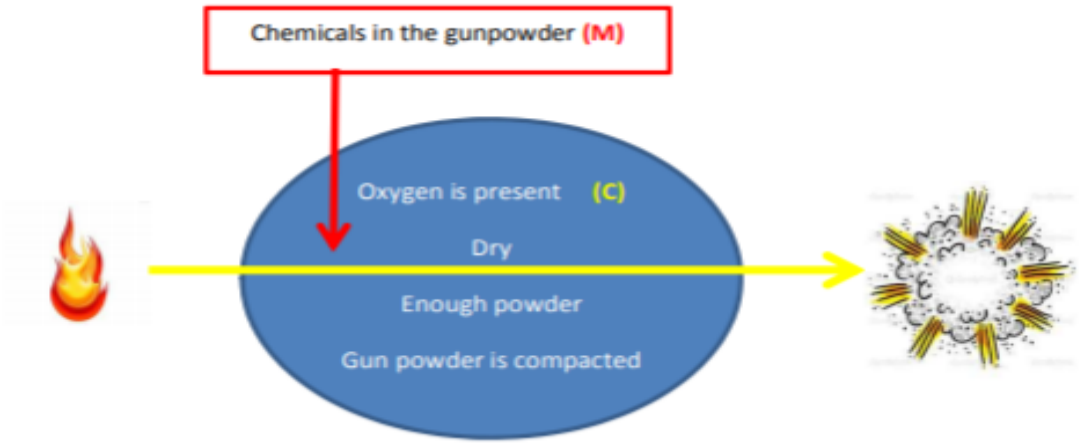


Figure 5: The use of a gunpowder analogy to explain generative causation. Adapted from Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. 58).

2.5. Realistic Evaluation

For Pawson and Tilley (1997) the retroductive process of abstracting structures representing social phenomena and explaining their occurrences through generative causation involves the development and refinment of theory which explains a 'social programme', or a system of activities that result in improved social outcomes. This is therefore achieved through a theory-driven approach that involves the establishment of 'programme theories' which make assumptions about how a social programme works, why, and in what circumstance (Pawson, 2004), summarised within a research cycle (Figure 6).

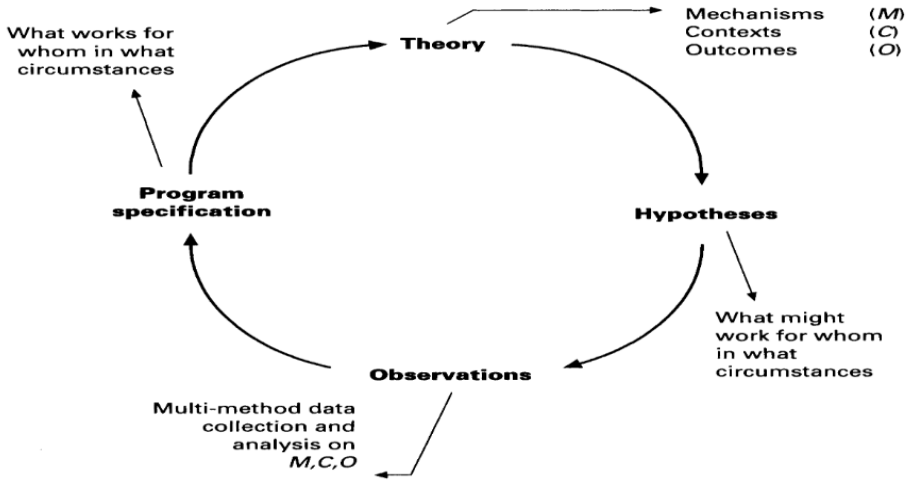


Figure 6: The realistic evaluation cycle (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. 85).

In order to conceptualise a programme theory which represents the principles of generative causation, Pawson and Tilley (1997) make the distinction between context, mechanism and outcomes (CMOs). These are defined in Table 6. The development of programme theory in RE is a cumulative process which comprises the forming of hypotheses of how CMOs might be configured in relation to each other. These 'initial programme theories' (IPTs) then undergo a process of 'empirical observation' or testing which allows for hypothesised programme theories to be validated, invalidated and refined towards an optimal configuration which explains regularities of CMO configurations (CMOCs).

Context	The conditions in which mechanisms are triggered, or the "characteristics of both the subjects and programme locality" (Pawson, 2001, p.4)
Mechanism	This relates to the "causal power of an initiative" and "how programme resources will influence the subject's actions " (Pawson, 2001, p.4).
Outcome	A generated event that has an observable effect (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Table 6: Definitions of context, mechanisms and outcomes in RE.

2.6. The use middle range theory to inform the research design

Pawson and Tilley (1997) argue that programme theories can be considered at different levels of abstraction ranging from the specific (individual programmes) to the more abstract (those shared across different programmes). Of the specific and the abstract, it is argued that middle range theories are most useful (Pawson, 2000). These relate to the "theory that lies between the minor but necessary working hypotheses …and the all-inclusive systematic efforts to develop a unified theory that will explain all the observed uniformities of social behaviour, social organization and social change" (Merton, 1968, p. 39). This provides theoretical framework that guides the retroductive RE cycle from systemic abstraction and concrete research (Figure 2).

Middle range theories involve three key aspects: sufficient abstraction, logical derivation and cumulative explanations (Pawson, 2008; Merton, 1967). This process is summarised in Figure 7. Abstraction involves abstracting key structures and actors from a social phenomenon so that it is generalisable enough to capture its significant components. As aforementioned, the of abstraction involves a partial conceptualisation of the object rather than an "all embracing conceptual system" (Pawson, 2008, p. 2) due to the limitations of

perception and the necessity for a level of resolution that allows explanation of how individual components may combine or interact. This is represented by 1a in Figure 7. Abstraction relates to Stage 1 of the research design (Table 7) involving the use of stakeholder knowledge elicited during the development of this research and from the researcher's positioning within the LA YOT, summarised in Table 8.

Logical derivation involves the composition of theory to explain that which is abstracted where "specific hypothesises are logically derived and confirmed by empirical investigation" (Merton, 1967, p. 68). Here the theory becomes more complex as its theoretical explanatory element is developed, represented by 1b of Figure 7. This involves developing precision in configuring the extracted components of the object in relation to each other using empirically observed regularities to inform assumptions about how and why they might interact to produce events (outcomes). In this study the logical derivation of theory involves the use of a RS in stage 2 of the research design. This involves the use of a realist synthesis (RS), a style of literature review that allows for empirical regularities to be established between the inner workings (CMOs) of a programme (Pawson, 2004).

Cumulative explanation is an iterative process of testing and refining the programme theory (1c of Figure 7). Due to the limited scope of logical derivation in encompassing the object and the limitations of one's perception, anomalies and irregularities will always present themselves (Pawson, 2008). Theories therefore need to be continually (cumulatively) tested and invalidated, validated and refined to better represent uniformities which relate to the aspect of the social phenomenon being observed. This involves the 'empirical observation' stage of the realistic cycle within programme specification. In this study, the notion of "going back to the object" in cumulative explanation involves the collection and analysis of qualitative data sourced from RIs with six stakeholders from the LA YOT (stage 3). This will

result in programme theories that are abstract enough to capture the development of a social programme and are also specific and robust enough to withstand a process of empirical testing, thereby occupying the 'middle-range' between the two (Merton, 1967).

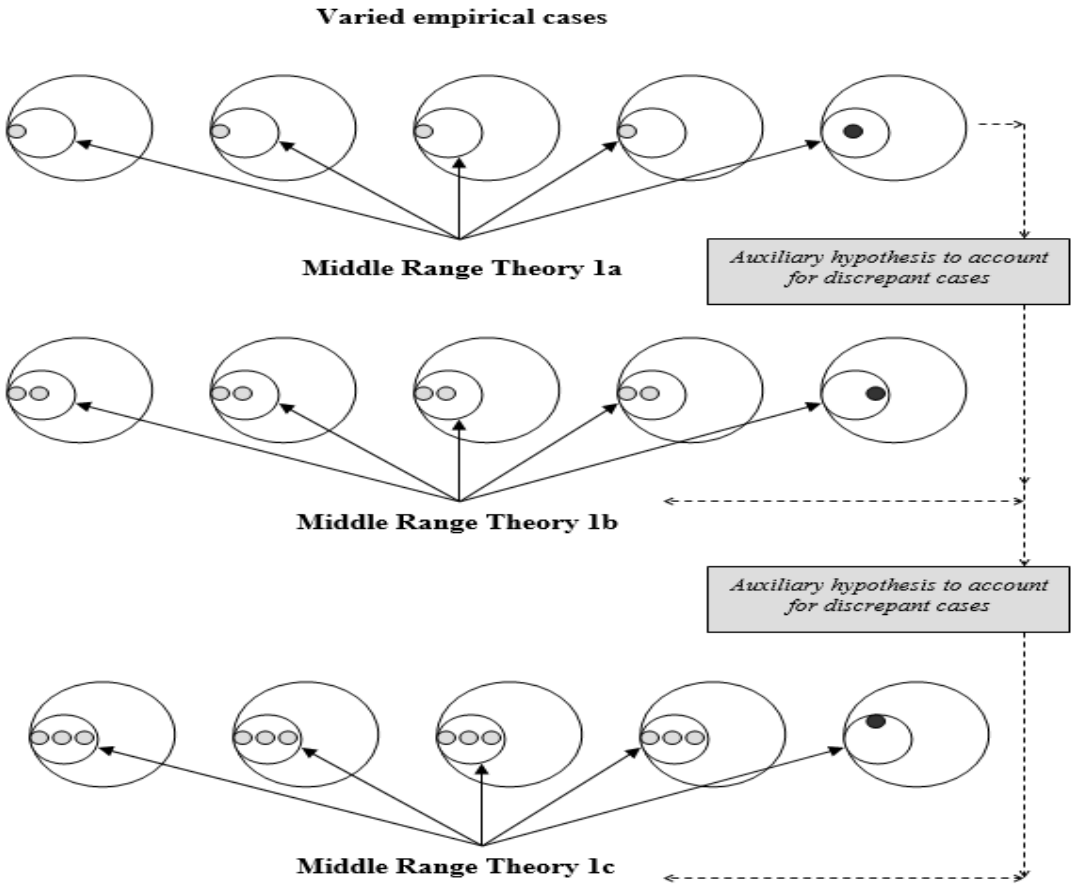


Figure 7: Abstraction, logical derivation and cumulative explanation in middle range theory (Pawson, 2008, p. 3). The number of empirical instances (represented by small circles) allow for the development of a theory about a range of behaviour (represented by medium circles) from complex social objects or behaviours (represented by lager circles). Small back circles are where theory about a social uniformity is falsified.

Stage 1: Defining the object of evaluation	• Contexts, mechanisms and outcomes underpinning practice in the LA YOT supporting the wellbeing of adolescent YOs in the community are abstracted from stakeholder knowledge.
Stage 2: Developing IPTs.	• The abstraction of potential CMOs in the previous stage informed the review questions which governed a realist synthesis (RS) of the literature. • The purpose of the RS therefore, was to further refine and develop regularities between the previously abstracted CMOs to develop IPTs.
Stage 3: Using empirical observation to develop middle range programme theories.	• Empirical observation, to support, invalidate or refine programme theory. • This took the form of realist interviews with key stakeholders which hold information about the social programme including social workers, case managers and EPs working with the LA YOT.
Stage 4: Analysis of empirical observation.	• Thematic analysis of the interviews carried out resulted in the programme theories being reviewed and refined. This is summarised in Chapter.
Stage 5: Programme specification.	• The resulting programme theories occupy the middle range of being abstract enough to capture the development of a social programme but also specific and concrete enough to withstand a process of empirical testing. • Programme theories are discussed in relation to the aims of the study and associated implications, and conclusions reached.

Table 7: The research design.

2.7. Research Question

In relation to the overall research purpose and its associated design discussed in this chapter, the overarching research question developed was:

What are the programme theories underpinning diversionary practice within the LA YOT which successfully supports the wellbeing of YP in the community who have, or are at risk of, offending?

2.8. Rationale for design

When outlining the rationale for research (section 1.2.9, 1.2.10 and 1.2.11), I explored some of the concerns and motivations held by stakeholders in the LA YOT for understanding the nature of intervention implementation within routine welfare-orientated diversionary practice. Pawson and Tilley (1997) discuss issues in the evaluation of crime prevention projects that have proved somewhat perennial in relation to the 'top down' application of the "work works" literature resulting in less than positive effects in implementation (Tilley and Sidebottom, 2017).

By applying a critical realist evaluation design that incorporates generative causation, however, one can move towards an understanding that goes beyond generalised conclusions based on linear cause and effect associations. Instead, consideration can be given towards how aspects of the organisation can be optimised for fidelity to 'what works' in producing welfare orientated diversionary priories of the LA YOT. A process of cumulative empirical theory building, and refinement can then bridge this initial goal of generalisation with one of specification, where it is robust enough to withstand empirical testing. This can therefore provide insight into that which is currently lacking within the LA YOT, and broader youth justice literature in terms of aligning context with the empirical to understand what, why or how diversionary practice works in supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.

CHAPTER 3: DEFINING THE OBJECT OF EVALUATION

3.1. Chapter overview

As discussed, the first stage of critical realist empirical inquiry involves the abstraction of structures which are pertinent to the social object of inquiry. This chapter summarises this process of abstraction, including the decision to abstract the social programme from stakeholder knowledge, and the method of systematic abstraction undertaken.

3.2. Sourcing conceptual knowledge of the object

In RE, the abstraction of CMOs that represent the social programme can be sourced from previous knowledge, which may include stakeholders and research (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Some researchers have utilised either the perspectives of stakeholders (Soni, 2010; Bozic and Crossland), previous research (Thompson, 2012), or both (Thistleton, 2008). The advantages of gaining the insight of stakeholders in theory development, what Pawson and Tilley (1997) refer to as 'folk theories' of the programme, is that it allows for them to be specified to the social programme. Stakeholders hold knowledge crucial to the social programme as they participated within it. The benefit of using previous research is that it allows different forms of empirical research to be woven into the evaluation cycle.

In this study, 'diversionary practice which support the wellbeing of YP' seems to occupy so expansive a level of abstraction as to present challenges in discerning components that are most significant to the social programme. Pawson (2003) acknowledges the unworkability of questioning all the possible theories that could occur in an area of inquiry, due to the complexity of realistic theory. It was therefore necessary to first abstract components of the object from stakeholder knowledge as this is likely to provide more information that is specific to the social programme. This will then provide abstracted structures at the resolution

necessary to carry out a realist synthesis of the literature to empirically inform propositions on the precision and regularities of abstracted CMOs to configure IPTs (Pawson et al., 2004).

Abstracted stakeholder knowledge was sourced from an appreciation for the context and rationale for research underpinning the commissioning of this research, summarised in sections 1.2.3 – 1.2.5. A summary of these sources is provided in Table 8 below. The limitations of subjectivity within this process are acknowledged and discussed in the next section in relation to realist theory.

Table 8: Sources of stakeholder knowledge.

Sources of stakeholder knowledge
• A summary of diversionary activity (Table 4, section 1.2.7) supporting wellbeing taken from internal and external documentation (e.g. the Youth Justice Plan, working groups agenda and plans and inter-alia). • Consultations with senior leaders in the LAYOT during the development of rationale for research inquiry as referred to in the development of the research rationale in section 1.2.9. • Consideration of the broader youth justice context (section 1.2.10) in relation to the context of the LA YOT. • The role, positioning and experience of researcher working within the LA YOT as a TEP (section 1.2.8) providing a conceptual frame of reference of the object.

3.3. Summary of systematic abstraction

3.3.1 Abstracting internally related structures

According to middle range theory, the process of extrapolating from the object (abstraction) "should be sufficiently abstract to deal with different spheres of social behaviour and social structure…" (Merton, 1967, p. 68). However, difficulties arise in delineating what constitutes 'sufficient' (Pawson, 2008). Pawson (2003) suggests that abstracted programme theory should be what the researcher considers pertinent to the effectiveness of the social programme of intervention. Such an approach is ambiguous and heavily reliant on the researcher's judgement, which is acknowledged in critical realism to be fallible, partial, subjective and limited in reach (Pawson, 2008). However, critical realism also assumes that by being accepting of these limitations, one can be critical of the subject-object relationship to allow a process of systemic abstraction which identifies pertinent individuated aspects of the object. These can be examined and combined "to form concepts which grasp the concreteness of their objects" (Sayer, 2010, p. 87). In this case, the concept is the framework of generative causation.

Sayer (2010) argues that distinctions can be made to help conceptualise structures as a system of internally related objects pertinent to the object of inquiry. Systematic abstraction should therefore involve asking 'qualitative questions' about how they relate to each other, and about the nature of the extracted structural component, summarised in Table 9. According to this guidance, abstracted individuated objects are not just stratified horizontally in terms of CMOs but also organised (and reorganised) into their positionings vertically. I have therefore chosen to represent different aspects of their structure and relations vertically such as power and composition, as well as horizontally as CMOs., as shown in Table 10.

Table 9: Guidance in discerning internally related structures of the object of evaluation following Sayer, (2010).

Qualitative questions about then internal relationships between, and nature of, pertinent structures.
• Is the relationship between the structures internal (where its definition or conceptualisation of one is dependent on its relation to another e.g. landlord and tenant) or external (independent of each other but may interact nonetheless (e.g. house and road)? • Is the relationship internally asymmetric ("an object in relation can exist without the other, but not vice-versa" e.g." money and banking systems")? To guide these distinctions: What does the existence of the structure presuppose? Can it exist on its own? What else must be present if not? What is it that allows the structure to do what it does? What roles, positioning, power relations, resources constraints, rules might the structure have? And inter-alia.

3.3.2. Clarifying the conceptual framework for abstraction

To abstract structures into Pawson and Tilly's (1997) RE framework of generative causation, definitions of CMOs need to be further clarified to provide internal validity and transparency in the process of abstraction. The problem applies that whilst structure and agency are conceptually distinct within critical realism, within the framework of generative causation this distinction is more ambiguous (Volkoff and Strong, 2013). Here, structures can have both potential causal power themselves and properties that can make them either a necessary or constraining condition for causation. In reference to RE, it is therefore unclear and rather arbitrary as to which structures might be causal actors (mechanisms?) in the theory and which are conditions of action (contexts?), where structures coalesce within the framework. For

example, within the abstracted CMOs in Table 10, the mechanism (and its associated sub-structures) “effectiveness in implementing the evidence base for wellbeing assessment and intervention” could also be a condition for causation of another mechanism such as “the use of strength-based approaches”. Similar conceptual issues have been raised in other uses of RE (Birch, 2015; Thistleton, 2008).

To address these conceptual issues of generative causation in application to RE, I have drawn upon affordance theory (Gibson, 1986) within ecological psychology (Kane et al., 2011; Leonardi, 2011a). This offers a conceptual framework that has been referred to as a ‘type’ of generative causation that focuses on the relationship between abstracted parts of the object rather than the causal properties of the abstracted objects more broadly (Volkoff and Strong, 2013). Affordance refers to “what is offered, provided or furnished” to provide the “opportunity for action” through structures situated within the actual domain of critical realism (Volkoff and Strong, 2013, p.822).

Structures may only be made observable or meaningful by the interacting role of the actor. Therefore, like generative causation, affordance is based on critical realism and assumes structures can exist independently of our perception of them given that they or may not be made observable. An actor is considered as one who has the capability of ‘actualising’ the affordance by being conscious and goal orientated (Chemero, 2003). It is therefore tied specifically to an outcome or event and occupies the domain of the actual (Elder-Vass, 2010). This more specific conceptualisation of structure and agency in generative causation is applied in this research to Pawson and Tilley’s (1997) concepts of CMOs for purposes of clarity in configuring the positioning of aspects of the object in relation to each other (Table 11).

Table 10: Abstracted contexts, mechanisms and outcomes

Contexts	Mechanisms	Outcomes
The gap between service demand and take up of wellbeing services. • Demographic characteristics of structural disadvantage, complex interacting vulnerabilities of the youth offending population. • Psychological, territorial and other barriers associated with the conventional approach to wellbeing support e.g. Educational, Health and Care Plans (EHCPs) and the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service (CAMHS). *LA YOT's unique understanding and positioning in relation to local resources.* • Understanding of local resources and assets in the community. • Range of support services situated on site such as substance misuse services, EP, CAMHS practitioner, third sector organisations. *Multiagency Youth Crime Prevention group.* • Coordination with services in the local community including third sector, LA resources (e.g. • Delivering of 'a programme of activities in the community'. *Coordination with social care services.* • Integration within the LA Troubled Families agenda. • Integration with social care protocols including the Early Help process, Child	*Use of methods which enable participation.* • Identification of barriers to involvement to wellbeing intervention for YP in the community. • Using preferred and innovative methods of communication and context. • Operating in a context that is familiar and comfortable for the young person. • Use of methods which enable the voice of the YP and their family to be integrated within assessment and intervention. • Practice which enables YP, families and others in the community to co-construct interventions. • Provision of diversionary activities in the community in partnership with community projects. • Use of participatory and collaborative discursive strategies. *practice implementing the knowledge base around wellbeing assessment and intervention.* • Awareness of evidence-based approaches to assess and intervene in supporting wellbeing. • Self-efficacy around applying the evidence base within assessment and intervention of wellbeing. • Ability to adapt and formulate the evidence base to complex contexts. • A critical awareness of issues with the evidence base in implementation e.g. an awareness of the barriers associated with a 'risk	*The gap between service demand and take up in the YOT is reduced.* • An individualised approach where intervention is flexible and accessible relative to the context and voice of the individual and their family. • A strengths-based approach where assets in the community, family and YP are frequently integrated into intervention. • Practice by YOT staff reflects the nature of the wellbeing need of the YP. • Outcome data highlights where wellbeing intervention can be better targeted in the community. • Evaluation demonstrates improved outcome data. *improved identification of those with wellbeing needs and allocation to appropriate support pathways.* • More YOT children provided with EHCPs to outline provision relative to their wellbeing need. • More YOT children placed within educational provision appropriate for the wellbeing needs. • Appropriate and timely referrals are made to CAMHS. • Early Help and other social support protocols to support the family in relation to wellbeing outcomes are timely, appropriate and reflective of these outcomes. • YOT staff are able to position intervention appropriately relative to educational, health or social care protocol and provision.

in Need and Child Protection Protocols, Safeguarding and Children's Services Board. • Family support 'hubs' and locality surgeries across the city. *Commitment to fulfil SEND reform duties.* • Coordination with agencies in children's services including the Educational Psychology Service, the LA SEN team, Virtual School, COPE, and Attendance and Welfare Officers e.g. through partnership arrangements with Children's Services Boards and the LA plan for children and YP. • SEND YJ Quality mark and their 10 key statements in relation to supporting wellbeing. • Coordination with schools including headteachers, SENCOs and other roles. *Reframing of activity which supports wellbeing away from formal youth justice outcomes.* • Commitment to holistically support the young person. • Understanding activity supporting wellbeing as an entity per se, rather than as part of diversionary activity. • Understanding of the limitations of the 'risk paradigm' and scaled approach. *Opportunity for LA YOT staff to work at a range of systemic levels.* • Direct work with young person. • Working with the family. • Working with peers. • Working with those in the broader community, and	paradigm' for this population. *Use of strength-based approaches.* • Transferring skills to those in peer and lay roles relevant to the YP to enable them to deliver interventions. • Co-production of intervention approaches with third sector and community organisations that have insight into the strengths of the community they are working with. • Use of person-centred approaches to elicit the strengths and aspirations of the YP and family and integrate them within the intervention. *Targeted training carried out by Educational Psychologists.* • Wellbeing component of SEND audit to assess knowledge base. • Targeted training delivered by the LA EPS in relation to identified areas of need. This includes: - Training around the role of SEN and health protocols in relation to wellbeing e.g. EHCPs and SEN Support, CAMHS pathways. - Training in relation to supporting those with diagnosed and undiagnosed wellbeing needs. - Restorative practice. - Training in relation to supporting emotional literacy. - Training in relation to speech, language and communication. - Training in person centred practice.	*LA YOT staff contribute towards the implementation of innovative integrated wellbeing intervention at a variety of systemic levels in the community.* • Understanding of the unique contribution of professional roles in supporting wellbeing needs in a community context. • Evidence based wellbeing interventions used within community contexts at different systemic levels e.g. in consultation with professionals, agencies, organisations or through direct work with the YP and their family. • Local assets and stakeholders deployed effectively within shared wellbeing interventions. • Improved sharing of person-centred information about the YP with other professionals. • YP, families and community/third sector organisations empowered and provided with the skills to support the YP's wellbeing. *Improved efficacy in carrying out wellbeing intervention in the community.* • Improved professional self-efficacy in delivering wellbeing interventions in practice. • YP have greater perceptions of trust and improved relationships with LA YOT professionals. • YP, familiarity and internal locus around access of control around their future and aspirations. • LA YOT staff's skills in assessing for strengths and needs in relation to wellbeing.

with community organisations. • Working with LA services. *Legislation and guidelines for practice relevant to providing intervention in the community.* • SEN Code of Practice (2015). • Children and Families Act (2014). • Taylor Report (2016). • NICE Guidelines on Community Engagement (2016).	*Training carried out by external consultancy organisations around wellbeing. In relation to:* • Developmental trauma and attachment. • Speech language and communication difficulties. • Adolescent mental health. *Establishment of multiagency working groups/communities of practice in relation to wellbeing elements of 'SEND Reform Duties'* • Regular meetings within a multi-agency group (representing agencies across children's services) for 'pupils not in education, employment or training' (NEET)' to ensure that resettlement aligns with positive wellbeing outcomes. • SEN intervention group with EP and LA YOT staff. • Screening group with EP and LA YOT staff for those entering the system or requiring a review to guide provision mapping and further referral. *Development of means of assessing and evaluating practice which supports wellbeing.* • Training around use of evidence based pre- and post-measures in wellbeing such as CORC outcome measures. • Training and sharing of psychological risk assessment tools and care plans. *Supervision to support wellbeing practice.* • Informal supervision in relation to supporting wellbeing through the EP being based on site. • Managerial supervision carried out by LA YOT line managers.	• LA YOT staff's skills in applying evidence-based interventions. • LA YOT staff work within and extend their area of competency through the provision of supervision. • LA YOT staff have an improved sense of wellbeing and ability to emotionally contain others through the provision of supervision. *A greater shared understanding and expertise as to how the role of the EP can be better integrated within the LA YOT to support wellbeing.* • EPs have a greater understanding of the challenges in working with the LA YOT population e.g. systemic constraints, local barriers. • LA YOT staff develop an improved understanding of the role of the EPs and services they can deliver. • EPs and the LA YOT develop an improved mutual understanding of future directions for practice to support wellbeing.

Table 11: Amended CMOs incorporating affordance theory (developed from Volkoff and Strong, 2013).

Context/ Affordance	The conditions in which mechanisms are triggered, or the "characteristics of both the subjects and programme locality" (Pawson, 2001, p.4). These "are offered, provided or furnished" to provide the "opportunity for action" (Volkoff and Strong, 2013, p.822). These exist regardless of whether they are exercised and so occupy reality independently of our perceptions.
Mechanism/ Actualisation	This relates to the "causal power of an initiative" and "how programme resources will influence the subject's actions " (Pawson, 2001, p.4). These relate to goal oriented 'actors' within the programme who have the capacity to actualize an affordance (Chemero, 2003).
Outcome	Events which happen and have an effect that is specific to the actor and the affording structure or context.

CHAPTER 4: THE REALIST SYNTHESIS APPROACH

4.1. Chapter overview

This chapter outlines the methodology involved in the realist synthesis (RS) in building IPTs and some of its associated limitations.

4.2. Realist synthesis approach

A RS was employed to aid the process of establishing configurations and regularities between the CMOs generated above to begin to explain and establish IPTs. This approach provides a means through which complex social interventions can be explicated through an analysis of associated evidence to develop an understanding of regularities of CMOCs (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). Thus, rather than providing reproducible or standardisable conclusions associated with traditional review methods such as systematic reviews, the aim of the RS is to provide a means through which explanation of theory can be developed, challenged and revised (Pawson *et al.,* 2005). In the context of this research then, the use of an RS, as opposed to a traditional literature review, allows for the inclusion of that which is relevant and specific to the inner workings (CMOs) of the programme (Pawson (2006).

Pawson *et al* (2004) provides a structure for RS but also highlights that the process is iterative and not linear. For the purposes of this study, the use of suggested stages is informed by previously abstracted CMOs, summarised in Table 12. Pawson (2001) suggests that an RS methodology involves "sifting through" the mixed fortunes of "dominant mechanisms" to discover particular contexts (C+) that trigger successful outcomes (O+), from those that produce failed one's (O-). This is represented in Figure 8. Here, the central role of mechanisms as a locus of comparison allows the researcher to filter various permutations of associated successful or unsuccessful configurations with contexts in moving towards a desired outcome (Pawson, 2003).

Table 12: Realist synthesis methodology informed by Pawson et al., (2004).

Identifying the focus of the review	• The purpose of the review is to explicate configurations between CMOs previously extracted from stakeholder knowledge in. • It also holds the purpose of testing theory integrity and adjudicating which theories best fit with the social programme.
Search for and appraise the evidence	• Scoping and identifying literature that relates to the CMOs identified though stakeholder and contextual knowledge. • Defining search methods used, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and thresholds for search saturation. • Testing the rigour of the evidence included and its relevance to the theory being tested.
Extract and synthesise findings	• Assimilate and extract relevant information to the theory developed. A working document in the form of a 'data extraction form' can be used to support this, which summarises potential theories and associated evidence supporting them. • Seek confirmatory and contradictory evidence and refine programme theories accordingly. • Theories developed will be synthesised, grouped and categorised until they are amalgamated into the most appropriate representation of a particular programme.

4.3. Developing a focus for the review

The RS approach suggests that a review question should be formulated in collaboration with key stakeholders to provide a relevant focus for the review and manage the process (Pawson, 2006). Stakeholder views were reflective of the process of abstracting from the object and are therefore also integrated into the review question. The review questions are therefore guided by the CMOs abstracted from stakeholder knowledge in Table 10, and include the following:

- How can the evidence base refine, develop and explain regularities in abstracted context, mechanism and outcome configurations in relation to the object for enquiry?
- What are the resulting configurations of contexts, mechanisms and outcomes in the LA YOT that represent diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of YP?

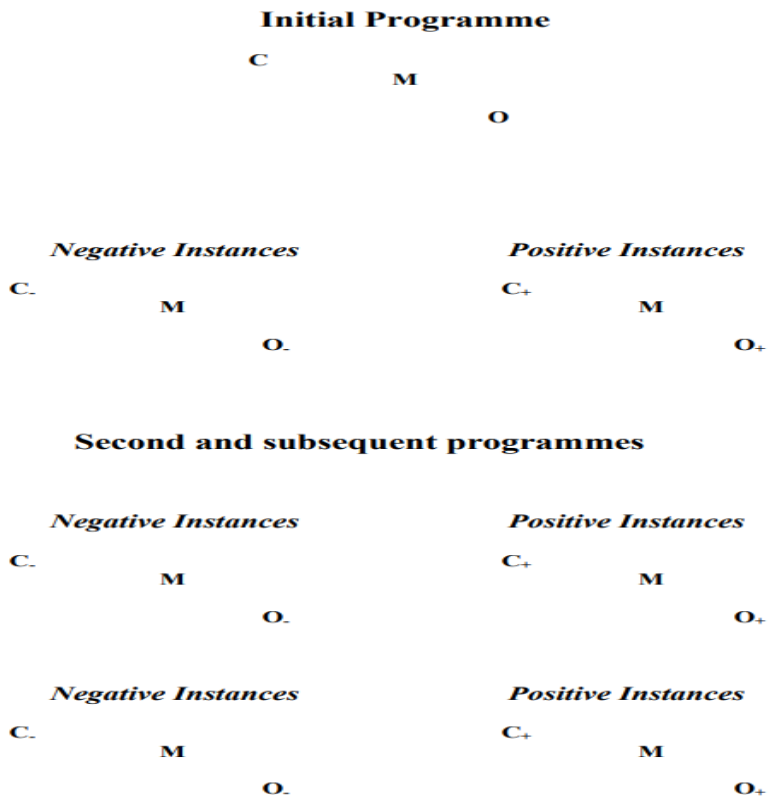


Figure 8: The Realist Synthesis process of configuration (Pawson, 2001, p. 5)

4.4. Search strategy

A purposive search strategy was employed which focused on explaining, developing and refining regularities that occur in relation the CMOs abstracted in Table 10. Pawson (2006) outlines the evolving and iterative nature of the review as key elements of programme theory development. In this sense, search terms are likely to develop and change cumulatively justifying a purposive sampling, snowballing approach alongside initial search terms of databases.

Overarching search terms used included: youth justice; youth offend*; youth offending teams; mental health; emotion*, wellbeing, social, support, practice, communit*. Frequented databases included: EBSCO, PsychINFO (1967-present), ERIC/ProQuest due to a high return of literature of a youth justice, psychological, and sociological focus. However, further searches comprised of a wide range of terms that related to the abstracted CMOs. In line with

Pawson (2006), search terms cumulated and evolved throughout the search process as the uncovering of literature and subsequent searches represented an iterative process.

4.5. Relevance and Rigour

Initial scoping and scrutiny of article abstracts that were most pertinent to the abstracted CMOs were prioritised. However, wider literature in relation to the overall area of enquiry that tests, refines and explains configurations of previous knowledge abstracted was also considered, particularly given the paucity of literature in the area of diversionary practice supporting wellbeing. Indeed, Pawson (2006) suggests that the distillation of information should aid the refinement and development of programme theories rather than appraise concluding structures. To ensure rigour within the process of theory-testing and configuration an assessment of research quality was used in the form of Gough's (2007) established weight and relevance of evidence heuristic (Table 13).

Table 13: Gough's (2007) weight of evidence criteria.

Weight of Evidence Stage	**Weight of evidence criteria**
Stage A - A generic, non-review specific judgement on the coherence and integrity of the evidence in its own terms.	• Transparency and clarity of purpose of the research. • Accuracy of the research evidence. • Accessibility and comprehensibility of the inferences of the research evidence. • Method specific quality
Stage B – Review specific appraisal of the appropriateness of the evidence and methodology.	• Relevance of method of inquiry align and design for developing an understanding of the programme theory e.g. qualitative data may contribute more towards exploring context and mechanisms, whereas quantitative data is likely to be more outcome related.
Stage C – Review specific assessment of the appropriateness of the focus of the evidence.	• Fitness for purpose of the form of evidence derived from the research in answering the review question, including: • The type of sample. • Form of analysis. • Generalisability of findings. • Reliability of validity of findings. • Representation of depth of findings in relation to the object of enquiry.

4.6. Limitations of the Realist Synthesis

Within realistic inquiry it is important to be aware of the limitations of the observer to allow a robust process of critical abstraction and analysis of the object (Sayer, 2010). It is noted thatit was not possible to include all of the structures abstracted in Table 10 within configured theories. This is to be expected as the relationships between internal structures of the object are empirically examined at a greater resolution through the concept of generative causation. Indeed, these IPTs do not represent an "all embracing system" (Pawson, 2008, p. 2). Instead, in critical inquiry it is accepted that it is only possible to abstract some parts from the object and combine them "to form concepts which grasp the concreteness of their objects" (Sayer, 2010, p. 87).

Moreover, given the limitations of logical derivation, it is likely that further relations exist beyond the author's configuration of abstracted parts into programme theories. This may include parts of the object unexamined or unknown to the author and also parts which have been abstracted but have not had their relations unexamined due to the complex nature of the social phenomena. These limitations associated with fallibility of perception and the limited scope of logical derivation relate to the need to continually and cumulatively test and refine programme theory through empirical observation. It is noted therefore that the RS represents only a single means of theory building and more empirical observation is required.

CHAPTER 5: REALIST SYNTHESIS FINDINGS – INITIAL PROGRAMME THEORIES

5.1. Chapter overview

Four IPTs were derived from the RS, summarised in Table 14. These are configured according to the regularities between structures abstracted that were most supported in the literature. As aforementioned, conceptual clarity regarding the relationships between CMOs within a programme theory was informed by affordance theory (Volkoff and Strong, 2013; Gibson, 1986), and as such these concepts were used within theory configuration. The purpose of the RS was not only to establish logical regularities but also to challenge, test and refine theory. Therefore, structures represented in the IPTs may have developed or changed from those abstracted in Table 10 as part of their movement towards middle range theory.

Table 14: A summary of initial programme theories developed from the Realist Synthesis.

Initial programme theory	**Affording contexts**	**Mechanism**	**Outcomes**
Diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for YP in the community.	*Practitioner understanding of barriers to service take up and appropriate adaptions.* *Opportunity for LA YOT staff to work flexibly in the community.*	*Use of participatory community-orientated approaches.* *Use of methods which build trusting relationships.*	*The gap between demand and take up for services supporting wellbeing is reduced within the youth offending population.*
Strength-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of YP.	*Negotiating contrasting philosophies of strength vs. risk-orientated approaches*	*Use of strength-based approaches rooted in self-determination theory and the Good Lives Model (GLM).* *Applying the principles of coproduction to the GLM*	*Improved wellbeing through relatedness, autonomy and competency being integrated within assessment and intervention planning.*
Providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of YP.	*The nature of the LA YOT's multi-agency positioning.* *Extant shared multi-agency commitments supporting the wellbeing of YP.* *Extant shared structures supporting wellbeing.*	*Inter-agency reconfiguration around the needs of the young person and family.* *Establishment of communities of practice ('working groups').*	*Young person engages in a comprehensive package of support that coalesces around their needs.*
Implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes in diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of YP.	*Factors which afford implementation quality and fidelity.* *Strong therapeutic alliance and relationship.* *Developmental and needs appropriate adaption of approach.* *Multi-modal systemic approach to intervention.*	*Fidelity of use of evidenced based therapeutic interventions that matches the needs and strengths of the individual.*	*Improved individual outcomes.* *Improved socio-structural outcomes.*

5.2. IPT 1: Diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for young people in the community.

Table 15: A summary of initial programme theory one- diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for YP in the community.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Practitioner understanding of barriers to service take up and appropriate adaptions. • Psycho-social and socio-structural barriers. • Capacity to adapt in relation to developmental trauma and learning needs. • Training, supervision, knowledge and experience relating to the above e.g. from work relating to the SEND YJ Quality Mark, EP support and support from other agencies. *Opportunity for LA YOT staff to work flexibly in the community.* • Capacity for contextual and temporal flexibility in approach in the community. • Negotiating tensions between organisational structures and cultures.	*Use of participatory community-orientated approaches.* • Mechanisms which make it as easy as possible for YP to get involved. • Community development approaches (e.g. utilising and building on existing community partnerships in the LA YOT). • Involving people in peer and lay roles. *Use of methods which build trusting relationships.* • Having genuine interactions underpinned by candour, empathy and mentalisation. • A rights and choice orientated approach. • Establishing a safe emotional space. • Flexibility in approach.	*The gap between demand and take up for services supporting wellbeing is reduced for socially excluded YP who may be at risk of, or have already offended:* • YP have positive experiences of trusted relationships which help overcome psychological help-seeking barriers. • YP able to access and engage with appropriate wellbeing support in the community.

5.2.1 Dominant mechanisms

Use of participatory community-orientated approaches

A key foundation for the development of community-orientated approaches within the Youth Justice evidence-base associates with the 'progressive minimalist policy' argument developed by key criminological thinkers in the 1970s (Schur and Maher, 1973; Lemert, 1970). This policy argument is better known today as 'diversionary policy', which promotes the informal role of the YJS as a solution to the problematic association between punitive intervention, pathologising, re-offending and contravention of human needs and rights. Lemert's (1970) ideas were influential in the formation of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, and is now underpinned by over 50 years of international research evidence that those involved or at risk of offending experience acute social need and that holistic intervention in the community is therefore required (Pitts, 2015; 2003)

Responding to the punitive turn of the New Labour era and the net-widening of interventionalist youth justice policy, Pitts (2003) argued for the need to reappraise and reintegrate the role of former welfare-orientated community principles within the YJS. Pitts (2003) argued for a revamped YJS which addresses the disjuncture between unrealistic and out of touch top-down policy and its manifestation in the community. This includes community-orientated progressive minimalist principles such as providing adequate time and funding for community intervention programmes, which can take considerable time to bring those who have been socially excluded to a point where they are willing and able to participate (Bailey and Williams, 2000). This contrasts with time-limited and reactive interventionalist programmes, governed by the need to harness evidence of effectiveness for political import. Pitts (2003) also embodied evidence that any intervention needs to align with the unpredictable and long-term developmental time scale of a young person's maturity and

behaviour change rather than assume a linear and short-term succession towards reoffending. He therefore recommended that youth justice intervention in the community should be informed by an approach that champions human rights and needs-based approaches, centres the voice of young people and families and innovates change relevant to the needs and assets in the local community.

Chiming with many of Pitts' (2003) recommendations, Bernard Davies' (2005) Youth Work: A Manifesto of Our Times, presented an argument for the formal recognition of the distinctiveness of Youth Work as a practice to pre-service its community-orientated and participatory underlying principles. Davies (2005) presented youth work to be under threat at the time as it was becoming of increasing politically fashion in the New Labour and pre-austerity policy climate. Paradoxically, the political popularity of youth work was the very things that presented as a threat to its distinctive identity as it was being moved from the recreational margins of public provision to the centre of government policy and statutory LA provision. This associated with a range of issues which, according to Davies (2005) undermined youth work's distinct identity such as it being re-engineered to be integrated within interventionalist state policy and its associated priorities, and its integration within formal organisational structures and cultures compromising the flexibility of youth workers to enact participatory, child led and community orientated principles due to the imposition of short term statutory targets.

Davies (2015) revised his manifesto ten years later, motivated by the need to reassert his position that youth work should be recognised as a distinct and valued profession due to the impact of austerity in moving youth work from being 'in fashion' to being dissipated from policy altogether due to cuts to services. Drawing on over five decades of evidence from youth work, Davies (2015) offers guiding questions which define the distinctive open access, participatory and community-orientated nature of youth work, summarised in Figure 9 below

- Is the practice taking place in se*ttings which are 'open access'* and to which young people have chosen to come, that is, is their *participation voluntary*?
- Is the practice proactively seeking to *tip balances of power in their favour*?
- Are *young people perceived and received as young people* rather than, as a requirement, through the filter of adult-imposed labels?
- Is the practice *starting where young people are starting*, particularly with their expectation that they will be able to relax, meet friends and enjoy themselves?
- Is one key focus of the practice on *the young person as an individual*?
- Is the practice respectful of and actively responsive to *young people's peer networks*?
- Is the practice respectful of and actively responsive to *young people's wider community and cultural identities* and, where young people choose, is it seeking to help them strengthen these?
- Is the practice seeking to *go beyond where young people start*, in particular by encouraging them to develop their personal potential and be critical and creative in their responses to their experience and the world around them?
- Is the practice concerned with *how young people feel* as well as with what they know and can do?

Figure 9: Guiding questions to distinguish youth work. Taken form Davies (2015, pp. 100).

Whilst austerity measures have meant that community-orientated approaches towards diversion at a policy-wide level have largely diminished, there has been a re-emergence of research interest of the role of community psychology-based approaches in addressing the disparity between the take and demand of services that support the wellbeing of socially excluded YP (Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016). There is compelling evidence that these circumstances have arisen in the context of socially excluded youth offending (YO) populations' experiences of disproportionate levels of social disadvantage and associated barriers to service take up (Chitsabesan and Hughes., 2016). In this sense, community psychology is viewed as particularly pertinent to this area as it operates at a collective and systemic level rather than with an individualised focus, honing in on shared characteristics and experiences (Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016). It also focuses on those that are socially excluded through the promotion of participatory and emancipatory research and action (Prilleltensky and Nelson, 2010; Burton *et al.,* 2007; Rappaport, 1977).

More recently, there has been a re-emergence of community-orientated practice, research and intervention programmes focusing on socially excluded populations, including YOs, in the UK (e.g. Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016; Lemma, 2010; Walsh *et al.,* 2011; Gaskell, 2008; Naylor *et al.,* 2008; Freake *et al.,* 2007; Crimmens et al., 2004). These may be termed elsewhere as 'community psychology' despite often being referred to as 'street work' or 'community engagement programmes' (Burton *et al.,* 2007). The use of community-orientated approaches in the UK often refers to public health research and guidance for community engagement in health and wellbeing initiatives (e.g. NICE, 2013; 2016).

Community engagement relates to "the direct or indirect process of involving communities in decision-making and/ or in the planning, design, governance and delivery of services, using methods of consultation, collaboration and/or community control" (O'Mara Eves et al., 2013, p.6). Systematic reviews of community engagement projects and practice in the UK (Bagnall et al., 2015a and b; O'Mara-Eves et al., 2013), alongside meta-analysis studies (Brunton et al., 2015a and b; Stokes et al., 2015) demonstrate commonalities in intervention that were effective for both engagement and positive health and wellbeing outcomes (Bagnall *et al.,* 2017; NICE, 2016). These included interventions which made it as easy as possible for YP to get involved, involving people in peer and lay roles, the use community development approaches, and the development of collaborations and partnerships with community and voluntary organisations. These mechanisms are defined in Table 16. Reviews of the evidence base also highlight that interventions in the community which train and strengthen the role of family members and those in the wider community to provide holistic interventions to support YP who have offended bring about improved wellbeing and recidivism outcomes (Alder *et al.,* 2016; Aos and Drake, 2013; Henggeler and Sheidow, 2012). However, it should be noted that most of such research stems from the US and more is required to demonstrate generalisation of findings to England and Wales (Adler et al., 2016).

Community-based approaches in the UK have also since been developed in relation to intervention for youth at risk of or involved with gang violence. Here, key features of effective gang strategy involve social pedagogy which has critical awareness of young people's existing social capital and the function gang violence plays for young people (Ginwright *et al.,* 2005). This relates to its role in bridging social capital that is available within the illicit economy that would otherwise be unavailable through legitimate opportunity in the community due to social exclusion and structural inequality (Putnam, 1995).

This has had implications for the design of intervention strategy under the understanding that offending is the culmination of complex, multifarious and rapidly changing socio-structural phenomena interacting on a macro and micro level (Millie et al., 2005). Key features of effective intervention in this area, therefore, address the role of social exclusion and the need to bridge social capital to community resources by being embedded in neighbourhoods most affected by youth offending or gang membership and violence (Centre of Social Justice, 2009; Pitts, 2009). This allows for youth workers to develop trusting relationships and coordinate multiagency involvement, as they are best placed to assess the nature of gang issues and community assets that can drive change (Andell, 2019). It also provides the basis for community development interventions which reshape ways in which power is enacted and opportunity enlisted in the community (Allen, 1999).

In reference to the literature supporting community-orientated intervention for young people involved with gangs (e.g. Andell and Pitts, 2017, 2013, 2009 and Pitts, 2016). Successful initiatives cite the inclusion of a range of key factors, including community involvement in the planning and delivery of interventions; the use knowledge held in the community; personalised provision; and incentives to provide bridging social capital to conventional support in the community.

Table 16. Common themes from the systematic review literature on community engagement (Bagnall et al., 2015a and b; Dates et al., 2015; O'Mara-Eves et al., 2013) as summarised by NICE (2016) and Bagnall, White and South, (2017).

Common theme from the systematic review literature	**Associated mechanisms**
Making it as easy as possible for people to get involved	Use of types of communication that addresses identified barriers to involvement. This includes: • using places familiar to participants and creating an informal atmosphere; • proving information in formats that can be understood by those with low literacy, learning difficulties or non-English speakers; • use a type of communication that partipants most have access to or are most familiar with e.g. phone, writing email, social media, face to face home or community visits; • ensuring the timing of events meets participant's needs.
Involving people in peer and lay roles	Utilising the knowledge, resources and experiences of local community and voluntary organisations within interventions. This includes: • Establishing effective links between statutory, community and voluntary organisations. • Offering training and support for those in peer and lay roles from a similar community to carry out interventions. • Community members involved in identifying and reaching out to marginalised groups to help them get involved.
Community development approaches	• Provide communities with the skills and resources to identify and support their needs. • Build on and utilise the assets and capabilities of the community. • Establish partnerships with local community initiatives which are aimed at improving health and wellbeing.

Use of approaches which build trusting relationships

Youth Justice literature on the use of therapeutic programmes scarcely account for the role of the therapeutic relationship within the quality of intervention implementation (Looman and Abracen, 2013). As a result, metanalytic studies tentatively indicate its role within programme implementation (Andrews and Bonta, 2010), but provide scant insight into underpinning contexts and mechanisms. However, qualitative literature which focuses on the voices and lived experiences of YO populations consistently reports key aspects of the therapeutic alliance such as warmth, empathy, flexibility of approach, positive regard, being

listened to, and having respect for individual autonomy, views and preferences as factors which facilitated engagement and implementation success (Fortune, 2018; Drake *et al.,* 2014; Larkins and Wainwright, 2014; Okotie and Quest, 2013; Halse et al., 2012; Cleghorn et al 2011; Sapouna 2011; Jane, 2010; Prior and Mason 2010).

Within such approaches, there is a need to account for psychological barriers that young offenders experience given substantial evidence of relational experiences of disconnection, trauma, violation and distrust for authority (Lobley and Smith, 2007; McNeil and Maruna, 2007). Some have suggested that it is not primarily the availability of provision that explains low levels of service use for this population, but the need to adapt provision to overcome the psycho-socio barriers YP may experience (Walsh et al., 2011; Naylor et al., 2008). Dominant mechanisms associated with overcoming such barriers include operationalising relational approaches that establish a safe and trusting emotional space where YP feel comfortable exploring their emotions (Liddle et al. (2016; Walsh et al., 2011; Naylor et al., 2008; Freake et al., 2007; Veale, 2011; Crimmens et al., 2004).

This is reflected, for example, within street outreach approaches including the INTEGRATE programme of MAC-UK in London (Hodson *et al.,* 2019; Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016) and studies by both Lemma (2010) Gaskell (2008) of a former community project in Inner London at 'Kids Company'. Here, community psychological and attachment based theoretical frameworks were applied which involved flexibility in the mode of delivery relative to an appropriate level of intimacy coalesced between the young person and adult. They found that a gradual unfolding of trust and attachment and opportunities for genuine interactions ensued as a result of an 'informal' approach to mental health support and the use of peer mentoring roles. This was carried out in contexts led by and familiar to the young person before opening avenues to more conventional social care and mental health support.

The work of MAC-UK also features a specific relational approach developed to be used with socially excluded youth termed 'Adolescent Mentalisation-Based Integrative Treatment' as a programme of whole system training for 40 statutory and non-statutory teams working with socially excluded YP (Bevington *et al.,* 2015; Fuggle *et al.,* 2015). The key assumptions underpinning this approach are outlined in Table 17. Key features of the intervention included outreach work in 'nonstandard settings' that the YP defines as safe and the provision of "flexible contingent care" to establish "a temporary secure base" from which further intervention could be scaffolded. Whilst the outcomes of these community-oriented programmes are encouraging, their proponents acknowledge that more formal evaluation is required to establish efficacy within this emerging evidence base (Hodson *et al.,* 2019; Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016; Bevington *et al.,* 2015).

Table 17: A summary of mentalisation following Fuggle et al., (2015) and Bevington et al., (2015).

Key assumptions of mentalisation theory
• Mentalising relates to imaginative activity which interprets the mental states of others in order to predict and understand the intention of human actions. • It develops in the context of attachment relationships where one experiences their mental state and associated actions being communicated back to them accurately. • Where mentalising is interrupted non-mentalising states arise. Here, behaviours and intentions are understood in restricted ways e.g. becoming focused on blame, criticism or hostility rather than perspective taking, understanding and empathising. • Therapeutic intervention focuses on recognising non-mentalisation states and sustaining or recovering the capacity to mentalise e.g. by mentalising a young person's experience or relationship towards 'help' and comparing it to how one's sees their own role as a worker. This allows the worker to broadcast their intentions in a way that builds trust and resolves misunderstanding or perceptions of threat and anxiety.

5.2.2 Associated regularities of outcome

Meta-analysis and systematic review literature on community engagement approaches consistently demonstrate findings of improved service take up and wellbeing outcomes for disadvantaged or marginalised groups (Brunton et al., 2014; 2015; Stokes et al., 2015). However, these mostly focus on public health initiatives and broader excluded population groups within the community rather than YO populations specifically. As aforementioned, much of the research for community-orientated approaches to supporting youth offending populations comes from the US.

One example is that of 'street outreach' research in the US which focused on violent crime reduction, where support was provided in contexts familiar to the young person to overcome barriers to engagement (Sellers, 2015). Such research consistently demonstrates that this associates with pathways to community engagement and service take up, resulting in reduced recidivism (MacKenzie and Farrington, 2015). Petrosino et al (2015), for example, reviewed 11 city wide studies of community-based youth firearms reduction interventions in the US. They found that street outreach to provide emotional support, restorative based conflict mediation, and practical support resulted in increased engagement where YP could be connected to statutory and community-based services, resulting in marked decreases in gun violence.

Whilst similar research in the UK is lacking, Crimmens *et al.*, (2004) provides an example of a large-scale project which comprised of a national review of street-based youth work delivered by YOTs, voluntary sector organisations, and Connexions Partnerships across England and Wales. Of the 1564 youth work projects surveyed, reaching 55,325 socially excluded YP, levels of social exclusion experienced across outcome visits decreased. Survey findings alongside follow up interviews highlighted a range of positive outcomes associated

with improved community engagement including reductions in offending, increase in welfare agency contact, improved peer and family relations, decreases in substance abuse, and improvements in access to prosocial recreational activities. These findings support the emerging body of qualitative community-orientated research aforementioned (Fortune, 2018; Drake *et al.,* 2014; Larkins and Wainwright, 2014; Okotie and Quest, 2013; Halse et al., 2012; Cleghorn et al 2011; Sapouna 2011; Jane, 2010; Prior and Mason 2010).

5.2.3. Affording contexts

Barriers in accessing provision to support wellbeing

Youth offending groups are commonly referred to as 'hard to reach' within social care and health spheres (Bevington et al., 2015). This has become an increasingly contested term due to understandings that this is a group that is marginalised from services as a result of social disadvantage and that the term 'hard to reach' is somewhat pejorative and blaming (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). There is a considerable disparity between the high proportion of mental health and social care need and the low proportion of take up of these services by troubled YP who become known to the YJS (Chitsabesan and Hughes., 2016; Barrett *et al.*, 2006).

Provision not only within the YJS but across public sector services in the UK has been criticised as lacking in integration and resourcing for effectively meeting the needs of YP who have offended in the community (Chitsabesan and Hughes, 2016; McElvaney and Tatlow-Golden, 2016; Taylor, 2016). Both CAMHS and social care services have consistently been criticised for holding "impossibly high" threshold criteria and an inflexible approach that is time-limited, in a fixed location and with apractitioner that they have never met, nor chosen (Zlotowitz *et al.*, 2016). For those that do attend, they are more likely to be utilised in response to a crisis rather than through primary care and prevention (Walsh et al., 2011; Stallard et al., 2003).

Experiences of educational exclusion are commonplace amongst the YO population. Jacobson et al (2010) found that of 6000 YP within the YSE, 48% had experienced school exclusion. An analysis of YOT assessments of YP at the point of admission into the Youth Secure Estate between 2014-2016 found that 61% were not engaging in education, employment or training (NEET) (YJB and Ministry of Justice, 2017). There has been recent recognition around risk of children who are 'off rolled' not in education or educated in pupil referral units being exposed to an elevated risk of victimisation and criminality, such as through exposure to gang exploitation (Children's Commissioner, 2019).

Alongside structural barriers, young offenders have been found to experience psycho-socio barriers to accessing provision (Bevington et al., 2015; Veale, 2011; Walsh et al., 2011; Naylor et al., 2008; Freake et al., 2007; Harrington et al., 2005). Previous adverse experiences may mean that many YP who have offended experience psychological barriers of distrust of professionals and demonstrate unconventional, disorganised help-seeking behaviours (Bevington et al., 2015; Veale, 2011). Of a sample of 44 youth offenders, Walsh et al (2011) found emerging barriers for help-seeking included fear of finding out that there was 'something wrong with them'; a lack knowledge preventing discussion around emotions; discomfort with trusting others with their emotions; concern for embarrassment or stigma and fears around confidentiality. Similar themes of distrust due to fear of further adverse consequences is reflected in literature capturing the lived experiences of youth offenders (Walsh et al., 2011; Larkins and Wainwright, 2013; Halse et al., 2012).

Practitioner capacity to adapt their approach to meet developmental learning needs

Poor understanding, training, recognition and adaption to individual learning needs associates with ineffective and adverse consequences from community-orientated interventions with youth offenders. These range from not being able to access or benefit from the intervention to it being contraindicative by further marginalising, coercing, and threatening the young person by them being under- or mis-represented (Hayes and Snow, 2013; Bolitho, 2012; Smith and Weatherburn, 2012; Bryan *et al.,* 2007; Eysenck et al., 2007). This has been shown to be further compounded by the complexity of structures within the youth justice system such as understanding what is required of court community and legal proceedings and orders, their rights, and the consequences of noncompliance (Snow *et al.,* 2012; Williams *et al.,* 2015;Talbot, 2010).

Though underdeveloped within the literature, there are also examples of where community interventions for young offenders have been appropriately adapted, resulting in improved engagement, participation, individual agency and offending outcomes (Gregory and Bryan, 2015; Bercow, 2008). Further, there are examples of whole system training and provision within YOTs from specialist services such as speech and language therapy (SALT), occupational therapy (OT) and EPs (Gregory and Bryan, 2015; Leyden et al., 2011). The YJ SEN reforms (Taylor, 2016) and the Youth Justice SEND Project (Achievement for All and the Association for YOT Managers, 2018) represent key initiatives that, though yet to be evaluated, on the basis of the above evidence is likely to afford improved benefits to intervention in the community enabling participation and engagement.

Training, knowledge and supervision to support a trauma-informed approach

Practitioner understanding of how trauma, mental health and social adversities influence a child's developmental progression is shown to be key to intervention adaption, engagement and success for youth offenders within the community (Jacobson et al., 2010; Koehler et al., 2013a). This is particularly the case given the associated role of psychosocial barriers to establishing secure relationships with adults (Veale, 2011; Walsh et al., 2011; Naylor et al., 2008). Practitioner training and supervision to support their application of skills and knowledge around developmental trauma and adversity is associated with the development of relationships which foster trust and positive aspects of emotional wellbeing that address the trauma suffered (Williams *et al.*, 2015; Liddle et al., 2016). Conversely, a lack of planning, knowledge, training, and supervision can lead to iatrogenic consequences (Wright *et al.*, 2016; Jacobson et al., 2010; Harrington et al., 2005). This may include ill-explored issues of confidentiality, an over assertive or challenging approach, insensitivity to the young person's readiness to share intimate emotions or change their behaviour and triggering of secondary trauma.

Indeed, the importance of supportive structures such as training and supervision have been highlighted as particularly important for those working with youth offenders within community settings (Bevington *et al.*, 2015; Hodgson *et al.*, 2019; Crimmens *et al.*, 2004; Fletcher and Batty, 2009). Given that such work is outside of a controlled 'clinical' environment, the worker may be exposed to challenges in maintaining professional boundaries and ensuring both psychological and physical safety for both themselves and the young person (Bevington *et al.*, 2015). It is likely a significant limitation then, that the provision of psychological supervision and training within YOTs to support developmental trauma and adversity has been found to be lacking (Wright *et al.*, 2016; Chitsabean and Hughes, 2016; Talbot, 2010).

The affording role of opportunities for flexibility of approach within the community

Greater flexibility of service provision independent of statutory governance has been associated with the voluntary and community sector achieving higher levels of community engagement with young offenders (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). This is because intensive street-based and community-orientated approaches with socially excluded YO groups which coalesce appropriate levels of intimacy and trust typically develop and unfold over time (Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016). As such, it demands high staff requirements and flexibly to work responsively in a way that is geographically and temporally familiar and accessible for the young person when following community engagement approaches (Crimmens *et al.,* 2004).

The capacity for flexibility of approach is dependent on the conditions of organisational structure and culture. Greater autonomy for decision making in practice or 'street level bureaucracy' associates with higher levels of community engagement (Lipsky, 2010). This is contingent on the extent to which they can subvert constraints of the overdetermining system (Barnes and Prior, 2009). Crimmens et al., (2004) highlighted a range of organisational constraints to this including pressures for time limited involvement and the high staff requirements of intensive street-based work and related costs. Changing organisational priorities such as amalgamating services from centralised sites for purposes of cost efficiency were also an issue. This was related to intrinsic difficulties in evaluating outcomes where developmental interventions and engagement may take time to bear fruit were also highlighted as an issue contributing to cutbacks of these services in the context of PbR structures and austerity politics for those that are more time limited (Bateman, 2017). This is likely to also relate to tensions between 'Child First' and welfare models of practice approaches and those that are focused on criminogenic factors and outcomes Koehler et al., 2013b; Talbot, 2010; Robinson and Cotrell, 2005).

5.3. IPT 2: Strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Table 18: A summary of initial programme theory two - strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Negotiating contrasting philosophies of strength vs. risk orientated approaches. • Understanding of the limitations of the dominant risk orientated approach. • Understanding service users as active agents rather than passive recipients. • Engagement and commitment to an underpinning strengths and wellbeing orientated philosophy, rationale and evidence base.	*Use of strength-based frameworks rooted in self-determination theory and the Good Lives Model (GLM).* • Strengths, aspirations and human goods most valued by the YP are integrated within the intervention plan (Good Lives Plan). • Interventions build on existing competencies (primary and secondary goods). • Interventions are targeted towards providing the internal competencies and external resources in the community needed to translate primary goods/values into fulfilling, non-offending secondary goods. *Applying the principles of coproduction to the GLM.* • Using the GLM collaboratively to enhance key aspects of the therapeutic alliance (e.g. empathy, positive regard and candour).	*Improved wellbeing through relatedness, autonomy and competency being integrated within assessment and intervention planning.* • Greater internal capacities. • Improved access to external resources. • Improved therapeutic alliance. • Long term desistence from offending as a result (enhancement model).

5.3.1 Dominant Mechanisms

Applying the strength-based principles of Positive Psychology and Salutongenic Approaches in a youth offending context

Of the emerging wellbeing and rights orientated approaches within the YJS, there is increasing interest in strength-based approaches towards the young person's capacity to rehabilitate through emphasising and developing personal competencies and social supports (Vandervelde et al., 2017). This stems from an emerging evidence base supporting positive psychological and salutongenic approaches within the YJS (Tracey and Hanham, 2017; Parks and Schueller, 2014; Wainwright and Nee, 2014; Twyford, 2013; Ward *et al.,* 2012). Approaches within the YJ literature aligned to these philosophies are referred to as the 'enhancement model', where enhancing the capabilities of offenders to improve their lives is the primary aim with the assumption that improved offending outcomes follow (Ward and Stewart, 2003).

Self Determination Theory

The enhancement model (Ward and Stewart, 2003) is rooted in the Self Determination theory (SDT) of human needs (Deci and Ryan, 2000), alongside the consideration of wellbeing in relation to the normative concepts of universal human rights and dignity (Ward and Syverson, 2009). This builds on an empirical consensus that intrinsic motivation (where activities provide inherent rewards such as curiosity and personal competency), as opposed to extrinsic motivation (influence from outside of the individual), more strongly associates with improved learning, performance, and markers of wellbeing (Halvari et al., 2010; Edmunds et al., 2008). SDT follows empirical support that the values and regulation of non-intrinsically motivated behaviours can become internalised and integrated, or 'taken in' and transformed into their own sense of self to develop intrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan, 2000).

Deci and Ryan (2000) found a consensus in research that suggested that the social environment can influence these processes according to whether it affords or inhibit one's innate basic psychological needs (human needs), which are shown to be salient and unchanged across the need to acquire autonomy (a sense of choice, self-direction and freedom from external pressure on thought and behaviour), competency (when they feel efficacious and are adequately resourced to skilled able to master an activity, resulting in it being more likely to be adopted) and relatedness (where behaviours are modelled or valued by someone with whom they feel attached and cared for), (Deci and Ryan, 2008). This interacts with a range of other psychological evidence and theory such as social learning (Bandura, 1977), locus of control (Rotter, 1990), and attachment theory (Bowlby, 1978). Deci and Ryan (2000) argue that unless the conditions of the environment allow for these three basic psychological needs for wellbeing and optimal functioning to be met, individuals may "engage in psychological withdrawal or antisocial activity as compensatory motives for unfilled needs (p. 229).

The Good Lives Model

Ward and Colleagues have built on SDT to develop the Good Lives Model (GLM) (Ward and Maruna, 2007; Ward and Stewart, 2003). This is a type of rehabilitative model or framework, or a "conceptual map that organises assessment and intervention tasks within a single coherent structure" (Fortune, 2018). It focuses on individuals' value for 'primary human goods', which are outcomes that when sought for their own sake contribute towards wellbeing and the fulfilment of human needs (Purvis *et al.*, 2011). The list of primary human goods is based on psychological, biological and anthropological literature that indicates 11 broad categories. These, however, are not intended to be exhaustive (Ward and Maruna, 2007). These are summarised in Figure 10. The model associates these primary goods with

the individual's 'secondary goods' which are the specific routes and methods in which an individual reaches their primary human goods.

The eleven classes of primary goods.

	Primary good
1	Life (including healthy living and functioning)
2	Knowledge
3	Excellence in work (including mastery[a] experiences)
4	Excellence in play (including mastery experiences)
5	Excellence in agency (i.e., autonomy and self-directedness)
6	Inner peace (i.e., freedom from emotional turmoil and stress)
7	Friendship (including intimate, romantic, and family relationships)
8	Community
9	Spirituality (in the broad sense of finding meaning and purpose in life)
10	Pleasure
11	Creativity

[a] Mastery refers to achieving high levels of skill or knowledge in a particular area.

Figure 10: Primary human goods in the Good Lives Model. Taken from Fortune (2018, p. 28).

The GLM posits that routes to acquiring human goods are compatible with offending where an individual does not have access to the internal capacities and the external resources to access them via pro-social, fulfilling means. Here, internal capacities refer to individual skills, knowledge and opportunities, and external resources refer to the access to material and non-material goods within the YP's surrounding systems that can be drawn upon (Ward and Maruna, 2007). There are our difficulties that might be experienced which mitigate against the prosocial attainment of primary goods at according to the GLM (Figure 11). To enable adaptive routes to developing internal capacities and external opportunities within the YP's community and surrounding systems, the YP and practitioner co-produce a 'Good Life Plan' which builds on their constructions of strengths, aspirations and valued primary goods. A

summary of each step of the GLM and considerations for its adaption to YP is provided in Figure 12.

Summary of the four types of difficulties typically experienced by individuals in achieving primary goods.

1. Use of *inappropriate* or harmful strategies (secondary goods) to achieve desired primary goods
2. Lack of scope in a good lives plan which can occur when important goods are neglected. This occurs when only a narrow range of primary goods are sought, often at the expense of other important primary goods
3. Conflict arising in the pursuit of goods which can lead to acute psychological stress and/or unhappiness; this can arise when there is a lack of coherence in the goods sought, i.e., then they are not ordered or coherently related to each other. This can lead to feelings of frustration and/or cause harm to an individual and may also result in a life which seems to lack purpose or meaning
4. Lack of the internal (e.g., skills or knowledge) and external capacities (e.g., supports, resources or environmental opportunities) necessary to live a prosocial life. Lack of capacity can contribute to an individual failing to achieve their desired primary goods in a prosocial manner within their current environment

Figure 11: Difficulties in achieving primary human goods. Taken from Fortune (2018, p. 25).

Five phases to rehabilitation following the GLM framework.

Phase	Description	Application to youth
Phase one	Involves identifying the social, psychological and material aspects of an individual's offending. Includes consideration of their level of risk and their social, physical and psychological resources (e.g., substance use, housing and financial situation, personality patterns such as impulsivity) at the time of their offending and in the past.	For young people it would be important for this phase to also consider the nature of their relationships with those in surrounding systems such as parents/ caregivers and siblings in the family system and peers and teachers in the educational system.
Phase two	Consists of identifying the function of offending through an exploration of the primary goods which are directly and indirectly associated with their antisocial activity.	For young people this may give some insight into the function their offending has in their lives. For example, a young person may value the primary goods of friendship and agency so seek out and value friendships with (antisocial) peers. The young person may engage in antisocial behavior as a way to connect with their peer group and express their autonomy from their parents (who may frown on antisocial behavior).
Phase three	Encompasses the identification of core practical identities (e.g., that of student, friend, son/daughter, sibling) and their associated primary goods or values to assist with the development of a life plan. Interventions are personalized around individual offenders' core values and identities and designed to assist them in implementing their good lives intervention plans while simultaneously addressing criminogenic needs/risks that might be preventing them from attaining primary goods. The focus is on increasing agency, individual psychological well-being and maximizing opportunities which will assist individuals in living a prosocial life (Ward & Gannon, 2006).	For young people, peers are particularly influential during adolescents so consideration of their identity as 'friend' would be important. However, they will also have other important identities which may be related to education/ employment (e.g., trainee mechanic) or other aspects of their identity (e.g., artist, musician).
Phase four	Consists of fleshing out the details from the previous phase including the identification of secondary goods that will help with translating the primary goods/values into possible non-offending and personally fulfilling lives.	With young people, considering the environment in which they will live and the social, psychological and material resources that will be available to assist them in attaining their primary goal/s are a crucial part of this process. During this phase it may be identified that substance use or parenting practices are negatively impacting on the young person's functioning thus interventions in these areas may need to occur alongside other interventions.
Phase five	Involves developing a detailed intervention plan that is comprehensive and incorporates both the internal and external conditions which are required to accomplish the young person's goals; and which revolves around their core goals/values and practical identities. Practical steps are then identified to put the plan into action including the required resources/supports to achieve it.	For young people, this process should be done in a collaborative manner including the young person but also other relevant parties such as parents/ caregivers and potentially other professionals (e.g., youth justice social worker, teacher). The plan is driven by the values, goals and identities of the young person while the practitioner assists with the form of the plan but takes care to balance other considerations such as ethical entitlements of victims and the wider community.

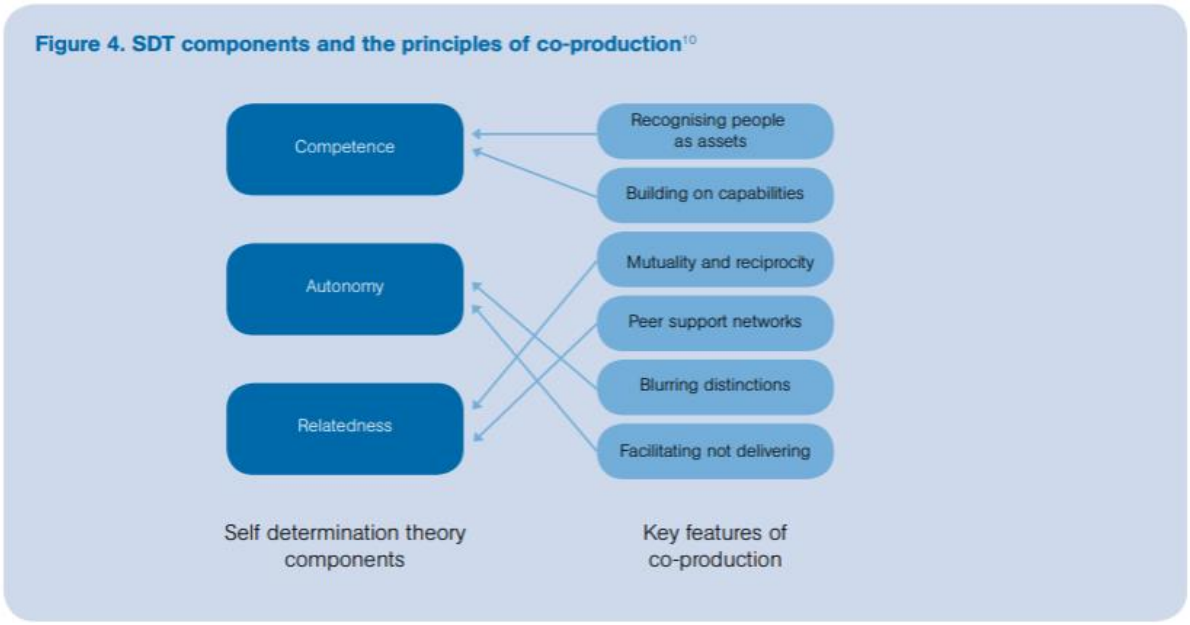
Figure 12: The five phases of the GLM framework and its application to youth. Taken from Fortune (2018, p.27).

Applying the principles of co-production to the GLM

There is an emerging body of evidence indicating that the GLM lends itself particularly well to developing key aspects of the therapeutic alliance with youth offenders such as collaboration, co-production, empathy and positive regard (Fortune, 2018; Looman and Abracan, 2013; Okotie and Quest, 2013; Mcneil et al., 2005). A commonly cited strength of GLM is that it allows for the human values of offenders to be emphasised as a continuous dynamic between the former 'offending self' and the development of a 'new self' (Ward et al., 2007). This is because it is the means through which these values or goods are sought which is changed rather than the underlying human needs and values themselves (Frost, 2005). A historical and developmental focus on where routes to acquiring these goods have become maladaptive, or lack scope and capacities has been associated with a greater degree of openness, respect for the individual's history, its meaning to them and how they construct their identity (Ward et al., 2007).

A further strength of the GLM is that it follows the principles of co-production as aspirations and goals within the GLP are co-constructed through the use of a Good Lives Plan, built on a mutual understanding of human needs and aspirations (Mann and Shingler, 2006; Marshall et al., 2003). This follows broader evidence from literature reviews and studies of the use of co-production in mental health community service programmes (Slay and Stephens, 2013; Foot and Hopkins, 2010; Cummins and Miller, 2007). A literature review of the use of co-production in 15 community programmes found common wellbeing related outcomes (Slay and Stephens, 2013). These included emotional fulfilment, personal resources (e.g. resilience, self-esteem, skills) and external conditions such as social inclusion and networks and employability. It also demonstrated overlap between components of SDT and features of co-production within the programmes (Figure 13). Coproduction principles also feature within asset-based community wellbeing programmes which foreground the use of appreciative

inquiry (Cooperrider and Srivasta, 1987) to produce asset maps and co-production plans (Foot and Hopkins, 2010). These approaches enable capacities and resources that can be mobilised within the community to become more visible to empower change.



1. **Taking an assets-based approach:** transforming the perception of people, so that they are seen not as passive recipients of services and burdens on th system, but as equal partners in designing and delivering services.
2. **Building on people's existing capabilities:** altering the delivery model of public services from a deficit approach to one that provides opportunities to recognise and grow people's capabilities and actively support them to put th to use at an individual and community level.
3. **Reciprocity and mutuality:** offering people a range of incentives to work in reciprocal relationships with professionals and with each other, where there a mutual responsibilities and expectations.
4. **Peer support networks:** engaging peer and personal networks alongside professionals as the best way of transferring knowledge.
5. **Blurring distinctions:** removing the distinction between professionals and recipients, and between producers and consumers of services, by reconfiguri the way services are developed and delivered.
6. **Facilitating rather than delivering:** enabling public service agencies to become catalysts and facilitators rather than being the main providers themselves.

Figure 13: The relationship between thematic components of 15 co-production in mental health community service programmes and Self Determination Theory components according to Slay and Stephens (2013, p. 14).

5.3.2 Associated regularities of outcome

Improved wellbeing through relatedness, autonomy and competency being integrated within assessment and intervention planning

Since its inception, SDT has been implemented across fields, with notable reviews and meta-analyses relating to occupational management and functioning (Deci *et al.*, 2017), health care (Cooke *et al.*, 2016), education (Ryan and Deci, 2016) and others. Cross disciplinary findings support the conclusion that SDT is a viable conceptual framework to understand some of the influences upon and outcomes of motivation for positive behaviours, performance and wellbeing outcomes (Knittle *et al.*, 2018; Meyns *et al.*, 2018) as do those in youth offending (Lachmann, Roman and Cahill, 2013; Millward and Senker, 2012; Tracey and Hanham, 2017; McGuire, 2010). The internalisation of motivators has a far greater influence than extrinsic ones (Sellers, 2015). Intervention frameworks which integrate the principles of relatedness, competency and competence are associated with improved psychosocial adjustment and wellbeing outcomes for YOs incarcerated, in the community and in resettlement transition from the former to the latter (Tracey and Hanham, 2017; McGuire, 2013; Wainwright and Nee, 2014).

There is, however, some debate regarding of the use of SDT which requires consideration. This includes the extent to which 'need satisfaction' where the key needs are innate and equally required for wellbeing against consideration of 'needs weighing', such as in self-actualisation theory (Van den Broaeck et al., 2010). Further, others have questioned the extent to which three needs can predict psychological growth and wellbeing over other needs, and a lack enquiry into alternative need candidates (Van den Broeck et al., 2016). Criticism specific to the GLM note that it is a relatively young model and therefore has a lower level of empirical support than the RNR approach (Looman and Abracen, 2013). Similarly, given that the GLM is a framework, rather than a specific intervention, its outcomes are likely to vary

dependant on the quality of the interventions used within it and the contexts in which it is applied (Fortune, 2018).

Improved wellbeing due to greater internal and external capacities

Counter to the above criticisms, a major advantage of the GLM is that it accounts for an individual's own weightings and constructions of their strengths which need to be integrated within intervention and assessment planning (Tracey and Hanham, 2017). As discussed, the principle aim of the GLM is to engage YP in planning and implementation of means of developing wellbeing through enhancing internal and external capacities (Laws and Ward, 2011). It has been successfully utilised as a framework in coordination with evidence-based interventions which integrate the development of internal and external resources and capacities by incorporating therapeutic components and interventions which provide access to prosocial pathways to human goods (Barnao *et al.*, 2016; Ward and Fortune, 2016). To these ends, research on interventions which adhere to the GLM framework consistently indicate positive wellbeing related outcomes which relate (indirectly) to a long term desistence in offending (Fortune, 2018; Van Damme et al., 2016; Wainwright & Nee, 2014; Chu et al., 2015; Prescott, 2013; Millward and Senker, 2013; Wylie & Griffin, 2013; Borduin and Schaeffer, 2009).

5.3.3 Affording contexts

Negotiating contrasting philosophies of strength vs. risk orientated approaches

The Dominant role of the RNR framework

The risk, needs, responsivity (RNR) is the dominant framework in youth justice intervention (Andrews *et al.*, 1990), (Table 19). The RNR model involves the central tenets of scaling against risk and intervening with criminogenic needs, which are those deemed to "functionally relate to criminal behaviour" (Andrews *et al.*, 2011a, p.735). Given its

hegemony as a model of assessment and rehabilitation, it is the only model that has been used to interpret large scale reviews of the youth offending literature. The RNR approach stemmed from metanalytic evidence that intervention should be applied in proportion to the level of offending and can be iatrogenic if applied intensively for less prolific offenders, and that it should respond to criminogenic needs (Andrews et al., 2011b). It has been associated with considerable improvements in recidivism (Andrews and Bonta, 2010).

Table 19: A summary of principles underpinning the risk, need, responsivity model.

Principle of the RNR model	**Description**
Risk principle	Level of programme intensity is matched to the risk of offending and severity of offending profile of the person.
Need principle	Criminogenic needs are identified and focused on within the intervention.
Responsivity principle	The intervention is adapted to meet the ability of the person.

A critique of the RNR framework and the affording role of psychosocial agency

The RNR approach has received cogent criticisms relating to its ontology of personal deficit alongside methodological assumptions and limitations (Case and Haines, 2015). These relate to its constrained understanding of the aetiology of offending, restricted to what prevents YP from offending through a focus on their vulnerabilities and pathologies (Wormith *et al.,* 2011). Critics have argued that a focus on risk factors could oppress and further marginalise people through having a negative, pre-determined view towards YP, reinforcing discourses of inevitability of outcome and associated stigmatisation (Case, 2007). Such an approach has also been criticised for its 'psychosocial reductionism' where it is assumed that the YP is a passive product of risk factors that feed into the system and deviant outcomes that result (Boden, 2019; Wood and Alleyne, 2010). Yet, responsibility is placed on the YP to develop ways of resisting such risk through the interventions espoused (Case and Haines, 2015).

The psychosocial reductionist assumptions of the RNR model is also contrary to compelling evidence demonstrating that a complexity of psychosocial interactions between the individual and their surrounding structures relate to offending. These including large longitudinal research projects in the UK under the constructivist pathways approach such as the Pathways into and Out of Crime Project (Kemshall *et al.,* 2007; Haw, 2007; Moffitt and Odgers, 2007; Wikström and Butterworth, 2006; Wikstrom, 2006; Hine, 2005; Bottoms *et al.,* 2004) and the Teeside Studies (Webster *et al.,* 2006, 2004; Macdonald, 2007). These examine the importance of offenders' social construing and psychosocial agency of risk and protective factors associated with offending and desistence.

Critical inspection of methodologies and conclusions drawn from research underpinning the RNR model further highlights a range of limitations. The approach neglects a large body of evidence that show assessment of risk has produced false positives and false negatives (Case and Haines, 2015). There is an emergence of research that suggests that risk factors are a poor representation of the broader factors of inequality associated with vulnerability and offending, and that findings are compounded by equifinality and multifinality. For example, research in the USA showed that those with no identified risk factors from more disadvantaged neighbourhoods were fifteen times more likely to offend than those from affluent environments who had identified risk factors such as family breakdown (Knuutila, 2010). Similarly, evidence from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions demonstrates that youth crime has a strong association with poverty, both at the individual and household level from age 13 onwards and persists even when risk and protective factors are controlled for (McAra and McVie, 2016, 2010).

Overall then, despite the successes of the RNR model, there is a large body of evidence supporting the role of broader aspects of human functioning and wellbeing outcomes within reductions in offending, as opposed to those associated with assumptions of crime etiology. This has led to some to suggest that treatment approaches centred on offender rehabilitation have reached a point of saturation, whereby refinements are unlikely to yield further improvements and should therefore give way to approaches which better consider individual psychosocial agency and wellbeing related outcomes (Porporino, 2010).

Engagement and commitment to an underpinning strengths and wellbeing-orientated philosophy

There has been considerable debate as to the extent to which the GLM should be integrated within the dominant RNR rehabilitative framework, given the strength of meta-analytic evidence supporting the latter, or whether they should be considered mutually exclusive (see critical responses from Andrews et al., 2011 and Ward *et al.*, 2012). The GLM better accounts for 'bottom up' processes related to individual agency and self-determination and has been espoused by some as able to compensate where the RNR approach is lacking (Fortune, 2018; Ward *et al.*, 2012). However, others consider the two approaches epistemologically opposed and therefore irreconcilable (Haines et al., 2013). A commonly occurring finding of implementation research is that points of contrast emerge where wellbeing, rights and strength-orientated approaches come into contact with risk and criminogenic functions, which focus on protecting the public (Haines et al., 2013; Koehler et al., 2013a and b; Talbot, 2010; Lipsey et al., 2009; Robinson and Cotrell, 2005). The above literature highlights difficulties in programme implementation that arise as a result of these contrasting philosophies in maintaining fidelity to therapeutic approaches and establishing the conditions required for a positive therapeutic alliance.

Whilst studies that contrast the impact of the RNR approach with the GLM are lacking, in the UK attempts to compare YOTs that are governed by 'risk-scaled' (RNR) approaches with those that have adopted a 'Child First' wellbeing, rights and strengths orientated approach within the devolved Welsh YJS have provided some insight into the relative benefits of the latter (Haines et al., 2013; Haines and Case, 2012). These include findings that a 'Child First' approach was associated with lower levels of reconviction than areas using risk-scaled systems (Haines et al., 2013; Haines and Case, 2012). This was attributed to the aforementioned inherent flaws of the risk-scaled approach and the absence of a clear and coherent underpinning philosophy which provides principle and purpose that frame practice (Figure 14). Overall then, understanding and negotiating the constraints of the current RNR-based system is likely to be pertinent, given the affording role of coherently engaging with the underpinning philosophy of wellbeing and strengths orientated in the implementation of strengths-based approaches.

Type of YOT	Scaled Approach pilot	Children First YOT
Model of youth justice	Offence- and offender-focused	Children first, child-appropriate
Ethos	Managerialist, risk-led	Rights/entitlements-based
Policy base	Crime and Disorder Act 1998	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989; Extending Entitlement 2002; All Wales Youth Offending Strategy 2004
Focus	Risk of reoffending	Child, rights, needs
Approach to risk	Assiduous compliance with the Scaled Approach	Option of professional over-ride of Scaled Approach in all cases
Intervention	Scaled and risk-led, preventative	Discretionary, diversionary, entitlements-led, promoting positive behaviour

Figure 14: A comparison of scaled and Child First approaches in neighbouring Welsh YOTs. Taken from Haines and Case, 2012, p. 216).

5.4. IPT 3: Providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Table 20: A summary of initial programme theory three - providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
The nature of the LA YOT's multi-agency positioning. • Co-location of agencies on site e.g. substance misuse services, EP, CAMHS practitioner, third sector organisations. • Child and family at the centre of the approach and other key service and community components involved (e.g. healthcare, school, leisure). • Variation and flexibility in organisational culture, belief, identity, protocols and other structural and socio-cultural factors. *Extant shared multi-agency commitments in supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.* • Commitment to SEND. • SEND YJ Quality mark. • SEND legislature e.g. Children and Families Act (2014). • Further unidentified shared commitments. *Extant structures supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.* • Social care protocols e.g. Early Help, Child in Need and Safeguarding. • Troubled Families programme. • Family support 'hubs' and locality surgeries across the city. • Coordination with agencies in Children's Services.	*Inter-agency re-configuration around the needs of the child and family.* • Case planning events, case work consultations, and training opportunities around professional roles. • Clarification of roles, common goals and shared responsibility. • Training and opportunities to understand and appreciate the contribution of professional roles and skills (e.g. that provided by EPs). *Establishment of communities of practice ('working groups').* • Regular meetings within a multi-agency group to ensure that resettlement aligns with positive wellbeing outcomes. • SEND intervention group with EP and LA YOT staff. • Screening and provision mapping group with EP and LA YOT staff.	*Young person engages in a comprehensive package of support that coalesces around their wellbeing needs.* • Improved rehabilitative and wellbeing outcomes for the young person. • Co-configured professional identities, boundaries, expertise and roles more sensitively and responsively coalesce the needs of the YP. • Co-configured collective beliefs, goals and practices. • Generation and exchange of information, knowledge and resources contributing to the assessment and intervention approach.

• LA's Ending Youth Violence and Gang Exploitation Programme. • Youth Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements. • Youth justice legislation as part of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998and further developments. • Other structures and cultures not yet identified.		

5.4.1. Regularities of outcomes

A comprehensive package of support coalescing around the wellbeing needs of the young person

There is compelling evidence within the YJ literature demonstrating the need to address individual and systemic factors that associate with delinquency in order to produce the most successful outcomes (Lipsey, 2009). Multi-agency working (MAW) therefore has the appeal of enabling a holistic and comprehensive package of intervention centred around the needs of the individual (Wood *et al.*, 2009). There is a large body of evidence supporting the association between the effective implementation of comprehensive or 'wrap around' approaches which involve multiple aspects of family and community context and improved social, wellbeing and rehabilitative outcomes for YOs (Herz *et al.*, 2012; Zeng et al., 2012; Chuang and Wells, 2010; Herz & Ryan, 2008; Wiig & Tuell, 2008; Siegel & Lord, 2005). Meta-analyses demonstrate that the provision of multiple coordinated services has an improved effect size on rehabilitative and wellbeing outcomes than unilateral approaches to intervention (Adler 2016; Burnett and Appleton, 2004).

Given that multi-agency approaches seek to provide intervention across systems to connect YP with appropriate provision relative to their needs, their successes are often measured in relation to the connection between the constellation of need of the individual, the provision of

intervention, and resultant rehabilitation (Wood et al., 2009). Thus, outcomes vary according to the nature of the package of intervention on offer, the needs of the individual and the nature of their surrounding systems and contexts (Adler *et al.*, 2016). Operationalising evaluation research in this area is therefore challenging as processes and outcomes associated with it are highly variable and difficult to aggregate.

Barriers and tensions resulting from MAW

These research challenges inherent to understanding multi-agency working have led to critical perspectives that there are widely held false assumptions in policy and practice that multi-agency approaches are evidence-based and a "virtuous solutions to joined up social problems" (Warmington et al., 2004, p. 5). Others have criticised such assumptions as contributing to the paucity of research theorising which processes underpin successful multi-agency working and giving little account to less than positive research findings (Robinson and Cottrell, 2005). Indeed, there are plentiful examples of studies where individualised and less intensive interventions have achieved equal or better results than multi-agency ones (Doleac, 2019; D'Amico and Kim, 2018). Such research outlines common sites of tension and contradictions that present challenges to multi-agency working. These include socio-cultural tensions such as negotiating the boundaries of professional identity including professional identity, cultures, beliefs, expertise, and perceived professional parity and status (Warmington et al., 2004). They also relate to contradictions between structural factors such as hierarchies, geographical distribution, legislation, resources, roles, models of practice and the like (Robinson and Cottrell, 2005).

Research in the area of community crime prevention demonstrates that similar obstacles to collaborative working have prevailed throughout the period from which there was a shift to partnership approaches to policy and community safety, in the 1990s, to those of today

(Crawford and Cunningham, 2015; Crawford, 1994). Policing partnership approaches involve a diversified and concomitant approach to community crime prevention structures to recognise and respond to the holistic levers and causes of crime and its multifaceted social aetiology, including the need to shift to 'up-steam' crime prevention (O'Neil and McCarthy 2014). These involve cooperative relationships between policing and a range of other community sectors such as housing, health, youth services, education, probation, community groups, commercial businesses, and penal or probational institutions. Community safety partnership approaches are built on a large body of evidence within the criminological literature of its significant benefits in providing holistic and impactful intervention (O'Neil and McCarthy 2014; Turley et al 2012; Bullock et al., 2006; Fleming 2006; Rosenbaum 2002; Crawford 1998), outlined in Table 21.

Notwithstanding these benefits of MAW, a combination of an absence of critical debate about partnership working and political challenge regarding public accountability of these approaches has prompted research which highlights the role of structural conflicts and obstacles to MAW (Crawford and Cunningham, 2015). Crawford and colleagues (e.g. Crawford and Cunningham, 2015; Crawford et al., 2012; Crawford, 1998) have set out to identify some of the challenges in working across organisational boundaries within community safety partnerships to inform principles of good practice. A summary of these research findings suggests that salient barriers to partnerships involve a conflict within two structural dynamics. The first relates to conflicts over ideology, purpose and interests. The second associates with differential power relations between partners, which conflict with a blurring of boundaries between organisational roles and accountabilities.

Crawford et al., (2012) and Crawford (1998) suggest that these dynamics lead to unhelpful strategies that need to be resolved to improve MAW including conflict avoidance, disparate aims and 'behind the scenes' decision-making. Conflict avoidance is conducive to power

differences remaining unaddressed and dispersed into other areas, rather than resolved. Disparate aims result in 'lowest common dominator' solutions that appease all interests, rather than the development of coherent and clear strategy. Private decision-making is often justified by the need to 'get things done' and undermines partnership working by reinforcing the role of more dominant partners. Mechanisms elicited within the literature through which these tensions can be mediated include establishing trust and mutual respect for the contributions and limitations of contribution for the organisations involved and developing a shared commitment for the problem and clarifying lines of responsibility and accountability (Crawford and Cunningham, 2015; Berry *et al.*, 2011; Tyler, 2010). These are explored further below in relation to the dominant mechanisms of co-configuration.

Table 21: A summary of benefits derived from community police partnership working. Taken from Crawford and Cunningham (2015).

A summary of benefits derived from community police partnership working.
• Recognises that the factors which determine offending extend beyond the reach of criminal justice alone and that there is a need for social responses which reflect crime's multiple and complex aetiology; • enables a shift to 'up-stream' early intervention which address causes rather than symptoms of crime; • allows for a holistic approach where expertise and resources can be pooled, coordinated and targeted more efficiently through multiple approaches; • providing multiple intervention which affect broader change across systems; • helping to transform silo cultures. • more effective problem-solving;

Co-configuration

Given the difficulties in operationalising outcome focused research, most of the evidence supporting good practice in multi-agency working comes from processes-based qualitative evaluation work (Adler et al., 2016). Prominent examples relevant to socially excluded groups and YOTs include the Learning and for Interagency Working Project (Daniels et al., 2007), the Multi-Agency Team Work in Services for Children research project (MATCh) (Frost and Robinson, 2007; Anning et al., 2006; Robsinson and Cottrell, 2005), and the Teaching and Learning Research Project (Edwards et al., 2009). As further examined below, such research focuses on regularities of outcome where socio-cultural tensions or contradictions are successfully re-configured where different agencies and associated cultures, structures, knowledge and assets coalesce around the needs of the child or family at the centre of MAW (Frost and Robinson, 2007). Specifically, common outcomes of both research projects include re-configured professional identities, roles, boundaries, practice and goals around the needs of the child and the creation of new knowledge, resources and practices which contribute to the effectiveness and comprehensiveness of the intervention programme supporting the wellbeing of the young person.

5.4.2. Dominant mechanisms in relation to Regularities of Outcomes

Inter-agency reconfiguration as a dominant associated mechanism

Process-based research examining 'what works' in multi-agency working in YOTs commonly utilises social-cultural theoretical frameworks. Engeström's (1999) use of activity theory has provided a useful frameowrk for such research to conceptualise the socio-cultural mediation (system of activity) between the subject and object within multi-agency working. This is based on the theory of expansive learning which relates to the "the capacity of partipants in an activity to interpret and expand the definition of the object of an activity and

respond to it in increasingly enriched ways" (Daniels et al., 2007, p. 523). The emerging activity system results in new knowledge and practices (Engeström et al., 1999).

Research on multi-agency processes supporting the wellbeing of vulnerable and socially excluded YP and family utilising the principles of expansive learning pr that points of contradiction inevitably occur at the point at which an "at risk" child has various agencies coalescing around the case. Professionals then encounter questions as to how expertise, identity, beliefs, structures and protocols are shared, owned and redistributed across a system (Daniels *et al.,* 2007). Mechanisms associated with expansive learning relate to the concept of 're-configuration' (Victor and Boynton, 1998). This is where, within professional collaboration to support pathways out of social exclusion for YP, professionals distribute their expertise across a local system around the needs of the child through the negotiation of appropriate action (Edwards et al., 2009).

Mechanism through which re-configuration has been observed to take place include opportunities for planning and preparatory team activities and training to formulate, clarify and agree shared roles, responsibilities, and goals which will evolve further over time (Frost and Robinson, 2007; Anning et al., 2006; Robsinson and Cottrell, 2005). This was associated with processes of learning, knowledge and information exchange where developing shared language and clear lines of communication was important in enabling professionals to recognise the reciprocal value of professionals' contributions. Thus, establishing the distinctiveness of professional roles, and an appreciation of individual skills and expertise in relation to its purpose and value in addressing the needs of the child and the team was a way of reconfiguring tensions resulting from the divergence between traditional roles and specialisms (Daniels et al., 2007; Robsinson and Cottrell, 2005).

Dominant mechanisms from the literature also associated with the reconfiguration of models of practice, identity, culture and the navigating through existing structures through the process of 'rule bending' (Daniels *et al.,* 2007). This is where non-routine and improvised practice allows highly individualised needs to be responded to more effectively in a context where the pace of change is rapid and allows for the practitioner to break away from structural and cultural constraints. Overtime, some studies provided examples of how these 'trails' that practitioners had cut through structural and cultural boundaries to access knowledge, information, resources and expertise were formalised into conjoined guidelines, models of practice, tools, and shared artefacts or resources (Frost and Robinson, 2007; Anning et al., 2006; Robsinson and Cottrell, 2005).

Communities of practice as a dominant associated mechanism

Another explanatory mechanism associating the coordination of socio-cultural aspects of agencies and professionals with the development of knowledge, resources and practice supporting the wellbeing of socially excluded YP is demonstrated within research referring to Wenger's (1998) theory of communities of practice. This refers to "groups of people who share a concern or passion for something that they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wenger, 2010, p. 5). It involves processes of mutual engagement where, firstly, meaning is negotiated through opportunities for participation and interaction where binding relationships, norms and goals are established. Secondly, a process of reification takes place which involves the development of a shared repertoire of artefacts. These can be material (e.g. documents, tools, words) and non-material (e.g. concepts, theories, rules) to generate new knowledge and ways of solving problems.

There are a multitude of review studies across disciplines relating to contexts of inter-professional work which engage with theory verification and utility of CoP as a theoretical lens. These generally associate with successes in the generation of improved knowledge and practice, and implications learning environments could be improved to foster the principles of CoP (Serrat, 2017; Smith and Shea, 2017). However, others have criticised the theory for being accepted too uncritically and applied in a cursory fashion rather than engaging in the complexity of social phenomena (Smith and Shea, 2017), a limitation of the use of any model or framework which reduces complex social phenomena to something which is more manageable to interpret.

Nonetheless, CoP remains a useful and evidence supported theory for conceptualising successful MAW learning. Some studies have used and integrated the social-cultural frameworks of both expansive learning and communities of practice within a YO context, with findings that relate to both the identification and reduction of the dialectical nature of sociocultural contexts (Bevington *et al.,* 2015; Edwards et al., 2009). Such research also demonstrates evidence that providing a structured environment with the opportunity to develop relationships and a shared commitment provided more potential for the development of new resources, knowledge, techniques and practices in supporting the wellbeing of socially excluded YP.

5.4.3 Affording contexts

Extant aspects of organisational structure

Multi-agency research in YOTs has elicited a range of specific contextual challenges that associate with and necessitate mechanisms of system reconfiguration to overcome. This includes integrating negotiating deterrence versus wellbeing orientated approaches and social exclusionary versus psychopathological explanations (Koelher *et al.,* 2013b). Variation in

orientation towards the notion of criminal responsibility in the Crime and Disorder Act (1988) and subsequent YJ policy, risk orientated approaches and those that are welfare, rights of the child-based approaches has also led to contradictions in professional beliefs and practices (Haines *et al.*, 2013; Robinson and Cottrell, 2005). Further examples of contradictions include the need to reconcile the redistribution of professional identity and beliefs away from more rigid specialisms to that which more flexibly fits the needs of the individual and family within a team context (Robinson and Cottrell, 2005).

Whilst common contextual themes of social cultural and structural contrast emerge from the literature, the specific nature of aspects of organisational structure and culture within YOTs is likely to vary according to the localised and diverse nature of geographies, demographic, socio-economic contexts related to the area in which they serve (Adler, 2016). Establishing specific triggering contextual factors of organisational structure and culture that are likely to associate with dominant mechanisms of system reconfiguration is therefore challenging. Extant structures abstracted from the object are therefore given precedence to maintain programme specificity.

Extant shared commitments

Processes of mutual engagement associated with 'communities of practice' allow a more positively orientated approach whereby conflict is not framed as an inevitability as pre-existing shared cultures of interest are given precedence. Wenger (1998) identified that "the creation of learning communities…depends on dynamic combination of engagement, imagination and alignment (p. 228). These are the key facilitating factors in the development of shared commitments, characterised by a common sense of identity and belonging that precurses the establishment of a CoP (Wenger, 2010). Engagement involves opportunities for doing things together. Imagination associates with the construing of a shared image of

practice between other members and the self. Alignment associates with the orientation of one's interest and practices towards shared goal.

The nature of the LA YOT's multi-agency positioning

Although there are complexities in establishing regularities in cultural and structural heterogeneities within YOTs, research highlights that there are some consistencies in the way that environments can be optimally positioned or structured for multi-agency working. Research on co-located multi-agency practice, both within a YJ context (Vidal *et al.*, 2019; Evan and Feder, 2016; Chuang and Wells, 2010; Coy and Kelly, 2011; Daniels et al., 2007; Robinson and Cottrell, 2005; Harris, 2003; Care Quality Commission and HMI Probation, 2010) provides evidence that it affords ways of effectively cutting across organisational barriers. Facilitated outcomes include a greater consistency and ease of group collaboration, information and knowledge exchange and improved opportunity to develop working relationships and establish an understanding of common goals and ways of working This research also highlights efficacy in structuring environments so that they foster shared commitments within the organisation.

A further contextual component arising from the literature that associates with the dominant mechanisms of multiagency working is the level of flexibility for professional discretion within the system, where tensions arise (Lipsky, 2010). In order for processes of re-configuration to take place practitioners are required to 'rule break' or practice outside of the typical boundaries of organisational cultures and structures (Daniels *et al.,* 2007). Practitioner understanding of the structures governing different agencies such as divergent targets, statutory guidelines, criteria for involvement alongside the range of skills, expertise and resources associated with agencies and individuals plays an affording role in this. This is because it allows practitioners to better identify of areas where there is flexibility in the

system and develop ways of navigating and 'trail' building across boundaries within the system (Pullman, 2006; Robinson and Cottrell, 2005). This process of 'boundary crossing' has been found to enable practitioners to access and engage with new knowledge, information and expertise supporting the wellbeing of YP (Kerosuo and Engeström, 2003). Overtime, some studies provided examples of how these trails may be formalised into conjoined guidelines, models of practice, tools, and shared artefacts or resources (Daniels *et al.*, 2007; Frost and Robinson, 2007; Anning et al., 2006; Robinson and Cottrell, 2005).

5.5. IPT 4: Implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes in diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Table 22: A summary of initial programme theory four – the implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes in diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Factors which afford implementation quality and fidelity. • Practitioner competency in implementation of approach supported by training and supervision (e.g. from EP on site, line manager and external sources). • Quality assurance procedures e.g. independent expert oversight and supervision. • Negotiating contrasting control and therapeutic philosophies. *Strong therapeutic alliance and relationship.* • Genuine relationships supported by empathy, positive regard, , flexibility, active listening, responsivity, and having respect for individual autonomy.	*Fidelity of use of evidenced based therapeutic interventions that matches the needs and strengths of the individual.* • Restorative. • Skill building. • Counselling. • Multiple co-ordinated services.	*Improved individual outcomes.* • Improved skills (e.g. social, emotional, cognitive, academic, vocational). • Improved personal resources e.g. motivation to change, self-esteem, resilience). *Improved socio-structural outcomes.* • Improved relationships with peers and family. • Improved social bonds and engagement with structural proactive factors (e.g. education or employment. • Improved access to other external resources pertinent to the individual. • Recidivism reduction

• Training, supervision, experience and knowledge in this area. *Developmental and needs appropriate adaption of approach.* • Practitioner competency in adapting approach to account for developmental factors and SEN e.g. as a result of training and knowledge audit from relevant services such as EP and SALT, and quality assurance processes e.g. within the SEND YJ Quality Mark. *Multi-modal systemic approach to intervention.* • Intervention to be delivered in a family and community context. • Assessment and understanding of the agentic and structural conditions of implementation. • Multiple evidence-based intervention modalities are used to target a range of needs. • Interagency co-operation.		

5.5.1. Dominant mechanisms in relation to regularities of outcome

Use of evidence based therapeutic interventions as a dominant mechanism

There is a large body of evidence which has been examined through the use of meta-analyses and systemic reviews regarding "what works" in improving the wellbeing and life outcomes of YP who have offended (Mackenzie and Farirngton, 2015; Koelher et al., 2013a; McGuire 2013; Lösel, 2012; Andrews and Bonta 2010; Hollin and Palmer 2009; Lipsey, 2009; Lipsey and Cullen, 2007; Aos *et al.,* 2006). From this set of evidence, it is well established that

rehabilitative approaches that are ‘therapeutic’ in philosophy through being focused on facilitating constructive changes in thinking and behaviour have the greatest effect size on a range of outcomes relating to recidivism, and markers of wellbeing.

In these studies, rehabilitation associates with a wellbeing orientated approach that “operates under the assumption that the corrective system should provide services to offenders to improve their lives” (Sellers, 2015, p. 63; Cullen and Johnson, 2011). Conversely, interventions that have a ‘control based philosophy’ and are focused on a monitoring and deterrence have consistently been found to have low to negative effect size within meta-analyses and review studies (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, and Guckenburg, 2010; Lipsey, 2009; Lipsey and Cullen, 2007; Lipsey and Wilson, 1998).

Meta-analytic and systematic review evidence (Mackenzie and Farirngton, 2015; Koelher et al., 2013a; Andrews and Bonta 2010) has consistently supported the findings of Lipsey’s (2009) metanalysis of 548 studies spanning the period between 1958-2002. Here, interventions demonstrated to have the highest effect size were operatized into three broad categories: restorative (involving reconciliation and reparation between the ‘victim and offender’), counselling (a personal relationship between the young person and adult who exercises influence on thoughts, feelings and behaviours), or skills building programs (instruction and activities which help a young person control their behaviour and participate in prosocial functions). Given that these categories are somewhat arbitrary, the provision of multiple co-ordinated services which could relate to a combination of these approaches but not primarily fall into these ‘service types’ was also included, and also consistently demonstrated a high effect size. These findings are summarised in Figure 15. A summary of examples of specific evidence-based intervention approaches utilised within these overall categories is provided in Table 23.

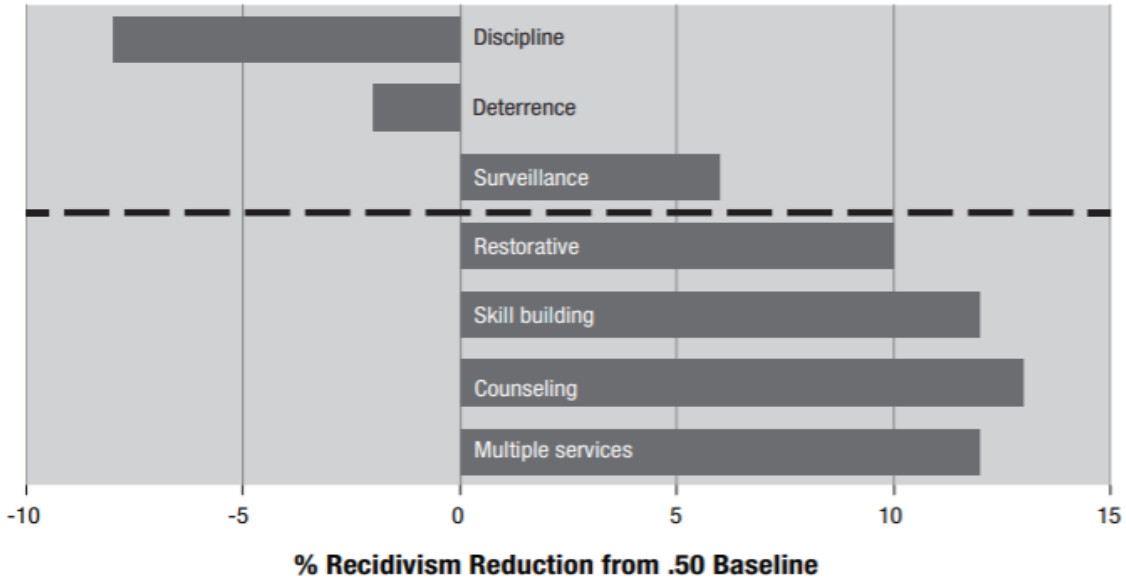


Figure 15: A summary of mean recidivism effect sizes for intervention programmes representing control and therapeutic philosophies. Taken from Lipsey (2009, p. 24).

The weight of evidence, overall, is orientated towards "therapeutic" approaches being the dominant mechanisms that associate with positive outcomes for YP who have offended. However, the majority of such research and development of therapeutic programmes for youth offenders comes from the US. Implementation research of these programmes within routine practice the UK found less than positive findings which cast doubts over the transferability of these approaches within routine practice in England and Wales (Maguire et al., 2010; Hollin, 2008; Harper and Chitty, 2005). However, it should be noted similar findings to North American reviews have been replicated across reviews of European studies (Koehler et al., 2013a and b) suggesting a degree of generalisation of the efficacy of the use of therapeutic program elements, despite the considerable modifying role of the conditions of implementation. Such research demonstrates that understanding the role of context and its influence on programme implementation and fidelity is key, as further explored in section 5.4.3.

Table 23: A summary of families of evidence based therapeutic approaches used in Youth Justice practice (Lipsey, 2009).

Intervention approach	**Description**
Multisystemic therapy	An intensive home and community base intervention which is based on ecological systems theory. It involves the practitioner identifying and changing individual, family and broader community systemic factors which are identified to contribute to maladaptive behaviours (Henggeler et al., 2009)
Functional Family Therapy	Short term family-based therapy involving an integration of cognitive, behavioural and systems theory. It focuses on improving family interactions, relationships, dysfunctional individual behaviours and access to social support (Alexander and Robbins, 2011).
Cognitive Behavioural Therapy	Cognitive behavioural therapy was developed out of Beck's (1979) cognitive theory of depression and Ellis' (1986) Rational, Emotive Behaviour Therapy. It seeks to restructure the way that individuals think, feel, and behave in relation to problems.
Restorative Justice	Restorative Justice is an approach that stems from Maori justice practices. It involves a process of mediation and conflict resolution between involved parties and reconciliation sanctions that are salubrious for all parties (Zehr and Toews, 2004).

5.5.2. Associated Outcomes

Research studies within the youth offending literature predominantly focus on criminogenic behaviours and risk orientated outcomes (Case and Haines, 2015. This means that wellbeing outcomes are often considered indirectly and less consistently within such research. Nonetheless, meta-analytic reviews from this evidence base do demonstrate common themes relating to wellbeing as a result of therapeutic intervention programmes (Lipsey, 2010; Lipsey, 2009; Aos et al., 2006; Lipsey and Wilson, 1998; Andrews *et al.*, 1990) This includes improved individual outcomes for the young person as well as the interacting social structures that they can draw upon. Findings consistently demonstrate, for example, improved family and peer relationships; employment and educational outcomes; alongside individual effects associated with improved wellbeing and mental health such as skills and personal resources (Horrenkohl *et al.*, 2012; Lipsey, 2009; Kemshall *et al.*, 2007; Haw, 2007).

5.5.3. Affording contexts

Factors which afford implementation quality and fidelity

Whilst there is robust evidence of the efficacy of intervention approaches within the YJS, the routine in-situ effectiveness of these programmes is less well established (e.g. see Welsh et al. 2011; Lipsey et al. 2009; Pawson and Tilley 1997). Lipsey et al's (2009) meta-analysis acknowledges that the fidelity or "delivery of the programme as it was intended to recipients" (p.28), was a key influence on the magnitude of intervention effect size. However, they also note that this was "not well reported" (p.28) in the studies included within their meta-analysis and that they had to rely on indicators such as staff turnover, poorly trained staff, high attrition rates and the like. This demonstrates that whilst conditions of implementation have been shown to be a larger moderating factor on effect size, they are poorly understood.

These concerns have prompted calls for the utility of 'implementation science' within YJ research (Cooper and Knitzer, 2016). Implementation issues that are reported in YJ research focusing on the conditions of implementation include low rates consistency and fidelity of use of evidence-based approaches (Walrath *et al.*, 2006). This has been associated with low levels of knowledge and training to support evidence-based practice (Nakamura et al., 2014; Talbot, 2010). A survey of 112 rehabilitative therapeutic programmes across 25 countries within the European Union found that staff training, competency and the presence of quality assurance procedures (including accreditation bodies, independent expert oversight and supervision) were all factors which facilitated fidelity and quality of programme implementation (Koehler et al., 2013b).

Studies have also highlighted the role of organisational culture in the success of programme implementation where, for example, the conflicting influences of control and therapeutic-based philosophies impacted on the ability of trainers and practitioners to demonstrate fidelity

to the therapeutic approach (Koehler et al., 2013a and b;Talbot, 2010; Robinson and Cotrell, 2005).

The therapeutic alliance

A further affording factor to the success of programme implementation of interventions of a 'therapeutic philosophy' within the YJS is the strength of the therapeutic alliance or relationship. This has been paid scant attention within meta-analytic research on therapeutic programmes within the YJS that follows an overarching RNR model (Looman and Abracan, 2013). However, it is indicated as a factor underpinning the quality of programme implementation (Koehler *et al.,* 2013b; Lipsey et al., 2009). The quality of the therapeutic alliance in implementation has also been associated with the level of practitioner training and supervision (Andrews and Bonta, 2010). This is supported by evidence highlighting the role of the therapeutic alliance in implementation success when using therapeutic modalities within the GLM framework, as discussed in CMOC 2 (Fortune, 2018; Okotie and Quest, 2013). It is also further supported by qualitative YJ literature which reports key aspects of the therapeutic alliance such as warmth, empathy, flexibility, positive regard, being listened to, and having respect for individual autonomy as factors which facilitated engagement and implementation success (Larkins and Wainwright, 2013; Halse et al., 2012; Jane, 2010).

Adaption of approach for developmental needs

Another factor overlooked within the YJ literature which is likely to afford the success of programme implementation of therapeutic approaches is how well it is adapted to meet the developmental needs of the young person. This is poorly represented with YJ literature as approaches used predominately derive from adult models and approaches (Thakker *et al.,* 2006). However, there is compelling evidence outside of the YJ literature demonstrating the effectiveness of recommended modifications within therapeutic approaches that consider

developmental factors and learning needs (Gallagher et al., 2019; Sze and Wood, 2008; Fuggle *et al.*, 2012). The importance of addressing such needs within the YO population is highlighted by their significant overrepresentation, as previously discussed in section 1.2.4.

Of the few examples of research that does exist outlining the affording role of developmental adaptions and demands relating to therapeutic approaches within the YJS, research demonstrates that a range of linguistic, cognitive and social demands associate with the intervention effectiveness (Hayes and Snow, 2013; Bolitho, 2012; Smith and Weatherburn, 2012). This body of research highlights that when these needs are unaccounted for, they can result in poor engagement outcomes including the young person's views being misrepresented and the young person feeling threatened or coerced. Associated recommendations of adaption of approach to cater for learning needs have therefore been made by some (Bryan and Gregory, 2013; Hayes and Snow, 2013).

A multi-modal systemic approach of programme delivery

There is compelling evidence that rehabilitative intervention programmes involving multiple components for parents, youths and other stakeholders in the community have improved wellbeing and rehabilitative outcomes (de Vries et al., 2015; Zagar et al., 2013; Lipsey, 2009; Karnik and Steiner, 2007). The efficacy of ecosystemic intervention approaches which address the YP's constellation of needs, and the evidence base relating to the role of effective multi-agency working within this has already been explored in section 5.4.

Whilst intervening across systems strongly associates with improved outcomes, the efficacy of group-based programmes involving peers is less consistent within the evidence base, and has been associated with negative effect sizes on rehabilitation and wellbeing (de Vries et al., 2015; James et al., 2013). This has been associated with social learning theory-based explanations of 'deviancy training' (de Vries et al., 2015; Dishion et al., 2000). These

findings contrast with the community engagement literature previously reviewed in section 5.1 highlighting the role of those in lay and peer roles in positive outcomes for engagement in intervention supporting wellbeing (e.g. Bagnall et al., 2015a and b; O'Mara-Eves et al., 2013). This, perhaps, indicates that the interaction between individual constructions and surrounding systemic risk and protective factors is complex and this should be accounted for when considering the optimal conditions of programme implementation.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY FOR EMPIRICAL OBSERVATION

6.1. Chapter overview

Now that the abstracted part of the object has been configured into IPTs, the next stage of RE is to return to the object through a process of empirical observation to test and refine that which has been logically derived (Pawson, 2008). This drives enquiry towards the middle range (Merton, 1969). This chapter explains how empirical data was collected through the use of a case study design involving RIs of six practitioners within the LA YOT.

6.2. Case study design

A case study approach focuses on a particular phenomenon in a real-life context (Yin, 2009) and therefore lends itself well to realistic inquiry (Soni, 2010). This is because it considers phenomena from a Gestalt perspective as more than the sum their parts and recognises the importance of context (Thomas, 2011). In this case, programme theories developed can be tested by stakeholders who are 'experts by experience' as their professional roles and experiences are situated within the LA YOT.

6.3. Research partipants

Proponents of both case study designs, and realistic inquiry highlight the importance of selecting stakeholders who have different roles or structures within the object (Yin, 2009; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). This presented a challenge in relation to the LA YOT as it is a multi-agency service that is therefore stratified into a large range of professional roles. Pawson and Tilley (1997) identify different types of stakeholders which allows for a more precise and focused approach to sample selection that represents different aspects of their framework of evaluation. This is summarised in relation to the sample in Table 24.

Sample selection was purposive, and an inclusion criterion was applied to sample section which prioritised participant roles who are routinely involved in different aspects of diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders within the LA YOT. Finally, partipants who had at least two years of experience in the LA YOT were specified as the methodology is reliant on their retrospective experiences. The full inclusion criteria can be found in Appendix A.

Participant recruitment was carried out indirectly through use of a 'gatekeeper', a senior manager working in the LA YOT, rather than directly through the researcher. This allowed for their more extensive experience in working within the setting to inform selection in consultation with the researcher. Further, it meant that participants were not put under pressure to comply with the request for participation or any bias in selection towards certain colleagues the researcher has worked with within the LA YOT. The information letters for both the gatekeeper and participants is provided in Appendices B and C respectively.

The sample included in this study (Table 22) complies with the selection criteria and Pawson and Tilley's (1997) types of stakeholder, including two EPs, two case managers and two social workers involved in the LA YOT, enabling subgroup analysis of any prodigious variance in levels of success achieved. It includes social workers and case managers who both provide a range of diversionary interventions aimed at improving the wellbeing of YP and their families. The inclusion of two EPs aimed to provide insight into their role within organisational change and diversionary practice in the LA YOT, as discussed in section 1.2.7, 1.2.8 and 1.2.9.

However, a discrepancy between these selection criteria and Pawson and Tilley's types of stakeholder is that YP themselves were not included, who might otherwise better represent the 'subject' of this study. This is a significant limitation given that these are the stakeholders

most associated with outcomes within the social programme. There is also an ethical imperative to include those who are socially excluded. However, inclusion merits a higher level of ethical scrutiny, which may lead to unintended consequences of inhibiting inclusion within research (Allen *et al.*, 2002). This is a limitation that, to the frustration of the researcher, is accepted, given that there were multiple barriers to inclusion of YP and their families, given considerations of vulnerability and practical problems of 'real-world' research (Robson and McCartan, 2016), particularly so for youth offending research (Health et al., 2004). This included temporal limitations and the protectiveness of gatekeepers within the LA YOT. Nonetheless, the cumulative nature of RE provides future research opportunities for the theory testing and inclusion of YP, such is the author's ambition.

Table 24: The study sample framed in relation to Pawson and Tilley's (1997) stakeholder types.

Type of stakeholder	**Information sensitised to**	**Participant characteristics included in study**
• Subject (those affected by the social programme). • Practitioners (actors who actualise programme theories in practice	Outcomes Contexts Mechanisms	2 x case managers 2 x social workers 2 x Educational Psychologists
Evaluator	Initial programme theories	The researcher (see section).

6.4. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations in this study were guided by the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research, the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2014), and the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2018). The study was given full ethical approval by the University of Birmingham. A summary of ethical considerations can be found in Appendix A.

Informed consent was conferred to through the use of participant information sheets and informed consent forms (Appendices B, C and D). Information provided included a description of the rationale, procedures and content of the study, participant commitments for involvement, information governance and protection, in keeping with General Data Protection Regulations (ICO, 2018). Conditions for the right to withdraw were also provided to partipants within this information. Careful consideration was given to conditions of confidentiality, particularly given that practitioners experiences with youth offenders would be discussed. To these ends, efforts were made to omit and anonymise identifiable information from this study.

6.5. Realist interview

Pawson and Tilley's (1997) RI procedure was used to interview each of the six participants. Interviews were recorded using a dictaphone and transcribed. The use of RI provided the benefit of allowing interviews to be driven by IPTs which may be refined, invalidated or supported. The use of RIs is therefore in-keeping with the realistic design of this study. The structure of the RI is outlined in Figure 16 and the interview schedule is available in Appendix E. This involved a semi-structured style of interview and the use of a guide that had a list of topics and default wording for questions that could be flexibly modified depending on the flow of the interview (Robson, 2016). The structure of this guide followed Pawson and Tilley's (1997) teacher-learner function before moving on to the 'conceptual refinement process', further discussed below. Interviews lasted between 45-60 minutes to allow for discussion of both of these functions alongside the use of rapport-building and closing of the interview following Robson and McCartan (2016).

6.5.1 Teacher-learner function

This involves the interviewer teaching the IPT that has been developed from conceptual abstraction and the RS. Each IPT and its associated CMOCs is explicitly explained as clearly as possible through a process of checking back for understanding.

6.5.2 Conceptual refinement

Following the teaching of IPTs, the interviewee is now considered to be in a position to clarify and explicate the inner workings of the programme. This may include explaining any inaccuracies and refinements or providing confirmatory evidence contained within the interviewee's retrospective experiences.

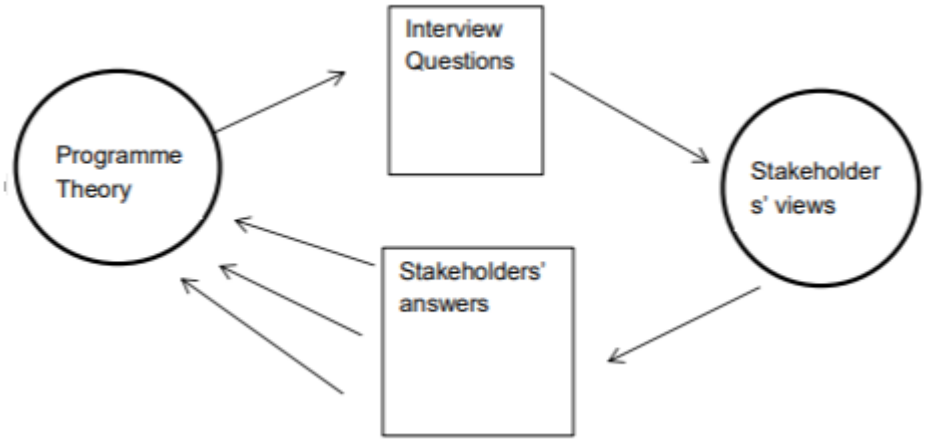


Figure 16: Realist interview process taken form Pawson and Tilley, (1997, p. 165).

6.5.3. Challenges and further development of the interview format

The presentation of theories within an interview may lead to assumptions that such theory is accurate and constrain the presentation of different ideas (Birch, 2015). The use of standard wordings for questions was therefore particularly important within the interview process as there was a risk of researcher bias and the use of leading questions in the use of a theory-driven approach (Cohen *et al.*, 2017). To minimise bias, theories were presented as 'ideas'

that may or may not work and the researcher played a role of ‘not knowing’ to downgrade expert status or observer expectancy effect derived from the use of theory. The value of the interviewee’s experience was also highlighted within the interview. In addition, questions were left open to allow flexibility for the interviewee to express their thoughts and experiences outside of the CMOC framework, and also to allow the researcher to ask follow questions to seek clarification or further explication of pertinent points (Silverman, 2006).

A further challenge specific to the requirements of RI, is that IPTs by their nature are complex and multifaceted. It was therefore important to provide interviewees with their own copies of the IPTs and time to process their contents and share IPTs with participants before the interview alongside explaining it during the interview itself. To these ends, it was also important to avoid professional jargon and avoid assumptions about knowledge, given differences in professional roles between the participants and the researcher.

CHAPTER 7: DATA ANALYSIS

7.1. Chapter overview

Pawson and Tilley (1997) do not specify a particular approach to data analysis. However, RE literature suggests broad agreement about the value of qualitative analysis approaches which account for both the theory-driven aspect of RE, and the need to consider stakeholder's novel experiences outside the boundaries of that conceptualised within theory (Birch, 2015). This is because, as discussed, it is necessary to return to the object represented in this study by those stakeholders interviewed, to validate, invalidate and refine theories towards the middle range. As such, a hybrid method of thematic analysis (TA), (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) was used in this study, which involves both a deductive (theory driven) analytical component, and an inductive one. This model of analysis and associated processes of transcription and coding are discussed below.

7.2. Interview transcription

The six interviews were each audio-recorded using a dictaphone. A full orthographic transcription of each interview was made following the notation system of Braun and Clarke (2013).

7.3. Hybrid thematic analysis

Though TA is often espoused as a theoretically flexible method, recent thinking highlights the need to consider TA as a reflexive approach that pertains to a variety of different approaches, each constrained by the epistemological assumptions of the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2019). To these ends, themes are generated rather than found, given that the researcher plays an active role in the process. In the case of this research then, the use of a hybrid approach to TA (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) follows two different approaches,

deduction and induction, and it is necessary to reconcile this with the epistemology of realistic inquiry.

Deductive, theory-driven approaches associate with testing coding reliability of a-priori themes through the use of tools and techniques. Such approaches are typically demarcated as positivist in nature (Braun et al., 2018). Inductive approaches are typically associated with post-positivist approaches as they are based on an explorative process of iteratively generating shared meaning from themes that have a 'central organising concept' (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Critical realism rejects the subjective-objective dichotomy of positivist approaches in that it assumes that knowledge is situated within practice (Sayer, 2010). In this way then, the structures of the object can be understood critically through shared conceptual frameworks. The first, deductive analysis, allows for theory-testing and the second, inductive analysis allows extension of the scope of logical derivation in the development of middle range theory. When utilised in hybridity, the approaches therefore allow a process of theory development and refinement towards the middle range. Each aspect of analysis is discussed below, and a summary of the approach is provided in Table 25.

7.4. Deductive analysis

A template-based approach to deductive analysis was used following King (2012) as has been used in previous RE research (Birch, 2015). Using a template analysis approach was advantageous as it provides the flexibility to develop a coding template (Figure 17) that was informed by a-priori theories, in this case IPTs developed from the RS (Brooks et al., 2015). In this approach, themes might be defined as 'domain summary' or that which "aims to capture the diversity of shared meaning in relation to a topic or area of focus" (Braun and Clarke, 2019, p.5). Where the diversity of themes arising from the data is closely aligned with

the a-priori CMOCs represented on the template, programme theory will be supported. Where it is not, theory can be further refined or developed towards the middle range.

Coding Template

IPT 1. Making support for wellbeing accessible for youth offenders in the community

1.C.1: Practitioner understanding of barriers to service take up and appropriate adaptions.
- Subthemes 1, 2 and 3 (coded as 1.C.1.2/ 1.C.1.2/ 1.C.1.3).

1.C.2. Opportunity for YOT staff to work flexibly in the community.
- Subthemes 1 and 2 (coded as 1.C.2.1/ 1.C.2.2).

1.M.1. Use of participatory community-orientated approaches.
- Subthemes 1, 2 and 3 (1.M.1.1/ 1.M.1.2).

1.M.2. Use of methods which build trusting relationships.
- Subthemes 1, 2, 3 and 4 (1.M.2.1/ 1.M.2.2/ 1.M.2.3/ 1.M.2.4).

1.O.1. The gap between demand and take up for services supporting wellbeing is reduced within the youth offending population.
- Subthemes 1 and 2 (1.O.1.1/ 1.O.1.2).

IPT 2. Strength- based approaches to supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.

2.C.1. Negotiating contrasting philosophies of strength vs. risk orientated approaches.
- Subthemes 1,2, and 3 (2.C.1.1/ 2.C.1.2/ 2.C.1.3).

2.M.1. Use of strength-based approaches rooted in self-determination theory and the Good Lives Model (GLM).
- Subthemes 1, 2 and 3 (2.M.1.1/ 2.M.1.2/ 2.M.1.3).

2.M.2. Applying the principles of coproduction to the GLM.
- Subtheme 1 (2.M.2.1).

2.O.1. Improved wellbeing through developing a greater sense of relatedness, autonomy and competency.
- Subthemes 1,2,3, and 4 (2.O.1.1/ 2.O.1.2/ 2.O.1.3/ 2.O.1.4)

IPT 3. Providing integrated multi-agency approaches to supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.

3.C.1. The nature of the YOT's multi-agency positioning.
- Subthemes 1,2, and 3 (3.C.1.1/ 3.C.1.2/ 3.C.1.3).

3.C.2. Extant shared multi-agency commitments supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.
- Subthemes 1,2,3, and 4 (3.C.2.1/ 3.C.2.2/ 3.C.2.3/ 3.C.2.4).

3.C.3. Extant shared structures supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.
- Subthemes 1- 8 (3.C.3.1 – 3.C.3.8).

3.M.1. Inter-agency reconfiguration around the needs of the child and family.
- Subthemes 1,2 and 3 (3.M.1.1/ 3.M.1.2/ 3.M.1.3).

3.M.2. Establishment of communities of practice ('working groups').
- Subthemes 1,2, and 3 (3.M.2.1/ 3.M.2.2/ 3.M.2.3).

3.O.1. Young person engages in a comprehensive package of support that coalesces around their needs.
- Subthemes 1,2,3, and 4 (3.O.1.1/ 3.O.1.2/ 3.O.1.2/ 3.O.1.4).

IPT4. Implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes in diversionary practice.

4.C.1. Factors which afford implementation quality and fidelity.
- Subthemes 1,2, and 3 (4.C.1.1/ 4.C.1.2/ 4.C.1.3/ 4.C.1.4).

4.C.2. Strong therapeutic alliance and relationship.
- Subthemes 1 and 2 (4.C.2.1/ 4.C.2.2).

4.C.3. Developmental and needs appropriate adaption of approach.
- Subtheme 1 (4.C.3.1).

4.C.4. Multi-modal systemic approach to intervention.
- Subthemes 1, 2, 3, and 4 (4.C.4.1/ 4.C.4.2/ 4.C.4.3/ 4.C.4.4).

4.M.1. Fidelity of implementation of evidence based therapeutic interventions.
- Subthemes 1, 2. 3. 4 (4.M.1.1/ 4.M.1.2/ 4.M.1.3/ 4.M.1.4).

4.O.1.Improved individual outcomes.
- Subthemes 1 and 2 (4.O.1.1/ 4.O.1.2).

4.O.2. Improved socio-structural outcomes.
- Subthemes 1, 2, 3 and 4 (4.O.2.1/ 4.O.2.2/ 4.O.2.3/ 4.O.2.4).

Figure 17: A summarised version of the coding template used following King (2012).

7.5. Inductive analysis approach

Inductive analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) 'organic' approach to TA where themes are generated from the data in accordance with their shared meaning, rather than those previously theoretically determined. This is summarised in Table 26. The function of this is to identify any aspects of CMOCs not previously identified, given the limited scope of logical derivation. This therefore contributes to the cumulative process of theory refinement as additional codes in the transcript which comprise CMOCs previously unidentified can be used to develop programme theories.

7.6. Challenges

A well-established limitation of using TA is that it is highly reliant on the researcher's own interpretation (Braun et al., 2018). King (2012) suggests using a second independent researcher to moderate subjective bias through inter-observer reliability. However, assumptions surrounding reliability within realistic inquiry are based upon being critical of the object rather than seeking to replicate or corroborate findings. Providing another researcher, and conceptual frame of apparatus may result in different findings. However, this does not assert that they will be more representative of the object, given that our perception is limited and fallible (Sayer, 2010). It would therefore be inconsistent and compromising to

introduce a new researcher at this point, given that they were not involved with the previous processes of critical engagement with the object.

Counter to the open and exploratory nature of inductive TA, the more structured approach of deductive, template-based TA presents challenges of standing in the way of personal engagement and over-focusing on the template structure (King, 2012). It is therefore the intention of a hybrid approach that the two balance one another (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). However, their respective limitations remain and should be considered within the overall findings, particularly as the TA used in this study focuses not only on the level of the semantic or explicit surface meaning of words but is seeking to relate this to the latent level. Where the latter refers to the interpretation of underlying theoretical meaning, which in this case, will be made in relation to the programme theories (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Table 25: The thematic analysis process following Braun and Clarke (2006).

Phase	**Summary of application**
1. Familiarisation with the data	Interviews were transcribed orthographically. Transcriptions were read and re-read and initial ideas for possible themes noted.
2. Generation of initial codes	Systematically coding pertinent CMOs previously unidentified. Codes are collated with relating examples of transcript excerpts.
3. Search for themes	Codes of CMOs are collated into their shared elements. These are then applied across the data set to identify all data relevant to each code.
4. Reviewing themes	At level one, collated excepts are reviewed in relation to their code (or overarching context, mechanism or outcome). Themes and excepts are reworked if necessary, to provide coherence. At level two, codes (contexts, mechanism and outcomes) and associated extracts are reviewed against the whole data set and refined accordingly.
5. Defining themes	Making the scope and content of the themes clear in the context of the study in relation to how they may explain the CMOs associating with how the wellbeing of youth offenders in supported in diversionary practice. Refining the name of themes so that they reflect this.
6. Writing up and publishing the themes	Selection of the most pertinent and compelling extract examples to support explication and presentation of themes in relation to the purpose of the research.

Table 26: Summary of the hybrid thematic analysis approach used in this study following Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, (2006).

Phase	**Summary of application**
Template formulation (deductive analysis).	The template for analysis was informed by IPTs developed form the RS. King's (2012) guidance was followed in the structure and development of the template (see Figure 15).
Application of the template to the transcribed data (deductive analysis).	Interview transcripts were re-read several times in reference to the template codes. Codes were then applied to the transcript by labelling relevant passages of the transcript which applied.
Examining emergent themes (inductive).	New themes developed inductively form the use of Braun and Clarke's (2006) method was used to identify new CMOCs.
Refining of programme theories	Programme theories are refined and developed on the basis of codes (themes) which validate, invalidate and modify IPTs.

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS

8.1. Chapter overview

This chapter summarises the findings analysed from transcriptions of the RI. An overview of each amended middle range programme theory is shown in Tables 27-30. Refined programme theory is highlighted within these tables, whilst aspects of programme theory for which there was no evidence from themes generated from the RIs are underlined. These were not discounted from programme theories despite not being validated at the middle range as the sample size was limited. This means that they could still be pertinent aspects of programme theory that were not identified from the data due to the limitations of logical derivation (Pawson, 2008; Merton, 1968). For everything not highlighted or underlined, supporting evidence was found from the interview data. Supporting evidence in the form of extracts numbered from i to xx for both modified and validated aspects of each MRPT are discussed below.

8.2. MRPT 1: Diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for young people in the community.

Table 27: A summary of MRPT 1 – diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for YP in the community.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Practitioner understanding of barriers to service take up and appropriate adaptions. • Psycho-social and socio-structural barriers and adversities. • The integration of training, knowledge and supervision to support the adaption of approach according to an understanding of the young person's developmental needs. *Opportunity for LA YOT staff to work flexibly in the community.* • Capacity for contextual and temporal flexibility in approach in the community. • Negotiating tensions between organisational structures and cultures.	*Use of participatory community-orientated approaches that graduate towards supportive challenge in reintegration.* • Methods that make it as easy as possible for the young person to be involved in their context. • Community development approaches (e.g. utilising and building on existing community partnerships in the LA YOT). • The integration of participatory approaches with supportive challenge in enabling access to conventional support e.g. education, mental health, heath. *Use of methods which build trusting relationships.* • Having genuine interactions underpinned by candour, empathy and mentalisation. • A rights and choice orientated approach. • Establishing a safe emotional space. • Scaffolding the intervention through the young person's key attachment relationships counterbalanced by a risk management approach. • Flexibility in approach coalesced with supportive challenge.	*The gap between demand and take up for services supporting wellbeing in the community is reduced within the youth offending population.* • YP able to access and engage with appropriate wellbeing support in the community. • YP have positive experiences of trusted, nurturing relationships which help overcome psychological help-seeking barriers. A 'temporary secure base' is established. • YP access conventional methods of support over time by being supportively challenged within trusting relationships.

It was well acknowledged by participants that YOs experience psychological and structural barriers to engagement with support for wellbeing. Psychological barriers which were mentalised in a young person's experience towards help varied, but common themes included perceptions of stigma or fear of being seen as 'weak', and the young person's insight into their own mental health, and their recognition of the need for support. The most commonly occurring barrier was distrust in professionals.

"So YP in the community in my experience don't fully understand their own mental health…. they might see physical health as something they worry about but insight into mental wellbeing is poor. So, they might not see the value in engaging in that sort of support. I think there's a stigma as well in that they don't want to be labelled".

"There's also a sense of, particularly with the YO cohort, of bravado and bravery. You don't show weakness, so you don't say that you are anxious or depressed or worried…or any of those negative emotions because that's seen…well it's not seen as a way of enhancing your reputation within the community".

"Yeah and I think especially when you are working with YP…that are high risk and you know are embroiled in gang culture and that culture where you don't say anything…it can so difficult for professionals to build that relationship." i

Alongside psychological barriers, socio-structural barriers elicited validated theory. These included control-orientated statutory offending obligations providing a poor platform for the establishment of therapeutic relationships. A lack of access to both material and non-material capital or resources to access provision was also a barrier as was the inflexibility of 'conventional approaches' to support, ranging from EHCP provision, to CAMHS and other sectors.

"…if you are forced to do it then…in my opinion that's already a poor starting point because there's going to be no intervention and its not going to intrinsically motivate them"

"Yeah and maybe they don't have those social skills they need or maturity or even financial means of getting to the YOT by themselves".

"Yeah if they have communication difficulties of their own and they might find it hard to understand information. Or for YP whose parents aren't as available in that way…where there' social care involved or something".

"They aren't going to go to a place that they don't know and talk about all this stuff about their life with someone they've never met…they're going to be like 'who are you', they ain't gonna trust you". ii

Barriers to harnessing support were associated with examples of community-orientated approaches that successfully overcame them, validating programme theory. This included innovative approaches that made it as easy as possible for the young person to be involved in a context that is familiar and comfortable to them and their interests through the utility of community networks and amenities ranging from boxing, to music studios, theatres, sports facilitates, amongst others.

"I mean a lot of workers that take YP out on activities. There's a studio or music project or something like that. Or take them in the car and I don't know play pool with them or whatever the young person is into just to build a rapport."

"It's about doing things in an environment they feel more relaxed in. For instance, going boing and doing boxing sessions which is about wellbeing and mental health and physical conditioning. If you get any anxieties, you can learn constructive ways of taking it out or expressing. And then when dropping them home you can have the best conversations ever.

Whatever was going on in their head before after the session you can have those more genuine and meaningful conversations with them. It about creating that space where they feel emotionally safe to have those conversations". iii

As demonstrated by the above quotations, intrinsically linked with participatory community engagement approaches were those that build and coalesce trusted relationships to create a safe space for expression and the unfolding of attachment relationships. A sense of understanding of the young person's mental state (mentalisation), and the flexibility to coalesce an appropriate amount of intimacy over time, underpinned by genuine relationships were recurrent themes. This allowed participants to introduce relational activities in ways that were non-threatening as they decisions developed over-time from a not-knowing position rather than one of assumption of the causes of a YP's thought or behaviour. In turn, partipants demonstrated awareness of the young person's mental state and an ability to anticipate or dissipate heightened affective states associated with threat using humour and directing responsilbities towards the therapist. These trust-building mechanisms were associated with outcomes where psychological barriers to accessing support were gradually diminished through the establishment of trusting relationships which provided a 'temporary secure base'. This afforded 'informal' therapeutic opportunities as well as a graduated introduction to more 'conventional' forms of support such as mental health services.

"…yeah and in a way that doesn't seem tokenistic. Or they don't think 'oh he's just doing this because he wants something'. Like just taking them for a McDonalds or KFC and it isn't genuine or almost trying to bribe them. We do golf, we do music and it's about actually doing something meaningful to create that space and opportunity to talk and Ive

had some fantastic conversations from it. It's taking them and investing in what they like and what they see themselves to be good at."

"He had suffered a bereavement and I think one of the issues was that he just couldn't kind of grieve in what we might see as being…almost typical. He was very much into gang culture and I think there is that expectation that you can't ever show weakness…It has taken time to build up to this and I think it helped not being direct or intense with digging into why, it helped me to ask questions like what would your mother or what would your friends make of our conversation?...There's times I know that can be a bit much for him and I have to make a joke and say 'I'll stop going on about it now!'"

"I've been involved with this young person on and off over a while now as he's had a few orders and I think it's only now…well recently that he's kind of opened up just a tiny bit when just talking casually, doing the kind of activities he likes…like introducing him to this music project that there is. And I think through that it's allowed this space for him to feel safe to express that. He's found a way of doing that through music that kind of suits and is comfortable for him and that's been really good to see"

"So, it's really just building up the relationship with them and then pointing them in direction for support and introducing them to people. So first I know I've got to know a bit about the service, what it can do, and what it will involve, so I can talk to the young person about it in a way that is relevant to them…if they've got faith and trust in you it's easier to say this service is good try this service…". iv

Refinements were made to the MRPT to reflect the affording role of knowledge, training and supervision that developed as a theme in the data analysis process in relation to the need to adapt approaches to developmental needs to enable participation in the community. This was also associated with support in integrating the need for 'risk management' within relational

approaches. This was because operating in unstructured community settings was associated by participant's with unforeseen negative consequences of scaffolding peer and other attachment relationships into the intervention. This included, for example, the influence of tension within complex family systems or negative influence of peer engaging in anti-social behaviour. Whilst participants acknowledged the value of training in facilitating participation, they also commented that they needed more of it. The quality of information shared was also expressed as a theme in relation to working within unstructured and complex family and peer systems as it could better inform relational approaches and avoid adverse consequences of broaching uncomfortable or traumatic topics.

"Well I think maybe having training and some supervision that's important. I need more…I don't think I've got enough knowledge around it at the minute. And also, more training on kind of what those needs are. So, if there's communication needs or autism or maybe trauma how we can help them get them where they want to be and adapt things for them. Need lots more training on that."

"Case planning meetings with everyone around the table from whatever agencies we need to involve were really useful because we could share information on the young person's story, what they like and don't like, anything they've been through and what strengths are in the family or with peers and where the risks or tensions are too so you don't end up putting your foot in it or damaging the relationship.".

"I built a good relationship with his nan but I think that worked against my relationship with the young person. Nan was sharing lots of information about the young person to me and then I was having to act on that information, and it got a bit muddy in that sense. I think where there's issues between the young person and carer that's where its useful to

have someone trained in family support to share that sort of information about the family network or for supervision." v

Further refinements were made to account for the recurrent theme of 'supportive challenge' which was generated from the data, where participants acknowledged the need to balance participatory and flexible approaches with the need to work towards accessing more conventional streams of support. This included goals of reintegration into education, CAMHS involvement, meeting conditions of their order, meeting other professionals and other outcomes). This was afforded by the successful reconciliation of contrasts in organisational structure and culture to bridge those that are more rigid control orientated (e.g. education, the judiciary system) with the more flexible, participatory and community-orientated approach of the practitioner to provide a graduated approach to supportive challenge.

"So, we do try and hold back on breaching as much as possible. And I mean in practice I deal with it by being a little bit flexible and rescheduling a lot…or maybe offering them something I don't know I compromise that ok I get you don't feel like coming in today so let me come to you next week or a time that's better".

"Ultimately it demands give and take from the practitioner and the young person who's either been told they need to access this service, or they want to access the service. And that give and take relies on a degree of trust. And from my perspective the difficulties there are that we're working and straddling organisations such as schools…and again without generalising, many schools have a distrust of the YP that were talking about. Its about supportively challenging both the school and the young person to meet somewhere in the middle". vi

8.3. MRPT 2: Strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Table 28: A summary of MRPT 2 – strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Negotiating contrasting philosophies of strength vs. risk orientated approaches. • Understanding of the limitations of the dominant risk-orientated approach. • Understanding service users as active agents rather than passive recipients. • Negotiating an integrated underpinning strengths and wellbeing orientated philosophy and rationale across systems and multi-agency organisational structures and cultures. *Practitioner capacities and capabilities* • Resource availability, flexibility and quality of information shared. • Capacity to facilitate a young person's insight into their strengths and needs and formulate an accurate assessment of them. • Supervision and training to support implementation.	*Use of strengths-based frameworks rooted in self-determination theory and the Good Lives Model (GLM).* • Strengths, aspirations and human goods most valued by the YP are integrated within the intervention plan (Good Lives Plan). • Interventions build on existing competencies. • Interventions are targeted towards providing the internal competencies and external resources in the community needed to translate primary goods/values into fulfilling, non-offending secondary goods. *Applying the principles of coproduction to the GLM.* • Using the GLM collaboratively to enhance key aspects of the therapeutic alliance (e.g. empathy, positive regard and candour).	*Improved wellbeing through relatedness, autonomy and competency being integrated within assessment and intervention planning.* • Greater internal capacities. • Improved access to external resources. • Improved therapeutic alliance. • Long-term desistence from offending as a result (enhancement model).

Key underlying human needs of relatedness, competency and autonomy associated with SDT were reflected in themes generated from the data in terms of its role in informing assessment and intervention planning that aligns with pathways to enhance a YP's internal capacities and external resources. However, it was not possible from the data to evidence long-term

desistence to offending in relation to the use of strengths-based practice frameworks. Though participants were able to provide accounts of prosocial and reduced reoffending outcomes, they were unable to demonstrate the 'long-term' impact of their intervention. This may be associated with certain methodological limitations of the study, or that such findings did not present themselves within the data ascertained, highlighting the need for further theory refinement. Participant responses evidenced some of these difficulties within evaluation as the nature of their involvement with YP is not often longitudinal and presents challenges in operationalisation given the multifaceted variability in interacting factors that may associate with wellbeing and desistance over time.

"I've had some fantastic conversations from it. If you are there with them, you are investigating something that comes from them and that they enjoy. It's about their needs and they can see that not just part of a process or script or something like that. It's taking them and investing in what they like and what they see themselves to be good at and seeing them grow in confidence. And that opens up other doors…you know…you can go back to the plan [Good Lives Plan] and introduce them to other things".

"It has proved a really good way of starting from what the young person most values in terms of…in this case…working with the family to help him achieve his needs and aspirations. He knows that sometimes he needs help in having the restraint to make sensible choices all the time and needs that to get into his mechanics course at college and avoid getting into trouble".

"We got funding from a community partnership and the question was if you are working with children in an alternative way how do you evaluate it. And I suppose that's a challenge because there is not always a direct link to things like offending and we might

not be involved with a young person long enough to be able to find out...but it's looking at the bigger picture and looking at how small goals feed into this". vii

The use of a strengths-based understanding of the need to target intervention towards extant aspirations and competencies was a recurrent theme in the data, validating theory. This lent itself well to relationship building mechanisms as participants frequently discussed how the young person played an active role in co-constructing intervention plans. The use of a Good Lives Plan within a strengths-based practice framework also seemed to play a role in overcoming tension between the perceived morality of the offender's values and the practitioners' values. This is because it presented a developmental focus and respect to the young person's 'story' reflecting that which was reviewed in the literature.

"It is just listening to their side of the story and even if you don't agree with everything they are saying. I work with kids where being a member of gang for them they see it is protective or giving them things, they don't have like in terms of those relationships or sense of purpose".

"Yeah and I think that element of co-constructing when making like a Good Lives Plan or has that added element of building up trust and starting from where the young person is needing to listen to their story and giving them that sense of choice and input into the intervention".

"And there's the idea that giving people what they need and looking at their strengths particularly in the intervention can provide them with a greater sense of control, and connection with people as well as perceiving that they are good at things and that this might mean they are less likely to offend". viii

The affording role of practitioner orientation towards the young person playing an active rather than passive role within intervention was validated in the data. An underlying human needs and 'Child First' approach was commonly espoused by practitioners. However, themes generated from the data demonstrated that such an underpinning philosophy was not just necessary from a practitioner's perspective, but also needed to be negotiated across systems to afford access to resources (secondary goods) in the community, which aligned with a young person's wellbeing-related needs. For example, tensions between organisational cultures of some schools relating to risk or stigma of reintegrating a young person with an offending history was referred to as a challenging aspect of intervention implementation as part of a young person's plan.

"…but just looking at risk it's like based around removing certain behaviours or preventing them from happening again. I think the problem with that is that is not just the behaviour, it's what the young person needs. And they might just turn to a different behaviour that is even more dysfunctional. So, it's not just about taking away behaviours it's about looking at giving them what they need".

"they [practitioners] do recognise that YP do have a say in their decisions, and they do have some choice-making capacity. They are able to choose a different path however difficult it might be…and try and reduce those feelings of being a passive person within the spectrum of their life".

"…and I think in terms of the co-construction and person-centred element of it… I don't mean that to be critical of anybody, but it feels to me like almost a different language….I just pick up sometimes a kind of 'whose gonna blink first attitude' you know…and 'school X is forced to take this kid on'. It about working productively towards a joint aim of getting a kid what they need in school." ix

An additional affording context reflected within the data analysis, not identified previously, was the role of different practitioner capacities and capabilities. Of these, resource availability emerged as an important factor in being able to offer secondary goods within an intervention plan. This was associated with the practitioner's knowledge of resources available in the community, resources and the provision actually available in the community that could be drawn upon and the temporal capacity that the practitioner was afforded to build relationships with YP. The last of these was further associated with the practitioner's ability to elicit and formulate a young person's strengths and needs and provide him or her with the tools and relational foundation needed to develop insight into them and express them, to allow for co-production in planning.

"I can provide those links with organisations in the community, but the problem is there's less and less of them and they are more and more stretched…when it's worked really well is when I've been able to bring everyone in on it – schools, charities, community providers, employers. It really helps when you have someone that knows the area so well and has that mind map in their head of where those links are".

"…if you don't make the activity accessible for them then you've lost them. They are going to feel done to or like it's something threatening for them if they aren't able to have an equal input into the plan. So, it's really important to understand the young person's needs, particularly language one's or say…things like turn taking so you can have the right tools to make it accessible for them".

"The use of a Good Lives Plan can be really powerful, but first the young person needs to be ready to trust you with all that information about their story and what they want from their life. You can then start to suggest other ways to reach what they value that they might

not know about and help them draw a plan of where that might lead to something they identify with and value and what they might need to get there". x

The quality of information available on a young person's strengths and needs also afforded the development of a co-produced plan and a positive therapeutic alliance. Participant's commented that where information was lacking, it was more difficult to be sensitive to the YP's needs in the approach, and that it even let to situations where they were unwittingly exposing the young person to secondary trauma. To these ends, the provision of supervision and training to support an understanding and capacity for mentalisation of developmental strengths and needs in relation to the YP's behaviour. The capacity to adapt approaches towards them was therefore also highlighted as an affording factor.

"They have to understand why the person is choosing such a chaotic lifestyle when other things in their life are trying to send them in a more positive direction. I think that can be quite difficult…and I suppose that's where supervision is beneficial in formulating understanding".

"So, when we get a new case, we sometimes don't get much information on the child. We just get an email that they have been allocated. Especially when it's through court, we have very limited information. We don't know how they want to be contacted or anything about them as a person. You could just put your foot in it straight away with them you know…if there are family things going on or they've been through something and you're not sensitive to it". xi

8.4. MRPT 3: Providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Table 29: A summary of MRPT 3 - providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
The nature of the LA YOT's multi-agency positioning. • Co-location of agencies on site e.g. substance misuse services, EP, CAMHS practitioner, third sector organisations. • Level of flexibility for professional discretion within organisational systems. • Supervision to support flexibility of role and identity taking. *Extant shared multi-agency commitments in supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.* • A 'Child First' commitment that focuses on the needs of the child before the offender. • Commitment to 'SEND reforms'. • SEND YJ Quality mark. • SEND legislature e.g. Children and Families Act (2014). *Extant structures and resources supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.* • Social care protocols e.g. Early Help, Child in Need and Safeguarding. • Troubled Families programme. • Family support 'hubs' and locality surgeries across the city. • Coordination with agencies in Children's Services. • Youth caution panels and community resolution workshops. • LA's Ending Youth Violence and Gang Exploitation Programme. • Youth Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements. • Youth justice legislation as part of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and further developments. • Voluntary 3rd sector services e.g. Catch 22.	*Inter-agency re-configuration around the needs of the child and family.* • Negotiation of roles, common goals and shared responsibilities in routine practice and preparatory planning meetings. • Scaffolding existing attachment relationships in a 'team around the worker' approach. • Rule bending. • Information exchange opportunities to understand the contribution of professional roles and skills. *Establishment of communities of practice ('working groups').* • Regular meetings within a multi-agency group to ensure that resettlement aligns with positive wellbeing outcomes. • SEN intervention group with EP and LA YOT staff. • Screening and provision mapping group with EP and LA YOT staff. • Peer supervision and support groups.	*Young person engages in a comprehensive package of support that coalesces around their wellbeing needs.* • Improved rehabilitative and wellbeing outcomes for the young person. • Co-configured professional identities, boundaries, beliefs, roles and aims that more sensitively and responsively coalesce the wellbeing needs of the YP. • Generation and exchange of information, knowledge and resources contributing to the assessment and intervention approach.

Contradictions and boundaries between aspects of organisational structure and culture were frequently elicited as themes, validating theory. This included concerns about the redistribution of specialist roles and tensions between control and risk-orientated perspectives and those that were 'Child First' in orientation. One issue arising, but not accounted for within theory related to the 'overwhelming' nature of various protocols, terminology, roles and practices for professionals, YP and parents. One way of mitigating the overwhelming nature of multi-agency involvement for the young person was by coordinating information sharing and scaffolding responses through a single worker, a mechanism arising from the' data informing theory' refinement.

"I mean there's EPs, schools, EHCPs, CAMHS. It gets really confusing. And then there's all the different assessments, reports and documents and like legislation. I struggle to know sometimes just who I need to contact."

"I think it's important to consider how they are all contributing because, like I said, with the whole push on trauma informed practice, I think it's, a part of me feels like that role should be for therapists and psychologists. They are specialists in that area. So, you have to be careful that we are moving towards an approach where people are doing the work of other services which are more specialist in that area. And they might actually create more harm than good because there's more risk in the community for young people. Doing things like the 5-piece case formulation, are we contributing or are we actually trying to be a jack of all trades. And I think there's a fine line…"

"So, there's lots of concerns for CSE [child sexual exploitation] and we've identified that actually she will disclose information to one particular worker. And that's really important because we know that not every professional has to ask questions about that or put her through talking about that trauma again. We can just have it so one professional who she

feels safe and trusts, she can talk about that with them and provide the intervention…and then we can all meet and offer support around the case". xii

Opportunities for reconfiguration were demonstrated in themes from the data within multiple aspects of routine practice involving contextual structures elicited from stakeholder abstraction. These ranged from involvement in multiagency social care protocols such as Early Help meetings to youth justice-related multiagency contexts such as community resolution workshops. The role of reconfiguration was refined to include further structures elicited from the data including voluntary 3rd sector services such as Catch 22. The provision of 'preparatory case planning meetings' was also included as a mechanism for reconfiguration, which was a formal multi-agency process carried out by the LA YOT for all YP who become known to them, prior to further YOT involvement.

"the out of court stuff I think that we do it quite well in terms of the youth caution panels and the community resolution workshops…and at the workshop we have a Connexions worker there, we have Liaison and Diversion Service who can screen them initially for any mental health concerns and then there's Catch 22, victim awareness and others. And their roles really depended on the needs identified, so I think that works quite well as everyone is quite flexible."

At the meetings we have a discussion about everyone involved or that needs to be involved and…say social care were involved with a family, they say well I'll make all the contact with the family and then the YOT worker can go with the social worker form social care to do a joint visit together and try and reduce meetings". xiii

Rule-bending and negotiating boundaries between conventions and protocols was evident in the data, for example, in reference to YP breaching their order where the consequences of enforcement were perceived to be adverse rather than beneficial by the practitioner. Negotiating to reconcile competing socio-cultural influences of control and 'Child First' based approaches was also evident throughout the data and in relation to the need for flexibility to make decisions in practice that break away from the constraints of control based obligations.

"…if it was by the book and small breaches like that were reported we would never get anywhere and people know that. So, it's about being flexible and making sensible decisions in the interest of the child, if they miss an appointment or something and look at the overall progress they are making and be flexible where you need to be". xiv

Further refinements from the data accounted for the role that supervision and training provided in enabling practitioners' understanding organisational protocols and structures, affording greater capacity to develop ways to cross organisational boundaries. Alongside this, co-location of agencies on site was also validated as an affording factor to cut across logistical and socio-cultural barriers and facilitate the development of shared practices and goals.

"YOT is a multiagency setting, so we work closely with other agencies. Having them on site means that there's not that distance between you in terms of travel or having to pick up the phone and wait to get through to them…but also that you can have the time to come to a share understanding about things and share different ways of working".

"So I think the training was useful and more training would continue to be useful in terms of knowing how to kind navigate it all, knowing who to contact and what the different

options are…who might be best to introduce or refer a young person to with certain things or needs. And I always think if it's confusing for me how must it feel for parents and YP when I've going through years of training and it's my day to day job and so it helps me explain it to them.". xv

Themes that chime with key elements of communities of practice and their role in supporting the generation of knowledge and resources that contribute towards practice supporting the wellbeing of YP were reflected in the themes generated from the data. Participants discussed the role of 'working groups' which provided an opportunity for mutual engagement afforded by shared commitments within the LA YOT towards a 'Child First' orientation and SEND obligations. The principles of communities of practices were reflected within regular meetings to resettle YP into educational provision meeting their needs, and 'intervention groups' which focused on both identifying underlying special educational needs and establishing related evidence informed intervention aligning with practitioners' interests and experience. Artefacts produced included new methods and resources in practice, shared problem-solving and collective methods of supportive challenge to advocate for the needs of the child to support access to provision, both educational and otherwise.

"I suppose at a systems level it's the working groups where other agencies or schools can be challenged collectively and where everyone is pulling in the same direction…having those shared goals and contribution of knowledge on the young person so that their strengths and the benefits of integrating them…and the support that comes with it can be espoused".

"…it just gives those opportunities for people offloading something frustrating about their case. And then another person can say 'well have you thought of this', or this worked for me in a similar situation…maybe it's worth trying. And the intervention working group as well is similar to that, although which tells us what's out there and lets us collect useful materials as well. We have a resource cabinet here with quite a lot of intervention programmes and its regularly updated by everyone so it's not like out of date material". xvi

8.5. MRPT 4: Implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes in diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of young people

Table 30: A summary of MRPT 4 - implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes in diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	**Mechanism**	**Outcome**
Factors which afford implementation quality and fidelity. • Practitioner's latent skill set supported in implementation by relevant training and supervision (from a range of agencies alongside that which was provided internally in the YOT). • Quality assurance procedures and psychological supervision e.g. independent expert oversight and supervision, peer supervision groups and intervention working groups, informal supervision and psychological supervision. • Negotiating contrasting control and therapeutic philosophies. *Strong therapeutic alliance and relationship.* • Genuine relationships supported by empathy, positive regard, flexibility, active listening, responsivity, and having respect for individual autonomy. • Having time and flexibility to build trusting relationships. • Experience and knowledge supported by formal and informal supervision.	*Use of practice-based evidence and evidence-based practice informed therapeutic interventions that matches the strengths and needs of the individual.* • Restorative. • Skill building. • Counselling. • Multiple co-ordinated modalities.	*Improved individual outcomes.* • Improved skills (e.g. social, emotional, cognitive, academic, vocational). • Improved personal resources e.g. motivation to change, self-esteem, resilience). *Improved socio-structural outcomes.* • Improved relationships with peers and family. • Improved social bonds and engagement with structural protective factors (e.g. education or employment. • Reduction in recidivism.

Developmental and needs appropriate adaption of approach. • Fidelity of training and supervision to the contexts that workers operate in. • Practice based evidence, and latent skill sets through experience supported by formal and informal opportunities for supervision in adapting intervention. • Capacity to facilitate a young person's insight into their strengths and needs and formulate an accurate assessment of them. • Quality of information and resources shared or available. *Multi-modal systemic approach to intervention.* • Intervention to be delivered across systems e.g. family, community, education. • Scaffolding participation of key lay (peer and family) attachment roles into the invention through a risk management approach. • Multiple evidence-based intervention modalities are used to target a range of needs across systems. • Interagency co-configuration.		

The use of therapeutic interventions was commonly cited across the data corpus, ranging across paradigms and methods including strengths-based, narrative, trauma informed, restorative, cognitive behavioural, systems-based, skill-building approaches and practical support. However, this comprised not only of those derived from the evidence base but also a 'latent skill set' drawn from 'practice-based evidence'. It was therefore necessary to refine the mechanisms to reflect practitioners' expertise by experience. However, reference to the use of evidence informed practice was also prevalent across the data set, particularly in relation to restorative practice, reflecting the operational priorities of the LA YOT. The integration of multiple therapeutic methods was often referred to by participants, which also related to the provision of cognitive reframing techniques, counselling and practical skill-

based opportunities. Forms of support also incorporated a range of practical elements such as finance, housing, career aspirations, relationships and work experience and inter-alia.

"And when you encourage them to reflect on, for instance 'why did you ask the young person to consider the perspective of somebody else?'…. I don't think they'd say, "well, that's based on this theory or model". They'd just say, "well, this is just how through experience I got to this way of working". So, I think that there is a latent skill set that they don't recognise they have. But if you were to retrospectively look back and see what skills they are using I think there would be more than what they consider themselves."

"…it was about trying to explain to him without focusing specifically on what he's experienced about what might happen if you've been through something traumatic. So it was almost like a one-step-removed approach and then at the end saying, 'I don't know if you've ever felt these things?'. It was the best session I've ever had with him actually. He linked it and he said, 'oh yeah I've had that before'. And then it's like 'oh when do you think you've had it?'. And he opened up just a teeny tiny bit and it was so useful."

I often see practitioners kind of challenging YP…in a solution-focused way and say, "well, ok…things might look quite terrible. How could they be improved?" A miracle question…"what would a perfect day look like?"…how would you be behaving in a situation if it was more supportive?' And it's just natural, real and authentic. And that to me speaks to a very refined skills set that they perhaps don't recognise that they have."

xvii

Outcomes associated with the use of therapeutic approaches overlapped with themes supporting the use of strengths-based approaches in MRPT2 in that they both refer to improved individual outcomes and associated socio-structural outcomes. Like MRPT 2, the data is unable to validate reduced offending outcomes demonstrating the need for further theory refinement. Similarly, affording contexts for MRPT4 also represented themes present across other programme theories. These included the role of carrying out multiple methods of therapeutic interventions across systems, adapting the approach to the developmental needs or the young person and the role of the therapeutic alliance in affording the successful implementation of therapeutic interventions. Refinements to these affording structures was therefore also reflective of those made in other theories including the role of scaffolding the intervention through key attachment roles within a multi-agency approach to intervention; the provision of training, supervision and capacities to formulate and adapt the intervention to the developmental needs of the young person; and the flexibility to build a trusting relationship over time in an environment that is familiar to the young person.

"Whereas I've got other YP where I'll do the session at home and they find it really helpful having family members around. I did a session a couple of weeks ago and I did a session at home and I actually got his younger brother involved and it was such a good session. It was around knife awareness and because that young person had his brother there, they were bouncing off ideas and talking about it and Mum was in the background and joining in. And it was really beneficial because it wasn't just coming from me or like a one-way thing they were doing the intervention".

We do the community resolution workshops and so I'll do a 20-minute session and there's 4 workers that will also do sessions like Catch 22 and other colleagues on victim and theft awareness and restorative work on crime and consequences. So out of all those YOT

people if that person showed a preference or engaged particularly well, I'd say oh well so that person worked really well with me, so I'll complete a programme of work with them."

"We had training on restorative practice. I do use it so like for example having those restorative conservations or looking a conferencing approach. We have our restorative workshops as well. But yeah, I think there are definitely those issues [with adaption of approach]. It might seem good on paper but actually where there are clearly language needs and where the young person maybe has condition like autism. We haven't had much training on those things, just the sessions you guys [EPs] offered us which was useful but was a bit of a whistle stop tour sort of thing but it's helped in raising awareness for those on panels and thinking about the questions they ask and using visuals to help with understanding".

xviii

The overlapping structures between this theory and others is unsurprising, given that a theory capturing the use of evidence-based approaches in practice is at a broad level of abstraction that likely contains participatory, strengths based and multi-agency components reflective of the other programme theories. Despite the highly integrative nature of this theory however, the constellation of structures included in MRPT4 distinguishes it from other theories. To these ends, specific affording elements were those that supported the generalisation and adaption of the intervention to the conditions of implementation and the quality and fidelity of implementation.

The affording role of structures supporting intervention implementation included specific aspects of training and supervision which were refined to reflect themes within the data. This included training received from a range of agencies including Speech and Language Therapy,

CAMHS, EPs, Police and independent providers. Alongside this, training was provide by practitioners within the LA YOT to other services to support with the implementation of therapeutic interventions across other services in a youth offending context. Practitioners also discussed the importance of their role as trainers included accounting for the number of functions that training, and supervision held in supporting intervention implementation for participants. These included formulating YP's needs, facilitating joint problem solving, and balancing risk management with operating in unstructured community contexts. Related to this was the importance of incorporating contextual relevance to the conditions of implementation within the design of training and supervisory activities to maintain fidelity between theory and practice. Opportunities for generalisation of theory and knowledge shared in training and supervision were highly valued by participants.

"It's thinking about how it's structured and what the relationships between people are like. And so, I think if you focus to much on that one element in the family system like the Mum it might not fit together with how the young person interacts and might be sort of biased or not let that trust build-up. And supervision has really helped to open up or clarify my thinking like that."

"I think it's what you do with it [training] that matters and having more ways in which we can demonstrate it in practice and reflect on it…I think we need more of that applied aspect rather than it just being too theory-informed". xix

A further contextual refinement from the data related to the role of psychological supervision in supporting the wellbeing of practitioners, provided by EPs, in affording intervention implementation. Themes in the data related to the role supervision played in supporting self-efficacy and managing anxieties arising from contextual challenges of exposure to

professional and personal risk in operating within unstructured community environments and negotiating the boundaries of one's own competency. It also associated with secondary traumatic stress and the psychological stress involved with their role in supporting YP experiencing adversity.

"Erm I'm not sure if it fits in here but even in terms of the supervision of the staff themselves. I think it'd be useful because you know if we are digging deeper then we need to be able to deal with that ourselves. And you know sometimes we could do with support in experiencing those things and have that outlet to address those things with the staff. Because if you don't for example I don't know, if there was something that affects me, I should be able to go to someone that can provide that emotional kind of supervision. Otherwise it might be blown out of proportion or affect other aspects of your life or your practice".

"And that whole thing with vicarious and secondary trauma. I think that's important really because we are working with the most vulnerable YP and even the victims themselves. As much as people say it doesn't affect you over time it might creep up on you and it does affect your outlook in life…it shouldn't become normalised and you shouldn't be too desensitised to it all because that's not healthy."

"…and I guess its knowing how far you can go. There might be certain things you might not want to open up as you might not have the capacity to actually carry that out… it might be beyond my skills or I might be doing the wrong thing and bringing up issues or unpacking issues about trauma not in a safe way for the young person." xx

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY OF PROGRAMME THEORIES

9.1. Chapter overview

This chapter provides an analytical overview of programme theories and introduces an overarching conceptual framework relating affording strands which integrate across programme theories as well a summary of each individual programme theory.

9.2. Towards an integrated theory of diversionary practice supporting wellbeing

King (2012) suggests that recurring themes may develop that intersect with other themes in the data, referred to as integrative themes. This is evident within the findings of this study as threads of integrated themes run across the four multiple programme theories, summarised in Table 31. According to realist theory, complex internal relationships between abstracted aspects of the object will inevitably exist both throughout and beyond the conceptual framework of logical derivation used to analyse them (Sayer, 2010). Pawson (2013) identifies that multiple programme theories may have common stands running through them which may be encompassed within an overarching framework at a higher level of abstraction. Alongside considerations of threads at a greater vertical level of abstraction, common threads may also represent the way in which the actualisation of programme theories unfolds over time.

Table 31: Integrative themes across programme theories in the data.

Integrative theme	**Programme theory**
• Training and supervision	All
• Temporal and contextual capacity for flexibility	All
• Understanding and adaptation of approach to developmental needs, strengths and preferences of the young person.	All
• Scaffolding the intervention through key attachment relationships	MRPT1, 3, 4.
• Interagency co-configuration around the needs of the child/negotiating contrast in organisational structure/culture.	All
• Working across systems.	All
• Therapeutic alliance and relationship.	MRPT 1,2,4.
• Enhanced internal capacities/individual wellbeing outcomes and access to external resources/improved socio-structural outcomes.	MRPT 2,4.

The use of strand and imbrication metaphor within critical realism has been utilised within affordance theory to move beyond single programme theories to conceptualise multiple interacting theories unfolding over time at a higher level of abstraction (Volkoff and Strong, 2013). The use of strand metaphor conceptualises affordance as an ongoing thread of action potential that interacts and interweaves with other strands (Fleetwood, 2011). However, due to the limitations of perception, strands which occupy the domain of the actual can only be partially understood through single events in the domain of the empirical (Volkoff and Strong, 2013).

The metaphor of imbrication offers an analytical model of change through which single observable causal phenomena can be combined as specific phases to retroduce the thread of causal potential that was actualised to produce them in the first place (Leonardi, 2011b). Ecological psychologists refer to imbrication as that which has overlapping edges, where one action has left a residue that effects another (Volkoff and Strong, 2013), providing a useful framework for considering interacting causal potential between programme theories at a higher level of abstraction. A summary of each programme theory is provided below (Figures 18-21) alongside an analytical overview which conceptualises the possible logical relationship between overlapping aspects of programme theories (Figure 22).

9.3. Summary of middle range programme theories

9.3.1. MRPT 1: Diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible in the community.

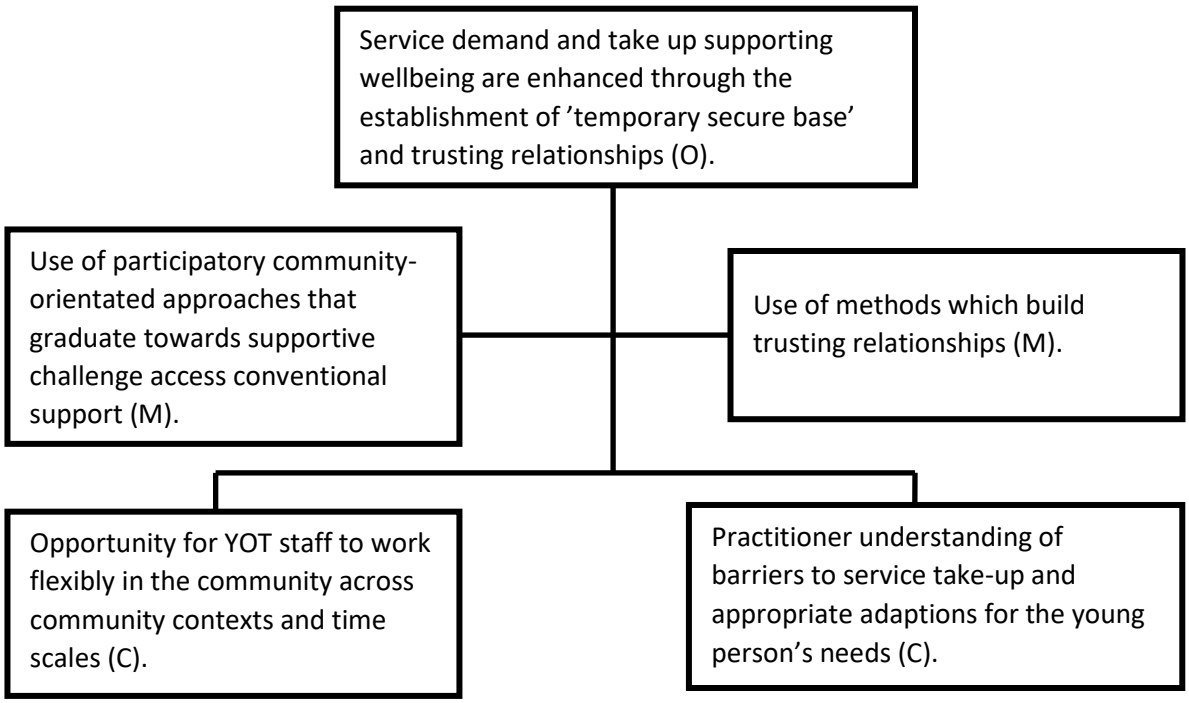


Figure 18: A summary of MRPT 1.

9.3.2. Strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting wellbeing.

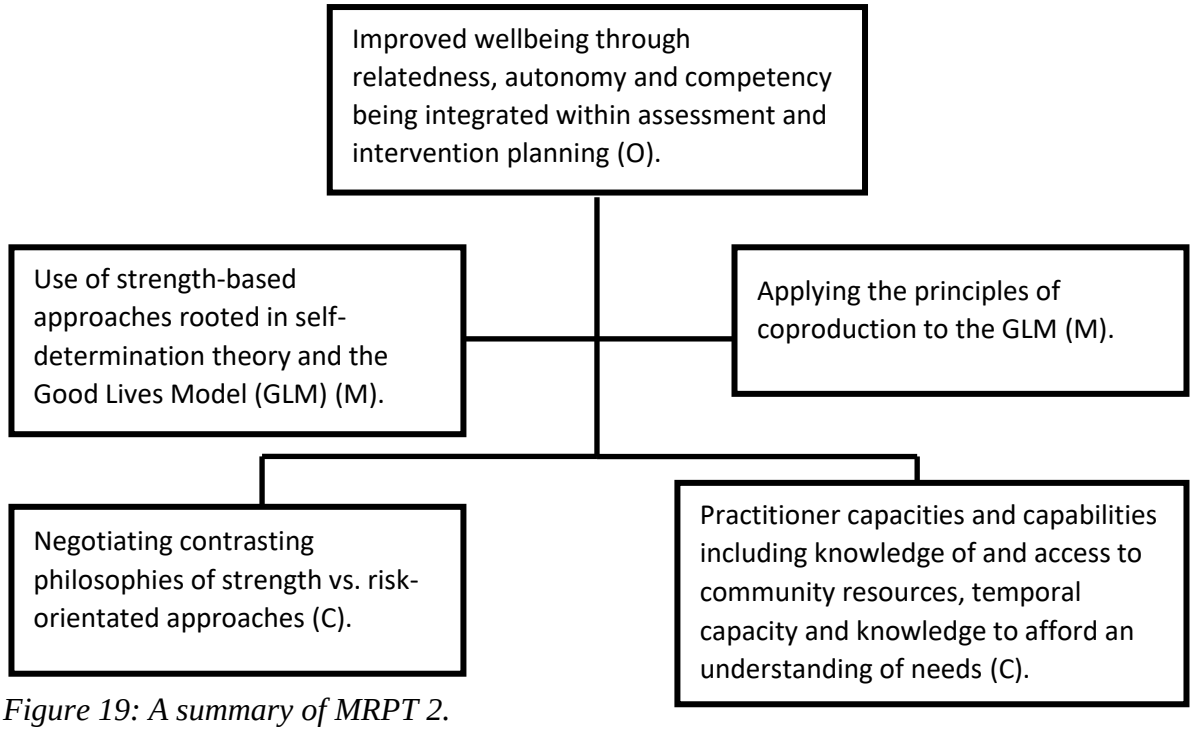


Figure 19: A summary of MRPT 2.

9.3.3. Providing integrated multi-agency support in diversionary practice supporting wellbeing

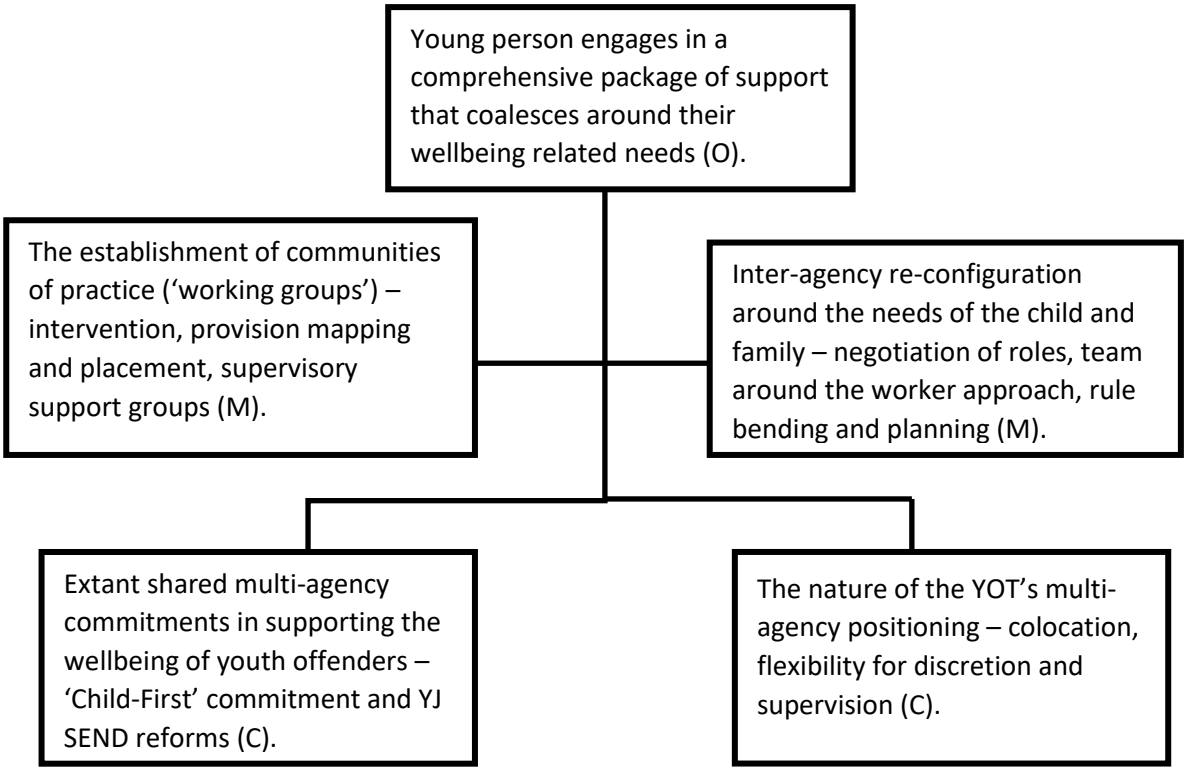


Figure 20: A summary of MRPT 3.

9.3.4. Implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes within diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of youth people

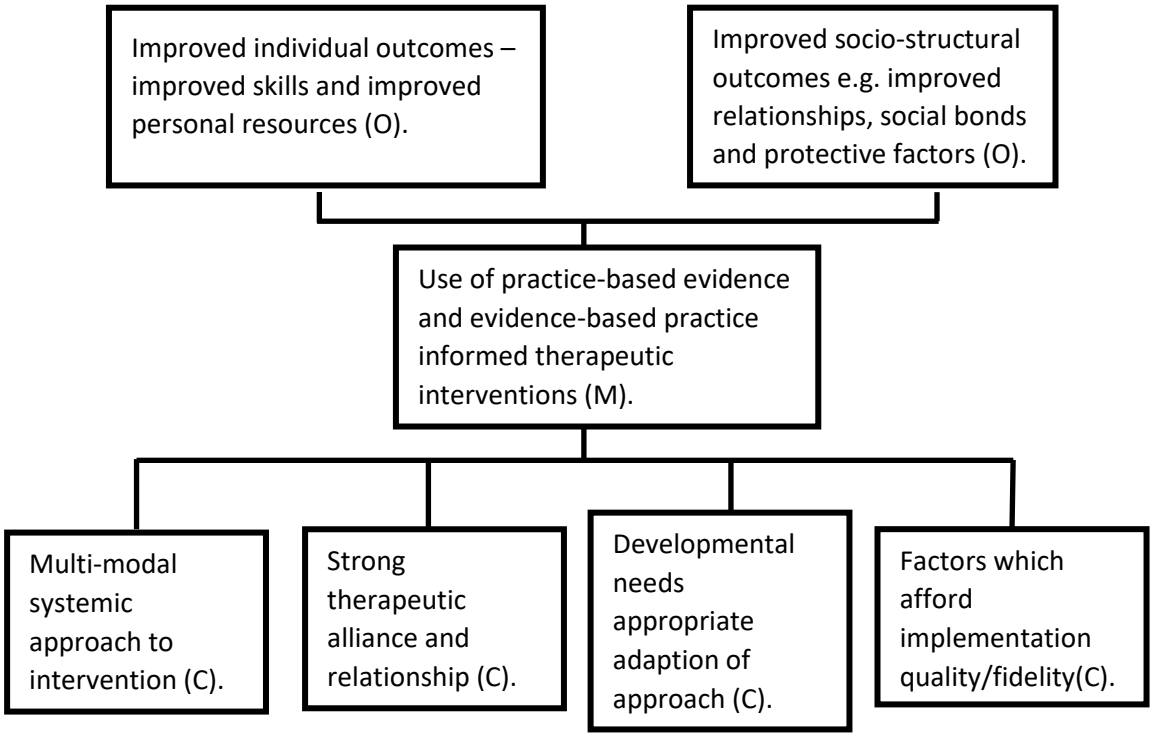


Figure 21: A Summary of MRPT 4.

9.4. An overarching retroductive analytical model of programme theories

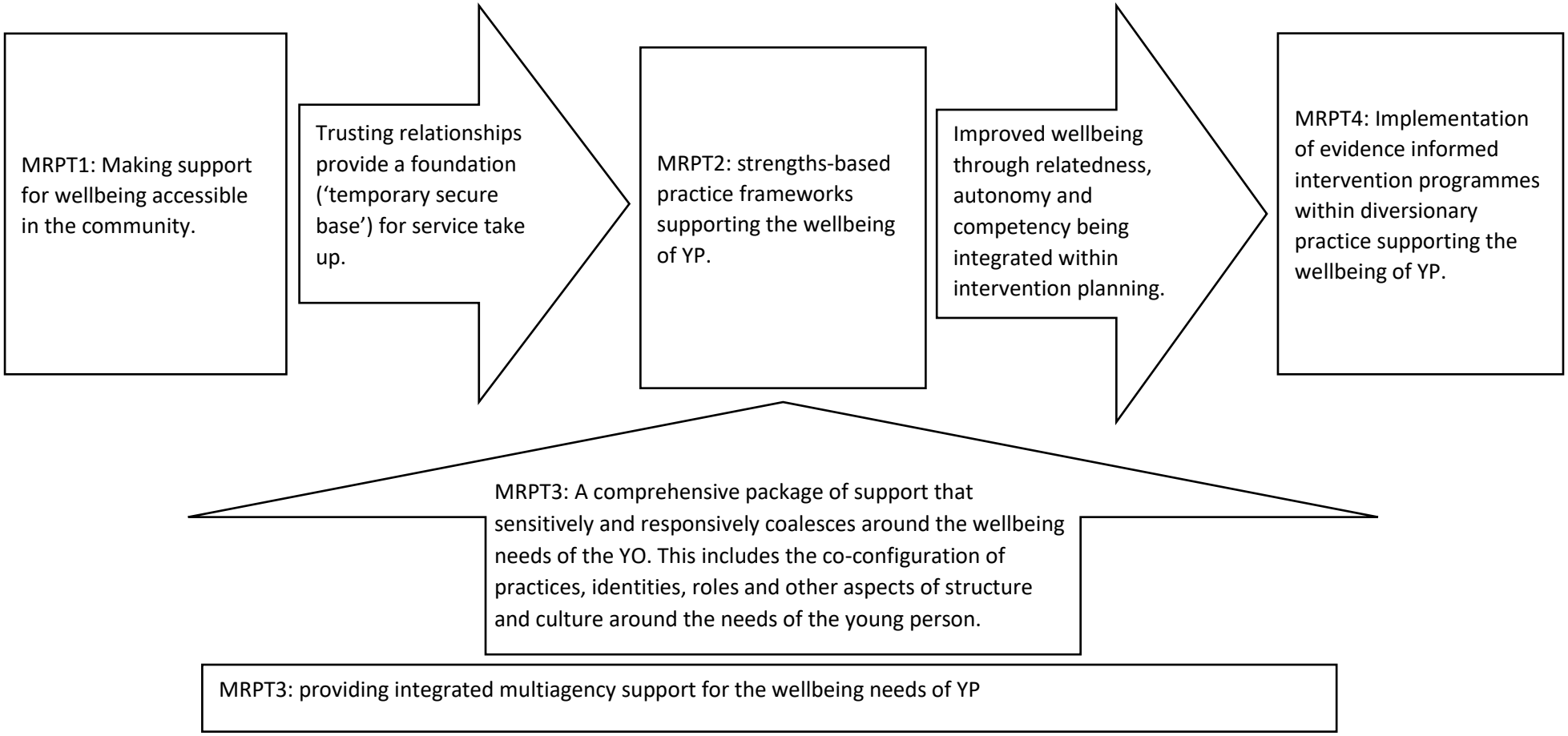


Figure 22: A retroductive model of affording imbrications (represented by arrows) that run through programme theories (represented by rectangles).

CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION

10.1. Chapter overview

This chapter returns to the rationale and research question for this study to discuss the findings outlined as to what programme theories underpin practice within the LA YOT successfully supporting the wellbeing of YP in the community. Each of the four programme theories cumulatively derived and refined from systematic abstraction, the RS and stakeholder interviews are discussed. Consideration is also given to the affording imbrications between programme theories outlined in Figure 22.

10.2. MRPT 1: Diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for young people in the community

Interview data supported literature evidencing that YP experience a range of barriers to engagement with services supporting wellbeing in the community. Most prevalently cited was a distrust in professionals due to experiences of socio-structural adversity as demonstrated, for example, in extract ii. This research demonstrates the value (and affording role) of flexibility to operate in contexts familiar to the young person and develop trust over time to overcome some of these barriers. To facilitate the development of trust in these contexts, the use of core humanistic conditions of empathy, unconditional positive regard and genuine interactions that underpin trusting therapeutic relationships as important mechanisms within the data (Roger, 1957).

Practitioners demonstrated a ‘mentalising stance’ aligned with Bateman and Fonagy’s (2012) AMBIT approach, characterised by the tolerance and containment of ‘not knowing’ within interactions and focusing on exploratory ‘what questions’ rather than ‘why questions’ and limiting the intensity of the YP’s affective state in sessions, such as through the use of self-deprecating humour, the therapist taking responsibility for misunderstanding and stressing the

normality of communication. This is demonstrated by partipants in extract iii and iv, where partipants' own mentalised understanding of the young person's mental state allowed for them to introduce relational activities and conversations in ways that are non-threating by not making assumptions about the 'why' before exploring the 'what'. In addition, one participant in extract iv discussed the use of mentalisation activities by asking 'what' questions about the perspectives of others and how she avoided a potentially adversarial scenario by taking responsibility for a misunderstanding and using humour to dissipate an anxious affective state in the young person.

The use of mentalisation is pertinent for working with young people involved in or at risk of offending, as it avoids the demonstration of assumptions of knowledge and demonstrates a willingness for the therapists mentalisation to change and move towards a more accurate understanding of the young person's mind, to promote cognitive openness and flexibility with associates with secure attachment relationships (Thompson, 2008). This provides a platform from which those that have experienced social trauma and may therefore experience a distrust in social knowledge and capital (Bourdieu, 1990) can be provided with a temporary secure base to reopen a trust activated channel for communication, learning and change (Bevington et al., 2015).

A sensitive understanding and mentalisation of the YPs relational needs provided an affording role for the selection of suitable participatory methods drawn from the principles of community engagement and community psychology approaches (Zlotowitz *et al.,* 2016; Lemma, 2010; Walsh *et al.,* 2011; Gaskell, 2008; Naylor *et al.,* 2008; Freake *et al.,* 2007; Crimmens et al., 2004). These included mechanisms such as operating within the young person's context and integrating community assets within the intervention that aligned with a choice and rights orientated approach, led by the young person's needs and interests. This facilitated genuine and trusting relationships that provided a safe space and intrinsic

motivation to engage in ‘therapeutic conversations’ and experiences which supported the wellbeing of the young person in the community. This was indicated, for example, in extract iv, where one participant highlighted that activities should be genuine and led by the mentalisation of the YP, rather than a novel activity where a young person’s mentalisation might be that “he’s just doing this because he wants something”. In extract iii, participants discussed the creation of safe spaces for therapeutic conversations that were child-led and involving of a familiar environment they are relaxed in.

The development of a trusting relationship also enabled the scaffolding of interventions supporting wellbeing through key attachment relationships. This draws parallels with Bevington et al’s (2015) ‘team around the worker approach’ (Figure 23) which builds on existing attachment relationships, rather than imposing intensive and multiple relational demands on the young person. However, attachment relationships scaffolded within the intervention comprised of not only professional roles but also peer and lay roles in the community. It was therefore important that integration of attachment relationships with the intervention was counter-balanced by a risk management approach to support decision making which avoided iatrogenic effects. Adverse relational influences which required consideration of risk management in the data included the influence of anti-social peer or familial behaviours, tensions within the family system or the young person engaging in risky behaviours in an environment they designate as safe.

To these ends, the provision of training and supervision played an important role in supporting decision-making and risk management in practice. Further, the quality of person-centred information shared about the child between professionals who formulated their needs enabled better informed relational approaches which incorporated the strengths and preferences of the YP. The sensitive sharing of information that pertains to a secure formulation of the developmental needs, life story and family system surrounding the young

person mitigated risks of secondary trauma relating to previous adverse experiences within the intervention. This was highlighted in extract v, where opportunities for information sharing between agencies allowed the practitioner to understand the "young person's story, what they like and don't like, anything they've been through and what strengths are in the family or with peers and where the risks or tensions are too so you don't end up putting your foot in it or damaging the relationship". A risk management approach underpinned by a secure formulation of the strengths and needs within the child-family system perhaps goes some way to resolving the tension existing between the negative outcomes of peer group interventions resulting from deviancy training (de Vries et al., 2015; Dishion et al., 2000). This is because assets within the system surrounding the child can be drawn upon within a community engagement approach as part of a carefully formulated and risk managed process (Slay and Stephens, 2013).

The use of assets within the young person's system allowed for interventions to be scaffolded through such pre-existing attachment relationships rather than the worker themselves. This aligns with family systems theory that trusted attachment figures within the child's family or social system are likely to be more influential in supporting and maintaining change within the system, or playing a collaborative role in helping the worker understand what is wanted an needed form the young person within the context of the family system (Henggeler,1997). In extract xviii, one participant discussed how they had scaffolded other family members into the intervention which provided an opportunity for the desired motivation for change to be modelled across the family system "because that young person had his brother there, they were bouncing off ideas and talking about it and Mum was in the background and joining in. And it was really beneficial because it wasn't just coming from me or like a one-way thing they were doing the intervention".

The development of participatory and relational approaches provided a 'temporary secure base' from which practitioners could provide supportive challenge to integrate the additional psychosocial demands of engagement in 'conventional' methods of support and further professional involvement. One practitioner discussed in extract vi how she used 'rule breaking' to provide the flexibility needed to provide an appropriate amount of challenge rather than risk the punitive implications of imposing a sanction for a YP breaching their order "So, we do try and hold back on breaching as much as possible. And I mean in practice I deal with it by being a little bit flexible".

This supports literature which outlines that whilst assertion and challenge are useful mechanisms in supporting adaptive behaviour change, it should be carefully introduced according to the strength of the therapeutic relationship. For example, attention should be given to an appropriate balance of risking rejection from premature and over-assertive approaches against the risk of insufficient challenge conferring tacit acceptance of behaviour or a perceived lack of commitment from the practitioner (Oetzel and Scherer, 2003). To provide a well-judged balance of supportive challenge, practitioners needed to negotiate greater flexibility in the structure and culture of other services in the community (e.g. schools and CAMHS) to enable them to provide a graduated approach to integration, rather than requiring immediate adherence to rules and routines that may be overwhelming for the YP.

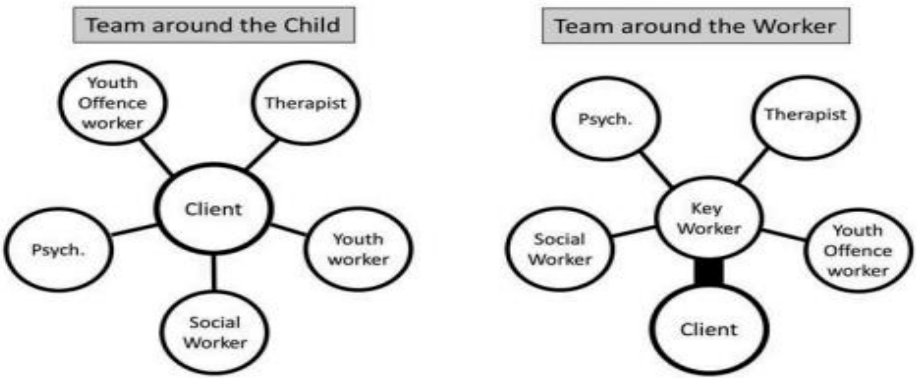


*Figure 23: The Team around the worker approach taken from Bevington et al., (*2015, p. 163).

10.3. MRP2T: Strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Interview data supported evidence for the use of SDT as a rehabilitative framework in community support for wellbeing. A human needs approach which facilitated the co-production of assessment and intervention planning within a Good Lives Plan was considered to allow an improved capacity for relationship building. This was particularly the case as it mitigated tensions within the therapeutic alliance that arose where offending behaviours contradicted the values of the practitioner. This was facilitated, in part, by the framing of any offending behaviour from a solution focused perspective as maladaptive attempts to compensate for a lack of means for fulfilling a human need, promoting empathy and shared humanity.

Studies on the use of the GLM in the community are mostly focused on adult populations with only an emerging body of research focusing on YO populations. Yet there is a large body of evidence supporting the 11 primary goods as conditions contributing towards wellbeing for YP (Van Damme *et al*., 2016). As it is a practice framework, its use in the community was contingent on the resources and approaches that are integrated within it to translate primary good to non-offending secondary goods. Yet, these affordances are largely overlooked within the literature, highlighting the need for further research.

Affordances reflected within the data included certain capacities and capabilities such as the availability of youth provision in the community, practitioners' knowledge and networks of such resources and the quality of implementation of specific intervention methods used within the GLM (see extract x). To facilitate access to 'secondary goods' in the community, practitioners use of the GLM also involved the need to negotiate and re-configure roles and beliefs of organisations across systems away from a risk-based orientation to one that advocates a strengths-based philosophy in relation to the young person. This enabled multi-

agency stakeholders who are the gatekeepers to resources in the community (e.g. educational reintegration, work experience, youth centres and activities) to afford access to secondary goods, again highlighting the integrative theme of multiagency re-configuration. This was referred to in extract vi by a participant in relation to the need to integrate school within the intervention, on the basis that "without generalising, many schools have a distrust of the YP that were talking about", therefore requiring "supportively challenging" so that "both the school and the young person to meet somewhere in the middle".

Further affordances also again included the integrative theme of understanding and adaption of developmental and learning needs in the approach, which highlights another undeveloped area of YJ literature. The contraindications of not appropriately differentiating the approach were outlined in extract x, ""…if you don't make the activity accessible for them then you've lost them. They are going to feel done to or like it's something threatening for them if they aren't able to have an equal input into the plan". This affordance is unsurprising as the GLM relies on making a range of developmental demands such as the exploration of one's developmental history and construction of human needs. This relies on insight into one's emotions and capacity to express narrative historical accounts into their life, demands which may be more challenging for YP with neurodevelopmental or speech, language and communication needs (Gregory and Bryan, 2015). As discussed, developmental learning needs which necessitate adaption of approach are over-represented in the YO population but underdeveloped within YJ intervention research, particularly the GLM, demonstrating the need for more research to inform practice in this area.

10.4. MRPT3: Providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of young people.

The provision of comprehensive 'wrap around' multiagency involvement addressing the wellbeing needs of the young person emerged as a strong theme in the data. This supports evidence that the provision of multiple coordinated services across contexts improves rehabilitative and wellbeing outcomes (Adler 2016). Both abstraction and stakeholder interviews elicited the belief that multi-agency work occurred within a range of contexts and structures, reflecting the complex positioning of the LA YOT at the intersection of a range of multi-agency and third sector organisational protocols, structures and cultures.

Further reflective of the literature were some of the barriers and tensions that arise where such a range of agencies meet and seek to define their distinct roles in relation to the needs of the child, therefore requiring reconfiguration. Such tensions included balancing 'Child First' needs based philosophies with control or risk orientated approaches including: obligations under judiciary statutory instruments around supervision, interpretation of criminal responsibility under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, and concerns about risk management for example, in reintegrating the young person into an educational setting. Practitioners often felt that they were a 'jack of all trades' as they took on various roles within a multiagency process in diversionary practice. This raised questions and anxieties about the destabilisation and redistribution of roles away from specialist roles and the need to balance the fluidity multiple roles such as that of therapists, family liaison workers, social workers and probation workers. This was exemplified by a participant's reflections in extract xii in relation to the 'therapeutic' and 'trauma-informed' aspects of their role where there was some reticence that such work should be reserved for "those that are specialists in that area" and that the intervening of those outside of these roles might "do more harm than good".

Further barriers to effective MAW elicited related to the 'overwhelming' nature of complex and varied organisational structures in practice, including protocols, terminology, models of practice, explanations of need, amongst others. This was highlighted, for example, within the comments of a participant in extract xii, who reflected on the multifarious and complex nature of organisational protocols and structures between different agencies: "I mean there's EPs, schools, EHCPs, CAMHS. It gets really confusing. And then there's all the different assessments, reports and documents and like legislation. I struggle to know sometimes just who I need to contact.". In overcoming these barriers, the importance of training and other strategies to strengthen inter-professional understanding were generated as themes from the data which afforded pathways and trails though such a complex landscape when supporting the wellbeing of YP across systems. This was summarised by one participant, for example, in extract xv, who discussed the role of training and information sharing between agencies in "knowing how to kind navigate it all, knowing who to contact and what the different options are…who might be best to introduce or refer a young person to with certain things or needs".

These structural and cultural contradictions necessitated mechanisms through which they could be re-configured to enable multi-agency integration to address the needs of the young person. Engeström's (2001) concept of expansive learning and the concept of re-configuration (Victor and Boynton, 1998) was evident both in the YJ literature and reflected as a theme within in the data in relation to certain organisational structures and practices which provided opportunity for it to occur. These included 'preparatory case planning meetings' where worker negotiated and re-configured the particular constellation of their role in relations to the YP's needs across various systems (e.g. school, family and community). It was also partially facilitated by the use of 'rule breaking' (Daniels *et al.,* 2007), which was contingent on flexibility in discretion at the level of 'street level bureaucracy' (Lipsky, 2010)

to, for example, renegotiate breaches of a statutory order to prioritise welfare-orientated over control-orientated approaches, as referred to in extracts vi and xiv.

Further structures and practices associated with re-configuration reflected approaches that were sensitive and responsive to the relational needs of the YP, such as a team around the worker approach (Bevington et al., 2015) so as not to 'overwhelm' the child or family, and the exchange of information to allow workers to better understand and sensitively configure roles across systems in relation to the child and family's needs. This chimed with attachment and trauma-informed organisational processes where rather than assuming an immediate right to face-to-face contact with the young person, the team arranges themselves behind a worker who is judged to have already formed an attachment relationship (Fugle et al., 2015). Case planning meetings then provided a space where practitioners could 'think together' (Bevington et al., 2015) to mentalise from different perspectives what the mental state of both the worker and the young person might be, formulate the approach, consider and work through problems and manage any risks within the intervention. This therefore also provided a supportive supervisory function, which supported the emotional safety and containment of the worker. An example of this process in action is provided in extract xii, where information was shared sensitively between professionals prior to involvement in order to coordinate their work through a single attachment relationship: "We can just have it so one professional who she feels safe and trusts, she can talk about that with them and provide the intervention…and then we can all meet and offer support around the case".

The development of 'working groups' also provided a powerful means through which extant shared commitments and knowledge could be harnessed, aligning with a communities of practice model (Wenger, 1998; 2010). Examples included 'intervention groups', 'SEND groups' and an 'educational resettlement group'. This had the benefit of utilising collective beliefs and knowledge to developing ways of working which promote the reintegration to

educational provision for socially excluded YP, a salient protective factor relating to wellbeing and offending (Luthar et al., 2000). This involved, for example, the development of methods in which practitioners could supportively challenge school leaders in the LA to uphold their statutory obligations to support young people to access education in school using artefacts developed from working group meetings such as scripts for restorative conversations. Further outcomes included the sharing and development of new ways of working and resources to support wellbeing in diversionary practice. The role of working groups in collective practice in supporting access to educational provision for socially excluded YP is summarised in extract xvi: "I suppose at a systems level it's the working groups where other agencies or schools can be challenged collectively and where everyone is pulling in the same direction…having those shared goals and contribution of knowledge on the young person so that their strengths and the benefits of integrating them…and the support that comes with it can be espoused".

10.5. MRPT4: Implementation of evidence informed intervention within diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of young people

As for MRPT2, both the literature and interview data for MRPT4 evidenced improved individual resources alongside engagement with systemic socio-structural protective factors as outcomes where therapeutic practice supports wellbeing. Approaches elicited from the interview data broadly support the restorative, skill building and counselling therapeutic typologies within YO practice in the literature (Lipsey, 2009). However, theory refinement from the interview data highlighted the role of 'practice-based evidence', alongside evidence-based practice. This dynamic accounted for the claimed contextually situated and experience informed expertise of practitioners and the limitations of 'off the shelf' interventions' in accounting for the conditions of implementation within the evidence base (Hollin, 2008; Maguire et al., 2010). This was referred to, for example, by EPs that were interviewed, who

worked alongside YOT outreach practitioners as a ‘latent’ and under-recognised skill set, which included a broad range of therapeutic techniques and innovative skill-building and practical elements. It was also reflected within practitioner responses in extract xvii.

The role of structures supporting intervention implementation including various forms of informal and formal supervision and multi-agency intervention working groups indicated that the utility and development of evidence-based practice was a dynamic rather than static process. Such structures played an important role in maintaining fidelity between the evidence base and the conditions of implementation through processes of joint problem solving, formulation, adaption to relational and developmental leaning needs and developing new practices and knowledge to continually shifting conditions of implementation. The importance of affording psychological supervision was made clear through accounts of its benefits in relation to the intersection of both the practical and emotional challenges of practitioner’s roles, as highlighted, for example, in extract xx. This aligns with a growing body of literature highlighting that professionals who work with trauma intensive caseloads and in unstructured community environments particularly necessitate both evidence and emotionally informed supervisory approaches on an organisational level (Triesman, 2017).

10.6. An analytical overview of approaches which support wellbeing support in diversionary practice

Figure 20 represents a summary of imbricating aspects of programme theory where structures across more than one programme theory are hypothesised to provide evidence of action potential unfolding over time. Here the relational foundation of trust and a temporary secure base in MRPT1 affords improved therapeutic engagement and help seeking. It therefore logically imbricates MRPT2 as this relational foundation provides the basis for the use of the GLM as once trust and a therapeutic relationship coalesce, psychological and socio-structural barriers can be overcome more readily to allow the young person more openly to express and

co-produce their primary and secondary goods, strengths and aspirations within intervention planning. A culmination of the causal potential afforded by the relational foundations and engagement gained in MRPT1 and the GLM framework informs how evidence-based intervention in MRPT4 can contribute towards the achieving self-determination and fulfilment through routes to primary human goods valued by the young person. This can therefore produce improved individual capacities and external or socio-structural resources which translate primary human goods into fulfilling non-offending secondary goods according to the individual.

As demonstrated both within the evidence base and data, aspects of integrated multi-agency practice (MRPT3) integrate across other programme theories, playing multiple affording roles. These include negotiating tensions in structures and culture to afford LA YOT practitioners with greater flexibly to work in community contexts and build trust with the young person over time. This, in turn, is afforded by the practitioner's access to and knowledge of external resources within community and service sectors, and the need to negotiate contradicting cultures of risk, stigma, and control within organisation that are the gate keepers to provision across the community that can support the wellbeing of the YP. Further programme theory imbrications which afford the support for wellbeing in the community include the role of multi-agency reconfiguration in affording intervention implementation through a team around the worker approach so as not to overwhelm the young person and the role of communities of practice, training and other multi-agency structures in affording implementation and adaption of interventions within diversionary practice.

10.7. Implications for theory and practice

This research provides supporting evidence for the use of relational and community-orientated approaches within diversionary practice in overcoming barriers to the take-up of wellbeing support. The evidence base for such routine intervention in 'real world contexts' is significantly underdeveloped (Zlotowitz et al., 2016). Yet this research highlights the importance of community youth service provision in providing a relational foundation from which other mechanisms of support can subsequently be afforded that target those involved or at risk of offending. Of such mechanisms, this study contributes to an existing body of evidence suggesting that the use of the GLM provides a practice framework which promotes emancipation from the structural conditions of adversity that associate with offending (Fortune, 2018). Research is yet to explore its utility in diversionary practice and should consider some of the challenges and opportunities within the conditions of implementation when practising within the community. Participants' accounts of the use of specific interventions within the GLM practice framework indicated the presence of a latent and under-recognised skill set that YOT practitioners have refined both through experience alongside drawing from the evidence base to incorporate intervention approaches that have an underpinning therapeutic philosophy. Overall, the use of forensic methods rooting in positive philosophy and therapeutic methods consistent with 'child-first' wellbeing orientated models of YJ practice provides evidence which supports a movement from the dominant risk factor paradigm in YJ research and practice.

However, consideration of the contextual conditions which afford the above mechanisms suggest that diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of YP known to the YJS demand the presence of certain organisational and community-related resources and structures. This has implications for the ways in which resources, priorities, practices and organisational systems within diversionary practice should be redistributed towards those that

are welfare, rather than control orientated. This includes the need to incorporate factors such as time required to build relationships being prioritised over time-limited, risk-management cost benefit and criminogenic outcome led interventions. A welfare-orientated culture towards offending may also benefit from incorporating a 'team around the worker' approach that provides spaces for emotional support, problem solving, training, supervision and the development of communities of practice in supporting evidence informed practice adapted for a range of developmental needs. This should not only support intervention implementation in reference to the YP but also support the wellbeing of YJ practitioners which typically have trauma intensive caseloads.

Whilst this study provides some useful recommendations for research and practice, it is small in scale, of limited generalisability and would benefit from further research which is able to 'extend its middle range' (Pawson, 2008). This should include YP as stakeholders themselves and research evidencing the long-term outcomes of YP receiving intervention supporting wellbeing: two major limitations of this study. The need to demonstrate impact represents a 'Catch 22' in this context. This is because PbR and cost efficiency structures characterised by time-limited interventions and evaluation measure and cuts to community youth services in a policy climate of austerity run counter to developmental wellbeing interventions which take time to bear fruit and require ease of access for those that are socially excluded. However, such a paradigm shift so that longitudinal patterns in the relationship between wellbeing and offending can be potentially identified as a result of welfare-orientated diversionary practice, to satisfy such accountability structures (Bateman, 2017).

Notwithstanding these limitations, this research illustrates the underpinning role of multiagency processes such as reconfiguration in mitigating some of these organisational boundaries between structures and cultures in diversionary practice. The implications for this are that YOTs can put into place or build on conditions for re-configuration, rule bending and

harnessing existing knowledge and commitments to afford the prioritisation of 'Child First' models of practice over other competing constraints and implement approaches which support the wellbeing of YP. Conditions for this to occur might include the endorsement of higher levels of 'street level bureaucracy' for rule bending, opportunities for planning and information exchange to negotiate professional roles addressing the needs of the child and supervision to alleviate stresses arising from fluidity of role rather than professional specialism. The provision of information sharing from other agencies to facilitate an understanding of varying professional roles, organisational processes and remits is also likely to be of use affording the establishment of trails and networks across professional boundaries to a broader range of multiagency resources and structures that can be drawn upon to support the wellbeing of YP.

10.8 Implications for Educational Psychology

This study evidences that EPs are well positioned to support YOTs in diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of YP in a number of areas. YOT practitioners are 'experts by experience' and have a range of underlying skills. EPs are well placed to support fidelity between theory and its application by providing asset orientated approaches to organisational development such as appreciative inquiry to build on such extant skills sets, collective beliefs and resources (Brooks, 2015). Though EPs have a broad therapeutic skill set, this research indicates that caution should be applied towards its transferability to the conditions of implementation in YO practice. Such considerations should therefore also be integrated within any training offer, consultation, or other forms of EP involvement supporting therapeutic work, with affording assets such as extant relational foundations between professionals and YP, community engagement networks and resources and multi-agency structures being scaffolded into the approach. In reference to the latter, this study indicates the value of psychological knowledge in both understanding and implementing effective

multi-agency organisational structures within YOTs, an area which EPs are well placed to support (Erasmus, 2013).

This research also demonstrates that there is great scope for development in both EP contribution but also cross disciplinary learning from extant knowledge in youth offending research and practice. EPs could consider for example, how they could integrate positive psychological practice frameworks such as the GLM from the forensic evidence into their own practice. They could also contribute to such knowledge given that positive psychological and strengths building frameworks are well-established areas of EP research and practice (Mackay *et al.,* 2016). Further possible areas of EP contribution indicated in this study include sharing knowledge on a range of developmental needs such as trauma informed approaches and SEND to support inclusive diversionary practice, and the provision of psychological supervision to support problem solving, joint implementation, risk management, and the emotional wellbeing of YOT practitioners.

10.9. Conclusion

This research provides insight into diversionary practice supporting wellbeing, a 'hidden' and poorly understood yet important area of activity for YOTs (Smith and Gray, 2018). Diversionary activity across the youth justice landscape is piecemeal and multi-directional in models of practice ranging from control and risk management orientations to those that are welfare orientated. This study highlights that practitioners operate in complex multi-agency community contexts where such competing orientations alongside other difficulties present challenges to intervention implementation which supports the wellbeing of YP. Such other challenges may include psychological barriers to engagement such as distrust, a range of socio-structural adversities present within the YO population, as well as barriers to

integration with services and resources which support wellbeing needs of YP supported by the YOT.

A realistic inquiry of diversionary practice that 'works' in such circumstance in supporting the wellbeing of YP generated four programme theories which have implications for practice within the YOT, as well for the role of EPs. These included community-orientated approaches, strength-based practice frameworks, integrated multi-agency approaches and the implementation of evidence informed intervention in diversionary practice to support the wellbeing of YP known to the YOT.

The use of affordance theory (Volkoff and Strong, 2013) sought to provide methodological clarity on the distinction between structure and agency in realist inquiry. This had utility in enabling an analytical framework of imbrications between programme theories that represent the overarching social object of diversionary practice supporting wellbeing. This considers how networks of causal potential unfold over time, rather than in isolation from each other, and had important implications for how some affording structures (e.g. building a 'temporary secure base') might be logically better placed to precede others in a sequence of intervention. Affordance theory may therefore offer a useful contribution to RE methodology, where issues with operationalisation due to a lack of guidance and clarity in the abstraction of CMOs have frequently been reported (Volkoff and Strong, 2013).

Nonetheless, the subjective nature of realistic inquiry has frequently brought into question the internal validity of findings and the role of researcher bias (Sayer, 2010). Critical realism does not occupy an objective stance, but instead accepts that the world, first and foremost, is viewed through the fallibility of one's perception (Bhaskar, 1998). It therefore represents a distinct epistemology of knowledge where the object can be critically examined so that generative causation can be better understood through a cumulative process of logical

retroduction. As such, it was important to mitigate threats to validity within the process as much as possible by providing clear and systemic methodology of abstraction. Threats to validity were also accounted for through the triangulation of findings from multiple empirical sources including the weight of evidence in the literature and stakeholders within the LA YOT, in a cumulative process of theory-testing and refinement towards the middle range. This provides a robust foundation of evidence for conditions and processes for practice and organisational change in the YJS supporting the wellbeing of YP. However, generalisation of its application should consider further research that can continually extend and refine that which has been logically derived in this research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: A summary of ethical considerations

1. PARTICIPANTS AS THE SUBJECTS OF THE RESEARCH

It is proposed that 5-6 participants will be interviewed for the study. There will be an additional participant for the pilot aspect of the study. The following inclusion and exclusion criteria are to be applied to the present study.

Inclusion Criteria

- Participants must have a professional, employed role within health and social care in relation to the YOT. This will include professionals who are qualified to work in and are currently working in the following roles:
  - Educational Psychologist
  - Clinical Psychologist
  - Youth Offending Team Practitioner
  - Youth Offending Team Senior Leadership Manager
  - Social Worker
  - Speech and Language Therapist
  - Children and Family Support Worker
- Participants must regularly (on at least a weekly or biweekly basis) work with YP known to the YOT at the pre-court or preventative level (involved in diversionary work) as part of their practice.
- Participants who regularly co-ordinate with the YOT team through their attendance of multi-agency meetings to discuss the young persons' needs, at least once a month.
- Participants must be in post for at least one year (preferably more) to have the necessary experience of in their work with YP.

Exclusion Criteria

- Participants who are not in a relevant professional role and so are not provided with regular exposure to diversionary work with young people who have offended e.g. at the pre-court level.
- Participants who are not on the central record of staff that work within the Youth Offending Team.
- Participants who do not work within the local authority in which the Youth Offending Team that is the focus of the study is situated.
- Participants who are under 18.
- Participants that do not have clearance from the Disclosure and Barring Service in their roles to allow them to work with young people.

2. RECRUITMENT

Please state clearly how the participants will be identified, approached and recruited. Include any relationship between the investigator(s) and participant(s) (e.g. instructor-student).

As I am in a position as a researcher of having experience in corresponding with and working in the Local Authority Youth Offending Team that will be the focus of this study, I am able to arrange contact with the Head of the Youth Offending Team via telephone or email. A meeting can then be arranged with the Head of the YOT to identify key staff who can be contacted by email to request their involvement in research.

The Head of the Youth Offending Team (YOT) will therefore act as the gatekeeper that will pass on an information sheet about the study, that is requesting volunteers from relevant staff associated with the YOT who meet the selection criteria (detailed previously). The information sheet will be disseminated to relevant staff via email and also given out at meetings that involve practitioners relevant to the study within the Youth Offending Team. These that receive the information sheet in person will be assured verbally as well as in written form that their participation is entirely optional and voluntary. The information sheet (Appendix 3), will the research purposes and request volunteers (British Psychological Society ethical guidelines 1.3, 2009; BERA ethical guidelines, 2011). Furthermore, the information sheet will detail procedures for maintaining confidentiality and participants' right to withdraw up to one week after the interview has taken place (BPS Code of ethical conduct 1.3, 1.4, 2009; BERA ethical guidelines 10, 11, 15, 2011).

Any staff that are interested in taking part in the study will then contact myself as the researcher. From this, liaison, via telephone or email, between myself and the interested participant will take place to arrange a suitable time for interviews within the Youth Offending Team office building. Additional face to face meetings will also be made available if potential participants wish to discuss the research further.

Prior to the interviews, time will be allocated to allow a discussion with each potential participant to explain the purposes of the research and the processes it involves verbally. This will also be provided to participants in writing via a detailed information sheet where participants will be asked to provide written informed consent if they still want to participant in the study.. At this stage it will be stated that the interview is not compulsory and that they will have the right to withdraw at any time during the interview (British Psychological Society ethical guidelines 1.4, 2009; BERA ethical guidelines 15, 2011).

3. CONSENT

a) Describe the process that the investigator(s) will be using to obtain valid consent.

Initially, consent will be gained from the Head of the Youth Offending Team for research to take place within their setting (BERA, 2011). The content of the research process such as the interview guide and participant information sheet will be shared.

Practitioners/professionals associated with the Youth Offending Team who may participate in the research will be asked to provide written consent (BERA, 2011), after being given written information about the research process during the recruitment stage of the study and then more detailed information if they expressed interest in participating in the study, prior to them giving informed consent. Potential participants will also be given the opportunity to discuss face to face with myself, as the researcher, any questions about the research study. The information sheet given to participants will explain the expectations of participation, voluntary consent and the right to withdraw and procedures for confidentiality and anonymity. It will also contain information about audio recording, transcription and the curation and storage of data.

I will meet with all participants on an individual basis to verbally explain to them the purpose of the research, what it involves and conditions of right to withdraw and confidentiality. Participants will also be given the written information sheet on the research to take away for their reference. Participants will be asked to express verbally alongside written consent that they understand the information given to them about the study and every care will be taken to ensure participants understand each aspect of the information given to them about the study before giving consent.

The consent form and information sheet will be adopted for use in the pilot interview to acquire feedback on the clarity of these forms (BERA ethical guidelines, 11, 2011). Furthermore, my contact details and those of my research supervisor's will be given to participants and their parents (British Psychological Society ethical guidelines 3.2, 2009).

4. PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK

Explain what feedback/ information will be provided to the participants after participation in the research.

Time will be allocated, following each interview, for participants to have a face to face debrief and summary. Feedback at this early stage will allow participants to ask questions and/or seek further information about the study. Participants will also receive a personalised letter or email thanking them for their contribution towards the research and providing them with a short summary of their data provided. Reference will be made to individual quotations where appropriate. This will give participants further opportunity to withdraw any information.

Once the data has been analysed and research thesis has been written, an email or letter will be sent to participants. This will contain summarised findings of the research as a whole and its implications, according to the researcher.

The Youth Offending Team will receive a written summary report of findings. This is for the benefit of the service and the Head of the service, who initially consented to the participation of the Youth Offending Service (BERA, 2011). Anonymous quotations will be used but every care will be taken to ensure quotations involving very specific and revealing information about a participant will not be used, to maintain confidentiality.

5. PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL

a) Describe how the participants will be informed of their right to withdraw from the project.

Verbal and written information will be given to participants prior to the interviews taking place informing them of their right to withdraw (British Psychological Society, ethical guidelines 1.4, 2009; BERA ethical guidelines 15, 2011). This will be shared with participants both within initial liaison with those who express interest in participating in the interview and again before interviews. It will be detailed both on the participant information sheet and stipulated as a specific criterion within the consent form to ensure participant understanding and agreement regarding right to withdraw. Participants will be free to withdraw at any time prior to, during or after the interview. Withdrawal time after the interview takes place will be limited to a maximum of 21 days after the interview has taken place (BPS, ethical guidelines, 1.4, 2009; BERA ethical guidelines, 15, 2011) to give participants the maximum opportunity to withdraw before data analysis will have commenced and it becomes logistically difficult to remove participants' data from the analysis process. Participants will be informed of this time limit in the information sheet and consent forms. Participants are reminded in the information sheet and verbally that care will be taken to fully anonymise names of organisations and people and that any information that could compromise or be traced back to a young person such as through discussions of their relations to other will be carefully reported so that this information is obscured and anonymised. Similarly, any information that could be professionally compromising or involve a conflict of interests such as through discussion of other agencies or professionals will be carefully reported so that it is anonymised, and every effort will be made to obscure any specific information that could directly link to individuals. However, if participants still feel that they would like to withdraw information then they will be reminded that they can do so before and after the interview (during the debrief along with being provided the relevant information discussed above both verbally and within the information sheet and consent form.

b) Explain any consequences for the participant of withdrawing from the study and indicate what will be done with the participant's data if they withdraw.

There will be no consequences for participants (in either the pilot of full research study) if they wish to withdraw from the research study.

If participants wish to withdraw during or up to one week after the interview, their data will be identified, the transcript (partial or full) will be destroyed and audio-recording erased from storage devices. Any written field notes taken during the interview will also be shredded. This data will not be included in the data analysis.

6. COMPENSATION

Will participants receive compensation for participation? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☒

7. CONFIDENTIALITY

a) Will all participants be anonymous? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☒

b) Will all data be treated as confidential? **Yes** ☒ **No** ☐

c) Describe the procedures to be used to ensure anonymity of participants and/or confidentiality of data both during the conduct of the research and in the release of its findings.

Participants will be informed of issues around confidentiality and anonymity both through the information sheet and consent form and verbally.

To ensure the confidentiality of participants, ID codes will be assigned to each within the transcript. Information may be able to be traced back to individual participants due to the unique anecdotes and experiences that participants may draw upon. Therefore, it may not be possible to fully ensure anonymity in its entirety. This is explained to participants on the information sheet and verbally during the consent process. However, it will also be explained that efforts will be made to obscure the specific details they give and report the information in a more generalised way to prevent information being traced back to an individual wherever possible such as through references of specific organisations, or family relations. The audio-recording and transcript will be given a unique code to identify it that only the research knows to anonymise it. These codes will be stored in a separate electronic file to the interviews and will be password protected and encrypted. Any names of individuals (including YP, professionals will be given a pseudonym. Participants are informed in the information sheet that the audio recording will only be listened to by myself and my university supervisor.

The YOT Service is chosen as the setting for interviews to take place as it is a setting that participants are familiar with and has ease of access for participants' comfort. It was also chosen as it has the facility to books rooms to ensure that it is unlikely to be disrupted by others or overheard. A sign will also be put in front of the door to inform other staff members that a confidential interview is taking place. Further permission will be sought within the interview process and during the debrief after the interview of any data which could make the participant identifiable and the participant will be asked after the interview whether there is any data given that they think makes them or others easily identifiable so that they can either request to withdraw it or be carefully reported.

d) If participant anonymity or confidentiality is not appropriate to this research project, explain, providing details of how all participants will be advised of the fact that data will not be anonymous or confidential.

The condition which limits confidentiality is where information given suggests that there may be a risk to the participants or other individuals not involved in this research. Participants are made aware of this within the information sheet and verbally. If anything is mentioned related to a potential harm to a young person or individual, the Local Authorities' policy and procedures on confidentiality and safeguarding will be adhered to (BPS ethical guidelines 3.1, 2009; BERA ethical guidelines, 29, 2011).

I have received training in safeguarding as part of my role as a Trainee Educational Psychologist within the Local Authority and understand the procedures involved with completing a Multi-Agency Referral Form (MARF) to the Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub (MASH).

8. STORAGE, ACCESS AND DISPOSAL OF DATA

Describe what research data will be stored, where, for what period of time, the measures that will be put in place to ensure security of the data, who will have access to the data, and the method and timing of disposal of the data.

All data will be curated and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Action (1998, modified 2003).

Interviews will be recorded on a dictaphone where they will be transferred over to a secure password protected and encrypted memory stick as soon as possible after the interview and permanently deleted from the Dictaphone. Aside from being stored on the memory stick, the data will be stored on a password protected and encrypted folder on a computer belonging to the researcher. The audio-recorded information will then be transcribed with no personal names or details included in the transcript. The transcription will also be stored on these password protected devices. Any written notes taken during or after the interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet which only the researcher has access to within the Educational Psychology Service or within the researcher's home. Participants will be informed of how their data will used and stored in the information sheet given to them with the consent form and verbally. Participants are also informed that only myself (the researcher), my university supervisor and university examiners will have access to the data. Furthermore, in line with university ethical guidelines, all data (electronic recordings, field notes and typed transcripts) will be kept for ten years on a password protected device before it is fully erased form any record and printed notes or transcripts related to the data is securely shredded.

9. SIGNIFICANCE/BENEFITS

Outline the potential significance and/or benefits of the research

This research aims to have the following benefits:

1. Provide exploratory insight into an area in which there is paucity in the research literature with regards to diversionary practice within supports wellbeing within the Youth Justice System. It is hoped that this will be beneficial in stimulating further research in the area and informing other researchers in academic study.
2. To gain an understanding of the contexts, mechanisms and outcomes that lead to an effective understanding of the practice support the wellbeing of young people known to the YOT that have, or are at risk of, offending.
3. To inform best practice within the LA YOT in supporting the wellbeing of YP who have offended.
4. To inform ways in which diversionary practice supporting wellbeing could be further developed to support the needs of young people known to the YOT.

10. RISKS

a) Outline any potential risks to **INDIVIDUALS**, including research staff, research participants, other individuals not involved in the research and the measures that will be taken to minimise any risks and the procedures to be adopted in the event of mishap

Risk to Researcher

Physical risk to the researcher is highly unlikely and minimal. However, research is taking place within the Youth Offending Service during the working day where there will be other professionals within the vicinity. Emotional personal risk to the researcher is also minimal. Care will be taken to be self-aware of any emotional risk and to use the emotionally restorative aspect of regular supervision I receive from my university supervisor to monitor this.

Risk to Research Participants

No physical risk is posed to participants. Emotional personal risk to participants could potentially occur, during the research process, as participants may identify events or incidents, when drawing upon their experiences of working with YP who have offended, that may cause them to become upset. This therefore implies a short-term risk of emotional discomfort during or immediately after the interview. Therefore, should this occur, participants will be given the opportunity to take a break form, postpone or stop the interview. Participants will be reminded of their right not to choose their answer to certain questions or to fully withdraw form participation in the research process. Furthermore, participants will be provided with an empathic and counselling-based approach should this situation arise to seek to meet the emotional needs of participants should they arise. Given that the researcher is trained in therapeutic and counselling skills as part of their role as a trainee educational psychologist, this represents a significant protective factor to emotional harm.

During the interview process the risk of discomfort or distress will be reduced by the focus of the interview being positive and openly framed with the opportunity for reflection. Active and empathic listening and responses that are attuned to the participant where the research utilises his training in therapeutic approaches and counselling as part of his training in doctoral study also reduces the risk of emotional distress. Participants will be informed within the information sheet and verbally in person about how they can seek further information following participation in the study.

Risk to Individuals not involved in the research

There may be risk to YP that the participants allude to in the interviews if the unique nature of the information given can be traced back to them individually or they can identify themselves with it. It may also be that information in the research and the stories given by participants may resonate with their experiences with the youth justice system if read by them and evoke emotional distress. To minimise this risk, every effort will be made to obscure and limit specific information given by participants within the reporting of the research and the research process itself. Furthermore, contact links will be provided alongside the dissemination of the research paper so that support for wellbeing needs can be sourced by individuals.

Appendix B: Information letter for the 'gatekeeper' to partipants involved in this study

Dear, <INSERT SENIOR MANAGER'S NAME(S)>

RE: Research evaluating how practitioners in the YOT support the social, emotional and mental health of YP within diversionary work carried out.

As previously discussed, I am planning on carrying out research as part of my Doctoral Educational Psychology training course at the University of Birmingham.

This topic of study focuses on how practitioners support the wellbeing of YP within diversionary practice This aligns with the service priority of the YOT and work that I have previously been involved with. As such, it is intended that findings form the study can be disseminated with the YOT to inform practice in this area and inform future service priorities and areas for development. It also serves the purpose of informing an understanding of 'what works well' in practice, how this is the case and in what circumstances.

Information about what this study involves has been attached to this correspondence. Please read this information carefully and consider whether would like to, and are consenting to, your involvement in this study.

If you would like to be involved in this study, I would be grateful if you could disseminate the attached study advertisement, consent form and information sheet to partipants who you think would contribute well to this study. I have attached an inclusion and exclusion criteria to support this.

Yours sincerely [Name omitted]

Appendix C: Information letter for participant recruitment

Dear, <INSERT PRACTITIONER'S NAME(S)>

RE: Opportunity to participate in research: an evaluation of how the social, emotional and mental health needs of YP who have offended can be best supported in diversionary practice within the Youth Offending Team (YOT).

I am writing on behalf of Thomas Boden, a Trainee Educational Psychologist, at the University of Birmingham, to invite you to participate in a research study. The study will explore how the social, emotional needs of YP who have offended can be best supported in diversionary practice within the YOT.

You have been selected because it has been identified that you are a practitioner that regularly works with YP who have offended and coordinates with the Youth Offending Team to support their needs.

For this study, Tom is seeking practitioners willing to undertake an in-depth 1:1 interview at the site of <omitted> Youth Offending Team. This involves discussion and reflections based on your experiences in practice in supporting YP who have social, emotional and mental health needs.

If you are interested in participating, or have any questions about the study, please contact Tom directly via telephone [omitted], email [omitted] or post. Please see the attached information sheet for her full contact details and further information about the study. Please be assured that participation in this research is entirely optional. If you do not wish to participate, simply ignore this letter/email and I will not contact you about this again. Please be reassured that your contact details will not be passed on.

Yours sincerely [Name omitted]

Appendix D: Informed consent form (informed by

Participant Information

I am seeking your informed consent to participate in the research project outlined in the information below. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. It is important that you understand this information, so that you can make an informed choice about whether you wish to participate in this research. Please feel free to ask me any questions.

What is this study for?

- The aims of the research are:

- To understand how the wellbeing of young people is supported within diversionary practice in the community. Here, diversionary practice is defined as: practice preventing formal entry into the YJS through non-statutory interventions.
- To explore ways in which policy, practice and research could be developed to better inform appropriate diversionary intervention supporting wellbeing.

What does participation involve?

- The interview will last between 45 minutes to 1 hour.
- Participation will involve an in-depth discussion about your experiences in everyday practice in supporting the wellbeing of young people known to the Youth Offending Team.
- As it is difficult to write everything down at the time, the interview will be audio-recorded for the researcher to listen back to,

What will happen to my data?

1. The audio-recording – This will be transferred to a password-protected and encrypted USB memory stick. Only the researcher will have access to this. The audio-recording will also be saved onto a password protected computer and stored within a folder that is password protected and encrypted. The interview will then be permanently deleted from the Dictaphone as soon as it is transferred on to the password protected USB memory stick, which will take place as soon as possible, within 24 hours.

2. The transcript – The words spoken in the interview will be typed up on to transcript after listening to the recording. However, this information will be entirely anonymised as no names of people or organisations will be used in transcripts. Instead, pseudonyms will be used. Transcripts will be stored electronically in a password protected an encrypted folder as above. Any printed (hard) copies and handwritten notes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the Local Authority offices or in a locked cupboard at the researcher's home.

3. All data will be stored, in line with the Data Protection Act (1998), for a period of 10 years. After this time, all electronic data will be deleted, and printed data will be shredded.

Will the information I give be confidential?

- Any information given will be treated as confidential by being anonymised throughout the research process.

- Where a name of an organisation or person is given, this will be substituted with a pseudonym so that the information is anonymised. This will apply to any YP that are referred to too, though you can of course also refer to any young person discussed anonymously should you wish.
- Professional roles may be referred to.
- Close care will be taken to minimise the reporting of specific or unique case details that may reveal your identity or the identity of any young person or other professional discussed. Please inform the researcher if there is anything that you would like to be left out.
- If, for any reason, the researcher becomes seriously concerned about your own or others' safety and/or well-being, he has a responsibility to pass on this information to the university tutor or placement supervisor, in order to decide how to offer support. This will be fully discussed with you first.

How will the research be written up and shared?

1. Doctoral Thesis report – The findings will be reported within a 26 000 word doctoral thesis for the University of Birmingham. This will be published in full online on the Birmingham University e-theses database.
2. Academic journal and usage – A shortened version of the research may be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal for publication. Findings form this research may also be referenced in other studies in the future. Furthermore, the study may be shared at academic conferences.
3. Findings may be presented to Youth Offending Teams and <Omitted> Educational Psychology Service to inform practice.
4. Reporting to participants – you will also receive a written summary report of the research outcomes and implications by email or post.

What if I change my mind?

- You have a right to stop the interview (and the recording) any time. You do not have to give a reason.

- You also have the right to withdraw from any part of your interview. You can also choose for specific information to be omitted from the study and deleted. However, it will not be possible to erase this from the audio recording.

- If you choose to completely withdraw during or immediately after the interview, the recording will be deleted from the Dictaphone immediately.

- Following the interview, you can withdraw your data from the research, for a period of up to 21 days, by contacting the researcher (see contact details below).

Is there anywhere I can get more information and advice?

[Information excluded for confidentiality]

Who do I direct any questions or concerns to?

- Please feel free to ask the researcher any questions you may have now.

- There will be opportunity for questions and further discussion after the interview.

- If you have any remaining questions or concerns after the interview, please use the following contacts:

[Information excluded for confidentiality]

Consent Form

Please read the statements and tick the boxes

I have read and understand the attached information about this study and I agree to give my consent to participate in it.	
I understand that participation in this study is entirely optional and voluntary.	
I understand that I can withdraw during the interview at any point and can withdraw chosen aspects of my data or all of my data from the research up to 21 days after the interview takes place.	
I give my consent for any information I give to be reported within a research thesis. I understand that any information given will be anonymised and remain anonymous.	
I understand that information I give may be quoted in the writing of this research. I understand that any information I give that is quoted or referenced to within the research will be fully anonymous.	

_____ (Please Print Your Full Name)

_____ (Please Sign Your Name)

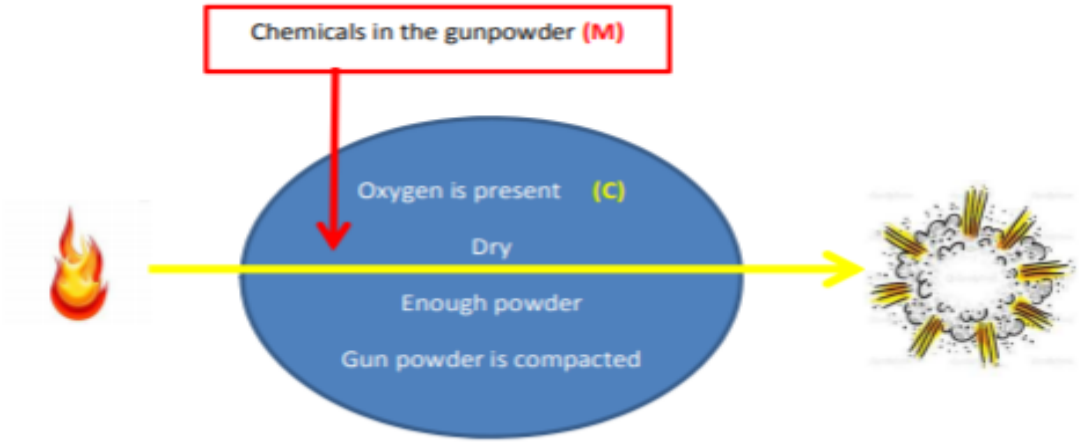
_____ (Date)

Appendix E: Interview schedule

Interview Schedule

Introduction:

- Thank partipants for being willing to take part in an interview.
- Explain conditions of anonymity, data governance and right to withdraw. Refer to participant information sheet.
- Explain the broad purpose of this research as outlined in the information sheet. Follow up with explanation of contexts, mechanisms and outcomes using gunpowder analogy below.



(Figure adapted from Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p.68)

Final checks:

- Are you happy for me to record this interview?

- Do you have any questions?

- Are you happy to continue?

1. Warm up questions:

- What is your role within the YOT?
- What would you consider wellbeing to mean?
- What does diversionary practice mean to you?
- What diversionary practice do you carry out of a routine (day to day) basis?
- How do you think supporting wellbeing relates to your role?

2. Sharing/ exploring the theories to be tested:

Introduce to programme theories "I am going to share some ideas of how others may consider diversionary practice to support the wellbeing of youth offenders. I would like you to share with me whether this resonates with your own practice, and if so how. I would also like to talk about if it doesn't align with how you practice, or if there is anything additional which has been importance, in your experience, in supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders".

3. IPT 1: Diversionary approaches which make support for wellbeing accessible for YP in the community.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Practitioner understanding of barriers to service take up and appropriate adaptions. • Psycho-social and socio-structural barriers. • Capacity to adapt in relation to developmental trauma and learning needs. • Training, supervision, knowledge and experience relating to the above e.g. from work relating to the SEND YJ Quality Mark, EP support and support from other agencies. *Opportunity for YOT staff to work flexibly in the community.* • Capacity for contextual and temporal flexibility in approach in the community. • Negotiating tensions between organisational structures and cultures.	*Use of participatory community-orientated approaches.* • Mechanisms which make it as easy possible for YP to get involved. • Community development approaches (e.g. utilising and building on existing community partnerships in the YOT). • Involving people in peer and lay roles. *Use of methods which build trusting relationships.* • Having genuine interactions underpinned by candour, empathy and mentalisation. • A rights and choice orientated approach. • Establishing a safe emotional space. • Flexibility in approach.	*The gap between demand and take up for services supporting wellbeing is reduced for socially excluded YP who may be at risk of, or have already offended:* • YP have positive experiences of trusted relationships which help overcome psychological help-seeking barriers. • YP able to access and engage with appropriate wellbeing support in the community.

In your experience, what do you think the barriers are to YP in the YJS accessing support for wellbeing?

What contextual factors relate to the nature of wellbeing support in the community for these YP?

How do you think professionals such as yourself in the YJS can support in making intervention more accessible for the YP in the community?

What are the mechanisms might support in achieving this? How important do you think the ones given are?

Is trust important in enabling accessibility of intervention in practice? How have you built trust with YP in your practice?

What does it look like where support for wellbeing needs is made accessible and reaches out to the YP in their context? What are the outcomes?

Are there any changes, additions or amendments?

IPT 2: Strengths-based diversionary practice frameworks supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Negotiating contrasting philosophies of strength vs. risk orientated approaches. • Understanding of the limitations of the dominant risk orientated approach. • Understanding service users as active agents rather than passive recipients. • Engagement and commitment to an underpinning strengths and wellbeing orientated philosophy, rationale and evidence base.	*Use of strength-based frameworks rooted in self-determination theory and the Good Lives Model (GLM).* • Strengths, aspirations and human goods most valued by the YP are integrated within the intervention plan (Good Lives Plan). • Interventions build on existing competencies (primary and secondary goods). • Interventions are targeted towards providing the internal competencies and external resources in the community needed to translate primary goods/values into fulfilling, non-offending secondary goods. *Applying the principles of coproduction to the GLM.* • Using the GLM collaboratively to enhance key aspects of the therapeutic alliance (e.g. empathy, positive regard and candour).	*Improved wellbeing through relatedness, autonomy and competency being integrated within assessment and intervention planning.* • Greater internal capacities. • Improved access to external resources. • Improved therapeutic alliance. • Long term desistence from offending as a result (enhancement model).

In your experience, have 'child first' needs-based and strengths-based approaches ever conflicted with those that consider risk? How did this provide a barrier to your practice? How did you negotiate this? What conditions are required for strengths-based approaches to occur?

How have you used strength-based approaches in your practice? Have you used the Good Lives Model much? How did it work in practice in supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders? What conditions are required for the GLM to work?

Does the GLM support the therapeutic alliance? How in practice might this work? Is the coproduction element of it helpful, if so why? What other methods are useful?

What are the outcomes associated with the use of strengths-based approaches such as those discussed? How do they associate with these outcomes?

How important to you think the CMOs given are, are there any changes, amendments or additions that are important?

IPT 3: Providing integrated multi-agency diversionary approaches supporting the wellbeing of young people.

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
The nature of the YOT's multi-agency positioning. • Co-location of agencies on site e.g. substance misuse services, EP, CAMHS practitioner, third sector organisations. • Child and family at the centre of the approach and other key service and community components involved (e.g. healthcare, school, leisure). • Variation and flexibility in organisational culture, belief, identity, protocols and other structural and socio-cultural factors. *Extant shared multi-agency commitments in supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.* • Commitment to SEND. • SEND YJ Quality mark. • SEND legislature e.g. Children and Families Act (2014). • Further unidentified shared commitments. *Extant structures supporting the wellbeing of youth offenders.* • Social care protocols e.g. Early Help, Child in Need and Safeguarding.	*Inter-agency re-configuration around the needs of the child and family.* • Case planning events, case work consultations, and training opportunities around professional roles. • Clarification of roles, common goals and shared responsibility. • Training and opportunities to understand and appreciate the contribution of professional roles and skills (e.g. that provided by EPs). *Establishment of communities of practice ('working groups').* • Regular meetings within a multi-agency group to ensure that resettlement aligns with positive wellbeing outcomes. • SEND intervention group with EP and YOT staff. • Screening and provision mapping group with EP and YOT staff.	*Young person engages in a comprehensive package of support that coalesces around their wellbeing needs.* • Improved rehabilitative and wellbeing outcomes for the young person. • Co-configured professional identities, boundaries, expertise and roles more sensitively and responsively coalesce the needs of the YP. • Co-configured collective beliefs, goals and practices. • Generation and exchange of information, knowledge and resources contributing to the assessment and intervention approach.

• Troubled Families programme. • Family support 'hubs' and locality surgeries across the city. • Coordination with agencies in Children's Services. • LA's Ending Youth Violence and Gang Exploitation Programme. • Youth Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements. • Youth justice legislation as part of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998and further developments. • Other structures and cultures not yet identified.		

In your experience, what agencies or organisations do you co-ordinate with to provide wellbeing support for a YP and family? In what contexts does this occur? How does this relate to different systemic levels around the child (see image) e.g. individual, family, school, home, community?

What protocols, resources and information relating to other agencies is important to take into account in the context of providing multi-agency wellbeing support?

How might the contribution of your role be unique in the context of multiagency intervention?

What is being done in the YOT to facilitate or produce integrated multiagency support? Are there any additions or amendments to those provided? How important are they?

What does it look like where support is integrated with local resources and service across different levels e.g. individual, home, school, health, community? What are the outcomes from it?

How important to you think the CMOs given are? Are there any changes, amendments or additions that are important?

IPT 4: Implementation of evidence informed intervention programmes within diversionary practice supporting the wellbeing of young people

Affording context	Mechanism	Outcome
Factors which afford implementation quality and fidelity. • Practitioner competency in implementation of approach supported by training and supervision (e.g. from EP on site, line manager and external sources). • Quality assurance procedures e.g. independent expert oversight and supervision. • Negotiating contrasting control and therapeutic philosophies. *Strong therapeutic alliance and relationship.* • Genuine relationships supported by empathy, positive regard, , flexibility, active listening, responsivity, and having respect for individual autonomy. • Training, supervision, experience and knowledge in this area. *Developmental and needs appropriate adaption of approach.* • Practitioner competency in adapting approach to account for developmental factors and SEN e.g. as a result of training and knowledge audit from relevant services such as EP and SALT, and quality assurance processes e.g. within YJ Quality Mark. *Multi-modal systemic approach to intervention.* • Intervention to be delivered in a family and community context. • Assessment and understanding of the agentic and structural conditions of implementation. • Multiple evidence-based intervention modalities are used to target a range of needs. • Interagency co-operation.	*Fidelity of use of evidenced based therapeutic interventions that matches the needs and strengths of the individual.* • Restorative. • Skill building. • Counselling. • Multiple co-ordinated services.	*Improved individual outcomes.* • Improved skills (e.g. social, emotional, cognitive, academic, vocational). • Improved personal resources e.g. motivation to change, self-esteem, resilience). *Improved socio-structural outcomes.* • Improved relationships with peers and family. • Improved social bonds and engagement with structural proactive factors (e.g. education or employment. • Improved access to other external resources pertinent to the individual. • Recidivism reduction

What conditions are needed for evidence-based assessment and intervention to be applied in practice by professionals such as yourself? How important are these? How do they compare to those in the contexts provided?

How important to you think the CMOs given are? Are there any changes, amendments or additions that are important?

Which types of evidence based therapeutic interventions have you used in practice? Do you think there are aspects of your practice which you have not considered before that is therapeutic in nature?

What are the outcomes of therapeutic intervention in your day to day practice with YP?

Other theories:

Are there other ways you think YO offending practitioners support the wellbeing of YP?

How do the you perceive the role of the EP to have contributed to these mechanisms? What opportunity for further support is there?

Is there anything that is important but has been missed within the current four theories of how wellbeing is support in the YOT? Is there anything that is not important, and should be omitted, or inaccurate, or irrelevant and needs to be changed?

Are there any other factors, that perhaps we have not spoken about which, according to your experience, has resulted in positive outcomes for supporting the wellbeing of YP?