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Engaging young offenders in novel community-based initiatives in professional sports settings: an exploration of how Everton in The Community's Safe Hands programme might support the resettlement of young prison leavers and the potential for delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at The University of Glasgow

by

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Abstract

Supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers emerged as a central criminal justice policy challenge in the 21st Century. Most young people in prison reoffend or are reincarcerated after release. While the role of sport in seeking to reduce youth crime has grown in recent years, most literature and programmes have concentrated on diverting young people away from offending or prison-based initiatives, with less focus on the role of sport or sporting settings in supporting resettlement. The first strand of this thesis explores how the Safe Hands programme, delivered by Everton in the Community (EiTC), believed to be the first official resettlement initiative delivered by a Football in The Community (FiTC) organisation, supports young prison leavers' resettlement. Drawing on interviews with current and former participants and EiTC staff, this thesis argues four aspects of Safe Hands are key to promoting resettlement: its setting; structure; staff; and activities. These are presented in a logic model which hypothesises connections between programme components and outcomes. Additionally, individual, organisational, and system level barriers to delivering Safe Hands are identified. These barriers are discussed from a systems thinking perspective, offering a critique of current resettlement, particularly a lack of synergy among services for young prison leavers and how such programmes can be influenced by system level changes, such as economic austerity. The second strand of this thesis builds on the Safe Hands research by exploring the potential for delivering a similar programme in Scotland, where equally poor outcomes for young prison leavers are evident. Using interviews with stakeholders from the Scottish Throughcare sector, including young people in prison, and from the Scottish Football in the Community (SFiTC) industry, it identifies potential barriers and facilitators to both delivery and engagement of young prison leavers. Based on these findings, this thesis argues that Safe Hands affords strong potential for supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers and there is nothing in the Scottish context to suggest a similar programme could not be delivered. However, an SFiTC would need a certain level of capacity and capability to deliver a programme like Safe Hands and some modifications may be required. Recommendations include: suggesting wider adoption of programmes like Safe Hands across the UK, including those which consider using different sporting settings; and that resettlement systems would benefit from being subject to a needs assessment to clarify how resettlement outcomes for young prison leavers might be improved, including steps to ameliorate the wider social and economic constraints on their lives.

Acknowledgements

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Ian Alexander MacNeill

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

EiTC	Everton in The Community
EFC	Everton Football Club
FiTC	Football in The Community organisation
GIRFEC	Getting It Right For Every Child
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
SFiTC	Scottish Football in The Community Organisation
SPS	Scottish Prison Service
SPFLT	Scottish Professional Football League Trust
TSO	Throughcare Support Officer
WSA	Whole System Approach
YOI	Young Offender's Institute
YOT	Youth Offending Teams

List of Figures

List of Tables

Definitions

Resettlement

In literature and policy documents, different terms have been used to refer to the process of people leaving prison, but with little consensus (Maruna et al., 2004). The term resettlement is used in this thesis to refer to the journey of young people leaving custody, in part because it has become increasingly fixed, in policy terms, to refer to systems and practices which support prison leavers in England and Wales (Bateman, 2016a). I have used it on the basis that it focuses attention on a desired outcome, but also acknowledges that resettlement is the result of a process (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2001). However, I am cognisant that the use of this term is not without controversy. A key problem with the use of the term resettlement is that it fails to acknowledge that many prison leavers have never lived what we would, in a conventional sense at least, regard as a settled existence (Ramsbotham, 2003; Raynor, 2007; Moore, 2012; Canton, 2013). Moreover, given what we know about the journeys young people follow into custody and the circumstances they have left behind, to resettle a young person back into the life they led prior to being incarceration would not necessarily be a desirable outcome (O'Neill, 2018).

Young people

There are various definitions regarding what age ranges constitutes children, and which refer to young people. From a legislative perspective, legal definitions of adulthood, and thus the end of childhood, begin at 18 years of age. I use the term young people throughout this thesis in line with the United Nations which defines young people as those aged between 10 and 24 (Sales, Milhausen and DiClemente, 2006). I adopted this definition because it best encompasses the age ranges of the young people I interview in this study.

Summary of Key Findings

Interviews with programme staff and young people with experience of the Safe Hands programme, believed to be the first official resettlement initiative delivered by a Football in The Community organisation (Everton in the Community), identified how such a programme might support the resettlement of young prison leavers. Using an existing resettlement theory of change which posits a shift in young prison leavers' identity from pro-offending to pro-social as the key feature of resettlement, as a conceptual framework, this research argues that four aspects of the Safe Hands programme promote resettlement: the programme setting, structure, staff, and activities. Based on these findings, connections between these components and identity change are hypothesised in a logic model.

This research found that Everton in The Community encountered multiple barriers when delivering Safe Hands; at the individual, organisational and system levels. These highlight the vulnerability of resettlement programmes such as Safe Hands to certain barriers, particularly those that disrupt access to the young people they are supporting in prison and system level changes driven by UK government policy making (e.g. prison closures).

Contextual factors can mean that programmes such as Safe Hands, can be ineffective when delivered in new settings. By engaging with Scottish Throughcare and Scottish Football in the Community stakeholders, this research explores what contextual barriers and facilitators might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland. The findings indicate that while there is nothing to suggest that Safe Hands could not be delivered in Scotland, there are likely some pre-conditions to a Scottish Football in The Community organisation being able to deliver Safe Hands, primarily relating to resources. Additionally, there are some aspects of the Scottish Throughcare context, such as the current small number of young people in prison, that suggest some modifications might be required to effectively deliver Safe Hands in Scotland. One of these incudes a hub and spoke approach to delivering Safe Hands, which would enable the programme to be delivered nationally.

1 Introduction

This thesis examines how the Safe Hands programme, a resettlement intervention delivered by Everton in the Community, supports young prison leavers. Additionally, it explores potential barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish context. In this chapter I explain my interest in the resettlement of young prison leavers; describe young people who offend, are imprisoned, and what happens after they are released; detail the Safe Hands programme which forms the foundation of my PhD; set out the rationale for my study and the research questions; and outline the thesis structure.

1.1 My interest in the resettlement of young prison leavers.

Over the past two decades, prisoner resettlement has become an area of increasing interest to policymakers and academics (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002; Lucken, 2018). My awareness of the lives of young prison leavers began after watching a 2007 BBC Scotland documentary, *Boys Behind Bars,*[1] which followed a small group of young men in the weeks after their release from HM Young Offenders' Institution Polmont. I was struck by the extreme vulnerability of these young men, who had experienced chaotic and disadvantaged lives before being incarcerated and were then released from custody with extremely limited support.

When reflecting on the programme, I felt frustrated that a developed country like Scotland, which has historical claims to a 'welfarist' approach to youth justice (McAra and McVie, 2017a), took such a seemingly neglectful approach to supporting young prison leavers. Such frustrations are not new: people have made similar observations and asked similar questions for over 100 years. Maud Ballington-Booth (1903), the founder of the Volunteer Prison League and an early advocate of U.S. prison reform, made the following observation after visiting young men in custody in New York at the beginning of the 20th Century:

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[1] See: http://frielkeanfilms.com/?page=productions/boys-behind-bars [Accessed 17 December 2015]. Boys Behind Bars was produced by Freil Kean Films and was broadcast on BBC One in 2007.

> "… when one thinks that this prejudice and marking of discharged prisoners [via the term 'ex-convict] robs them of the chance of gaining a living, and in many instances forces them back against their will into a dishonest career, one can realise how truly tragic the situation is." (p.119)

Similarly, in summarising findings of a study about the lives young male prison leavers from a state reformatory over 70 years later, McArthur (1974) concluded:

> "The released offender confronts a situation at release that virtually ensures his failure." (p.1)

Such observations continue to be made about the bleak prospects for young prison leavers in the UK. As one example, an HM Inspectorate of Probation (2015) review of resettlement services for young prison leavers in England and Wales noted that:

> "In England and Wales, over two-thirds of children reoffended within 12 months of release from secure institutions. ... These are shocking statistics … because we have known for at least a decade what helps children leaving custody to stop offending … So, even when we know the solution, and we know providing the solution is for the most part possible within current budgets, why on earth is it not being done?" (p.4)

One conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that, in many respects, the difficulties facing vulnerable young people when they leave prison remain the same as they have been for over a century. The support they receive on release is insufficient to help them cope with the demands of resettlement and the many barriers they face.

1.2 What do we know about young people in prison?

It is generally recognised that most young people will engage in some form of illegal activity during their teenage years – I am no exception to this claim. The Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime demonstrated that 95% of young people self-reported some kind of offending (McAra and McVie, 2010). However, despite the seeming ubiquity of some degree of offending behaviour in adolescence, only a small percentage of young people whose offending is serious enough are imprisoned. In England in Wales, for example, only 6% of the 28,400 young people who were cautioned or convicted in 2016-17 were sentenced to prison (Ministry of Justice, 2018). Although varying somewhat according to the policy context of the time (Loader and Sparks, 2016), young people sentenced to custody tend to be prolific offenders, with some having been found to have

committed upwards of 50 offences in a single year (Liddle, 1998) and 3% responsible for about a quarter of all offences committed by young people (Graham and Bowling, 1995).

It is well known that young people in custody will have experienced adverse circumstances and events earlier in their lives (Fox et al., 2015; Wolff, Baglivio and Piquero, 2017; Turner et al., 2020). Rates of mental health problems, emotional and behavioural disorders, substance misuse, learning difficulties, traumatic brain injury, economic and social disadvantage, in-care experience, and school exclusions are substantially higher among young people in custody than their non-incarcerated peers. They are also less likely to complete high-school level education or progress to tertiary education, secure employment, or have stable housing (Clark and Unruh, 2010; Sedlak and McPherson, 2010; Snow and Powell, 2011; Lennox, 2014; Underwood and Washington, 2016; Jolliffe et al., 2017). However, the global picture of the needs of young prison leavers is incomplete and skewed towards research in developed countries (O'Neill, 2018).

Young people can also be damaged by time in custody, with evidence suggesting that the pains of imprisonment are experienced more acutely by young people than adults (Roberts, 2004). Studies have shown they tend to be more disruptive than adults, with higher rates of fighting and violent altercations (McShane and Williams, 1989). Bullying in youth custody is also thought to be a 'normative event' (Cesaroni and Peterson-Badali, 2010, p. 109). Young people in prison are cut off from their social and family networks in the community at a critical time of their personal and social development, which may inhibit their attempts to establish a stable and integrated identity (Greve, Enzmann and Hosser, 2001). However, there is also evidence which suggests that in prison young people can be supported to overcome life, education, and health challenges. A term used to describe this scenario is that prison can represent a 'window of opportunity' where vulnerable young people can be stabilised by the prison regime and engage with health, education, and other support services they have become estranged from or are reluctant to interact with in the community (Rothon et al., 1997; Braggins and Talbot, 2003; MacDonald, Rabiee and Weilandt, 2013).

1.3 What happens to young people after leaving prison?

Most young people in prison will be released and re-enter society. Time spent in custody as an adolescent has been found to be a major predictor of continued criminal behaviour in adulthood (Basto-pereira, Começanha and Maia, 2015). The scarring effects of time in custody as an adolescent include higher rates of homelessness, poor educational attainment, unemployment, poor mental and physical health, and early mortality (Osgood, Foster and Courtney, 2010). Among all young offenders, young prison leavers are the most likely to reoffend, presenting significant challenges to resettlement services trying to prevent them from returning to custody. Ministry of Justice data (Table 1) show the variance in recidivism rates by sanction given to young offenders. Pre-court disposals are associated with the lowest rates of reoffending, while custody is associated with the highest, and young people given short term sentences (of six months or less) are the most frequent reoffenders.

Disposal	%age reoffending within 12 months	
	Year to March 2008	Year to March 2015
Pre-court disposal	24.6%	30.7%
First tier sentence	45.9%	42.3%
Community sentence	66.2%	64.0%
All custody	74.0%	68.7%
Custodial sentences of six months or under	76.7%	77.2%

Table 1: Rates of reoffending by type of disposal from the 12 months ending March 2008 and 2015 (Source: (Ministry of Justice, 2017).

In addition to these official statistics (relating to England and Wales), research by the Beyond Youth Custody programme (2014) highlighted poor outcomes for young prison leavers across a host of 'softer 'outcomes. These include limited support and substantial barriers to appropriate educational, employment, or training opportunities and limited provision of suitable accommodation in the event a young person cannot return to their family. More recently, a thematic inspection of resettlement practice in England concluded:

> "The combination of a lack of suitable, settled and supported accommodation; a deficiency in the services to meet mental health and substance misuse issues and an absence of ETE [employment, training, or education] or other constructive activities did not give them the opportunity to make a success of that transition. On the contrary, it made it more likely that they would fail."(HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015a)

In responding to the conclusions of the report, Bateman and Hazel (2018) ask 'why evidence from the research on resettlement has not been incorporated into mainstream practice' (p.174).

1.4 The Safe Hands programme: foundation for this project

The Safe Hands programme, which is described and analysed in detail in later chapters, is the central focus of my research project. It is designed to provide resettlement support to young prison leavers in the Merseyside area of England and delivered by Everton in The Community, an independent charitable trust associated with Everton Football Club.

1.4.1 Football in The Community organisations

Professional football clubs were first formed in England in the mid-19th Century and are some of the most prominent and long-standing institutions in their local communities. The history of individual English clubs working more formally in their local communities can be traced back to the 1970s, and the first national scheme was launched in 1986, with the aim of improving links between football clubs and their communities (Crabbe & Slaughter, 2004). The election of the New Labour government in 1997 is widely regarded as the catalyst for the growth of the Football in The Community (FiTC) industry in England. FiTC organisations seek to use 'the power of football' to address a range of social issues including health, crime and social regeneration (Mellor, 2008; Conn, 2009; Gibbons, 2016). The adoption of football to facilitate social policy aims might have seemed outlandish a decade earlier, when the reputation of the game in Britain had plummeted following a succession of stadium disasters and seemingly chronic problems with hooliganism (Giulianotti, 2001). Goldblatt (2014) suggests the roots of the adoption of football as a tool of social policy can be found in the rapid cultural renaissance of the game in the 1990s in the UK, following the 1989 Hillsborough disaster and its increasing widespread appeal.

Some of the earliest research on the activities of FiTC schemes documented a degree of cynicism about the motivations for clubs offering community programmes. Some club officials, for example, saw them as a way of increasing their fan base or exerting influence over local politics (Perkins, 2000; Watson, 2000a). However, more recent research has identified a shift towards more altruistic motivations to deliver community programmes (Jenkins and James, 2012). A key change in the FiTC industry has been the move from clubs delivering community activities themselves to activities being delivered by associated, but financially independent, charitable trusts. These are now affiliated with every English professional football club (Richardson and Fletcher, 2018). Jenkins & James (2012) described the relationship between FiTCs and parent clubs in the following terms:

> "While the Trusts undertake the community work of the club, they are a separate entity to the club, have their own staff and offices, and in many cases their own separate website, they are also independently funded, though do receive some in-kind support from the club." (p.8)

A further change has been in the types of programmes, which initially focussed on coaching courses for school-aged children but have since broadened in scope and complexity, with a more recent focus on promoting health and wellbeing. Irrespective of the specific focus of the programmes delivered, FiTCs have been lauded as effective settings for engaging hard to reach groups and as delivering both messaging that might be less well received by programme participants if provided in more official or clinical settings and encouraging outcomes (Ireland and Watkins, 2010; Dunn et al., 2011; Mason and Holt, 2012; Spandler et al., 2013; Kelvin and Lall, 2013; Pringle et al., 2013; Hunt, Wyke, et al., 2014; Lubans, 2014; Bunn et al., 2016; Carone, Tischler and Dening, 2016; Richardson and Fletcher, 2018; Hunt et al., 2020).

1.4.2 FiTC crime reduction programmes

Although FiTC programmes have tended to focus on physical health and wellbeing, there are several instances of programmes which address crime and anti-social behaviour among young people. For example, in 1997 West Ham FC launched a voluntary programme in east London for 'at-risk' young people with support from local probation services and a youth work organisation. Participants spent one day a week with the programme, which involved fitness training, football specific activities, and group discussions with participants about local issues (e.g. gang

membership). While the programme achieved high engagement rates from initial referrals and exposed participants to positive role models, it struggled to attract referrals consistently over time, suffered from high early dropout rates, and there was limited structured monitoring of programme outcomes (Taylor et al., 1999).

The Kicks programme, launched by the English Premier League (EPL) and Sport England in 2006, aimed to use football to engage hard-to-reach young people in deprived communities and divert them from anti-social behaviour and offending (Stone, 2018). An early evaluation by the Football Foundation (2009) demonstrated the scheme's reach (over 30,000 young people engaged via 110 Kicks programmes delivered across 59 local authorities) and cited 60% reductions in crime in the areas where a Kicks programme had operated, with areas of London and the North West reporting crime reductions 'five times greater' (p.6) on the days Kicks was delivered. A more recent study by Richardson and Fletcher (2018) found that participation in Kicks could promote accumulation of bonding social capital, empowerment and self-belief among participants, although the capacity for participants to utilise their newly acquired social capital was sometimes limited.

1.4.3 Prison-based FiTC programmes

While there are examples of FiTCs offering programmes to groups that may have included prison leavers (e.g. veterans[2] or homeless people (Curran et al., 2016)) there is limited evidence of them offering programmes specifically for prison leavers post release. However, there are several examples of FiTCs supporting people in custody and in preparation for release. The Reading FC Community Trust currently delivers workshops on education, physical and sexual heath, and knife crime at HMYOI Reading, and participants can become involved with the Duke of Edinburgh Award and the Prince's Trust[3]. Cardiff City FC Community Foundation has also delivered an adapted version of the 'Premier League Works' employability programmes. This supports prison leavers to achieve qualifications, undertake work placements in the prison, and design and deliver a community action project, enabling some participants to make

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[2] https://www.burnleyfccommunity.org/inclusion/veterans-programme/ [Accessed 24 March 2016].

[3] http://community.readingfc.co.uk/education/duke-of-edinburgh/ [Accessed 14 April 2016].

connections in the community and access volunteering opportunities post-release[4]. Since 2014, Chelsea FC Foundation has delivered a one-week 'Breaking the Cycle' programme to young people approaching release in HMP and YOI Chelmsford, giving them the opportunity to acquire coaching skills and explore lifestyle issues including health and nutrition, and employability skills[5].

While none of these schemes have been formally evaluated, Meek's (2014) research on sport-in prisons highlighted some areas of 'best practice' that could be utilised by FiTCs looking to deliver programmes to people in prison. These include developing partnerships between prisons and football clubs to promote uptake among prisoners and potentially create opportunities for post-release employment and volunteering, fostering links between prisoners and organisations in the community, blending sport with educational activities to increase engagement, and using sport as a reward to encourage achievement in non-sporting areas. While the programmes described above have all been delivered by separate FiTCs, the Twinning Project, launched in October 2018, seeks to create a nationwide network of programmes and to 'twin' prisons with a local football club. These partnerships are intended to support the delivery of football coaching alongside employability-focused qualifications to support prison leavers' preparation for resettlement. The scheme has been endorsed by the UK Government, the English Premier League, and the Professional Footballers' Association (Connectsport, 2018). Specific links between clubs and facilities housing young people include Chelsea FC, Brentford FC, and Millwall FC linking with YOI Feltham, and Liverpool FC partnering with HMP Altcourse (Billington, 2019). Academics from Loughborough University are conducting research into the implementation of the project, evaluating its short and long-term impact on participating prisoners and other key stakeholders[6]. As of late 2019, 45 clubs were paired with one or more prisons (Newson and Whitehouse, 2020). However, most of the provision is currently skewed towards those in prisons and no plans for resettlement programmes have been published.

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[4] https://epale.ec.europa.eu/en/blog/cardiff-city-fc-community-foundation-prison-engagement-programmes [Accessed 13 February 2016].

[5] https://www.essex.pfcc.police.uk/news/helping-to-break-the-cycle-of-reoffending-through-sport/ [Accessed 6 May 2018]

[6] https://www.lboro.ac.uk/news-events/news/2019/august/lboro-uni-announces-twinning-project-partnership/ [Accessed 2 February 2020].

1.4.4 **Everton in The Community**

Safe Hands is a resettlement and rehabilitation intervention delivered by the FiTC associated with Everton FC (EFC), Everton in The Community (EiTC). Established in 1988, EiTC seeks to use the power of football and the Everton FC brand to engage with issues affecting communities in the North West of England and North Wales. EiTC particularly focuses on supporting people who live within the 'Blue Mile' (the area within a one-mile radius of its Goodison Park stadium), in response to the high prevalence of socio-economic deprivation in Liverpool's inner-city areas. EiTC delivers over 40 targeted projects focusing on health, physical activity, education, employment, disability, social inclusion and community cohesion (Everton in the Community, 2018). EITC became a registered charity in 2004 and has since operated as an independent community trust, with projects funded by external bodies and fundraising. Since becoming an independent trust, EiTC has expanded the types of programmes it offers, moving away from using player appearances to support local causes and looking to tackle a wider remit of social agendas including programmes that seek to address social inclusion and provide support for military veterans (Parnell, 2014). In recent years, EiTC has received increasing recognition for the scale and impact of its programmes (Winter, 2015). In 2018, it was recipient of the 'Best Football Community Scheme – Premier League' and 'Best Corporate Social Responsibility Scheme' at the Football Business Awards[7]. Previous research has highlighted that being involved with EiTC programmes is a source of pride for participants (Curran et al., 2014).

1.4.5 **Safe Hands**

Safe Hands, launched in 2012, was part of the five-year 'Youth in Focus' initiative, which divested funding from the Big Lottery to programmes aiming to work with three groups of marginalised young people: care-leavers; carers: and young people leaving custody. This resulted in 15 programmes for young prison leavers, including Safe Hands, which formed a partnership known as 'Beyond Youth Custody'. The Beyond Youth Custody programmes were overseen by a multi-disciplinary team consisting of the social

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[7] See: http://www.evertonfc.com/community/news/2018/11/23/eitc-scoops-trio-of-awards [Accessed 16 December 2019].

justice charity Nacro, and three research and evaluation partners: Applied Research in Community Safety; The University of Salford Centre for Social Research; and the University of Bedfordshire Vauxhall Centre for the Study of Crime. Safe Hands received local recognition as the recipient of the 2013 Northwest Football Award[8] and national coverage when featured in a 2018 BBC *Match of the Day* programme[9]. Following its initial five-year funding (2012-2017), Safe Hands has received funding from the Premier League Charitable Fund and, in 2018, £700,000 from the Home Office's Early Intervention Youth Fund to extend its work into schools and youth centres.

1.4.5.1 Safe Hands programme model and aims

Safe Hands is a voluntary intervention that supports the resettlement of young people, aged between 15-21 years in custody. To be eligible, a young person must be exiting custody and returning to an address in the Liverpool City Region[10]. It aims to:

- Prevent participants from re-offending, offering a positive diversion from negative social influences, and equipping them with better coping mechanisms and support structures to deal with life events.
- Help participants to address the often-complex issues that led to their sentencing, allowing them to develop emotional coping strategies to reduce their re-offending risk.
- Support young participants to have a measurable increase in confidence and optimism about their future and develop a clear understanding of the steps they will take to reach their life goals.
- Support participants to acquire a new range of skills and accredited qualifications, to help them succeed in education, training, or employment.
- Build trust and communication between participants and their local community, alleviating community mistrust and challenging the negative stigma associated with young prison leavers (Youth Justice Board, 2012).

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[8] See: http://www.evertonfc.com/community/youth-engagement-programmes/the-projects/safe-hands [Accessed 21 August 2016].

[9] See: https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/av/football/43021199 [Accessed 15 February 2018].

[10] This area includes Liverpool, Halton, Knowsley, Sefton, St. Helens and the Wirral (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2013).

Safe Hands is delivered using a three-stage pathway, 'Pre-season', 'Mid-season' and 'End of season'. Following a young person's referral, Pre-season begins between two and eight months before their release from custody. During this time, the Safe Hands team seek to develop positive relationships with the young person and to work on resettlement planning, including an assessment of the young person's circumstances and the co-creation of an action plan to identify any practical barriers to resettlement and achievement of their future goals.

The Mid-season stage begins after a young person's release from custody and involves 25 hours per week of constructive, generative, and experiential activities. Participants also receive one-to-one mentoring support and are encouraged to access other EiTC programmes.

End of Season refers to when the Safe Hands team support young people to access employment, education, or training opportunities and possible peer mentoring or volunteer roles. Additionally, the Safe Hands team help a young person in moving on from the programme when ready, with the offer of continual support through this process if required (Everton in the Community, 2012).

1.5 Rationale for this study

A question I have commonly been asked during my PhD, is why I or society should care about young people in custody or what happens after they leave custody? One response to this is that while incarceration produces short-term reductions in their criminal activity, we know that when young people leave custody, they are highly likely to reoffend and return to custody. There are numerous potential benefits of improving resettlement outcomes for young prison leavers, as summarised by Senior (2003):

> "Resettlement is everyone's business. If we get resettlement right, then there will be significant benefits for local communities. A region with effective resettlement strategies would expect to see less crime, fewer victims of crime, reduced homelessness, a larger and more skilled labour market and more cohesive communities. There would also be large financial savings through lower criminal justice costs, health costs and the costs to victims of crimes." (p.1)

In addition to reducing reoffending and improving other outcomes for young prison leavers, there is an economic rationale for improving resettlement outcomes (Hazel et

al., 2012). The Ministry of Justice has estimated the costs of recidivism by all young offenders as £1.5 billion, with that of reoffending by young prison leavers totalling £74 million (Newton et al., 2019).

Recent evidence suggests that, compared to the costs of young people's imprisonment and likely reoffending, there are smaller outlays involved in delivering resettlement programmes and considerable potential accrued financial savings. Using a cost benefit analysis approach, Renshaw (2007), for example, calculated the costs of delivering resettlement programmes ranged from almost £10,000 per year per young person (high risk cases with complex needs) to just over £6,000 (those deemed to be lower risk with fewer needs). She further calculated that if a resettlement programme successfully prevented a young prison leaver from reoffending for one year, this equated to a saving of around £10,000 per year for each high-risk young offender and £15,000 for those at lower risk. She identified that if these savings were extrapolated to the entire population of young people in custody at the time (2007), upwards of £80 million could be saved each year from reduced reoffending.

In a more recent example, when evaluating the Second Chance Sporting Academies (see Chapter 2), Meek (2012a) described average annual costs of £47,137 to keep a young person in custody. Contrastingly, the Second Chance Sporting Academies cost £183,000 to run for two years and supported 81 young people, equating to £1,130 per young person per year. Meek concluded that if two participants were prevented from reoffending for one year then the project would have more than covered its implementation costs.

The message from these two studies is clear. If resettlement programmes, which cost less to run than to keep young people in custody, can successfully prevent reoffending by young prison leavers then there is a significant fiscal saving to the state, as well as a wide range of benefits to the young prison leavers themselves.

1.5.1 Why does this thesis consider possible translation of the Safe Hands model within Scotland?

1.5.1.1 The Scottish youth justice system

Scotland has had a different legal system from other parts of the UK for many centuries (Lynch, 2007). Since the latter part of the Twentieth Century, Scotland's youth justice system has broadly adhered to a 'welfarist' approach to tackling youth crime. This is considered distinct from approaches taken in most other contexts internationally (Audit Scotland, 2012), and has historically been contrasted with the more punitive approaches to youth offending implemented in other UK criminal jurisdictions (McVie, 2017).

The roots of Scotland's welfarist approach to youth justice can be found in the Kilbrandon Report (1964). In what was a radical argument at the time, the report proposed responding to offending by children and young people by removing those under 16 years of age from adult criminal procedures, except for extremely serious offences. In addition, it proposed that cases requiring "compulsory measures of care"[11] should be brought to a panel of three members, which became known as the Children's Hearing System, and placed an emphasis on supporting troubled young people to develop and change, rather than punishing them for their misdemeanours (The Scottish Prison Commission, 2008).

The conclusions of the Kilbrandon report informed the basis of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968, the ethos of which has been retained in subsequent legislation, including the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 and the Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act 2011. The cumulative result of this body of legislation has been to create a youth justice legal framework in Scotland that seeks to "improve life chances for children and young people, and to work with children, their families and communities to prevent offending and re-offending" (Centre for Youth & Criminal Justice, 2018, p. 1).

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[11] The grounds (legal reasons) for bringing a child or young person before a hearing are set down in section 52(2) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 and include that the child: is beyond the control of parents or carers; is at risk of moral danger; is or has been the victim of an offence, including physical injury or sexual abuse; is likely to suffer serious harm to health or development through lack of care; is misusing drugs, alcohol or solvents; has committed an offence; is not attending school regularly without a reasonable excuse; is subject to an antisocial behaviour order and the Sheriff requires the case to be referred to a children's hearing.

Some criticisms have been levied at Scotland's claims towards a 'welfarist' approach to youth justice. The system has been criticised for its tendency to 'recycle' repeat offenders, who are predominantly young white males from deprived backgrounds (McAra and McVie, 2007). Repeated contact with the youth justice system can jeopardise these young people's attempts to desist from crime on release and puts them at risk of transitioning to the adult criminal justice system (McAra and McVie, 2010). Additionally, historical rates of youth imprisonment in Scotland have at times been amongst the highest in Europe (The Scottish Prison Commission, 2008). The age of criminal responsibility in Scotland is eight years old, which is lower than in England and Wales where it is set at 10 years old (the age in Scotland has recently risen to 12 years old following the Scottish Parliament's approval of the Age of Criminal Responsibility (Scotland) Bill in May 2019[12]). A further criticism of the youth justice system in Scotland has been that, under successive Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition governments between 1999 and 2007, a series of policies were introduced, which included the fast-tracking of sentencing for persistent young offenders. These served to align Scottish youth justice policy with the punitive policy environment created by successive Westminster-based New Labour governments, and were regarded as the 'antithesis of the Kilbrandon aims' (McAra and McVie, 2019, p. 78).

1.5.1.2 Current trends of youth crime in Scotland

Like the pattern seen in England, various data suggest a dramatic decline in offending by young people in Scotland from the late 1990s and into the early 21st century. Conviction rates among men aged 16-20 years decreased by over 70% between 1989 and 2012 (Matthews, 2016); referrals to the Children's Hearing System for 8-15-year olds declined by 80% between 2006/7 and 2015/16; conviction rates among 16 and 17 years olds decreased by over 75% between 2005/6 and 2015/16; and the use of custodial sentences for young people aged under 21 years declined by 60% between 1996/97 and 2013/14 (McAra and McVie, 2017a).

In attempting to account for this decrease in youth offending, McAra and McVie (2017) proposed three explanations. Firstly, they point to observed changes in youth behaviour, which indicate declining levels of fighting, gang membership, spending time on the streets, and other risk-taking behaviours (Brooks et al., 2014). Secondly, they refer to a

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[12] https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/Bills/107986.aspx [Accessed 13 August 2019].

possible 'displacement' effect which describes how the location of young peoples' offending may have shifted from traditional 'street-based' offending to cyberspace, which is policed to a far less extent than offending by young people in urban landscapes. For example, one-third of young people aged between 12 and 15 years in Scotland admit to having illegally downloaded copyrighted media from the internet (Herlitz et al., 2016) and up to 15% of online offences related to the sharing of indecent images of children are committed by other children and young people (Belton and Hollis, 2016). McAra and McVie also suggest that changes to youth justice policy introduced by the SNP have resulted in more young people being diverted away from, and out of, the youth justice system. However, they also note that some of the observed reductions in youth criminality preceded the election of the SNP and that these decreases can be seen as part of a wider decline in youth crime across Europe (Berghuis and Waard, 2017). When reflecting on the cumulative effects of these changes, McAra and McVie (2017) explain that while there are fewer young people being processed by the youth justice system, those that remain have extremely complex needs (such as extensive histories of trauma and abuse) and come from Scotland's most deprived and marginalised communities.

1.5.1.3 Youth custody trends in Scotland

Given the previously discussed evidence which suggests that youth crime or, perhaps more accurately, *recorded* youth crime, declined markedly in Scotland in the early years of the 21st century, it is not surprising to see a similar trend in relation to the numbers of young people in custody. Figure 1 shows the average daily population of young people aged under 21 years in custody in Scotland between 2000/01 and 2017/18. In line with previous descriptions of the punitive policies enacted by Labour led coalition governments in the early years of post-devolution, the number of young people in custody mostly increased until 2007/08. From a high of almost 1,300 young people (aged under 21 years) in custody in June 2009 the number had reduced by over 70% in June 2017 (Robinson, Leishman and Lightowler, 2017). According to Sturge (2019), 'on-going technical difficulties' (p.14) have led to delays in the publication of detailed Scottish prisons data. The data presented here are taken from Scottish Prison Service annual reports on prison population data, which only include data on young people aged under 21 years.
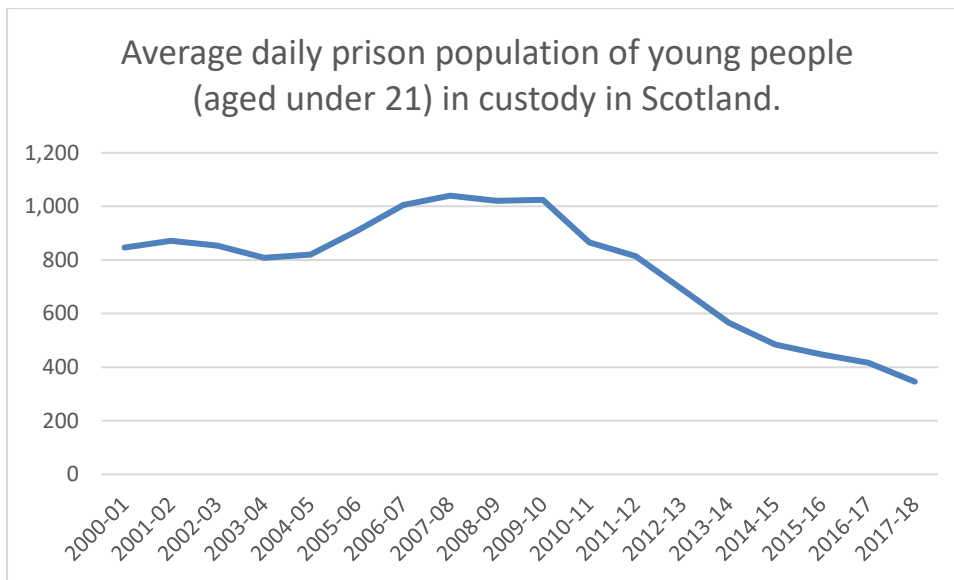
Figure 1: Numbers of young people aged under 21 years in custody in Scotland between 2000/01 – 2017/18 (Source: Scottish Prison Service).

Given the harmful effects associated with time in custody during adolescence (O'Neill, Strnadová and Cumming, 2017), the decline in the numbers of young people in prison in Scotland is encouraging. However, despite fewer young people in prison, and thus fewer being released back into the community, similarly positive developments have not been seen in outcomes for young prison leavers in Scotland. Indeed, the Scottish Prison Service (SPS) found that almost half of young people aged 16-21 years who were released from custody in 2014-15 reoffended within 12 months of release (Robinson, Leishman and Lightowler, 2017). Data on reconviction rates for the cohort that were released from custody in 2014-15 indicate that, with the exception of prisoners released on Drug Treatment and Testing Orders, young people have the highest reconviction rate of all the age groups, and the rate at which offenders under the age of 21 years are being reconvicted is increasing (The Scottish Government, 2017).

To summarise, Scotland experiences similar high reoffending rates among young prison leavers to England. There are also broad similarities between the past histories and needs of young people in prison in Scotland and England (Hazel, 2008). Additionally, FiTC organisations in Scotland (henceforth referred to as SFiTC) have also been shown to have great potential for the delivery of social and health programmes, as in England, with respect to engaging hard-to-reach groups and as fertile sites for promoting behaviour change (Hunt et al., 2014).

1.5.1.4 Transferring interventions to new contexts

Given potential similarities between the client group and the types of organisations, it might be assumed that a programme like Safe Hands could be seamlessly transferred to a Scottish context. However, transferring interventions to new settings, even similar ones, is, to borrow a football analogy, not an open goal: 'Rarely if ever is the 'same' programme equally effective in all circumstances because of the influence of contextual factors" (Pawson, Walshe and Greenhalgh, 2004, p.7). Studies have shown that programmes delivered in new contexts can be less effective or even harmful (Veniegas, Kao and Rosales, 2009). Evans et al (2019) suggest it is important to consider differences in the contexts within which interventions will be delivered when exploring the potential for translating them into new settings. They define intervention context as:

> "A set of active and unique characteristics and circumstances that interact with, modify, facilitate, or constrain intervention delivery and effects. It contains geographical, epidemiological, sociocultural, socioeconomic, ethical, and legal and political determinants." (p.481)

Davey et al (2018) have also recommended that factors such as client characteristics, programme staff, and organisational resources should be considered. In addition to research about the new context, the NHS National Patient Safety Office (2018), advise that understanding potential implementation issues which may arise in a new setting is critical. Unruh, Gagnon, and MaGee (2018) advise that when considering the feasibility of delivering interventions for young offenders in a new setting, project managers and deliverers should:

> "consider the unique characteristics of the juvenile justice or community setting, justice-involved youth, and service provider characteristics to ensure appropriate adaptions are made to an intervention, while maintaining its core components." (p.214)

Safe Hands is comprised of a set of components that are intended to be delivered in a certain way and a certain order. However, some elements of the Scottish context may result in it being difficult or impossible to deliver one or more of these components. For example, although Safe Hands is delivered by an external organisation, it sits alongside the English youth justice system, which is distinct from that in Scotland. McVie (2011), for example, describes the English and Scottish youth justice systems as 'wildly divergent' (p.107) from one another with 'striking differences in terms of principles and

practice' (p.112). Some aspects of the Scottish youth justice system might, therefore, enable or hamper delivery of the programme as currently delivered by EiTC.

1.6 Research aims and questions

This thesis had two aims. **Firstly**, it sought to expand the evidence base for the use of interventions delivered by Football in The Community organisations to support the resettlement of young prison leavers. It examined one intervention, the Safe Hands programme, to deepen understandings of the mechanisms by which such programmes support the resettlement of young prison leavers.

The **second aim** was to explore the potential for delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland by analysing the organisational landscape of the SFiTCs. The analysis that follows explores barriers and facilitators within the Scottish Throughcare and SFiTC contexts to delivering a programme like Safe Hands. The following research questions were developed to address these aims:

1. How does the Safe Hands programme, as delivered by Everton in the Community, support the resettlement of young prison leavers?

2. What, if any, barriers affected the delivery of Safe Hands?

3. What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Throughcare context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

4. What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Football in the Community context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

1.7 Thesis structure

This thesis lends itself to cellular structure. Consequently, the three main findings chapters relating to Safe Hands, Scottish Football in The Community stakeholders, and Scottish Throughcare stakeholders, are presented in a format like standalone papers. Each chapter, therefore, includes an overview of relevant literature, methods, sample frames, ethical concerns, data analysis, findings, and a discussion. For this reason, the chapters describing the overarching (scene-setting) literature (Chapter 2) and

overarching methodological issues (Chapter 3) are relatively short. It is hoped that presenting these three distinct, but inter-related phases of fieldwork and analysis, separately improves clarity.

So, following on from this Introduction, Chapter 2 presents an overview of literature, focusing on two areas: resettlement theory, practice, and the barriers experience by young prison leavers; and the role of sport in reducing youth crime, including how it has been used to support the rehabilitation of young people in prison and post-release.

Chapter 3 describes the rationale behind my epistemological stance and my decision to use qualitative methods in all three strands of fieldwork and associated ethical concerns applying to all phases of my research.

Chapter 4 presents my research with Safe Hands. As Safe Hands provides the foundation for my research in Scotland, this is the most substantial chapter in the thesis.

Chapter 5 presents my research with Scottish Throughcare stakeholders.

Chapter 6 presents my research with SFiTC stakeholders.

In Chapter 7, I discuss how the findings from my research can be used to consider individual level barriers to identity change in young prison leavers and how the findings from my research can be linked to a systems thinking approach to appraise the wider systems of support for young people leaving prison. I then discuss the feasibility of whether a programme like Safe Hands could be delivered in Scotland. Strengths and limitations of my research are then presented along with some personal reflections on my experiences of research within young people living in prison in Scotland. I conclude my discussion by offering recommendations for policy makers and practice.

2 Literature review

2.1 Overview

This review explores two overarching areas of literature related to my research: resettlement theory and practice; and the role of sport in reducing youth crime. The section on resettlement theory and practice considers the absence of theory related to prisoner resettlement, highlights a new resettlement theory of change relating to young prison leavers and describes resettlement programme models and barriers to resettlement. The overview of literature exploring the role of sport in reducing youth crime considers several different conceptualisations of sport-based crime reduction programmes, examples of previous sports-based resettlement programmes and a theory of change which seeks to demonstrate how sports-based programmes might promote a reduction in offending by young people.

2.1.1 Literature search strategy

My literature search strategy focussed on locating studies relevant to my research questions (Hart, 2014). I therefore searched for literature relating to: the resettlement of young people leaving prison; and sport in relation to crime reduction and the resettlement of prison leavers. This involved three main approaches: 1) searches for peer-reviewed journal articles were conducted in the University of Glasgow 'Summons' search function as a starting point, this covers all of the physical and electronic titles that the library owns or subscribes to and details of additional content that the it does not subscribe to, Google Scholar, and the following additional databases: EThOS, SocINDEX, and Web of Science ; 2) searches for government literature, including government reports from evaluations, within the Youth Justice Board's, Ministry of Justice's, and Scottish Government's publications databases; and 3) reference trails, reference lists and bibliographies from eligible and included texts were examined, and where relevant, traced. In some cases this required the use of the University of Glasgow's 'Article Reach' service or inter-library loans to source articles in journals the university did not have a subscription for, or books held in other libraries. Titles and abstracts were considered and selected for inclusion based on two criteria: 1) if they dealt with resettlement theory and barriers to resettlement experienced by young people leaving prison; 2 if they dealt with research on sport in relation to crime prevention, rehabilitation, resettlement or with prison populations. Although searches

were not limited to English language studies, all studies eventually cited in this review were written in English. The research literature reviewed covers a spectrum of methodological approaches including project evaluations (Nichols, 1994), smaller qualitative studies (Smith and Waddington, 2004), literature reviews (Robins, Waldman and Waldman, 1996), theory generative research projects (Coalter, 2012), and mixed-method studies (Meek, 2012). As stated above, the literature reviewed in this chapter explores the overarching areas of literature related to my research. In addition to the literature reviewed in this chapter, and in line with cellular structure this thesis adopts, each chapter addressing the different strands of my research begins with an introduction to the research context that scopes further literature relevant to the research questions those chapters address. The primary combinations of terms used in the two literature searches are listed in Table 2 and 3 below.

Table 2: Primary search terms used for resettlement literature search.

Term 1	and Term 2	and Term 3
juvenile Or youth or young or child or minor r young adult Or theory	Custody Or prison Or custodial Or secure Or delinquent* Or offend* Or barriers	resettlement Or aftercare Or throughcare Or re-entry Or liberation

Table 3: Primary search terms used for sport and crime reduction literature

Term1	and Term 2	and Term 3
sport Or physical activity	crim*, offend*, devian*	diversion Or reduction Or rehabil* Or resettlement Or aftercare Or throughcare Or prison Or programme* Or intervention

2.2 Theorising prisoner resettlement

Over 40 years ago, Mays (1976) remarked that prisoner resettlement was 'a frequently neglected aspect of penology' (p.94). While the volume of research on resettlement has increased since the 1970s, and particularly since the year 2000 (Lucken, 2018), a glaring absence has been literature *theorising* prisoner resettlement (Simon, 1993; Rhine, 1997; Raynor, 2007; Wincup and Hucklesby, 2007). This is perplexing, given that criminology has produced numerous theories to explain offending, such as labelling theory (Akers, 2013) and strain theory (Agnew, 1992). The absence of theory to explain prisoner resettlement suggests a bias within criminological research, towards research and theorisation which explains onset of offending (Byrne and Hummer, 2016; Newburn, 2016).

It has been suggested that the absence of theories about prisoner resettlement has had implications for resettlement programmes, which have been implemented with limited theoretical foundations. Maloney, Bazemore and Hudson (2001), for example, state:

> "If there is an intervention theory in use [to inform resettlement programmes], it is generally based on the rather bizarre assumption that surveillance and some guidance can steer the offender straight." (p.24)

Similar views were expressed by Ward and Maruna (2007) several years later:

> "for much of its history the practice of rehabilitation has taken place within a theoretical vacuum, with no clear explanation for how the process is supposed to work." (p.28)

Authors have highlighted the potential implications of an absence of theory for resettlement programmes, including support being haphazard and poorly planned (Maguire and Rayner, 2006), and so-called 'implementation failures', which refer to programmes not being delivered as intended because of a lack of clarity about what they are supposed to achieve (Ward and Maruna, 2007).

An example of the theoretical vacuum concerning resettlement programmes can be found in Crow's (2006) conclusions from a UK government review of resettlement services. This highlighted a lack of research exploring how resettlement support was provided, why it was done in the ways it was, and to what degree different models were thought to be effective. Similar views continue to feature in criticisms of how statutory

resettlement support for young prison leavers in England is structured. The Youth Justice Board (2006, 2014) 'pathways' model to guide young prison leaver resettlement is based on the premise that addressing identified criminogenic risk factors will reduce reoffending (e.g. Farrington, 2002). The model outlines seven key pathways where young prison leavers might need support: accommodation; education, training and employment; substance misuse; health; families; finance benefits and debt; and case management and transitions. Crank (2014) is critical of this type of risk factor-led approach to resettlement as it neglects supporting cognitive changes that could lead to a person adopting a non-offending identity. Further criticism of the pathways approach to resettlement centres on how it could lead to compartmentalisation of resettlement support, which fails to acknowledge the interdependency of many of the issues facing young prison leavers. As Hedderman (2012) observes, 'getting a job, when you are homeless and drug addicted is not going to make the difference' (p.14). Writing more recently, Bateman and Hazel (2018) summarised their objections to the pathway approach to resettlement because it:

> "encourages an inadequate conception of resettlement which views good practice in terms of a raft of disparate principles that somehow combine to deliver effective transitions. There has been no attempt to identify a high-level aim for resettlement beyond preventing reoffending." (p.176)

In summarising the apparent disconnect between resettlement theory and practice, McNeill (2006) argues that resettlement interventions are overly concerned with what *should* change at the expense of *how* change occurs. This argument is supported by Moore and Hamilton (2016) who, following their qualitative study of resettlement support at an 'open' male prison in England, concluded that the content and structure of much existing resettlement provision was not predicated on either theoretical understandings or empirical evidence as to how and why these interventions might work, but rather on supporting prison leavers to access key services (e.g. health care; accommodation) in the community.

2.2.1 A resettlement theory of change

Much of the academic research about prisoner resettlement has focussed on adult male prison leavers (Western, 2018)we. When reviewing the literature on youth resettlement, Mears and Travis (2004) commented that:

> "Unfortunately, even a cursory glance at the research literature and the policy landscape reveals just how little is known about the transition of young people from prisons to communities or how best to increase the likelihood that the transitions are successful … the foundation for systematically understanding and addressing the challenges of youth re-entry remains largely undeveloped." (p.5)

A recent contribution to the youth resettlement literature has been the research products from the Beyond Youth Custody programme. The Beyond Youth Custody scheme comprised 15 different resettlement programmes for young prison leavers. The projects themselves varied in terms of target group, type of service delivered, funding periods and launch dates, partnership arrangements and oversight, and approach to delivery. For example, some specifically worked with young female prison leavers and some only worked with young prison leavers for a fixed period of time while others adopted a more open-ended approach (Goodfellow and Liddle, 2017). Beyond Youth Custody produced publications on several aspects of youth resettlement, including the role of family support (Hazel et al., 2016), resettlement support for gang-involved young prison leavers (Factor, Pitts and Bateman, 2015) and the specific vulnerability experienced by young women during resettlement (Wright and Factor, 2014). The concluding product of the BYC programme was a resettlement theory of change. Theories of change explain how and why a desired change is expected to happen (Taplin et al., 2013), and have been increasingly used to inform the design of interventions, including those designed to improve the lives of disadvantaged populations (Brest, 2010). Hazel et al (2017) claim that theirs is the first theory of change to seek to explain the resettlement of young prison leavers, and suggests this should be reframed as a process which:

> "involves the young person shifting their identity away from one that is conducive to offending to one that promotes a crime-free life and social inclusion." (p.6)

Figure 2 shows the 'transformative journey' from pro-offending to pro-social identity that Hazel et al (2017) conceptualise young people undertake during resettlement. As they note, this transformation 'relates closely' (p.4) to the concept of desistance.
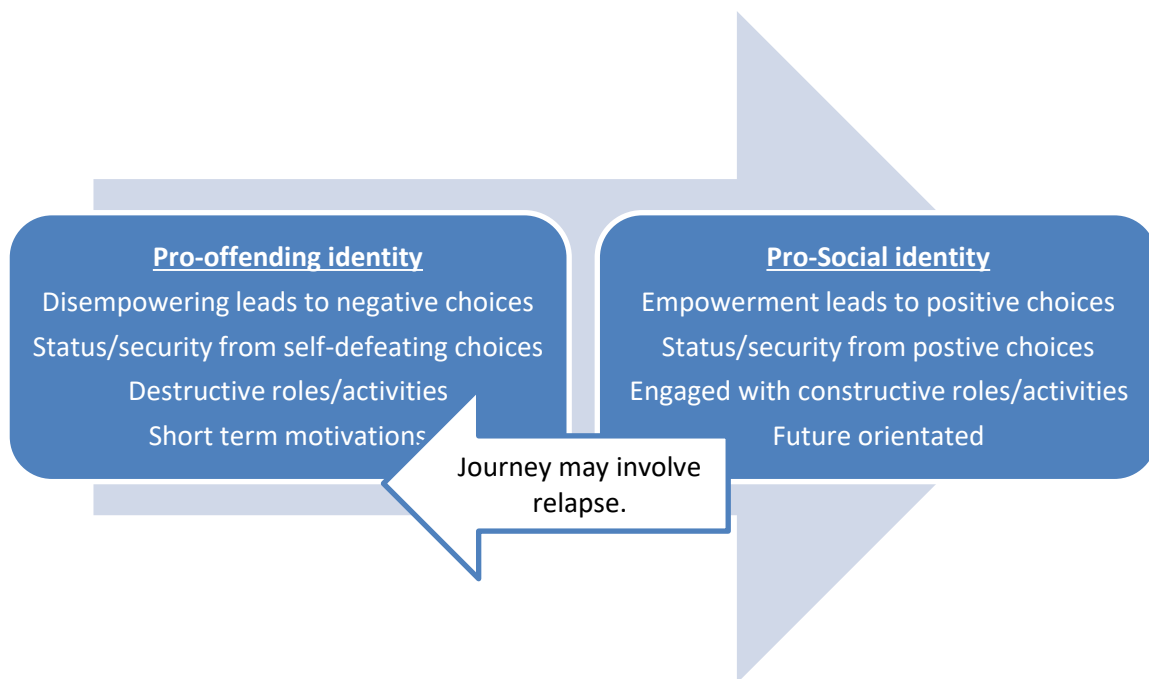
Figure 2: Process of identity change during resettlement (adapted from Hazel et al (2017)).

Research about desistance explores the circumstances and scenarios which prompt individuals to gravitate towards becoming law-abiding citizens and drawing back from previous offending (e.g. Barry, 2013; Burnett, 2004; Burnett & McNeill, 2005; Farrall & Bowling, 1999; Griffin, 2006; Maguire, 2006; Maruna, 2010; McNeill & Maruna, 2007; McNeill, 2006; Robertson et al, 2006; Soyer, 2014). Desistance theories suggest it can be explained in three different ways (Graham, 2016; Rocque, 2015). *Sociogenic explanations* refer to how the social bonds formed by an offender, which could be personal (e.g. marriage) or structural (e.g. getting a job), exert a moderating effect on their behaviour and give them a stake in life which they seek to protect by ceasing offending (Laub, Nagin and Sampson, 1998). *Ontogenic explanations* are based on the relationships between age and offending, which indicate that people move away from offending as they age and mature (Rocque, 2017; Shapland & Bottoms, 2011). The last explanation, and the one which most closely aligns with Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change, suggests that desistance is driven by *narrative shifts* (Maruna, 2004). Drawing on her research on therapeutic communities in prisons, Stevens (2012) describes these shifts in identity as:

> "purposive and agentic reconstruction[s] of identity and narrative reframing so that a 'new' and 'better' person might emerge whose attitudes and behaviours cohere with long-term desistance from crime." (p.527)

In addition to narrative explanations, Hazel et al (2017) also make connections with 'secondary desistance theory' (p.4). Primary and secondary desistance form a two-tier model of desistance developed by Maruna & Farrall (2004). Primary desistance refers to a period when someone ceases offending and secondary desistance to a more deep-seated change in someone as they assume identity as a non-offender which, according to Weaver and McNeill (2007) involves 'narrative reconstruction' (p.6). This identity change is often catalysed by positive developments in an individual's circumstances (Maruna & Farrall, 2004; Maruna, Porter, & Carvalho, 2004).

Hazel et al (2017) are building on the views of others who have argued for greater alignment between research on desistance and on prisoner resettlement. Maruna, Immarigeon and LeBel (2013), for example, suggest that the concepts of desistance and resettlement are a 'natural fit', on the basis that research on desistance focusses on why and how people cease criminal activity, and that resettlement policies and practice are concerned with ensuring former prisoners avoid resuming offending after release from prison. Developing this idea, Kazemian (2016) argues for greater integration between research on desistance and prisoner resettlement but acknowledges:

> "Desistance research has primarily emphasised theoretical advancements, research on prisoner re-entry has focussed on the practical implications." (p.53)

The lack of research exploring how understandings of desistance could inform resettlement practice is unfortunate, since it could have important implications for how people are supported after they leave prison. For example, the rigid and inflexible ways in which some prison leavers are managed in the community fails to account for the uneven nature of desistance (Burnett, 2004; McNeill and Batchelor, 2009) and results in large numbers of people returning to prison.

2.2.1.1 The role of resettlement services in Beyond Youth Custody's resettlement theory of change

Hazel et al (2017) acknowledge that 'Changing the way [young prison leavers think] about themselves is challenging' (p.8), particularly as a spell in custody may strengthen

attachment to a criminal identity and being known as an offender can be a source of status and security (Factor, Pitts and Bateman, 2015). Additionally, the journey from a lifestyle of sustained offending typically involves relapses into offending behaviour (McNeill and Batchelor, 2002; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Maguire, 2006; Youssef, Casey and Day, 2017).

Hazel et al's (2017) theory of change positions young prison leavers as the 'central agent[s]' (p.7) in their own resettlement journey. At the outset of this journey, many of these young people are emotionally vulnerable. Hazel et al (2017) acknowledge that young prison leavers will likely have multiple and complex needs; a history of being excluded from social institutions and negative experiences of social support; occupy a disempowered place in society; and exhibit entrenched patterns of offending. Their periods in custody may have exacerbated these difficulties, served to underline their pro-offending identity and behaviours, and could strongly influence how they behave after they are released, particularly if they are exposed to stressful situations (Lockwood and Hazel, 2015).

In terms of how resettlement support should therefore be best structured to promote narrative shifts in young prison leavers, Hazel et al (2017) suggest that it should provide personal and structural support to scaffold a narrative shift from anti to pro-social. They describe the required personal support as involving establishing relationships with young people while they are in custody and identifying resettlement goals, strengthening these relationships in the community, and promoting sustained engagement between young prison leavers and the resettlement service post-release, and eventually supporting them to disengage from the resettlement programme in a managed way. Structural support refers to planning and delivering resettlement support throughout a young person's sentence, confirming involvement with community services before release, and ensuring prompt support upon a young person's release. The personal and structural supports described by Hazel et al (2017) are summarised in Figures 3 and 4.
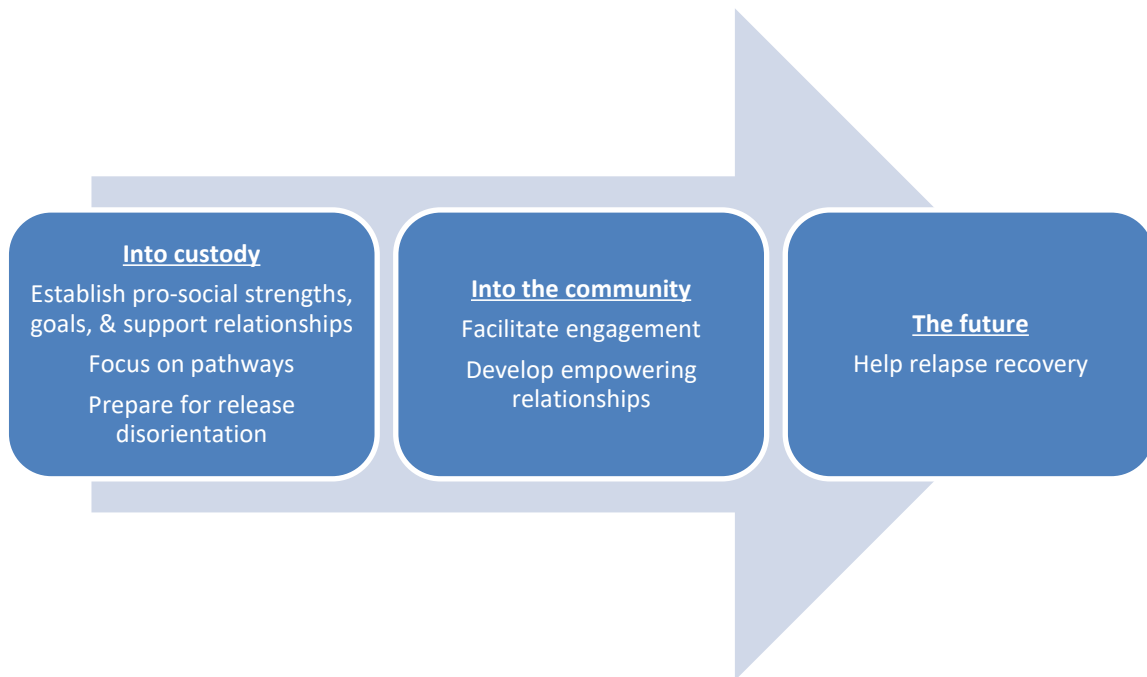
Figure 3: The role of personal support provided by resettlement services: guiding the shift (adapted from Hazel et al (2017)).
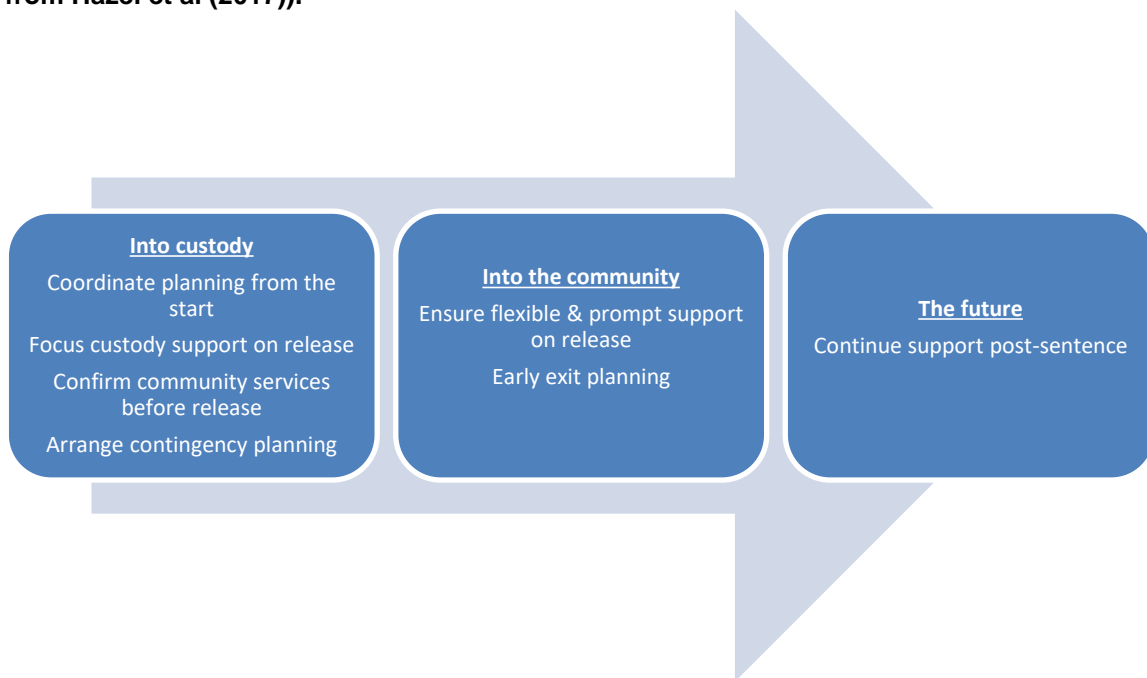
Figure 4: The role of structural support provided by resettlement services: enabling the shift (adapted from Hazel et al (2017)).

In addition to highlighting the need for young prison leavers to receive personal and structural support, Hazel et al (2017) identify several key characteristics for resettlement services, which they refer to as 'the five C's. These can be summarised as suggesting resettlement support should strive to be: constructive and strengths-based;

co-created with the young person; customised to a young person's needs; consistently focussed on identity from the start of the sentence; and co-ordinated to ensure that additional agencies involved in supporting a young person work to the same aims.

2.3 Resettlement programme models

Despite problems concerning a lack of theory to inform resettlement provision, several different models of resettlement support have been described in the literature and are discussed below. Resettlement programmes are delivered by a range of different organisations including statutory agencies (e.g., Youth Offending Teams) funded by central government and those delivered by third-sector organisations which rely on external funding. Resettlement programmes can offer holistic resettlement support, such as the St Giles Trust[13], which focuses on meeting most of prison leavers' needs, or take a more targeted approach, such as the Forward Trust's Vision Housing programme, which helps prison leavers source privately rented housing[14].

In their review of different resettlement programme models, Hucklesby and Wincup (2007) identify three different types of resettlement support: prison-based; community-based; and a hybrid model, often referred to as 'through the gate', which supports people in custody and then in the community following their release. As described below, each model presents its own advantages and limitations.

2.3.1 Prison-based resettlement support

Prison-based resettlement programmes offer support to people solely while they are in custody and, according to Hucklesby and Wincup (2007) have several advantages. These include resettlement staff having regular and convenient access to clients in custody, who can be more elusive to engage with in the community. Being prison-based also provides the potential to support the development of stronger relationships with prisoners. Additionally, resettlement staff may have the chance to gain in-depth knowledge of prison systems and the types of support available to prisoners. They will also have greater visibility in the prison, which may increase referrals from other prison staff. However, being exclusively prison-based also raises some limitations and

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[13] https://www.stgilestrust.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-with/criminal-justice [Accessed 28 November 2016].

[14] https://www.forwardtrust.org.uk/our-services/housing/ [Accessed 13 October 2016].

difficulties. For example, resettlement support that only takes place in prisons risks leaving prison leavers insufficiently prepared for the transition to the community which heightens the chances of reoffending. Prison-based resettlement can also be undermined by high staff turnovers and the need for new staff to wait for security clearance to work in prisons (Millings et al., 2019). Prison-based resettlement services also must operate under the prison regime. Their ability to deliver resettlement services may be undermined by low prison staffing levels and security incidents, which can hamper access to prisoners, or management regimes which are more concerned with safety and security than rehabilitation (Joyce, 2013). Prison-based resettlement workers may have limited knowledge of services available to prison leavers in the community, particularly if the community to which an individual is returning to is far away from the prison (Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007).

2.3.2 **Community-based resettlement support**

Community-based resettlement services offer support to people after leaving custody and normally begin at the point of release. Prompt support at this juncture has been found to be important because the period immediately following release is often when a prison leaver's behaviour and circumstance are most volatile (Hopkin et al., 2018). The intense vulnerability often experienced during this period puts prison leavers at risk of becoming homeless (Brunton-Smith and Hopkins, 2013), relapsing into substance abuse (Matheson, Doherty and Grant., 2011) and death (Binswanger et al., 2007). However, having resettlement support delivered only in the community limits the opportunity for these services to identify prison leavers' resettlement needs before liberation (Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007). There is also no opportunity for staff to build relationships with people before their release, which is something that prisoners appear to value and can increase the chance of them engaging with support in the community (McIvor, Barry, MacRae, Malloch, & Murray, 2006; Meredith, 1998).

2.3.3 **Through the-gate resettlement support**

Through-the-gate resettlement programmes bridge the custody and community divide by supporting people in prison and then in the community post-release. This has been identified as possibly the most effective model of resettlement provision (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2001; Ministry of Justice, 2013). Hucklesby and Wincup (2007) suggest it offers all the advantages of community and prison-based services in one

model, but also acknowledge that it should not be regarded as a panacea and that studies have pointed to challenges with implementation. To illustrate, because through-the-gate support spans two settings, its efficacy depends on systems being sufficiently integrated so that the services offered to people in custody and the community operate in tandem rather than independently. Several reports have highlighted shortcomings of through-the-gate resettlement support, including difficulties when prison-based staff could not access the IT system used by their colleagues providing community support, poor communication between community- and prison-based staff, and community-based staff having poor knowledge of prison services and systems (HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2016; Taylor, Burke, Millings, & Ragonese, 2017).

2.4 Barriers to young prison leaver resettlement

Although research about prison leavers tends to be dominated by studies from an adult perspective (Hazel et al, 2012), there is now an increasing literature that considers the issues that young prison leavers can face during resettlement. These studies tend to focus on structural barriers to resettlement, rather than how young prison leavers experience the transition from custody to community. The following section outlines the barriers that young prison leavers can face during resettlement.

2.4.1 Accessing suitable and stable accommodation

Young people in custody may have housing problems that pre-date and are exacerbated by a spell in custody (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2011). Accommodation problems are consistently identified as a key concern for young people leaving custody (Clinks, 2013; Young, Ayala and Buchan, 2016; HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland, 2018). The 2017 Scottish Prison Service Prisoner Survey (Carnie et al., 2017), for example, found that 41% of young people reported losing their tenancy or accommodation when they entered custody and 29% said they did not know where they would live after release. Accommodation problems impact negatively on other aspects of resettlement including loss of possessions, accrual of arrears, and lack of skills in managing a tenancy (Shelter Scotland, 2015). Young people with unstable accommodation are also more likely to reoffend than those with more secure housing (Malloch et al., 2013; Lockwood and Hazel, 2015). Yet despite evidence highlighting the central importance of safe and stable accommodation to positive resettlement outcomes, housing-related service

provision for young UK prison leavers is inconsistent (Glover and Clewett, 2011). Recommendations for improving housing support for young people during resettlement include: identifying housing needs at the earliest opportunity; provision of support from specialist housing services; identifying and addressing historical housing issues; identifying and contacting supporting relatives who may provide accommodation on release; and programmes to develop independent living skills (Dore, 2015).

2.4.2 Education, training, and employment

Disengagement or removal from school and negative educational experiences and outcomes are frequently reported in research about young people in custody (Abrams & Snyder, 2010; Coates, 2016; Meek, Champion, & Klier, 2012; Rees & Conalty, 2004). In Scotland, it has been reported that almost 80% of young men in custody have experienced school exclusion, some from primary school age onwards (Smith, Dyer, & Connelly, 2014). Young prisoners also exhibit high levels of learning disabilities (Shelton, 2006). Young prison leavers who engage with education, training and employment after custody benefit in respect of: reduced unstructured time and provision of a daily routine; accumulation of human and social capital; financial stability; and forming positive social relationships (Forste, Clarke and Bahr, 2011; Piacentini, Weaver and Jardine, 2018). However, accessing education, training and employment after exiting custody can be a complex process for young prison leavers for several reasons. For example, legislative requirements which require them to disclose their convictions and the stigma of having been in custody, may prevent young prison leavers from pursuing certain career paths (McGuinness, McNeill and Armstrong, 2013; Nugent, 2015).

2.4.3 Weakened family relationships

Young people in prison have often experienced chaotic and volatile home environments and family dynamics, characterised by wilful or unintentional neglect, aggression, and violence (Hawkins et al., 1998; Jacobson et al., 2010). Family relationships and dynamics can also be strained by the criminal activity of young people and the levels of stigma and social isolation that parents of young people in prison can experience, particularly if they are thought to have contributed to the offending (Condry, 2007; Sturges and Hanrahan, 2011). Being in prison limits the amount of contact a young person has with their family and often leads to severing or straining the relationship with their family and other sources of adult support, in turn impacting on their

psychosocial development (McCarthy and Adams, 2019). Although the impact of being in prison on young peoples' relationships with their families is largely understood to be negative, meaningful relationships between people in prison and their families is thought to be a factor in improving resettlement outcomes (Hazel et al., 2016).

Qualitative research by McCarthy and Adams, (2019) with the family caregivers of young men in custody (aged between 15 and 21) sought to explain how time in prison shaped relationship ties and notions of responsibility. It provides some indication of the often-fraught relationships between young people in prison and loved ones in the community. The research found that most caregivers strongly focused on providing emotional support to the young men, despite most having experienced harms caused by their behaviour. However, caregivers struggled to re-establish or strengthen emotional ties with their children in custody, which they attributed to their unwillingness to unburden themselves of concerns about how they were coping with life in prison.

In the context of resettlement, young prison leavers commonly return to their families and rely on them for some kind of support (Altschuler and Brash, 2004; Jacobson et al., 2010; Abrams, 2012; Martinez and Abrams, 2013). While many families have the potential to positively impact the reintegration of young prison leavers, (Panuccio, et al., 2012; Martinez and Abrams, 2013), it is also the case that families can contribute to negative outcomes (Savignac, 2009; Bateman and Hazel, 2013) and aspects of resettlement, such as resuming anti-social attachments, can strain family relationships (Savignac, 2009; Johnson et al., 2011).

2.4.4 Health barriers

Young people in custody have a multiplicity of health needs, including complex mental health problems, issues with substance abuse and physical ailments such as poor oral health (Anderson, Vostanis, & Spencer, 2004; Newman et al., 2012; Prison Reform Trust, 2013). A factor in the ill-health of young people who have been in prison is that their rates of smoking, drinking and use of illegal drugs are substantially higher than among young people who do not offend (Briton, 2009). Further, many of the health issues facing young people in prison have not been identified, assessed or addressed prior to incarceration (Lennox, 2014). A global scoping review by Borschmann et al (2020) found a high lifetime prevalence of a range of risks and conditions in young people in prison,

including mental disorders, substance use disorders, self-harm, neurodevelopmental disabilities, infectious diseases, and sexual and reproductive conditions. Other studies have found that incarceration in adolescence is associated with poorer physical and mental health later in adulthood (Barnert et al., 2017). When analysing data from the US Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, Barnert et al (2018) concluded that 'imprisonment is associated with downstream, long-term negative adult health outcomes' (p.33). Later life negative health outcomes for young prison leavers include increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, substance dependence, mental health problems and, among females, early pregnancy (Bardone et al., 1998). Health issues such as substance misuse can also adversely impact on resettlement outcomes such as sustaining a housing tenancy or employment (Abrams & Freisthler, 2010; Davis, Bahr, & Ward, 2012).

While prison is regarded as a window of opportunity for addressing the physical and mental health needs of those in custody (Ross, 2013), levels of health care offered to young people can vary across prisons, and certain services, such as mental health, are often unable to meet the demands placed on them (Nolan, 2017). Several studies have observed that the health needs of young prison leavers change after release, with requirements for increased support for alcohol and drug misuse and continuing mental health support (Chitsabesan et al., 2006; Lennox, Bell, O'Malley, Shaw, & Dolan, 2013). Yet engaging young prison leavers with community health services can be difficult because of the social exclusion many experience after release and the transient lives they find themselves living (Dolan et al., 1999; Anderson, Vostanis and Spencer, 2004; Lennox, 2014). When young people are released from prison, they carry many of their conditions back into the community. According to Borschmann et al (2020) this presents implications for population public health and means that young prison leavers should be supported to access to health care and social services during resettlement to ensure that any health gains made during time in prison are not lost.

2.4.5 Emotional barriers to resettlement

According to Abrams (2006), the emotional impact of resettlement on young prison leavers is a neglected area of research. Bateman, Hazel and Wright (2013), observed a "dearth of literature on how young people experience resettlement after prison" (p.3). What is known about the emotional experiences of young people leaving prisons suggests

they are often excited by the prospect, but many experience negative emotions post-release (Wright, Hazel and Bateman, 2014). This is when young prison leavers begin to grasp the reality of post-prison life and the magnitude of some of the barriers facing them (Foad, 1984; Hagell, Hazel and Shaw, 2000; Halsey, Armstrong and Wright, 2016).

Bateman and Hazel (2015) found young people described experiencing a range of emotional problems during resettlement. These included: difficulties adjusting to the faster pace of life in the community; missing the structure of prison life and feeling uncertain what to do with their newly acquired freedom; being scared and feeling lost; finding it difficult to interact with people on the outside; and becoming withdrawn. They concluded that for young prison leavers, resettlement could be 'destabilising, stressful and shocking' (p.12) and that the emotions experienced were akin to adjustment disorders. Negative emotional experiences suffered during the transition from custody to community have potentially lifelong implications for young prison leavers. Evidence suggests that experiencing this kind of mental distress in adolescence carries a significant risk for the development of psychiatric illness in adulthood (Casey and Bailey, 2011).

2.5 Sport and youth crime

Although Safe Hands is delivered in a setting associated with a professional football club, and offers some sporting activities for participations, it also offers a significant number of non-sporting components. However, it is possible that had it not been for the growth of more explicitly sports-based crime reduction programmes in the later 20th Century in the UK, then a programme like Safe Hands may never have been considered a feasible proposition. Sport is a globally popular activity among young people, with positive implications for their physical, psychological, and social development. Examples include increased cardiorespiratory fitness (Twisk, 2001), acquisition of sport-specific skills (Seefeldt and Ewing, 2002), and positive social interactions (Weiss and Stuntz, 2004). Since the 1990s, sport has been increasingly used as a part of youth crime reduction strategies in several countries including Australia (Morris et al., 2003), Belgium (Haudenhuyse, Theeboom and Skille, 2013), and the U.S. (Pitter and Andrews, 1997).

In the UK, sports-based crime reduction programmes have attracted widespread political support and significant amounts of funding, on the assumption that sport can act as a positive influence in the lives of young people (Smith & Waddington, 2004). This perspective can be traced to the 19th Century 'Muscular Christianity' philosophical movement, which hailed physical activity as virtuous (Zald and Denton, 2016). Thomas Arnold, a former headmaster of Rugby School, the birthplace of 'rugby football', was associated with the movement and regarded sport as an activity which promoted morality and hastened the transition from 'immoral boyishness' to adulthood (Ellis, 2014). Over the past 30 years, sport has become an increasingly consistent reference point in UK government crime reduction strategies (Audit Commission, 2009; Coalter, 1989; Nichols, 1999; Smith & Waddington, 2004). Meek (2014) has since referred to the idea of sport as a moralising force as becoming 'ingrained' in British politics (p.64). Hartmann and Depro (2006) suggest one reason for sports-based crime reduction programmes appealing to policymakers is that they can be easily delivered using existing facilities and often attract corporate sponsorship. Additionally, sport is regarded an activity that can exert a powerful lure to draw young people towards programmes (Hartmann, 2003a; The Centre for Social Justice, 2011). A further reason posited for the popularity of sports-based crime reduction programmes is the influence wielded by the 'sporting lobby', a group comprised of sporting bodies and former sports stars, who advocate for the curative powers of sport across a range of policy areas (Coalter, 2008; Robins, Waldman, & Waldman, 1996). Coalter (2015a) is especially critical of the influence this group wields with policymakers because the 'power of sport' advocated comes from groups and individuals who have benefited from or have a vested interest in sport and is based on 'idealistic and popular ideas [about sport] that are produced largely outside of sociological research and analysis' (p.296).

Absent from the very positive portrayals of sport's capacity to improve lives is recognition that it can also encourage negative and criminal behaviours. Examples include how sporting participation can ritualise violence (Fraser-Thomas and Côté, 2009) and promote use of illegal performance enhancing drugs (Yesalis, & Bahrke, 2000), binge drinking (Koski, 2000) and gambling (Lim et al., 2017). Sport can also bring young people into contact with dangerous individuals, with several high-profile criminal investigations in the UK and U.S. finding sports coaches guilty of physically and sexually abusing young men and women in their care (O'Brien, 2019). The capacity for sport to encourage anti-social behaviour is not limited to those participating in sport, with supporters of sports

teams being exposed to and instigating violent behaviour (Armstrong, 1998; Giulianotti and Armstrong, 2002; Crabbe, 2015).

2.5.1 **Models of sports-based programmes**

According to Chamberlain (2013), sports-based crime reduction programmes are typically used in two different ways. Firstly, they can be used to intervene in the lives of 'at-risk' young people *before* they start offending or to de-escalate their offending before they come into contact with the youth justice system: diversionary programmes give 'kids an opportunity to do something besides hang out on the street and get into trouble' (Coakley, 2002, p. 19). These schemes are often targeted at young people from deprived areas with high-crime rates (Smith & Waddington, 2004). The types of sports used in diversionary programmes tend to be those most easily adapted to an urban environment, such as basketball or football (Farrell et al., 1996; Richardson and Fletcher, 2018). The use of diversionary sports-based schemes became widespread in the UK and U.S. during the late 1990s (Kelly, 2012; Pitter & Andrews, 1997). In the UK, their use received endorsement from a range of stakeholders including the police, youth probation and educational services, local authority workers and organisations with an interest in promoting sport. A key driver of increased usage of such diversionary schemes was the then Labour Government's social inclusion agenda (Collins and Kay, 2003).

Secondly, sports-based schemes have been used *after* a young person has started offending; these focus on rehabilitation and have been delivered in prison settings and to young prison leavers in the community (Andrews and Andrews, 2003; Parker, Meek and Lewis, 2013a, 2013b; Williams et al., 2015; Woods, Breslin and Hassan, 2017; Woods, Hassan and Breslin, 2017). It is with these types of programmes that Safe Hands most closely aligns. The aims of these programmes often involve using sport to: develop participants' self-esteem and life and employability skills; tackle issues such as substance abuse, behavioural and mental health problems; and connect participants to other community-based services (Chamberlain, 2013). Programme staff acting as mentors and positive role models is thought to be particularly important to promoting positive outcomes (Johns, Grossman, & Mcdonald, 2014; Kelly, 2012; Sandford, Duncombe, & Armour, 2008a). Examples of these programmes are explored later in this chapter.

Coalter (2012a) proposes an alternative way of conceptualising sports-based crime reduction programmes that looks explicitly at the role of sport in programme delivery. Based on his evaluation of several sports-based programmes, which included a football-based programme delivered in deprived communities in a city in the north of England and a basketball-based project delivered in a deprived community in Scotland aiming to engage young immigrants and asylum seekers, Coalter identified three broad types of sport-based programmes: sport-only, sport-plus and plus-sport. According to Coalter (2012) sport-only programmes are open-access initiatives, usually delivered in deprived communities, seeking to involve at-risk young people in recreational and competitive sport and aiming to break down barriers and promote attitudinal and behavioural change among participants. Coalter criticises these programmes because they adopt a 'deficit model', assuming that all young people from the designated delivery areas are at-risk or have anti-social attitudes and low horizons. Additionally, the self-selecting nature of participants means the intended target groups (e.g. criminally active youth in the community) might not be attracted. Sport-plus programmes use sport as an activity and learning context to explore broader attitudes, values, and behaviours, usually via additional workshops (examples cited by Coalter include anger management and territoriality). These programmes adopt a more targeted approach than sport-only programmes, often using outreach approaches to attract young people who are clearly at-risk. Lastly, 'plus-sport' programmes use sport as 'fly paper' to attract young people or … as a reward' (p.609) and are often delivered by organisations that take a youth work approach to working with young people. Further distinctions noted by Coalter (2012) include how sport-only programmes tend to operate on a weekly basis, whereas sport-plus and, most commonly, plus-sport programmes have a dedicated resource hub and are more open-ended in terms of when they operate. According to Coalter, having a programme 'base' means participants can drop-in outside of dedicated programme hours and have more consistent contact with staff, which could lead to deeper, more enabling social relationships. An advantage of Coalter's (2012) typology of sports-related crime reduction programmes is that it can be used to explore the role of sport relative to other programme components (e.g. relationships between participants and programme staff) in promoting outcomes. Coalter sees plus-sport programmes as being the most promising model for sports-based crime reduction programmes because they do not rely on a 'simple one-dimensional notion of the 'power of sport'' (Coalter, 2012, p.609). Coalter suggests that behaviour change in young people is more likely to result from the non-sporting components rather than the act of playing sport itself.

2.6 Theorising how sport might reduce youth crime

Several explanations have been proposed for why youth sport-programmes can reduce youth crime. Examples include how sporting participation can: improve young peoples' social, interpersonal skills and social capital (Gould and Carson, 2008); reduce amounts of unstructured time and exposure to negative peers (Nichols, 1997); act as a catalyst to motivate young people to engage with activities, such as education programmes, which they may have previously experienced negatively (Meek & Lewis, 2014); provide positive peer socialization; increase self-esteem; encourage development of a positive, pro-social identity; and improve problem solving and decision making skills (Gatz, Messner and Ball-Rokeach, 2002; Jamieson and Ross, 2007; Nichols and Crow, 2004; Seefeldt and Ewing 2002; Smith 2003). However, there is scant empirical evidence of direct causal relationships between participation in sport and a reduction in youth crime (Coalter, 1989; Robins, 1990; Nichols, 1997; Hartmann, 2001; Long and Sanderson, 2001; Collins and Kay, 2003; Nichols and Crow, 2004). For example, in their survey of sports-based programmes used by probation services in England, Taylor et al (1999) concluded that while the personal and social development that can occur via sporting participation 'may, sooner or later, improve offending behaviour', when these changes might take place, or the scale of their impact is 'unpredictable' (p.50). Similarly, when reviewing sports-based crime reduction programmes in America, Hartmann (2003) concluded that:

> "None of this is to suggest that sport and recreation-based programs don't work. Rather, it is to say that we do not have the empirical, social scientific evidence to say with certainty that they do" (p.119).

Meek (2014) reviewed the quality of the evidence generated by studies of sports-based crime-reduction programmes and highlighted that the studies available were predominately small-scale evaluations which suffered from a series of methodological limitations. These included small sample sizes and limited use of statistical methods to examine sport's role in reduced offending. Previous reviews highlighted problems related to sports-based programmes being delivered but not evaluated, often as a result of lack of resources or skills (West and Crompton, 2001) or poor record keeping (Tsuchiya, 1996). This review now turns to explore how sport can be specifically used to support people in prison and during resettlement.

2.7 The role of sport in promoting the rehabilitation and resettlement of prisoners

The use of sport to promote the rehabilitation and resettlement of prisoners has received increased attention in the UK since around 2010. In a report for the Prisoner's Education Trust, Meek (2012) explored how sports-based learning could be used to help prisoners engage with education, gain employment, and desist from crime. Based on a series of case studies exploring sports-based learning programmes within several English prisons, she concluded that sports-based programmes might encourage desistance in several different ways, which are similar to those cited previously in respect of how sport can reduce criminal activity in the community. These include sport acting as a hook for change, potentially sparking a prisoner's motivation to seek employment, engage with further education or adopt an alternative lifestyle. Sports-based programmes can also increase the employability prospects of former prisoners via qualifications, improved skills, and developing contacts with community-based employers. Involvement in sports-based programmes might divert prisoners away from criminal activity by reducing the amount of unstructured time in their lives, providing an alternative means of excitement, and reducing boredom. Joining positive social networks through sports-based programmes might enable prisoners to build relationship with positive role models, form alternative friendships, and develop contacts with community-based professionals to assist resettlement. Potential psychological improvements from participating in sports-based programmes include heightened self-esteem, self-concept, self-efficacy, and mental wellbeing. Lastly, sports-based programmes can be used as a platform to improve a range of skills including literacy, numeracy, and problem solving and communication skills.

In her review of sport in youth and adult prisons, based on visits to 21 different establishments, interviews with stakeholders (e.g. prison staff, people in custody, and community groups) and a public consultation, Meek (2018) made 12 recommendations about how sport could be used constructively within the prison system to promote prisoner health and wellbeing and rehabilitation. From a resettlement perspective, the review recommended improved partnerships between prisons and community-based sports groups and increased use of Release on Temporary Licence schemes to support prisoners to access community placements with sports groups.

2.7.1 **Sports-based resettlement programmes for young prison leavers**

In contrast to the 'tremendous growth' of sports-based crime reduction programmes delivered in the community (Jones et al., 2017, p. 161), there have been comparatively few sports-based interventions created to support the resettlement of young prison leavers. One of the earliest examples in the literature is Hampshire Probation Service's Sports Counselling programme, which ran from 1983 until 1997 (McCormack, 2000). It sought to reduce reoffending by supporting participants to engage in sport and leisure activities to enable them to make more constructive use of their free time (Waldman, 1994). Participants were mentored by a 'sports counsellor'. An evaluation concluded that the scheme had shown sport could 'play a major role in the mainstream work of the Probation Service' (Tungatt, 1991, p. 87) and collected evidence which demonstrated that most participants had either completely halted or reduced the frequency of their offending.

In the 1990s Taylor and Nichols (1996) conducted a mixed-methods evaluation of the West Yorkshire Sports Counselling Programme. This operated between 1993 and 1996 and participants were referred via their probation officers, although the programme itself was voluntary and not a condition of their probation. The programme was designed to last 12 weeks, during which young people were supported to participate in sports activities on a one-to-one basis with their assigned 'sports counsellor'. The evaluation painted a mixed picture. Participants demonstrated lower rates of reoffending over two years when compared with a control group, although it could not be directly established whether this was because of participating in sporting activities or from the input of the sports counsellor. Sports counsellors acting as positive role models was felt to be instrumental in supporting participants to cease criminal activity. A relationship was observed between the length of time a young person participated in the programme and outcomes, with the programme only being found to be effective if a young person completed a minimum of eight sessions. This finding would suggest that engagement in the programme was a factor in promoting behaviour change. The impact of the programme on participants was limited by the extent to which they remained in contact with, or were exposed to, peers with whom they had an offending history. As one staff member commented, 'you can't get a person to drop all their old friends' (Nichols and Taylor, 1996, p. 69). This conclusion resonates with findings from other

research identifying how reconnecting with criminally active peers heightens the chances of young prison leavers reoffending (Abrams and Terry, 2017).

Meek and Sira (2013) evaluated Street Team, a three-year pilot initiative, delivered in partnership with Cricket for Change, which sought to engage 16- to 25-year-old prison leavers referred by prison or probation staff. Street Team supported participants to gain qualifications, skills and work experience with the aim of becoming 'young urban sport coaches' (p.3). In this coaching role, participants delivered sports-based 'youth engagement' sessions to young people in the community. Additionally, participants were allocated a mentor who themselves was a former offender. Meek and Sira (2013) described this component of the programme as 'probably the most pivotal' (p.6) to a young person's chances of successful resettlement and desistance because it enhanced participants' engagement with the programme and helped motivate them to change. In terms of supporting resettlement, Meek and Sira (2013) cited qualitative evidence suggesting that positive resettlement outcomes were more likely if young people were supported to: raise their aspirations; change their attitudes from pro-offending to pro-social; form new social networks; and provided with a supportive, positive, and non-judgemental environment. However, wider conclusions about the programme were limited because the programme was only able to recruit 12 (self-selected) participants over its three-year life span.

In addition to supporting young prison leavers in the community, sport has also been used to engage people in custody with post-release programmes designed to promote positive resettlement outcomes. An example of sport being used to prepare young prison leavers for release and promote positive resettlement outcomes is the sporting academies delivered by the Second Chance project to 79 young men in HMP/YOI Portland in South-West England (Meek, 2012). The academies lasted 12-15 weeks and were comprised of football or rugby coaching, fitness training and matches. These sporting components were complemented by developmental activities and presentations from invited speakers which sought to promote goal setting and team working skills. Participants also had the opportunity to complete sports qualifications delivered by partner agencies. Specific resettlement support was provided by a transition worker, who sought to identify participants' resettlement needs, establish positive relationships, and forge connections between participants and professionals and other supportive adults in the community to prepare them for release.

Evaluation of the Second Chance Academies (Meek, 2010, 2011, 2012) found 41 of the 50 participants released during the evaluation period had not reoffended (most had been in the community for less than 12 months without reoffending, but nine had been in the community for over a year). These findings compare favourably with national reoffending statistics for young prison leavers. With respect to changes in attitudes and behaviours, the evaluation found 'trends towards improvement' across various measures, including self-esteem, impulsivity, and attitudes towards offending and whether crime was worthwhile. The evaluation also highlighted aspects of the Academies thought to promote positive resettlement outcomes, including personalised one-to-one resettlement work with a dedicated case worker; building external contacts via the resettlement worker; re-awakening some participants' passion for sport; and participating and receiving specialist resettlement support. Whilst these findings are encouraging, some caveats apply. For example, young people had to apply to join and were screened using several criteria including offence type, time remaining on their sentence and the views of prison staff as to their suitability.

2.8 Chapter summary and conclusions

This chapter sought to set the context for this thesis by reviewing several of strands of relevant literature: resettlement theory and the different models used to deliver resettlement support to prison leavers; the barriers to resettlement experienced by young prison leavers; and how sport has been used to reduce youth crime and support young people leaving prison. It began by acknowledging that research and policymakers have only started to pay substantive attention to the issues facing people leaving prison in the past 20 years, despite concerns being voiced about the stark challenges facing prison leavers for over 100 years (Ballington-Booth, 1903; Irwin, 1970; Mays, 1976). It also highlighted limited evidence within the criminological literature of attempts to theorise resettlement. Consequently, there is an overarching disconnect between how resettlement programmes are designed and implemented and what they are intended to achieve, beyond a general assumption that most people leaving prison need support to access certain services, and some require community supervision. This has meant that resettlement programmes have been designed primarily from the point of view of what basic services people need rather than thinking about how these services and the support they receive might prompt the changes in behaviour and attitudes towards offending that underpins the adoption of a crime free life (McNeill, 2006). This chapter

noted how Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change, derived from a research project exploring the impact of several resettlement programmes for young prison leavers across England, has gone some way towards reducing the theoretical vacuum within the resettlement literature. Particularly relevant to this thesis is its explicit focus on young prison leavers and on how resettlement programmes might promote a shift in their identify from pro-offending to pro-social. Hazel et al's (2017) theory of change makes explicit connections with narrative conceptualisations of desistance which explore what factors prompt changes in peoples' behaviour and attitudes towards crime and how people perceive themselves in relation to their past offending (Stevens, 2012; Rocque, 2017). It connects the aims of the resettlement theory of change, shifts in identity, with how resettlement support should be structured and offers some guiding principles. It emphasises the need for resettlement programmes to: provide personalised and structural support that follows young people throughout their prison sentence and onwards into the community; consider how to increase engagement; and utilise empowering relationships. In addition, it is future focused and customised to the needs of young prison leavers.

This chapter then outlined the key barriers experienced by young people when they leave prison in relation to accommodation; education, training, and employment; returning to a chaotic family environment; health problems imported into prison and caused by time spent in custody and difficulties accessing health services post-release; and emotional barriers to resettlement, which describe how young people struggle with the experience of moving from prison, an institution of rules and routine, to the often more chaotic environment of life in the community. The barriers described in this review demonstrate how young people face multiple and often stark challenges when leaving prison, some imported into prison and others related to their experience of the transition from custody to community. Evidence about the emotional impact of resettlement on young people suggests that how young people experience release, and the weeks and months that follow are crucial to understanding resettlement outcomes.

This review also explored the role of sport in reducing offending among young people. Sport has been widely used to address youth crime in the UK and internationally for around the past 30 years, based on it being a wholesome alternative activity which may promote personal development and positive socialisation and can be targeted at large numbers. Theories of how sport is used to reduce offending were also discussed, in

relation to two models put forward in separate research by Chamberlain (2013) and Coalter (2012). The first focuses on the use of sport to divert young people away from starting offending or to help them move away from offending behaviour once they have started (Chamberlain, 2013), the second on how sport is used within programmes, for example, as a diversionary measure to engage large numbers of young people or to draw young people towards more intensive programmes akin to youth work (Coalter, 2012). A central message to be taken from this review of the role of sport in promoting desistance or reductions in offending behaviour, is that that the key 'power of sport' is that it acts as a tool to draw young people towards programmes. Additionally, sport is most effective when used as a platform for learning or within a programme which has components that address wider aspects of personal and social development, and allows for the formation for supportive relationships between young people and practitioners (Coalter, 2012).

Sport has also been increasingly used a tool to support people while they are in prison, to prepare them for release, and, to a lesser extent, to support prison leavers in the community. Most relevant to this thesis, its role in supporting resettlement is perhaps the least explored area in relation to the ways sport could be used throughout an individual's contact with the criminal justice system. While the literature contains some examples of programmes dating back to the early 1980s, these were small scale and not widely adopted outwith the areas in which they were delivered. However, sport, and sports-counselling, has been identified as a potentially valuable way of engaging young prison leavers with positive activities after their release from prison which could, in turn, lead to reduced reoffending (Nichols, 1999). A study of a more recent and wide-ranging programme that uses sport to prepare young people for prison release has found positive impacts on reoffending (Meek, 2010, 2011, 2012). However, this did not include more in-depth follow-up research with participants in the community.

This thesis seeks to address 2 gaps in the resettlement and sport-crime reduction literature: the absence of theory involved resettlement provision; and the under examination of how sport and sporting settings might support the resettlement of young people after they leave prison. A further gap to be addressed, as identified in Chapter 1, is that to date there is limited understanding of the efficacy of interventions designed to support young prison leavers delivered in FiTC settings, where most existing of the programmes delivered by these organisations directed towards prison populations have

yet to extend support to people after they are released. Lastly, and again connecting back to Chapter 1, this thesis seeks to explore what the implications may be for trying to deliver a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland. Young prison leavers in Scotland have largely similar characteristics to those in England and there are also many similarities between FiTCs and SFiTCs. However, it is also understood that the efficacy of an intervention in one context should not be assumed to apply in another and that potential differences in circumstances, such as client characteristics, programme staff, and organisational resources should be investigated (Davey et al., 2018). To address these gaps this thesis examines one intervention, the Safe Hands programme, to deepen understandings of the mechanisms by which such programmes support the resettlement of young prison leavers. To do so, it uses Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change as a conceptual framework to consider how the components of Safe Hands might be linked to resettlement outcomes, specifically a shift in identity among young prison leavers from pro-offending to pro-social. Additionally, it explores the potential for delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland by seeking to identify potential barriers and facilitators within the Scottish Throughcare and SFiTC contexts. Before the substantive data chapters (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), I first outline the overarching methods and ethical considerations that guided my research in Chapter 3, reflecting critically on the design of the project, data collection, and analysis.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I identify, justify, and outline, the methodological approach to my research, which examined how the Safe Hands programme might support the resettlement of young prison leavers (RQ1); potential barriers to delivering Safe Hands (RQ2); and possible barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish context (RQs 3 and 4). This chapter describes and discuss the overarching epistemological, methodological, and logistical considerations which informed my research design, provides a general overview of the ethical considerations, sampling strategies, and approach to data analysis. Specific details concerning my research activities with each strand of my study are described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

3.2 Why a qualitative research design?

The aim of a research project dictates its methodological approach. Certain philosophies of inquiry and assumptions about the nature of knowledge and knowing are associated with their own approaches to research and certain methods (Creswell 2012). For example, researchers with a positivist epistemological perspective towards social science research, who seek to establish verifiable or 'law-like' generalisations that can be applied across all instances of a particular-phenomena, will likely rely on quantitative methods (Hasan, 2016). Contrastingly, in qualitative research, researchers commonly 'interpret the meanings and actions of actors according to their own subjective frame of reference' (Williams, 2000, p. 210). While it has been said that 'Qualitative research is many things to many people' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 10), it is broadly accepted that it is an approach to research that acknowledges the significance of value and contexts, settings, and the participants' frames of reference (James and Busher, 2012). Further, qualitative research supports the acquisition of knowledge developed by understanding the meaning that individuals attribute to their thoughts, feelings beliefs and actions (Illingworth, 2006). Qualitative research tends to be less concerned with the 'representativeness' of the research findings produced more focussed on the explanatory power of experiences of specific contexts than quantitative studies (Bryman, 2012). The respective value of qualitative and quantitative approaches to social research became increasingly contested in the 1980s and, in the eyes of many,

qualitative research came to be regarded as the less scientific of the two approaches (Denzin and Lincoln, 2010). More recently, however, the value of qualitative methods to research about the social world has been increasingly acknowledged (Russell et al., 2016; Eakin and Gladstone, 2020).

According to Jeon (2004) 'A [research] study is shaped by the researcher's guiding principles associated with a paradigm or world view, which encompasses ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions' (p. 249). It is widely stated that researchers should explicit about the epistemological foundations of their work, because it allows others to understand how they influenced the research design and see the basis upon which these choices were made (Roots, 2007). Indeed, according to Holmes (2020) it is 'essential' for PhD candidates, who are often relative research novices, to acknowledge the uniqueness of their positionality and the influence it had on how their research was conducted. Positionality can be understood as a person's world view and the position they take towards a particular research task (Foote and Bartell, 2011; Rowe, 2014). Positionality acknowledges that no researcher is entirely objective and that researchers are, to some extent, influenced by prior learning, experiences, knowledge, and personal biases. This is particularly true in qualitative research.

It is also broadly understood that someone's positionality is formed from ontological and epistemological assumptions (Holmes, 2020). Understandings about the nature of social reality and knowledge, and assumptions about how we relate to and interact with our environment, are guided by values and beliefs that are often coloured by a range of factors, such as political views, gender, or life-history (Sikes, 2004; Marsh and Furlong, 2018; Grix, 2019). Therefore, when articulating their positionality, researchers should acknowledge how their views and beliefs, which may stem from aspects of their social identities, informed the research design they have adopted, based on a process of self-reflection and reflexivity (Holmes, 2020). As Malterud (2001) describes:

> "Reflexivity starts by identifying preconceptions brought into the project by the researcher, representing previous personal and professional experiences, pre-study beliefs about how things are and what is to be investigated, motivation and qualifications for exploration of the field, and perspectives and theoretical foundations." (p.484)

My previous experiences as a youth worker guided and influenced my approach to my PhD. Indeed, they were fundamental to me applying for this research project. When I

started my PhD, I was keen to explore how I might integrate aspects of youth work practice into my research design. Youth work is a distinct educational approach underpinned by a set of values which seek to utilise young people's views of the world, promote the voice of young people, and deepen their understanding of themselves and the world in which they live (The National Youth Agency, 2004). The values of youth work align with research approaches that emphasises gathering and listening to the voices of young people, which have often been marginalised in the past (Blackman, 2007; Heath et al., 2009). Therefore, I was committed to ensuring that the young people involved in my research would be given the chance to express their views. When reflecting on their experiences as youth workers and academic researchers, Gormally and Coburn (2014) propose a relationship between youth work as a profession and particular research paradigms. From an epistemological perspective, they suggest an alignment between the values which underpin youth work and interpretivism, constructivism or constructionism. Of these three, it is an interpretivist epistemology that I would most align myself with, on the basis that the knowledge claims generated are based on the interpretation of people's subjective views of their internal and external realities in a particular space and time (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

A qualitative study is appropriate for my research for several reasons. As resettlement has become a topic of greater interest to researchers and policy makers alike over the past twenty years, so has been the increased understanding of the complexity of the process of leaving prison and return to the community, which is influenced by multiple, often context specific factors, and the complex needs of many young people who have been in prison (Hazel, 2004; Hucklesby and Hagely-Dickinson, 2007; Bateman and Hazel, 2013b; Lockwood and Hazel, 2015; HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2019). There is also a strand of research which advocates for the studying of resettlement as a subjective and personal processes (Massoglia et al., 2007; Lebel et al., 2008; Crank, 2014; Soyer, 2014). Qualitative methods allow for the voices, experiences, and insights of participants to be heard (Tewksbury, 2009; Sutton and Austin, 2015). Marshall & Rossman (1989) describe how the 'strengths' of qualitative methods lie in in their exploratory capacity and descriptive power, which highlight the importance of 'context, setting and [a] subject's frame of reference (p.46). Qualitative methods can be used to establish 'detailed knowledge of specific cases, often with the goal of finding out "how" things happen (or happened)' (Ragin, Nagel and White, 2004, p. 10).

3.3 Qualitative research methods

There are a wide range of methodologies and methods are available to researchers undertaking qualitative research. I used semi-structured interviews combined with participant observation. This section discusses how my research design evolved, including some reflections on alternative methods that I could have used, why I chose semi-structured interviews, and a discussion of the limitations of that style of interviewing with justice involved young people. My prior knowledge of working with marginalised young people meant that I was already familiar with some of the cognitive, emotional, and psychological characteristics that would need to be taken into account when planning my research; examples of these include the mistrust that justice involved young people can have towards unfamiliar adults (McGrath, 2018) and the prevalence of language and communication difficulties among marginalised young people (Bryan, Freer and Furlong, 2007). An overarching consideration was that young people who are living in or have been in prison are considered to be 'doubly vulnerable' research participants, which refers to people who simultaneously experience more than one factor that lessens their autonomy (Moore and Miller, 1999), because of their age and status as current or former prisoners.

3.3.1 Participatory research methods

Researchers have been encouraged to use participatory research methods with marginalised young people (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Nind et al., 2012). A key feature of participatory research is that it challenges the traditional roles of the researcher-participant dynamic through enhancing the involvement of participants by using methods that seek to construct knowledge *with* participants rather than *for* them (Allen and Hutchinson, 2009; Nind, 2011). Participatory approaches to research have been used with people living in prison. These include studies by Fine et al (2004) and Fine & Torre (2006), which explored the impact of college on women in prison, the prison environment and on the women's post-release outcomes, and was conducted by a 'research committee' consisting of outside researchers and women living in prison. While participatory research can incorporate diverse research designs, a fundamental aspect is the commitment to involving participants in some or all stages of the research process (Pain, 2004). This can lead to participants making decisions about the focus of research projects and their methodological designs.

3.3.1.1 Participatory research methods with vulnerable young people

Regarding young people specifically, participatory research is thought to offer the potential for accessing experiences and knowledge that is less dictated by adult priorities (Dentith, Measor and O'Malley, 2009) and is thought to be a particularly impactful approach to research with vulnerable young people, given the often 'voiceless and depowered nature' of their lives (Fox, 2013). As with any research approach, there are weaknesses to participatory research. These may include the time it takes to develop and maintain relationships, complexity of data analysis, an often high demand for flexibility, along with a uncertainty about how the quality or rigour of such projects should be judged (Cargo & Mercer, 2008; Jacquez et al., 2013; Boydell et al., 2012; Tapp & Dulin, 2010). Indeed, participatory research is potentially more vulnerable to disruption than a more hands-off approach, such as research using postal surveys. Key to the risks facing participatory research projects is the shared burden between researchers and participants, which may be more than some participants feel comfortable with. One approach to participatory research with young people is to use arts-based methods, which Leavey (2019) defines as research which involves participants collaborating with researchers to use 'art making as a way of knowing' (p.4) and where art forms are used as methodological devices (Chevalier and Buckles, 2013). It has been posited that arts-based research is an effective way of addressing sensitive topics, particularly with young people. Khanolainen & Semenova (2020), for example, used co-created comic strips to explore school pupils' experiences of bullying. Their study highlighted the efficacy and limitations of art-based participatory research. For example, while the authors thought their chosen method allowed for the investigation of hidden emotions and deeper feelings, because participants could convey complicated emotional states by combining words and drawings, they also observed that some participants were unenthusiastic about or uncomfortable with trying to express themselves via graphic stories. The hesitancy shown by these young people about using arts-based methods highlights how researchers should be cognisant about the degree to which their participants will feel comfortable expressing themselves creatively when considering arts-based participatory methods, rather than verbally, for example, in an interview-based study. However, where appropriate, the use of participatory and creative research methods may be well suited to research with young people living in prison or young prison leavers, given the literacy issues that are prevalent among this group.

3.3.1.2 Consideration of participatory methods in my study

Halfway through the first year of my PhD, and over several weeks in the spring of 2016, I conducted fieldwork with Safe Hands that involved semi-structured interviews with the Safe Hands team, EiTC staff with knowledge and experience of working with Safe Hands, and some current/former Safe Hands participants; these are described in more detail in Chapter 4. They sought to answer my first two research questions and were guided by the topic guides that can be found in Appendices 3 and 4. I also observed multiple Safe Hands sessions and spent time in the Safe Hands resource hub, which at the time was based within EFC's stadium, Goodison Park. The decision to proceed with fieldwork early in my PhD was driven by personal circumstances; my wife and infant son were living in China at the time, and I was due to move to China for 3 months over the summer to support them moving back to Scotland. After discussions with my supervisors, it was agreed that a prudent use of my time abroad would be initial analysis of data obtained from fieldwork with Safe Hands. Whilst I felt confident that the interviews which I conducted with the Safe Hands team and EITC staff at this stage provided sufficiently rich data to allow me to understand how the programme worked with respect to supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers and the barriers EiTC experienced when delivering Safe Hands, the views of participants were limited to those obtained from only 1 current and 2 former participants. Going forward, I was keen to use these interviews as a basis to consider a more participatory approach with other Safe Hands participants in the future.

Once I returned to Scotland, I was required to submit a research plan for the remainder of my PhD. In this I outlined how I intended to use a participatory approach and proposed to use participant-generated photo-elicitation (Richard and Lahman, 2015), where participants are asked to take and then discuss photos, which can be an empowering experience (Kellock, 2011; Fassetta, 2016). I wanted to use this approach because I felt it would help to overcome some of the literacy and communication barriers that can hamper face to face interviews with justice involved youth, allow for deeper reflection among Safe Hands participants, and to perhaps help them convey what words cannot say. Whilst I did not feel that the current/former Safe Hands participants interviewed so far had struggled with the interview experience, I could not assume that this would be the case for all future participants. There is precedent for using participant-generated photo-elicitation with justice involved young people,

including studies exploring young people's day to day lives in a youth offending facility (Osseck, Hartman and Cox, 2010), how young people experienced the transition from custody to community (Shannon and Hess, 2019), and exploring the impact of a trauma informed restorative youth justice programme (McMahon and Pederson, 2020). However, my plan to use a participant-generated photo-elicitation approach was rejected by the panel of academics who reviewed my intended study design. This decision was primarily based on concerns about the logistics involved in a participant-generated photo-elicitation project because of the challenges I might face conducting a research project where the research site was in Liverpool and I was mostly based in Glasgow. This aligns with some of the limitations of remote research, where getting research data from participants who live in a locality distant from where researchers are based can be challenging (Cronin et al., 2020). More specifically, the participant-generated photo-elicitation literature highlights the practical challenges that researchers can face during a project if they are mainly absent from the research site or not in regular or close contact with participants (Sadati et al., 2019; Turnbull, 2019). Further concerns raised included the burden that a participant-generated photo-elicitation project might place on Safe Hands participants, some of whom might be leading quite chaotic lives. There are precedents for this concern. Hardy (2018), for example, initially intended to use participant-generated photo-elicitation in her research about a peer-mentoring scheme for female prison leavers but decided against it because of worries about the burden it might place on both them and the community programme supporting them. Participating in research makes demands on all participants; Bradburn (1977) refers to this as 'respondent burden', and researchers are encouraged to consider what sort of pressures in respect of time, effort and stress, data collection might place on participants (Tillman, 2009). The literature on research with people who have been in prison notes that research projects that place too many demands on their time can be problematic because they often have other time commitments, including work and family obligations or court mandated restrictions on their movement, such as a home curfew between certain hours (Whichard, Wakefield and Kreager, 2020). Having discussed next steps with my supervisors following the decision by my review panel, it was decided that the most efficacious approach to further research with Safe Hands would be to seek to increase the number of interviews with either current or former Safe Hands participants. Following an approved sabbatical for medical reasons, these interviews took place in the summer of 2017. This also allowed me to observe further

Safe Hands sessions and spent time in the new Safe Hands resource hub, '41 Goodison'. This research is further described in Chapter 4.

3.3.2 **Research interviews**

Interviews are an extremely common data collection method in the social sciences and are one of the most frequently used qualitative methods. Research interviews have commonalities with the conversations we have in our everyday lives: they usually involve an exchange of views between at least two people on a topic of mutual interest. However, it is important that when used as instruments for data collection, research interviews are distinguished from everyday human interactions. Cohen et al (2011), for example suggest this distinction can be made on the basis of the following characteristics: research interviews have a specific purpose and are question based, with those questions asked by the interviewer; interviewees are typically invited to take part in a research interview on the basis of some qualifying criteria; and research interviewees usually follow some predetermined 'rules of engagement', where the interviewer establishes the expected parameters of the interview with the interviewee and conducts the interview in accordance with established ethical guidelines.

Research interviews are regarded as an effective means of potentially understanding something from someone else's viewpoint (Patton 2002) which can lead to the development of detailed descriptions of the social world. Miller & Glasner (2016) describe how interviews can 'provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds' (p.53); while Yeo et al (2014) argue that interview data offers an important means to 'understand other people's lives and holds value beyond the context of the immediate research interaction' and 'includes the participants explicit interpretations and understandings of events' (p.180).

Despite their ubiquity in the social sciences, research interviews are not without criticism or limitations. For example, on an epistemological level, Kvale (1994b) identified 10 'objections' to interview-based research from academics who regard qualitative methods as occupying a 'secondary position' when compared to quantitative methods. These objections included that qualitative interviews were flawed because they were unscientific, subjective, biased, unreliable, and not valid as the conclusions were based on subjective impressions. In response to such criticisms, which he describes

as 'predictable', Kvale (1994b) suggests that researchers should only take these criticisms into account if they feel them to relevant to their research. Epistemological disputes notwithstanding, Braun & Clarke (2013) outline several practical limitations to the use of the research interviews including that organising, planning, and conducting interviews can be time consuming; interviews might not be best suited for researching sensitive topics, which respondents might feel more comfortable disclosing via an anonymous survey; and, dependent on the sample size, interviews may offer a lack of breadth, especially if compared to quantitative surveys.

3.3.3 Different formats of research interviews

Research interviews can be conducted in several different ways, with each format having strengths and weaknesses. Face-to-face interviews are often regarded as the 'gold standard', on the basis that they can allow for the development of a deeper level of rapport between interview and interviewee which may lead to fuller more wide-ranging responses (McCoyd and Kerson, 2006). Different authors have offered a range of descriptions of the different types of interviews. LeCompte & Preissle (1993), for example, distinguish 6 forms of interviews: standardised; in-depth; ethnographic; elite; life history; and focus groups. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011), a key difference between research interviews:

> "lie[s] in in the degree of structure in the interview, which, itself, reflects the purposes of the interview, for example, to generate numbers of respondents' feelings about a given issue or to indicate unique, alternative feelings about a particular matter" (p.412)

A common metric to differentiate between interviews is to designate them as structured, unstructured, and semi-structured (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). The different nature of these is now described.

3.3.3.1 Structured interviews

Structured or 'closed' interviews are commonly used in survey research and the questions and responses offered are determined in advance. According to Bryman (2012), 'The goal of this style of interview is to ensure that interviewees' replies can be aggregated' (p.107). Establishing the categories for analysis beforehand means that the analytic process for structured interviews tends to be quicker than in unstructured or

semi-structured ones. However, the restrictive nature of the questions asked, and responses available to interviewees, means that research participants may have to fit their experiences and perceptions into pre-set categories, which may distort what they really mean (David and Sutton, 2004).

3.3.3.2 Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews are a common feature of ethnographic and anthropological research. They are more like conversations, where the interviewer creates questions in response to the interviewees' accounts. Punch (2009) describes unstructured interviews as a way to understand peoples' behaviour without imposing any pre-existing categories on the field of inquiry. As their name would suggest, an advantage to the use of unstructured interviews is their potential to generate unanticipated themes, which could lead to the researcher developing a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being investigated (Patton, 2002). According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2017) unstructured interviews can be useful in situations where it might be inappropriate or difficult to use more structured methods. Yet, whilst they offer greater flexibility, conducting unstructured interviews can be more challenging than more structured ones. For example, interviewers will have to gauge the right amount of control or direction to impose on the interview and have to be able to formulate relevant questions 'in the moment' in response to the words of participants (Patton, 2002). Unstructured interviews can also be challenging from an analytic perspective: their free form nature means that different questions will likely be asked in each interview, which will generate different responses, so establishing themes within the data can take longer (Punch, 2009).

3.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

Regardless of the type of interview a researcher chooses, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) suggest that the *central consideration* should be 'fitness for purpose' (p.412) and researchers should select the type of interview most congruent with their research aims, while being sensitive to how the type of interview chosen might work in practice with the population under study. I chose semi-structured interviews for each strand of my research. I explain why below. Semi-structured interviews have been used in multiple studies of young people in the criminal justice system (Arnull et al., 2007; Murray, 2009; Beal, 2014) and to identify potential barriers and facilitators to intervention

implementation (Mentes and Tripp-Reimer, 2002; Veniegas and Rosales, 2009). I used Semi-structured interviews on the basis that the questions asked of interviewees are open-ended, and thus do not tightly constrain their scope for providing answers (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003). Additionally, they allow participants the opportunity to raise topics that are most important to them, provide scope for detailed reflection, and provide them with the opportunity to give longer answers than they might in structured interviews. For researchers, a less rigid structure affords increased latitude to pursue relevant and unexpected lines of enquiry via the use of cues and prompts to direct the interviewee, which may allow for deeper, richer data (McCracken 1988). However, and unlike in unstructured interviews, imposing a higher degree of structure on the interaction can assist researchers in avoiding excessive circuitous and unproductive discussion (Gill et al., 2008).The structure in semi-structured interviews is typically derived from the use of "predetermined questions" (Doody and Noonan, 2013, p. 31), which should control the anticipated direction of the interview. These often come in the form of a topic guide. Topic guides support the collection of similar data from participants and cover key points associated with the research context (Holloway and Galvin, 2016). However, and unlike in structured interviews, researchers have freedom to change the order and wording of the questions, depending on how the interview unfolds, and are able to probe for greater detail by asking further questions, potentially about unanticipated areas (Piergiorgio, 2003).

Despite the widespread use of semi-structured interviews within social science, they can be a challenging to use and their ubiquity should not lead to assumptions that conducting one is a straightforward task. Interviewees' responses, for example, are not simply waiting to be extracted by an interviewer, they are based on their interpretation of the questions being asked, how the questions relate to their own experiences, and the skill of the interviewer to probe for further details when appropriate. Accordingly, when using semi-structured interviews, researchers should have a well-developed understanding of the research context, in order to maximise their alertness to unexpectedly significant perspectives (Noaks and Wincup, 2004).

As with unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews can be challenging for PhD candidates. Partington (2001) describes how a lack of experience when conducting semi-structured interviews could lead to problems with the data gathered, because of: inappropriate or unfocussed questions; inadequate listening skills, which result in

participants not being given sufficient time to respond to questions; and difficulties building rapport with participants. Other studies on the experiences of doctoral candidates using semi-structured interviews noted uncertainty about how to dress for a research interview (Dearnley, 2005) and struggling to maintain a conversational tone (Ashton, 2014).

3.3.4.1 Adaption to semi-structured interviews

Through ongoing reflection, I made several adaptations to my approach to interviewing as my research progressed. Firstly, to offer background information about Safe Hands and to frame some of my questions to Scottish Throughcare and SFiTC participants I included in my email confirming interview arrangements links to two videos about Safe Hands. The first was produced by EiTC and is based around the experiences of a former Safe Hands participant[15], while the second was made for the BBC's Match of The Day programme as part of a longer feature on the work of EiTC[16]. I was unable to show any of the young people I interviewed in Polmont the videos about Safe Hands because of restrictions on their ability to access the internet while in custody,

Secondly, and after two interviews with SFiTC participants, I become concerned that it was difficult for interviewees to fully conceptualise the Safe Hands programme based on my verbal description alone and their recollections of the videos. Following a discussion about these concerns with my supervisors, it was decided that a visual aid, in the form of a diagrammatical representation of the Safe Hands programme, might help to better represent the programme's structure, content, and aims, thus helping to prompt more detailed responses from participants. This is represented in Figure 5.

Pre-Season	Mid-Season	End of Season
Starts up to 6 months before a young person's release from custody.	Starts as soon as possible after a young person's release from custody.	Starts when young person moves onto education, employment or training.

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[15] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dlZDWjlkH54 [Accessed 13 March 2016].

[16] https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/av/football/43021199 [Accessed 1 March 2018].

Young person and staff member work together to:	Young person attends activities 3 days a week at Safe Hands which can include:	Young people are supported to move into employment, training or education
- identify and address needs a young person might have before being released - get to know each other - start to think about a young person's goals for after prison	- mentoring support - volunteering with Everton in The Community and in the local community. - achieve qualifications in sports coaching/leadership and courses related to the interests of the young people - outdoor education & sporting activities - support to access employment - some young people can become paid peer mentors and provide support to other young people.	- If a young person wants the Safe Hands team can stay in with young people and provide support when needed. - Some young people have got jobs with Everton in The Community and Everton Football Club

Figure 5: Safe Hands interview diagram.

The use of visual elicitation and diagrammatic stimuli in research interviews has become increasingly common (Banks, 2001; Umoquit et al., 2013). A key advantage to their use is that they might 'yield contributions from interviewees that are difficult to achieve by verbal exchanges alone' (Crilly, Blackwell and Clarkson, 2006, p. 341).Comparing the transcripts from interviews in which I used a diagram of the Safe Hands programme, with those of the earlier interviews conducted without, and suggests it gave myself and the interviewees a common frame of reference from which I was able to more clearly describe the programme. Similarly, I felt that interviewees could more easily express their responses with reference to the diagram.

3.3.4.2 Limitations of semi-structured interviews with justice involved youth

While I am confident that my approach to interviewing the different participants across the 3 strands of my research helped me to meet my aims, there are alternative approaches to interviewing that I could have considered, that go beyond a strict focus

on the level of structure imposed on the interview. Indeed, as discussed in this section, there are examples from the literature outlining why some might not recommend the use of semi-structured interview with justice involved young people. For example, Holt and Pamment (2011) described them as 'inappropriate and unproductive' when reflecting on their experiences of using semi-structured interviews with young people under supervision in the community. They formed this opinion because they found these young people were resistant to being interviewed, because past negative experiences of being interviewed by the police and social workers, and the interviews they did conduct failed to elicit in-depth data. The experiences of Holt and Pamment (2011) highlight the sensitivity required of researchers when designing research with justice involved young people and the negative connotations young people may have about some research methods, based on past experiences. In addition to how justice involved young people might perceive research interviews, there is also the concern about whether they will have the capacity to fully understand the questions they are being asked or be able express themselves as they may wish. These concerns are founded on what research evidence tells us about justice involved youth, who are more likely to experience learning disabilities, such as attention deficit disorder (Chitsabesan et al., 2006), may have impaired social skills or oral language abilities (Bryan, Freer and Furlong, 2007), and can be suspicious of adults (Cain and Cursley, 2017). The perspectives shared here is not meant to imply, of course, that participating in research interviews will always be negative experiences for justice involved young people. For example, interviews could be positive experiences for marginalised young people because there is the potential for them to experience engaging with professionals as competent actors who can share their experiences without judgment.

An alternative approach I could have taken to interviewing the justice involved young people who participated in my research (e.g. current/former Safe Hands participants and young people in prison in Scotland) is the Biographic-Narrative Interpretive-Method of interviewing, which facilitates interviewees to tell their story in their own way, without interruption or guidance from the interviewer (Roseneil, 2012; Casey, Proudfoot and Corbally, 2016). This is a different approach to interviewing than semi-structured interviews, where a researcher asks a pre-set list of questions (Bryman, 2012). Whilst there are past examples of researchers using the Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method to exploring resettlement with young people in prison (e.g. Gray, 2015), there are several reasons why it might not have been an appropriate method for my research. For example,

the questions I was going to be asking young people in prison were framed around Safe Hands programme and their thoughts and attitudes towards it, rather than a more expansive or narrative approach to interviewing. Additionally, more liberal styles of interviewing can last several hours and often requires several interviews. This kind of approach would have placed additional demands on the organisations that facilitated my access to young people, e.g. the Scottish Prison Service (SPS), and it is unknown to what extent SPS staff would have had capacity to support this kind of approach or to what extent young people would have been willing to participate in lengthy or several interviews.

3.3.5 Qualitative observation

In addition to interviews, I carried out qualitative observations during my time with Safe Hands. Qualitative observation, a research method with roots in anthropology, is used to gather data that helps to understand peoples' behaviours, interactions, routines and rituals in natural settings (Timseena, 2009). It is often an exploratory process and involves researchers taking extensive field notes (Mulhall, 2003). Qualitative observation has been adopted across a range of fields, including sociology, public health, and criminology. Bryman (2012) suggests that a strength of qualitative observation is that it allows researchers to gather deep, rich data and that to observe what people do. Whereas other methods, such as interviewing, report on what people say about what they do. The observational data I gathered complemented and added further depth to the data collected from my Safe Hands interviews and allowed me to observe the experiences of the Safe Hands programme in real-time (Nathan et al., 2010).

Qualitative observation can take different forms depending on the role of the researcher, ranging along a continuum from complete observation to complete participation (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1993). Each option has its own strengths and limitations. For example, as a complete observer (sometimes referred to as covert research), a researcher may be able to report on behaviour that is undisturbed by their presence as those being observed are unlikely to alter their actions if they are not aware they are being observed (Wells, 2004). While there are those who state that covert research was the only way to obtain the data they sought (e.g. Winlow et al., 2001), others have opposed its use on the grounds that it violates the principles of informed consent (Homan, 1980). Both the participant as observer and the observer as

participant are known to the group being observed as researchers. In the case of participant as observer, researchers spend more time participating than observing, whereas those observing as a participant focus on observing over participating.

I kept a field diary to record my observations, as is widely recommended (Henderson, 2005; Kawulich, 2005). Qualitative field notes are thought to be a vital aspect of rigorous qualitative research as they can enrich data and provide vivid context for analysis (Creswell, 2012; Lofland et al., 2005), while situating research within a 'larger societal and temporal context' (Lauderdale, 2018, p. 381). I wrote up my field notes either when I had some spare time, such as between interviews, or at the end of the day immediately after my time with Safe Hands had finished. They logged a range of observations including: basic information, including what I did on given days and who was there; a description of the geographical setting; notes about Safe Hands which included reflections on what happened and the dynamics of the interactions between young people and the Safe Hands team; descriptions of the appearance, manner, and behaviours of participants; and, lastly, some critical reflections on my own performance in any interviews conducted that day. At the conclusion of my research, I typed my notes up; this allowed me to use Word's search facility to identify relevant sections via keywords.

3.3.6 Methodological triangulation

Combining semi-structured interviews with qualitative observations for my research with Safe Hands represents methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1970). In the context of a research project, triangulation can be understood as the combination of two or more methodological approaches, data sources, theoretical perspectives, or investigators (Kimchi, Polivka and Stevenson, 1991). Methodological triangulation refers to the use of different research methods or sources/types of data to address the same research question (Jupp, 2001). The approach I adopted can be understood as 'within-method triangulation' because it involves two types of qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews and observations (Thurmond, 2001).

3.4 Ethics

Ethical considerations are an important aspect of social science research projects. In comparison to quantitative studies, qualitative research projects can be more 'ethically

complicated' (Huggins, 2011) because they often require person-to-person interaction or prolonged periods spent in the field. Aspects of my research required more detailed ethical consideration because of the widely noted vulnerabilities of young people in prison (James, 2013; Shafi, 2020). As a population, they experience a range of vulnerabilities to a greater extent than their non-incarcerated peers. As noted in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4) these include mental health problems (Lader et al., 2003), substance abuse and dependence (Aarons et al., 2001) and additional educational support needs (Cruise, Evans and Picken, 2011). Added to these vulnerabilities is the experience of being in prison, in often stressful conditions (Bonner, 2006), and the enforced distancing and loss or reduced contact with families, which can lead to adjustment problems (Uggen and Wakefield, 2005).

Ethical approval for the various strands of my research was given by The University of Glasgow College of Social Science Ethics Committee (Application Numbers: 400150111; 400170053; 400170054) and at the November 2017 Scottish Prison Service Research Access Ethics Committee. These applications detailed the ethical concerns in relation to my study and proposed strategies for mitigating any risks to my participants. Specific ethical considerations for each stage of my study are addressed in Chapters 4 through 6. The following sections detail overarching ethical concerns, relating to voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity.

3.4.1 Confidentiality

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011), confidentiality in the context of social research can be understood as researchers protecting participants' rights to privacy and minimising risk of harm. This is usually achieved by not disclosing information from or about a participant which could lead to them to being identified or traced. In the context of qualitative research, it has been highlighted that confidentiality can be challenging. When writing about their research on feelings of suicidality, Gibson, Benson and Brand (2013) describe how:

> "Confidentiality and anonymity are vital to ensure that the participant feels safe in revealing what is often personal information (and […]may never have been shared with anyone else). On the other hand, because of the nature of the research, it is possible that the participant will reveal something that gives the researcher a cause for concern." (p.20)

It is therefore important for researchers conducting qualitative projects to reflect on the degree of confidentiality they wish to offer to participants whilst also being mindful of the potential for participants to disclose information that reveals intent to harm themselves or others. Once this decision has been reached, there is an onus on researchers to explain clearly to participants how they intend to approach confidentiality, including any limits to the confidentiality agreement.

Chapters 4 and 5 details how I approached issues of confidentiality with current and former Safe Hands participants and young people in custody. In my research with staff employed by organisations such as EiTC, SFiTC or SPS employees, the condition of confidentiality was important, given the possibility that their personal views might conflict with their professional roles or that participants might be at risk of reprisals 'if they expose questionable work practices or express negative views' (Finch & Fafinski, 2012, p.280). In recognition that participants employed by an organisation may find themselves questioning issues around their employment, their own work practices, or those of other organisations, I explained that their views would be treated confidentially, and their words would not be attributable to them.

3.4.2 Anonymity

Anonymity is generally assumed to be an integral aspect of ethical research (Grinyer, 2002). The widespread desirability of anonymity in social research can be seen in how it is embedded in various codes of ethical conduct, such as the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice[17]. However, there are those who have challenged the desirability of anonymity and instead advocated for the empowering effects they see as coming from participant identification (Giordano et al., 2007).

Saunders, Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2015) describe how anonymity in qualitative research is sometimes undifferentiated from confidentiality. They argue that this is incorrect, and that anonymity should be understood as a distinct form of confidentiality. They suggest that while confidentiality refers to all aspects of data that are kept private from other people except the primary researchers, anonymity refers to keeping the identities of participants private. Privacy is often achieved by ensuring that a person cannot be

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[17] Available at: https://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/24310/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice.pdf [Accessed 1 November 2017].

traced from the data presented about them. However, ensuring total anonymity is regarded by some as an 'unachievable goal' in qualitative research (Van Den Hoonaard, 2003), on the basis that at least one person (i.e. the primary researcher) will know the identity of some or all of the participants, have access to participant information and may well have met them in person.

As will be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, it was not possible for me to assure the young people who participated in this study anonymity, because, for example, organisational gatekeepers were aware of their decision to participate in my research. However, I was able to assure all my participants of anonymity in the written products of my research. To ensure that any participant quotes in this thesis could not be attributed to a particular interviewee, each was allocated a randomly generated numerical identifier, with no links to interview order, job title, gender, etc. Additionally, any potentially identifying information was altered, such as if a young person in Polmont referred to the name of their Throughcare Support Officers or if a SFiTC interviewee referred to the name of the club associated with their organisation. The practice of modifying small details is common in qualitative research to protect against possible participant identification (Kaiser, 2009). As I was unable to offer full anonymity to the young people who participant in my research, I took care to explain how they might be represented in my research. To do so, before each interview I explained how their names would not appear in anything I wrote about the research and how I might change some minor details so that they could not be identified.

3.4.3 Informed consent

Informed consent respects the rights of individuals to exert control over their lives and to make decisions free from coercion (Howe & Moses, 1999). Specific considerations for gaining informed consent from vulnerable groups (e.g. young people in custody or Safe Hands participants) are addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

To ensure each participant gave full and informed consent prior to their participation, they were issued with a study information sheet and consent forms which outlined the purpose of my research, why they had been invited to participate, what their involvement would entail, and what would happen to their data. Where possible, participants were issued with the information sheet in advance of their interview.

Where that was not possible, or if the participants had not read it beforehand, they were issued with a copy. I then asked participants if they had any questions about the purpose of my research or their participation. Additionally, participants were made aware that they could decline to answer any questions and were free to withdraw their participation at any time. Informed consent to audio record their interviews was obtained from each participant.

3.4.4 Power relationships in interviews

It is widely understood that power relations are created within research interviews and that researchers should be aware of dominant perspectives (Aléx and Hammarström, 2008). Power within interviews can be established by several factors including socioeconomic status, occupational role, and education (Wang, 2006). While it is mostly true to say that the balance of power in interviews lies with the interviewer (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1993), who have initiated the interview and decide on and pose the questions, power can shift back and forth between interviewers and interviewees, who have control over what they say and how they say it (Anyan, 2013). Other ways in which power can be expressed during interviews includes interviewers seeking to control the views of participants by pursing a line of questions that restrain or prevent them bringing up a story which they wish to share; interviewees can express power by ending the interview prematurely or showing reluctance to answer questions. (Anyan, 2013). While power differentials between researchers and participants are unavoidable, from an ethical position researchers are advised to be mindful of whether power differences are harmful to participants and should seek to reduce gaps (Ben-Ari and Enosh, 2012; British Sociological Association, 2017). One approach to reducing power gaps is for researchers to practice reflexivity and self-awareness when considering their approach to interviews.

Concerns about power relationships within interviews are thought to be particularly important in research involving marginalised and de-powered groups, including research with people living in prison or prison leavers in the community (Moore and Wahidin, 2016). Research in prisons, for example, forces researchers to confront an explicit asymmetrical power relation and questions of power within the research process are discussed in ethnographic studies of prisons (Phillips and Earle, 2010; Rowe, 2015). Within my study, and in my interviews with current/former Safe Hands participants and

young people living in prison in Scotland, I reflected on the issues raised above in the following ways. Firstly, as described in Chapters 4 and 5, I drew up interview protocols and safeguards that sought to respect the rights of these young people to disclose their views and I was careful to ensure that I did not respond to anything they said in a way that these young people might perceive as or critical. To do so, would be an explicit example of me exerting power by acting in a judgemental manner. Secondly, I sought to adopt a positive tone and approach to interviews with current/former Safe Hands participants and young people living in prison, where I sought to position them as experts in their own lives and that I was there to learn from them about their views, particularly as they related to either how the Safe Hands programme had impacted or might impact on their lives. I was always very attuned to wider issues of power and positionality in relation to the research process, within a context where young people are in many ways disempowered. Through the great care I took during interviews I endeavoured to always ensure that participants felt comfortable and tried to mitigate as much as possible the power dynamics within the research process.

3.5 Sampling strategies

Unlike quantitative approaches to sampling, which mostly rely on random or probability sampling techniques to allow inferences to be made from a sample to the population under investigation (Creswell, 2012), samples in qualitative research are often described as being non-probability in nature, with specific criteria used to facilitate their construction (Bryman, 2012). My research primarily relied on purposive sampling, the characteristics of which are described below.

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is not intended to generate a sample that is representative of a wider population, rather it is a deliberately selective approach to meet the specific needs of a given study. Purposive sampling is based on the 'inclusion of cases that have experiences or attributes that can provide in-depth understanding of the research concept' (Boeri and Lamonica, 2015, p. 128). A rationale for constructing qualitative samples in this manner is that it allows researchers to identify individuals or groups whose participation can be used to develop critical, analytical, and in-depth insights with the intention of building a dataset that is deep, rich, and facilitates detailed analysis (Bailey 1994). Purposive sampling allows researchers to gather 'in-depth

information from those who are in a position to give it' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p. 157).

Sampling in this manner, however, has some limitations regarding the broader applicability of the findings. In addition to their unrepresentative nature, purposive samples can be limited by other factors including the amount of time and resources at a researcher's disposal, the level of access to a sample they are able to establish, and practical considerations about the volume of data to be analysed (Gibbs et al., 2007).

Such considerations about purposive sampling can be particularly important in the context of a qualitative doctoral thesis, for several reasons. PhD candidates may lack the pre-existing contacts and possess smaller professional networks than more senior academics to draw upon when negotiating access to a sample. Doctoral researchers might also struggle to recruit participants because of their lower status within the research community, as participants might be more likely to dismiss a request to participate in a study than if the invitation came from a more established academic. Another important issue for PhD candidates is that they normally conduct all or most of their own data collection and analysis, so attention should be given to what is a manageable amount of data (Hunt, Mehta and Chan, 2009).

3.5.2 The role of gatekeepers in purposive sampling

I relied on gatekeepers to recruit several groups of research participants, with the Safe Hands team acting as gatekeepers to the world of EiTC and one SPS Throughcare Support Officer (TSO) in particular assisting me in recruiting young people in Polmont. Clark (2011) defines a gatekeeper as 'an intermediary [who] is used to facilitate access' (p.487) to potential participants and approaches them on a researcher's behalf. Gatekeepers are recognised as playing an important role in qualitative research projects, on the basis that they can bring a researcher into contact with potential participants whose characteristics match the criteria for inclusion in a specific study (Boeri and Lamonica, 2015). The use of gatekeepers can also grant researchers a greater degree of legitimacy and credibility from the perspective of interviewees. However, gatekeepers may also may present barriers to accessing research participants (Meadows et al., 2003).

The influence and power of gatekeepers has been described in terms of the control they have over both the amount of access a researcher has to a research site and which individuals choose to participate. Regarding affecting who does, and does not, participate in a specific research project, gatekeepers can influence the recruitment process in several ways. For example, they might speed up the recruitment process by negotiating directly with participants on the behalf of a researcher (de Laine, 2000). Alternatively, they might act as cultural mediators or brokers, and their endorsement of the researcher and their aims might confer a level of legitimacy on the research project that might not be present had the researcher attempted to recruit participants directly (Eide and Allen, 2005). However, a gatekeeper could use their involvement to their own advantage by selecting participants who are more likely to present them or the research setting in a positive light, potentially leading to the inclusion of biased information in the results of a study. Thus, some researchers have referred to gatekeepers being unwilling to put forward certain participants, particularly those with whom they were engaged in a supportive role (Groger, Mayberry and Straker, 1999).

Accordingly, it is important to recognise that while involving gatekeepers in a research project can expedite aspects of process, their attitudes towards the aims of a research project may influence the extent and circumstances under which they grant access. When conducting fieldwork and writing up their findings, researchers should be mindful of, and engage critically with, the implications of negotiating access via gatekeepers (Wanat, 2008). Accordingly, researchers may have to accept ceding some control over who participates to ensure their intended study goes ahead (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999).

3.6 Data management

My study adhered to the following data management guidelines. Interviews were recorded on a digital dictaphone. Audio files were transcribed verbatim by a transcription company with whom the University of Glasgow has an ongoing contractual arrangement. Audio files were uploaded onto a secure online site and deleted as soon as the transcription service confirmed safe receipt. The non-anonymised interview transcripts were returned using the same procedure. Once downloaded, I anonymised the transcripts by removing any references that might identify the interviewee or any third parties. Regarding what would happen to someone's data if they decided to

withdraw from my study, while this did not happen it was noted on the interview consent from that I would retain and use the information a participant had already given me.

With respect to data management for my research with young people in custody, the literature on prison research highlights that gaining permission to record interviews can be problematic and in some instances is expressly forbidden by prison authorities (Schlosser, 2008). I applied for and received written permission from SPS to audio record my interviews using a specific digital dictaphone, which was identified to SPS by noting the serial number on my application form requesting permission to bring an electronic device into Polmont. Upon entering the prison, I was escorted by a member of prison staff to where the interviews took place. Mostly this was in a small room off the residential halls. The staff member who escorted me remained outside the interview room while my interviews took place. At no time did anyone else have access to the digital dictaphone.

Data have been stored confidentially on password-protected servers maintained on the University of Glasgow network. The digital interview recordings are stored on an encrypted and password protected computer (network drive), separately from identifying information. All data will be kept for at least 10 years in line with University of Glasgow Research Governance.

3.7 Thematic analysis using a Framework approach

The specifics of the thematic frameworks created for each stage of my research are presented in each chapter; this section provides an overarching description of my approach to data analysis. Data organisation and analysis are essential tasks in social research projects. As this study focused on a specific programme (Safe Hands) and was guided by prior research findings and theories (Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change), a thematic content analysis approach was thought most suitable. In thematic content analysis approaches, commonalities, differences, and relationships are drawn from descriptive data (Gibson and Brown, 2009). The Framework approach was used to manage data and facilitate analysis. Framework is a method of analysis which involves summarising and classifying data within a thematic framework. The use of Framework had utility for my study for several reasons.

Firstly, while it can be used to analyse different types of research data, Framework is 'most commonly' used in the analysis of semi-structured interview transcripts (Gale et al., 2013, p. 2). Secondly, it can be useful in analysing data in relation to styles of research questions which align with my own (Ritchie and Spencer (1994)). That is, it can be used to address *evaluative* research questions (such as seeking to explain how Safe Hands might support the resettlement of young prison leavers) and *diagnostic* research questions (such as what barriers and facilitators might influence the delivery of a programme like Safe Hands in a different context). Thirdly, it provides a set of clear steps as part of a rigorous and structured approach to data organisation and analysis, which leads to the production of structured outputs of summarised data that can make the task of analysing large amounts of qualitative data less daunting (Gale et al., 2013), while still allowing for the flexibility and creativity often required within qualitative research (Swallow, Newton and Lottum, 2003). Additionally, when using Framework, data can be easily retrieved to demonstrate an 'audit trail' detailing how analytic decisions were made in relation to the original data (Flick, 2009). However, similar to decisions to use software packages to assist data analysis, Framework does not spare researchers from many of the challenges associated with qualitative data analysis such as processing an abundance of data (Gale et al., 2013), deciding how to categorise data, and the influence that the background and experiences of a researcher may have on the coding process (Bailey and Jackson, 2003).

3.7.1 **Describing the Framework approach**

Spencer et al (2014) describe Framework as having five key stages: familiarisation; identification of a thematic framework; indexing; data summary and display; and mapping and interpretation. As the first step in Framework, data familiarisation allows researchers to acquire a sense of what is going on in their data. I familiarised myself with the data for each stage of my study by carefully reading and re-reading each transcript several times and reviewing field notes. To support these initial readings and maintain an ongoing process of analysis and assignment of meaning, I kept a log of emergent themes and analytic ideas in a notebook.

The second stage involves creating an initial thematic framework which, as Spencer et al (2014) describe, involves grouping together particular items found within the data set under themes that link these items. Tesch (2013) refers to the process of moving from

raw data to subdivided data that is based on assigned themes as 'data distillation' which can 'illuminate an existent situation' present within a given qualitative data set. When categorising and subdividing my data sets, I followed Spencer et al's advice of creating a hierarchical arrangement of themes to help me 'hold' (p.298) the shape and content of each framework in my head. An example of the initial thematic framework for my SFiTC data set is presented in Figure 7.

Context: any reference to the operating context of SFiTCs, both specific to the individual organisations and the wider industry

Barriers to delivery: any reference to factors which might obstruct the delivery of a programme like Safe Hands.

Facilitators to delivery: any reference to factors which might enable the delivery of a programme like Safe Hands.

Figure 6: Initial SFiTC thematic framework.

Qualitative findings often become apparent through a complex process of gradual evolution, driven by the interaction between theory and data (Sinkovics and Alfoldi., 2012). In the analysis stage of qualitative research, theory can be used to structure and interpret data (Anfara and Mertz, 2006), described by Reeves et al (2008) as:

> "Theories give researchers different "lenses" … focusing their attention on different aspects of the data and providing a framework within which to conduct their analysis." (p.631)

In my research about Safe Hands, I used Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change as a lens to conduct my analysis. A theory of change is a 'planned route to outcomes' which connects what a programme does with its intended results (Ghate, 2018). I employed Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change to identify what might be the mechanics of the Safe Hands programme in relation to promoting a 'pathway to change' from an offending-related to a pro-social identity among young prison leavers that I could then represent in a logic model (as shown in Chapter 4).

As highlighted in Chapter 2, it has been consistently observed in the resettlement literature that, in contrast to other areas of criminological inquiry, resettlement lacks explanatory theories or a theoretical foundation to explain what it is, what it does, or how it is supposed to work (Dünkel & Weber, 2019; Maruna, 2006; Simon, 1993). Hazel et al's (2017) theory of change is relevant for two reasons. Firstly, it is a recent

contribution to theorising resettlement, which is specific to young people (who are recognised to be a group which requires additional support and specialised services (Anagnostaki, 2019)). Secondly, it is the product of research about The Beyond Youth Custody initiative, a scheme of resettlement services delivered for young prison leavers in England, and which included Safe Hands. However, it is the result of an aggregation of research findings drawn from a range of resettlement programmes, which offers broad advice to resettlement programmes for young people. What Hazel et al's (2017) theory of change does not do, and what has not been explored in research so far, is its application to understanding the mechanics of a resettlement programme for young prison leavers delivered within the distinct Football in The Community setting. This setting is more commonly associated with public health rather than criminal justice programmes.

Using an existing theory as a lens to analyse data can be understood as a 'top-down' approach to analysis, which uses pre-established theoretical concepts to analyse data (Gibson and Brown, 2009), and where relevant text is identified and drawn out of the data with those pre-existing constructs in mind (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). In my case, I used the four drivers that Hazel et al (2017) have suggested underpin the process of identity change in young prison leavers to develop an initial coding frame (Figure 7) to identify which aspects of the Safe Hands programme might support these drivers and link them to the mechanics of the programme. The four drivers relate to how young prison leavers make positive choices because of experiencing empowerment; acquire status and security from making positive choices; become engaged with constructive activities and take up positive roles' and adopt a future orientated approach to thinking about the next steps in their lives. This framework is described in more detail in Chapter 4.

As an example, I associated several aspects of the Safe Hands programme with the Hazel et al's (2017) 3rd driver of identity change, 'engaged with constructive roles and activities'. These were the programme setting, activities, and structure. Regarding the structure, Safe Hands starts supporting young people in prison before they are released. This allows the programme team to build a relationship with participants and begin to plan for their resettlement. From the perspective of both Safe Hands staff and participants, working with young people before they were released increased the likelihood of them engaging with the programme after they were liberated from

custody. From a settings perspective, the association between EiTC and Everton Football Club prompted participants to engage with the programme because of the lure of sporting settings. Regarding activities, Safe Hands offers a range of constructive activities and roles for participants to engage with in the community, including generative activities and the opportunity to become a peer mentor.

Safe Hands Coding Framework

Empowerment leads to positive choices: any reference to feeling empowered or more confident, making positive choices or changes to behaviour

- During the Safe Hands programme (and how they felt within themselves and about their lives before they started the programme)
- After the safe hands programme
- Motivations for empowering
- Aspects of Safe Hands that participants/staff described as empowering
- Desired or maintained positive choices

Status/security from positive choices: any refence to changes in Safe Hands participants feeling more or (less) secure because of positive choices they have made

- How participants felt before start of programme
- During Safe Hands
- After Safe Hands
- Sorts of positive choices made my Safe Hands participants and the drivers of these
- Outcome of positive choices
- Aspects of Safe Hands that participants/staff described as empowering that support positive changes in security or status and promote positive choices

Future orientated: any reference to thinking or planning for the future
- During Safe Hands
- After Safe Hands
- Aspects of Safe Hands that participants/staff described as empowering that support young people to think about the future or move onto positive destinations

Engagement with constructive activities: any reference to participants' engagement with Safe Hands and what aspects of the programme promote engagement participants

- During Safe Hands
- Aims and impacts of constructive activities

Figure 7: Safe Hands coding frame.

Stage three of Framework involves indexing and sorting the data according to the initial thematic framework. This process requires that the researcher signify which theme or

subtheme is mentioned or being referred to within a given section of data. While this stage can be undertaken electronically, I chose to index my data manually, using pencil to mark themes or subthemes with a numerical identifier derived from the relevant thematic framework on hard copies of my transcripts. I took the decision to index my data manually after reflecting on how I think I work best when I must focus in detail on a piece of text. Studies have shown that when comparing reading comprehension between print reading and computer reading, print readers performed better (Mangen, Walgermo and Brønnick, 2013). An explanation given for this is that the scrolling which occurs when we read on screens can impose a 'spatial instability', which can impair a readers' comprehension and mental representation of the text (Piolat, Rousse and Thunin, 1997).

Stage four, data summary and display, describes the reduction of data to a 'manageable' level (Spencer et al, 2014, p.305) for ease of future representation. It is this stage of the Framework process that incorporates its key feature, the construction of a matrix with each theme within a conceptual framework allocated its own matrix. The columns within these matrices house data which relates to the subthemes of the theme which the matrix corresponds and each row representing an individual participant.

Matrices for each of my thematic frameworks were created in Microsoft Excel, with each framework having its own workbook and each theme having its own spreadsheet within these workbooks. Following Spencer et al's (2014) advice, I used the first column in each worksheet for case identification, with the cells in these columns containing descriptive information about each participant. Spencer et al (2014) describe two alternative strategies for sorting data into a matrix, involving either making entries into multiple thematic matrices at the same time, by working though each transcript and assigning data to each matrix as themes occur in the data or completing one matrix at a time by extracting data relating to a specific theme from each transcript in-turn. While Spencer et al (2014) advise that each approach has its advantages and disadvantages, I followed the approach of making entries into the matrix on a theme by theme basis as this allows for a 'deep immersion in the subject matter and enables the analyst to get a more refined understanding of its content and variation' (Spencer et al., 2014, p. 304).

Within each cell I summarised key points, made small analytic notes, and included illustrative quotes from participants relevant to the specific theme. To enable me to clearly distinguish between the different types of information within each cell, I used a key which was consistently applied to each cell: quotes from participants were italicised and my own reflections were in plain font. Excerpts were linked to their transcripts via a line notation. Where a subtheme was not discussed by a participant, a notation of '*n/d*' was entered into the corresponding cell. See Figure 8 for an example extract from one of my framework matrices.

Figure 8: Example of Framework matrix for SFiTC data set

The final stage of Framework consists of mapping and interpretation. This involves bringing concepts and empirical data into alignment by using the charted data to establish potential typologies, associations, and theories germane to the research questions. At this stage I undertook an iterative process of moving between my matrices and participant accounts to identify patterns, similarities, and differences across the data, enabling interpretations and explanations to emerge.

Although the Framework approach and simultaneous management of data in Excel was time consuming, it enhanced the reliability of the study, as this method is comprehensive and transparent, where full original transcripts are reviewed and can be easily retrieved to ascertain how the conclusions are drawn (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter presented a description and discussion of the research methods and procedures that I employed in this PhD project. It outlined decisions regarding my epistemological position, based on my past career as a youth worker, the influence this had on my research, why this aligned with a qualitative approach, and my research design. Subsequently, this chapter described my decision to use semi-structured interviews and observation methods. I reflected on how this approach to interviewing differs from other styles of research interviews and the issues they can present when used with marginalised young people. This chapter also engaged with key ethical issues in qualitative research including informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. Later chapters reflect on how these relate to the different groups of participants involved in the various strands of my research, paying particular attention to the ethical considerations important for vulnerable young people. I discussed my approach to sampling, the role of gatekeepers and their influence in the sampling process. Additionally, I described the methods and processes of manging the data to be analysed in my research.

In the following three chapters I present the analysis of the data that resulted from this process. These chapters each cover one of the three strands of my research: with Safe Hands; with stakeholders from Scottish Throughcare; and with stakeholders from SFiTC organisations. In each chapter there is a description of how I conducted each strand of my research, the sample recruited, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 describes my research with Safe Hands and includes an introduction to the research context, including the policy context around youth resettlement, past initiatives, and presents the findings. These findings are used to illustrate how I understand the Safe Hands programme to work with respect to linking the mechanics to outcomes via a logic model. Additionally, barriers to delivering Safe Hands are also presented.

Chapter 5 presents my research with Scottish Throughcare stakeholders about their views on how a programme like Safe Hands might operate in a Scottish context. This chapter begins with an overview of the Scottish Throughcare policy context. The findings from this research present a range of barriers and facilitators to delivering a

programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish resettlement context what might aid or hinder engaging young people with such a programme. Included in this are the perspectives of young people in prison in Scotland alongside those from the SPS and third-sector organisations.

Chapter 6 focuses on my research with stakeholders from SFiTC organisations. It outlines the research context and the development of SFiTC organisations and programmes over the last two decades. It includes a description of my research activities, the sample recruited, and ethical considerations. The findings are also presented in terms of the barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish context.

4 Research with EiTC and the Safe Hands programme

4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter presents my research with EiTC's Safe Hands programme. It begins with an introduction to the research context, including: a reiteration of the relevant research questions, an exploration of England's youth justice system, with a focus on youth resettlement, and a summary description of the Safe Hands programme. A description of my research activities with EiTC, ethical considerations, and data analysis processes follows. The findings of my research with Safe Hands are then presented. This chapter concludes with a discussion of my results, with respect to how the Safe Hands programme promotes resettlement and presents a logic model which represents my understandings of how Safe Hands is intended to function. The findings relating to barriers experienced by EiTC when delivering Safe Hands are carried forward to Chapter 7, where they are discussed in relation to 'systems thinking'. This chapter seeks to address the following research questions:

- How does the Safe Hands programme, as delivered by Everton in the Community, support the resettlement of young prison leavers?

- What, if any, barriers affected the delivery of Safe Hands?

4.2 Introduction to the research context

4.2.1 The youth justice system in England and Wales

The youth justice system in England, which from a legislative perspective also includes Wales, is one of the three separate criminal justice jurisdictions that manage offending behaviour by young people in the UK, alongside Scotland and Northern Ireland. Its purpose is to prevent offending and reoffending by young people under the age of 18. The age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales is 10, which is one of the lowest in Europe. Since the creation of local authority social services departments in 1971, services for justice involved young people have been provided by specialist practitioners under a series of guises, including Intermediate Treatment Teams, Juvenile Justice Teams, and Youth Justice Teams (Haines and Case, 2018). In common with many significant changes in government policy, the election of the New Labour government in

1997 heralded a new era of youth justice in England (Carrabine, 2010). The 1998 Crime and Disorder Act established what was essentially a new youth justice system with the inception of Youth Offending Teams (YOT), a Youth Justice Board and other changes, including pre-court reprimands and final warning systems, parenting orders, Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, child safety orders, and new custodial penalties, including detention and training orders (Case, 2018). Funding for youth justice services also increased by 45% between 2000 and 2008 (Soloman and Garside, 2008). The outcomes achieved by these measures were mixed. For example, while there was a general decrease of first-time entrants into the youth justice system, annual reoffending rates remained largely unchanged, and the numbers of young people in custody significantly increased (Goldson, 2010).

In contrast to the wide-ranging changes made to the youth justice system under New Labour, there has been somewhat of a hiatus since the Conservatives assumed power in 2010. According to Haines and Case (2018), this can primarily be attributed to managing the fallout from the 2008 Global Financial Crash, which resulted in 'an age of public spending austerity' (Parnell et al., 2015), and the lead-up to, and ongoing consequences of, the 2016 referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. The implementation of austerity measures has had some direct implications for the funding and infrastructure of the youth justice system. For example, The Ministry of Justice, which funds the youth justice system, had its budget reduced by almost 30% in real terms between 2008 and 2018 and the Youth Justice Board reported a 79% decline in real terms (Chalkley, 2018). Additionally, funding allocated to YOTs, who have a statutory responsibility for young prison leavers, was reduced from £145m in 2010/11 to £72m in 2017/18 (Leper, 2018). While it has also been suggested that austerity resulted in the re-examination of expensive and harmful youth justice practices, such as the over-use of custody (Yates, 2012), Haines and Case (2018) argue that austerity to young people in the youth justice meant receiving a 'diminished service from those who entered the system a decade before them' (p.139).

Launched in 2014, the Transforming Youth Custody policy programme, sought to increase the amount of education provided to young people in custody (Little, 2015). Central to the plan was a network of 'secure colleges' which were conceived as a new form of youth custody facility. However, their development was 'scrapped' following the 2015 General Election (Ravenscroft and Tinkler, 2016, p. 4). Instead, the

government set about increasing the amount of education on offer to young people within the existing secure estate, and from August 2015, the number of hours young people spent in education per week doubled from 15 to 30 (Youth Justice Board, 2015).

From a resettlement perspective, Transforming Youth Custody acknowledged that lessons from previous initiatives had 'failed to embed improvements in services to those leaving custody or substantially reduce their reoffending' (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015b, p. 7). It contained several measures designed to improve outcomes for young prison leavers. These included changes to sentence planning and casework processes, improved use of the Release on Temporary Licence scheme, and expansion of the existing resettlement consortia scheme, which sought to enable more partnership working across local authority regions between local services and youth custody institutions.

4.2.1.1 Recent youth crime trends in England

Youth justice crime statistics in England between 2010 and 2020 offer a mixed picture: the number of young people entering the system has fallen by 86% since the year ending March 2008; the number of young people who received a caution or sentence has fallen by 82% over the last ten years, although the 6% fall since 2018 is the smallest year-on-year fall in the last decade; yet there has been a recent surge in knife and offensive weapon offences by young people, with year-on-year increases in these offences since 2014; and the length of the average custodial sentence given to young people has increased by five months over the last ten years, to almost 17 months (Ministry of Justice, 2019). Conclusions to be drawn from these data include that while there is a welcome downwards trend in youth crime overall and fewer young people are coming into contact with youth justice system, rates of violent knife crime among young people are a growing concern, and those young people sentenced to prison are being given longer sentences.

4.2.2 Youth imprisonment in England

The prison estate in England is managed by HM Prison and Probation Service, which is an executive agency of the Ministry of Justice. The secure estate for young people is made up of three types of custodial facilities: Secure Training Centres, Secure Children's homes, and Young Offender Institutes (YOIs). The characteristics of these facilities vary

in terms of the numbers of young people they hold, the ratio of staff to young people, and the nature of the prison regime and types of activities available to young people (Bateman, 2016). Thus, those held in Secure Training Centres and Children's Homes are typically younger, and the staff-to-young-person ratio is markedly higher than in YOIs (Houses of Parliament, 2016). Since 2017, the decision regarding the type of facility in which a young person is housed is made by the Youth Custody Service, and is based on the 'aim of promoting children's safety and ensuring decisions are made with children's best interests as a primary consideration' (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2017, p. 10).

Prison conditions for young people in England and Wales have been subject to considerable critique in recent years. Wood, Bailey and Butler (2017) described the current system as on the 'edge of coping with the young people it was charged with holding' (p.1). Official inspections of several institutions in 2016 noted that young people were spending too much time locked in their cells, unable to access constructive activities, while the quality of educational provision was poor, and levels of violence and self-harm had increased (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2017). These findings contributed to an annual report from HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2017) which concluded that:

> "...there was not a single establishment that we inspected in England and Wales in which it was safe to hold children and young people." (p.9)

The experiences of young people in custody would appear to validate this claim. For example, in 2018-19 more than one-third (35%) of young people in prison said that they had felt unsafe at some point and high levels of high levels of violence was consistently observed across the estate (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons, 2020).

4.2.2.1 Recent trends in youth imprisonment in England

Although the numbers of young people in custody in England have fluctuated in recent decades, the UK government has received repeated criticism for a seeming over reliance on custodial sanctions as a response to youth crime, with England maintaining higher average numbers of young people in custody than other European countries (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2016).

Between 1979 and 1990, the youth prisoner population in England declined. That this occurred under the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher, which have a reputation for adopting a punitive rhetoric on law and order (Farrall, Burke and Hay, 2016), has been described as a 'curious paradox' (Yates, 2012). It has since been argued that these changes to the youth custody population were driven more by a desire to shrink government expenditure, rather than the deliberate adoption of a welfarist approach to youth justice (Bateman, 2016). By contrast, the 1990s were marked by rising incarceration rates - in 2001 the number of young people in custody was 90% more than in 1992 (Case, 2018). Reasons for this about-face in the use of custodial sentences for young people include the emergence of a philosophy of early intervention that was accompanied by a political desire to be seen to be tough on youth crime in the aftermath of the murder of the toddler James Bulger by two 10-year olds in 1993 (Pitts, 2011).

As Figure 9 shows, numbers of young people in prison in England remained broadly level between 2001 and 2008. The period since has seen a considerable decline: in April 2016 the number was 70% less than in April 2008 (Ministry of Justice, 2017). However, between March 2017 and March 2018 there was an increase of 3%, the first increase since March 2008 (Ministry of Justice, 2019). When looking for variables to explain this general trend of decarceration, Bateman (2014) highlights a diversionary impetus within youth justice policies which have sought to divert first-time entrants out of the youth justice system through restorative justice interventions. He also highlights the association between falling numbers of young people in custody and the austerity policies of recent Conservative governments. Cunneen, Goldson and Russell (2018) have referred to the impact of austerity as leading to a 'cooling' of the penal climate in England.
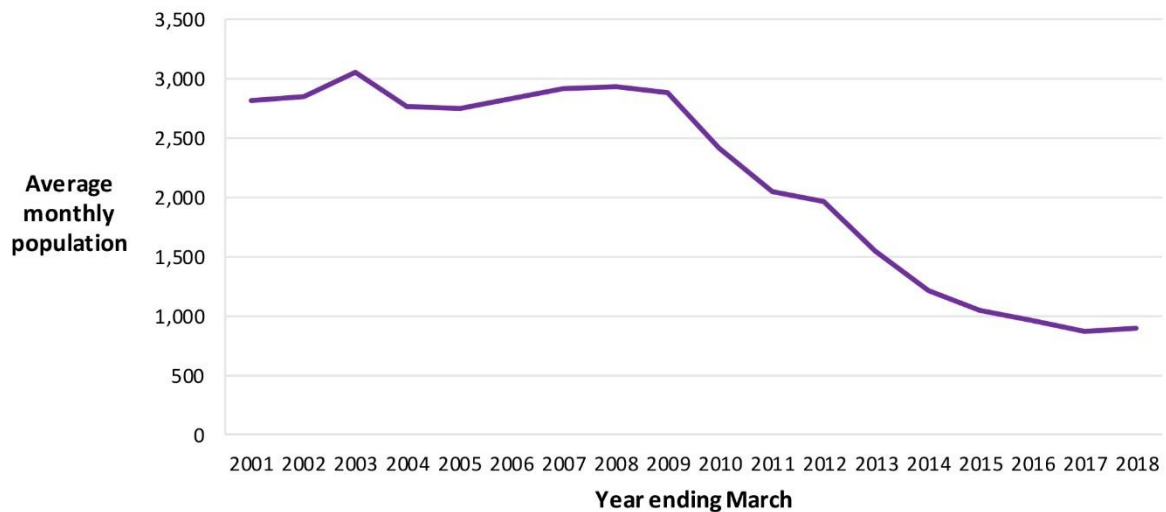
Figure 9: Average monthly youth custody population in England and Wales, years ending March 2001 to 2018 (Ministry of Justice, 2019)

Despite declining numbers of young people in custody, reoffending rates for young prison leavers remains 'stubbornly' high, and black and minority ethnic young people continue to be overrepresented in the custodial population (Bateman, 2016). Additionally, there have been changes to the makeup of those in custody; for example, it is suggested that young people currently in prison embody a highly challenging cohort, whose offending is of a more serious and entrenched nature and who have severely complex needs (House of Commons, 2016). Young people are also spending longer in prison: the average custodial sentence in 2016 was recorded as being 42 days longer than in 2006 (Ministry of Justice, 2017).

A conclusion that could be drawn from these patterns of incarceration is that the use of custody as a response to youth crime remains susceptible to external events and political influence, rather than being a proportional response to crime rates. Support for this perspective can be found when rates of youth custody are compared to crime statistics. As described earlier, the rate at which young people were being sentenced to custody increased markedly in the early 1990s and into the 21st Century, however youth offending was found to have declined by more than 20 percent during that same period (Bateman, 2015b). The increase in custodial sentences at that time could, similarly, not be explained by changes in the types of offences committed by young people, with evidence that youth crime, in terms of the types of offences being committed, did not become more severe over the same period (Nacro, 2003).

4.2.3 **The resettlement of young prison leavers in England**

In contrast to the voluntary nature of much post-prison support for adults, all young people exiting custody in England undergo a period of statutory supervision in the community, the conditions of which vary according to the details of their sentence and are dependent on their 'assessed risk' of reoffending (Youth Justice Board, 2013). Obligations can include curfews and stipulated levels of contact with their local YOT. Young people exiting custody are required to attend a supervision meeting with their appointed YOT worker on the day of their release and adhere to a specified number of appointments per month (Youth Justice Board, 2013). Statutory resettlement practice is guided by the seven resettlement pathways as identified by the Youth Justice Board (2006). The pathways indicate areas where support workers should provide targeted support. They include accommodation; education, training and employment; substance misuse; health; families; finance, benefits and debt; and case management and transitions. However, basing resettlement support on these pathways has been problematised by survey findings indicating that support measures cannot necessarily be modelled on a one-size-fits-all approach (Bateman, 2016). According to Bateman (2016) the status of statutory community-based youth resettlement provision in England and Wales in 2016 was 'patchy at best' (p.59). This is consistent with findings regarding the quality of resettlement provision reported in 2019, which noted that young prison leavers were aware of the problems they might face (such as avoiding bad relationships, getting a job, and finding accommodation), but less than 35% knew who to contact for help with these issues (Green 2019).

The Youth Justice Board has launched several initiatives and pilot programmes aimed at improving resettlement outcomes and re-offending rates of young prison leavers. These included the Resettlement and Aftercare Provision programme, which was launched in 2005 and operated by 59 YOTs across England and Wales (Bailey and Kerslake, 2008). The London-based Project Daedalus offered an enhanced regime of provision, increased staffing, and the provision of a Resettlement Broker to work with young people in custody and on release into the community. In addition, resettlement consortia involved groups of several local authorities who were tasked with working together to improve resettlement outcomes and selected because levels of custody usage within the local authorities involved was among the highest 20% in England (Gray et al., 2018).

According to Bateman and Hazel (2018), while evidence from the aforementioned initiatives suggest the positive contributions they could make to improving resettlement outcomes for young prison leavers on a wider scale, incorporating the lessons learned has been constrained by short-term funding structures which have limited sustainability and roll out beyond the pilot areas. These conclusions are similar to a previous report from HM Inspectorate of Probation (2015) on resettlement services, which decried the lack of improvement in resettlement outcomes for young prison leavers and low use of existing evidence, despite years of initiatives. Such conclusions would suggest that while there is substantial knowledge regarding the kinds of support young prison leavers need during resettlement, there is a lack of political will to properly integrate these findings into a comprehensive delivery system at a national level across England and Wales.

4.2.3.1 Custodial measures to support resettlement

In addition to the varying quality of resettlement practice, changes to the structure and funding of the secure estate in England have made it increasingly difficult to provide adequate resettlement support for young people in prison. For example, the Westminster government's policy of reducing expenditure on the prison system (see Crowhurst and Harwich, 2016) has resulted in the closure of 12 youth custody institutions across England, and 2,000 fewer custodial places since 2009 (Ministry of Justice, 2016). The result of this has been an increase in the number of young people being detained in institutions that are increasingly far away from where they live; a 2015 inspection of youth custody services found that one-third of young prisoners were housed in institutions more than 50 miles from their home address (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015a). This impacts on the ability of families to visit young people in custody and undermines resettlement efforts by creating difficulties for establishing meaningful contact between people in prison and community-based services that could support them following release (Ministry of Justice, 2016). The closure of prisons had an impact on Safe Hands and their ability to engage with young people while they were in custody. This is explored in more detail later in this chapter.

There are a series of custodial measures that can be used to support young people exiting custody. Detention and Training Orders specify that half of a young person's sentence should be spent in a secure facility, and half under supervision within the community (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015b). According to Farrall et al (2014)

community supervision can be an important aspect of the resettlement process as it is designed to provide structure and support for individuals readjusting to post-custody life. Currently the Detention and Training Order is the most commonly used custodial sanction for young offenders in England and Wales (Elwick et al, 2013). However, despite this, evidence suggests there are problems with the community stages of the sentence; a recent inspection of YOT services found that three-quarters of the young people sampled failed to fully comply with their supervision, which led to some being recalled to custody (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015a).

The intention behind Release on Temporary Licence orders, which grant a young person leave from custody to return home for short periods of time towards the end of their sentence, is to better prepare them for resettlement. Evidence suggests that adherence to risk-adverse policies within the secure estate is limiting their usage (Hampson, 2016), with inspections of youth custody arrangements finding that they were not being used as a tool to promote successful resettlement (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015a). This brief review of youth imprisonment and resettlement in England has highlighted that despite the encouraging reduction in the numbers of young people in prison, and a stream of resettlement initiatives, outcomes for young people leaving prison remain poor. This has been highlighted in numerous government inspection reports and comes when there is greater understanding of barriers to resettlement, and yet has seeming failed to be integrated into a comprehensive delivery system of resettlement support to improve outcomes. A summary description of the Safe Hands programme, which forms the basis of the research presented in this thesis now follows.

4.2.4 The Safe Hands programme

Safe Hands is a programme that seeks to support the resettlement of young prison leavers returning to Merseyside and is delivered by Everton in The Community (EiTC). A description of the Safe Hands programme is shown below in Table 4. The table was created using the Template for Intervention Description and Replication (TIDieR) format, which was designed to make it easier to structure accounts of interventions and address the remarked upon poor quality of descriptions of interventions in evaluations (Hoffmann *et al.*, 2014).

Item No.	Item name	Item description
1	Brief name	Safe Hands
2	Why: Describe any rationale, theory, or goal of the elements essential to the intervention	Most young people in prison reoffend or are reincarcerated after release. Capitalise on the unique appeal and wider resources of Everton FC and EiTC to prevent young people from re-offending, while offering positive diversion from negative social influences, and supporting them to positive destinations.
3a	What (Materials): Describe any physical or informational materials used in the intervention, including those provided to participants or used in intervention delivery or in training of intervention providers.	Participants complete an individual action plan when they start Safe Hands which identify short-, medium-, and long-term goals and outlines steps to meet these goals – examples include tackling substance misuse, improve confidence/self-esteem, and improved health and wellbeing. Young people complete an assessment where they identify areas of concern in their lives (e.g. criminogenic peers/relationship) and positive/protective factors (e.g. desire to stop offending). The action plans and assessments are used to identify and connect participants with bespoke activities or support or be met through some of the core Safe hands components (e.g. generative activities), other EiTC programmes, or external provision.
3b	What (Procedure): Describe each of the procedures, activities, and/or processes used in the intervention, including any enabling or support activities	Participants are typically referred to Safe Hands (e.g. via Youth Offending Teams, other EiTC programme or from other sources). Programme delivered over 3 stages: 1) Pre-season – monthly meetings with young people in custody to build relationships/rapport and plan for life after prison. 2) Mid-season: starts as soon as possible after release. Offers a broad mix of experiential and generative activities, with the opportunity for some young people to become peer mentors, and one to one & group issue-based sessions Safe Hands. Participants can connect with other EiTC programmes for more specific support (e.g. employability or education). 3) End of season: looser structure of activities which can involve on-going regular contact/checking-in with young person or young person may become involved with work within EiTC and continue to be involved with Safe Hands as a peer mentor.
4	Providers: For each category of intervention provider (for	Everton in The Community - an independent charitable trust, associated with Everton FC, that delivers a spectrum of programmes aimed at improving health,

	example, psychologist, nursing assistant), describe their expertise, background and any specific training given	wellbeing, and other social outcomes to vulnerable or marginalised groups in the Merseyside area and beyond.
	Who	Safe Hands is delivered by a team of three: two staff and a manager. Safe Hands is sometimes supported on an ad-hoc basis by EiTC staff from other youth engagement programmes. Staff are recruited based on having previously worked in youth justice settings or experience of supporting vulnerable young people. The programme is also supported by former/later stage participants who become peer mentors to other newly joined participants.
6	How: Describe the modes of delivery (such as face to face or by some other mechanism, such as internet or telephone) of the intervention and whether it was provided individually or in a group	Sessions in custody and in the community are delivered face to face -with staff remaining in contact via phone or letter at other times. Sessions involve group activities and one to one mentoring.
7	Where: Describe the type(s) of location(s) where the intervention occurred, including any necessary infrastructure or relevant features	Safe Hands has a dedicated resource hub which is a repurposed terraced house adjacent to Everton FC's Goodison Park football stadium. This is comprised of office spaces, kitchen, meeting rooms, and a social area for the use by participants. Most participants' days begin by them coming to the resource hub – activities take place off-site (e.g. outdoor education) or using other EiTC facilities either at the EiTC main hub/community campus ('The People's Hub') or within Goodison Park.
8	When and how much: Describe the number of times the intervention was delivered and over what period of time	Safe Hands has (at a minimum) monthly meetings with participants while they are in custody. Pre-release support starts around six months prior to release, although this is not fixed and can begin earlier in a young person's sentence or closer to release. In the community, young people are supported to begin Mid-Season as close to their release date as possible. Participants attend Safe Hands three days per week

	including the number of sessions, their schedule, and their duration, intensity or dose	(around 25 hours) – this is mostly during the day but sometimes in the evening and with occasional weekend residentials. There is no time limit placed on the length of time a young person can stay engaged with Safe Hands after joining the programme – in some cases this is over 12 months
9.	Tailoring: If the intervention was planned to be personalised, titrated, or adapted, then describe what, why, when, and how	Participants are supported to gain accredited qualifications or access activities/support that are specific to their needs and goals.
10	Modifications: If the intervention was modified during the course of the study, describe the changes (what, why, when, and how)	Facing a shortfall in referrals, primarily due to the closure of several prisons within and close to Liverpool, Safe Hands adapted its model and began to seek/accept referrals for young people not only in prison but also serving community sentences. In these instances, the Pre-Seasons stage was shortened and involved visits to meet the young person where they were living.

Table 4: Description of the Safe Hands programme using the TIDieR format.

Having now introduced the research context relating to Safe Hands and providing a summary description of Safe Hands using the TIDieR format, this chapter now proceeds with a description of my research about Safe Hands.

4.3 Research activities with EiTC

My interviews with Safe Hands participants and EiTC staff took place in private spaces either within Goodison Park, for this I was kindly given usage of a corporate box, or in the Safe Hands resource hub, '41 Goodison', where I was given use of communal space. All interviews were recorded with a digital dictaphone.

4.3.1 **Sampling and recruitment**

4.3.1.1 **EiTC staff sample**

To support my research, I sought interviews with participants with knowledge of the Safe Hands programme, either directly, having worked as part of the programme team for a period, or indirectly, having supported Safe Hands participants to volunteer with their own programme. These individuals were identified to me following discussions with the Safe Hands programme manager.

I interviewed a total of nine EiTC staff members, including: three Safe Hands team members; programme staff and mangers from other youth engagement programmes; and several workstream managers who oversaw different programmes. I interviewed all nine in 2016 and carried out follow-up interviews with three of them in 2017 (total 12 interviews). Every member of EiTC staff who was invited to participate in my research agreed to do so. The self-identified roles of these participants are displayed in Table 5.

Participant Identifier	Role in EiTC	Number of interviews
EiTC441	Programme Manager	2
EiTC757	Programme Manager	1
EiTC802	Programme Staff	1
EiTC007	Programme Staff	1
EiTC103	Workstream Manager	1
EiTC364	Workstream Manager	1
EiTC191	Programme Staff	1
EiTC115	Programme Staff	2
EiTC080	Programme Staff	2

Table 5: Organisational role of EiTC participants.

4.3.1.2 **Safe Hands participant sample**

Since 2012, Safe Hands has supported over 200 participants. As was the case with EiTC staff, I was reliant on the support of the Safe Hands manager to help me recruit young people with experience of being supported by the programme for my research. With

their support I was able to interview a total of seven current or former participants. While numerous studies have described the experiences and challenges of conducting research interviews with people in custody, it was recently noted by Watson and van der Meulen (2019) that comparatively few studies have articulated the experiences of researchers when recruiting former prisoners. To contribute to this discussion, I now describe some of the challenges I faced when recruiting Safe Hands participants for my research.

The Safe Hands participant sample was limited by several factors. Firstly, as an external researcher, I did not have a pre-existing relationship with these young people to draw upon to arrange interviews. This made me entirely reliant on the Safe Hands manager. Secondly, I was not based in Liverpool so could only conduct research interviews during my agreed periods of fieldwork with EiTC, which limited my flexibility. An example of how these circumstances impacted on my recruitment occurred in 2016 when I was scheduled to interview a former Safe Hands participant. They were unable to attend due to family circumstances and it was not possible to rearrange the interview during a time when I was going to be in Liverpool. Thirdly, I did not have approval from the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) to conduct interviews with young people in custody in England, so I could only conduct interviews with Safe Hands participants after they had been released. I decided not to apply for permissions to interview young people in prison in England from the MoJ because my research with Safe Hands was primarily focussed on the reflections of how young people felt they had been supported by Safe Hands after they were released from custody. While these problems could be regarded as unrelated to the activities of Safe Hands, I also encountered problems recruiting that were attributable to these activities. For example, although Safe Hands has supported over 200 participants since the programme started in 2012, my first period of research in 2016 coincided with a shortfall in participants which limited the potential number of young people that I could interview. In an evaluation report, Safe Hands attributed this to cuts in youth justice services, including the closure of several nearby youth custody facilities (Everton in the Community, 2017).

In 2016, I successfully interviewed two former and one current participant. At the time, Safe Hands only had one young person who was engaged with the Mid-Season stage of the programme. Given that I had only managed to speak to three young people with experience of the programme, it was decided in discussions with my supervisors, that I

should conduct further fieldwork with Safe Hands later. During my 2017 fieldwork with Safe Hands, I interviewed two current participants, which again represented all those engaged with the Mid-Season stage of programme at the time, and two former participants (total seven interviews).

All Safe Hands interviewees were white, British males aged between 17 and 25. The lack of ethnic diversity in this sample is significant, given the overrepresentation of black and minority ethnic young people in the youth justice system in England (Bateman, 2015b). All participants spoke and could read English. Six had served a custodial sentence, ranging from six months to five years, and the remaining one was engaged with Safe Hands while serving a community-based Intensive Supervision and Surveillance order[18]. Details relating to these young peoples' offence categories and length of custodial sentences are presented in Table 6.

Identifier	Age	Current/former participant	Length of Most Recent Custodial Sentence (Offence)	Previous Offences	Previous Custodial Sentence	Offending episode since beginning Safe Hands
EiTC097	21	Former	14 months (Assault)	Theft	No	No
EiTC842	18	Former	6 months (Assault)	Assault	No	Yes[19]
EiTC024	19	Former	14 months (Drug offences)	Assault	No	No
EiTC387	19	Former	9 months (Drug offences)	Not applic.	No	No

[18] First launched in 2001, the ISS (Intensive Supervision and Surveillance) is a community sentence for young people which the Youth Justice Board described as a robust and innovative community-based programme available for persistent and serious young offenders. ISS involves the monitoring of prolific young offenders through the use of supervision, tracking, and the use of electronic tagging (Gray et al., 2005). While an early evaluation found evidence that the use of ISS orders had reduced the frequency and seriousness of some young peoples' offending (Moore et al., 2004), a follow up study concluded that their use had proved no better and certainly no worse than other community or custodial disposals' (Gray, 2013, p. 51).

[19] During their interview, this young person reported that several months after starting Safe Hands they were recalled to custody on remand in relation to an ongoing court case, which predated his starting with Safe Hands. During his time on remand, he remained in contact with Safe Hands and re-started the programme following his release, having been cleared of the changes against him.

EiTC855	24	Current	5 years (Drug offences)	Assault	No	No
EiTC335	17	Current	14 months (Drug offences	Drug offences	No	No
EiTC654	17	Current	12-month ISS (Theft)	Burglary and theft	Not applic.	No

Table 6: Offence category and length of custodial sentence of current and former Safe Hands participants

While these young people were purposively selected, in the sense that they were asked to participate based on their previous or current involvement with Safe Hands, there was also an element of convenience sampling at work here, as these were the young people that happened to be engaged with Safe Hands at the time of my research. Like purposive sampling, convenience sampling generates non-probability-based samples, can be useful when researchers have limited time and resources, and has been used in other studies on young prisoner resettlement (Fields and Abrams, 2010).

Given that the programme manger selected the former Safe Hands participants I interviewed, it is possible that they put forward the most resettlement-focussed young people. This could have influenced the data obtained, as these young people may have been more likely to portray Safe Hands in a positive manner or might have represented 'the most resettled' young people. While I cannot comment on whether those Safe Hands participants that I interviewed might in some way be different to other young people who have participated in the programme, what did emerge from my interviews was that their backgrounds were akin to those of other young prison leavers. For example, they gave accounts of chaotic home-lives, disengagement or exclusion from school, issues with drugs and alcohol, and little or no employment history, similar to those described in other studies of young people who have been in prison (Abrams, 2012; Abrams & Freisthler, 2010; Nolan, Dyer, & Vaswani, 2017). The offences committed by these participants are also similar to the offence categories of the majority of young people in custody, with drug offences and violence against the person accounting for the majority (Sturge, 2019).

4.3.2 **Ethical considerations for my research with EiTC**

Conducting research interviews with vulnerable populations requires that researchers pay particular attention to any possible ethical issues. To mitigate the risk to Safe Hands interviewees, I undertook a pre-interview briefing with each young person and developed an interview protocol. The details of the briefing and protocol, along with the issues they were designed to address, are now described.

4.3.2.1 Pre-interview briefing

Obtaining free and informed consent is a major challenge for any research project involving vulnerable and marginalised populations, such as young prison leavers. "Free" consent, which refers to obtaining consent in an environment free from (implicit or explicit) coercion, can be seriously compromised. Some interviewees may have felt, wrongly, that their refusal to participate in my research could have negatively affected their participation with Safe Hands and EiTC or, conversely, that participation could have favourably affected aspects of their future involvement with the programme. To mitigate these risks, I explained to each Safe Hands interviewee that they were under no pressure to agree to participate in my research, that there would be no consequences, positive or negative, should they decline and taking part would have no bearing on their current or future participation in Safe Hands, access to other EiTC services or their relationships with EiTC staff.

Safe Hands participants were issued with a participant information sheet (Appendix 1) which explained the reasons for my research, why they had been asked to participate, and what would happen to the data gathered from their interviews. In acknowledgement that many young people who have been in custody often possess limited literacy skills (Williams, 2015), this document was written in plain English. After reading it, they were given the opportunity to ask any questions they may have had before their interview began. I also explained that they were free to decline to answer any of the questions and reserved the right to end the interview at any time.

Following this, Safe Hands participants were issued with a consent form (Appendix 2), also written in plain English. The form comprised a series of statements that each young person had to consent to, including agreeing to my audio recording their interview and acknowledging that they understood why they had been asked to participate in my

research. They were required to sign two copies of their consent form, both of which I then also signed. I retained one copy and participants were given the other.

Once audio recording had begun, I also sought verbal affirmation from each young person to confirm that they were aware of why they had been asked to participate in my research, that they had read and understood all of the information issued to them, been given the opportunity to ask any questions they may have had, and that they consented to the audio recording.

While ensuring participant anonymity is central to ethical research practice, the nature of my research with Safe Hands means it cannot be assumed that the identities of the Safe Hands interviewees can be kept completely private. For example, they were recruited on my behalf by the Safe Hands manager, who was therefore aware of their identities. I do not know whether the manager shared this knowledge with other EiTC colleagues. However, I explained to each Safe Hands interviewee that I would respect their right to anonymity. I also explained that should any excerpts from their interviews be included in the products of my research, they would appear under a numerical identifier and their words would be attributable.

Zinger, Wichmann, and Gendreau (2001) suggest that offering a blanket guarantee of confidentiality to research participants in a context where one is likely to receive sensitive information (such as when discussing the lives and experiences of Safe Hands participants), can undermine their dignity. According to Kalmbach and Lyons (2003) it is, therefore, important that researchers establish with their participants the boundaries within which their confidentiality can be maintained. My interviews with Safe Hands participants took place with an understanding of 'limited confidentiality', which refers to researchers reserving the right to breach a participant's confidentially in the event that certain conditions arise (Finch and Fafinski, 2012). In my interviews with Safe Hands participants, the threshold for breaching these young peoples' confidentiality was based on the understanding that their own welfare or that of people they might have spoken about in their interviews over-ruled confidentiality obligations. Therefore, I stated to each Safe Hands participant that I retained the right to breach their confidentiality if they divulged information that implied a threat to another individual or intended to harm themselves.

4.3.2.2 Interview protocol with Safe Hands participants

Given the topics under discussion with Safe Hands participants (e.g. their past lives, offending behaviour and their experiences of being released from custody), it was possible that interviews with these young people would involve the discussion of sensitive information or traumatic events. Whilst respecting the rights of these young people to disclose this information, I was also cognisant that I was not in a therapeutic or advocacy-based relationship with them and could not offer any advice in relation to any potential issues raised. Whilst I did not feel that this was something that did occur, if a young person had asked for advice, I was prepared to suggest that they discuss these issues with the appropriate person (e.g. Safe Hands case worker).

Given the personal history of the young people I interviewed, it is highly likely that they had experienced repeated interviews by the police about their offending and recounted their life histories to a succession of welfare professionals. Accordingly, some may have felt threatened by the suggestion of an interview with a stranger and suspicious as to its purpose (Cowie, Hutson and Myers, 2007). To hopefully alleviate any such fears or apprehensions, respecting the rights of these young people to disclose this information and remaining alert to their responses in case the nature of my questioning or the general course of the interview was making them feel uncomfortable was a central aspect of my approach to these interviews. I was careful not to respond to their answers in a censorious or judgemental manner. Additionally, I put in place the following strategies to protect Safe Hands interviewees from experiencing undue distress:

- If a Safe Hands interviewee was struggling with certain questions, I reminded them that they did not have to answer any questions they did not wish to answer.

- If I felt a Safe Hands interviewee was finding the interview difficult or distressing, I gave them the opportunity to terminate the interview and offered them the chance to conclude it at another time if they wished.

- To maintain the privacy of the interviewee, if the interview was interrupted, it was paused and only resumed once the participant and I were alone.

Interviews with current and former Safe Hands participants used a topic guide (Appendix 3) and explored their backgrounds and their perceptions and experiences across a range

of areas, including: being in custody; being released; Safe Hands' support during their resettlement and when planning for the future.

4.3.3 **Research activities with EiTC**

My interviews with EiTC staff were conducted with the use of a topic guide (see Appendix 4) and explored a range of areas including: their experiences and perspectives on how different aspects of the Safe Hands programme might have acted as supportive factors during young peoples' transition from custody to community and in moving forward with their lives; potential barriers to delivering Safe Hands; and the activities of EiTC more broadly. The three 2017 follow-up interviews focused mainly on experiences and perceptions relating to Safe Hands moving into its new resource hub.

In addition to these interviews, I observed several Safe Hands sessions, including several outdoor education and cultural trips, and a football activity, known as 'Friday Footie', a social game of football between Safe Hands participants, young people on other EiTC programmes and EiTC staff.

4.3.4 **Data management and analysis**

As described in Chapter 3, the interview data from EiTC staff and Safe Hands participants was analysed using a Framework approach. My analysis led to the creation of two thematic Frameworks. The first explains how Safe Hands supports the resettlement of young prison leavers and the second establishes the barriers encountered by EiTC when delivering the Safe Hands programme. These are now described.

4.3.4.1 **EiTC thematic framework 1**

The first thematic framework for my EiTC dataset was informed by two factors relevant to my thesis:

1. My first Safe Hands research question: How does the Safe Hands programme, delivered by Everton in The Community, support the resettlement of young prison leavers?

2. A recent theory of change regarding youth resettlement by Hazel et al (2017), which I used as my data coding framework.

I used Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change to create a data coding framework to seek to understand the mechanics of how Safe Hands supports, or is intended to support, the resettlement of young prison leavers. I used Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change as a lens to analyse my data and, in particular, the four drivers of pro-social identity change which it identifies as: 1) empowerment leads to positive choices; 2) status/security from positive choices, 3) engaged with constructive roles/activities; and 4) future-oriented. What emerged from my data was that these drivers could be mapped against four aspects of the programme – the programme setting, the programme structure, the Safe Hands team, and the activities delivered. This framework was then added to iteratively, with additional layers demonstrating how each component (setting, structure, activities, and programme team) contributed to supporting participant resettlement, based on the data collected. These are summarised in Figure 10 and described from section 4.4 onwards. Aspects of the Safe Hands programme thought to promote identity change are colour coded to demonstrate how different aspects sometimes influenced multiple drivers and are used to assist the reader going forward.
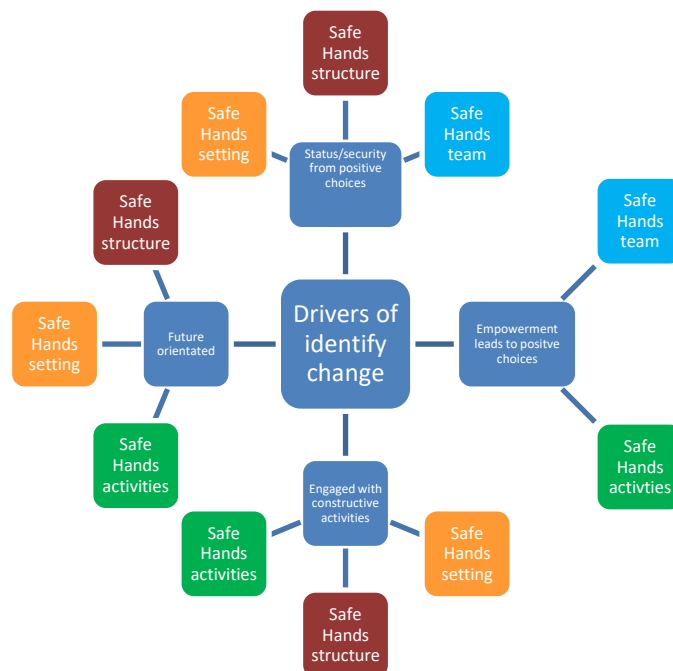
Figure 10: Initial Safe Hands framework based on Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change.

4.3.4.1 EiTC thematic framework 2: barriers to delivering Safe Hands.

The second thematic framework I created for my EiTC dataset relates to the potential barriers that the organisation may have faced when delivering the programme. This framework was constructed in response to my second Safe Hands research question: 'What, if any, barriers did the Safe Hands team encounter when delivering the programme?'; and a research definition of barriers to intervention implementation from Bach-Mortensen, Lange and Paul (2018). This refers to barriers as something which impinges the capacity or ability to deliver a programme. When this definition was applied to the Safe Hands data it led to the identification of barriers occurring at three levels: individual; organisational; and system.

4.4 How does the setting of the Safe Hands programme support resettlement?

This section describes the results of my research with Safe Hands, which addresses my 1st research question, how does the programme support resettlement? It begins with describing how the Safe Hands setting promotes resettlement, before describing the influence of the programme's structure, the Safe Hands team, and programme activities. Data from staff and participants are integrated in each section.

I identified the setting of the Safe Hands programme as supporting resettlement in four ways: the football in the community setting promotes engagement; Safe Hands offers participants a safe and welcoming environment; the football in the community setting encourages the adoption of pro-social attitudes and behaviours; and being a constituent programme of EiTC opens possibilities for participants and nurtures social capital. These aspects are represented in Figure 11.
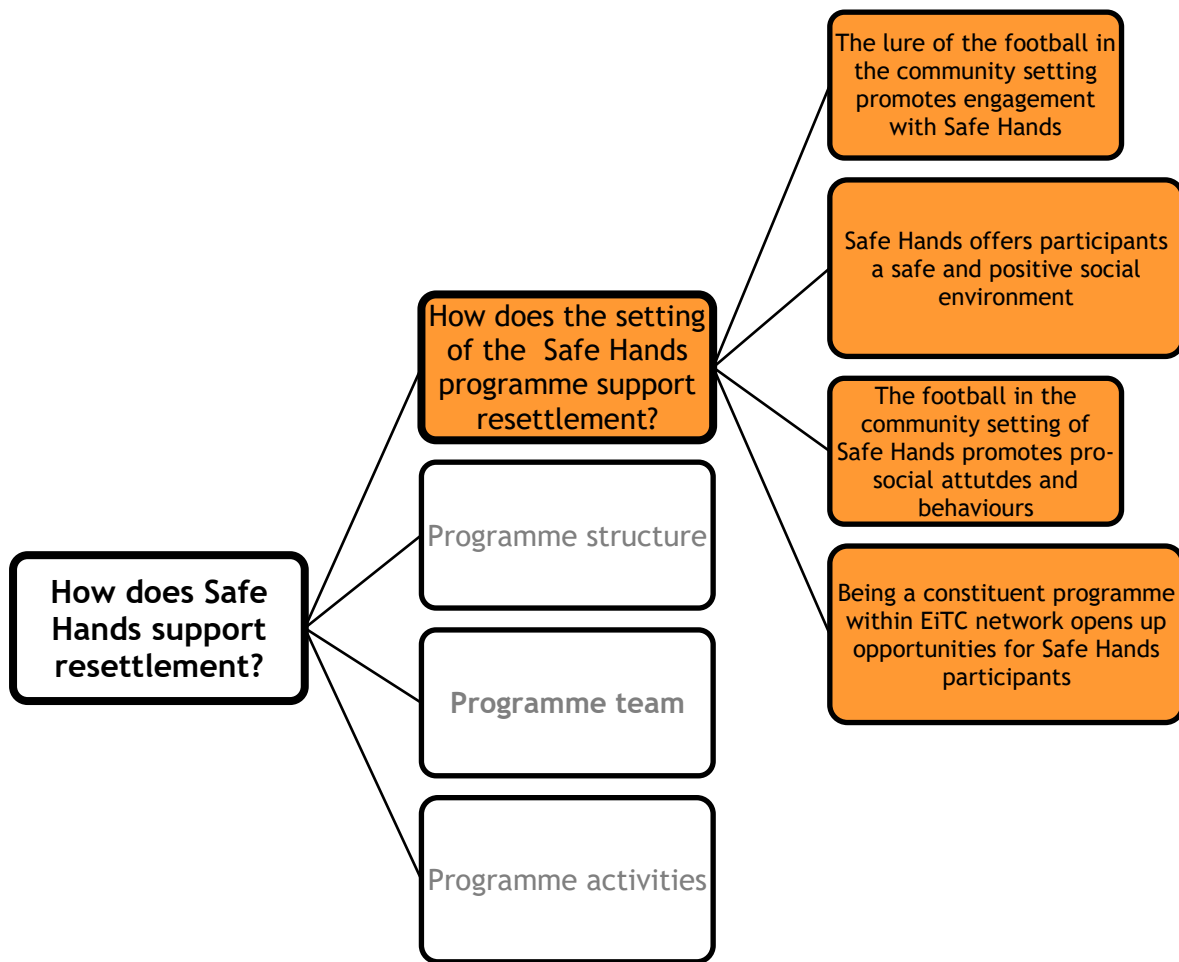
Figure 11: How does the setting of the Safe Hands programme support resettlement?

4.4.1 The lure of the Football in The Community setting promotes engagement with Safe Hands

While young people are typically *referred* to Safe Hands, they engage with the programme voluntarily. The importance of recruiting and then engaging young people in resettlement interventions has been highlighted in previous research on resettlement (Dawes, 2011). All current and former Safe Hands participants described how the programme's association with a football club appealed to them and prompted them to engage with it. They described the programme's football setting as 'appealing' (EiTC097) , that it acted 'like a selling point' (EiTC842), was a 'perk' (EiTC855) and 'opened [their] eyes' (EiTC024) towards engaging with the programme.

The influence of the football setting in attracting young people to Safe Hands was in contrast to their largely negative attitudes towards statutory resettlement and youth justice programmes, with most saying they were unwilling or reluctant to engage with these services. To illustrate, one young person described how, had the support offered

to him from Safe Hands come from a statutory service, he 'probably wouldn't have bothered or been interested' (EiTC097). These views were echoed by another young person who highlighted the significance of the football setting in his choice to engage with Safe Hands:

> If it hadn't been a football club, and it had just been a normal office, I would probably have said no because you don't want that. (EiTC855)

Several EiTC staff acknowledged general antipathy of young people towards statutory services, with one commenting that, in their experience young prison leavers were 'closed down' (EiTC080) to the prospect of engaging with support services.

All EiTC staff felt strongly that Safe Hands' football setting aided recruitment and encouraged young people to engage. These views can be summarised in the words of one who described football settings as a 'massive hook' which 'influence[d] people to come on programmes' (EiTC115). When asked if they could account for this, most referred to footballing settings as possessing a 'power' which could positively influence attitudes and behaviours. Some EiTC staff referred to the 'power of the [Everton] badge', while others referred to the 'power of football' more broadly.

Most EiTC staff suggested Everton's home stadium, Goodison Park, was a further factor in motivating prospective participants to engage with Safe Hands. Several described young people as 'buzzing' at the prospect of coming to the stadium, and how it could act as 'the pull' to engage participants (EiTC441). One recalled a young person who had been 'literally shaking with excitement' at the prospect (EiTC118), another said the choice for participants between attending a resettlement programme based in a football stadium and those delivered by statutory services in an official setting as a 'no brainer' (EiTC757). These views were reflected in the opinions of several current and former Safe Hands participants, with one describing how he 'wanted to come to Goodison Park every day' (EiTC855).

To illustrate the effect that the football setting had on young people, a member of EiTC staff gave a detailed example of a Safe Hands participant who 'doesn't engage' with support services and 'wouldn't do anything' but was prepared to travel long distances to participate in Safe Hands:

> We have one young person coming in from other side of the city. It's literally the furthest south you can get in the city, and he comes all the way across here on a bus, about an hour a day, both ways, and I think that says a lot. (EiTC115)

When further trying to account for the emotional impact that the football setting could have on a young person, a staff member described thinking that it might enable them to reconnect with their past, to a time before they had started offending, and possibly help them envisage a pathway to a more positive future:

> …they see something [football] that they feel natural with … because I think from when they are younger, they see football as something that is fun. You support football, its far away from the life path that you are on now … for some reason they see a football badge as something different, separate from what they find themselves entrenched with, a way out. (EiTC103)

The programme's football setting was important in encouraging young people to engage with Safe Hands. In my field notes I observed that everyone involved with Safe Hands , both staff and participants, were passionate about football and it was a common topic of conversation in the Safe Hands resource hub between participants and staff. However, EiTC staff also noted that young people had to want, or be open, to the idea of change. The importance of which has been described in other research on prisoner resettlement (Maruna et al., 2004). This was highlighted by several EiTC staff as being integral to the efficacy of Safe Hands. As one suggested:

> The young people have got to come to the table. The resources we've got can put everything in place and we cover most bases … if they want to improve their own lives then it is down to them … you can take a horse to water, but you can't make it drink. (EiTC007)

4.4.1.1 Engagement with Safe Hands gave participants a stake in something which prompted desistance

Several participants described how their engagement with Safe Hands had given them the resolve to avoid reoffending. This appeared to be related to these young people not wanting to jeopardise their involvement with Safe Hands. For example, one young person described how he had been approached by someone with whom he used to deal drugs and had 'told the kid to fuck off' (EiTC855). When I asked what led him to him responding in this way, he described how it had been 'easy' for him to do so and that 'being here' with Safe Hands was a 'big part' of his decision. He explained that a further factor was that he felt that he had been 'given an opportunity' by EiTC and he was 'in

no rush to fuck anything up' because he had 'too much going for me now' . He said the prospect of reoffending 'doesn't entertain me at all' and that his involvement with Safe Hands had 'changed' him and his 'whole perception' about criminal behaviour. In reinforcing the impact his engagement with Safe Hands had on him, he explained how, had he not been engaged with the programme, he 'would probably have just went yeah' and reconnected with his offending peer group. Other young people gave similar examples of encountering offending peers on the street and telling them they were no longer interested in offending.

Another young person spoke of how his attachment to Safe Hands led him to revaluate what he did in his spare time when away from the programme. This led him to conclude that rather than spending time in the evening with his friends, which might place him at risk of reoffending, he would rather stay at home and be ready to attend Safe Hands the following morning. He attributed being able to make this decision to an increasing sense of self-confidence in his role as a Safe Hands participant, and the value he could see in him attending the programme:

> I have me old mates being like 'let's go out and do this and that' and cos, like the self-belief that I had the importance that I was getting from here, I was like 'well no', cos I've gotta be up tomorrow and do this, I've got to go to Everton to do this, I've got such and such on tomorrow'. I've got this programme that's making me sit back and think, well, nah I don't want to go out with them tonight and probably end up drunk or something and probably end up arrested or what not. I'd rather stay in get some good rest and go to Everton Safe Hands tomorrow and get that good feeling back, get that feeling of importance. (EiTC097)

A different strategy adopted by several young people involved them still spending time with peers who were offending but they placed certain conditions on their interactions with them (such as not allowing them to bring drugs to their home) or removed themselves from situations when their peers were offending. For example, a young person described that while he 'still went and hung out with me mates' he decided that:

> When they said 'we are off to do this or that', I was like 'sound I'll see you later' … while they are at the footy post smoking weed I'm still playing footy on the pitch and while they are going off doing this and that I'm at home waiting for them to come back. (EiTC387)

This young person described how although they 'didn't find it hard' to make this choice, this was 'cos [sic] of Safe Hands … I can say no and not go out and reoffend'.

4.4.2 **Safe Hands offers participants a safe and positive social Environment.**

The testimonies of all Safe Hands participants and EiTC staff suggested that the programme offered young people both a safe physical space in the shape of the Safe Hands resource hub and a positive emotional environment where participants felt welcome and comfortable.

4.4.2.1 The Safe Hands resource hub as a 'safe space'.

Since the programme started in 2012, Safe Hands has been delivered out of a resource hub, initially housed within Goodison Park. While, as described above, Goodison Park could be a factor in attracting young people to the programme, during my 2016 period of fieldwork, several EiTC staff commented that the physical space used by Safe Hands within the stadium had become increasingly ill-suited to the programme's needs. This was because Everton FC had gradually repurposed the area for use by the media when covering football matches. Several EiTC staff commented on the impact of this on the programme. The most common reflection was that these changes reduced the availability of private space for Safe Hands to use for one-to-one sessions with young people:

> [A young person] might come in with something they really need to speak about and while we try our best to facilitate … sometimes we don't have a place to go. (EiTC007)

Following discussions between EiTC management and representatives from Everton FC it was agreed that Safe Hands would benefit from moving to a new resource hub, the funding for which was provided by the club. The programme moved to its new resource hub (41 Goodison Road, a repurposed terraced house with dedicated office space, a kitchen, and a communal area for participants, equipped with a TV and a PlayStation), in early 2017. Safe Hands shares the resource hub with another EiTC youth engagement programme called Breathing Space.[20] The office is welcoming, and young people are encouraged to 'drop in' and access workers and subsequent support at any time.

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[20] EiTC's Breathing Space offers support, education pathways and diversionary activities to 14-19-year-olds who are either currently in care or at risk of entering the care system. The programme is funded by BT Sport's 'The Supporters Club' and the Premier League. (See:

I conducted research with Safe Hands while the programme was based within Goodison Park and after their move to 41 Goodison Road. While only one of the young people I interviewed had experience of participating in both locations, their experiences allow for a point of comparison between the settings. He described being inside Everton's stadium as a 'nice' experience but thought that moving to 41 Goodison had been 'the best thing' for the programme. When asked to explain why, he described how being in the stadium could be difficult for Safe Hands participants and 41 Goodison gave them more freedom to act like themselves:

> [Goodison Park]… is a professional stadium, it's got professional people in and out all day, businesspeople, it's an important place … we [Safe Hands participants] are not perfect people, we swear, we have a laugh, we throw things, we have banter. When you are over there you have to be more professional, you have got to be good. Whereas over here you've still got to be good, we've still got to respect the environment, but we can be ourselves more, we can have a laugh and joke, we can swear, do you know what I mean? [41 Goodison] Gives us that independence where we can crack on. (EiTC842)

Several EiTC staff similarly stressed that while delivering Safe Hands from Goodison Park had certain strengths, and the programme still used the stadium for some activities, moving to 41 Goodison Road had been a significant and positive development. EiTC staff referred to the move as a 'massive change' (EiTC757) and 'really beneficial' (EiTC441). This was because 41 Goodison Road offered young people their 'own space' and helped the programme to create a 'comfortable' and 'relaxed' environment for participants:

> I think this [41 Goodison] is very safe … they [Safe Hands participants] knock on the door come in and put the kettle on, it's a safe environment … you hear a lot of them say that it's like being with family … I think they just feel welcome and it's like home (EiTC080)

In addition to a physical environment where participants could feel safe and relaxed, most EiTC staff described how they believed providing a positive emotional environment which promoted stability and emotional wellbeing was important for participants, particularly because many experienced chaotic home lives and resided in communities that placed them at risk of future offending. In illustrating the importance of this, a

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http://www.evertonfc.com/community/youth-engagement-programmes/the-projects/breathing-space) [Accessed 28 April 2016].

staff member gave the example of working with young people who had been feeling 'positive about being released' and had 'no intentions of reoffending', and yet after their release:

> ...they find themselves back in a community where that's [offending] all that occurs on a daily basis. It's the hardest thing, it is so difficult for them. (EiTC115)

These views were echoed in the comments of a Safe Hands participant who described how he felt safe at the resource hub: "I know when I'm here I can't get in trouble", and when he felt at risk of offending, he went to 41 Goodison:

> ...if one of the people I used to get in trouble with phoned me and said, 'are you going to come out?' then I'd just say 'no' and then I'd just come here so that I knew I couldn't go out. (EiTC654)

Establishing a positive and welcoming emotional environment for Safe Hands participants was a programme priority by most EiTC staff. They described how the Safe Hands team sought to create a 'home' or 'family'-like environment for participants. All participants described how the Safe Hands team created a positive emotional environment and had made them feel welcome when they started attending the programme. In my field notes, I described the social atmosphere of the programme as 'jocular and energetic' and I felt that the staff had created a 'family vibe' Each young person was greeted warmly as soon as they arrived at the resource hub and staff would stop what they were doing to have a chant with each young person such asking them what they had been doing since they last saw them. If a young person arrived in the morning, they staff typically asked if they had eaten breakfast and that if they had not there was toast, cereal etc for them to eat in the kitchen.

The environment created by the Safe Hands team helped participants to feel safe and comfortable, it had a 'chilled environment' with a 'nice vibe' (EiTC097) and was a place that felt like 'home' (EiTC335). An EiTC staff member suggested that 'regardless' a young person's past, 'we want them to feel safe and belong and [feel] part of something'(EiTC802), while another commented that 'a lot' of the young people they worked with on the programme had told them that being with Safe Hands was 'like being with family' (EiTC080). These experiences contrasted with some of the participants' accounts of life at home. Issues included strained relationships with

parents and relatives, often as a result of their offending and time spent in custody causing distress. For other participants this was related to longstanding family problems such as divorce. Several no longer lived at home, with one in supported accommodation and another with a grandparent.

For most participants, being made to feel welcome had been an important factor in their continued engagement with the programme, as one described:

> If it was awkward a few times I probably wouldn't have wanted to come in, but they don't, they make me feel welcome all the time. When I jump up in the morning, I can't wait to come, it's not like it's just work, I'm made up to come in, me. (EiTC842)

Other participants described how the Safe Hands team helped them feel 'safe' (EiTC335), like they 'belong' and 'part of something' (EiTC855). One described the atmosphere as 'all positive' and 'no negativity', another of how 'you come here every day and there are smiles' (EiTC387). The same young person went on to describe how the positive atmosphere generated by the Safe Hands team 'instantly' made him feel 'happier', which he compared to his experiences of statutory youth justice services where he would 'come in sit down and wait an hour to get spoken to'.

4.4.3 The Football in The Community setting promotes pro-social attitudes and behaviours.

As well as well as promoting engagement with the programme, there are narratives in my data that the Safe Hands setting promotes the adoption of pro-social behaviours and attitudes among participants. Several young people described how their engagement with Safe Hands had changed the way they behaved. For example, they felt their behaviour had become increasingly pro-social, and their attitudes towards offending increasingly negative, because of their deference towards and the esteem in which they held the professional football setting to which Safe Hands was aligned.

The influence of the setting on these changes was reflected in the comments of a young person who described feeling he had to be 'respectful round here cos it's a football club' and that he could not 'walk around doing whatever you please' (EiTC097). Similarly, another participant described how, when he was offending, he had 'no respect for nothing' and 'didn't give a shit about people', yet his involvement with Safe

Hands had led to changes in 'the way I treat people' and 'the way I speak to people' (EiTC335). He attributed this to his positive feelings and respect towards the programme setting. Another suggested that he felt an obligation not to resume his offending and did not want to risk bringing the reputation of the setting into disrepute:

> This stopped me from the temptation. It's for the club, like I know I'm not a proper member of staff but when I'm out I feel a responsibility to not act like a dick head just in case somebody sees me, or you know I'm thinking I can't fuck it up. (EiTC855)

While these comments might suggest these young people voluntarily adopted pro-social behaviours out of a respect for the football setting, it is important to note that several EiTC staff explained that when a young person joined Safe Hands, they were told they were expected to 'respect their surroundings' (EiTC080). For example, one described that when a young person joined the Mid-season stage of the programme it was explained to them that:

> …when they are on this programme, and in this area around the ground, they have got to be quite upstanding really … it's a football club, there is a lot of important people about all the time, so they need to make sure that they behave properly … it's really important for them to know that they are representing the club all the time. (EiTC757)

These views were shared by other EiTC staff who described how it was expected of Safe Hands participants that when they 'are around the club you watch your language, you present yourself, you don't walk around with your hand in your pants' (EiTC441).

A further illustration of the potential influence that the football setting can have on the behaviour and attitudes of participants was offered by a member of EiTC staff, who compared the behaviour of young people on Safe Hands, with those they had worked with on a statutory resettlement programme:

> They [Safe Hands participants] can do stuff like go to the shop together, it's like silly things but they are quite big things as well. You know, I couldn't have got six or seven lads at YOT [Youth Offending Team] to do anything like that ever at all. You couldn't even have sat two of them in the reception area together if they were waiting for appointments … But then, that's about the environment here. (EiTC080).

Being a constituent programme within EiTC opens opportunities for Safe Hands participants. Most EiTC staff felt that the Safe Hands programme benefited from being

part of a larger organisation. They described how the Safe Hands team could draw upon the wider resources of EiTC and participants were supported to access specialised support and other opportunities available to them via the wider network. To illustrate, a staff member explained how, when planning how Safe Hands might meet the needs of a young person, they would 'in the first instance', seek to 'utilise that network with EITC', which gave them the scope to connect young people with 'many, many different courses' and the chance to 'dip into' other programmes (EiTC757). Another described how Safe Hands was 'very much' about engaging the participants with other programmes and 'getting out there and working with other programmes' (EiTC802). Examples given by EiTC staff of Safe Hands participants joining other programmes included the Premier League Works Programme and volunteering on an EiTC programme that supports ex-military personnel. A common remark made by EiTC staff was that Safe Hands provided participants 'wraparound' support, because of EiTC offering programmes which addressed many of the barriers facing young prison leavers.

When asked if they could describe any further benefits to participants being able to access other EiTC programmes, EiTC staff offered several perspectives. Firstly, one observed that if Safe Hands participants chose to access other EiTC programmes the Safe Hands team were close at hand if they needed extra support:

> I think it's a really good thing … it's good to be able to keep them close by … if one of them was go to do something else with another department with Kicks or sports development, then I'd almost become more of a mentor sort of role, so if they wanted to keep coming back or if there was any issues you'd always want to be there … to be able to help or support them with anything. (EiTC080)

A second benefit to being part of EiTC was that participants could easily access programmes which could support their personal development, with one staff member describing how they had seen young people develop their 'soft skills', and potentially uncover 'hidden talents' (EiTC103) as a result. Several EiTC staff felt engaging with other EiTC programmes could help to improve participants' self-confidence and encourage them to adopt pro-social behaviours. As one describes:

> We've had young people who [when they start] are just hood up and silent all the time and then the difference in six months is amazing and they become more friendly and they are great now and I think that's because they come here as a participant and then moving onto other areas and I think that brings them out of themselves, doing some mentoring, doing some football coaching,

youth engagement programmes, and having some responsibility, it can make a massive difference. (EiTC080)

Another observed that engaging with other programmes could be a source of pro-social modelling for Safe Hands participants as they would meet other people who have also faced challenging circumstances and gone on to make positive changes in their lives:

> I think it's good that we've got such a wide spread of projects because they can see people that have been successful as well … So rather than us just saying, look you can change your life, they can actually speak to someone who might say, 'I did it, I used to deal drugs I used to be on drugs, but I've changed me [my] life and I've now got a job'. (EiTC103)

In addition to meeting adults who had changed the course of their lives, several EITC staff described how, during Mid-Season, current participants could come into contact with former participants who were now engaged with other EiTC programmes. As one described, these interactions could help current participants see other young people, who had 'been in their position', but had since made positive changes to their lives via the opportunities available to them through EiTC. This could encourage them to achieve something similar:

> in the back of his head, he might be thinking I could do that, I could have that kind of job [with EiTC] … or maybe have seen some of the other things that the other young people are involved in and thinking, you know what, maybe I wouldn't mind volunteering … I think that kind of like might be a process if they see people who have been in their position as well and kind of understand where they've gone and how much they've achieved, and I think that plays a part. (EiTC115)

Several EiTC staff described how accessing other opportunities within EiTC brought Safe Hands participants into contact with a wider range of adults than just the Safe Hands team, exposing them to more pro-social influences, potentially helping them build their own pro-social networks. To illustrate, a staff member described how the close links between the different EiTC programmes, which meant that 'people come and go all the time' in and out of the Safe Hands resource hub, gave participants the opportunity to get to 'know lots of other members of [EiTC] staff' which, in turn, could make it 'easier' for participants to 'move around' within EiTC (EiTC007).

In addition to the Safe Hands resource hub, EiTC staff described other settings where participants could meet with and get to know other EiTC staff, including over lunch in

the staff canteen inside Goodison Park and EiTC's main campus, The People's Hub. Moreover, the Safe Hands team had developed an activity called 'Friday footie', a social game of football involving Safe Hands participants and other EiTC staff, which was designed to bring them contact with other EiTC staff and 'feel a part' of the wider organisation:

> We might be having lunch in Captains and the Kicks team might come in and say 'hiya' n' that now they are saying hiya to us but also 'hiya' to our young people and we'd always introduce our young people. Like I say, when we are over at The Hub now, and our Friday footie, the staff will come down from the office and say 'hiya' and have a kick around with our young people cos it's literally that feel, it's not like, obviously we are separate programmes and we are based in this house, but we have people coming and knocking all the time and we have our lads challenging other members of staff to FIFA tournaments cos they've had a bit of banter over lunch and that doesn't half help because it makes them feel a part of it. (EiTC115)

Most of the Safe Hands participants had some experience of engaging with other programmes within EiTC. They described accessing a range of opportunities, including taking part in employability programmes and supporting other youth engagement initiatives, such as EiTC's delivery of the National Citizen Service programme. One young person described how having already met staff from other EiTC programmes made it easier for them to join such programmes; because he 'knew them' and 'I'd seen their faces', he 'mingled straight away really' (EiTC842). Another gave a more detailed example of how being part of the wider EiTC network opened up different opportunities to Safe Hands participants:

> ...they do put you on these [EiTC] courses and you can choose something else if you want, they don't just go, go in there, shut that door, then go there, shut that door, then come back. You go into that door and that door could open like three other doors; do you know what I mean? And then you chose from where you want to go from there or say that you do something else, they can open that door for you, and it will always lead to something else. (EiTC097)

This young person went on to describe how the close connections between Safe Hands and other EiTC programme meant 'word gets around' when 'you do something good … other people in other departments start hearing about it', which led to him being offered a work placement on a different EiTC programme:

> One of the lads who works for the community [EiTC] … approached me one day and said, 'do you want to do a wave [cohort] on our programme?' … and he knows how I was on Safe Hands, so he must've felt that I can pass that down to some of the young people he's working with … I kind of landed that job, so I was being a peer mentor and working on another programme, and I felt like that was just like a good thing that people were noticing the work that I was doing, it's not just like that I'm doing it, it's like people are actually noticing and taking it in, and that was a good outcome and that was making them think more about me and making them like wanting me as part of the team, if you understand what I mean? (EiTC097)

This young person's experiences were like those of several other participants who had been able to move on to other programmes, some of which led to full-time employment.

4.5 How does the structure of the Safe Hands programme support resettlement?

The Safe Hands programme operates through the gate support for participants across three distinct stages: Pre-Season, which begins in custody; Mid-Season which offers community-based support close to a young person's liberation; and End of Season which supports young people to move on to positive destinations. Previous research has highlighted that through the gate support is likely the most effective structure for resettlement programmes (Burke, Taylor, Millings, & Ragonese, 2017; Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007).

I identified that the structure of Safe Hands supports resettlement in the following ways: participation in the Pre-Season stage lessens participants' anxiety about being released from custody and increases the prospects of them engaging in the community; the Mid-Season stage offers participants structure and routine during the complex transition from custody to community; and End of Season supports participants to move on to positive destinations. These are summarised in Figure 12.
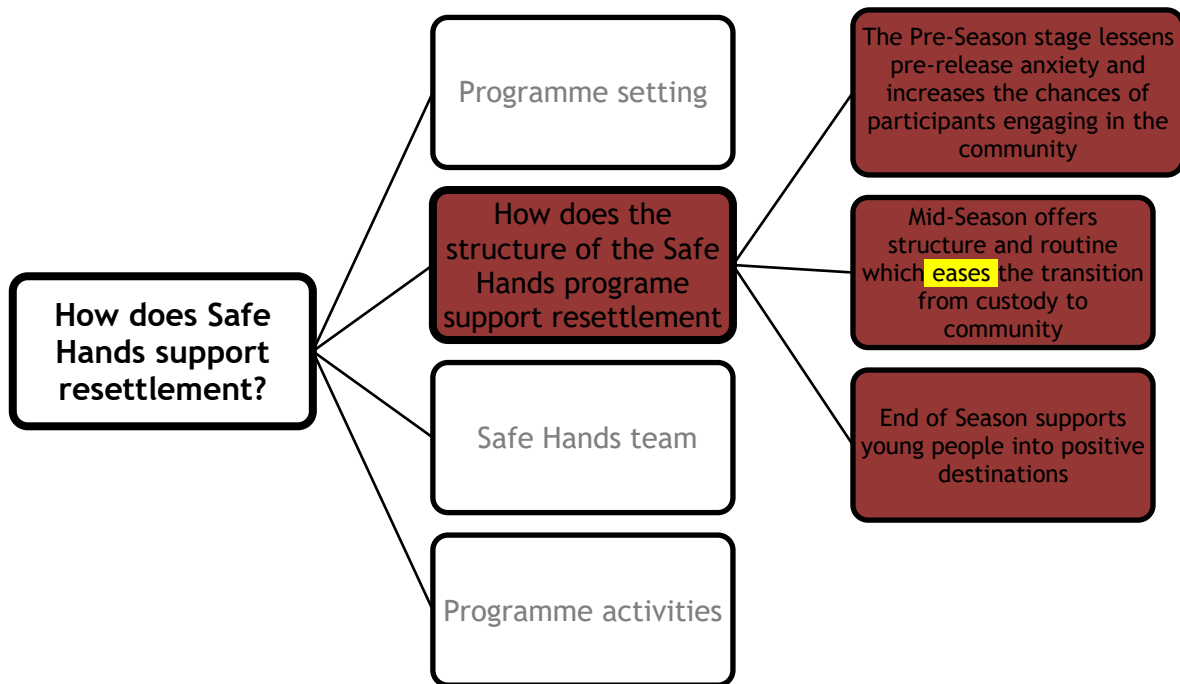
Figure 12: How does the structure of the Safe Hands programme support resettlement

4.5.1 The Pre-Season stage lessens pre-release anxiety and increases the chances of participants engaging in the community

Most EiTC staff appeared to strongly believe that supporting young people in custody before their release the Safe Hands Pre-Season stage was an important aspect of the programme's structure; one referred to it as the 'most vital part' of the programme (EiTC103). Perspectives on the importance of Pre-Season included that it helped to lessen participants' anxieties about being released from custody and increased the chances of them engaging with the programme after their release.

EiTC staff repeatedly stressed how the Pre-Season stage increased the likelihood of a young person engaging with Safe Hands after their release. They described the importance of forming an 'initial bond' (EiTC802) with a young person while they were in custody and that 'you need to build up that relationship between each other' (EiTC007) for a young person to engage with Safe Hands after they released. However, several EiTC staff also acknowledged that building relationships with young people while they were in custody could be a difficult process, which often required several months:

> If they've got about six months left [in custody] then that allows us to build up that relationship with them … If they've only got two or three months left, we are only going to get a couple of visits, so they are not really going to know you, or you them. Most the of the lads who have been successful have been through a proper pre-season.(EiTC007)

The significance of getting to know a young person before their release to them then engaging with Safe Hands in the community was further illustrated by several EiTC staff, who described what tended to happen if they only had a short amount of time to work with a young person in custody. One described how if they received a 'late referral', which might be as little as 28 days before a young person was liberated, they could probably only have one or two meetings with them and it was unlikely they would be able to 'build up that relationship', the result of which could be:

> …we don't really know them, and they don't really know us, so when they come out, they quite quickly forget about us. (EiTC441)

This association between relationships built while young people were in custody and them engaging with Safe Hands in the community was echoed in the accounts of most Safe Hands participants. When reflecting on their experiences of Pre-Season, they strongly asserted that they would have been unlikely to have engaged had they not already got to know the programme team while in custody.

A further benefit of the Pre-Season stage related to how contact with young people while they were in custody could help to reduce their anxiety in the lead up to release. During Pre-Season, the Safe Hands team help participants plan for release by developing co-constructed action plans, which identify a young person's resettlement needs and goals for the future. Most EiTC staff felt that supporting young people to plan for their resettlement helped reduce their anxiety about being released. For example, one explained that it helped put young people on a 'good path before they are released', and 'show that there is something else out there' (EiTC441), while another described that pre-release planning offered 'reassurance' to participants (EiTC007).

The capacity of the Pre-Season stage to reduce young peoples' anxieties about being liberated from custody was demonstrated in the narratives of participants, most of whom described feeling anxious about being released. When asked if they could recall how they were feeling at the time, one described that he was 'shitting meself' (EiTC855) while others said they were 'panicking' (EiTC387), and 'scared to come out'

(EiTC097). Most described how their experiences of Pre-Season helped to reduce the stress and anxiety they were experiencing and to feel more hopeful about the future. A former participant described how Pre-Season had helped him feel 'less bad' about being released because he knew that he would 'come out to these [Safe Hands] and they would help me' (EiTC0842). Others described how they felt unsure about what they would do after they were released and that meeting with Safe Hands gave them a sense of purpose and direction:

> At the time I didn't really have anything going for me, do you know what I mean? I thought, well I'm in jail, I don't really know what I'm going to do when I get out so I thought this could be the best opportunity that I could go for so I thought I'd just go for it straight away … Something inside of me just said yeah this, this is like a calling. (EiTC097)

4.5.2 Mid-Season offers structure and routine which eases the transition from custody to community.

EiTC staff and current and former participants described how the structure of the Mid-Season stage helped support resettlement in several ways, including engaging young people as soon after their release date as possible and offering young people a source of structure and routine at a time of emotional upheaval and heightened risk of reoffending. Most EiTC staff strongly felt it was important that participants started Mid-Season as close as possible to their release date, preferably 'in the same week of release' (EiTC441). This was because participants were thought to be particularly vulnerable to 'temptation[s]' and 'external pressures' to reoffend (EiTC802) within the first few weeks of being released.

Several EiTC staff described a perceived association between the length of time since a young person was released from custody and starting Safe Hands and the chances of them engaging with Mid-Season. One explained that in their experience, the longer a young person did not engage with Safe Hands after their release, the 'less chance' there was of them doing so (EiTC441). Another suggested that 'if you can't get them on board in the first two weeks' the chances of them engaging with Safe Hands and avoiding reoffending was 'luck more than anything' (EiTC103).

Evidence from participant interviews support these views. All those young people who joined Safe Hands after being released from custody (six of the seven interviewed), described starting Mid-Season within a few days of release. For instance, one described

how 'Two days later after my release date I was on an FA [Football Association] course' (EiTC387), and another how he 'literally come straight here [to Safe Hands]' after release (EiTC097). The importance of this was highlighted in the comments of several, with one describing how involvement soon after his release meant he had 'no room to slack and reoffend' (EiTC842) and another how he was 'focussed on something straight away, instead of getting out and sitting round' (EiTC855).

Several EiTC staff described how, even if a young person had been engaging with Safe Hands while in custody, it was possible that their attitudes towards the programme might change after release. One characterised supporting young prison leavers in the community as a 'different ball game' (EiTC441), because they were often exposed to a range of distractions and temptations which might lessen their commitment to Safe Hands and to trying to change the course of their lives. Consequently, they suggested that the only way to determine if a young person was committed and 'fully on board' with Safe Hands was if they engaged with Mid-Season.

Examples of the emotional upheaval young people experience immediately after release from custody were evident in the accounts of several participants. They described feeling 'weird' (EiTC387), 'scared' ((EiTC842), 'paranoid' (EiTC855), 'out of place' (EiTC097). One likened the experience to 'shellshock', describing how he felt disorientated by having the sudden freedom to do what he wanted, when in prison he been 'walking the same path for months' and 'in the same three or four rooms for seven months', whereas now he could 'open this door and go into this next room and open this other door' (EiTC387).

Most participants described how the structure and routine offered by the programme helped them feel less anxious in their daily lives. One reported that since engaging with Safe Hands in the community he no longer had to 'wake up, go out and sell drugs' (EiTC842), but instead 'could wake up and there was something there for me to do'; since engaging with Safe Hands he had felt 'more myself' and suggested the changes he had made in his behaviour and attitudes towards offending were a truer reflection of himself and his actions were 'not a front no more, it's just me'. Another described similar experiences:

> When you get up every morning you probably feel normal, well I feel like you know instead of getting up and thinking I've gotta go and see the next fucking

smack head or get the next bag of drugs or whatever. I wake up not stressed, I wake up nice. (EiTC855)

The risks of unstructured time to young prison leavers were evident in the comments of several participants. One described how he found himself frustrated by unstructured time and would 'rather get up and do something with me day', and that 'if it hadn't been for Safe Hands' he would have broken from the 'routine' he developed in prison 'straight away' and spent his time 'dillydallying about' (EiTC387). Another described how, while he liked the freedom to do what he 'wanted … instead of a prison officer telling me what to do', he also struggled with having a lot of unstructured time and found himself wondering 'what am I meant to do with me time?'; Mid-Season gave structure to his life and having 'Everton by my side was so positive … they kept me going' (EiTC842).

The views of these participants on the importance of having a sense of purpose to life after being released from custody were shared by several EiTC staff, with one commenting that:

> When they come out, they can become easily bored so I think that's why it's important to give them structure and routine to keep them occupied and engaged. (EiTC007)

Most participants felt regularly attending Safe Hands in the community gave them a sense of purpose and helped them avoid resuming their offending behaviour. A former participant described how, without the structure of the Mid-Season, he would likely have 'just gone back to the street … doing the same thing' and 'ended up back in jail (EiTC097). A participant who joined Safe Hands while serving a community sentence, thought that engaging with the programme was 'better than sitting at home smoking pot all day' because it 'gets you doing stuff' (EiTC654). He remarked that if he hadn't been attending Safe Hands he would likely be 'robbing shit or just doing what I was doing before'. Another described how Safe Hands kept him 'busy' and was 'keeping me out of trouble' (EiTC335). Another reported that that adhering to the structure of Mid-Season had helped him develop an increased sense of personal responsibility:

> I'd never really been in that kind of routine of like waking up, going to do something … actually sticking at it … when I was in college, I'd just get off during the day or just disappear or … go and smoke a bit of weed … but when you come [to Safe Hands] they kind of do give you a structure to not live by,

> but to follow … it just gives you a little bit of responsibility … I've got to take charge of meself [myself] here … I've got to get there for this time. (EiTC097)

This young person further suggested that 'completing that routine' of Mid-Season had helped him to increasingly believe that he could change the course of his life. He explained that, while previously he might have thought 'I can't do this', and that if he had not been involved with the programme, he would have '100 percent' reoffended, his experiences of engaging with Safe Hands in the community had helped him believe 'I am capable of doing that', which gave rise to feelings of 'pride' and 'self-belief that you can get somewhere'.

4.5.3 End of Season supports young people into positive destinations

The End of Season stage of Safe Hands refers to when participants are supported to access employment, education, or training opportunities as part of their disengagement from the programme. At this time, the Safe Hands team can offer continual support to participants, if required. The EiTC staff and participant interview data suggested young people left Safe Hands via four pathways: an opportunity of employment with EiTC; other employment, either arranged by Safe Hands or via other routes; re-involvement with offending, with some returning to custody; and other reasons.

The positive destinations cited by EiTC staff, and former participants, all referred to employment, with no mention of any young people returning from Safe Hands to education or entering training schemes. This was reflected in interviews with current participants, who when asked about their future goals, all described how they wanted to get a job, with each having a strong sense that the Safe Hands team would support them to meet their goals. For example, one described how he wanted to try and do an apprenticeship at EiTC and how the Safe Hand team had supported him with his application and 'they give me the opportunity' (EiTC024).

Some young people dropped out because of reoffending and re-entering the criminal justice system, while others drifted away from the programme having found work on their own or because of some other change in circumstances. When reflecting on the sometimes-unpredictable way young people left Safe Hands, an EiTC staff member commented that some participants 'just drop off' and 'some keep in touch and some don't (EiTC007). These types of experiences were described by an EiTC staff member

who referred to how some Safe Hands participants might 'come out and get into some work' and 'they can be quite settled'. In such circumstances, the role of the Safe Hands team involved 'the odd text or phone call' and 'What we do say is that we are always here and if it goes wrong let us know or come knock on the door'. They gave an account of this happening with a former participant:

> I'm thinking of one young person who was doing really well with us and he started doing some labouring and that was fine. It was agreed with YOT, and in our meetings, and it was checked out to make sure it was legit. Then when I saw his YOT worker recently and she said he's five days a week now and that's really good to hear ... he gives us the odd text and he knows we are here ... We don't want to be like hassling them if their life is going fine and they moved away from the service. (EiTC441).

The two young people who had moved to other opportunities within EiTC described how, even although they were no longer with Safe Hands, the team kept in touch with them and 'were always still there for me so like I could speak with them whenever' (EiTC024).

When asked about how the End of Season stage helped support resettlement, several EiTC staff described how they felt it helped these young people to realise that the person they were becoming bore little relation to the person they were before. One described the progress and pro-social changes they had seen in one of the former participants, who they now worked alongside, and happened to be one of the young people that I interviewed:

> If you think about the journey that he has been on ... he's now at a point where he really dislikes talking about his background, he hates it ... he's at a point where that is the old him and he's not that person anymore he's left that behind ... he's transition[ed] from having been a participant on a project to becoming a full time member of staff ... People still say, like those who worked with him quite closely and they seem him in his new role and he's standing in front of hundreds of young people and he's leading from the front and they are standing there, and their jaws are dropping going 'that's him!' because they remember him from years ago, and its great seeing that in him. (EiTC757)

The idea of being on a journey with Safe Hands, and End of Season, representing an end point of sorts, was touched upon by one young person who described his time with Safe Hands as like 'a ladder that I've been climbing ... starting from a participant engaging in all the activities' and accumulating experiences that led him to think 'I've got the ability to do that, I think I am ready for the next step' (EiTC097). This had led to his

new role, where he was now trying move on from being an 'assistant team leader to trying to get a team leader role'. When asked if he saw himself leaving EITC, he described how moving away from the Safe Hands programme into a new role had given him a feeling of:

> …independence and knowing that things can be done in me self I feel like that I can actually go out like not in Everton in the community and take the skills that I have learned from here and pass them on somewhere else. (EiTC097)

The Safe Hands participant interviewees were all at different stages of their involvement with the programme: one had only been with the programme for a few weeks, whereas others had left the programme several years earlier; one had been with the programme for around two years and had since been working with an EiTC programme for over a year. Interviewing young people at different stages of their engagement with Safe Hands offered a variety of insights on how the End of Season stage might impact on resettlement. Former participants all spoke positively about being able to stay in touch with the programme, how this offered them a sense of reassurance, and that even although they had left the programme, Safe Hands would be there for them if they needed support. For example, one made refence to the 'the door is always open' and 'the phone is always on' (EiTC097). Current participants gave a strong sense that they were being supported to think about their futures and lives beyond the programme. They described how, even at the earliest stages of the involvement, they were encouraged to think about their aspirations and how the programme could support them to achieve these goals.

Young people who had left the programme, but not gone on to work for EiTC, confirmed how the Safe Hands team stayed in touch and reassured them that they could offer support if they needed it. Both these young people had withdrawn from the programme of their own volition but in different circumstances. One described how he had been offered some ad-hoc work with his stepdad, which led to him reducing his contact with Safe Hands. He also mentioned how his partner was pregnant and he felt that he should be spending more time with her. He reflected on how Safe Hands had been supporting him, and his interactions with the programme team since leaving the programme:

> I haven't been involved [with Safe Hands] as much as I was. That's a positive thing though, I've been not involving meself positively. So, I've been busy with me own things which is good. they did try very hard … they were looking

into things for me, but I manged to find little bits and bobs meself so that's why I stopped engaging … It's reassuring that I know that if I see meself going down the wrong path, I have somewhere to turn and although I haven't been engaging, I have been in regular contact with them, texting and phone calls, how are ye, and they are asking how it's going at home. (EiTC842)

The other described how he disengaged because of his homelife breaking down, which led to him living in a hostel. He described feeling very upset at what had happened to him as his mum had forced him to move out. His attendance at Safe Hands became increasingly sporadic and he eventually stopped going. He described how the Safe Hands team were in regular touch with him throughout this time, until his phone broke:

It just came to a point where Safe Hands came and met me in a Subway and I couldn't bring me self to, like, get out of this hostel and go to, like, this great job cos I was so obsessed [with what had happened to him] … it just slowly came to a mutual end I stopped coming in, you know they were texting me saying it's okay you can come in and do this and that and I was like yeah, yeah, I will and then I wouldn't come in and then it just pfft stopped, it just came to an end. The phone they were calling me and texting me on, its broke n that so they didn't have a way of phoning me or texting me … It was more me ignoring Safe Hands rather than them, they would say oh you know we want to help you but I just, I just couldn't. (EiTC387)

He reported that after leaving the programme his uncle offered him a job, which led to him moving away from Liverpool. While this development did not come about because of the actions of the Safe Hands team, he demonstrated an enduring fondness towards the programme. This can be seen in the circumstances that led to him participating in my research: this young person had been working away from Liverpool but was still returning to the city regularly to see friends. It was during one of these trips back to Liverpool that he decided to drop in to see the Safe Hands team, which coincided with my 2016 fieldwork.

4.6 How does the Safe Hands team support resettlement?

This section focuses on the role of the Safe Hands team in supporting the resettlement of programme participants. Positive relationships have long been seen as important vehicles for supporting the resettlement as they can sustain engagement with programmes and promote self-realisation and personal growth (Batchelor & McNeill, 2005; Burnett, 2007; Gray, 2014).

I identified that the Safe Hands team developed positive relationships with participants, which were empowering, engendered a sense of loyalty among Safe Hands participants which helped them cease offending. As summarised in Figure 13.
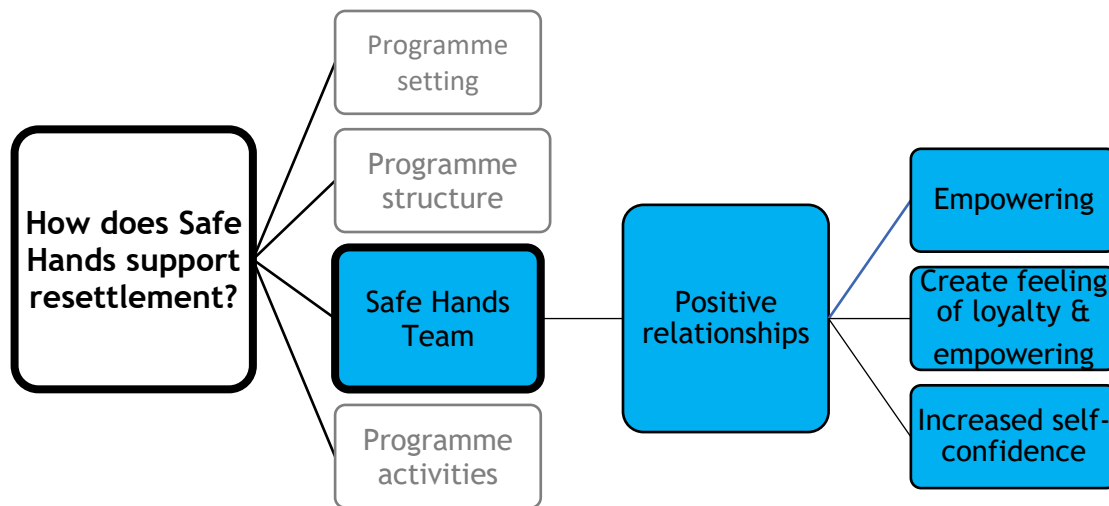
Figure 13: How does the Safe Hands team support resettlement?

All EiTC staff suggested that establishing positive relationships with Safe Hands participants was of central importance to supporting these young people; relationships were 'key' (EiTC441), 'vital' (EiTC007) and:

> Relationships are first and foremost, the most important thing you can have with any of the young people. (EiTC080)

EiTC staff described how relationships between the Safe Hands team and programme participants could benefit these young people in several ways, including helping to encourage and empower young people to 'to grow', (EiTC007), 'set their own goals' (EiTC441) and 'learn to be better citizens with more ambition and hope' (EiTC080), and help them to 'realise that they are just as capable as everyone else' (EiTC115). Some referred the importance of supporting young people to 'feel comfortable' about opening up about their problems and said this was a result of the Safe Hands team coming across as 'approachable and on their level' (EiTC007). Another talked of how forming positive

relationships with Safe Hands participants could encourage them to try new opportunities:

> ...they are more likely to trust you with going on activities they might not want to or, you know, engage in workshops that they might feel they know everything, but you can still encourage them to get involved so I think that the relationship is key. (EiTC441)

However, it was acknowledged that building relationships with participants could be challenging, requiring a 'lot of tolerance' (EiTC115) and often involving 'breaking down barriers' (EiTC007). In highlighting these difficulties, one described how if you took the 'wrong approach' then this group of young people would 'see right through you' (EiTC441). Another suggested that it was only once a relationship had been established between the Safe Hands team and a young person that they could begin to focus on 'more intense work' (EiTC007).

In describing how relationships were built between participants and the Safe Hands team, it was suggested that the Safe Hands team had to 'create a bond in a certain sort of way' (EiTC080). When asked how the Safe Hands team approached forming relationships with participants, several EiTC staff commented that it required them to demonstrate that they were committed to supporting the young person, with one describing that a 'cards on the table' approach could be effective and required saying:

> What are you here for? We are not going to judge you, this is what we have got going on, this is what you can get on board with. (EiTC441)

Other EiTC staff described how it was easier to build relationships if they were 'open' with young people and made it clear that they were 'not here to judge' them (EiTC802). Participants described several positive effects of forming relationships with Safe Hands team members. Most valued the personalised and relational approach which the team took when working with them. For instance, one talked about how they 'always wanna hear what you wanna do' and they 'look around and look for what you want' (EiTC024). Others described how Safe Hands had 'worked towards me' (EiTC842, showed an 'interest' in participants' lives and the Safe Hands team 'wanted to know about you' (EiTC855).

Relationships with the Safe Hands team gave young people a sense of empowerment, with one describing how it was through his relationship that he was able to begin

thinking about his future while still in custody. He talked of how he 'didn't really know' what he would do after release and how he was feeling a 'a bit lost in life', but after starting to work with Safe Hands felt the relationships and support he received from the team enabled him to think he could 'do better in meself' (EiTC097). Another gave an example of how his relationship with the team had empowered him to access opportunities, recalling a conversation with a team member who explained that, given his lack of qualifications and criminal record, he was 'not going to walk into a job' and should consider accessing some of the EiTC employability courses (EiTC387). This young person went on to describe how this experience encouraged him to reflect more deeply on his current circumstances and the possible benefits of engaging with some of the other services on offer to him via EiTC:

> You know it's true, but I didn't know that, I didn't think about it that that [his criminal record] would go against me. You can't just walk into a job at 17 anyway, let alone if you've got a record. They said it [the EITC training course] will benefit you more than anyone else so I said yeah. (EiTC387)

Participants also reported feeling the Safe Hands team were committed to helping them. One suggested that the team 'love their job', as demonstrated by the level of support they offered participants, which was '100 percent off of them every time' and 'never a half job' (EiTC024). Others described feeling reassured by the commitment which the team showed in supporting them: 'make you feel like that these people are caring' (EiTC097), 'it's a nice feeling to know that people are there to help us' (EiTC842), and when asking for help from Safe Hands 'It's never going to be, a 'nah can't be arsed' (EiTC387).

Young people also described appreciating feeling that they were treated with 'respect' (EiTC855), like a 'grown up' (EiTC355), and 'like they want[ed] to be treated' (EiTC842). Several talked of how they valued the more informal nature of their relationship Safe Hands team members, which made them more comfortable communicating with them, and compared favourably with their experiences of receiving support from statutory agencies:

> For any young person coming out of jail, if you are formal like YOT [Youth Offending Team] then you ain't gonna get anything off a young person not like these [Safe Hands], they are dead down to earth, they are just like your family and you will open up. That's the type of staff you need when you are working with young people when they get out of jail. (EiTC024)

Several young people described how their relationship with the team had increased their self-confidence with regards to achieving things they had not thought themselves capable of. For example, one reported how these relationships had helped him to be more 'confident' and, when reflecting on his new job where 'I'll lead a team of like 15 young people', he described how:

> When I first got out of jail, I would never have done anything like that, and I wouldn't have thought that I would have done anything like this either. (EiTC024)

Another described how Safe Hands team members 'pushed' participants to do 'things that you never thought you'd do' (EiTC097).

With regard to how their relationships with the team might have prompted behavioural changes, several young people described how they had been a factor in them not reoffending since starting the programme. One explained that if he had not been involved with Safe Hands he might have 'gone off and done whatever' and 'wouldn't have been bothered about the consequences' (EiTC097). However, since being engaged with Safe Hands 'something in me mind just clicked' and he would now be 'bothered with myself' if he reoffended. He attributed these changes in his attitudes towards crime to his relationships with the Safe Hands team:

> I was more like if I do that then I'm not just letting meself down I'm letting them all down and that. I'm letting everyone down that has put time and trust into me – its, it's a betrayal really isn't it?

4.7 How do the activities offered by Safe Hands support resettlement?

Finally, I identified that the activities of the Safe Hands programme were important to supporting resettlement, particularly generative activities, peer mentoring, and experiential activities. These are summarised in Figure 14.
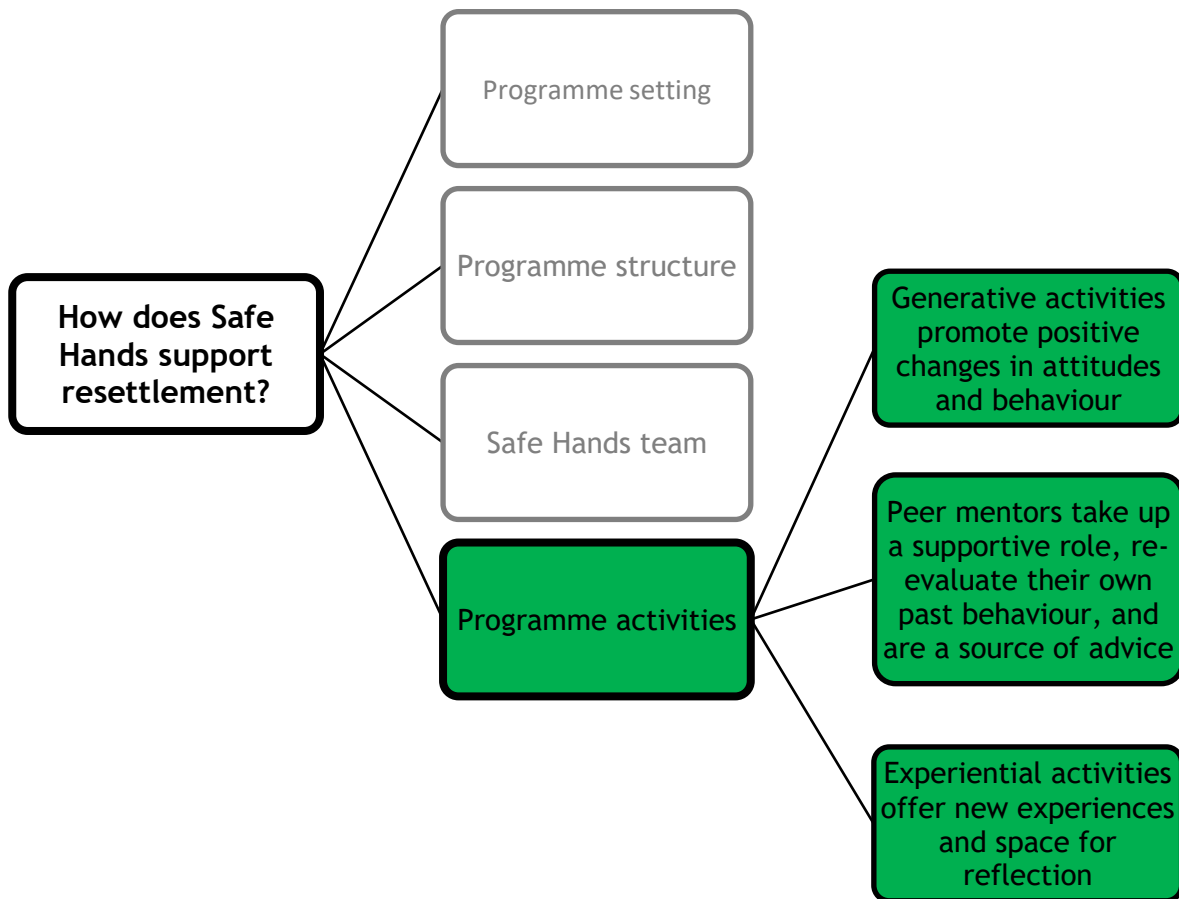
Figure 14: How do the activities offered by Safe Hands support resettlement?

Most of the content of Safe Hands is delivered during the Mid-Season stage. This offers participants a range of constructive and diversionary activities including experiential activities, health, and well-being sessions, acquiring qualifications, volunteering in the local community and peer-mentoring.

Usually, participants take part in 20 hours or more per week of bespoke themed workshops and accredited training and education opportunities. A range of accredited qualifications are offered which allow the young person to develop new skills and succeed in training and employment.

When describing these activities, most EiTC staff were careful to stress that although the programme was delivered by an organisation associated with a football club, and had initially used activities based around football, the breadth and scope of the activities offered had since 'evolved away from sport' and 'grown' to include a range of other activities guided by the interests of the participants:

> When we started, we could offer in-house stuff like FA [Football Association] level 1, community sports leadership, junior football awards - it was all sports. But then, over the years we've got other agencies coming in doing first aid, hygiene, healthy cooking - but just at the start it was more about how we've got these coaching badges but now it's 'what do you want? We can look into it'. You know, because we have realised that not all young people like football. (EiTC441)

To an extent the decision to broaden the types of activities offered by Safe Hands reflects Coalter's (2012) analysis of sport programmes and constitutes the transition of the programme from sport-plus to a plus-sport programme.

Most participants described enjoying the activities. When asked to reflect on what they had done with Safe Hands, they offered a range of positive responses including '[the activities are] always something that's different and keep you active so it's good' (EiTC335), 'we've done loads, absolutely loads … they all bring out different qualities' (EiTC855), and 'these activities that we do they just change your mind more and more as you go' (EiTC097). One described how the activities helped to give him a sense of purpose and to feel more positive:

> I'd wake up and go, oh we are going out today, we are going to Manchester, we are going to the beach or we are going to do a course … I didn't feel like I had to wake up, go out and sell drugs, do you know what I mean? I could wake up and there was something there for me to do. (EiTC842)

Several participants contrasted the activities delivered by Safe Hands with those offered by statutory resettlement services. One described how Safe Hands was more 'active' (EiTC654), while another felt that during his time with Safe Hands he was 'doing stuff' and 'gaining stuff' that he 'wouldn't get at the YOT [Youth Offending Team]' (EiTC335).

The views of these young people aligned with those of most EiTC staff. One, who had experience of working for different youth justice programmes, felt Safe Hands was 'more fun' for young people, while statutory programmes tended to be 'more offence focused' (EiTC080). Another described how, after initially 'concentrate[ing] a lot on offending behaviour work', the scope of activities offered by the programme had broadened and led to improvements in the health and wellbeing of the participants:

> What I feel now is that if a young person is engaging in like, not just physically active, but are working on their fitness or … doing some kind of

thing that is positive for their health and wellbeing and eating well and trying new things, then that will impact on how they are feeling inside so then they are more likely to feel better about themselves and good about themselves ... then they'll wanna do more things and be a part of a bigger thing and then once you've got that all the offending behaviour, all the mental health issues, the depression, the social isolation, goes away. (EiTC441)

4.7.1 The benefits of generative activities to resettlement

In resettlement research, generative activities are defined as those which enable individuals to 'make good', often through a contribution to the well-being of others (McNeill 2006; Weaver and McNeill 2007). While most EiTC staff and participants described the mixture of activities offered to young people by Safe Hands as appealing and as offering more enjoyment and variety than those found in statutory resettlement programmes, generative activities, such as volunteering and fundraising, were highlighted by both groups as being particularly supportive of participants' resettlement.

EiTC staff reported that Safe Hands created opportunities for participants to volunteer on a variety of projects, either in the local community or with other EiTC programmes. One described how Safe Hands 'try and encourage it [volunteering]', while others said volunteering was 'a big part' of the programme, there was 'so much voluntary work' available to Safe Hands participants (EiTC007), including 'stuff on match days' or 'stuff for different departments' (EiTC441). Examples of young people's volunteering included supporting a local care home and fundraising for a local charity event.

EiTC staff emphasised that volunteering could be a positive experience for participants, with one describing how it could 'open their eyes to much more in the community' and about 'what is going on in the real world' (EiTC007). This respondent also talked about how experiences of volunteering might lead participants to gain a greater appreciation of pro-social and altruistic activities and to begin thinking that 'it is okay to do stuff like this'. Another EiTC staff member described how volunteering in the local community could lead to both the creation of positive connections with the local community and changes in societal perceptions about young offenders:

> A big part of what we like to do is do community work. We have a community garden that is looked after and maintained. We have done a lot of work with an old people's home ... Through them activities other people get to know them [Safe Hands participants], they get to understand them and that helps

> change their perceptions of them … I think it is good and right to promote good things that they do because young people and young offenders in particular are given a bad rap whereas actually they do a lot of good stuff. Yes, they've done things, but they've served their time, give them that chance to change. (EiTC115)

In addition to changing external perceptions of young prison leavers several EiTC staff described how the volunteering experience could lead to changes in the attitudes and behaviours of participants. One talked of how volunteering could help participants 'feel like they weren't a prisoner anymore' (EiTC441). Another described observing changes in the behaviour and mannerisms of a young person when they were volunteering with Safe Hands:

> We had one young person about two years ago who committed quite bad offences and was a very difficult young man but when they took him off to the old peoples home at Christmas to help with tea and biscuits, we had a totally different individual – even the staff were shocked at how different he was. (EiTC080)

Most of the participants had experience of volunteering during their time with Safe Hands. All described it as a positive experience, with one talking about how volunteering gave him an 'insight into the working world' and an 'independence' which he felt had increased his self-confidence (EiTC097). When reflecting on experiences of volunteering in a local care home, another young person described how, although he had 'never done anything like that before', he felt the experience had led to view pro-social activities more positively:

> I felt good, I feel like you know I'm helping out society now and was just all sort of stuff like that with your brain thinking in different ways. (EiTC024)

Another reflected on experiences of fundraising with Safe Hands as part of having trained for and participated in the local 5K 'Run for the 96' campaign. His experiences offered him the opportunity to reflect on the meanings and consequences of his past, and to conclude that '17 years [I have] been quite stupidly thinking the way I thought about things'. When asked if he could explain why he felt this way, he talked about how participating in generative activities such as fundraising for charity helped him to see the value in pro-social activities: 'Stuff like that makes you think that like people do just do normal things' and 'you aren't a muppet for wanting to do that' (EiTC387). He

described how, previously, he had often been concerned about what people thought about him, but this experience with Safe Hands had led to a change in attitude:

> You know that's what I found hard … what people thought about me was a big thing to me until I came onto Safe Hands. It was important to me that people know how hard you are, that people know you won't take no shit … and then I was running around the park and thinking you know I'm just not that bothered, I'm having a fun time running around the park with people and whatever, and I'm not bothered about people thinking about me, so it's been ever since then really.

4.7.2 The benefits of peer mentoring to resettlement

EiTC staff described how, as peer mentors, Safe Hands participants could take on a supporting role for others who had recently joined the programme. This was a paid position and normally offered after a young person had been with the programme for a few months. While only three of the seven Safe Hands participants I interviewed had experience of being a peer mentor, they all described it as a positive experience; one suggesting it was a valuable role because it was 'really good to help the young kids who are coming out' (EiTC097). This young person described how peer mentoring had given him a 'sense of responsibility' because he felt a 'duty of care' towards his mentees and 'wanted to help these kids'. He also talked about how the role had increased his self-belief that 'things can be changed … things can be turned around': when he was younger, he had been told by people that his life was 'upside down' and 'there's nothing going for you', but, having been a peer mentor, he now believed that 'no matter where you are or what goes on in your life' people 'can turn yourself and make a change and make it better'.

The experience of being a peer mentor helped another participant to re-evaluate his own past offending and prompted him to re-evaluate his actions:

> I had the peer mentoring spot and I looked at it like I can't go in and tell a kid not to reoffend and not smoke weed when I'm going home and doing it. I can't mentally lie to someone's face and say, 'I don't do that' and then go and do it, I just can't'. (EiTC387)

Although most participant interviewees had not had experience of being peer mentors, all appeared to feel it was a programme strength. One commented on how they felt

peer mentors could, in some instances, be more credible sources of advice than the Safe Hands team because they had been through similar experiences of leaving prison:

> ...a vegetarian can't teach you how to cook your steaks cos they don't eat if it you know what I'm saying? ... we [as peer mentors] can kind of relate to them more of what issues they are having. (EiTC097)

4.7.3 The benefits of experiential activities to resettlement

In the context of working with justice involved youth, experiential activities are often associated with outdoor education or outward bound programmes, where young people are supported to overcome physical challenges as a route to personal and social development (West and Crompton, 2001; Leberman, 2007).

EiTC staff described how the programme sought to offer participant activities that not only challenged them but also provided new experiences, with one talking of how some of the activities offered aimed to support young people in 'trying new things' and see 'there is more to life than what they've had in the past' (EiTC441). This staff member also described trying to broaden participants' horizons by using other activities such as cooking, and 'making a spag bol or a curry' with participants, 'some of them have never tried these types of food [before]'. They talked of how supporting participants to step outside 'their comfort zone' could 'show them there's more to life', and how such experiences might help 'change their behaviour and attitude'.

Several EiTC staff reported how Safe Hands had 'always maintained' (EiTC441) outdoor education activities such as gorge walking, hill walking, kayaking and mountain biking. When talking about the value of these types of activities, staff noted they were often new experiences as many participants had 'never tried or done anything of these kind of things' (EiTC007). This view was shared by several young people, with one commenting that with Safe Hands he was 'learning all new stuff that I've never tried before' (EiTC097).

Another EiTC staff member explained that spending time outdoors could provide a reflective space for young people, which helped deepen their relationship with Safe Hands staff. This potentially resulted in participants opening up and engaging with them in different ways:

> we just got the minibus and we went to the Lakes and just went for a walk … the conversations of what comes out of stuff like that are always the best … it might look like we've just gone on the bus and gone for a walk in some hills but they've never been there and the conversations that can come from that being in different environments you know you aren't always going to get something from a person just being sat in a room here. (EiTC441)

This staff member described taking a group of participants on a trip to a local beach and 'some of them have never been to the beach' and 'You leave Liverpool and it's like we've gone abroad somewhere'.

All Safe Hands participants spoke positively about enjoying taking part in experiential activities. For several, they were a source of reflection, with participants commenting that they found these activities helped them bond with both other young people on the programme and the Safe Hands team:

> …when you go out on day trips and all that, you just bond with all the other fellas and bond with the other staff … like a teambuilding thing and then you get to know the staff a bit better and before you know it, you're having little chats. (EiTC387)

4.8 Barriers to delivering the Safe Hands Programme

This section describes the barriers encountered by EiTC staff while delivering the Safe Hands programme. In doing so, it seeks to answer my second research question:

- What, if any, barriers affected EiTC's delivery of Safe Hands?

As described in section 4.3.4.1, I constructed a framework that indicated that EiTC experienced a range of barriers when delivering Safe Hands, based on my interviews with the Safe Hands team and EiTC staff with experience and knowledge of Safe Hands. The barriers can be categorised as occurring at the individual, organisational and system level and are summarised in Figure 15.
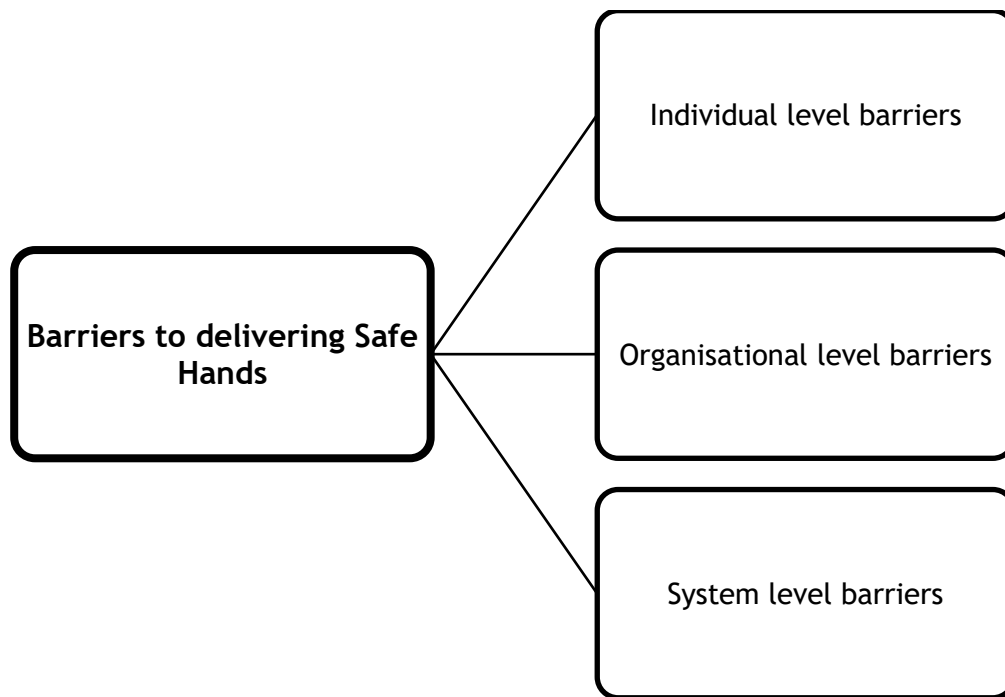
Figure 15: Barriers to delivering Safe Hands.

4.8.1 **Individual level barriers**

Barriers to delivering Safe Hands relating to individual actions and behaviours included: unwillingness to refer young people to the programme; knowledge about Safe Hands not being shared when staff in referring agencies changed; and reluctance among some prison staff to support programme staff in delivering certain aspects of the Pre-Season stage. Several EiTC staff described encountering barriers related to some people being unwilling to refer young people to Safe Hands, which they attributed to two factors. The first factor was individual (mis)understandings of the programme. One EiTC staff member described the likelihood of someone referring a participant to Safe Hands depending on 'the type of worker' and that while some referrers were 'really on board' with what Safe Hands was trying to achieve, others 'don't really get it' because 'they think we're just about sport' (EiTC441). EiTC staff also suggested that referrers could be reluctant to put young people forward for Safe Hands because it might reduce their own client base, which was an increasing problem for Safe Hands because referring organisations were 'facing cuts' to operational and staffing budgets (EiTC007). One staff member suggested staff from these organisations were operating under a 'sense of paranoia', potentially leading them to perceive agencies like Safe Hands as a 'threat' to their own job (EiTC103).

The second individual-level barrier related to information about Safe Hands not being shared or passed on when staff within referring agencies changed. To illustrate, an EiTC staff member described how there had been 'massive change[s]' in staff at one of the agencies that referred young people to Safe Hands and that 'sometimes the knowledge [about Safe Hands] isn't transferred'. Further, Safe Hands might not be seen as 'a priority' by staff within these agencies and consequently 'their first thought when they've got a young person might not be us' (EiTC007).

Lastly, several EiTC staff described a reluctance among staff in certain prisons towards engaging with Safe Hands and supporting delivery of some of its in-custody aspects. One commented that in certain prisons, staff had been 'really resistant' to working with Safe Hands (EiTC080). When trying to account for this, an EiTC staff member suggested prison staff might feel 'threatened' by the presence of Safe Hands or were 'protecting themselves' because they might have interpreted Safe Hands as trying to 'do their job' (EiTC007). Another EiTC staff member gave an example of a recent interaction in specific prison:

> We went into the prison gym, and the guy was brilliant. He said, 'yeah, you can come down here and do footie sessions, gym sessions' … But a couple of weeks later he was like 'no we can deliver that, so we don't want you delivering anything'. (EiTC441)

Another EiTC staff member recalled having a similar a conversation with a member of prison staff who had said the reason prison staff did not want to work with Safe Hands was because of 'cuts' to prison budgets and they did not want the programme 'coming in here and doing what we can do' (EiTC007).

4.8.2 Organisational level barriers

Organisational level barriers to delivering Safe Hands included receiving mixed responses from other organisations towards working with Safe Hands. EiTC staff members reported a mixed response to Safe Hands from organisations, primarily those within the wider youth justice system. One suggested the programme had received 'varying degrees' of acceptance, contextualised by reference to how:

> Some YOTs have really taken up the support that Safe Hands offers where others haven't. I think the secure establishments have been a bit mixed as well. (EiTC007)

The seeming reluctance of some organisations within the wider youth justice system to engage contrasted with the reception the programme received from other organisations. Several EiTC staff offered a similar example, related to contacting an organisation but not mentioning Everton and then re-contacting them and mentioning Everton, going on to suggest that external organisations were perhaps more receptive towards working with Safe Hands because of its association with a professional football club:

> I think I could ring the same place and speak to the same person and say 'hi, I'm calling from Everton football, club can we have this? Can we come down and talk to you about this?', then use the same spiel, not mention Everton I reckon you'd get a different response. (EiTC802)

Another organisational-level barrier to delivering Safe Hands identified by EiTC staff was certain prisons failing to adequately facilitate visits to young people in custody and being unable to provide adequate spaces for delivery of the programme's Pre-season activities. Several EiTC staff described supporting young people in custody as the most challenging stage of the programme to deliver; as 'really difficult' (EiTC080), 'really hard' (EiTC007), and a 'nightmare' (EiTC441). Most EiTC staff felt the most significant barrier to delivering Pre-Season was difficult relationships with certain prisons. One commented that with one prison they felt Safe Hands was the 'bottom of the pile' in terms of priorities (EiTC007). An example of the problems faced by Safe Hands when supporting young people in a particular prison was offered by a member of EiTC staff, who described having 'turned up' for a Pre-Season visit only to discover that the young person had 'been moved' to another prison (EiTC441). Several EiTC staff also gave examples of arriving at a prison for a scheduled Pre-Season meeting with a young person, only to be told that they were not 'on the [approved visitation] list', so could not meet with the young person and it could then be 'another 3-4 weeks before we can go again' (EiTC007). One staff member commented this was 'quite a common thing' (EiTC441), while another described how one prison in particular 'never get anything right' in relation to facilitating Pre-Season visits (EiTC080). Several noted that interruptions in the regularity and frequency of Pre-Season visits could make it harder to develop and sustain relationships with young people in custody. Another aspect of prisons failing to adequately facilitate Pre-Season visits related to lack of time to meet with a young person. For example, when talking about how Pre-Season visits might have gone that day, one EiTC staff member said they would 'put money on' that the Safe Hands staff 'didn't get to see them [a young person] on time' (EiTC441). Another gave

an example of arriving for a 30-minute Pre-Season meeting with a young person scheduled for 10a.m. but they would 'only get in there around 25 past' (EiTC080). The experience of reduced time available to meet with a young person in custody was noted by several EiTC staff, with one describing how, sometimes, they might only see a young person for '10 minutes' and 'what can you really do within 10 minutes?' (EiTC441), while another reflected:

> If you've got a visit booked for ten o'clock and they [the prison staff] don't bring them out til ten-twenty and your next one is at half-past ten then that is a massive problem when you are trying to build relationships with these young people. (EiTC080).

The second organisational level barrier identified by several EiTC staff related to certain prisons being unable to adequately facilitate delivery of certain Pre-Season activities. For example, the original business plan for Safe Hands intended for the programme to deliver 'workshops and qualifications' to young people in custody. However, accessing prisons had become increasingly difficult and reduced prison budgets had led to 'cut[s] [in] staff, [and] security' and Safe Hands 'can't deliver qualifications' (EiTC103) because accessing suitable delivery spaces within certain prisons was simply not 'feasible' (EiTC007).

4.8.3 System level barriers

System level barriers to delivering Safe Hands identified by EiTC staff arose from the closure of several youth detention facilities close to Liverpool. When it was first launched, the programme had a partnership agreement with two youth local detention facilities, HMYOI Hindley and Redbank Secure Children's Home. For the first 18 months they experienced a consistent flow of referrals from these institutions and could gain regular access to conduct Pre-Season visits. However, Ministry of Justice budget cuts resulted in HMYOI Hindley being re-categorised as an adult facility for Category C prisoners in April 2015 (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2016) and closure of Redbank in May 2015 (Jarman et al., 2018).

The impact of the loss of these facilities on Safe Hands was twofold. Firstly, young people eligible for the programme (i.e. those returning from custody to an address in the Greater Merseyside area), previously housed in Hindley and Redbank were now spread over a wider geographical area. While Safe Hands continued to support young

people in other institutions across the north of England, they were aware of some who were eligible being housed in facilities as far afield as Plymouth and Newcastle who could not access the programme because it could not support to them in custody, which was felt necessary to best ensure post-release engagement. EiTC staff also noted that supporting young people in prisons further from Liverpool placed greater demand on the staffing and financial resources of the programme.

Secondly, several EiTC staff described how the need to support young people in custody across a wider area, meant having had to reduce the number of Pre-Season visits a young person would be likely to receive before release. One staff member reported that while Safe Hands would have previously visited young people 'once a week or once a fortnight', they could now only meet with a young person in custody monthly (EiTC441). Several suggested that reducing the Pre-Season visit frequency could make it more difficult to build relationships with young people in custody. When reflecting on the wider implications for the programme, one described how, while they still felt the programme was 'successful', they believed it had achieved some its 'greatest success stories' in 'the first 18 months' (before the loss of HMPYOI Hindley and Redbank Secure Children's Home), because they could meet with young people regularly in custody and build 'strong relationships' (EiTC103).

4.9 Safe Hands in a wider research context

This section discussed my findings based on my 1st research question, relating to how the Safe Hands programme supports the resettlement of young prison leavers. Given the wealth of research evidence highlighting the challenges and barriers facing young prison leavers, it is of little surprise that when reviewing international evidence about prisoner resettlement, Malloch et al (2013) concluded that 'there are unlikely to be any simple solutions to the complexities of re-establishing prisoners into society' (p.41). The first goal of my research with Safe Hands was to explore how the programme might support the resettlement of young prison leavers. I identified four programme components that seemed to have positive implications for resettlement. These related to its setting, structure, programme team and content. This discussion explores these aspects with reference to Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change (described in Chapter 2). This theory, derived from the research findings of the Beyond Youth Custody (BYC) scheme (of which Safe Hands was a constituent programme),

conceptualises resettlement as journey where the central role of resettlement services is to support a pro-offending to pro-social identity shift in young prison leavers. However, as noted in chapter 2, while the theory identifies the importance of personal and structural support, along with five key characteristics of resettlement to promote a young person's shift in identity (relating to support being constructive, co-created, customised, consistent, and coordinated), it does not explore specific aspects of individual programmes. This is perhaps not unsurprising, given that Hazel et al's (2017) theory drew from the cumulative findings of the BYC scheme, which was comprised of 15 very varied programmes (Goodfellow and Liddle, 2017).

Promoting engagement is regarded as important, if not essential, to the ability of voluntary resettlement programmes to meet their goals and outcomes; unlike statutory resettlement services, young people had to make an active choice to engage with the support Safe Hands offered them. Indeed, reoffending rates are higher among young people who do not engage with resettlement services (Abrams 2006). Goodfellow and Liddle (2017) refer to engagement as a 'hallmark' of good resettlement practice on the basis that:

> a young person will not to commit to and sustain their involvement in a change process if they do not engage with the provision and support structures that are designed to help them make those choices (p.18).

Safe Hands's association with a prominent sporting institution (Everton FC) attracted young people in custody. For some, this was because of an interest in football, consistent with other research highlighting the potential of sporting contexts as settings for crime reduction and other lifestyle interventions: sporting settings appear to exert an especially strong pull on those regarded as hard to reach (Nichols and Taylor 1996; Nichols 2010; Meek, Champion, and Klier 2012; Meek 2012; Williams et al. 2015; Meek 2018), including young prison leavers, who can be difficult to engage in resettlement services (Gray, 2013; Jardine & Whyte, 2009). Football clubs confer a level of cultural acceptance on programmes and act as a way of connecting with and motivating participants in ways that other, perhaps more institutional settings might not (Pringle et al., 2013a; Bunn et al., 2016).

Diverting young people towards services that are devoid of the 'trappings' of the criminal justice system has been found to reduce reoffending (McAra and McVie, 2007),

with evidence that continuing to engage with statutory youth justice services after release could inhibit a young person's capacity and willingness to develop a non-offending identity (Halsey, Armstrong and Wright, 2016). Additionally, young people with a history of offending tend to me more positively disposed towards support programmes that appear dissimilar to the criminal justice system (Sapouna, Bisset and Conlong, 2011). The distinct nature of Safe Hands and positive perceptions of EiTC among its participants, could also be a factor in supporting shifts towards a pro-social identity, as described in Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change, as it may allow them to reconnect with an activity that reminds them of a time in their lives before they began offending and potentially to re-assert their sense of self, which is often lost during incarceration (Goffman, 1961).

The importance of the Safe Hands resource hub as a welcoming, safe, and family-like environment seemed to be a vital aspect in motivating participants to keep attending. The informal and convivial social climate of the resource hub was clearly valued by young people and staff and may have helped reduce the feelings of social isolation that some of these young people felt once they had altered who they socialised with in order to avoid reoffending. Studies have reported people feeling isolated when they have attempted to lead a crime free life after being in prison (Nugent, 2015; Nugent and Schinkel, 2016; Richardson Jr and Vil., 2016). The Safe Hands resource hub was a safe space where young people could act in an informal, relaxed manner, which contrasted with their experiences of statutory service settings and, unlike when the programme was based inside Goodison Park, it gave participants a place they could call their own. The Safe Hands resource hub could be conceptualised as a 'desistogenic space' which increased the likelihood that participants would move away from their past as offenders. The concept of a "desistogenic space" is described by Gough (2017) in his research about a resettlement programme that focussed on peer mentoring and offered participants a cognitive and emotional space where they could create a new sense of self and leave crime behind. Key to this process was the creation of a social environment akin to that seen in Safe Hands, based on the values of kindness and care, placing trust in participants, de-labelling, and nurturing a sense of belonging similar to family bonds. The apparent value of the Safe Hands resource hub to the programme highlights the need for resettlement programmes to have access to physical spaces that meet the needs of participants, something that has been commented on in other research about vulnerable young people (Naylor, Lincoln and Goddard, 2008; France,

Bottrell and Armstrong, 2012). However, this also highlights a potential wider problem in the activities of FiTCs where the stadium of a parent club can be both instrumental in attracting participants but also not designed as hubs for community programmes. The provision of a safe and welcoming space, that participants can feel a sense of ownership over, has been recommended for resettlement services for young prison leavers (Bateman and Hazel, 2013a; Nugent and Hutton, 2013) and as important in maintaining their engagement in the community (Seaman and Lynch, 2016). Territory and environment can carry particular significance for these young people (Strnadová, Cumming and O'Neill, 2017), which can cause problems during resettlement because of the risk of being drawn back into offending through re-exposure to offending peers or as a reaction to chaotic homelives (Gyateng, Moretti, May, & Turnbull, 2014).

However, while resuming associations with offending peers is a risk factor for future offending, removing themselves from pre-existing friendship groups or moving to a different community can leave young prison leavers feeling socially isolated and with difficulties in establishing new social relations (Abrams and Terry, 2017), described by Nugent and Schinkel (2016) as the 'pains of desistance'. The absence of such emotions among Safe Hands participants was notable. The positive emotional environment of Safe Hands seemed to counter feelings of isolation or diminished social circumstances and the programme gave them a place they wanted to come to. These findings, in the context of previously described research (Doekhie, Dirkzwager, & Nieuwbeerta, 2017; Farrall, 2004), reinforce the importance of resettlement programmes providing an environment which supports the opportunity to build new social networks to offset the potential ill-effects of pursuing a crime free life after release from custody. While previous research has drawn attention to how the structure and content of resettlement programmes might support positive outcomes for young prison leavers, what has been less extensively explored is how the culture of an organisation might impact on outcomes (Mizel and Abrams, 2019).

Findings suggested that Safe Hands being a constituent programme of EiTC had several benefits to resettlement. The novel aspect of the programme is its delivery by a FiTC organisation as one of many interlinked programmes delivered by EiTC. The benefits of this to Safe Hands participants were not just a function of organisational structure but also in respect of ethos where staff showed interest in the activities of other programmes and commitment by other staff in associated programmes to get to know

and offer opportunities to Safe Hands participants. The result was that Safe Hands participants were given access to opportunities within EiTC, including offers of employment. These findings echo those of Farrall (2004), whose research on how probation service offers of 'sheltered employment' to prison leavers could help them access the 'first rung' of the employment ladder, so gaining experiences, skills and references enabling them to move to other future jobs. Farrell also observed that offering employment opportunities in a cloistered environment meant employers were informed about and understood the barriers and problems that prison leavers faced. An additional aspect to the routes to employment offered by Safe Hands was that the nature of the jobs (working on a youth development programme) differed from those that many prison leavers find themselves doing, such as labouring on building sites, which are often jobs that no one else wants or are insecure (Raphael, 2010).

4.9.1 **Discussion of the Safe Hands Model; Pre, mid and post season**

The findings presented in relation to the Pre-Season (*custody)* stage of Safe Hands underline conclusions from the wider resettlement literature that beginning support in custody heightens the prospects for successful engagement after release (McAllister, Bottomley and Liebling, 1992; Batchelor and McNeill, 2005; Prior and Mason, 2010). Support that begins during a prisoner's sentence is widely regarded as emblematic of 'good' resettlement practice, because it allows them to better prepare for release and to begin to form relationships with support staff (Arrivo Consulting, 2013; Malloch et al., 2013; HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2015; Coates, 2016; Goodfellow and Liddle, 2017).

The importance of the Pre-Season, in terms of building relationships and increasing the chances of young people engaging with the programme after release, reaffirms the value of establishing contact between a young person in custody and community-based support services before their release as key to forming relationships and maximising the potential of these initial engagements after a young person is released (Batchelor and McNeill, 2005; Prior and Mason, 2010). The lead-up to release was an anxious time for Safe Hands participants but receiving support from Safe Hands while in custody appears to have alleviated some of that and given participants a sense of hopefulness about the future.

The Mid-Season (*community*) stage of Safe Hands supported resettlement because it offered participants support as soon after release as possible and the weekly programme of activities provided structure and routine at a time of emotional upheaval and heightened risk of reoffending. The accounts of both EiTC staff and programme participants illustrated the importance to young prison leavers of having through-the-gate support in place. Along with pre-release contact with community based resettlement services, through-the-gate support is widely regarded to be optimum format for resettlement provision (Bateman & Hazel, 2013; Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007; Maguire & Raynor, 2006b; Ministry of Justice, 2013; Raynor, 2007).

Release from custody can be a time when the regimented and timetabled nature of prison life gives way to a largely unstructured and sometimes chaotic lifestyle in the community (Nelson, Deess and Allen, 2011; Grommon, 2013). My findings indicating that young people are often unsettled by the transition from custody, to the point where they are frightened and intimidated by life outside of prison, are consistent with other research (Bateman and Hazel (2015a). The importance of young people beginning Mid-Season as close as possible to their release was stressed by EiTC staff, who noted that the more time that elapsed post-release, the less chance there was of a young person engaging with Safe Hands. Participants confirmed these views and welcomed the provision of support close after their release as it gave them something to focus on and lessened their exposure to risky situations. The period immediately after release has been identified as a window of opportunity, when young people are often more committed to giving up offending (Hazel et al., 2002; Bateman, Hazel and Wright, 2013). However, emotional difficulties experienced when leaving custody could undermine that commitment, thereby reducing the prospects for positive resettlement outcomes. This is also a time of risk where young people are at a heightened risk of reoffending (Hazel, Liddle and Gordon, 2010) and of failing to engage with support services, including critical health support (Risser and Smith, 2005). Support at this crucial juncture would appear to act as a safety net for participants, offering them continuity of relationships between them and the Safe Hands team, and helping them focus more on the future at an uncertain time. Periods of uncertainty and unstructured time can derail the resettlement of prison leavers, even in those who have shown previous commitment to changing the course of their lives lead to a resumption in offending (Halsey, Armstrong and Wright, 2016).

Mid-season, which requires that young people attend Safe Hands three days per week, almost like a job, had several benefits to resettlement. Mid-season represents for participants a change in their 'routine activities' and offers 'different patterns of socialization' (Shapland and Bottoms, 2011, p. 272) which can be disruptive to offending routines and reduce the large amounts of unstructured time which have been identified as a strong predictor of offending among young people (Mahoney, Stattin and Lord, 2004; Belton et al., 2009; Gardner, Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Anderson, 2013) and a barrier to resettlement (Unruh, Povenmire-Kirk and Yamamoto, 2009). Thrice weekly attendance at the programme brings participants into regular contact with pro-social adults. This can help them manage their lives after their release from custody and lessen exposure to criminally active peers who may lure them to re-offend (Abrams, 2006, 2012; Agnew, 2005; Unruh, Gau, & Waintrup, 2009).

In the context of the Safe Hands programme, social control, which from a criminological perspective can refer to how people assume more conventional behaviours as a result of the internalisation of norms and values or external sanctions (Coyle, 2005), should not be understood as resulting from an authoritative programme structure. The obvious comparison here would be the relationship young prison leavers have with YOTs where attendance is usually mandated, with sanctions for non-attendance. Safe Hands possess no powers of sanction, yet engagement with the programme appears to exert social control over participants. Social control can operates in two ways: direct and indirect (Westmaas, Cameron and Ferrence, 2002). *Direct* social control promotes changes in behaviours via requests, reminders, threats or rewards (Tucker, 2002). In the context of Safe Hands, we can observe that by agreeing to participate, young people are accepting of certain conditions including expectations about their behaviour, such as regular attendance involving up to 25 hours of structured contact time each week. This exerts a form of direct social control over their lives by reducing both unstructured time and exposure to criminogenic risk factors. Engaging with Safe Hands therefore lessens the opportunities for participants to offend. *Indirect* social control refers to how a person's feelings of obligation or responsibility towards others can promote positive behaviour change (Tucker, 2002). This is discussed later in relation to the relationships between Safe Hands participants and the programme team.

According to Bateman and Hazel (2013) planning a young person's disengagement from resettlement support is an important task for resettlement services and requires careful

management. *The End of Season* stage allowed for the managed disengagement of Safe Hands participants, although, as was observed, young people could drift away from the programme for a range of reasons, including reoffending or reconviction. Young peoples' comments about leaving Safe Hands indicated that aside from signposting them to opportunities (often with EiTC), the most impactful activity was the offer from Safe Hands to come back or get in touch if they needed some support. Offering young people the chance to keep in touch after they have left the service would appear to be a tacit acknowledgement by the Safe Hands team of the 'zigzag' nature of desistance (Porporino, 2010) and that the circumstance of young prison leavers can become unstable months or even years after they have left the programme.

Working with prison leavers, a population whose lives and personalities have often been harmed by the deleterious effects of disadvantage, imprisonment, harm and hardship, is regarded as being a very challenging area of practice and 'not for the faint hearted' (White and Graham, 2010, p. 11). The significant emphasis that EiTC staff placed on building relationships with Safe Hands participants, and the positive views of the relationship articulated by these young people, aligns with recent research on youth resettlement highlighting 'again and again' the value of positive relationships between project staff and participants to 'the facilitation of positive resettlement (and desistance) outcomes' (Goodfellow and Liddle 2017, p.19). The formation of positive relationships can lead to improved engagement with community services and people feeling more hopeful about the future (Barry 2007; Kelly 2012; Nugent 2015). Moreover, recent research has established that young prison leavers place considerable value in forming positive and supportive relationships with programme staff (Mizel and Abrams, 2019).

A key aspect of Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change is that young people move away from offending as part of the process of desistance. The impact of relationships with team members on desistance was that, when presented with a situation where they felt at risk of offending, these young people did not want to let down the team by doing so. It was suggested above that the structure of Safe Hands' Mid-season stage imposed a direct form of social control on participants' lives. Relationships with team members represented an *indirect* form of social control, which operated when they were away from the programme. Young people described making decisions in their everyday lives to avoid people or situations that might put them at the

risk of reoffending. Additionally, these decisions were made because they felt a responsibility towards EiTC as an organisation and an obligation towards the Safe Hands team not to reoffend because they did not want to let them down. Evident in the decision making of these young people was what Kennett (2011) refers to as 'diachronic self-control', which refers to how individuals make decision about whether or not to engage in an activity based on possible negative consequences or that doing certain things no longer aligns with the sort of person they believe themselves to be. Shapland & Bottoms (2011) used this concept in their qualitative longitudinal study of male recidivist young adult offenders to explain how persistent young adult offenders resisted opportunities to offend or changed the pattern of their lives to lessen their exposure to situations of criminal temptation.

In separating themselves from their offending past, these young people were exercising greater pro-social agency over their lives, which seemed to be positively influenced by the relationships they had with the Safe Hands team. Authors such as Bereswill (2010) and King (2013) have sought to highlight the contribution that agentic decision making can have on the desistance process. Conversely others have argued that exercising agency can facilitate the process of acquiring a 'new sense of identity' (Laub & Sampson, 2003, p. 146) and that the changes former offenders make to their lives as a result of their own choices are more resolute than those that are imposed upon them (Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998).

Despite the sporting setting, Safe Hands has broadened its scope away from primarily sports-based activities (e.g. FA coaching qualifications) and adopting range of, sometimes, accredited non-sporting activities. Hartmann (2003) and others (e.g. Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000; Coalter, 2012b, 2015; Edwards, 2015; Meek, 2018) have argued that 'the success of any sports-based social intervention program [sic] is largely determined by the strength of its non- sport components' (p.134). The decision by the Safe Hands team to add more non-sporting components reflects an increasing recognition of this understanding and aligns the programme with the 'sport-plus' models for sports-based youth crime programmes described by (Coalter, 2012). Safe Hands participants clearly enjoyed the activities offered, in contrast to those offered by statutory resettlement programmes, which were described as very focussed on their offending past. This view is consistent with previous studies in which young people have

described statutory resettlement programmes as offering risk focussed, repetitive and unappealing activities (Gray, 2010).

Safe Hands' holistic, developmental, future-oriented approach could be considered as representing a strengths-based approach to resettlement, where there is a focus on what Safe Hands participants can bring to the community (Parsons, 2018), as opposed to what they lack in their lives (a deficits-based model of resettlement (Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007)). According to Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change, the central aim of resettlement services is to support a shift in the identity of young prison leavers from pro-offending to pro-social. One aspect to this is involving them in constructive activities that promote a shift in identity, potentially via adopting new roles. However, the theory does not prescribe the precise sorts of constructive activities that resettlement services should offer. On a general level, engaging in pro-social activities is thought to promote desistance (Laub and Sampson, 2001; Rocque, 2017), by drawing those at high-risk of reoffending away from the temptation or exposure to criminogenic situations and towards more conventional activities that promote personal progression (Rocque, Posick and Paternoster, 2016).

Participating in *generative activities*, which 'make a contribution to the well-being of others (McNeill, 2006, p. 49), particularly volunteering and fundraising are one component of Safe Hands. Evident in the testimonies of some of these young people was that engaging in generative activities helped them envisage possible new directions and pathways for their future lives, that could lead them away from offending. Several reports and research papers have examined how volunteering might support the resettlement of prison leavers. For example, the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) highlighted that it could lead to rebuilding or acquiring social capital by broadening prison leavers' horizons and expectations, while bringing them into contact with people outwith their normal lifeworld and linking them to informal networks which could lead to employment opportunities. Others have noted that volunteering can bring structure and meaning to the life of former prisoners, prepare them for employment, enhance their self-esteem and reduce negative stereotyping and discrimination (Granville & Laidlaw, 2000; Phillips, 2011). The value of volunteering in this context is not just in the immediate benefit of supporting others, but in how it feels to these young people and how it can positively impact on their conceptions of social life and social identity (Uggen, Manza

and Behrens, 2004). This may result in realising that that the person they once were no longer aligns with who they want to be in the future.

Peer mentoring has recently received attention as an activity which could promote desistance in mentor and mentee alike (Buck, 2018; Mentoring and Befriending Foundation, 2012; Ministry of Justice, 2013). It has been suggested that receiving support from someone who has experienced a similar transition, can be particularly important for prison leavers and those trying to move from a pro-offending identity to a pro-social one (Bellham, Ranns, Galisteo, & Shaw, 2016; Buck, 2016). Peer mentoring can be thought of as a distinct generative activity within Safe Hands, on the basis that these were paid positions and, unlike volunteering or fundraising, not offered to every participant. Being a peer mentor appeared to promote several positive effects in participants as part of their resettlement, including a heightened sense of responsibility and increased self-belief. For those young people, being a peer mentor was possibly the first time they had been given a positive position of responsibility, leading to improved self-confidence. Being a peer mentor also helped demonstrate that they could change the course of their lives and the role could act as a steppingstone to further opportunities. Being a peer mentor also seemed to create reflective spaces for the mentors where they examined the relationship between the advice they gave to their mentees and their own behaviour. One of the benefits of peer mentoring highlighted here is that it can assist people to master a 'new redemptive self-narrative' (Maruna, 2001). These findings with respect to peer mentoring suggest that it has a promising role to offer young prison leavers, positively influencing their behaviour through promoting cognitive dissonance from offending behaviours and acting as part of a process of seeing themselves anew and forming a new identity. Such findings provide an important counter-narrative to suggestions in previous research that peer mentors might support risky or pro-offending behaviour among their mentees (South, Bagnall and Woodall, 2017).

Safe Hands also includes experiential activities. Multiple studies have described these, often outward bound or adventure programmes, to promote reductions in offending among justice involved youth, including those who have been in prison (Kelly and Baer, 1971; Bottomley, 1994; West and Crompton, 2001; Leberman, 2007; Sandford, Duncombe and Armour, 2008; Duerden et al., 2009). In addition to the more traditional outward-bound experiential activities, Safe Hands also sought to offer participants new

experiences and broaden their horizons in more day-to-day interactions, such as cooking. There are parallels to be seen between the moments of self-realisation that Safe Hands appeared to be trying to prompt by offering new experiences and the experimental learning that is seen to be an important aspect of contemporary youth work practice (Wylie, 2015). For example, Smith (1980) argues that the most impactful form of learning occurs by doing and that it must come from within:

> knowledge has to be discovered by the individual if it is to have any significant meaning to them or make a difference in their behaviour (p.16)

As a concluding point regarding the role of the content of the Safe Hands programme in supporting the identity change, which is at the heart of Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change, being peer mentors and participating in generative and experiential activities exposes young people to experiences and supports them to occupy roles that help promote and foster conventional identities, thus acting as a 'catalyst for cognitive change' (Grommon, 2013, p. 32).

4.9.2 **Safe Hands Logic model**

This section presents a logic model of the Safe Hands programme based on my research. Logic models provide a visual representation showing logical relationships between intervention components, including the resources invested and activities that took place, and the intended outcomes (Mulholland et al., 2016). In creating a logic model for Safe Hands, I sought to make theoretical sense of the data gathered in my interviews with Safe Hands participants and EiTC staff. I used Hazel et al*'s (*2017) resettlement theory of change as a lens to present a series of broadly sequential steps of cause and effect that addresses a gap in the literature explaining how resettlement interventions associated with sport and sporting settings might reduce offending by young people and promote pro-social behaviour and attitude changes (Haudenhuyse et al., 2014). According to several authors, while many of these programmes have established outcomes they wish to achieve (e.g. a reduction in offending behaviour by participants), the relationship between programme activities and desired outcomes is not always clear (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2015). There is no universal template for logic models. I used a version developed by The University of Wisconsin-Madison because, unlike some other templates, the first column refers to the problem the programme seeks to solve and

thus offers greater contextual understanding when presented in a research study (Knowlton and Phillips, 2012).

The logic model includes shorter, medium, and longer-term outcomes although my research did not measure the extent to which these were achieved. The logic model summarises my understanding, based on fieldwork with Safe Hands, of how the various programme components can be used to explain how Safe Hands 'works', or is expected to work in supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers (research question 1). My Safe Hands logic model aims to assess the contribution of different aspects of the programme to outcomes, including some that may take longer to materialise than the duration of any future research about Safe Hands or perhaps even the lifespan of the programme itself. This point is particularly relevant to long-term desistance or reduced reoffending, as these can only be evidenced over a longer-period of time. Additionally, it is widely understood that outcomes like reductions in reoffending may not always be attributable solely to the impact of resettlement programmes (Bateman, Hazel and Wright, 2013). The logic model for Safe Hands is presented in Figure 16 and, as recommended in the evaluation literature (e.g. Cummings, 1997; MacDonald, 2018), is summarised in narrative form below.
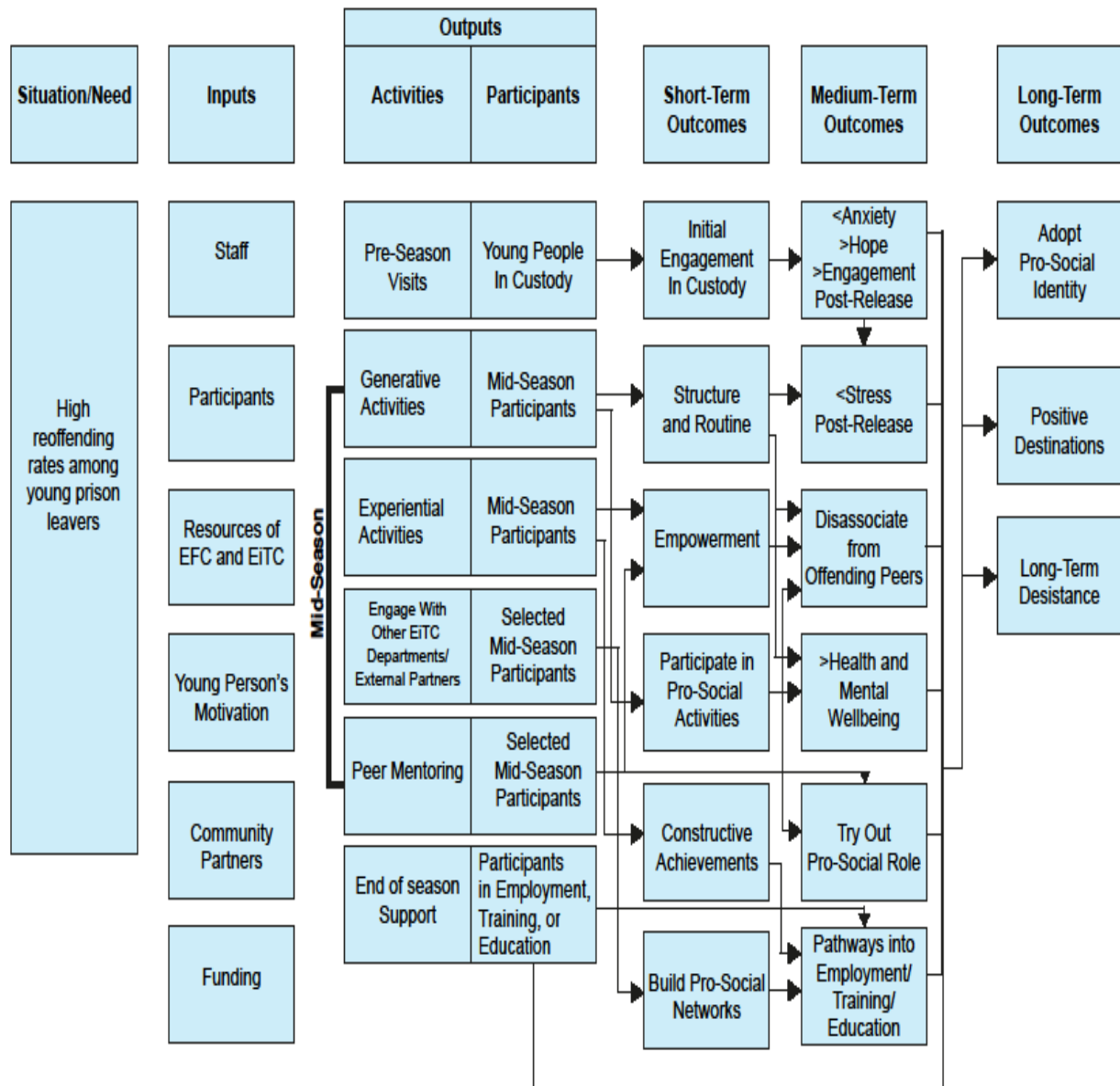
Figure 16: Safe Hands logic model

The inputs column refers to the resources (e.g. financial, human, organisational) a programme needs to enable it to work. In the case of Safe Hands, this includes programme staff, a pool of participants to engage with the programme, the resources of EFC and EiTC, young people being motivated to engage with the programme, community partners, and funding. Some of these inputs are expected components of youth or community programmes, including staff, participants, and funding. The resources of EFC and EiTC are included in the model because interviews with EiTC staff and Safe Hands participants highlighted how different kinds of support from these organisations were

important to the operation of Safe Hands and the resettlement of young prison leavers. Examples of EFC resources included initially housing the programme within Goodison Park and then purchasing the space for the new Safe Hands resource hub. EiTC resources included other programmes made available to Safe Hands, which provided additional development and support opportunities to participants. An example of the role of community partners was how YOTs were a source of referrals for participants. The inclusion of young people's motivation as an input was based on how EiTC staff identified young people being motivated to change the course of their lives as a key prerequisite to them engaging with and making progress during their time with Safe Hands. Conversely, a lack of willingness to engage with resettlement services or a desire to change has been identified as a key challenge to youth resettlement services (Ipsos MORI, 2010; Bateman, 2013). The importance of motivation to engage or change is highlighted in Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change as a key starting point and it is then up to a programme to sustain a young person's motivation to change. A key element, it would seem, in young people being motivated to engage with Safe Hands was the programme's association with a professional football club. This was acknowledged by Safe Hands participants and EiTC staff, and is consistent with the capacity of football settings to engage marginalised groups (Hunt et al., 2014).

The activities column highlights the different actions or types of support delivered by Safe Hands, which are related to the structure and content of the programme. From a structural point of view, Pre-Season visits refer to the in-custody stage of the programme, while generative and experiential activities, engagement with other EITC departments, and peer mentoring, refer to the Mid-Season stage of the programme, which takes place in the community. End of Season support refers to when young people have moved beyond the Safe Hands programme; this may mean they have left EiTC entirely or could be working with another programme within the organisation. Each of these activities involves specific participants. Arrows are used to display linkages between specific programme activities and short, medium, and long-term outcomes. To give an example, in the short-term, Pre-Season visits to young people in custody prompt initial engagement with Safe Hands. This engagement and the support received during these visits, help reduce participants' anxiety about being released from prison, support young people to feel more hopeful about the future, and increase the prospects of them engaging with the programme after release - according to Safe Hands participants and EiTC staff. These feelings align with the future focused aspects of Hazel et al's (2017)

resettlement theory of change and the broader resettlement literature, which advocates for the benefits of beginning resettlement support prior to release (Factor, 2016; Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007; Maguire & Raynor, 2006; Moore & Hamilton, 2016; Reid-Howie Associates, 2017; Wright et al., 2012). Participation in the 'core' Safe Hands activities (e.g. generative and experiential activities), give structure and routine to participants' lives in the short term, which is associated with reduced stress over the medium term. It is increasingly understood that being released from prison can be acutely stressful and potentially traumatic for young people (Bateman and Hazel, 2015). Safe Hands participants and EiTC also described these activities as having pro-social aspects and as promoting disassociation from peers who were still criminally active. These kinds of outcomes have been associated with generative activities in the desistance literature (Fox, 2016; McNeill et al., 2010; Sapouna et al., 2011; Weaver & McNeill, 2007) and, regarding the impacts of experiential activities, within the literature about the benefits associated with sport and outdoor education programmes for justice involved participants (Leberman, 2007; Meek and Lewis, 2014; Woods, Breslin and Hassan, 2017). The outcomes associated with experiential and generative activities can be linked to Hazel et al's (2017) theory of change which describes how shifting to a pro-social identity will help young people to feel:

> "…empowered to make the right choices in their behaviour and with wider life decisions, including relationships. The young person recognises that they can gain status and security from these positive choices. They are more future-oriented in their motivations and choices." (p.8)

The experience of being a peer mentor was associated with feeling empowered, trying out pro-social roles, and dissociation from offending peers. This was because young people were being given a position of responsibility that, because it was offered to them on the basis of their performance with Safe Hands, they saw this as an acknowledgement of their efforts and progress by the Safe Hands team. Additionally, these young people claimed they could no longer participate in the kinds of activities that they were advising their mentees against doing, such as smoking cannabis or spending time with still offending peers. This links with 'engaging with constructive roles' and building their 'positive identity in a positive narrative' which Hazel et al's (2017) theory of change identifies as facets of a young person transitioning to a pro-social identity during resettlement. The outcomes associated with being a Safe Hands peer mentor also align with the emergent literature on the efficacy of peer mentorship

in resettlement and desistance focussed support programmes. Studies by Nixon (2020) and Matthews et al (2020), for example, found that the experience of being a peer mentor could support the construction of non-offender identities while acting as hooks for change. As noted above, the longer-term outcomes included in the logic model would require measurement over a lengthier period than was possible in my research. Therefore, these are theorised as being the result a combination of the short- and medium-term outcomes – the measurement of these outcomes, such as long-term desistance or young people moving onto positive destinations could be a focus of future, longitudinal research about Safe Hands.

4.10 Summary and conclusion

This chapter describes the stand of my research which focussed on the Safe Hands programme and sought to answer my first two research questions:

- How does the Safe Hands programme, as delivered by Everton in the Community, support the resettlement of young prison leavers?

- What, if any, barriers affected the delivery of Safe Hands?

Safe Hands is a resettlement programme for young prison leavers. The wider resettlement context in England indicates that while the numbers of young people in prison in England has fallen, outcomes for young prison leavers remain poor. Safe Hands was launched as one approach to improving prospects for young people leaving prison. My research with Safe Hands was based on semi-structured interviews with the programme team, current and former participants, and other EiTC staff. Interviews ere supplemented by my observing multiple safe Hands activity sessions. Using Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change as a lens, the findings illustrate that four aspects of the programme appears to support the resettlement of young prison leavers: the programme's setting, structure, staff and activities. These findings were then integrated into a logic model to theorise how the different aspects of the Safe Hands programme might be linked to short, medium, and long-term outcomes. While establishing longer-term resettlement outcomes, such as reductions in reoffending, were beyond the scope of my research, findings suggest that Safe Hands affords strong potential for supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers.

Findings also illustrated barriers to delivering the Safe Hands programme which said to have occurred at the at the individual, organisational, and system level. These are carried forward and discussed in Chapter 7 in the context of how they can be used to critique the resettlement system in England, using a systems thinking approach. Based on my research, the Safe Hands programme would appear support the resettlement of young prison leavers when delivered by EiTC. However, as was noted in Chapter 1 it is not known whether the programme would work in the same fashion were it delivered in Scotland. Accordingly, the following chapter shifts the focus of my thesis towards the Scottish strand of my research, starting with my research within the Scottish Throughcare context.

5 Research with Scottish Throughcare stakeholders

5.1 Chapter overview

This chapter describes my research with stakeholders who have knowledge and experience of supporting young prison leavers in Scotland. The chapter also includes the perspectives of young people who, at the time of my research, were serving custodial sentences in Scotland's national facility for young offenders, HMP/YOI Polmont (Polmont). The fieldwork described in this chapter took place between January and May 2018. It seeks to answer the following research question:

- What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Throughcare context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

This chapter begins with an introduction to the Scottish Throughcare research context. This is followed by a description of my research activities and the sampling and recruitment strategies. Ethical considerations specific to this stage of my research are then presented, including an examination of ethical issues as they relate to research with young people in custody, my personal reflections on prison-based research, and the data management and analysis techniques used. The findings from my interviews with participants from the Scottish Throughcare sector are then presented. A discussion of these results follows.

5.1.1 Recent developments in Scottish youth justice policy

Following the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, post-devolution Scotland witnessed some significant changes to the youth justice system and policy environment. While the early years of the post-devolution era saw a shift towards a more punitive youth justice policy environment, Scottish criminologists have pinpointed the election of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 2007 as an important point in the history of youth justice in post-devolution Scotland (Mooney et al., 2015). It has been suggested that the policies enacted for children under 12 years (at the time of writing) of SNP governance represent an attempt to pivot youth justice back towards the ideals held within the Kilbrandon report (Nolan, Dyer and Vaswani, 2017). While the downward trajectory of youth offending observed in Scotland began prior to the election of the Scottish National Party in 2007, their first decade of government saw:

a sizeable and consistent rate of decline in the rate of young people entering and flowing through the various stages of the youth justice system (McAra and McVie, 2017a, p. 38).

Over this decade, the Scottish National Party launched three key policies related to youth justice: *Getting It Right For Every Child* (GIRFEC) which focussed on young people up to the age of 18; the *Whole System Approach* (WSA) to youth offending; and *Preventing Offending: Getting it Right For Every Child*. These are now discussed.

5.1.1.1 Getting it Right For Every Child

GIRFEC is a national approach to working with children and young people in Scotland. It was passed into formal legislation governing the approach to children's services across Scotland in the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014 and has a broad range of objectives. These include improving outcomes for all children and young people; providing a common framework for all agencies supporting children and young people; streamlining systems and processes in order to make services for children and young people more efficient, effective, and needs led; and encouraging joined up policy development so that GIRFEC is embedded in all policies for children and young people.

5.1.1.2 The Whole System Approach to youth justice

Following a successful pilot in Aberdeen, the WSA was launched nationally in 2015 and is intended to provide a framework for all children's agencies to work together to keep young people up to the age of 18 out of the justice system. It aims to achieve this through the adoption of:

> a more streamlined and consistent response [to youth offending] that works across all systems and agencies (a 'whole system' approach) to achieve better outcomes for young people and their communities (Murray et al., 2015, p. 6)

A central tenet of the WSA is that it acknowledges the extreme vulnerability of many justice involved young people and the often-complex, intersecting needs of this group of young people that have been documented in previous research (e.g. MacQueen and McVie, 2013). Its development was based on research findings from the longitudinal Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime, which demonstrated that formal contact with the criminal justice system was likely to escalate a young person's offending, that many criminally active young people in Scotland would benefit from

being diverted away from criminal processing, through practices of early intervention and robust community sanctions, and custody should only be utilised as a last resort (McAra and McVie, 2007).

Recent research has found evidence of an apparent disconnect between the policy aims of the WSA regarding youth imprisonment and the actual use of custody in Scotland. A study of the routes that young people follow in and out of the youth justice system in Scotland, based on interviews and focus groups with young people in HMP/YOI Polmont, found evidence of a continuing overreliance on the use of this facility to house young prisoners and an underutilisation of secure care facilities (Nolan, Dyer and Vaswani, 2017). These findings are consistent with evidence which points to a historic overuse of custody for young people in Scotland. Official figures demonstrate that over the last five years, between five and ten times the number of 16 to 18 year olds have been held in Polmont (either following conviction or remand) than in secure care (Gough and Lightowler, 2019).

5.1.1.3 Preventing Offending: Getting it Right for Every Child

Launched in 2015, *Preventing Offending: Getting it Right for Every Child* is the Scottish Government's youth justice strategy. It is a based on three 'themes for action' to be addressed between 2015 and 2020: advancing the ethos of the Whole System Approach; improving life chances; and developing capacity and improvement. The broad purposes of these themes are: to address current issues faced by young people within the youth justice system (such as improving transitions for young people exiting custody and returning to the community); preventing initial offending and diverting young people involved in low-level offending away from the youth justice system; and developing the skill base of practitioners supporting young people who are currently offending or those at risk of their offending becoming more entrenched (Centre for Youth & Criminal Justice, 2018).

5.1.2 The development of Throughcare in Scotland

Unlike in England and Wales, where, since the late 1990s onwards, the term 'Throughcare' has been replaced by the term 'resettlement' in virtually all official discourse related to post-prison support structures and programmes (Maguire and Peter Raynor, 2006), Scottish criminal justice policy has continued to use Throughcare to refer

to how best to reintegrate a prison leaver back into the community. The Scottish Executive (2002) defined Throughcare as:

> the provision of a range of social work and associated services to prisoners and their families from the point of sentence or remand, during the period of imprisonment and following release into the community (p.1).

Broadly speaking, Throughcare for young prison leavers in Scotland refers to a range of supports, provided from within and outside the criminal justice system, and including statutory services and non-governmental agencies, to young people who have been in custody. Consistent with the pattern of welfare provision across the rest of the UK, an increasing proportion of Throughcare support in Scotland is now being offered by third sector agencies (McLaughlin, 2012; Mythen, Walklate, and Kemshall, 2013), through a range of services to young people in Polmont and the community. Throughcare support should be available to young people from the point at which they are sentenced, while incarcerated, and during their resettlement (Malloch, 2013).

In Scotland, local authorities have a statutory responsibility to provide social work-led resettlement services to young people sentenced to periods of detention of over four years, or those released with certain conditions. Young people serving shorter sentences have the option of accessing local authority social work support up to 12 months after release. However, previous studies have shown that the uptake of this service, either in custody or post-release, is low among young prison leavers (Audit Scotland, 2012; Dyer, 2014; Malloch, 2013). Reducing reoffending by prison leavers is a key objective of the Scottish Government which has made a commitment to improving resettlement outcomes for young prison leavers (The Scottish Government, 2015, 2017a). This position was highlighted in a 2018 Guardian newspaper interview with the Scottish first Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, who stated that even when someone is 'sentenced to a term in prison' in Scotland there should be a focus on the rehabilitative element[21].

As part of this, supporting young people leaving custody is one of the areas prioritised under the Scottish *Whole System Approach* which states that:

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[21] (https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2018/dec/08/nicola-sturgeon-rachel-kushner-in-conversation-fiction-politics-prison) [Accessed 29 January 2019].

"Young people need support to transition effectively from the community to secure care or custody and when returning to communities after periods of being accommodated or sentenced." (The Scottish Government, 2015a, p.16)

The *Whole System Approach* recommends that all Scottish local authorities should aim to support all young people aged under 18 years in custody, and plan for their release and resettlement (Murray et al., 2015). However, local authorities in Scotland only have a statutory responsibility to provide Throughcare services to young people serving sentences of four years or more, and most young people in prison in Scotland serve shorter sentences (Scottish Prison Service, 2014).

5.1.3 Previous research on Scottish Throughcare provision for young prison leavers

One of the earliest studies of Throughcare provision in Scotland focused on community based Throughcare for adults, which was delivered by local authority social work departments. The study found this was viewed by prisoners as less helpful than it might be, and service mangers thought the support on offer was inadequately resourced, and underdeveloped with respect to an absence of clear objectives, poor communication and co-ordination between prison-based and community-based social workers (McIvor and Barry (1998). A review of Throughcare support delivered by third sector agencies in Scotland (McLaughlin, 2012), found that these organisations were well suited to provide Throughcare support because they were capable of a level of responsiveness, connectivity, flexibility and innovation in their practice that could not be expected of statutory provision. Such findings are consistent with similar reviews of third sector involvement in the criminal justice system in England (Gojkovic, Mills, and Meek, 2011; Meek, Gojkovic, and Mills, 2013).

A later review, commissioned by the Scottish Government (Malloch 2013a), sought to identify effective Throughcare provision and highlight any barriers to Throughcare services. A key finding related to the potential of third sector agencies to deliver Throughcare programmes, primarily due to their flexibility when compared to statutory provision. However, the study noted that the impact which these third sector agencies could have was contingent on a strong relationship between them and statutory agencies as there was a lack of understanding about the role and value that different sectors could contribute to Throughcare provision. Another important finding was that not making certain aspects of support available until a person was liberated and the

difficulty of accessing welfare services, often because of a lack of valid personal identification, destabilised resettlement. The study also highlighted how the fragmented nature of support services meant that Throughcare workers spent considerable time co-ordinating social services and arranging appointments.

Research has highlighted several specific shortcomings in Throughcare support for young people leaving prison in Scotland. In 2012, an inspection of Polmont found limited evidence of established links and partnership working between the institution and external agencies (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2012). More recently, a study by Smith and colleagues (2014) reviewed the personal files and social worker reports of young people in Polmont and found that in most cases there was no Throughcare plan, nor was it clear whether a young person was receiving support while in custody. Another study found that young people's access to Throughcare services in Polmont was limited by a lack of awareness about these services, their sentence status, and shortages in staffing. This study also found that some young people in custody in Scotland held little hope that they were capable of turning their lives around, with some resigned to the prospect of returning to custody soon after release (Nolan, Dyer and Vaswani, 2017).

Research on the resettlement experiences of young people in Scotland, and on interventions designed to support their transition from custody to community, is limited, especially from the perspective of the young people (Nolan, 2015). For example, an interim evaluation of Access to Industry's Passport programme (which offers employability-focused Throughcare services to young male prison leavers returning to Edinburgh and Glasgow) included interviews with over 20 stakeholders, but none with young people participating in the programme (Reid-Howie Associates, 2014). Despite this limited evidence base, there are studies of Scottish Throughcare programmes for young prison leavers which have included the views of young people and are worthy of note. An earlier small-scale evaluation of the Passport programme (Jardine and Whyte, 2009) found that it was successful at engaging with young people in custody and sustaining their engagement during the transition to the community, and that participants had lower than average reoffending rates. An evaluation was conducted of the 'Moving On' programme, which offered one-to-one resettlement support to young men returning from custody to Renfrewshire and aimed to: help participants access housing, health services and benefits; provide support to those with social and behavioural problems including low self-esteem, poor communication skills and anger;

and offer the opportunity to learn new skills and gain qualifications. The study found that 'Moving On' achieved high engagement rates among young men referred to the services, and less than 30% of participants who sustained their engagement with the programme in the community were re-incarcerated within two years (Nugent and Hutton, 2011).

5.1.4 **The Scottish Prison Service (SPS) and HMPYOI Polmont**

Since 1993, the Scottish penal estate has been managed by the SPS, established as an Executive Agency of the Scottish Government. At the time of writing, the carceral estate in Scotland is comprised of 15 prisons, 13 operated by the SPS and two privately run under contract by the SPS.

A juvenile prison has existed on the current site of Polmont since 1911. Formerly Blairlodge School, Polmont was the first 'Borstal' to be opened in Scotland following the Prevention of Crimes Act (1908). Since 2003, Polmont has been Scotland's national facility for young offenders aged between 16 and 21 years, although under certain circumstances young people can remain in Polmont until they are 23 years old. The population of young people living in Polmont has been the focus of numerous studies exploring a range of issues including: HIV infection rates among young people in custody (Bird et al., 1993); prison-based parenting interventions (Buston, 2018); the use of arts-based interventions to support desistance (Anderson et al., 2011); and an evaluation of the 'Our Lives with Others' programme which sought to support young men experiencing trauma, bereavement and loss (Vaswani, Paul and Papadodimitraki, 2016).

5.1.4.1 Scottish Prison Service Throughcare Support Officers

One of the more recent developments in Scottish Throughcare was the SPS Throughcare Support Officer (TSO) scheme. The scheme represents the first time in any UK criminal jurisdiction in which the skills and knowledge of prison officers have been utilised to support people in custody and then post-release in the community. However, In July 2019, the SPS announced that the TSO scheme for all prisoners was to be 'paused' and TSO officers redeployed into prison establishments as a result of current overcapacity in some areas of the Scottish prison population (Diamond, 2019).

TSOs offered voluntary support to young people in custody. They normally began working with a young person six weeks before their release to help them plan and prepare for release, although there was scope for TSOs to begin working with a young person earlier in their sentence. TSOs then provided support to prison leavers during the resettlement period for up to 12 weeks; again, there was scope for this support to be extended. Although employed by the SPS, TSOs worked in concert with a 'range of actors' to support young prison leavers including their families, statutory bodies, health services, and third-sector organisations (McIvor and McNeill, 2019).

An initial SPS-commissioned evaluation of the TSO scheme showed encouraging findings. People who accessed TSO support described it as an important aspect in helping them: find a job and secure stable accommodation; build better relationships with their families; and avoid reoffending (Reid-Howie Associates, 2017a). The TSO scheme was found to be particularly effective at supporting young people in the community over the Christmas period when support from Third Sector Agencies was interrupted (HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland, 2018a). Additionally, a qualitative study by Maycock, McGuckin and Morrison (2020) about the TSO scheme found that working with prison leavers in the community heightened awareness among the TSOs about the acute challenges people often faced during resettlement, which they had previously been mostly unaware of when working only in prisons. However, while it is thought that the support offered by the TSO scheme could reduce reoffending rates, the evidence available about the initiative is primarily anecdotal, based on its early implementation, and could not offer definitive conclusions about the impact of the Throughcare support service on encouraging desistance and reducing reoffending (Reid-Howie Associates, 2017).

5.2 Research activities with Scottish Throughcare stakeholders

5.2.1 Scottish Throughcare sample and recruitment

Interviews were sought with a purposive sample of stakeholders possessing knowledge of Scottish Throughcare policies and practice in place to support young prison leavers. Prospective participants included SPS TSOs and management, along with staff from third sector agencies offering services to young prison leavers. Criteria for selecting Scottish Throughcare stakeholder participants were that they should have:

- knowledge of SPS Throughcare policies and procedures as they relate to young prison leavers.
- knowledge of past engagement by sporting organisations with SPS establishments/populations, in custody of the community.
- knowledge and experience of third sector Throughcare provision in Scotland.

In addition, interviews were sought with young people in custody currently accessing Throughcare support.

5.2.1.1 Scottish Prison Service sample

In total, I interviewed seven members of SPS staff, including four TSOs and three members of the organisation's management. The recruitment of SPS TSOs was facilitated by the Head of Research at the SPS, who put me in touch with the Polmont-based team of five TSOs. I contacted them via email to invite them to participate, providing details of my study, explaining that my research had been approved by the SPS and my specific reasons for seeking to interview them.

Interviewees within SPS management were identified by one of my supervisors, Dr Matthew Maycock, who worked for the SPS, on the basis that they would have knowledge and experience relevant to my research. The limitations with this form of purposive sampling were addressed in Chapter 3.

5.2.1.2 Third sector sample

In addition to carrying out interviews with stakeholders within the SPS, I sought interviews with stakeholders from third sector agencies providing Throughcare support to young people exiting custody in Scotland. Two agencies were identified on the basis that they had provided Throughcare support to young prison leavers for several years and were amongst the largest agencies in terms of numbers of young people engaged with and the geographical spread of communities in which they offered support. Both agencies agreed to participate in the research, and I conducted interviews with managers of both projects. Details about SPS and Third Sector participants can be found in Table 7: Organisational role of SPS and Third-Sector participants..

Table 7: Organisational role of SPS and Third-Sector participants.

Participant Identifier	Role within SPS/Third Sector
STP175	Throughcare Support Officer
STP966	Throughcare Support Officer
STP929	Throughcare Support Officer
STP282	Throughcare Support Officer
STP022	SPS Management
STP984	SPS Management
STP233	SPS Management
STP382	Third Sector Programme Manager
STP965	Third Sector Programme Manager

5.2.1.3 Young people in Polmont sample

In my ethics applications to The University of Glasgow and the SPS, I stated that I wished to recruit a maximum of 15 young people currently serving custodial sentences in HMP/YOI Polmont. The sample I sought to recruit was purposive and based on two criteria:

- young people should be currently engaged with Throughcare support from either the SPS or an external provider; and
- they should be within 6 months of release.

While other recruitment methods were considered, such as the use of fliers posted in communal areas in the prison, I felt that given the time-limited nature of my project and the desire to interview young people who had been or were currently engaged with Throughcare support, the most expedient means of recruitment was via the TSOs based in Polmont. I spoke with each TSO at the conclusion of their own interview about the possibility of interviewing some of their existing caseload. I did so on the basis that at that stage they would have a clearer understanding of the aims of my research and might be more invested in what I was trying to do. Unfortunately, however, I encountered several difficulties when trying to recruit young people in this manner, which led to me only being able to recruit young people via one SPS TSO. These are now explained.

Firstly, two of the four TSOs that I interviewed explained that they were currently not supporting any young people in Polmont and their caseload was wholly comprised of

adult female prisoners housed in the facility.[22] Another said they did not feel that any of the young people they were currently working with in custody were stable enough to speak to me. This TSO made several attempts to schedule interviews with two young people they were supporting in the community, but it became clear that they were living such chaotic lives that the chances of arranging and successfully conducting an interview were small.

In response to these difficulties, I set myself a four-month deadline for conducting interviews with young people in Polmont. By this time, I had recruited five young people. As is common in many research projects, pragmatic matters played an important role in shaping the recruitment process, and I wanted to conclude my interviews with young people within this time period to give me time for analysis and to adhere to my project timeline. Because of only being able to access the caseload of one TSO I had to relax my sample selection criteria. This led to the recruitment of two young people with one year remaining on their sentence, and one young person currently being held on remand. However, all three of these young people had previously served custodial sentences and had experience of engaging with Throughcare services, from the SPS or third sector agencies.

The TSO who provided access to his caseload proved to be an important gatekeeper within the SPS and the Scottish Throughcare sector more broadly. For example, when I spoke to this person about having difficulty finding contact details for a third sector agency, they were able to give me a specific person to contact within one such organisation.

When reflecting on the difficulties I faced trying to recruit young people in Polmont to participate in my research, I found that my experiences resonated with those of others who have conducted prison-based studies:

> "being granted security clearance and ethics approval does not necessarily open the gates. Prison wardens still control access, even if headquarters has approved the research." (Waldram, 2009, p. 4)

A disadvantage of relying on a single gatekeeper is the risk of bias in the sample of young people I interviewed. Undoubtedly, this individual exercised significant influence

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[22] Since 2017, a wing at HMPYOI Polmont has housed convicted female prisoners.

over which young people participated. While the possibility of bias should be acknowledged, it was unavoidable given the highly controlled nature of the research site and the time constraints of the research.

In trying to understand any potential bias in this sample of young people, I asked this TSO how young people were allocated to their caseload in Polmont, to establish whether particular cases were allocated to certain TSOs. I was told that SPS TSOs are free to provide in-custody support to any young person in Polmont. Young people can be referred to a TSO by their personal officers, family members, or they can self-refer. Once the TSO team receives a referral, the decision regarding which Officer supports a young person is based on several factors including the size of individual caseloads and the nature of the case itself, which involves considering a person's background. I was told that the only instances where the identity of the Officer would be considered when allocating cases was if they had previously worked with a young person (and therefore might already have a relationship with them) or if a female prisoner had suffered abuse from a male partner or spouse and so a female Officer might be more appropriate. Details related to the sentence profile of the young people I interviewed are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Sentence profile of young people interviewed in Polmont.

Identifier	Age	Current Offence (sentence length)	Length of sentence remaining	Previous Offences (details if disclosed)	Previous Custodial Sentence
STP581	18	n/a (currently on remand)	n/a	Yes (Multiple violent offences)	Yes
STP240	18	Assault (2 years)	1 month	Yes (Assault)	No (served community sentence for assault)
STP906	19	Vehicle Theft (2 years)	1 year	Yes (Possession of offensive weapons)	Yes
STP378	21	Dangerous Driving (2 Years)	2 Weeks	Yes (Assault)	Yes
STP825	18	Arson (3 Years)	1 Year	Yes (Assault)	Yes

5.2.2 Ethical considerations for research with young people in custody

The challenges of conducting research in custodial settings have been catalogued by researchers across disciplines, including sociologists, historians, and psychologists (Israel, 2004; King and Wincup, 2008; Reiter, 2014). When compared to non-incarcerated populations, additional ethical concerns arise when considering research with prisoners, based on their position as a vulnerable population. People in prison do not have the same rights and freedoms as others in society and are subject to constraints that non-offenders do not have to contend with (Hanson et al., 2012). Current concerns about prisoners being exploited through their participation in research are rooted in historical examples where they have been subject to harmful experimentation and coerced to take part in research from which they would not benefit (Kalmbach and Lyons, 2003). Examples of this include the injection of 200 women prisoners with viral hepatitis in a 1950s University of Pennsylvania experiment and the involvement of people in prison in Utah State in human radiation experiments in the 1960s where samples of their blood were taken, exposed to a radioactive form of phosphorous, and then re-injected (Hornblum, 1997).

Despite the possible complexities, research with people in custody can provide important knowledge, and lead to improved conditions and outcomes for prisoners. In a Scottish context, research with young people in custody has been used to explore a range of issues, including identifying what background characteristics and lifestyle issues might lead to future offending, the development and evaluation of education interventions delivered in custody, and exploring the routes that young men follow into custody (Akbar et al,. 2013; Loucks et al., 2000; Smith, Dyer, and Connelly, 2014; Vaswani, Paul, and Papadodimitraki, 2016).

Participation in research has also been found to benefit people living in prison. For example, in their paper exploring experiences of being a participant in a qualitative study, Copes et al (2012), reported that people living in prison described feeling better about themselves and their situation and enjoyed a break from the prison routine. Other studies have reported benefits to people in prison from taking part in research as including helping them make sense of their past (Maruna, 2001), giving them the opportunity to interact with someone who was not a prisoner or staff member (Sutton, 2011), and offering prisoners the chance to voice their experiences (Copes et al, 2013). The following sections detail the specific ethical considerations considered when planning and conducting my research with young people in custody.

5.2.2.1 Gaining consent from young people in custody

Prior to their interview, each young person was given a participant information sheet (Appendix 5). In acknowledgement that many young people in custody have had a disrupted education and possess limited literacy skills (Hurry et al., 2010; Williams, 2015), this was written in clear and simple language and explained why they had been asked to participate. It also explained that each young person retained control over their right to participate (or otherwise) and could choose to end their participation at any time.

Obtaining informed consent is a challenge for any research project involving vulnerable and marginalized populations (Neuman, Winterdyk, and Wiegand, 2004). "Free" consent, which refers to obtaining consent in an environment free from coercion, whether implicit or explicit, can be seriously compromised in the prison context (Edens et al., 2011). Prisoners are less able to access independent advice on participation than would normally be available to research participants in the community (Freudenberg, 2007). Some may feel unintended stress and believe, wrongly, that refusal to participate will negatively affect their trajectory in prison or in appearances in court (Moser et al., 2004). Others may hope that their participation will favourably affect judicial proceedings and decisions (Neuman, Winterdyk and Wiegand, 2004).

To mitigate these risks, I explained to each young person that they were under no duress to take part and that no negative consequences would arise should they decline. Care was taken to stress that participation would have no bearing on their release date or any other decisions in relation to their sentence, access to support services or

relationships with support staff (Colecchia, 2007). They were given the opportunity to ask questions prior to the start of their interview. Once a young person had consented to be interviewed, I explained to them that they were free to decline to answer any of the questions and could end the interview at any time. Young people were then given a consent form (Appendix 6) which was also written in clear and simple language. They were then required to sign two copies of their consent form, both of which I signed in their presence. I retained one copy and participants were given the other to keep if they wished.

All interviews with young people were recorded with a digital dictaphone. Once audio recording had begun, I also sought verbal affirmation from each young person to confirm that they were aware of why they had been asked to participate, that they had read and understood all of the information issued to them, been given the opportunity to ask any questions, and that they consented to the audio recording of the interview.

5.2.2.2 Anonymity

While ensuring the anonymity of participants is central to ethical research practice, the controlled nature of the prison regime means that it cannot be assumed that the identities of the young people who participated would have been kept completely private. A study of barriers to mental health research in prisons found ensuring confidentiality in the prison context was difficult because information about the nature of the research and who had participated became widespread (Appelbaum, 2008). This perspective is similar to those of Vanderhoff, Jeglic and Donovick (2011) who argue that imprisonment leads to a significant decline in respect for prisoners' rights to privacy. As an example, the TSO who acted as a gatekeeper at Polmont is inevitably aware of which young people took part in an interview. Additionally, given the necessary security procedures within the facility, the spaces I used for interviews had to be unlocked for me by the Prison Officer in charge of the wing, usually with the young person present at the time.

Similar concerns regarding the implications of using gatekeepers to recruit people in prison as research participants have been noted elsewhere. For example, when reporting research on the possible impact of probation supervision on desistance, King (2010) suggests that using probation officers to recruit participants 'raised ethical issues in relation to matters of confidentiality and anonymity' (p.180). Within this study,

because probation officers were aware of which probationers participated, they might be able to identify the input of specific participants despite the use of pseudonyms and the alteration of personal information.

I assured each young person that I would respect their right to anonymity following their participation in my research. It was explained that should any excerpts from their interview be included in the outputs of the study, they would appear under a numerical identifier and their words would not be attributed to them. It was also explained that any potentially identifying information, such as the name of their TSO or explicit references to where they lived, would be redacted from interview transcripts, or altered. However, as is explained below I also made it clear to each young person that there were certain conditions in which I would need to breach their right to anonymity.

5.2.2.3 Limited confidentiality

Researchers should document exactly how they intend to ensure the confidentiality of their participants, and whilst unnecessary breaches of confidentiality should be avoided, such breaches could have potentially more serious consequences in the prison context.

Zinger, Wichmann, and Gendreau (2001) suggest that guaranteeing confidentiality in a context where one is likely to receive sensitive information, such as interviews with confined populations, is disrespectful to the rights of the participant. It is therefore imperative that researchers properly establish the boundaries of confidentiality (Kalmbach and Lyons, 2003). Accordingly, prior to requesting consent for the interview, I explained to each young person that their interviews would take place on the basis of 'limited confidentiality'. Limited confidentially means that researchers reserve the right to breach a participant's confidentially in the event that certain conditions arise (Finch and Fafinski, 2012).

In this study, such circumstances were based on the understanding that the welfare of the young people who participated in my research and others in Polmont overrode confidentiality obligations. Therefore, I explained to each young person that I retained the right to breach their confidentiality in the event that they divulged information that implied a threat to another individual, that they intended to do themselves harm, or anything else deemed to be a risk to security within the prison (Hayes, Lennox and Senior, 2010).

5.2.2.4 Interview safeguards

In a paper on the tensions experienced when conducting research in prisons, Liebling (1999) describes how qualitative interviews with prisoners can be potentially emotionally fraught experiences for both parties. Given the history of the young people I interviewed, it is possible that during their criminal career, they may have experienced repeated interviews by the police. Therefore, some may have felt threatened by the suggestion of an 'interview' with a stranger and suspicious about its purpose (Cowie, Hutson and Myers, 2007). Following the advice of Bengtsson (2013), who conducted an ethnographic study in a Danish Young Offender Institute, I adopted an ethos of respect for the participants at all times and remained alert to their responses in case my presence was making them feel uncomfortable.

I feel confident that I conducted my interviews in a manner that minimised the potential for emotional distress to the participants. I was careful not to respond in a censorious or judgemental manner to any of the answers they gave and to protect them from experiencing undue distress, I put in place the following strategies:

- If they were struggling with certain questions, I reminded them that they did not have to answer any questions they did not wish to answer.
- If they were finding the interview difficult or distressing, I gave them the opportunity to terminate the interview and offered them the chance to conclude it at another time if they wished.
- To maintain the privacy of the, if the interview was interrupted, it was only resumed once the young person and I were alone again.

5.2.3 Interviews with SPS staff and third-sector staff

Except for one interview at SPS Headquarters, all my interviews with SPS staff, including TSOs, took place in private rooms in the SPS College which is housed on the same campus as Polmont. Interviews with third-sector staff took place in a private office at their place of work. These interviews explored participants' knowledge and experience about Throughcare provision in Scotland, past involvement of sporting organisations or the use of sport to support resettlement, and potential barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

5.2.4 **Interviews with young people in Polmont**

All interviews with young people in custody took place within Polmont. The logistics of each interview followed a similar pattern. Upon entering the facility and registering with staff at the reception desk, I was escorted through the prison by the TSO who had recruited these young people on my behalf. Most of these interviews took place in private rooms attached to the wing in which the young people were housed, with one taking place in a room adjoining the prison kitchen. Prior to each interview on the wings the TSO introduced me to the Prison Officers on that wing, who would then collect and escort the young person to the interview room. For security, the TSO remained outside the interview room for the duration of the interview. Interviews with young people in Polmont were conducted with the use of a topic guide (Appendix 9). These interviews explored participants' experiences of Throughcare support, any previous times they had been released from custody, possible engagement with any sports programmes while in custody or the community and their perceptions about the Safe Hands programme.

5.3 Barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish Throughcare setting

The following section describes the results of my research with Scottish Throughcare participants. It begins with describing barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands and to young people engaging with the programme. Facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands and engaging young prison leaves follows. The barriers I identified to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish Throughcare context were Polmont as a national institution; the small number of young people currently in custody in Scotland; changes to the sentencing profile of young people in prison in Scotland; funding; and negative attitudes from some SPS staff towards SFiTCs. These are presented in Figure 17.
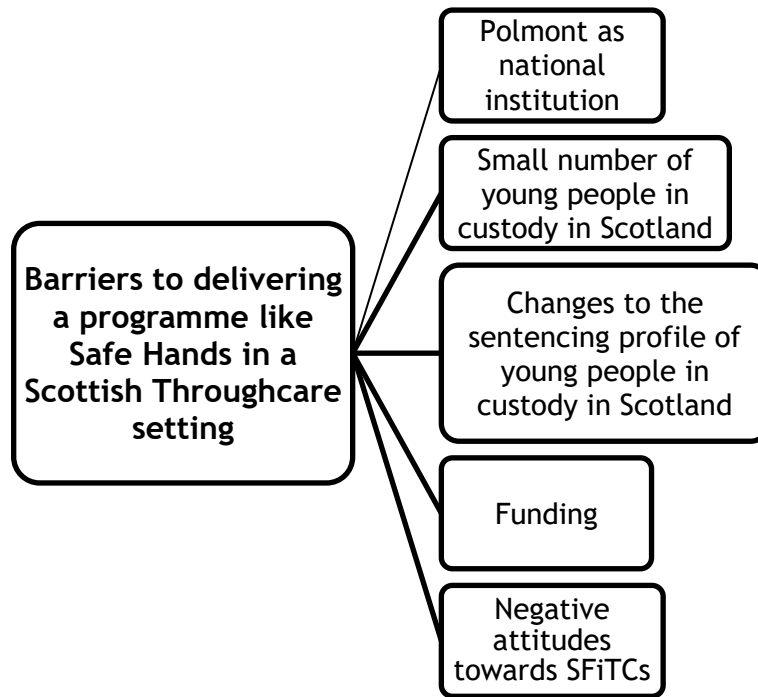
Figure 17: Barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish Throughcare setting.

5.3.1 **Polmont as a national institution**

Having only one facility for youth prison in Scotland was raised by a third sector interviewee when talking about the difficulties their Throughcare programme:

> Polmont, it's so hard, because there's x-hundred boys, but they're leaving to every part of the country, so there's nothing we can really do en-masse to target a lot of people at once, you know? Because them and their pals are all leaving on different times of the day, and different times of the year to different parts of the country (STP382).

The broader implications for Throughcare provision for young prison leavers in Scotland raised by Polmont being a national facility for young people in custody was touched on by several other interviewees. TSOs described how young people leaving Polmont might receive different levels of Throughcare support, depending on the community they were returning to. For example, TSOs based at Polmont only provide support to young people in the community within two hours' drive of the facility and 'anybody that's too far away, we won't deal with' (STP282).

5.3.2 The small number of young people currently in custody in Scotland

Most SPS and third sector interviewees referred to the declining numbers of young people in custody in Scotland. While they generally described this as a welcome development, one third sector interviewee suggested that diverting young people away from custodial sentences might put some of them at greater risk of harm. From their experience, they felt that a brief spell in custody might benefit some young people as it brought a degree of stability to their lives:

> .. a lot of the people that used to get these short sentences ... it was accident and emergency for them, it was food, shelter... Now, these people are probably dying in bed and breakfasts and bedsits and flats and stuff now (STP382).

A member of SPS management highlighted the falling numbers of young people in custody as a barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands. They described how this could mean such a programme might only be able to engage with 'relatively small numbers' because there was only a 'sporadic' flow of young people leaving custody at any one time and returning to the same community (STP984). The same interviewee highlighted how they felt the small number of young people in custody in Scotland were comparatively *well* served by Throughcare services when compared to other age groups of prisoners. Although it should be noted that this interview took place when the SPS were delivering Throughcare through dedicated staff (TSOs), it is unclear what the implications will be of this provision being paused. They therefore suggested that a programme like Safe Hands could be delivered specifically for a slightly older age group (18-21), of which there are greater numbers in custody and who are underserved by existing Throughcare provision:

> There's definitely a whole untapped potential in that group I was talking about, where they are medium length sentences, of 18 to 21-year olds ... the group for whom there's less at the moment (STP984).

The other third sector interviewee described how the current reduction in the numbers of young people exiting custody in Scotland had knock-on implications for the funding of their organisation. Even though their programme was engaging with almost all the young people in custody eligible for their service, the declining numbers had made it difficult for them to meet targets set by their funders and led to reductions in their funding:

Our target is 90, from our four areas over the course of a year. It used to be 130, it came down to 90, and the truth is there isn't 90 people from our areas in custody … what happens is that they [their funder] say, 'You didn't achieve your 90.' And we go, 'But we're working with everybody who's eligible for our service' … So it's almost getting, 'We know the great work you're doing … your engagement rate's 90+%, we know that you're non-returning to custody rate's 86% … all these people are getting extra time with you, so the longevity's really keeping working and keeping people out o' prison. But you've not worked with the number we've asked you to work with' … Is that not a good thing? (STP965)

5.3.3 Changes in the sentencing profile of young people in custody in Scotland

A member of SPS management described how the current sentencing profile of young people in Polmont, specifically the high proportion on remand as opposed to serving convicted sentences, could act as a barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands for two reasons. The first was that planning and delivering resettlement programmes for this group was challenging because many of these young people were released from custody directly from court, rather than on sentence expiry. This often meant that young people were exiting custody with no 'planned release date' and in an 'unprepared manner'. Engaging young people being held on remand with educational or Throughcare programmes was difficult because of the liminal status of these prisoners:

Participation in activities in that, during that period is very problematic … innocent, you're, until proved guilty. So you can't be planning for a long time, and you can't ever get involved in things that might last longer, because that's presuming that you'll be back [in custody] (STP984).

5.3.4 Funding

While funding was not an issue that any SPS interviewee touched upon as a possible barrier, both third sector interviewees highlighted funding as an ongoing challenge to offering Throughcare provision in Scotland. One commented that the sustainability of their Throughcare programme was 'all governed by funding … it is the biggest issue … for [the] survival of what we're doing' (STP965).

Sourcing funding was described by one third Sector interviewee as a time-consuming part of their job, which reduced the time they could spend working with young people. They also referred to the time-limited nature of funding arrangements as a source of periodic stress among their colleagues; over the course of a funding agreement there would be periods where staff would 'kinda chill out' but then 'start getting anxious

again' (STP382) towards the end of tranches of funding. This interviewee suggested that a lack of available funding could be a barrier to delivering a new programme like Safe Hands. They referred to being unaware of any 'fresh opportunities' for other Third-Sector Agencies to apply for different sources of funding to provide Throughcare since 'about 2012/2013' (STP382).

The same interviewee described how they had also encountered funding barriers when trying to prolong a parenting programme they had delivered in partnership with several Scottish Football in The Community organisations (SFiTCs – who would potentially be responsible for delivering a programme like Safe Hands if it were ever delivered in Scotland). While they thought this parenting programme was 'great', the funding available was only sufficient for one delivery. Despite this experience, they described how they sought to establish a partnership with a local SFiTC to deliver a health and wellbeing intervention with participants on their Throughcare programme. However, although agreement was obtained from the SFiTC, available funding again became an issue: 'It wasn't there, it didn't exist, so we couldn't do it' (STP965).

5.3.5 **Negative attitudes of some SPS staff towards SFiTCs.**

Most SPS staff described SFiTCs having previously delivered various sessions for young people in Polmont. A common example was SFiTC staff delivering information sessions about programmes which young people could engage with after their release. These sessions were sometimes followed by some football coaching, which acted as an incentive for the young people to attend the information session.

Several members of SPS management and one TSO were critical of the previous engagement between SFiTCs and young people in custody. A member of SPS management described having 'problems with the football folk' (STP022). When asked to explain this, they recounted how, while some SFiTCs had shown interest in delivering programmes to young people in custody, this enthusiasm tended to 'fizzle out'. Moreover, while SFiTCs 'talked big' regarding their plans for working with young people in custody, this respondent suggested that 'few actually came to very much' and the activities that did take place were usually 'one-off events'. When asked why they felt there was a disconnect between what SFiTCs claimed they were going to do and what they delivered, they suggested that SFiTCs perhaps 'couldn't be bothered' with the

complexities of working with young people in custody. Concerns regarding the limited engagement by SFiTCs with young people in custody in Scotland were shared by some TSOs with one recalling that, in their experience, they had not seen SFiTCs engage with young people in custody for 'any length of time' (STP966). One member of SPS management was extremely sceptical regarding the efficacy of the sorts of engagement they had seen from SFiTCs in terms of improving outcomes for young people in custody, commenting that such 'short bursts' were 'unlikely to achieve terribly much' (STP984).

In addition to concerns about the sporadic nature of the engagement between SFiTCs and young people in Polmont, a member of SPS management was sceptical about the merit of the content delivered by SFiTCs. When discussing the use of sports-based interventions in custody, they described how previous SFiTC programmes had placed too much emphasis on teaching young people how to 'play the game' and focussed less on addressing their wider needs. While they acknowledged that sports could be a useful 'mechanism' for engaging young people in custody, they stressed that sports-based programmes needed to contain additional, developmental components because 'employers aren't interested that they can play football' (STP022). In this respondent's view, the content and structure of programmes delivered by SFiTCs to people in custody should incorporate clear linkages between the activities offered and positive life skills that young prison leavers can draw on post-release:

> You want to make sure it's [the activity] relevant … there's no point coming in, having a good game of football and going. There needs to be some kind of qualifications based around it … it's about taking sport and then using it … to address a whole series of social and offending-related issues (STP022)

These views were shared by a third sector agency interviewee who also described the importance of constructing interventions that sought to support the holistic development of young prison leavers beyond just sport and exercise:

> It's not just about doing fitness and sport … it's about going "Let's use this as a tool, as a lure, for people tae come in". But we still need tae do the work, the cognitive programmes, the budgeting aspect … all that stuff that makes changes in their lives, and we'll get them fit and healthy 'cause we know it's got an impact on mental health, we know that, you know, that the chemicals in the body release endorphins that make people feel good, etc. etc. So it can't just sit on its own, in my opinion, it needs to be connected with something (STP965).

While concerns were particularly raised by SPS management regarding the limited duration and content of SFiTC programmes previously delivered to young people in Polmont, SFiTC programmes accessed by young people *in the community* during resettlement were held in higher regard by SPS staff, particularly TSOs. The role of these programmes in supporting young prison leavers is addressed later in this chapter.

5.4 Barriers to engaging young prison leavers with a Programme like Safe Hands

Participants identified a range of barriers to young prison leavers engaging with a programme like Safe Hands – barriers are understood as factors which might limit the prospects of a young person engaging with a programme like Safe Hands, either in custody or the community. Participants sometimes described barriers in relation to a programme like Safe Hands specifically and sometimes referred to the barriers and difficulties to engaging young prison leavers with resettlement support and services more generally. Barriers identified included the transition from custody to community, the increasingly complexity of young people in prison in Scotland, structural barriers, and attitudinal and motivational barriers. They are summarised in Figure 18.
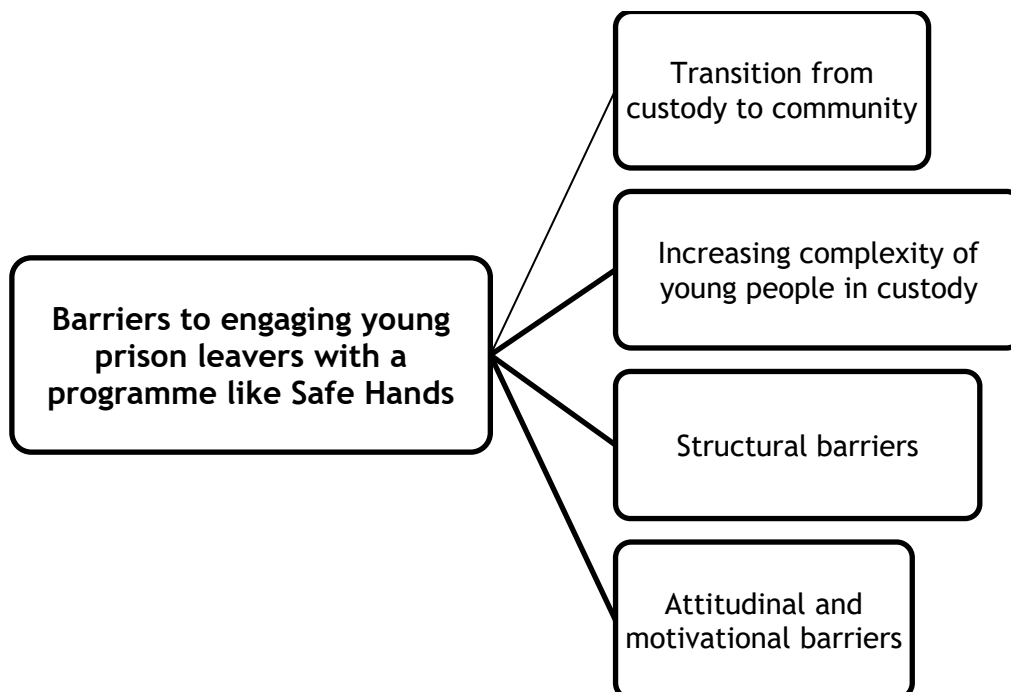
Figure 18: Barriers to engaging young prison leavers with a programme like Safe Hands.

While most SPS and third sector interviewees felt that Throughcare services could support young people to overcome the barriers they faced during resettlement and desist from crime, it was commonly observed that it could be difficult to engage young prison leavers in the community. They described them as 'very reluctant to engage with anything at all' (STP282) and as 'really difficult to engage … even on the simplistic things' (STP382). It was felt that young prison leavers were hard to or unwilling to engage with Throughcare services because they lost motivation to engage with services after their release from prison, often because they lapsed back into behaviour associated with their offending, such as reconnecting with criminally active peers or substance misuse. The possible barriers to engagement identified by participants were the transition from custody to community, the increasingly complex characteristics of young people in custody in Scotland, structural barriers, and attitudinal and motivational barriers.

5.4.1 The transition from custody to community

Most SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees described how young prison leavers typically struggled with transitioning from custody to community. Several talked about how being released from custody could be an emotionally tumultuous experience for young people, with some experiencing 'apprehension and excitement' (STP175), 'anticipation and trepidation' (STP282) and 'chronic fear' (STP022). One TSO recalled supporting a young person who was so anxious about leaving custody that they 'sabotage[d]' their own release (STP175).

When trying to account for this maelstrom of emotions, several SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees described how they felt that a common factor could be that young people were worried about the challenges and barriers they might face in the community and were unclear about what they were going to do after release. One TSO talked of how young prison leavers were concerned that 'things are no' going to go smoothly' after release and worried about 'where are they going to go next' (STP929). Another TSO noted that although some young people might come across as confident when in custody, the stress and anxiety of being released could lead them to becoming upset:

> We dropped a guy off, he was working with other agencies, wasn't working
> wi' us. And we dropped him off at a housing office, and this was a guy, he

> was a pretty sure, confident individual in here, and he was in tears. A grown lad, in tears in the housing office, 'cause he knew he was in the start o' the journey again (STP966).

All five of the young people I interviewed in Polmont had served at least one previous custodial sentence and therefore had experienced the transition from custody to community. Most of them depicted it as a complex time of conflicting emotions. One, who had served multiple spells in custody, said that he was 'always excited about getting out', but also described the experience as 'nerve wracking' (STP240). Others described feeling 'scared' (STP906) and 'buzzing' (STP581) about being released, while for one it was the 'best feeling ever' (STP825).

A source of anxiety for several of these young people was the possibility that they would resume the same types of behaviours, mostly related to alcohol abuse and spending time with offending peers that had led them to being in custody. When asked how he was feeling about being released, one said he was 'nervous' he 'might mess up again' because the last time he was released from custody he 'went out and done the exact same shit' (STP240). Another described feeling 'scared' about being released because he might 'start dae'in the same stuff I was dae'in before I came in' (STP906).

Concerns about the unpredictable behaviour of young prison leavers during the transition from custody to community were shared by several SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees. A TSO described how some young people needed to have a 'blow oot' (STP966) on the day they were released, which usually involved celebrating by reconnecting with friends and consuming large amounts of alcohol. While acknowledging that young people were 'totally entitled to do that', this TSO said it could lead to young people delaying some of the practical tasks associated with resettlement, such as accessing benefits and registering with a doctor. They cited an example of meeting up with a young person in March who had 'got out in the middle December' and this was first time they had 'met with anyone [support services] since then'. For this TSO, the consequences of young people not engaging with Throughcare services soon after release was that their offending stood a 'good chance o' repeating itself' (STP966).

Most TSOs described it as challenging to support young people in the community if they immediately resumed chaotic lifestyles because 'they're gone, they're wasted, they're just no' turning up' (STP175). One gave an example:

> We'd a young boy the other week there, he can't even mind [remember] meeting us, 'cause he was really under the influence … When somebody's presenting like that, you can't do anything, you can't take them anywhere, it's… so it's then delaying when you're trying tae get stuff done wi' them … we were planning to do stuff that day, but he fell asleep in our company (STP929).

Because of the challenges associated with this period, several SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees described how the days immediately following a young person's release from custody required 'intense work' (STP965) from Throughcare services to try to keep them 'as calm as possible' and 'keep that agitation doon [down]' (STP175).

SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees also highlighted how the sudden change from the highly regimented and hierarchical nature of prison life to a lifestyle in the community that was often devoid of structure and routine, could be unsettling for young prison leavers. One TSO commented that 'for a lot o' them it's the structure that they miss.' (STP929). They described how in prison a young person's day is 'pretty much mapped out for them' and how after release the structure they had 'just falls away'. The same TSO talked of how some young prison leavers don't have the 'mind set' to try to stay in a routine after release from custody.

This lack of structure was reflected in some of the accounts given by young people in Polmont about their first few days post-release. One described 'Just going an' meeting wi' pals an' just getting drunk an' dae'in stupid things' (STP581), while another recalled how he did 'nothing' most of the week and at weekends would 'start drinking … on the Friday and … dinnae stop 'til the Tuesday' (STP825).

From the perspective of most of the young people I interviewed in Polmont, the often-chaotic nature of their re-entry into society tested any desire they had to change or willingness to engage with support services. Indeed, it was evident from some of their accounts of post-prison life that any motivation to change the course of their lives often did not survive the experience of transitioning from custody to the community. One described how, when in prison, he felt committed to the idea of desisting from crime, but found the reality of doing so difficult after release:

> When I was getting out, I was saying I wanted to do this, an' I wanted to do that. But when you get oot there it's a different ballgame (STP378).

This young person recounted how he had been engaging with a Throughcare programme in custody, which had arranged for him to have an interview for a college course. However, while he said he had 'wanted tae dae that', he did not attend the interview because it 'just didnae happen that way' and he soon 'went aff the rails'.

5.4.2 The increasingly complex characteristics of young people in custody in Scotland

Most SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees described young people currently in custody in Scotland, and thus young prison leavers, as an increasingly difficult cohort group of people, as 'complex cases' (STP022) and 'extremely vulnerable … they're very challenging' (STP984).

When reflecting on any changes they had seen in recent years in the needs of young people exiting custody in Scotland, one Third Sector Agency interviewee stated that the behaviour they exhibited was 'more challenging' (STP382), while a TSO said, 'I can't remember the mental health issues being so in the forefront as I do now' (STP929). The other third sector agency interviewee suggested that the changes to youth justice policies in Scotland, which have led to a reduction in the use of custodial sentences for youth offending, meant that young people in custody now were more likely to have had longer criminal careers and committed more serious offences than in the past:

> Well they are [more complex cases], 'cause they're generally going in for longer, 'cause they done more serious things, because – particularly if you're under eighteen, and particularly if you've done something not overly serious, you might not get the prison anymore, you might get some other order (STP382).

When reflecting on the impact that supporting this group of young people had on Throughcare support, a TSO commented that, because many of the young people they were supporting were living 'chaotic lifestyle[s]' during resettlement, their role was sometimes more about 'keeping them alive' than anything else (STP175).

When discussing the implications that the complex needs of young prison leavers might have for a programme like Safe Hands, one third sector agency interviewee described how he felt that the expectations of the Mid-season stage, where a young person attends the programme three days a week soon after release, might be too much to expect from some young people currently exiting custody in Scotland:

> My only wee concern would be, what about the people who have got stuff to deal with still. Who, if we're … if you're going straight into going activity three days a week, and somebody's going, 'I'm up for that.' And they will be, and they will think they can do it. But then they'll go, 'but my mum's … the trauma. Oh, the addiction' (STP965)

5.4.3 Structural barriers to engagement with Throughcare services

SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees highlighted multiple structural barriers that young prison leavers can encounter during resettlement, which could limit their engagement with Throughcare services. TSOs described young prison leavers as facing 'constant barriers' (STP929) and 'massive obstacles' (STP966) when trying to access support services in the community. The structural barriers they highlighted in engaging young prison leavers with a programme like Safe Hands included: issues with administrative bureaucracy and poor treatment by service staff; housing issues; and the limited resources dedicated to young prison leavers in the community when compared to provision in custody.

With respect to the bureaucracy associated with accessing services in the community, several TSOs described young prison leavers struggling with administrative aspects, such as filling out forms or accessing online portals; one said that 'Bureaucracy is a big problem' and 'anything that involves bureaucracy … they would rather just not face' (STP282). This interviewee also described how young prison leavers sometimes encountered difficulties accessing services because they lacked adequate identification:

> … you've got your ID check to do next, where you'll need to prove your identification … We struggle wi' that, 'cause a lot o' the kids that go through oor systems … don't have ID.

In addition to having difficulty with administrative aspects of accessing welfare services, some SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees described how young prison leavers were sometimes treated poorly by gatekeepers to these services, such as reception staff or benefits advisors: young prison leavers 'aren't received very well within these buildings' (STP382). A TSO described how, in their experience, gatekeepers to support services could be quite dismissive of young prison leavers and would treat them differently to other service users:

> We have services outside that when people, prisoners, were turning up – and it's quite, you know, it's quite damning, but they turn up and … because

they've just come out o' jail … they get lesser service than what normally people would get (STP233).

The second structural barrier to engaging young prison leavers with a programme like Safe Hands post release related to housing issues. Most Throughcare support officers felt that unsuitable housing was the biggest issue facing young prison leavers, commenting that housing issues were 'always the big one' (STP175).

Most Throughcare support officers described how young people who were homeless when they left custody required more support in the community than those returning to their family of origin. As one said, 'if they've no got a roof over their head, you're starting on shaky ground right way' (STP929) and another remarked '[if] they're … going out homeless … they need help with virtually everything' (STP966).

TSOs also suggested that the types of accommodation allocated to young prison leavers, including hostels and 'Bed and Breakfasts', could have a detrimental impact on their resettlement and chances of desistance. Several talked of how these environments could be unsettling for an already vulnerable young person and expose them to people who were actively offending. One gave an example of a young person who had been staying in a Bed and Breakfast; within 24 hours of arrival someone in the adjacent room had killed herself, yet the young person was still in that accommodation several months later:

> I've got a young guy that was put in a bed and breakfast in December, and we went out on Christmas day to see him and a girl had committed suicide in the place … today [following March] I've been told that the casework team haven't even allocated him somebody to look at moving him on … these young people are put into these places, and you get that they've done something, they've come out and whatever. But society expects them to now change and do things differently (STP966).

Several of the young people I interviewed in Polmont had been registered as homeless when they previously exited custody. Their experiences of temporary accommodation were mixed. When asked how they felt about living in temporary accommodation, one young person said it was 'alright'. However, the views of another chimed with those expressed by most TSOs regarding the negative impact that unstable accommodation can have on young prison leavers. He described how living in a hostel could potentially lead to him reoffending:

> if I go back into a hostel, that's [reoffending] gonnae be a big risk. I could befriend people … And it's just like the peer pressure and stuff like that, I might just slip back into that (STP240).

In addition to making the already difficult transition from custody to community more challenging, several SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees highlighted how the funding of housing placements for homeless young people could adversely impact on their resettlement, particularly on their ability to work. For example, third sector and TSO interviewees described how accommodation for homeless young prison leavers was paid for by their local authority. However, if that person were to get a job, he would likely have his housing benefits cut and then be accountable for either a significant percentage or the full costs of housing, which could be several hundred pounds per week:

> A lot o' the young boys are in a position where they really feel they want a job and they want tae earn money but, if they're in homeless accommodation, that's ill-advised because they'd be working for nothing (STP966).

One Third Sector Agency interviewee described how this could lead to young people 'end[ing] up in arrears' (STP965) which could jeopardise their housing placement.

This scenario was a source of frustration for some TSO and third sector interviewees because they felt that it was forcing young people to choose to either 'have a house or have a job' (STP175). The same interviewee gave an example of how they were supporting a young person, who was going to exit custody as homeless, and they could 'get him a job right now … but I cannae'. These frustrations were shared by a third sector interviewee who suggested that, instead of housing acting as a protective factor against the risks of reoffending, current systems for housing homeless young prison leavers were 'setting people up to fail' (STP382) by forcing them to remain unemployed when they could potentially be moving on with their lives.

The final structural barrier to young people engaging with a programme like Safe Hands relates to the discrepancy between the resources afforded to young people in custody and those available to them in the community. When asked about the barriers young prison leavers face during resettlement, one TSO said:

> Community [support] hasnae caught up wi' prison yet … We dae some fantastic work in prisons. Trauma and bereavement, you know, you get trauma counselling, education, whatever the young person or female might need (STP175).

Concerns about this contrast in the support available were shared by another TSO, who commented that young people in custody 'get so much in Polmont' but 'everything's cut off' after release and 'they have to start all over again' (SPS004). A member of SPS management described the level of resources available to young prison leavers in the community as 'quite variable' and 'either not there, or difficult to access' (STP022).

One TSO provided an example of the impact of these differences. They described supporting a young person who they had identified as needing specialist support because of past traumatic experiences. They explained that in custody they referred this young person to specialist support, which he received regularly until his release. However, it was their opinion that had these issues been identified closer to the young person's release date and had they then tried to access support in the community, they would have faced a longer wait to do so:

> I was working wi' a young person and he was oot in six months' time and I'd identified he was a survivor of a sexual offence … I could put him to get counselling [in custody] for that … If I identified that near the end of his sentence and I was gonnae try that in the community, it's probably gonnae take me between three and six months, to get that through a GP (STP175).

The implications of young prison leavers having access to fewer resources and longer waiting times to access services in the community was addressed by one TSO in relation to how this might lead to negative resettlement outcomes. In response to a question about how community services for young prison leavers could be improved, they suggested that some might not have the resilience to cope with waiting for these services and might revert to 'self-medicating' to 'deal with stuff' (STP966).

5.4.4 Attitudinal and motivational barriers to young prison leavers engaging with a programme like Safe Hands

I now turn to consider attitudinal and motivational barriers to young prison leavers' engagement. These included a general apathy towards engaging with Throughcare services, the Old Firm rivalry between Rangers and Celtic, a decline in interest in sport

and recreation after leaving custody, and the influence that families and peers could have on help-seeking behaviour.

In relation to apathy towards engaging with services, a member of SPS management explained that young prison leavers could lack interest because they were not in the 'habit' of participating in pro-social activities or engaging with support services, since they 'don't have a picture in their head about why it might be good' (STP984). A TSO offered a similar view about how young people's attitudes towards certain sources of support might influence their willingness to engage with that support. They described how young people could be quite negative towards statutory support, perhaps because of negative experiences, but were more accepting of support from TSOs, with whom they behaved more positively:

> A lot o' them have had a lot o' social work involvement, but as much as I think they're trying to get tae a better place for them, and that's why they're involved, they don't always see it like that … a lot o' guys see social work as quite a negative thing, 'cause they [social work] maybe took them away fae their parents, or they've insisted certain things have happened … they sometimes struggle tae see that as a positive … we are kinda trying to do things similar to what a social worker would do, but they seem to take it on board that wee bit better … when we go to visit them with a social worker, and they can be quite different between the two people (STP966).

This view was shared by a third sector interviewee who described some young prison leavers as having a 'nihilistic kinda, fatalistic kinda streak' (STP382), which made it challenging to engage them in services.

While most SPS and third sector interviewees understood that young prison leavers 'find it very hard tae make the big changes' (STP929) in their lives, one TSO suggested some young people exiting custody simply did not want to engage with Throughcare services, and fully intended resuming offending after their release:

> They get out and for whatever reason, they might be at the time in their life that they decide they don't want to do it … if that's happening, they're coming back anyway … We had a guy, didnae want Throughcare, he was going back to, out to set his own drug-dealing business up. That was his plan (STP282).

The young people interviewed in Polmont expressed mixed views about engaging with Throughcare services. A common theme was that, while these young people felt they

wanted to change and knew support was available to them, they often did not engage with these services. When reflecting on his past experiences of being released from custody, one young person described how his Throughcare worker had attempted to set up a series of meetings with him which he did not attend:

> The support's there for me, and I know the support's there for me. But it's just me that's, that needs tae take it (STP378).

5.4.4.1 'Old Firm' rivalries

The second attitudinal and motivational barrier that might prevent young prison leavers engaging with a programme like Safe Hands arose from animosity associated with 'Old Firm' rivalry (between those supporting either Rangers or Celtic football clubs). Several SPS and third sector interviewees described how they believed this rivalry could have a negative impact on some young prison leavers' willingness to engage with existing SFiTC programmes. To illustrate, a member of SPS management felt the 'Glasgow divide' could be an issue for some young people (STP233), while a third sector interviewee felt that it would take a 'strong [young] person' (STP382) to engage with a programme like Safe Hands if it was delivered by a team from the other side of the Old Firm.

While footballing allegiance was not something I took into consideration when establishing criteria for the young people I sought to interview in Polmont, it transpired that all of them supported either Rangers or Celtic. Most described how, if a programme was offered by a SFiTC associated with the opposing side of the Old Firm, they would likely not engage. For example, when asked how he would feel if a programme was offered by Celtic, a Rangers supporter said, 'there'd be not a chance' (STP825) he would attend; similarly, a Celtic supporter described how it would be against his 'nature' to engage with a programme offered by Rangers and that if he did go it would be to 'shite in the park' (STP581).

Despite the seemingly intractable nature of these views, when I queried the implications of the Old Firm rivalry with SPS and third-sector interviewees, some suggested these kinds of statements were simply bravado. A TSO, who had previously referred young people to programmes delivered by Celtic and Rangers, described several instances where young people had initially said 'I'm no going' but, after some encouragement, would usually attend, explaining that 'getting them through that door the first time is

usually the hardest part' (STP175). The Rangers and Celtic programmes that this TSO had referred young people to focussed on employability. Celtic's 'Gateway to Employment' was a 10-week programme for young people aged between 16 and 25 who have offended, are at risk of (re)offending, or live in an area with a high risk of crime[23]. The project delivered by Rangers was called 'Ready to Succeed' and focussed on similar areas[24]. However, it focussed on vulnerable young people more broadly.

Another recalled working with a young person who was a Rangers supporter who, despite initial reluctance, had engaged with a programme delivered by Celtic. However, this engagement was made difficult for him because his family made fun of him for going: 'his mum won't cuddle him when he's wearing his Celtic tracksuit … he comes in at night and his mum will no' go anywhere near him cause he's wearing his Celtic tracksuit'. Despite this, they said that the young person was positive about his experiences with the programme overall, and grateful for the opportunity and support the SFiTC had given him:

> He says, "I'm a Rangers supporter but I cannae believe what this Club's [Celtic] done for me." So it dinnae make any difference to [the young person] what Club it was, it's the fact he's with a football club, and the way they've done it. (STP929)

5.4.4.2 A declining interest in sport

The third attitudinal or motivational barrier to young prison leavers engaging with a programme like Safe Hands, relates to an apparent decline in interest in sport by young people after release from custody.

Most of the young people I interviewed in Polmont described having a current interest in sport. While some described playing football and other sports like table tennis, the most popular activity was attending the gym; one said he went to the gym 'every chance I get' (STP906). This was echoed by most SPS and third sector interviewees, with one saying, 'they all love the gym' and 'the gym comes first inside' (STP965).

To capitalise on this, TSOs described trying to sustain young people's interest in sport and physical activity while in custody once they had been released. Several reported

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[23] https://www.efdn.org/blog/project/celtic-fc-employability-programmes/ [Accessed 12 March 2021].

[24] https://aws.rangers.co.uk/community/programmes/employability/ [Accessed 12 March 2021].

providing gym passes to young people in the hope that exercising would 'fill their days' (STP966), while a third sector interviewee described how they tried to use the interest in sport shown by many young people in custody to engage them with their services in the community:

> People were coming out and we were saying, 'Right, what do you like doing?' [and the young people said] 'The gym' … We set up partnerships with our local leisure centres and got passes at discount rate and whatever else and, you know, we used to say "Right, we want you to come to the programmes" and we used to use it as a bit of a lure (STP965)

This interviewee also described how they tried to harness young people's interests in sport and exercise to encourage them to become involved in other aspects of their Throughcare programme:

> These guys who are loving going to the gym, let's actually set up programme and gym sessions and … we used to go, 'Right, let's go over, we'll set up our...' and show the progression and development … they really liked that. And it got them involved in some of our other stuff. Again, we use it purely as a tool for getting them involved in the stuff that needs to take place to stop them from going back tae prison (STP965).

Crucially, however, some SPS and third sector interviewees noted that, although young people could be very interested in the using the gym in custody, 'once they go out, all the distractions come back in' (STP382), interest in the gym 'really does drop off outside' (STP929). One TSO described how going to the gym in prison was a social activity and a means for some young people to develop their physique to increase their status and project a heightened sense of masculinity among the prisoner population. By contrast, he suggested that going to the gym in the community could be too lonely an experience for young prison leavers:

> Sport plays a big part o' it in here because it's a meeting place, it's a macho thing … [In the community] you pay your £7 for the local authority's gymnasium … you go and do your chest … naebody to talk to … naebody wants to go to the gym themselves' (STP282).

When further describing that in the past they had arranged gym visits or access to the gym for young people they were supporting, young people rarely made use of these opportunities or would use them initially but then stop going to the gym.

Several of the young people interviewed in Polmont spoke positively about wanting to continue being physically active in the community. One commented that he had 'got into my exercise here [Polmont]' (STP240) and he had been speaking with his TSO about continuing to use the gym after release, and they had been trying to source him a gym pass to use in the community. Another young person described how he had a 'good time' (STP906) going to the gym in custody. When asked what sort of things he might like to do after release, he said going to the gym was 'the only thing I can think of [to do] when I get oot' that might help him to 'keep mysel' in a routine until I get a job'. He further suggested that exercising 'makes you feel better about yourself … gi'es you something to look forward to everyday'. By contrast, another young person described how he was happy to play football while in prison because he had little else to do, but was not interested in continuing to play sport after he was released:

> I wouldnae dae it [play football] as a hobby, fuck that … I dinnae mind playing it in here, 'cause there's nothing else to do' (STP825).

5.4.4.3 Negative family and peer environments

The final barrier related to the attitudes and motivations of young prison leavers that might prevent them engaging with a programme like Safe Hands, relates to the views of peers and families. The potential negative influence of people in their social networks, including peers and families, post-release, was raised by several SPS and third sector interviewees as a possible barrier to engaging with a programme like Safe Hands. One third sector interviewee described how he had supported young people who had an 'anti-authority attitude' which they felt came from their 'nearest and dearest' and had been embedded in these communities for 'a couple o' generations' (STP382).

Third sector and SPS interviewees also commented that the family environments of young prison leavers 'were not always the most positive places to go back to' (STP966); one described 'family relationships' as a massive barrier to resettlement (STP965), and another remarked that, in some communities, a young person who engaged with Throughcare services would 'stick oot like a sore thumb' (STP175). These interviewees also talked about how some young people might be 'humiliated' if they returned to their community and had ambitions to get a 'Community Job Scotland' placement or to become a 'youth worker' (STP282). Community Jobs Scotland is an initiative which supports the creation of jobs with third sector employer organisations for young people

aged 16 to 29 years. In addition to potentially lessening the chances of a young prison leaver wanting to engage with Throughcare services, several TSOs also said that it could be unrealistic to expect immediate changes in their behaviours when surrounded by peers who were still actively offending:

> You're asking them to … within a very short space o' time, to turn that totally on its head … At some stages it's just no' realistic to do that, especially if you're putting them right back tae the same house … surrounded by all the same people in the same community.' (STP966).

5.5 Facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scottish Throughcare setting

Participants identified 2 factors which might facilitate delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish Throughcare context, including a current policy focus on Throughcare in Scotland and how a programme like Safe Hands meets the needs of young prison leavers in Scotland. These are presented in Figure 19.
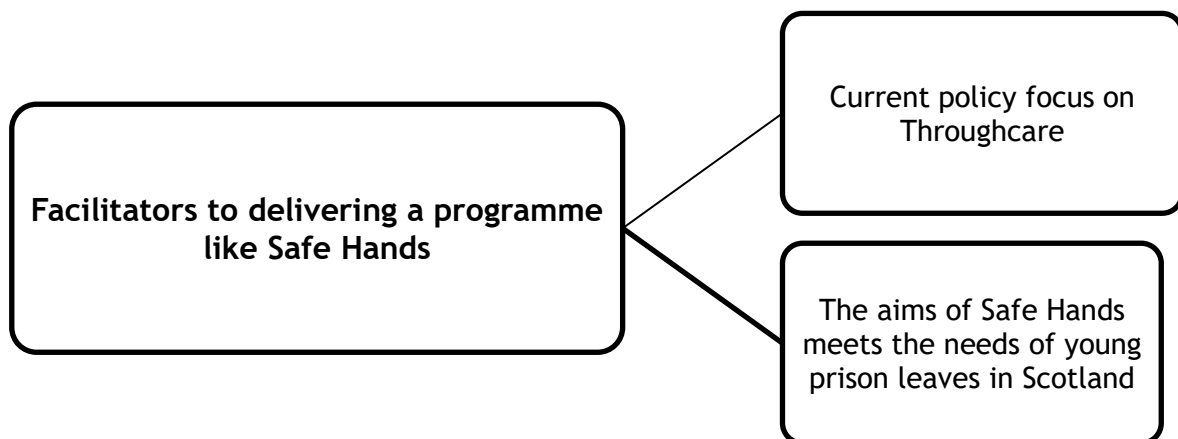
Figure 19: Facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

5.5.1 A current policy focus on Throughcare

A third sector interviewee remarked on the current political and societal focus on improving outcomes for young prison leavers, which they described as 'very fashionable at the moment' (STP382) and 'not a week goes by where there's not an organisation who wants to work with us in Polmont getting in touch'. However, while they felt this had been positive for aspects of their Throughcare programme, their organisation also had to 'weed out' those who they felt 'just want to have a nose around the jail'. They described how the realities of Throughcare work did not always match up to the expectations of the organisations that sought to work with them:

> It's not really as kinda sexy as people might think or, you know, as edgy as people might think it is. It's about hard work and, you know, showing some genuine faith in some young people (STP382).

A member of SPS management also described how there was currently a very strong commitment 'politically and corporately within the prison service' to improving outcomes for young prison leavers. This, they suggested, had been 'triggered' by 'finding things which weren't acceptable' (STP984).

A desire to improve outcomes for young prison leavers was reflected in the views of several TSOs, which conveyed a sense that there was a changing culture within the SPS towards a better understanding of why so many young people returned to custody. This was exemplified in an anecdote shared by these interviewees, that prisons officers would often 'joke' with a young person leaving custody by saying, 'See you next week'. One described how he had been 'guilty' of doing this in the past, but he felt his views had changed as a result of becoming a TSO and taking a more active role in supporting former prisoners:

> Guy got liberated, [and I would say] 'See you next week!'. So, hand up, [I've] done [that], wouldnae say it noo. I've put guys oot, they've come back in next week. I've put them back into the same room. I've gave them the same job. How depressing is that? How depressing is that when they shut that door? I never thought o' this before, right. Instead o' sitting doon and saying, "What went wrong?" That's where the prison service were involved, it's the 'What went wrong, what can we do?' We physically didnae, "we'll go and do everything for you, signposts, go there", "Have you ever thought o' this, what aboot this, have you ever met this guy? Go and do a' that." "Oh, I never thought o' that." "How can we help you?" (STP282).

The impact of an increased focus on Throughcare for former prisoners was also observed by a third sector interviewee who had been working in the Throughcare sector for almost a decade and remarked that there was now a 'bonhomie that wasn't there in the past'. They also described improved partnership working between different agencies supporting young prison leavers, with a notably greater input from the prison side:

> There is a genuine kinda concerted and coordinated attempt to look at all these things together, properly together. It wasn't always the case … I think the prison itself takes some credit, 'cause you have things like these case management boards and stuff in the prison now, that will mean that organisations like us are obliged to tell them their plans … Rather than it being something that, nobody knows who's case managing what (STP382).

5.5.2 The perceived match between how Safe Hands functioned and the needs of young prison leavers

In describing how a programme like Safe Hands could meet the needs of young prison leavers, a TSO described how SFiTCs could act as a gateway for young people to opportunities in the community. For example, they explained how they had referred a young person to a SFiTC employability programme, and that young person had been able to then move on to secure employment with the SFiTC as a community coach. They described this as the 'knock-on effect' of young people engaging with SFiTCs where they had 'introduced him to this one then that one' (STP175). This interviewee gave another example of a young person, who had been a 'handful as a prisoner' but had engaged post-release with a SFiTC programme which had helped him to gain employment with the organisation. As a result, the TSO had invited him back to Polmont to give 'various talks' about his experiences and speak with 'the boys and say, "Look, yous can turn this round'' (STP175).

In a similar example, a TSO described how a sports-based programme in the community had connected young prison leavers with other services in the community, and provided routes into positive destinations:

> I've recently had a young girl into a programme … going and seeing then what they can signpost them on, it's a good agency for me to pass on tae, because she's got eight weeks o' that, and then she can come back and she can volunteer, she's applied for college in August, so you can see a kinda pathway for her now … you feel you're passing her on tae somebody that's got a whole thing, they'll get qualifications (STP929).

Most of the young people interviewed in Polmont felt that the Mid-season stage of a programme like Safe Hands would help, if available, to give some structure and routine to their lives after leaving custody. When talking about their previous experiences of the transition from custody to community, they gave accounts that highlighted a lack of structure, with some describing how they were bored and had lots of unfilled time. One described how he led a structured life while in custody and struggled with the sudden loss of that structure after release; joining a programme, he suggested, might give some routine to his post-prison life, and make the resettlement process easier:

> in here you're in a routine already and going out … well I've found in my experience, going out and not going straight into a routine and all that is like a big change, 'cause here you work, you go – you do exercise, you eat at set times. You do everything in a routine, and in order, like to go straight to another routine I think would be good. Do you know what I mean, 'cause it's straight away it'll occupy your brain and won't give you that time of, well, like "Shit, all my routines gone, what am I gonnae do now?" (STP240).

Other young people described how they thought a programme like Safe Hands could give them something positive to do with their time post release. For example, one talked of how he wanted to 'keep busy' after he was released and that a structure and routine might prevent him from 'fall[ing] into my old ties'. When asked what he had done with his time during his last experience of being released, he said he spent his time 'running aboot ... just taking drugs' (STP906). This perspective was shared by another young person who suggested that being involved with a programme like Safe Hands after release from prison might help him to 'keep ma mind aff stuff an' that'(STP378).

A final way in which it was thought that a Safe Hands programme might meet the needs of young prison leavers in Scotland was related to how the programme sought to build up relationships with young people prior to their release. Most SPS and both third sector interviewees highlighted how building pre-release relationships was important to establishing rapport between support workers and young people and that this was likely to make it easier to work with someone after they were released:

> … if you've got that relationship within custody, it's going to be ten times better when it goes back out into the community ... because you don't need tae have to build that element of trust (STP233)

Additionally, several SPS and one third sector interviewee stressed that a young person who had already got to know a support worker in custody, would not be faced with

having to repeat their life story to someone else in the community, particularly as young people in custody are likely to have had to do this numerous times already:

> I think telling your story, because you've maybe been in care, you've maybe told the tenth social worker what's happened to you. That must be difficult as well … having that barrier away, here's somebody that's met you in custody, that knows a bit o' your background, you're no' having tae retell your story again. I think that's really beneficial (STP929)

5.6 Facilitators to engaging young prison leavers with a programme like Safe Hands

As described previously, being able to engage young people in resettlement services is thought to be instrumental to these programmes achieving their aims. I identified two facilitators to engaging young prison leavers in Scotland with a programme like Safe Hands: the lure of the SFiTC setting and that the programme appealed to young prison leavers. These are summarised in Figure 20.
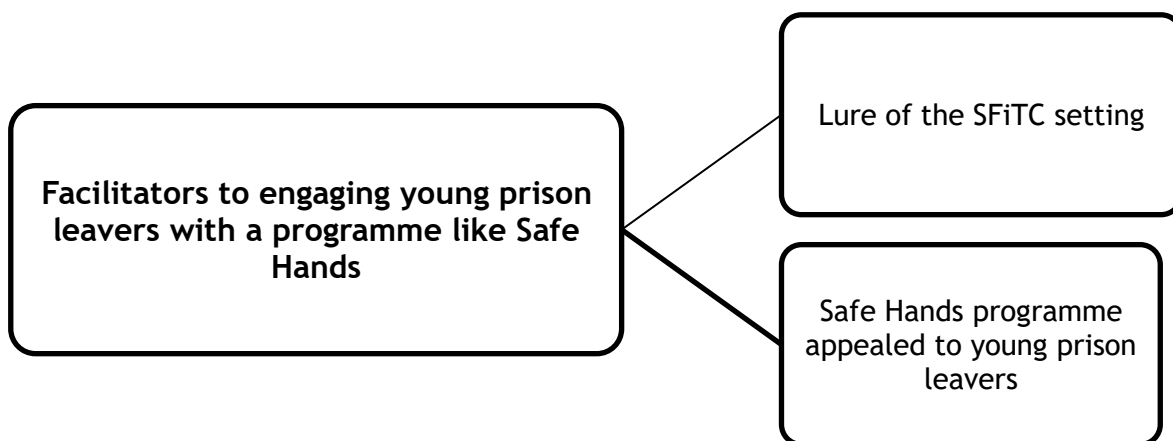
Figure 20: Facilitators to engaging young prison leavers with a programme like Safe Hands.

The importance of young prison leavers wanting to engage with Throughcare services was highlighted by a TSO who said they were likely to benefit more from Throughcare

support if they were prepared to 'buy into' it (STP929). This might also be a consequence of engagement with the TSOs being entirely voluntary. However, another TSO suggested young people were unlikely to engage with Throughcare services until 'the penny drops wi' them' and that, for some young people, this could be a 'long journey, maybe 20, 30 years' before they acknowledged that they were 'gonnae take that wee help' (STP282). Two important facilitators to young prison leavers engaging with a programme like Safe Hands included: the lure of the SFiTC setting; and aspects of the programme which appealed to young people.

5.6.1 Lure of the SFiTC Setting

It was acknowledged by most SPS and Third Sector Agency interviewees that the association between a programme like Safe Hands and a professional football club would likely be *appealing to young prison leavers* (the old firm issues highlighted above aside). Most observed that a high proportion of the young people they engaged with had a 'natural interest' in football (SPS006) and 'it would have attractions' to them (STP984).

Most SPS and third sector interviewees described having previously worked with SFiTCs. For TSOs, this usually meant referring young people to community SFiTC programmes and SPS management had experience and knowledge of previous engagement from SFiTCs with young people in Polmont. Third sector interviewees' involvement with SFiTCs included delivering programmes, or individual sessions, in partnership with SFiTCs. One interviewee referred to SFiTCs as 'the bee's knees' for young people interested in football, while another described them as offering a 'welcoming' atmosphere to young prison leavers (STP966).

A TSO who had previously referred young prison leavers to SFiTC programmes in the community, described the association with the football clubs as a 'buy-in' for participants and suggested that attending a programme at a club they supported was a 'huge thing for these folk' (STP175). This view was shared by a member of SPS management who said they thought the association with a football club acted as a 'natural kinda draw' and could make programmes 'more interesting' to young people (STP581).

When discussing how football settings could entice former prisoners to engage with programmes in the community, one of the two third sector interviewees described using

football settings to deliver programmes to vulnerable groups as a 'stroke of genius' (STP382). The other recalled his experience of delivering a session with a SFiTC about changes in legislation concerning 'spent' convictions. When speaking with the group it became apparent that the fact this session was being delivered by a SFiTC was an important factor in them attending and 'everyone admitted that none o' them would be there if it wasn't at a football stadium' (STP965).

When talking about the lure of the football setting, a TSO described how he felt the association between the programme and the SFiTC was important because young people gained self-esteem through involvement with a football club and were glad to say they were working with a SFiTC:

> '[young people take a] great deal o' pride wearing their trackies about the stadium' and 'there's a bit o' pride aboot wearing the badge … it's a badge of honour … they've no fear in the community when they're wearing a tracksuit with a club badge on it' (STP282).

Most young people stated that being associated with a football club would be a factor in them choosing to engage with a programme like Safe Hands, particularly if it was delivered by the team they supported. For example, one young person said that if a programme was associated with Rangers that would make it 'even better' (STP378).

5.6.2 The Safe Hands programme appealed to young prison leavers

Most of the young people interviewed in Polmont were positive about the idea of the Safe Hands programme. When asked for their thoughts and reflections about it, most responded enthusiastically, offering comments such as: 'I think that's spot on' (STP581); 'looks good' (STP378); 'it is a brilliant chance for people' (STP906); and 'that sounds great' (STP240). These young people suggested that, if offered the opportunity to participate in such a programme they would engage with it, offering comments like: ''would I dae it? Aye, I would dae it.' (STP378); and 'I'm definitely signing [up] for that' (STP240).

When asked what particular aspects appealed to them, young people in Polmont said they thought the programme's activities would be exciting; as one said, 'you'd never get bored' (STP240). Others liked the prospect of being helped to plan for release during Pre-Season, gain qualifications, opportunities for volunteering, and possible routes to

employment. One said he liked the idea that he would be surrounded by other young people with similar backgrounds and so being able to 'talk aboot what happened when you were inside' (STP581).

Several young people said that building relationships with the programme team appealed to them because they might then avoid reoffending because they would not want to 'let them down' (STP906). One young person said he liked the End of Season stage of the programme because 'at the end, you don't want to cut that connection' (STP240).

When asked about how a programme like Safe Hands might appeal to young people leaving Polmont, SPS and third sector interviewees highlighted several aspects. These included the programme's focus on relationships, particularly when young people are still in custody and once they had moved onto other opportunities. Several thought the peer mentoring within the programme, which a member of SPS management described as worth its 'weight in gold' (STP581), could appeal to young people. Another member of SPS management highlighted that advice from peer mentors, because of their shared history with other participants, might be more impactful on young prison leavers than from other adults:

> As staff, you know, you can all talk to them, advise them or give them the options. But I think when they know somebody's walked in my shoes, I think that carries a lot o' weight … I've never used drugs, I've never offended … I've never been in the criminal justice system … I think when somebody's talking to say 'I was that person, look how I've managed, this is how I've done it.' I think for young people, I think they listen more to that (STP929)

A final aspect of the programme that particularly appealed to young people in Polmont was that they would be working post-release with the same person that had been supporting them in custody. When asked why this was important, one young person said: 'cause then you get to know them an' that' (STP378) while another commented it was because they had 'spoke tae them before an' it's no' as if you're just meeting somebody new' (STP581).

It is worth noting, however, that one young person did not seem particularly interested in the idea of a programme like Safe Hands. He described thinking that he 'wouldnae see the point' and that he had been 'offered all that support anyway' by other

organisations (STP581). However, he did think that 'hunners [hundreds] of [other] folk would probably like it' and he thought the programme's routine could be helpful for him because when he had been previously released from prison he would 'just sleep to whatever time' and 'go dae what I want'. This young person was also the only one in my sample currently on remand and this may have been a factor in his thinking, as he did not know whether he would still be in Polmont after his trial.

5.7 A framework of Throughcare barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland

The results from this research, which was based on semi-structured qualitative interviews with a purposively selected sample of Scottish Throughcare stakeholders, identified four categories of barriers and facilitators which might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland: barriers to delivery, barriers to engaging young prison leavers, facilitators to delivery, and facilitators to engaging young prison leavers. The following section summarises these using the individual, organisational, and system level framework as was applied to barriers encountered by EiTC when delivering Safe Hands Barriers.

5.7.1 Framework of Throughcare barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands

5.7.1.1 Individual level Throughcare barriers to delivering Safe Hands

Individual level barriers identified to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in the Scottish Throughcare context included the challenges that young people face when transitioning from custody to community, the increasingly complex needs of young people in custody in Scotland, and attitudinal and motivational barriers present among young prison leavers. The transition from custody to community for young people is increasingly understood to be a time when they experience heightened stress, anxiety, and disorientation (Brand, 2016; King and Sider, 2018; Day, Bateman and Pitts, 2020). It is also understood to be a flashpoint for reoffending and other negative outcomes, including overdoses (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994; Forste, Clarke and Bahr, 2011; Brunton-Smith and Hopkins, 2013). Descriptions of the acute emotional pressures and upheaval that young people experience during the immediate transition from custody to community and the challenges they present for resettlement programmes, are

commonplace in research about young prison leavers (Lockwood and Hazel, 2015; O'Neill, Strnadová and Cumming, 2017) and this is one of the key reasons why through-the-gate approaches have received widespread endorsement as the preferred form of resettlement support. In my research it was observed that the challenges young people can encounter during the immediate transition from custody to community could act as a barrier to them engaging with Safe Hands. I found the difficulties faced by young prison leavers in Scotland were similar to those described in my research with Safe Hands. While supporting young people at this time would undoubtedly be a challenge, the experiences recounted in the Scottish context provide justification for the Safe Hands through-the-gate approach to resettlement as the most appropriate support to young prison leavers at a time of acute need and high reoffending risk.

A second individual level barrier identified to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in the Scottish Throughcare context was the increasingly complex needs of young people in prison in Scotland and the potential impacts of this on engagement with resettlement services or requirements for more intensive support. This issue has also been recognised in England and Wales (House of Commons Justice Commitee, 2020). Several studies have found that youth justice practitioners are increasingly of the view that young people currently in custody are a particularly vulnerable and complex cohort who require more intensive support and whose offending is of a more serious and entrenched nature, because of the increased diversion of justice involved young people away from prison (Drinkwater, 2017; Duke, Thom and Gleeson, 2020). There is some evidence to support these views; for example, surveys of young people in custody suggest that a greater number have mental health problems and communication difficulties than in past years (Green, 2019). The implications for Scotland, where very few young people are currently in or being sentenced to custody, is that a programme like Safe Hands may find itself seeking to support a complex cohort of young people who require more intensive support.

The attitudes and motivations of young prison leavers potentially represent a further individual level barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands, particularly if they reduced their willingness to engage. They included the influence of the rivalry between Rangers and Celtic, the negative influence of some peers and family members, and a general apathy towards or reluctance to engage with resettlement services. Given the history of non-engagement and apathy towards resettlement services shown by young

prison leavers (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015b; Goodfellow and Liddle, 2017), factors which may further inhibit engagement require discussion. Almost all the young people in prison in Scotland who participated in this research were fans of either Rangers of Celtic (which are often collectively referred to as the 'Old Firm'). The strong dislike they showed towards their rival team manifested in them saying they would not engage with a programme like Safe Hands if it was offered by the opposing side of the Old Firm. The presence of the Old Firm looms large in any discussion about Scottish football; they have the largest fanbases by far and their supporters are spread across the country, as evidenced by the presence of supporters' clubs in most towns and cities throughout Scotland. A distinct feature of the rivalry between the Rangers and Celtic is that the make-up each fanbase is heavily demarcated along sectarian lines (Hinchliffe et al., 2015). This rivalry has led to many instances of violent disorder and is thought to contribute to wider sectarian tensions in Scottish society (Flint and Kelly, 2016). The evidence on how amenable people are towards attending interventions by a FiTC associated with a club they do not support, or is a direct rival to the club they do support, is inconclusive. Some studies have found that it was not a significant issue (Hoskin, 2015), while others have noted that participants rejected the prospect outright (Pringle et al., 2014). However, there is evidence pointing to how participants in FiTC programmes place symbolic importance on the association between the programme they attend and the club they support, which can lead to feeling a deeper connection to the club and greater commitment to the goals of the programme (Wyke et al., 2015). This suggests that attending a programme delivered by the FiTC associated with the team a participant supports would be the most efficacious context. Rivalries between opposing football teams is not unique to Scotland, or indeed to football. However, the dominance of the Old Firm in the Scottish football context and the intense and sectarian nature of the rivalry means their impact on the willingness of prospective participants to attend a programme like Safe Hands at the rival's club may be more acute in Scotland than elsewhere.

Scottish Throughcare stakeholders highlighted that the families and peers of young prison leavers may negatively influence their views about and willingness to engage with resettlement services. This barrier demonstrates the potential impact of personal networks on resettlement pathways and outcomes. Young people who have been in prison are commonly from deprived communities and have lived chaotic and unstable lives. This disadvantage is often expressed in their personal networks, which can be

criminogenic (Martí et al., 2019) and a barrier to resettlement (Cumming, Strnadova and O'Neil, 2018). Family relationships are thought to be a central aspect of resettlement for young prison leavers. While some of the literature on youth resettlement shows that while some families may offer emotional, practical, and financial support (Panuccio et al., 2012), the families of young people who have been in prison are often the source of conflict and breakdown (Prathiba Chitsabesan et al., 2006) and relationships with their parents can lack attachment or warmth (Palmer and Gough, 2007). Further research has established a significant correlation between young people who enter the youth justice system and parents who have been in prison or involved in the justice system (Goldkind, 2011); for some young prison leavers, offending is normative, parental behaviour. How families should be involved in resettlement may vary according to personal circumstance, with evidence showing that family environments can both help and hinder resettlement (Hazel et al., 2016; Martinez & Christian, 2009). A lack of parental involvement in the resettlement process may pose structural barriers to progress, as young people may not receive support to attend appointments (Unruh, Povenmire-Kirk and Yamamoto, 2009), and psychological impediments, if parents fail to form relationships with resettlement workers or express anti-treatment views (Maschi, Schwalbe and Ristow, 2013). In some instances it may therefore be better for services to place greater emphasis on young prison leavers alone, rather than involving their families (Fraser et al., 2010; Nugent and Hutton, 2013). What my research highlights is that were a programme like Safe Hands to be delivered in Scotland, then the programme staff would need to be mindful of the family environment to which young people may be returning and acknowledge that those families may have complex historical relationships with services and may lack trust in agencies and their staff. A guide for resettlement practitioners on how to increase the role of family support during resettlement, where that is deemed appropriate or where a young person has a family to return to, suggests that resettlement programmes should consider reparative approaches to build trusting relationships between families and practitioners to enable families to feel part of the resettlement process rather than alienated by it (Hazel et al., 2016).

Research shows that when young people return to their former communities after release, even if they are planning to desist, they can be vulnerable to be caught up in the activities of peers with whom they share a criminal past (Abrams, 2007; Moore, McArthur, & Saunders, 2013). It is widely understood that criminally active peers is a

risk factor to the onset of offending behaviour in young people (Abrams & Terry, 2017; Martinez & Abrams, 2013; Richardson & Vil., 2016). Hazel et al's (2017), resettlement theory of change noted that interacting with friends associated with offending can help to reinforce the pro-offending identity present among many young prison leavers and make resettlement and desistance more challenging. Accordingly, the view that the peers with whom young prison leavers interact could be an individual level barrier to a programme like Safe Hands aligns with previous research.

The last individual level Throughcare barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands relates to the fatalism attributed to young prison leavers towards engaging with resettlement services in my research. This finding chimes with Maruna's (2001) research with offenders in which he created profiles of 'persisters' with 'desisters'. He found that persisters (i.e., those who continued to offend) saw little reason to change their behaviour as they believed they could not change the course of their lives. Desisters, in contrast, developed the ability to make choices and take control of their lives. While Maruna's research involved adult offenders, research with young people has similar findings. In their study of the barriers that young prison leavers face during resettlement, Mathur & Clark (2014) observed that many 'don't think they will be able to live a crime free life' (p.726). This conclusion was echoed in Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change, which identified that making self-defeating choices was a characteristic of a pro-offending identity. The seeming unwillingness by some young prison leavers to engage with resettlement support is by no means unique to Scotland, with a lack of motivation identified as a key challenge to engaging young people with resettlement services in other countries (Bateman, Melrose and Brodie, 2013). Accordingly, resettlement services have to be able to communicate to young prison leavers the value in accepting support and what they may gain; this has been referred to as nurturing intrinsic motivation (Williams & Strean., 2002). The lure of a setting associated with a professional football club could be a way of off-setting young people in Scotland's reluctance to engage with Throughcare services, as demonstrated in my research with Safe Hands.

5.7.1.2 Organisational level Throughcare barriers to delivering Safe Hands

The negative views held by some SPS staff about past programmes delivered by SFiTCs being of limited benefit to young people in custody was the only organisation level

barrier identified as potentially influencing delivery of a programme like Safe Hands within the Scottish Throughcare context. The attitudes of people who work in prisons towards community-based programmes may have implications for the efficacy of a programme like Safe Hands, since it requires access to prisons and may benefit from being supported or endorsed by prison staff. For example, prison staff may be more likely to make people they are supporting aware about, or refer them to, community-based programmes they view favourably. Meek, Gojkovic and Mills (2016) reported similar barriers encountered by English community-based third-sector organisations when trying to engage with prisoners. This included difficulty publicising their services to prisoners and gaining access to prisoners and, like Safe Hands, sometimes limited enthusiasm among prison staff towards supporting the activities of community-based resettlement organisations. This is consistent with the observations of some Safe Hands staff who found certain prisons to be unreceptive to their attempts to support young people in custody.

Tensions between community-based support programmes that work in prison and prison staff have been reported in past research. In some instances this was seen to be the result of tensions between prison staff and community-based workers, with the former focused mainly on control and risk management and the latter mainly on rehabilitation, potentially leading to a reduced likelihood of prison staff referring people in prison to certain resettlement programmes or programmes experiencing difficulty accessing people they were supporting in prison (Hucklesby & Wincup, 2007; Meek et al., 2016; Mills et al., 2011; Mills & Meek, 2016). These experiences highlight how community-based resettlement programmes are guests in the prison setting, where prison staff are often gatekeepers to outside services. The efficacy of such services may depend on relations with prison staff, who can exert considerable influence over the extent to which people living in prison might be aware of or engage with programmes (Jurik et al., 2000).

Resettlement practitioners have also described how a lack of clear communication lines between professionals working within and outside the prison estate hinders continuity of care for young prison leavers (Gyateng, Moretti, May and Turnbull, Paul, 2014). Building relationships with young people while they are still in custody is important to the efficacy of Safe Hands. This means that were a programme like Safe Hands to be delivered in Scotland, then the SFiTC delivering it may have to spend time building

relationships with SPS staff and promoting the merits and goals of the programme, while potentially demonstrating why this programme is different to what they have seen before.

5.7.1.3 System level Throughcare barriers to delivering Safe Hands

The most common barriers in the Scottish Throughcare context to delivering a programme like Safe Hands were found at the system level. These included the structural barriers young people can face when leaving prison (e.g. being placed in unsuitable housing), a lack of funding for Throughcare services, and aspects related to the youth justice system in Scotland, including Polmont as a national institution and the currently small number of young people in custody, an increasing proportion of whom are on remand. Structural barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands highlight the difficulties young prison leavers can have accessing key services. Accessing benefits and welfare assistance is regarded as an important aspect of resettlement, particularly for those facing economic hardship (O'Brien, 2002), yet these systems are external to the young person and are often imposed upon them as a condition of their release. My research, which explored the experiences of Throughcare professionals, suggests that these systems are not adapted to some of the circumstances facing young people during the transition from custody to community (for example, requirements for identification), nor are they sympathetic to the needs of young prison leavers. Assistance with accessing support and benefits, sometimes referred to as service brokerage, has been identified as an important element of resettlement support (Borzycki and Makkai, 2007; Arrivo Consulting, 2013; Dartington Social Research Unit, 2016). However, barriers or delays to accessing these services can heighten the risk that prison leavers return to criminal activity (Hartree, Dearden and Pound, 2008). In my research, the difficulties young prison leavers in Scotland have in accessing services were described in terms of how this could result in young people being less willing to engage with resettlement support while at the same time potentially being in more acute need of support. This highlights the importance of the Pre-Season stage of the Safe Hands model, where pre-release planning can help to build up a picture of the sorts of support a young person will need after they are released, including what kinds of services they might need to be linked in with. Planning for their resettlement may help to reduce potential barriers to a young person engaging with a programme like Safe Hands.

Securing funding for a programme like Safe Hands was another system level barrier within the Scottish Throughcare context. As also reported in other research by Abrams et al (2019), my findings indicate that securing funding is a key challenge for Throughcare providers and can cause uncertainty about the sustainability of programmes. A report on the status of the criminal justice voluntary sector in the UK found that organisations which support some of the most vulnerable justice involved populations, including young people, were susceptible to having to reduce their services or closing altogether due to difficulty obtaining funding (Drinkwater, 2017). In addition to possible limits on funding, research has highlighted that the contracting of resettlement services to third-sector agencies, which is now commonplace across the UK (Bell, 2015), has created a market where different agencies compete against one another for funding and/or contracting of support services (Ellis, 2017; Helminen & Mills, 2019). A potential challenge for SFiTCs entering this market, were they to seek to deliver a programme like Safe Hands, can be seen in research by Mills et al (2012) which found that new entrants to this market can find it difficult to compete for funding, particularly against better resources organisations or those with an established track-record.

Aspects of the Scottish youth justice system could be system level barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in the Scottish Throughcare context. These include challenges associated with Polmont as Scotland's only national institution for young people in prison and reduced numbers of young people in prison, an increasing proportion of whom are being held on remand. Unlike England and Wales, which has seven YOIs (Beard, 2019), Scotland has a single prison for young people, HMP/YOI Polmont. While Polmont is in Scotland's populous central belt, my findings suggest having only one national facility has implications for Throughcare support for young prison leavers, including that the services available to young people were dependent on where they lived. For example, the SPS TSO scheme was only offered to young people who were returning to an address within a two-hour drive of Polmont. Having all the young people in Scotland in custody in a single institution might both make it easier to deliver the Pre-Season stage of Safe Hands and reduce some of the problems faced by Safe Hands (such as not being notified when a young person was moved to a different facility). However, having all young people in prison in Scotland in one place may also raise challenges and could mean that only SFiTCs based in certain locations would be a feasible option for delivering a programme like Safe Hands. The challenges of housing

young people in a single institution in Scotland has been remarked upon in previous research, including the difficulties faced by SPS staff when trying to liaise with local authorities across Scotland to ensure that prison leavers can access appropriate services (Audit Scotland, 2012).

The declining number of young people entering prison in Scotland is a potential system barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands, given that fewer young people in prison means that there will be correspondingly fewer leaving prison, thus reducing the potential client base. A possible solution to this barrier, which may indicate less need for a programme like Safe Hands for young prison leavers, could be that the programme is targeted at a different, potentially older cohort of people in prison in Scotland. Figures from the SPS highlight that the number of young people in custody aged between 18 and 21 is greater than that of those under the age of 18 (Maycock, Pratt and Morrison, 2018). Indeed, it has been argued that specific measures are required to improve resettlement outcomes for young adult prison leavers, who have many of the same needs as young people under 18, and similar levels of reoffending post-release (Prison Reform Trust, 2012).

In addition to there being fewer sentenced young people in custody, the increasing number of young people on remand in Scotland was also identified as a barrier, because of the liminal status of people on remand and difficulties planning for release under uncertain timescales. The number of people on remand in Scottish prisons, including young people, has been growing steadily for at least twenty years. In 2018-19, the average remand population in Scotland's prisons was 1,525, up 56% from 1999-00 (McCallum, 2019). A review of resettlement practice in the UK found that young people on remand are neglected when compared to sentenced young people in prison, despite having apparently similar post-release needs (Bateman and Hazel, 2013). This is despite suggestions that the uncertainty young people feel about their future during time on remand can result in them finding it harder to cope during resettlement (Freeman and Seymour, 2010). Scottish-based research about the implications for those trying to support young people on remand found that they could be reluctant to engage with services, faced practical and logistical issues, and there was an unwillingness to start working with them because they might be released at short notice (Vaswani, Paul and Papadodimitraki, 2016).

5.7.2 **Framework of Throughcare facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands**

My findings showed four facilitators to delivering the Safe Hands programme within the Scottish Throughcare context. Using the individual, organisational, and system framework applied already, three individual level facilitators (the match between the aims of the Safe Hands programme and the needs of young prison leavers in Scotland; the lure of the SFiTC setting for young people in prison; and how some aspects of the Safe Hands programme model appealed to young people in prison) and one system level facilitator (relating to the current policy focus on Throughcare in Scotland) were identified.

5.7.2.1 Individual level Throughcare facilitators to delivering Safe Hands

The first individual level facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands is the match between the aims of the Safe Hands programme and the needs of young prison leavers in Scotland. My findings showed connections between the needs and/or aims of young people leaving prison in Scotland and several aspects of Safe Hands, also consistent with resettlement literature on what constitutes effective resettlement support for young prison leavers. Examples of this included: the importance which both Throughcare professionals and young people placed on programmes providing structure, routine, and constructive activities to young people during the transition from custody to community, on the basis that it would act as a protective factor against triggers to reoffending; the emphasis on relationships inherent to the Safe Hands programme, particularly ones that were formed in custody and then sustained into the community, was seen as vital to supporting young prison leavers; and suggestions that the distinct nature of SFiTCs as organisations could meet the needs of young prison leavers via a programme such as Safe Hands embedded within a larger organisation which could connect them with other opportunities or offer them specialised support from their other programmes, such as employability.

It has been hypothesised that one reason why so many people experience poor resettlement outcomes is because the support they receive does not match their needs (Solomon et al., 2006; Clark, 2015). Conversely, studies have found that increased alignment between the needs of people leaving prison and the resettlement support they receive reduces chances of reoffending (Gill and Wilson, 2017) and that matching a

programme's components to the needs of its intended target group is an important aspect of intervention design (Wight et al., 2015). The alignment between the aims of the Safe Hands programme and the needs of young people in Scotland contrasts with past research on Throughcare support which identified a misalignment between service provision and the needs of prison leavers (Audit Scotland, 2012); for example, while the services offered focussed on substance misuse and housing issues, participants saw financial needs as a priority (McIvor and Barry, 1998). This finding chimed with my research about Safe Hands and, as stated previously, may have particular importance for young prison leavers given the multiple barriers they face in finding employment (Abrams & Snyder, 2010; O'Neill, 2018).

A second individual level facilitator was the lure of the SFiTC setting for young people in prison. It was clear that the association between a programme like Safe Hands and Scottish football clubs would be attractive to young people in custody in Scotland. These findings echo those from my research with Safe Hands and align with other research which has observed how football settings can act as a 'draw' to engage people with programmes they might otherwise be resistant to (Hunt, Gray, et al., 2014).

The third individual level factor, that some aspects of the Safe Hands programme model appealed to young people in prison, is related to this. I found that young people in prison in Scotland had positive views about the programme, such as the variety of activities offered, which would help to keep them occupied after their release from prison. Young people also seemed to value the relationship-based support that characterises Safe Hands. The potential of such relationships to engender feelings of personal loyalty towards the programme team was observed in my research with Safe Hands participants, and has been associated with desistance in other research (Burnett, 2013; Rex, 1999). The views of young people in custody in Scotland aligned with those of Safe Hands participants, who also praised the mixture of activities. Scottish Throughcare professionals highlighted aspects of the Safe Hands programme model that they thought would appeal to young people in prison, particularly its peer mentoring aspects and the emphasis on relationships between staff and participants. Studies have shown that being a peer mentor can support prisoners and prison leavers to develop a more positive identity that replaces that of prisoner/former prisoner (Pike, 2014). These findings were also reflected in my research with Safe Hands, where participants who had been peer

mentors reported feelings of increased self-worth and positive shifts in their attitudes and behaviours.

5.7.2.1 System level Throughcare facilitators to delivering Safe Hands

At a system level, my findings suggested that the policy focus on Throughcare in Scotland for people leaving prison could act as a facilitator to delivering a programme like Safe Hands. As elsewhere in the UK, prisons have become an increasing focus for Scottish politics and policymaking in the 21st century, including, in recent years, increased attention on improving outcomes for prison leavers (McIvor and McNeill, 2019). Examples of this can be seen in various commissions and reports that have sought to address issues associated with the prison population (Scottish Executive, 2002; The Scottish Prison Commission, 2008; Scottish Government, 2016).

Furthermore, since the SNP assumed control of the Scottish Parliament in 2007, there has been a concerted policy focus on remodelling the youth justice system to improve outcomes for young people in custody (McAra and McVie, 2017b; Nolan, Dyer and Vaswani, 2017). As a consequence the third sector has become increasingly involved in Throughcare provision and the Scottish Government has provided funding for several initiatives to support Throughcare; for example, the Reducing Reoffending Change Fund programme (Mulholland et al., 2016). An aspect of the increased policy focus on Throughcare, and the third sector increased involvement, has been an increase in the use of alternative approaches to working with young people in custody (Tett et al., 2012). Examples of this include Polmont Youth Theatre, which used drama workshops and performances to support young men living in HMP YOI Polmont[25] and Paws for Progress, a prison based dog training programme, also delivered in Polmont, which seeks to improve behaviour, increase engagement in education, develop employability skills, and enhance well-being (Leonardi, 2016). The broadening of approaches to working with young people in custody is suggestive of wider attitudinal shifts away from punitive responses to youth crime in Scotland. Although it remains the case that these kinds of interventions are primarily delivered to young people in custody, rather than post-release, and have developed in an organic rather than strategic fashion, such a policy

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[25] https://www.glassperformance.co.uk/polmont-youth-theatre/ [Accessed 8 January 2021].

environment would suggest a positive political and operational context for a programme like Safe Hands.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter described the strand of my research which focussed on the Scottish Throughcare context and sought to answer my third research question:

- What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Throughcare context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

Several conclusions can be drawn from my research with Throughcare stakeholders into barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland. Firstly, several of the facilitators seemed to mirror some of the barriers and vice-versa, particularly at the individual level. For example, while it was observed that it can be challenging to engage young people with Throughcare services after they leave prison, in part due to the complexity of the transition from custody to community in addition to attitudinal and motivational barriers, it was also observed that aspects of the Safe Hands programme and its setting appealed to young people in prison in Scotland, which may offset those barriers.

Secondly, several of the barriers can be seen as somewhat generic to the realities of working with young people after they have left prison. These include difficulties in engaging young prison leavers with services post-release and the likelihood of them reoffending after their release from prison being increased by structural barriers (Arnull et al., 2007; Halsey, Armstrong and Wright, 2016). Given the almost ubiquitous nature of these barriers, it could be argued that they should not be framed as reasons for precluding a programme like Safe Hands from the Scottish Throughcare context; after all, these are the sorts of issues the programme is designed to address.

However, a third conclusion is that Throughcare barriers were identified that Safe Hands, in its current format, may not be able to offset. For example, there is the question of how willing young people in Scotland would be to engage with a programme like Safe Hands were it delivered by a SFiTC associated with a team they did not support. Moreover, there is the currently small number of young people in prison in Scotland, which may undermine justification for a programme like Safe Hands. The

relationships between barriers and facilitators, where one may offset or confound the other or how aspects of the Safe Hands may resolve some barriers is shown in Table 9 below. The final discussion chapter carries these findings forward along with those from the following chapter (which focuses on my research with SFiTC stakeholders) to consider the feasibility of an SFiTC delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland, as well as possible programme modifications to account for barriers that are not offset by facilitators or resolved by aspects of the Safe Hands programme

Throughcare Facilitators (type)	Implications	Do they resolve any Throughcare barriers?	Conflicting Throughcare barriers
Individual level			
Alignment between aims of Safe Hands & the needs of young prison leavers in Scotland (Delivery facilitator)	Alignment between the needs of participants & resettlement support may reduce reoffending.	Might prompt engagement if young people can see the value in support being offered to them.	Increasingly complex needs of young people in custody in Scotland.
Lure of the Scottish Football in The Community setting for young people in prison (Engagement facilitator)	Appeal of setting may prompt engagement.	Overcome reluctance among young prison leavers to engage with resettlement support.	Attitudinal & motivational barriers – fatalism among young prison leavers, negative influence of peers, may not engage if Safe Hands offered by SFiTC associated with a rival team.
Aspects of the Safe Hands appealed to young people in prison (Engagement facilitator)	Interest in the programme may prompt participant engagement.	Overcome reluctance among young prison leavers to engage with resettlement support.	Attitudinal & motivational barriers – fatalism among young prison leavers, negative influence of peers, may not engage if Safe Hands offered by SFiTC associated with a rival team.
Organisational level			
None	N/A	N/A	N/A
System-level			
Current policy focus on Throughcare in Scotland (Delivery facilitator)	Indicates a receptive policy landscape – including for innovative approaches & Safe Hands aims align with key government policies.	A receptive policy environment may make it easier to source funding.	No
Throughcare barriers (type)	**Implications**	**Are they resolved by Throughcare facilitators?**	**Resolved by aspects of the Safe Hands programme**
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL			
Challenges that young people face during transition from custody to community (Engagement barrier)	Structure of the Safe Hands programme (e.g. Pre-Season & immediate support post-release) may prompt engagement	No	Structure of the Safe Hands programme (e.g. Pre-Season & immediate support post-release) may prompt engagement
Young people in prison have increasingly complex needs (Engagement barrier)	May place greater demands on programme like Safe Hands.	No	Pre-Season stage of Safe Hands is designed to identify participant needs and how to meet them.

ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL			
Negative views among some SPS staff about past SFiTC programmes (Delivery barrier)	Lack of support from prison staff – could limit recruitment or capacity to operate in prisons.	No	No
SYSTEM LEVEL			
Structural barriers such as unsuitable housing (Engagement barrier)	Structural barriers can negatively impact on resettlement outcomes, including engagement with services.	No	Pre-Season stage of Safe Hands is designed to identify resettlement needs (e.g. housing) and how to meet them.
Lack of funding for Throughcare services (Delivery barrier)	Securing funding likely a precondition for delivery.	Policy focus on throughcare could mean more funding available for new or innovative programmes.	No
Polmont as a national institution (Delivery barrier)	Potentially harder to support young people if they live further away from Polmont.	No	No
Small number of young people in custody in Scotland (Delivery barrier)	Smaller client group could make a programme like Safe Hands harder to justify.	No	No

Table 9: Summary of Throughcare barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands

6 Research with SFiTC stakeholders

6.1 Chapter overview

The findings presented in Chapter 4 suggest that Safe Hands has had a positive impact on the resettlement process for some young people and supported them in adopting a non-criminal identity, while encouraging criminal desistance. This chapter reports my findings from fieldwork conducted between January and May 2018, which sought to explore the barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands from the perspective of Scottish Football in The Community (SFiTC) organisations. This chapter seeks to address the following research question:

1. What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Football in the Community context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

This chapter begins with an introduction to the SFiTC research context, including a review of existing literature concerning the development of community provision by Scottish football clubs. This is followed by an account of my research activities with SFiTCs, participant sampling and recruitment, ethical considerations, and a description of my data analysis process. The results of my research are then presented. These include a description of the current operating context of the participating SFiTCs and potential barriers and facilitators to a SFiTC delivering a programme like Safe Hands. These results are then discussed in the context of my research questions and the broader literature, with specific consideration given to what my findings mean in the context of the capacity and capability of SFiTCs to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.

6.2 Introduction to the SFiTC Research Setting

The origins of Association Football in Scotland, which describes the governance of the game via the use of codified rules, can be traced to the mid-18th Century when the country's football clubs were first formed, the very first being Queens Park in 1867 (Crampsey, 1991). Almost 130 years later, football remains the dominant sport and a significant cultural force in Scottish society, that impacts on the lives of thousands of people on a daily basis (Giulianotti, 1996; Robertson, 2015).

From a historical perspective, there has been limited academic scholarship reporting on the activities of Scottish football clubs, much of the writing about Scottish football is produced by journalists and intended for wider audiences (see, for example, Cosgrove, 2002; Wilson, 2012). Much of the academic research that has been published on Scottish football concerns the 'Old Firm' rivalry, between Glasgow Rangers Football Club and Glasgow Celtic Football Club, and the social consequences arising from the sectarian roots of the enmity between the clubs (see, for example, Bradley, 1996, 1998, 2015; Cosgrove, 1989; Giulianotti, 2007; Walton, 2018). Comparatively few studies have explored the history of smaller Scottish clubs (e.g. Hognestad, 1997). Several studies published in recent years have seemingly broadened the research landscape about Scottish football. Given the financial upheaval experienced by numerous Scottish clubs since the late 1990s, with several entering financial administration[26], it is perhaps no surprise that several of these papers have explored the somewhat perilous economics of Scottish football (Morrow, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2006; Hamil et al., 2009; Hamil and Morrow, 2011; Kolyperas, Morrow and Sparks, 2015).

6.2.1 Community activities of Scottish football clubs

In contrast to clubs in England, where there has been evidence of community programmes since the 1970s (McGuire, 2008), it has been observed that Scottish clubs have been comparatively slower to engage with offering community activities (Robertson, 2015; Clayden, Rae and Rye, 2016). Kolyperas, Morrow and Sparks (2015) cite the reconstruction of Scottish Football in 1998, which lead to the formation of the Scottish Premier League, as leading to the increase in prominence of the idea that football clubs in Scotland could and should become more active in addressing social concerns in their local community.

Boyle (2004), in his research about the degree to which football clubs influenced non-football related social and political agendas in Scotland, offered some of the first observations about the burgeoning community activities of Scottish football clubs in the

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[26] Per the Insolvency Act (1986), football clubs sometimes choose to enter administration when they are unable to pay off outstanding debts. Typically, an external administrator is then appointed who assesses the ability of the football club to cut costs and generate revenue to pay debts as they fall due and clear any outstanding debt. In the period covering December 2000 to June 2013, nine Scottish football clubs have entered administration. (In chronological order they are: Greenock Morton; Clydebank; Airdrieonians; Motherwell; Dundee; Livingstone; Gretna; Rangers; Dunfermline Athletic; and Heart of Midlothian. Of these clubs, Dundee and Livingstone have entered administration on two occasions.)

early 2000s. He described that while 'a lot' of community work was being done by Scottish football clubs, much of it was, at the time, 'unreported beyond the confines of the local media' (p.167). A continued lack of reportage about the community activities among Scottish football was similarly observed in Hamil & Morrow 's (2011) study on the corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities of the 12 clubs in Scotland's top professional league. Their findings highlighted that while representatives from Scottish football clubs recognised that football settings could be important vehicles for delivering social objectives, the authors found it surprising that so few clubs, at the time, sought to highlight their community activities with the 'majority of the SPL clubs other than Celtic and Rangers disclosed little or nothing of their CSR activities in their annual reports' (p.155). However, they also acknowledge that the small size of most Scottish football clubs likely limited their capacity to report on their community activities. A further observation was that almost all the larger Scottish clubs had ceased delivering community programmes themselves, with most having associated charitable trusts that had responsibly for doing so. This trend mirrored developments in England at the time (McGuire, 2008).

More recently, however, reportage about community programmes delivered by Scottish football clubs, and associated community trusts, and the volume of programme activity within the industry as a whole has increased (SPFL Trust, 2016); the formation of the Scottish Professional Football League Trust (SPFLT) in 2008 would appear to be an important factor here. The SPFLT was formed with the goal of advancing community programmes within its member clubs and, if they have them, their associated charitable trusts, to promote, fund, support and administer activities across areas including health and inclusion (Kolyperas, Morrow and Sparks, 2015). Despite the increase in the community programmes associated with Scottish football clubs, there appears to be a lack of independent research or evaluation of these programmes, with much of the reportage being in the form of annual reports from individual clubs or their associated community trusts. While these can be useful documents for capturing aggregated data regarding an organisation's activities, the information presented in annual reports by companies and third-sector organisations often refers to outputs rather than the outcomes and impact achieved (Hedley et al., 2010; Breckell, Harrison and Robert, 2011). Consequently, there is a lack of critical discussion concerning which types of programmes might be more efficacious or outcomes more achievable when delivered in a SFiTC setting. However, one of the highest profile studies regarding the effectiveness

of locating a public health intervention in a football club setting was carried out in Scotland. The Football Fans in Training (FFiT) weight loss and healthy living programme, which is funded by The Scottish Government and is now delivered by football clubs across Scotland, evidenced significant reductions in attendees' weight, blood pressure and other clinical outcomes at 12 month follow-up (Hunt et al., 2014) and up to 3.5 years after the conclusion of the original study (Gray et al., 2018).

6.2.2 **Scottish football and crime reduction efforts**

According to Rosie (2013) Scottish football clubs are capable of, and should be taking, more active steps to reduce criminality among their own supporters and in their local communities. Yet while the Scottish Football Association has, in partnership with The Bank of Scotland, provided funding and coaches for 'Midnight Leagues', a diversionary programme aimed at engaging young people between the ages of 12 and 16 in positive activities, since 2003[27], there appears to be limited evidence or reportage of Scottish football clubs or their associated charitable trusts, individually taking a more active role in crime reduction, particularly in the context of supporting prison leavers. However, there are a small number which have done so. The circumstances of these programmes are now described.

Using short-term funding from the SPFL Trust, two semi-professional Scottish clubs delivered programmes to people in local prisons and in the community. In the first, in early 2014, Albion Rovers Football Club, which is based in Coatbridge, North Lanarkshire and at the time played in the fourth tier of the Scottish football league system, delivered a 10-week Prison Citizenship programme to prisoners in HMP Barlinnie. This involved health and fitness sessions alongside personal development workshops (SPFL Trust, 2016). In the summer of 2014, Annan Athletic, also from the 4th tier of Scottish football and based in rural south-west Scotland, delivered a 20-week football coaching programme to short-term prisoners in HMP Dumfries. In addition to physical activity and educational activities, the programme sought to support participants to make better informed choices during resettlement (SPFL Trust, 2016). While neither programme was formally evaluated, Annan's programme was referenced in an official inspection report

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[27] (see: https://www.scottishfa.co.uk/news/midnight-league-back-for-fourteenth-consecutive-year/ & https://cashbackforcommunities.org/case-studies/scottish-football-association-midnight-league/) [Accessed 12 June 2016].

of HMP Dumfries (HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland, 2015), which described how most participants felt they had gained new skills which they felt they could use post-release.

6.3 Research activities with SFITCs

6.3.1 SFiTC participant recruitment

There are currently 42 member clubs in the Scottish Professional league, all of whom carry out community activities in some form or another. Rather than seeking to interview a representative from every club, a purposive sampling strategy was developed. The nature and limitations associated with purposive sampling were discussed in Chapter 3. Specific reasons for doing so at this stage of my research included the strict time and resource limitations associated with doctoral research projects and my wish to recruit interviewees from those SFiTCs which most likely possessed the ability to deliver a programme like Safe Hands or who could speak about their experiences of providing programmes to people in custody or prison leavers in the community. The key inclusion criteria for participating SFiTC were:

- Criterion 1: Safe Hands supports young prison leavers in custody and the community. Accordingly, delivering a similar intervention requires SFiTCs to be located where there might be enough young people returning to a specific community. Thus, I identified SFiTCs associated with parent clubs in communities where most young people living in prison in Scotland come from. Based on data from the Centre for Youth and Criminal Justice, these include: Glasgow, North Lanarkshire, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee and Renfrewshire (Smith, Dyer and Connelly, 2014).

- Criterion 2: SFiTCs which have delivered interventions for people in custody and/or prison leavers in the community.

Based on the above criteria, 12 SFiTCs were identified as being eligible to be included in my research who were then contacted via email and invited to participate in my research. Individuals from six of these SFiTCs agreed to participate after the initial email, one declined, and five did not respond. A follow up email was sent seven days later; this led

to one further agreement to participate. Hence, of the 12 eligible SFiTCs, seven (58%) agreed to participate, one (8%) declined, and four (33%) did not respond to the initial or follow up email. In addition, during my first interview, the interviewee asked if I had considered contacting another SFiTC that delivered programmes to young people in their local community, which suffered from high levels of youth crime. Following further examination of their activities in line with my selection criteria I contacted them, and an individual from that SFiTC agreed to participate. In total individuals from eight SFiTCs agreed to participate.

The roles SFiTC participants fulfilled varied but mainly involved individuals with some management responsibility within their SFiTC, this included management of specific programmes, the SFiTC itself, or in some cases board members. While these roles were disclosed and sometimes discussed during their interviews, specific details – such as the names of the programmes they managed - have not been included in my sample description to protect anonymity. Table 10 shows the organisational position of SFiTC participants.

Participant Identifier	Role in SFiTC
SFiTC114	Community Manager
SFiTC008	Head of Community Operations
SFiTC575	General Manger
SFiTC434	Board Member
SFiTC639	Youth Work Manager
SFiTC088	Senior Community Executive
SFiTC099	Programme Manager
SFiTC581	SFiTC Board Member

Table 10: Organisational role of SFiTC participants.

6.3.2 Ethical considerations

Interviews with SFiTC participants took place under the ethical guidelines outlined in Chapter 4, with respect to voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity.

While these participants were not thought to be 'at-risk' because of participating in this study and were deemed capable of judging whether their participation in this study could be damaging to their person or best interests. Previous research has highlighted that community organisations, such as SFiTCs, may feel overburdened by requests to

participate in academic research, particularly if they have a limited number of paid staff members (Anderson et al., 2012). Accordingly, in the email requests I made to individuals from SFiTCs to participate in my study, I emphasised the voluntary nature of this research and assured participants that they could terminate their involvement at any time.

6.3.3 Interviews with SFiTC participants

The eight participants representing SFiTCs were offered the possibility of being interviewed at my University of Glasgow place of work, however all chose to be interviewed at their own place of work. All interviews took place in an enclosed, private space either in their SFiTC's resource hub or their parent football club stadium. Prior to their interview, SFiTC participants were issued with a participant information sheet (Appendix 9) and a consent form (Appendix 6).

As with all the interviews in my research, interviews with participants from SFiTCs were conducted with the use of a topic guide (Appendix 10). Interview topic guides were developed for SFiTC participants with the aim of answering the project's research questions and, on my experience, and knowledge of the Safe Hands programme accrued during my fieldwork with EiTC. The topic guides included questions in relation to the current operating context of participating SFiTCs, with reference to the history of the SFiTC, the current programmes they offer and future strategic direction, and challenges they have faced; the possible role of SFiTCs in providing crime prevention or rehabilitation programmes; interviewees thoughts and reflections about Safe Hands; and potential barriers and facilitators they perceived might influence their SFiTCs delivery of a programme like Safe Hands.

6.3.4 SFiTC data analysis

All eight SFiTC stakeholder interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in the same manner as my research with EiTC and Scottish Throughcare participants. The same data management processes and guidelines were adhered to. Based on the Framework approach outline in Chapter 3, I developed a thematic framework for my SFiTC data set, which was informed by:

1. my research questions concerning SFiTC stakeholders: *What barriers and facilitators might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish Football in The Community setting?*

2. a definition of barriers and facilitators taken from Bach-Mortensen et al's (2018) systematic review of barriers and facilitators to implementing evidence-based interventions among third sector organisations, who defined barriers as any factors that '*obstruct*' the implementation of an intervention, and facilitators as factors that '*enable*' the implementation of an intervention' (p.3).

3. implicit inferences based on my pre-existing knowledge of about the delivering of the Safe Hands programme within the English Football in The Community context[28].

6.4 The current SFiTC context

The following sections describes the current operating context of the participating SFiTCs. This is followed by sections on the facilitators and barriers I identified to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in an SFiTC setting.

Given the previously observed lack of description of the wider context of activities of SFiTCs in academic writing in general, it felt prudent to begin my findings chapter with a description of the current operating contexts of SFiTCs, from the perspective of those I interviewed. This includes descriptions of the operating context of these SFiTCs – their size, the resources and their disposal and relationships with other organisations in their community. It continues with a description of some of the motivations for delivering community programmes and concludes with a description of why most of these SFiTCs had transitioned from being community departments within their parent club to independent charitable trusts.

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[28] An explanation of the use of implicit inferences based on my knowledge of Safe Hands can be found in the data analysis section of Chapter 5.

6.4.1.1 Size of SFiTC and their status in the local community

The eight SFiTCs in this study were described by interviewees as small organisations, with most employing less than 10 full-time staff, supported in most cases by a range of part-time and voluntary staff. Most operated out of spaces within their parent club home stadium. The facilities at each SFiTC's disposal varied and represented the differences in scale among their parent clubs; those associated with larger parent clubs typically had access to greater resources than those associated with smaller clubs. SFiTCs with larger parent clubs had dedicated resource hubs, usually branded as learning centres with classroom spaces and access to computers. Contrastingly, those associated with smaller football clubs generally operated with modest resources, such as out of porta cabins in the grounds of the club stadium. The one exception to this pattern was the SFiTC associated with the lowest ranked club in this study, in terms of the tier of Scottish football their parent club played in. This SFiTC had access to a wider range of resources, including a dedicated programme hub, than some those associated with larger, higher ranked, parent clubs.

While previous studies have described football clubs as having at times complicated relationships with the organisations and residents in their local communities (Bale, 1990; Perkins, 2000), all the SFiTC interviewees described how their SFiTCs had formed positive relationships with a range of different agencies and organisations in the local community. These included local primary and secondary schools, universities, community organisations, health providers and small charities. Some SFiTCs had relationships with larger national bodies including the Department for Work and Pensions, Scottish Government, and the NHS. It was clear that not only had these SFiTCs developed a broad range of relationships, but also that other organisations were very keen to work with them: one interviewee described how they were 'inundated' (SFITC006) with requests from external agencies wanting to work with them.

6.4.1.2 Motivations for delivering community programmes

According to interviewees, SFiTCs in this study were all formed since 2000, their youth contrasting with the age of their parent clubs, most of which were formed in the late 19th Century. Most interviewees described how their SFiTCs had evolved out of their parent club delivering community activities, usually from the early 2000s onwards. Most interviewees were not in post when their club began offering community programmes so

were not always clear about their club's motivations for doing so. However, two were able to talk about why their SFiTC's parent club had started community programmes. One explained how supporting the betterment of the local community had been a part of the fabric and ethos of their parent club since its inception:

> It [the football club] was formed away back in the 19th Century for charitable purposes, so it's no' something that's just new. It's not something that says 'oh, like at the turn o' the century we started thinking about our community. (SFiTC639)

The other described how the impetus to deliver community activities stemmed from the club chairman who had decided to use a financial windfall received by the club following the sale of their old stadium to fund the construction of a purpose-built stadium and establish a social enterprise organisation:

> they needed a new football ground … the reason we bought intae what they were trying to dae is no' because they were trying to build a shiny, new fitba' stadium … It's because the chairman … was involved in the project to try to get this place built – he had a genuine vision for making this part of the city a better place (SFiTC088).

While these descriptions would suggest some Scottish football clubs had altruistic motivations for delivering community programmes, several interviewees suggested that their clubs might have provided community programmes to enhance their fanbase. For example, one described how they felt that if football clubs increased their engagement with the local community, particularly though the provision of youth football activities, this could lead to an increase in spectators attending matches:

> We could actually increase our viewing public, by offering to get folk engaged … I go back to the soccer school … when we set that up, it was with a view to engage the kids and providing some sort of service … it's getting them out, it's getting their parents out, and the hope is that they come to games. (SFiTC581)

However, the notion that delivering community programmes should be a tool for increasing football clubs' fanbases was strongly rejected by other interviewees, with one commenting that 'our thing isnae to build a fanbase' (SFITC114) and another stating:

> That really bugs me … if that is a secondary outcome … great … [but] it shouldn't really be why clubs go out to [do] it. (SFiTC639)

6.4.1.3 Charitable Trust Status

While the most common starting point for a SFiTC was as a community department within their parent club, most of those represented in this study had since transitioned to being independent charitable trusts, and those which were still operated by their parent clubs had started the process to become one. Becoming a charitable trust means that, while SFiTCs work in partnership with and maintain an association with their parent club (often in the form of shared branding), they are structurally and financially independent organisations who work with external partners to deliver programmes (Parnell, 2014). When reflecting on the history of the SFiTCs in this study, interviewees described how most of them had become independent trusts for financial and strategic reasons, as discussed below.

As charitable trusts, SFiTCs are legally obliged to be financially independent from their parent club (Perkins, 2000). Several SFiTC interviewees described how they were aware that their parent club's past financial problems had impacted on its community programmes and, in some cases, put the football club at risk of insolvency, so precipitating a felt need to acquire trust status:

> It [the football club] had gone through a very, very difficult period financially … if you go into administration, or … liquidation at some point, then there's cuts. Our community department … fell under that at one point … we are now a community trust … if the dreaded relegation happens, or the financial worries … we'd be okay (SFiTC114).

The second financial motivation cited for SFiTCs becoming independent trusts was to be eligible for external funding streams, which were unavailable whilst they were operated directly by their parent club:

> [Becoming an independent trust] Might make us a little bit more attractive to larger funders. Certainly, it will make it a little bit easier to persuade someone to give us money for revenue or core costs, because we don't already have that. (SFiTC575)

All of these SFiTC were either fully independent or in the process of becoming independent of their parent club. Interviewees offered three strategic reasons for becoming independent trusts: to facilitate an increased focus on community programming; to enable each SFiTC to establish their own organisational identity; and to

move away from football-based activities while adopting a more issue led approach to community programming.

Most suggested that when football clubs delivered community activities directly, the day-to-day challenges and priorities of running a football club could lead to community programmes being neglected:

> … any club who runs it [community programmes] within the department struggles … the chairman has got a football team to run … They've got the shop; they've got all the football side operation. The community side doesn't get the attention that it needs (SFiTC008).

Therefore, by moving community programming outwith their parent club, whilst still maintaining that connection, SFiTCs could increase their focus on community activities. When asked to describe the relationship between their organisation and their parent club, interviewees referred in positive terms 'a very strong relationship', 'very supportive', and 'the club are fantastic' (SFiTC 575; 639; 008).

The second strategic reason for becoming an independent trust given by some interviewees was that being autonomous from their parent club could allow each SFiTC to establish their own organisational identity with a distinct set of values and objectives. Interviewees referred to their SFiTCs as establishing 'clear aims, objectives, clear target groups', becoming 'more strategic', and 'more needs-focussed'. (SFITCs 114; 099; 581). The third strategic consideration was that becoming an independent trust was part of a longer-term plan by these SFiTCs to inject greater diversity into their programming. For several, this meant a reduction in the number of football coaching programmes, which was felt to be less aligned with the charitable aims of these organisations, and an increase in programmes which sought to improve peoples' lives in their local community:

> The charity was kinda reviewed, and at that point the decision was made that we'd become much more charity focussed, and a charity for families. The football stuff would return back to the club … We focus our energies on helping those who we can, where need has been identified … Can we realistically say that by delivering school holiday courses and charging folk to pay for them … is that meeting a charity outcome as such? … We want to be explicitly about helping people. (SFiTC575)

The types of programmes offered by the SFiTCs in this study addressed a range of issues, primarily related to social inequality and health and wellbeing. They included: Football Fans in Training (Hunt et al., 2014); football memories programmes, which aim to improve the lives of dementia sufferers by talking and reminiscing about football (Tolson and Schofield, 2012); and kinship care, food poverty, oral health, and employability initiatives. A further sign of broadening provision was the decision by several SFiTCs to become Scottish Qualifications Authority accredited centres which allowed them to deliver formal qualifications.

6.5 Facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a SFiTC setting

Having described the current context of the participating SFiTCs in this study, the following section describes the facilitators I identified to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands. These were attitudinal and resource facilitators.

6.5.1 Attitudinal facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

Attitudinal facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands were positive opinions about Safe Hands, a belief that the aims of Safe Hands aligned with their personal perspectives on prisoner resettlement, the goals of Safe Hands aligned with the ethos of SFiTCs, and that risks associated with supporting young prison leavers could be managed. These are presented in Figure 21.
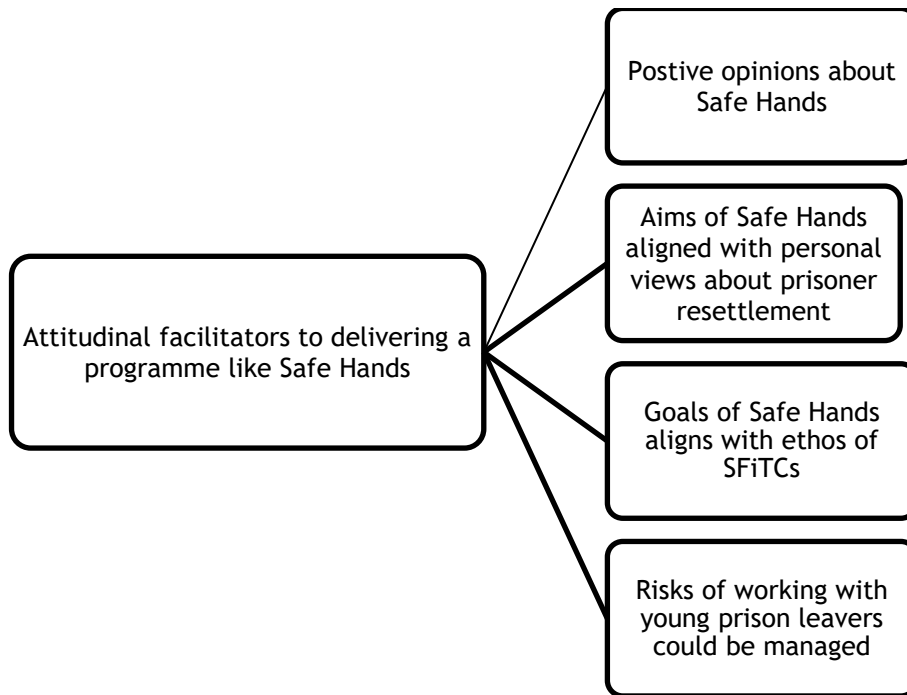
Figure 21: Attitudinal facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

6.5.1.1 All SFiTC interviewees held a positive opinion about of Safe Hands

All SFiTC interviewees liked the principle, structure, and content of the Safe Hands programme. When asked for their thoughts on the programme, as I described it to them and after having watched the videos about Safe Hands, interviewees said they thought it 'looks excellent', 'sounds fantastic' and was 'really good' (SFITC 088; 099; 575). When prompted to say more, one described how the programme 'resonated' with them because of similarities between the population of young people that Safe Hands engages with and those on programmes offered by their SFiTC (SFITC581).

6.5.1.2 The aims of Safe Hands matched most interviewees' perspectives on prisoner resettlement.

A common explanation given by SFiTC interviewees regarding why Safe Hands appealed to them was that the programme's aims corresponded with their own worldview regarding society's responsibilities towards young people exiting custody. For example, one described how they believed that once someone leaves prison, they have served their sentence, and society, including football clubs, should take active steps to support their resettlement:

> My understanding is that when somebody's released from prison, they've
> served their time … Ultimately you don't want prisoners to go back into prison

because if they've gone back into prison, they have committed another crime ... we should be doing what we can to help make them more rounded, better citizens ... If football has a role to play in that then that's a good thing. (SFiTC434)

6.5.1.3 The goals of Safe Hands aligned interviewees perspectives on the ethe of SFiTCs

In addition to displaying positive feelings towards Safe Hands and recognising that the programme's aims aligned with their views on prisoner resettlement, several interviewees also suggested that the programme's goals aligned with the ethos of their SFiTC. For example, one interviewee described how they felt there were parallels between the goals of Safe Hands and their SFiTC's 'outcomes' and 'what we aim to achieve' (SFITC008). Another talked about how the aims and content of the Safe Hands programme were 'right up oor street' and like work their SFiTC was already carrying out:

> The aims ... that's oor bag, education, training and employment, developing confidence and self-esteem, improving health and wellbeing ... We offer that tae all wur groups. (SFiTC088)

6.5.1.4 The potential risks of working with young prison leavers was not a barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

Despite most SFiTC interviewees talking positively about Safe Hands, they were not naïve to the potential risks presented by working with young prison leavers:

> I don't think anybody working wi' young offenders or people who are from a really challenging background would think that it's going to be easy (SFiTC099).

However, while most SFiTC interviewees recognised these potential risks, they felt they were manageable. To illustrate, when talking about engaging with young prison leavers, one described how, because their SFiTC was already engaging with other high-risk populations, their pre-existing policies and procedures could be readily adapted to working with young prison leavers:

> ...there's nothing done in here [delivered by the SFiTC] without it being risk assessed, without it being managed. Every kinda angle would be looked at, "what's the situation?". We're all trained. If something does happen, what do you do? ... So if you've got twelve young offenders, right, we know right

away what we need to dae, and we've got safeguarding officers, we're a football club, there's security. (SFiTC099)

These interviewees were also aware of the importance of communicating this risk-management message to people both within the SFiTC, their parent club and to the public:

> It's about how we manage it ... I think, as long as the public, stakeholders, participants, staff, everyone, as long as everyone understands what the aims of the project are, and that there's gonnae be a by-product of risk, because of the client group, then it would be fine ... it's like, it's like saying there's a possibility you might be injured playing football. (SFiTC008)

6.5.2 Resource facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

The resource facilitators I identified to delivering a programme like Safe Hands included the lure of football settings to attract potential participants in SFiTC interventions, football can act as a platform to build relationships and engage with more complex issues, SFiTCs' experience of working with marginalised young people, and experience of working with people in custody and prison leavers in the community. These are presented in **Figure 22**.
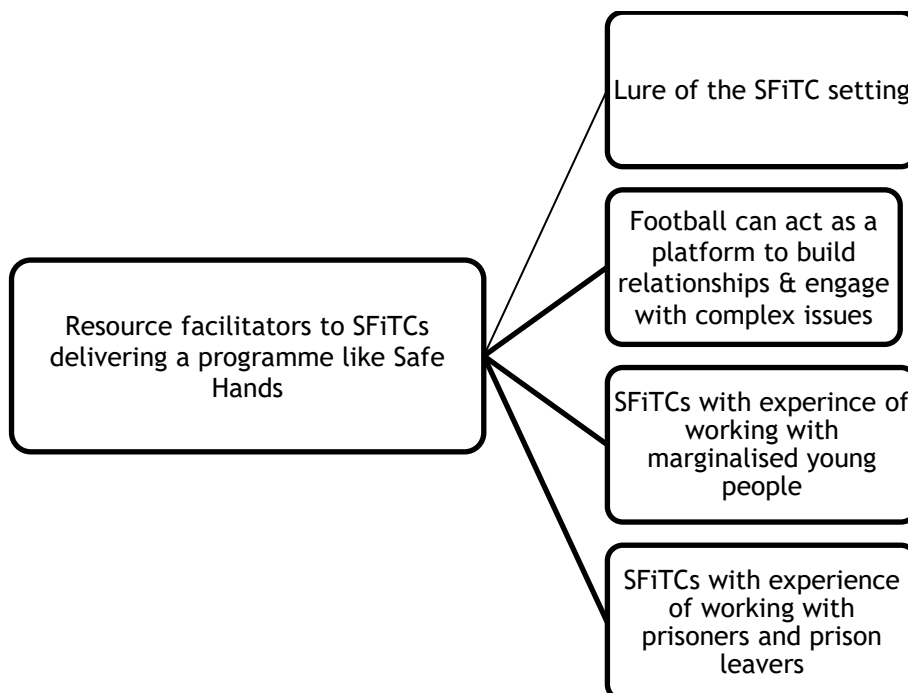
Figure 22: Resource facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

6.5.2.1 The lure of the SFiTC setting

As described in Chapter 4, most Safe Hands participants and EiTC staff highlighted the importance of the football setting to a young person's decision to engage with the programme. Similarly, all SFiTC interviewees recognised that football settings were attractive to potential participants in SFiTC programmes.

When asked why, one SFiTC interviewee described football clubs as having an 'allure' (SFITC088) and another said their SFiTC was an 'inspirational' place (SFITC099). A common description given by SFiTC interviewees was that the association between a SFiTC and a Scottish football club could act as a: 'hook'; 'draw'; and a 'tool to get people engaged' (SFITC 099; 575; 639)

When reflecting on why football settings appeared to engage people, interviewees suggested that people recognised the club badge and, because of that connection, displayed a level of 'trust' in programmes delivered in SFiTC settings (SFiTC581). One described how football settings attracted people to programmes because of the 'love and affection' that many people in Scotland have towards football (SFITC008).

SFiTC interviewees suggested that football could be used to 'get people in the door that usually wouldn't' (SFiTC434) and, therefore, encourage engagement with hard to reach populations. Examples included descriptions of older men, who were thought to be unwilling to attend a GP's surgery, being willing to engage with health interventions offered by a SFiTC, and marginalised populations being willing to attend interventions that are delivered away from official settings. Based on experiences of working with long-term unemployed people, one interviewee said:

> You've been unemployed for three years ... The Job Centre tell you to go to a work programme ... and it's in a big grey office. That's fine, you might go because they might cut your benefits, right. But if you're the wee guy who's nineteen, and somebody says to you "Do you want to go to the football stadium of the team you support? You could go to your team's stadium two days a week for ten weeks, you're going to get football training, you're going to get boxercise training, you're going to get fitter, stronger. You're going to get to maybe meet some o' the players" ... They'd be more motivated, inspired, by going to a football stadium, and doing the training within that environment, than they would by going tae a Job Centre, or going tae an

office block, which reminds them o' school, the prison or something like that. (SFiTC099)

6.5.2.2 Football can act as a platform to build relationships and tackle complex issues

While all SFiTC interviewees described how football settings could attract participants, some also suggested that it was the content of the programmes and the relationships that could be formed that played a greater role in supporting behavioural and attitudinal change among people. Several articulated how, beyond the initial hook for change created by people's positive disposition towards football settings, it was important to have well-structured programmes that would keep people engaged: 'you get them in initially, and then by delivering a good project they'll stay' (SFiTC099).

Thus, as one interviewee described, change and development in those participating in footballing settings-based programmes is due to the development of positive relationships between providers and participants and not to the nature of the setting:

> The power of football? I've got a wee theory … the football is the initial hook-in tool because there's nae point getting away fae it, young people in Scotland particularly love fitba'. ... it's only then that the magic can happen … the ball doesnae make the magic happen, the baw sooks people in, then relationships are formed, and then magic happens … So, they say power of football, and I say that, but it's people … It's people, no' the baw … the relationship … that's where the power is, that's where the magic happens. ... it's no' the baw'. (SFiTC639)

6.5.2.3 Some SFiTCs have experience of working with marginalised young people.

Safe Hands engages with young people exiting custody, who are regarded as one of the most marginalised and difficult to engage populations in society (Beyond Youth Custody, 2017). Another facilitator to the delivery of such a programme in a SFiTC setting identified by most of these interviewees was that their organisation had, to some degree, experience of engaging with marginalised groups of young people.

SFiTC interviewees described examples of programmes which had engaged marginalised young people including a personal development programme for 'at risk' high school children delivered in partnership with local authority social workers; an employability programme for young people who were at risk of offending, long-term disengaged from

education or come from impoverished backgrounds; and street-based outreach work that sought to engage young people with activities and education programmes at the SFiTC's own facilities. One interviewee reflected on the programmes their SFiTC has delivered with marginalised young people:

> [The programme was] dealing wi' 18, 16, 17-year-olds … classed as furthest away from the labour market …the young people who have disengaged from school long before their statutory leaving date … We've got people in there that are young offenders as well, the young people that are in residential care, who are also carers for maybe family … people who have got barriers, who need support, who need that second chance – be it offending issues, be it that they've disengaged from school at an early age and took the wrong path … A lot of these young people have been dismissed everywhere they've went in their life, for various reasons … we had one wurself recently, a boy that I actually worked with in one o' the schools … horrendous background, dismissed everywhere he's went, causes problems in here at times, but we've stuck with him and he's one of the ones that completed, and has moved on to a positive destination. (SFiTC639)

Those interviewees who had delivered programmes for marginalised young people suggested that their organisations possessed the required skills and understandings to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. They offered statements such as: 'it's right up our street. We've got staff who have experience of delivering wi' challenging young people' (SFiTC088); 'I look at that [Safe Hands], right, and say "it's what we do here", isn't it?' (SFiTC099); 'That's absolutely something that we can dae here ... we dae aspects of that anyway' (SFiTC639); and 'in terms of our experience in working wi' that kinda client group … you'd maybe struggle to find others that are quite as well equipped' (SFiTC008).

6.5.2.4 Some SFiTCs have experience of working with prisoners and prison leavers

Several interviewees reported that their SFiTC had some experience of working with people in custody and prison leavers in the community. Examples given of SFiTCs supporting people in custody included visiting adult institutions and Polmont to deliver information sessions about the programmes which young prison leavers could engage with post-release. These information sessions sometimes included a coaching session.

One SFiTC had previously delivered an intervention for people in custody which sought to improve their physical health and mental wellbeing, along with the chance to gain

qualifications. While the programme had not been formally evaluated, the SFiTC received positive feedback from both the prison's administrators and participants. Such was the popularity of the programme, one participant, released part- way through the course, received dispensation to re-enter the prison on the days the programme was delivered to ensure he completed the course. No statistics were gathered regarding this programme's impact on reoffending rates, but the interviewee from that SFiTC described having received anecdotal evidence which suggested a series of positive outcomes for participants including no incidents of reoffending in the 12 months following liberation and several who had secured employment:

> We did this project in the prison … and delivered it to twenty odd of their guys ... who were short term re-offenders ... what we did do is we tied in that they got level one and level two coaching badges. So, we sent in the then manager who delivers that sort of thing … We provided the boys wi' kit … it was a properly formatted programme ... I know at least three out of the eighteen that finished went into full-time employment ... one of the guys came up here and volunteered here for a while ... you dinnae get the records back if they re-offended. But they didn't re-offend within the first twelve months … we were really pleased wi' the outcome of it. (SFiTC581)

In addition to providing support to peoples in custody, some interviewees described how their SFiTC supported prison leavers in the community. One, which delivered a range of youth work activities in the local community, engaged with young people in custody and the community, as an aspect of their broader youth work provision. This SFiTC had agreed to be one component of a community-based resettlement support package for a young adult exiting custody. The interviewee representing this SFiTC reported that the organisation was aware that, because of the serious nature of the person's offence, offering them support could cause tensions within the local community, but were nevertheless prepared to offer this support. The interviewee described here how they weighed up the pros and cons of supporting this person:

> We were asked by the police, we had a well-known criminal fae this area, ... he had killed a man, and he had served his sentence, and people can say what they want about the length of that sentence – the point is, he was oot, he was released, and they're saying, "… he's really trying … would you take him on placement?" I says, "Right, okay", knowing that the local people will go fucking bananas' … So, we looked at how can we make this happen, and we put a couple of conditions on it. "Look, we'll offer a venue, we'll have tasks … we're not going to manage this guy day-to-day … you need to bring his two support workers and they're responsible for him at that time ... 'Cause we've got kids come here ... Right?' And that was fine. We were going for it until he

then assaulted a woman ... quite severely. And got put back in the jail. (SFiTC639)

Further examples of SFiTCs offering support prison leavers in the community included one which offered work placements to prisoners from an open prison, who came to their parent club's stadium once a week to carry out maintenance and clearing work. When describing why their SFiTC offered this kind of opportunity to prisoners, the interviewee responded: 'the club is saying … we can invest trust in these individuals' (SFITC114).

Only one SFiTC had direct experience of delivering a programme that actively sought to engage with young prison leavers. This SFiTC had developed links with the SPS over several years and visited Polmont to deliver information sessions to young people in custody and accepted referrals from SPS TSOs for young people to join their programmes post-release:

> Our project is targeting 16 to 24-year olds, those who have got criminal convictions, are at high risk of committing a crime and living in areas of high deprivation … we've been into Polmont and we've done different things, 'cause that's the people we're targeting. People who are leaving prison, we're trying to support them as much as we can. Over the last three years I've been in Polmont maybe three or four times. (SFiTC099)

This interviewee further described how, when visiting Polmont, they would sometimes take with them a young person who had been in custody and participated in their programme. They felt this could be quite impactful on young people in custody and served to highlight the advantages to engaging with their programme in a way that was directly relatable to these young people:

> We've actually taken back participants who have came here, did really well, maybe found a job doing a wee bit o' coaching or something. And we've went back into the prison wi' that young person … So that's really been quite hard hitting … If you can take somebody who was sitting in a cell wi' you, a year later they've came oot, they're here, they've got a club trackie on and they're here doing a wee bit o' coaching or something like that. That's a fantastic tool. (SFiTC099)

6.6 Barriers to deliver a programme like Safe Hands in a SFiTC setting

Having described SFiTC facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands, the following section describes the barriers I identified to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands. These were attitudinal and resource barriers.

6.6.1 Attitudinal barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a SFiTC setting

Reported attitudinal barriers to SFiTCs identified included concerns about potential risks associated with engaging with young prison leavers and negative perceptions about the activities of SFiTCs held by some sectors of Scottish society. These are presented in Figure 23.

Attitudinal barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

Possible risks of supporting young prison leavers

Negative attitudes about SFiTCs
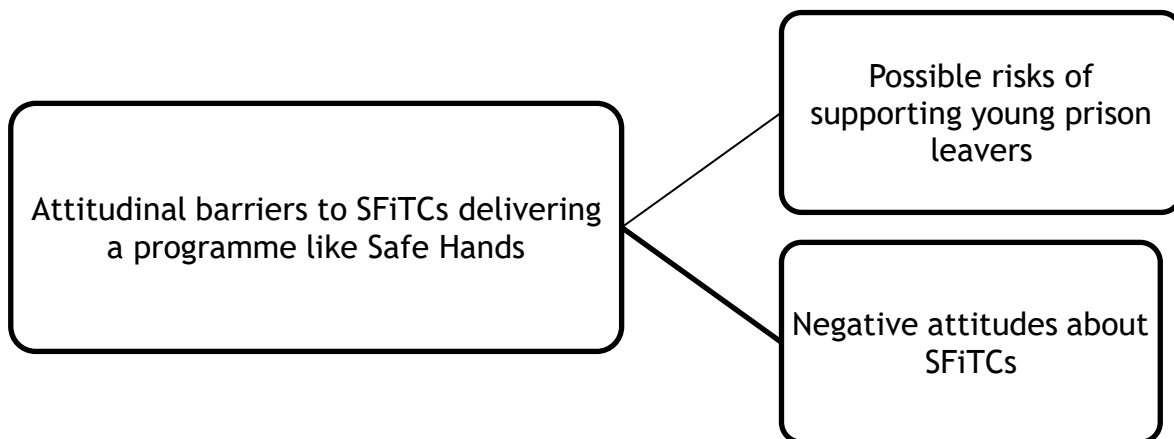
Figure 23: Attitudinal barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands.

6.6.1.1 Possible risks of working with young prison leavers

Although most SFiTC interviewees felt the risks associated with working young prison leavers could be managed, a few expressed concerns about potential issues that might

arise if their SFiTC offered a programme like Safe Hands. For example, one stated that, while they felt that young people exiting prison deserved a chance to rebuild their lives, it would be important to ensure that such a programme was not offered to young people who might cause 'issues at the club' or young people 'taking advantage' of the opportunity (SFiTC581).

The perceived risks associated with supporting young prisoner leavers were articulated in a further two ways. Firstly, one interviewee described how some people employed by a SFiTC or their parent club might see young prison leavers as presenting a security risk:

> if you bring an individual into here who's got a high crime rate … your facilities manager is then going, "Hang on a minute, I've got a lot of valuable stuff lying about here" … I think there's a certain picture of people [leaving prison] that are, you know, is built up on that. And that's wrong, on a number of fronts. (SFiTC114)

Secondly, some interviewees were concerned about the potential the risks that might be posed by young prison leavers interacting with young people on their other programmes. One suggested that they would be 'cautious' about young prison leaver's 'involvement with young people across different projects' (SFiTC434).

6.6.1.2 Negative perceptions about SFiTCs tackling social problems

Another attitudinal barrier to a SFiTC delivering a programme like Safe Hands relates to how Scottish football is viewed by other organisations within Scottish society, particularly in relation to Scottish football clubs and associated SFiTCs taking a more active role in addressing health and social problems. One interviewee described how certain organisations within Scottish society felt that Scottish football clubs should only engage with social problems such as youth offending, when they had dealt with their 'own' problems first. While this barrier was only identified by one SFiTC interviewee, their career trajectory and current role meant that they had more experience of engaging with external stakeholders within Scottish policy making circles than other participants. To qualify their opinion, this individual gave a detailed anecdote which explained how they been involved in discussions concerning the development of an intervention for young people who had committed offences while attending a football match. Despite devising a programme and receiving the backing of stakeholders within the youth justice system, the intervention did not proceed beyond the planning stage.

The interviewee explained that concerns were raised by other stakeholders concerning the legitimacy of SFiTCs delivering such an intervention when the football industry more broadly had yet to adequately deal with the social problems caused by some supporters:

> We were approached to look at some sort of project … for young people who had committed antisocial behaviours at football … we drafted up the whole project and then it went back to government … who said "No, football should get their own house in order first ... Because of the other things that were going on in football that had nothing to do with what we do; the wider perception was why would we give them money. (SFiTC434)

6.6.2 Resource barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a SFiTC setting.

The resource barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a SFiTC setting described by SFiTC interviewees related to the availability of funding, physical resources, staffing, and organisational structure. There are presented in Figure 24.
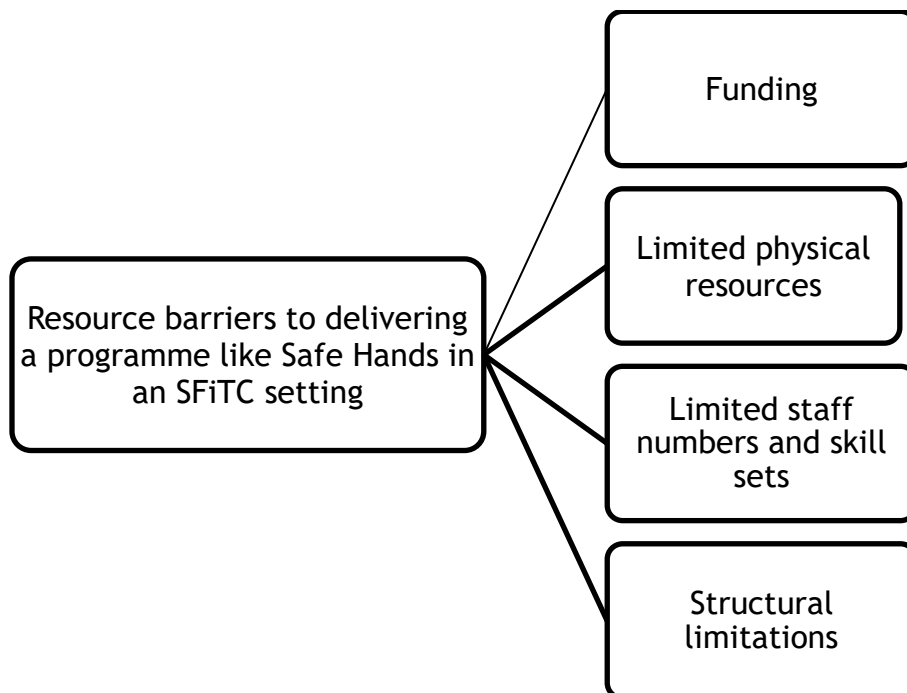
Figure 24: Resource barriers to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a SFiTC setting.

6.6.2.1 Funding

The most cited resource barrier to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands was funding, with most SFiTCs in this study relying on external funding to deliver

programmes. Thus, their ability to deliver a similar programme would hinge on their ability to attract funding to do so.

Interviewees offered a range of responses in respect of lack of funding as a barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands: 'Funding I think is the first one' (SFiTC434); 'We don't have a budget just now, at this moment in time, where we could solely put to that' (SFiTC088); and I would do it, hands down, 100%, as I said, funding would be a big one (SFiTC114). However, one SFiTC interviewee did note that, while funding was a potential barrier, and sourcing it may be challenging, they also believed that with the right approach it was achievable:

> Financially, it would take some time to attract funding, but, packaged in the right way I don't think that would be a massive problem. (SFiTC581)

When discussing financial barriers in more detail, several interviewees talked more generally about the current financial situation within the SFiTC industry. In doing so they highlighted several issues including: the limited financial resources within Scottish Football and available to SFiTC, especially in comparison to FiTCs in the English Premier League; SFiTCs facing difficulties in attracting funding; and funding not being sustained for previously successful programmes.

Despite the sizable differences in economic resources between some FiTC in England and Scotland, it was felt by some SFiTC interviewees that the public were under the (incorrect) impression that Scottish football clubs had sufficient resources to fund community programmes by themselves:

> Some people just think football clubs should just be doing it themselves cause it's the right thing to do and they've got lots of money … there's a misconception there's loadsa money in football – there isn't in Scotland. (SFiTC434)

Most SFiTC interviewees stated that sourcing funding was a common barrier to their activities. Some described how they sometimes found themselves wanting to deliver a specific programme and either could not source funding, or experienced a disconnection between how their SFiTC envisaged the programme being delivered and the expectations of a funder:

> Some things that we want to [do] and you might not get the money for it … sometimes you come up with what you think is a fantastic idea and lots of people want to do it, but it doesn't maybe meet what a funder would expect (SFITC008).

Most SFiTC interviewees cited sourcing funding as the decisive factor in whether they delivered a specific programme. They described the process of sourcing funding as challenging for two reasons. Firstly, the current funding climate for third-sector organisations was seen to be 'so competitive' (SFiTC114). One interviewee noted that in the current economic climate there were fewer sources of funding available to charitable organisations like SFiTCs and a diminishing pool of resources was being sought by an increasing number of organisations:

> The competition to get grant funding for any charity now is even more difficult than it used to be ... it doesn't matter who you are if you're applying for grant funding just now, that, there's a lot less to go round and there's more people who need it. (SFiTC434)

A second reason cited by several interviewees for why sourcing funding was a challenge was that their associations with a football club caused uncertainties among funding bodies regarding their capacity to deliver the interventions for which they were seeking funding:

> [when] the Big Lottery people receive a funding application from a football charity for £300,000 to build this, do this, run this course, hire this person, they're probably still met with a wee bit of scepticism just because people don't understand. (SFITC099)

A further financial barrier raised by SFiTC interviews was that while they were often successful in attracting funding, often this was not sustained over the longer term, even when programmes were found to have met their objectives; two SFiTC interviewees provided examples of this. One described how their SFiTC had previously delivered a diversionary programme for young people in partnership with their local authority. While the programme itself was felt to have been a success at reducing offending by young people in the local community, it was discontinued when the allotted funding stopped:

> We did a project with them and it was really good and social work funded it and it worked really well, but it had stopped because the funding stopped. (SFiTC099)

The second example relates to the experiences of the SFiTC which delivered a programme to prisoners in a local prison, for which they had been unable to secure any future funding:

> We presented it at a national level ... there was quite a bit of interest in it. And then, we started to get other prisons interested in it ... But, we couldnae get any more funding ... that's what killed it. We would've run it time and time again, but it just killed because we cannae ...get the funding ... it just stopped dead. (SFiTC581)

6.6.2.2 Limited physical resources

Several interviewees were uncertain that their SFiTC had sufficient physical resources to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. While some of these SFiTCs operated out of dedicated resource hubs, typically within the home stadium of their parent club, several smaller SFiTCs did not have a resource hub and had inconsistent access to physical spaces to deliver programmes:

> A big barrier for us ... is in terms of facility ... We don't have access to a 3G pitch straight away ... We don't have particularly great access to stadiums and things like that at night, because everything is here ... I'd love this building to be open twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. It can't happen that way unfortunately. (SFiTC114)

Another interviewee commented that, while SFiTC organisations themselves were relatively young organisations, they were sometimes operating out of considerably older stadiums that had limited suitable space for community programmes:

> There's not many new stadiums ... stadiums across the country were never built with a learning centre space in mind or built with classroom space or access or a pitch nearby that you can go and deliver a session. (SFITC639)

This interviewee went on to recall their experience of engaging with other SFiTCs and described how some had taken an ambitious approach to expanding the number of programmes they delivered but were unable to expand beyond a certain point because their parent clubs could not offer them any more space:

> In some ways the community side ... is developing at a much quicker pace ... and it has happened, they grew far quicker than the club and then ran out of space ... Certainly, at some clubs they got to the stage where they couldn't deliver anymore because they don't have any rooms to deliver it in (SFiTC639).

However, other interviewees were confident that their SFiTC had sufficient infrastructure to deliver a programme like Safe Hands, with one commenting that: the staff are available, I think we've got infrastructure (SFiTC088).

6.6.2.3 Limited staffing resources and skills

The second infrastructure barrier identified by several interviewees relates to limited staffing resources and skillsets. Some commented that the workloads of their existing staff might prohibit delivering a programme like Safe Hands, suggesting they were: 'running quite close to capacity' (SFiTC008) and 'wi' our commitments right now, no' [they couldn't staff a programme like Safe Hands]'(SFiTC639).

One interviewee described how, under their current staffing structure, they could potentially deliver a programme like Safe Hands for several hours a week, but were unsure about being able to run something akin to a full-scale version of the Safe Hands programme (offering up to 25 hours' worth of structured programming per week):

> If it's a two-hour, three-hour commitment, you know, we could cope wi' that very, very comfortably. If it's not, then we would have to look at how we staff that. (SFITC008)

Several interviewees identified that their organisation might not currently have staff with the specialised skills to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. In recognising their lack of knowledge regarding the type of support young prison leavers might require, one stated they 'wouldn't know where to start wi' them' (SFiTC114). Another described how, while they believed their SFiTC could deliver some aspects of the Safe Hands programme, particularly the sport-based components, staff at their SFiTC did not have the additional skills to deliver some of the more offence-focussed aspects of the programme, for which they would likely have to recruit external experts:

> What we need help wi' [to deliver a programme like Safe Hands] is the more specialist elements o' that … if there was elements of football involved, that's fine, we'll provide the coaches who have worked wi' a wide range of people … Where you're beginning to talk about one-on-one mentoring sessions, home visits, people who have got a bit o' experience in delivering this kinda project, wi' these kinda aims, then that's where I would be saying, look, we need a delivery partner to help us do this. (SFiTC5750

However, while these interviewees identified their existing staff skillset as a potential barrier to delivering a programme like Safe Hands, another noted that the skills of SFiTC staff more broadly were expanding and so they should increasingly be able to deliver interventions seeking to address more complex health and social problems:

> We've now got clubs who are hiring people who don't have a coaching background but can put a coaching tracksuit on … they will take somebody who's never played football before in their puff, but has done employability … I think there's also a change in the … training and development that we're seeing … people have been coaches and historically you just go and do your coaching badges as part of your personal development, whereas now we've got people who're doing mental health workshops, they're going off and doing things around suicide awareness … so not only I think is the staffing landscape changing but the people who are involved and who are staying involved are having to diversify with what they know and what they do. (SFiTC434)

6.6.2.4 Structural limitations

The final resource barrier cited by interviewees was structural limitations. One SFiTC interviewee described how their operating model relied on them providing the logistical support towards delivering programmes (including administrative support, physical space in their parent club's stadium and the lure of the club brand to attract participants), whereas the actual delivery of programme content was carried out by a partner organisation with specially trained staff. The capacity for this SFiTC to deliver a programme like Safe Hands would, therefore, be contingent on them finding a suitable partnership organisation:

> We concentrate much more on the, what do we bring, reach every community, good use o' facilities, working in partnership, reviewing what we do, adding volunteers into the mix. What does the partner bring? The actual core delivery of it, and the expertise of working wi' people ... Rather than saying, "Listen, we're gonnae go and run this project, what we need to go and deliver, we need to go and put an interview, we need to put a job posting up for someone who can… who's got experience of doing one to one mentoring sessions," for example, and who can lead a programme like this. (SFiTC575)

A second organisational barrier related to concerns about how the small size of some SFiTCs might limit their capacity to deliver certain aspects of Safe Hands. One interviewee discussed this using two examples. The first related to the Mid-Season stage of Safe Hands when participants are encouraged to access volunteering opportunities within EiTC. This interviewee, when drawing on the wider knowledge of the SFiTC

sector, suggested that smaller SFiTCs might not be able to offer such opportunities or only be able to do so for a small number of young people:

> One of the things you'd have to consider is that … Everton do so much that there's a huge amount of different things you could get involved in. Whereas a lot of clubs would maybe only be able to offer that to one person a year that might come through that programme purely because they deliver a lot less projects. (SFiTC639)

Their second example of barriers arising from the small size of some SFiTCs related to how Safe Hands participants had been able to secure employment either with EiTC or Everton FC. While they were sure that some SFiTCs would be able to do, they suggested smaller SFiTCs might be more limited in terms of what they could offer young people:

> There's probably elements of that part of the journey that Everton offer to somebody that clubs could also do very well. They would maybe have to look at what some of the exit strategies are that might need to be a wee bit different because they don't have the infrastructure there to offer, offer the jobs and things. (SFiTC639)

6.7 A framework of barriers and facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like safe hands in Scotland

The results from this research, which was based on semi-structured qualitative interviews with a purposively selected sample of SFiTC stakeholders, identified four categories of barriers and facilitators which might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands in a Scottish Football in The Community setting: attitudinal facilitators; resource facilitators, attitudinal barriers; and resource barriers. The following sections summarises these using the individual, organisational, and system level framework as was applied to barriers encountered by EiTC when delivering Safe Hands Barriers.

6.7.1 Framework of barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

In terms of barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands, these were evident at the individual, organisational and system level.

6.7.1.1 Individual level barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

The views of some SFiTC stakeholders about the possible risks of working with young prison leavers, which primarily focussed on the security or safeguarding issues they may pose, represent individual level barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands. Whilst these risks were mostly felt to be manageable, fear that the hazards were too great or their impact on SFiTC's employee receptiveness to the idea of their organisation offering a programme to young prison leavers could create barriers to an SFiTC deciding to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. While such concerns should perhaps not be seen as an overly onerous barrier, they are emblematic of some of the negative perceptions held within society about people who have been in prison, which are thought to be a barrier to resettlement (Wakefield and Uggen, 2010). For example, negative views about people who have been in prison have been noted in research about employers attitudes, who saw them as untrustworthy or a potential threat to organisations (Holzer, Raphael and Stoll, 2007). Based on their research about how prison leavers experiencing job hunting, Sheppard & Ricciardelli (2020) suggest that resettlement services should engage with potential employers to help address concerns, with the aim of alleviating the stereotyping of people who have been in prison. Were an SFiTC to seek to deliver a programme like Safe Hands, then part of that process could be a learning and awareness session that addresses these issues to alleviate fears and improve 'buy-in' from all parts of the organisation.

6.7.1.1 Organisational level barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

Lack of resources are a potential organisational level barrier to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands. Resources constraints have been identified as a significant challenge to the activities of FiTCs in general (Walters and Tacon, 2010), and Scottish research found that SFiTCs often wanted to fulfil a greater role in their community, but lacked sufficient resources (Kolyperas, Morrow and Sparks, 2015). Resource barriers were evident in respect of funding, infrastructure, and staffing limitations, both in terms of numbers and expertise. Resource barriers tended to be more present among the smaller SFiTCs, although, notably, the SFiTC associated with the smallest football club in my research was one of the best resourced in terms of physical and human resources. This was the result of the growth of the community trust accompanying a move to a new stadium. This demonstrates that SFiTCs can flourish in certain

(favourable) circumstances. However, as was evident in my research, many SFiTCs find themselves having to deliver activities within stadiums that have limited space beyond what is used to run the football club. The absence of adequate physical space to accommodate a programme like Safe Hands could be one of the more significant barriers to an SFiTC delivering a similar programme, given the importance attached to the Safe Hands resource hub by staff and participants. A lack of human resources could also be an organisational barrier, particularly in terms of staff with appropriate skillsets for working with young prison leavers, which is recognised as a challenging role requiring engagement, empathic and relationship building abilities (Baker, 2017).

6.7.1.1 System level barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

A system level barrier to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands related to possible resistance from other potential stakeholders (such as policymakers). This was attributed to the view that the problems of anti-social behaviour associated with Scottish Football meant that SFiTCs were not an appropriate vehicle for addressing youth crime. Concerns about football and anti-social behaviour are long-standing and the history of football across the world has been blighted by recurrent incidents of hooliganism, particularly from the 1970s onwards (Zani and Kirchler, 1991; King, 2001; Frosdick and Marsh, 2013). Scottish football is no stranger to hooliganism and fan disorder (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2002). At the time of this research, in the late 2010s, it had been attracting widespread negative media coverage because of a series of incidents of fan disorder. These included coins being thrown at match officials and, in one instance, a player being physically confronted by a supporter on the pitch) and a seeming incalcitrant attitude among the game's governing bodies towards tackling the issues (Murray, 2019). Countering this is the positive work done by FiTCs across the UK and football clubs to raise awareness and address issues among football fanbases, such as the Show Racism the Red Card initiative, or the wide-ranging impacts of the FiTC industry on issues in local communities and among supporters (Sanders et al., 2020). What the identification of this barrier does perhaps indicate is that, like having to potentially alleviate concerns among their own staff about deciding on delivering a programme like Safe Hands, an SFiTC may find itself having to explain to some sceptical stakeholders the validity of what they are trying to achieve.

The second system level barrier related to whether SFiTCs would be able to source funding for a programme like Safe Hands. Given that securing funding is a fundamental component of the operating model of third-sector organisations (Clifford, Rajme and Mohan, 2010), this barrier is not unexpected, and has been highlighted in past research on FiTCs (Walters and Tacon, 2010). However, my research highlighted how some SFiTCs encounter barriers to sourcing funding because of misconceptions about them as organisations. These related to funders not being aware of the distinction between football clubs and the FiTC organisations associated with them. This issue has been observed in past research in England, where funders have assumed that FiTCs will be able to access some of the money that football clubs receive from broadcasting, sponsorship, season tickets etc (Jenkins et al., 2013). The solution there, as could be the case with SFiTCs, was that FiTCs were encouraged to dispel misunderstandings by clearly communicating who they are, what they do, and that they were distinct legal and financial entities from their parent club.

6.7.2 Framework of facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

In terms of facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands, these were evident at the individual and organisational level.

6.7.2.1 Individual level facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands

At an individual level, SFiTC stakeholders had positive views about the Safe Hands programme regarding its aims, structure, and content. Allied to this, were prevailing views that SFiTCs could have a role to play in supporting prison leavers and a programme like Safe Hands aligned with the broader social objectives of SFiTCs: helping people in need of extra assistance to improve their lives. In opposition to one of the individual level barriers described previously, most appeared to regard the potential risks posed by delivering programme like Safe Hands (i.e. security or safeguarding risks) as manageable, and SFiTCs typically had procedures in place to address these kinds of issues. Notably, these views were most prevalent among SFiTCs that were already delivering programmes to vulnerable groups, some of which included working with people who had been in prison.

6.7.2.2 Organisation level facilitators

Organisational level facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands included SFiTC settings acting as a hook to engage people with programmes, the widespread recognition that football could be a platform from which to address complex issues, and SFiTCs' existing skills and experience of working with marginalised groups, including people who had been in prison. The observation about the capacity for football settings such as SFiTCs to attract participants was also very clear in my Safe Hands research and is one that is commonly made in the FiTC literature. Key strengths of these organisations is how they can tap into the cultural cachet and personal connection that people have with football, particularly the club they support, and they offer a setting that is less intimidating or stigmatising for participants (Bunn et al., 2016; Curran et al., 2016; Hunt et al., 2020; Hunt et al., 2014; Parnell et al., 2013).

The acknowledgement by SFiTC stakeholders that football could act as a platform for engagement with more complex issues is again emblematic of wider analysis of FiTCs across the UK. Most have moved away from more basic or traditional forms of community programmes (such football holiday camps for school children) and embraced programmes with more complex outcomes (Sanders et al., 2020), such as supporting homeless people (Curran et al., 2016) or men with early onset dementia (Carone and Tischler, 2016). This development indicates that the scope of FiTC programmes continues to grow and is further evidence of the wider understanding that football can act as a platform to engage participants across myriad complex issues.

The last organisational facilitator was that several SFiTCs already employed people with skills and experience for working with marginalised groups, including people who had been in prison. This may be particularly important, given the often-challenging nature of working with people who have been in prison and the emphasis on relationship-based practice that underpins much resettlement work. As with the broadened scope of activities, the expanding skillsets of people who work for FiTCs is a further sign of the maturation of the industry. Past research has highlighted how FiTCs have found themselves unable to keep pace with the range of projects they were delivering, which was associated with skill shortages among the workforce (McGuire & Fenoglio, 2008). More recently, however, there has been a shift towards greater training and enhanced recruitment for FiTC employees and an increased knowledge among the workforce as

part of a 'professionalisation' of the industry, enabling FiTCs to be able to offer more targeted and specialised programmes (Sanders et al., 2020).

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter described the strand of my research which focussed on the SFiTC context and sought to answer my fourth research question:

- What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Football in the Community context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

Several conclusions can be drawn from my research with SFiTC stakeholders into barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland. Firstly, and as noted in respect of my research with Throughcare stakeholders, several of the facilitators seemed to mirror and potentially offset some of the barriers. For example, at an individual level, it was thought that the possible risks of working with young prison leavers might be a barrier for some SFiTCs, but set against this, there were those SFITCs who felt that these risks could be managed. At an organisational level, while some SFiTCs cited a lack of adequate resources as a barrier, others felt they had sufficient resources in place.

Based on these observations, a second conclusion is that some resource-level pre-conditions must be met and some SFiTCs are likely to be better equipped to deliver a programme like Safe Hands than others. The relationships between barriers and facilitators, where one may offset or confound the other is demonstrated in Table 11 below. Again as identified in my research with Throughcare stakeholders, there are several barriers that are not offset by facilitators. These were primarily system level barriers, relating to funding and potential stakeholder resistance to the idea of SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands. A consequence of these unresolved barriers is that Safe Hands may require some modifications. As with the previous chapter (Scottish Throughcare context), the findings from this chapter are carried forward into Chapter 7, the final chapter of this thesis, where they are used to assess the feasibility of delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland, as well as possible programme modifications for barriers that are not offset by facilitators or resolved by aspects of the Safe Hands programme.

SFiTC Facilitators (type)	Implications	Do they resolve any SFiTC barriers?	Conflicting SFiTC barriers
Individual level			
SFiTC stakeholders approved of aims of Safe Hands & programme aligned with ethos of SFiTCs (Attitudinal facilitator)	May increase likelihood that an SFiTC chooses to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.	No	No
Risks to working with young prison leavers could be managed (Attitudinal facilitator)	SFiTCs have procedures/policies in place to manage working with vulnerable groups.	Overcome concerns that some SFiTC staff might be wary of working with young prison leavers.	Risks of working with young prison leavers.
Organisational level			
Football is a platform from which to address complex issues (Resource facilitator)	Sign of SFiTCs maturing – offering programmes addressing wider health and social outcomes	No	No
Lure of the Scottish Football in The Community setting for young people in prison (Resource facilitator)	Prompt engagement.	No	No
Some SFiTCs have existing skills & experience of working with marginalised groups, including people who had been in prison (Resource facilitator)	Working with vulnerable groups usually requires specific skills - presence of such skills indicative of up-skilling among SFiTC workforce.	No	Not all SFiTCs have staff with this kind of experience.
System-level			
None	n/a	n/a	n/a
SFiTC barriers (type)	**Implications**	**Are they resolved by SFiTC facilitators?**	**Resolved by aspects of the Safe Hands programme**
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL			
Risks of working with young prison leavers. (Delivery barrier)	May mean that an SFiTC decides not to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.	View that risks to working with young prison leavers could be managed.	No
ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL			

Lack of resources - funding, infrastructure, and staffing (Delivery barrier)	Suggest some pre-conditions for delivering Safe Hands in terms of resource capacity and organisational capability.	Some SFiTCs have the resources – both staffing and structural – to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.	No
SYSTEM LEVEL			
Possible resistance from potential stakeholders stemming from problems of anti-social behaviour. within the football industry (Delivery barrier)	Could make it harder for an SFiTC to gain stakeholder support to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.	No	No
Lack of funding (Delivery barrier)	Securing funding likely a precondition for delivery.	No	No

Table 11: Summary of SFiTC barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe

7 Discussion, reflections, and recommendations

This thesis aimed to address 4 research questions. These were:

1. How does the Safe Hands programme, as delivered by Everton in the Community, support the resettlement of young prison leavers?

2. What, if any, barriers affected the delivery of Safe Hands?

3. What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Throughcare context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

4. What barriers and facilitators in the Scottish Football in the Community context might influence delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

In this chapter I will now discuss some of the implications of my findings. This chapter begins by considering some individual level barriers to identity change in young prison leavers at organisational and system levels. I then discuss how my findings about the barriers encountered by EiTC when delivering Safe Hands can be used to appraise the resettlement system in England using systems thinking. The same approach is then taken using the barriers identified in my research in Scotland to offer brief commentary on Throughcare in Scotland. A discussion on the feasibility of delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland follows. This includes consideration of what sorts of capacities and capabilities SFiTCs might need to possess to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. Possible modifications to Safe Hands to adapt it to the Scottish context are then proposed. This chapter then presents some reflections on my research, including an appraisal of the strengths and limitations of my thesis and then offers some personal reflections on my experiences of conducting research with young people in prison in Scotland. The chapter concludes with recommendations based on my research for policy makers and practitioners. This chapter is followed by the conclusion to this thesis.

7.1 Discussing organisation and system level barriers to individual identity change

In Chapter 1 of this thesis, it was highlighted that the concepts of desistance and resettlement were closely linked because desistance focusses on why and how people cease offending and resettlement policies, and practice are intended to prevent people leaving prison from reoffending in the community. One of the defining features of the desistance literature is how researchers have sought to conceptualise and explain it as a process that involves changes to aspects of peoples' lives (Weaver and McNeill, 2014; Terry and Abrams, 2015; Doekhie, Dirkzwager and Nieuwbeerta, 2017; Martí et al., 2019). It has been increasingly recognised that one of these changes occurs at the level of individual identity (Maruna and Farrall, 2004; Maruna et al., 2004; Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Abrams, 2012; Stevens, 2012; Nugent and Schinkel, 2016; Rocque, Posick and Paternoster, 2016). Indeed, Hazel et al (2017) cite identity change as the central outcome of their resettlement theory of change. However, as is widely noted, the journey to desistance is rarely linear (Maguire, 2006; McNeill & Batchelor, 2002; Sapouna et al., 2011; Sparkes & Day, 2016) and, as observed by McNeill (2012), attempts at desistance, as with resettlement, can be threatened by obstacles and barriers.

As stated the defining feature of Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change is that positive resettlement outcomes, including desistance, are more likely if resettlement programmes can support a shift in a young prison leaver's identity, from pro-offending to pro-social. This, they argue, is based on four drivers: young people feeling empowered, which leads to them making positive choices; young people deriving status and security from these positive choices; young people becoming engaged with and taking up positive roles and activities; and young people becoming future orientated. The findings from my research suggest that four aspects of the Safe Hands programme have a role to play in promoting these drivers of identity change: the programme setting, structure, the Safe Hands team, and the programme's activities. However, irrespective of how Safe Hands supports identity shifts, young prison leavers face barriers to identity change during resettlement that may occur outwith the confines of their interactions with Safe Hands and many of which are outside of the programmes' remit or capacity to solve. Using the same framework as was used to analyse barriers to EiTC delivering Safe Hands, organisational and system level barriers to individual identity change among young prison leavers are now discussed.

The experiences of Safe Hands participants highlight, in some cases more than others, how their involvement with the programme prompted them to reflect on their situation, become more aware of themselves and the implications of their actions, and begin to develop a pro-social identity that enabled them to move away from their previous pro-offending identity. For some, engagement with Safe Hands had enabled them to raise their horizons, see beyond the confines of their previous lives and embrace potentially new, brighter futures. However, as is commented on widely in the resettlement literature, adjusting to post-prison life was difficult for most of these young people. Not only do young prison leavers have to adjust to a life lacking the ordered structure of prison life, but organisational and system barriers to integration can undermine the goals that they have for their post-prison lives. Moreover, many experience disappointment after their release when they realise that their status in the world does not match their pre-release hopes and expectations and some of the significant challenges they face can lead to a return to offending and possibly prison (Berinbaum, 2009).

From a systems perspective, and as was identified in Chapter 2, not having a stable and secure place to live after being released from prison can be a major barrier to resettlement, and is commonly associated with reoffending (Baldry et al., 2002). An example of this was seen in my own research where a breakdown in a Safe Hands participant's family relationship led to them living in a hostel and, ultimately, disengaging from the programme. Whilst this instance was the result of something that happened after a young person was released from prison, many find themselves leaving prison uncertain about where they are going to be living, sometimes because of a lack of housing supply or because their accommodation needs are not identified or addressed earlier in their sentence. As a result, many find themselves living in temporary hostel accommodation. Research on the impact of prison leavers living in hostels on resettlement outcomes has found that such settings may lead to a continuation of the prisoner identity that many adopt while incarcerated, as they find themselves continuing to live alongside people who have been in prison and, in some cases, have resumed pro-offending lives (Maguire & Nolan, 2012). Exposure to the negative social environments that can exist in hostel settings may imperil a young person's attempts to shift to a pro-social identity by inhibiting their capacity to make positive choices and potentially triggering participation in destructive roles or activities, which Hazel et al (2017) identify as a marker of a pro-offending identity.

Another system level barrier to individual identity change could be the challenges that many young prison leavers face when trying to find employment. Adopting new roles such as employment are understood to be potential turning points in the lives of former offenders, as they are thought to trigger self-reflection processes and identity change (Sampson & Laub 1993). However, while many young people may leave prison and want to find employment, they will likely encounter multiple systemic barriers to doing so and poor employment outcomes and low earnings are also associated with people who have been in (Holzer, Raphael and Stoll, 2007). Examples of systemic barriers to young prisons leavers securing employment include requirements to report their criminal record on job applications or being legally prohibited from certain jobs. Given these barriers, it is no surprise that research has found that people who have been in prison often find it easier to take up illicit or illegal work as more reliable sources of income (Augustine, 2019). Resorting to illicit or illegal forms of income are likely to inhibit the identity change that is central to Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change as it is more aligned with the characteristics of the pro-offending identity they describe (e.g. making negative choices and occupying destructive roles).

A third system level barrier to individual identity change among young prison leavers could be the disruption many experience when transitioning from juvenile to adult justice systems. In England and Wales, for example, once someone turns 18 the responsibility for supervising them is transferred from YOTs to adult probation services. The significant differences in the level of provision between these two systems have been described as a 'cliff-edge' (Nicholas, Murray and Helyar-Cardwe, 2009) and has led to the conclusion that young adults are not 'adequately developed to "deal" with adult systems' (Brewster, 2019, p. 12). Key challenges young people can face at this time include unorganised transitions, insufficient information sharing between adult and youth services, and interrupted access to services or services being removed entirely (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2016; Price, 2020). One of the ways that individual identity change may be inhibited by transitioning from the youth to adult justice system could be the reduction in the frequency which probation staff are required to meet someone, compared to YOTS for example. This change could involve someone going from meeting with their YOT worker on a weekly basis to then only meeting their probation worker once every 6 months. This may increase the vulnerability people experience in their post-prison lives and may be especially impactful for young prison leavers as they leave adolescence and enter early adulthood. An implication of

prolonged gaps between support for identity change are that this may heighten the effects of social exclusion that young prison leavers often experience in the community and could leave them prone to long periods of unstructured time, which is a known risk factor for resuming pro-offending behaviour (Abrams, 2006; Gardner, Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2009). A further consequence of moving from the youth to adult justice system on individual identity change could be the loss of access to practical and emotional support, such as mental health services, which have higher thresholds for adults. The arbitrary removal of support is likely to be detrimental to any process of identity change, as these individuals still have profound needs and their capacity to cope with stressful transitions is likely to limited by the behaviour and emotional immaturity that is common among young people who have been in prison (Frazer, 2017). A response to these concerns is that the provision offered to justice involved young people under the age of 18 should be extended to include young adults, potentially up to the age of 24 (Bateman, 2015a). However, this is yet to be reflected in government policy.

A fourth system level barrier to identity change could be the supervision conditions that young people are forced to live under after leaving prison. For example, in England and Wales these can include, but are not limited to: a mandated minimum number of weekly contacts with YOTs; home curfews; and attending drug treatment programmes (Youth Justice Board, 2010). Living under restrictive conditions may inhibit a young person's capacity to make positive choices in their lives, which is one of the drivers of shift in identity in Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change. For example, a night-time curfew may prevent young people from accepting certain types of employment or working more lucrative night shift patterns that employers can find harder to recruit for. While there is evidently a need for supervising young people in the community, and supervision can be a vital conduit in providing resettlement support, it has been argued that productive changes to self-image, such as identity change, are more likely where young people's engagement with resettlement and rehabilitative services is based on their intrinsic motivation, rather than coercion, and where young people are supported to see the value in support for themselves, rather than as the result of constraints on their behaviour (Williams & Strean, 2002). In response to this, it has been suggested that a less rigid and more nuanced approach community supervision be considered, particularly among young prison leavers deemed to be a lower risk (Maguire and Peter Raynor, 2006).

Several potential organisational barriers to accessing services may inhibit individual level identity change among young prison leavers. These include delays or long waiting times to accessing services and organisational policies that while not directly discriminatory, may disproportionately impact people who have been in prison. Organisations that provide services to prison leavers are often over-stretched as a result of large caseloads or a lack of funds (Andersson Vogel, Sallnäs and Lundström, 2014) and prison leavers can face delays or long waiting lists to access help such as securing accommodation, financial support or drug treatment (Lewis et al., 2003). In addition, many organisations including healthcare providers, banks, and housing services require photo identification to access support. Previous studies of the resettlement needs of prison leavers have found that many leave prison without photo identification and find it difficult to obtain following their release, often because other key documentation has been lost while they were in prison (La Vigne et al., 2008; La Vigne et al., 2009). Consequently, young prison leavers may be unable to access services when they need, because they cannot provide the information that an organisation requires. Delayed or lack of support may mean young people lapse back into the same patterns of behaviour that led to their incarceration, resulting in the kinds of negative choices and destructive roles and activities that Hazel et al (2017) identify as a marker of a pro-offending identity.

7.2 Using systems thinking to appraise the resettlement systems in England and Scotland

This section discusses connections between my research findings and systems thinking, initially focusing on how the findings from my research with Safe Hand can be used to critique the resettlement system in England before considering what my findings from Scotland can tell us about aspects of the throughcare systems within that context.

A system is a configuration of interacting and interdependent components connected by a web of relationships, which form a whole greater than the sum of its parts (Holland, 2000). Systems can include people, organisations, structures, and relationships relevant to a particular issue. Conceptualised as such, the resettlement system for young prison leavers involves the organisations and structures that support them. Aspects of the resettlement system include social services, such as housing, social security, or social workers; youth justice services, which seek to deter and mitigate future offending,

including courts, prisons, the police, YOTs, and resettlement programmes such as Safe Hands; and other amenities, including substance misuse and mental health services. The overarching aim of this resettlement system is to support young prison leavers to re-enter society, build a new future for themselves and prevent future offending. The challenge for the system can be seen in the consistently high reoffending rates for young people who have been in prison, despite fewer young people being sent to prison in recent years (Ministry of Justice, 2018). Interventions and activities interact and influence each other within systems to produce a wide range of impacts, both positive and negative (Chapman, 2004). The web of services young prison leavers interact with underscores how resettlement is an interdependent process with complex synergies between numerous stakeholders (Blenkinsopp et al., 2010). In some cases, accessing some aspects of resettlement support is contingent on receiving support from other areas of the system. Accessing health services, for example, requires a young person to have a fixed address when they are released from prison.

Systems thinking is a way of analysing complex problems from a broad perspective that includes seeing overall structures, patterns and cycles, rather than specific events (Senge, 1990). Researchers have used systems thinking to understand how different activities and structures interact with one another to produce a variety of outcomes (Mears, 2017). It is a relevant concept to my research because, as described above, the resettlement of young prison leavers involves multiple tiers of services integrated within larger social structures and institutions (Visher and Travis, 2003). Indeed, systems thinking has been adopted as a foundational component of the Ministry of Justice's 'Prison Leavers Project', which aims to improve the social inclusion of prison leavers and reduce reoffending[29] and was launched in February 2021. From a systems thinking perspective, external factors influence the work of resettlement interventions and services in both direct and indirect ways, and different interventions and services influence what happens in other parts of the system; these influences can be positive and negative. People who leave prison are supported by policies and programmes and interact with services that are themselves impacted by organisational and political pressures, all of which may affect individual resettlement experiences and the attempts of programmes such as Safe Hands to support them. Exploring how aspects of the system interconnect and influence each other in order to identify gaps that may hinder

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[29] https://civilservice.blog.gov.uk/2021/02/01/the-prison-leavers-project/ [Accessed 12 February 2021].

resettlement and the degree of disconnection between different components of the system (Egan et al., 2019), may help us both understand more fully why some prison leavers reoffend and others do not, and identify key systemic obstacles to resettlement (Massoglia et al., 2007; Gunnison, Helfgott and Wilhelm, 2015).

How Safe Hands functions within the resettlement system can be understood by using the findings from my research about the programme (i.e. what aspects of the programme support resettlement and the barriers EiTC encountered when delivering the programme), which generated individual, organisational, and system levels of analysis. From a systems thinking perspective, several individual level barriers experienced by Safe Hands are relevant. These included how staff from other youth justice agencies were reluctant to refer the young people they were supporting to Safe Hands, an unwillingness among some prison staff to support Safe Hands staff to deliver aspects of the Pre-Season stage of the programme, and knowledge about Safe Hands not being shared when staff in referring agencies changed. A consequence of people within the resettlement system being unwilling to refer young people to Safe Hands, or some prison staff not supporting Safe Hands to work with young people in custody, suggestive of 'silo-mentalities'(Moore and Hamilton, 2016), is an undermining of the partnership and multi-agency approaches to resettlement that have been advocated within the resettlement system.

Information about Safe Hands not being shared or retained when staff changed in other agencies worked with was another individual level barrier encountered by Safe Hands. Information about different services not being retained within the collective memory of the resettlement system is indicative of a weakness that has been observed in other research. Malloch (2013), for instance, in their review of Throughcare services in Scotland, described service provision for prison leavers as a 'constantly changing landscape' (p.12). The shifting topography of the actors involved in the resettlement system is likely a consequence of services for people leaving prison increasingly being provided by a combination of statutory and third sector organisations (Meek, Gojkovic and Mills, 2016). The continuity of third sector resettlement provision has been undermined by funding that is both short-term and allocated in an organic rather than strategic fashion, which has created a patchwork of services characterised by both gaps and areas of overlap (Paylor, Hucklesby and Wilson, 2010)

The organisational level of the resettlement system can be understood as relating to institutions or programmes (e.g. prisons, Safe Hands, etc). Organisational barriers experienced by Safe Hands stemmed from the difficult relationships they had with some prisons. Indeed, the Safe Hands team suggested that working with prisons and supporting young people in prisons was the most challenging aspect of the programme to deliver. The organisational barriers experienced by Safe Hands when working with prisons could be seen as emblematic of tensions arising out of the competing default purposes of prisons (maintain security and order among the prison population) and community-based resettlement programmes (supporting people after they leave prison) (Bateman, Hazel and Wright, 2013; Cullen and Gilbert, 2013). This disconnect is particularly significant, given the importance placed on building relationships in custody prior to release to resettlement prospects (Maguire and Peter Raynor, 2006; Hazel and Liddle, 2012; Malloch et al., 2013; Hunter, 2016; Goodfellow and Liddle, 2017) and the value attributed to through-the-gate support to resettlement outcomes, including in Hazel et al's (2017) resettlement theory of change. Previous research about the experiences of resettlement practitioners working with prisons has found that disrupted access to young people in prison and a lack of clear communication between community programmes and prisons hinders continuity of care for young prison leavers (Gyateng, Moretti, May and Turnbull, Paul, 2014). The experiences of Safe Hands highlight that disruptions to their connections with prisons can have significant implications for the efficacy of community-based resettlement programmes. From a systems perspective, what the experiences of Safe Hands also demonstrates is how organisational level problems can cascade down to the individual level, where the difficulties encountered by Safe Hands when working with some prisons resulted in young prison leavers feeling less attached to Safe Hands and so less interested in remaining engaged with the programme after release.

The system level of the resettlement system can be understood as political, policy, and economic aspects which impact people leaving prison. Policy decisions, such as seeking to divert young people away from prison, are often dictated by ideological positions on crime. The resettlement system can also be influenced by broader polices which impact the services offered to young people leaving prison, such as the budgets allocated to youth justice services. Political influences on youth justice can be particularly strong, on account of it being an often emotive and highly politicised policy area, where some changes have been driven by a desire among policymakers to respond to public anxiety

or moral outrage, rather than the needs of the people the system is meant to support (Murray, 2009). System level barriers that impacted on Safe Hands stemmed from the UK government's austerity led approach to public spending in response to the 2008 global financial crash. This obstructed the programme in two ways. Firstly, the drastic cuts in public spending impacted on partnership working between community organisations as many were forced to compete with one another for increasingly scarce resources and adopted protectionist working practices based on self-preservation rather than cooperation. In prisons, austerity-fuelled budget cuts led to reductions in the workforce and heightened uncertainty among prison staff; more experienced staff chose to leave, resulting in a less experienced, stable and efficient workforce, reductions in access to services was also observed (Elphick, 2014;Shilson-Thomas, 2020; Ismail, 2020).

The second austerity-driven system level barrier that impacted Safe Hands, was the decision by the UK government to close multiple prisons across England and Wales, in response to both a desire to cut costs and the decline in the number of young people in prison (Skinns, 2016). Since 2009, twelve establishments for young people have been decommissioned in England, which led to the loss of more than 2,000 custodial places (Jones, 2018) and resulted in an increasing of number of young people being placed in prisons further from their home communities (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2016). This resulted in the closure of some of the institutions near Liverpool that Safe Hands had been working with when it began, forcing the programme to support young people in prisons further afield. This in turn meant they were unable to meet with young people in prison as frequently as before, leading to weaker relationships with participants, which lessened the prospects of them engaging post-release. This highlights how significant consequences can be felt at the organisational level within a system when major changes occur at the system level, and at the individual level impacting on young people's prospects after they leave prison. From a systems perspective, the experiences of Safe Hands highlight the trickledown and pervasive effects of system level decisions made by the UK government. It is arguable that by seeking to save money by closing prisons, the UK government may have increased costs to society because of potentially heightening the chances of young prison leavers failing to resettle in the community and potentially reoffending. Although there is no direct evidence of this, there is wider evidence from within the resettlement literature that suggests it is a likely outcome. This includes evidence demonstrating that housing people in prisons that are further way from their home community can be a major impediment to their resettlement

(Niven and Stewart, 2005; Hedderman, 2007), an effect which may be especially pronounced for younger people (Lindsey et al., 2017).

In terms of positive lessons for the resettlement system arising out of my research with Safe Hands, its success when working with young people in prisons closer to Liverpool, suggests that community-based custody units (where young people live in smaller facilities that are more integrated with community services) could improve resettlement outcomes. This approach has been adopted in Scotland as part of a modernisation programme of the female prison estate, where several smaller regional facilities are currently being built (Jewkes et al., 2019). A systems thinking perspective, focusing on processes rather than projects (Hough, 2014), suggests the need for a more comprehensive analysis of the resettlement system to evaluate each stage of the criminal justice process for young people (arrest, conviction and sentencing; prison conditions and access to purposeful activities; pre-release resettlement planning; support during and beyond the transition from custody to community) from the perspective of assessing their effects on successful resettlement.

From a Scottish perspective, the purpose of my research was not to assess the existing Throughcare system. However, based on my research, several observations can be made, using systems thinking. At an organisational level, the decline in numbers of young people in custody in Scotland suggests that Scottish policymakers could consider moving away from having a youth prison estate based primarily around one centralised facility, towards adopting community custody units, as is being developed for women in prison. Previous problems with Throughcare provision in Scotland's national youth facility have been observed, particularly in relation to pre-release planning and integration between the prison regime and community-based support (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2012). The decline in numbers of young people in prison presents an opportunity to house young people in facilities closer to their home communities, thus maintaining stronger connections with their families and Throughcare services. This would help resettlement by reducing the isolation experienced by young people in custody, help maintain or establish provision in the community earlier in their sentence, start the engagement process with community services and smooth their transition back into the community.

From a systems perspective, my research identified the problem of young people existing custody as homeless in Scotland, increasing the challenges of resettlement support. Calls to tackle this issue can be seen in the wider resettlement literature, where government reports and academic studies have repeatedly highlighted that housing problems are a barrier to young people's resettlement (Abrams, 2006; Arnull et al., 2007; Bateman and Hazel, 2013; Glover & Clewett, 2011; Gray et al., 2018; Griffiths et al., 2007; HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2015; Little, 2015). Indeed, while sourcing adequate accommodation is recognised as a problem that affects prisoners of all ages (Burnett & McNeill, 2005; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002; Strang, 2018), it may be particularly acute for young people because many experience chaotic home lives and lack stable accommodation prior to imprisonment (O'Neill, 2018) and incarceration frequently worsens their accommodation status (Ellis, Haydon and Jenkins, 2012; Hazel, Liddle and Gordon, 2012). Consequently, while the issue of housing for young prison leavers is not unique to Scotland, my research suggests that it is a current flaw in the Scottish Throughcare system, which can destabilise and inhibit the efficacy of the system as a whole and should be considered a priority issue by policymakers.

7.3 How feasible is a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland?

By scoping potential barriers and facilitators, this study presents a first step towards assessing the feasibility of delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland and allows four observations to be made. Firstly, in some cases what was a barrier towards some SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands was a facilitator for others. For example, while some felt they had sufficient staffing or physical resources to deliver a programme like Safe Hands, others felt less well equipped. Similarly, while some SFiTCs suggested that there might be concerns within their organisation about working with young prison leavers, others did not feel this would be a problem and believed that they had adequate risk management processes in place.

While my research indicated that there were some facilitators that applied to all SFiTCs, most prominently the lure of SFiTC settings, it is likely that some would be more able to deliver a programme like Safe Hands than others. These findings suggest there are some preconditions likely for an SFiTC to be able to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. Here, the concepts of organisational capability and capacity can be used to assess what would likely be pre-conditions for an SFiTC to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.

According to Franks (1999), organisational capability 'refers to the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the individuals, separately or as a group, and their competence to undertake the responsibility assigned to them' (p.52). Using this definition, and from a knowledge and skills perspective, it would appear likely that a pre-condition for an SFiTC to be able to deliver a programme like Safe Hands would be having staff with some knowledge and experience of working with young prison leavers or marginalised groups more broadly. Anther pre-condition, which links to the attitude capacity identified by Franks (1999), would be SFiTCs who were motivated to deliver a programme like Safe Hands, undaunted by the possible risks of working with young prison leavers and had risk management process in place. High motivation at programme initiation has been identified as a correlate of successful intervention implementation (Harris and Smith, 1996). Koop, Chien, and Wong (2015) define organisational capacity as the elements it needs to achieve its goals, including physical resources. The key barrier in relation to this is the lack of physical infrastructure at some SFiTCs. Given the importance attached to the Safe Hands resource hub by Safe Hands participants and staff, a likely precondition of an SFiTC offering Safe Hands is having the physical resources to be able to offer a programme like Safe Hands its own space to try and recreate the welcoming social environment seen in the Safe Hands hub.

The second observation with respect to the feasibility of delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland, is that, as was noted in the conclusion sections to Chapters 5 and 6, in several instances, facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands were challenged by opposing barriers, which suggests that it should not be automatically assumed that Safe Hands would be an effective approach to improving resettlement outcomes for young prison leavers in Scotland. This links back to the observation by Pawson, Walshe and Greenhalgh (2004) noted in Chapter 1 about how programmes can be ineffective in different circumstances because of the influence of contextual factors. For example, while the data suggested that the SFiTC setting and aspects of the programme appealed to young people, it is unknown whether this would overcome some of the attitudinal and motivational barriers that can reduce the willingness of young people to engage with resettlement support in Scotland. In another example, while Safe Hands would likely meet the needs of young prison leavers, which in the literature has been linked with improved resettlement outcomes (Wright, Factor and Goodfellow, 2014), this facilitator may be challenged by the barrier represented by the increasing complex needs of young people in prisons in Scotland resulting from reductions in the

youth prison population. Again, without evidence it is impossible to state the impact this may have.

Thirdly, in respect of the feasibility of delivering Safe Hand in Scotland, it is also possible that some aspects of the Safe Hands programme that were not discussed to any great extent in my research with SFiTC or Throughcare stakeholders but were shown to be impactful in my research with Safe Hands, may also offset some of the barriers identified by SFiTC and Throughcare stakeholders. One example of this could be how the Pre-Season stage of Safe Hands, which involves planning for release, may offset some of the structural barriers faced by young prison leavers in Scotland. Another example could be how Safe Hands was shown to prompt young people to disassociate from peers who they felt were a bad influence on them, which might counter the influence of peers identified in my Scottish research as a potential barrier to engagement with resettlement support.

The fourth, and final, observation regarding the feasibility of an SFiTC delivering a programme like Safe Hands relates to how some of the barriers identified were not offset by either SFiTC or Throughcare facilitators or aspects of the Safe Hands programme. That most of these related to the current characteristics of the Scottish youth justice system aligns with observations by Harris & Smith (1996) noted in Chapter 1. They state the importance of programmes for justice-involved youth considering the attributes of a youth justice system before they are implemented, including the population of young people. Indeed, as they further note, the over-reliance on top down or scripted implementation, which fails to take account of local conditions, is a reason why some resettlement programmes fail to deliver on their aims and that 'each new program site is different … thus producing a need for differences in the program itself' (p.197). This observation suggests that some modifications might be required to Safe Hands to adapt it to the Scottish context. These are described in the following section.

7.3.1 Modifications to Safe Hands to deliver it in Scotland

Stirman et al (2013) have developed a system for classifying modifications made to interventions when implemented in different settings, which they refer to as contextual and content modifications. I have used this to consider how the findings from my

research might suggest some adaptations to adapt Safe Hands to the Scottish context. Stirman et al (2013) refer to contextual modifications as changes to:

> "the format or channel, the setting or location in which the overall intervention is delivered, or the personnel who deliver the intervention. We also include in this category the population to which an intervention is delivered." (p.5)

Intervention content modifications are defined by Stirman et al (2013) as changes to the delivery of the intervention content, including adding or removing elements. Table 12 summarises the proposed context and content modifications for delivering Safe Hands in Scotland.

Modification	Rationale	Implications
CONTEXT		
Support young adults (18-25) in prison instead of young people (context)	Increase client group as currently small number of young people in prison in Scotland	This context modification may lead to content modifications to take account of different needs of young adults in prison vs young people.
Support young people on community sentences (context)	Small number of young people in prison in Scotland. Retain focus on young people but widen pool of eligible young people by shifting concentration to young people serving community sentences.	Truncated Pre-Season stage (less lead in before engaging in the community vs sometimes months long build up for young people in prison). Absence of transition from custody to community may increase engagement among young people.
Programme delivered by an umbrella organisation (context)	Negate issue of fan rivalries negatively impacting on engagement.	Could allow for a national approach to Safe Hands, if delivered via a hub and spoke model, which may offset multiple barriers.
CONTENT		
Adapt programme content to young adults.	Young adults who have been in prison have different needs to young people (e.g. prefer employment focused support).	Change programme of activities offered to participants, potentially removing some of the experiential aspects to focus more on employability.

Table 12: Summary of context and content Safe Hands modifications

There are several aspects of the Safe Hands programme that might necessitate contextual modifications, based on the barriers identified in the Scottish Throughcare and SFiTC contexts. The number of young people in prison in Scotland is currently small, indeed considerably smaller than at any point in the 21st Century (The Scottish Government, 2020) and a smaller client group than a programme like Safe Hands is intended to support. This might present difficulties in justifying the need for such a

programme. To counter this, a programme could seek to support a larger cohort of people currently in prison in Scotland, such as young adults. This groups is generally defined as those aged between and 18 and 25 and has been identified as having distinct needs and often experiencing disparities in access to support services in comparison to both younger and older age groups (Walker-Harding, Christie and Joffe, 2017). While it has been argued that young adults leaving prison require support distinct to their needs (Goodfellow et al., 2015), the literature specific to the resettlement needs of young adults is limited and it should not be assumed that what is considered effective with those aged under 18 will work equally well with those who are slightly older (Bateman, Hazel and Wright, 2013).

A further modification in response to the small numbers of young people in prison could be that were Safe Hands to continue to focus on this age group, the target population could be widened to include those who have been given community sentences, as well as those in prison. Most young people who appear in court in Scotland receive non-custodial disposals, of which almost one third receive community sentences (Dyer, 2016). In addition to widening the pool of justice involved young people in Scotland eligible for a programme like Safe Hands, this modification may help an SFiTC avoid some of the challenges of working within prison settings, as reported by Safe Hands. The Pre-Season stage might also be shortened, and young people could essentially begin engaging with the programme soon after referral. Engaging young people in the community may also improve participant engagement as the risks to engagement presented by the transition from custody to community are not a factor.

A final change to the context of a programme like Safe Hands might be required in response to the potential problems raised by the rivalry between Celtic and Rangers, which my research showed could present a barrier to engaging some young people and could be present among other fanbases (in Edinburgh, for example, fans of Heart of Midlothian might be resistant to the idea of attending a programme like Safe Hands delivered by their city rivals, Hibernian, and vice versa). There are two possible approaches to this. Firstly, taking a slightly narrower approach, if a programme like Safe Hands were established to support young prison leavers returning to a particular city or locality (e.g. Glasgow), it could be delivered by a Glasgow based SFiTC that has no association with either Old Firm team, Partick Thistle, for example. Disadvantages of this are that the lure of the programme might be lost on some young people and the

FiTCs associated with Rangers and Celtic likely have greater organisational capacity and capability to deliver a programme like Safe Hands than smaller SFiTCs, such as Partick Thistle. Alternatively, the programme might be delivered via a partnership between Rangers and Celtic, so retaining its lure for supporters of either team.

A second, more expansive option, could be to deliver Safe Hands as a national programme, via an umbrella organisation such as the SPFL Trust, using a 'hub and spoke' model. Taking this approach, a programme team from the SPFL Trust could be based in Polmont to deliver the Pre-Season stage of Safe Hands before young people join up with SFiTC hubs after their release for the Mid- and End of Season stages, these could be based in different communities across Scotland. Hub and spoke approaches to service provision have been shown to be successful in other fields, including improving availability and widening access to healthcare services in rural areas (Drabsch, 2015; LaRaia and Worden, 2020). Delivering Safe Hands via a hub and spoke model, overseen by the SPFL Trust, may help to overcome some of the other barriers cited in my research. Firstly, from a funding perspective, the SPFL Trust as a national origination may find it easier to attract financial backing than a single SFiTC, particularly as this programme would have a national scope compared to one focused on a single community. Secondly, delivering the programme via the SPFL Trust may offset some of the potential scepticism towards SFiTCs as providers for programmes for justice involved young people, as it has an established track record among policymakers for delivering programmes funded by the Scottish Government, such as the League Cup Legacy Fund scheme (SPFL Trust, 2016). Thirdly, while my research noted some cynicism within SPS towards SFiTCs who have delivered programmes to young people in Polmont, delivering Safe Hands under the auspices of the SPFL Trust may give it greater clout, which could offset such reservations. Fourthly, a more national approach to delivering Safe Hands, with hubs in different cities, would allow the programme to engage with a greater number of young people leaving Polmont rather than only being delivered within a single community setting. Lastly, having a Safe Hands team permanently based in Polmont would allow that team to build relationships with prison operational staff and management. This may help them to become more integrated into the prison regime and could counteract some of the barriers encountered by Safe Hands when working with different prisons, in terms of accessing young people and being able to see them for adequate periods of time. However, aside from the barriers identified in my research with SFiTC and Scottish Throughcare stakeholders, there are others from the

resettlement literature that might need consideration if using a hub and spoke approach to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland. As noted in Chapter 2, for example, Hucklesby and Wincup (2007) identified that resettlement programmes which use two different staff teams, one based in prisons and another in the community, can encounter difficulties when people are released and passed over from one team to the other, because the person leaving prison does not have sufficiently strong relationships with the people supporting them in the community. This can lead to people disengaging from support. However, there are approaches that could be used to mitigate this. For example, virtual platforms could be used to connect participants in custody with the SFiTC staff who will be supporting them after their release. The introduction of virtual visits and the expanded use of telehealth in Scotland's prisons in response to COVID-19 gives precedent for this kind of activity (Graham, 2020; HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland, 2020). From a criminal justice perspective, mechanisms such as temporary release, which is provided for under 'The Prisons and Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules' and which govern YOIs in Scotland, could be used to allow young people to visit SFiTCs in the community and begin to build relationships with staff and become familiar with the surroundings. Figure 25 gives an idea of what a hub and spoke mode for delivering Safe Hands might look like. The SFiTCs listed, with the name of their parent club in brackets if required for clarity, are based in the cities in Scotland where most young people in prison in Scotland tend to come from (Robinson, Leishman and Lightowler, 2017). These are by no means the only clubs based in some of these cities that could act as hubs, merely an indication of the spread of these organisations across Scotland.

Figure 25: Hub and spoke model for delivering Safe Hands in Scotland
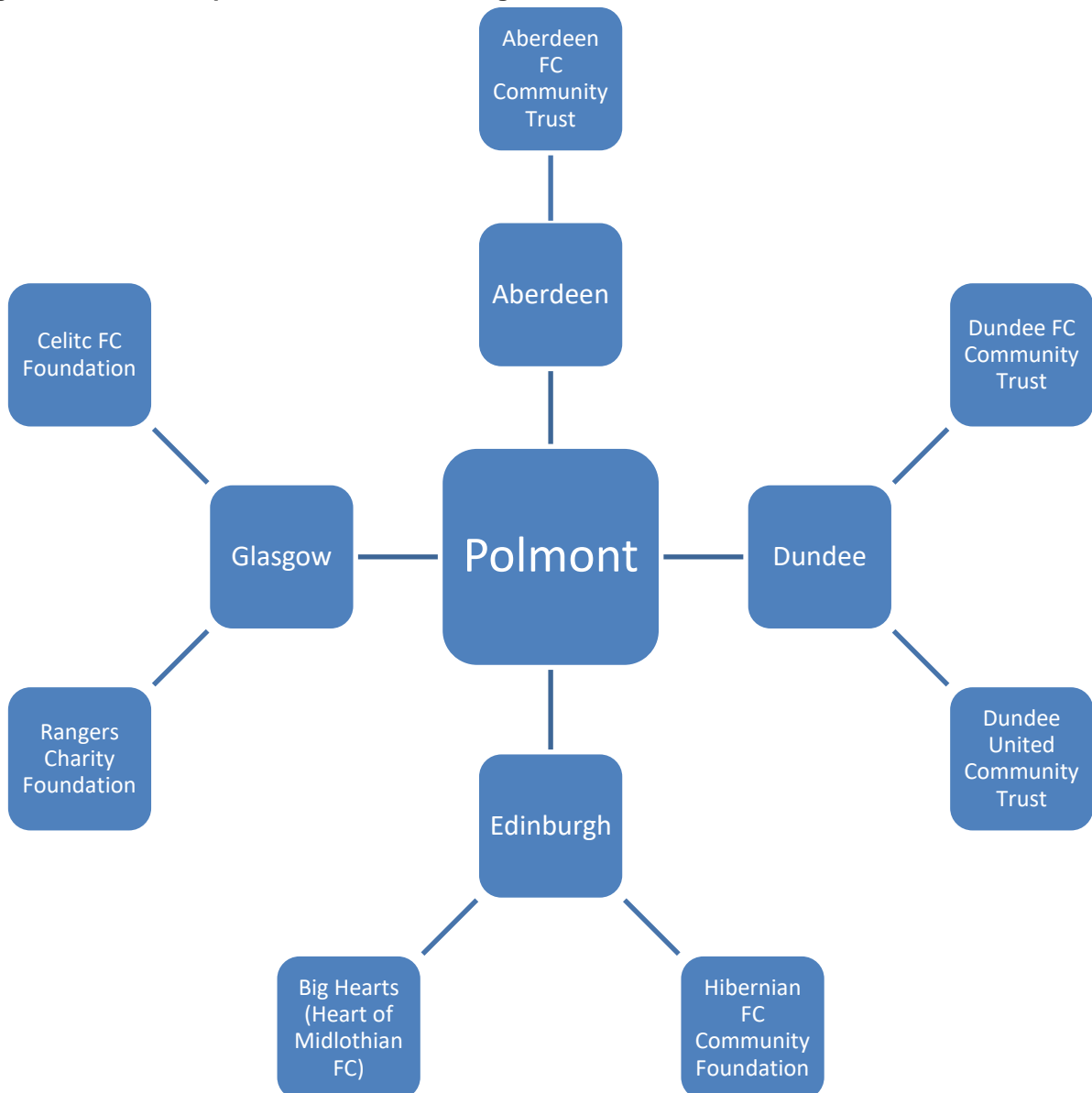
As noted above, modifications to an interventions content can include adding or removing elements (Stirman et al., 2013). Were Safe Hands to be delivered to an older cohort of prison leavers in Scotland (e.g. young adults) it could be that elements of the programme content might have to be changed to take account of their specific needs. For example, past research has shown that they place a higher priority on finding employment after release from prison than younger prison leavers (Farrant, 2005). Consequently, it could be that the Safe Hands model is adapted to focus more on employability related activities, potentially at the expense of some of the more

experiential components, as young adults are thought to value practical assistance over activities designed to appeal to interests (Farrall, 2002).

7.3.2 **What next for a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland?**

To conclude this assessment of the feasibility of delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland, my research has shown that while some facilitators offset barriers to delivery, some barriers confound facilitators, and aspects of the Safe Hand programme counterbalance barriers. Modifications have been proposed where neither a facilitator or aspects of the Safe Hands programme could address a barrier to delivering Safe Hands that was observed in either the Scottish Throughcare or SFiTC context. The relationships between all these aspects, drawing together the findings from my research with Scottish Throughcare and SFiTC stakeholders, as well as those from Safe Hands, are summarised below. Table 13 summarises facilitators and Table 14 summarises barriers. (Note these combine the tables included in the concluding sections to my Scottish Throughcare and SFiTC stakeholder chapters.) However, this research can only provide tentative conclusions. The next step in this process could be the development of a pilot programme of Safe Hands in Scotland. This would help to understand the methods and approaches that are likely to be most effective when implementing a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland, while collecting preliminary data and potentially testing out some of the modifications proposed. However, as has been noted earlier in this thesis, the influences on post-prison resettlement are complex and the life-courses taken by people leaving prison are influenced by wider system factors and social inequalities, many of which are not within the gift of programmes like Safe Hands to solve.

Facilitators to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland (type; context)	Implications	Do they resolve any barriers? (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Conflicting barriers (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Modifications/workarounds
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL				

Facilitators to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland (type; context)	Implications	Do they resolve any barriers? (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Conflicting barriers (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Modifications/workarounds
Safe Hands meets the needs of young prison leavers in Scotland (Delivery facilitator; Throughcare)	Alignment between the needs of participants & resettlement support may reduce reoffending.	Might prompt engagement if young people can see the value in support being offered to them.	Young prison leavers thought to have more complex needs.	Content modification: Activities & structure may need modification to account for more complex needs among participants (e.g. more intense support).
Aspects of Safe Hands appeal to young people in prison (Engagement facilitator; Throughcare)	Interest in the programme may prompt participant engagement.	Overcome reluctance among young prison leavers to engage with resettlement support.	Attitudinal & motivational barriers – fatalism among young prison leavers, negative influence of peers, may not engage if Safe Hands offered by a rival team.	Context modification: SH delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – retain the lure of football but negate issues of young people being put off by rival teams.
SFiTC stakeholders approved of aims of Safe Hands. Programme aligned with ethos of SFiTCs. (Attitudinal facilitator; SFiTC)	May increase likelihood that an SFiTC chooses to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.	Overcome reluctance among staff with some SFiTCs.	No	None
Risks to working with young prison leavers could be managed (Attitudinal facilitator; SFiTC)	SFiTCs have procedures/policies in place to manage working with vulnerable groups.	Overcome concerns that some SFiTC might be wary of working with young prison leavers.	Unease among some SFiTC staff about risks of working with young prison leavers.	None
INDIVIDUAL/ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL				

Facilitators to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland (type; context)	Implications	Do they resolve any barriers? (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Conflicting barriers (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Modifications/workarounds
SFiTC setting appeals to young people in custody. (Engagement facilitator; Throughcare [INDIVIDUAL] / Resource facilitator; SFiTC [ORGANISATIONAL])	Prompt engagement.	Overcome reluctance among young prison leavers to engage with resettlement support.	Attitudinal & motivational barriers – fatalism among young prison leavers, negative influence of peers, may not engage if Safe Hands offered by a rival team.	Context modification: SH delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – retain the lure of football but negate issues of young people being put off by rival teams.
ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL				
Football is a platform from which to address complex issues (Resource facilitator; SFiTC)	Sign of SFiTCs maturing – offering programmes addressing wider health and social outcomes.	No	No	None
Some SFiTCs had existing skills & experience of working with marginalised groups, including prison leavers (Resource facilitator; SFiTC)	Working with vulnerable groups usually requires specific skills - presence of such skills indicative of up-skilling among SFiTC workforce.	Having experience of working with marginalised groups may offset some attitudinal motivational barriers	Not all SFiTCs have staff with this kind of experience.	SFiTCs with staff with experience of working vulnerable groups likely best placed to delivering a programme like Safe Hands
SYSTEM LEVEL				
Current policy focus on throughcare in Scotland (Delivery facilitator; Throughcare-system)	Indicates a receptive policy landscape – including for innovative approaches & Safe Hands aims align with key government policies	A receptive policy environment may make it easier to source funding	Some stakeholders may be sceptical regarding the appropriateness of SFiTCs working with young prison leavers, given football's problems with anti-social behaviour.	Context modification: SH delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – national organisations may have greater clout than one SFiTC – could also be a national programme rather than in one geographical area.

Table 13: Summary of facilitators and modifications to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland.

Barriers to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland (type; context)	Implications	Resolved by facilitators (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Resolved by aspects of Safe Hands programme	Modifications/workarounds
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL				
Challenges during transition from custody to community (Engagement barrier; Throughcare)	Complex time for young prison leavers – prone to risky behaviours, including reoffending.	No	Structure of the Safe Hands programme (e.g. Pre-Season & immediate support post-release) may prompt engagement.	None
Young people in prison have increasingly complex needs (Engagement barrier; Throughcare)	May place greater demands on programme like Safe Hands.	No	Pre-Season stage of Safe Hands is designed to identify needs and how to meet them.	Content modification: structure and content may have to be adapted to address more complex needs (e.g. starting support in custody sooner and meet with young people more frequently before release).
Attitudinal and motivational barriers – fatalism, negative influence of peers and old-firm rivalry (Engagement barrier; Throughcare)	Young people reluctant to engage with resettlement programmes.	Programme appeals to young people in prison and football setting acts as a lure.	Safe Hands shown to offset influence of negative peers in some participants.	Context modification: Safe Hands delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – may offset issues with young people not wanting to work with certain football clubs.
Unease among some SFiTC staff about risk of working with young prison leavers (Attitudinal barrier; SFiTC)	SFiTC may chose not to deliver a programme like Safe Hands.	No	No	Ultimately a decision for SFiTCs whether they believe risk could be managed.
ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL	**Implications**	**Resolved by facilitators (either SFiTC or Throughcare)**	**Resolved by aspects of Safe Hands programme**	**Modifications/workarounds**
Negative views among some SPS staff towards past SFiTC programmes (Delivery barrier; Throughcare)	Lack of support from prison staff – could limit recruitment or capacity to operate in prisons.	No	No	Context modification: Safe Hands delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – may give programme more clout than if only delivered by one SFiTC.

Barriers to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland (type; context)	Implications	Resolved by facilitators (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Resolved by aspects of Safe Hands programme	Modifications/workarounds
Lack of staff & infrastructure (Resource barrier; SFiTC)	Suggest that a combination of sufficient infrastructure and personnel resources are a precondition to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland.	Some SFiTCs have staff with required skill set and the infrastructure.	No	No
SYSTEM LEVEL				
Structural barriers to resettlement (Engagement barrier; Throughcare)	Structural barriers can negatively impact on resettlement outcomes, including engagement with services.	No.	Yes. Pre-Season designed to identify pre-release needs. However, some of these not within gift of programmes like Safe Hands to solve.	None
Lack of funding for throughcare services (Delivery barrier; Throughcare & SFiTC)	Securing funding likely a precondition for delivery. Some SFiTCs struggle to attract funding.	Policy focus on throughcare could mean more funding available for new or innovative programmes.		Context modification: Safe Hands delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – a programme with a national approach may be more likely to attract funding than funding for one programme that would only benefit young people in a single geographical area.
Only one national institution (Delivery barrier; Throughcare)	Potentially harder to support young people if they live further away from Polmont or only SFiTCs close to Polmont may choose to deliver the programme.	No	No. However, supporting young people in only 1 prison could minimise the risk of an SFiTC experiencing the kinds of barriers experienced by Safe Hands when working with multiple prisons.	Context modification: SH delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – a programme with a national approach may be more likely to attract funding than funding for 1 programme that would only benefit young people in geographical area.

Barriers to delivering Safe Hands in Scotland (type; context)	Implications	Resolved by facilitators (either SFiTC or Throughcare)	Resolved by aspects of Safe Hands programme	Modifications/workarounds
Small number of young people in custody in Scotland (Delivery barrier; Throughcare)	Smaller client group could make programme harder to justify.	No	No	Context modification: Programme seeks to support an older group of people in custody and/or also include young people serving community sentences to widen potential client base.
Increasing proportion of young people in prison on remand (Delivery barrier; Throughcare)	Custodial status uncertain – may be released at short notice.	No	No evidence of efficacy of Safe Hands supporting young people on remand.	Content modification: offer more intensive support to young people on remand.
Resistance among senior stakeholders about suitably of SFiTCs (Attitudinal barrier; SFiTC)	May make it difficult for SFiTCs to attract funding.	Policy focus on throughcare could mean more funding available for new or innovative programmes.	No	Context modification: Safe Hands delivered by an umbrella organisation (e.g. SPFL Trust) – a programme with a national approach may be more appealing to hesitant stakeholders.

Table 14:Summary of barriers and modifications for delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland.

7.4 Reflections on my research

The following section offers some reflections on my research. I begin by discussing some of the strengths of my study. This is followed by describing of some of the limitations of this thesis. Lastly, this section concludes with some personal reflections on my experience conducting research about young people in prison, based on my fieldwork with young people living in prison in Scotland.

7.4.1 Strengths

This research makes a positive and original contribution to the academic study of the resettlement of young prison leavers in the following ways. Firstly, as a topic this exploration of the workings of a resettlement programme delivered by a FiTC is, to the best of my knowledge, an area that has received little or no empirical scrutiny. While there is now a burgeoning body of research around the impact of sporting programmes on people in prison (e.g. Martos-garcía et al., 2009; Meek, 2013, 2014, 2018; Meek & Lewis, 2014; Parker et al., 2013; Williams et al., 2015; Woods, Breslin, et al., 2017;

Woods, Hassan, et al., 2017), what has been much less explored is how programmes delivered in sporting settings can help promote resettlement. Research about interventions that may improve peoples' lives while they are in prison is undoubtedly important, given the well-established harms associated with imprisonment (Offord, 2016). However, negative outcomes, for example high rates of overdose-related deaths following release (Waddell et al., 2020), highlight the importance of research about programmes that show potential to promote successful resettlement.

A second strength is that by using an existing resettlement theory of change, this research has identified the 'active ingredients' of the Safe Hands programme, which are the programme setting, structure, team, and activities, with respect to promoting resettlement. As a piece of exploratory research, my findings could act as groundwork for future studies. The logic model created on the basis of this research could be used as an 'initial programme theory' as part of realist evaluation of Safe Hands (Gilmore et al., 2019).

From a methodological perspective, a third strength is that a wide range of stakeholders were recruited to participate in each strand of my research. In my research with Safe Hands, I recruited former participants in addition to current programme participants and staff. Doing so allowed for the collection of views from young people who were now distanced from the programme and more able than current participants to reflect on how Safe Hands may have shaped their subsequent life decisions and to speak more openly about their experiences (Cohen, Taylor and Hanrahan, 2020). I also successfully recruited young people currently living in prison in Scotland. While research with young people in custody has increased in recent years (Clark & Laing, 2012; Maycock et al., 2018), youth offending institutes are closed facilities and the difficulties of researchers gaining access and ethical complexities associated with such settings has been highlighted in research literature (Westmarland, 2013;James, 2013). However, recruiting young people in prison allowed for me to obtain the perspective of the potential client group directly, rather than seeking these views via a proxy (e.g. resettlement workers).

7.4.2 **Limitations**

There are several key limitations of this study against which the findings need to be considered. The first relates to the strategy I adopted for my literature search. This could have been more systematic, well documented, and would likely have benefited from the involvement of specialist librarian to discuss and adapt search terms, decisions over databases and how best to conduct the searches. However, via the strategies adopted, such as examining the reference lists of key papers, I sought to ensure that my literature review incorporated all the relevant literature.

In respect of data collection, an important limitation relates to the time-limited nature of my research with Safe Hands. The programme has been running since 2012. My research, which took place over just a few weeks, can only be regarded as a snapshot, which is a commonly cited limitation of qualitative research (Shidur, 2017). Embedding a researcher within the programme, possibly as part an ethnographic approach, or adopting a qualitative longitudinal research approach (Neale, 2018) could yield richer data with regards to how the programme operates and young peoples' experiences in the longer term. For example, I was only able to interview Safe Hands participants after release from custody and thus I have no direct accounts of how participants experienced Pre-Season support. While I gathered reflections about this stage from participants after they had been released, it is possible they may have forgotten details of their experiences and interviews with young people currently in custody could provide more immediate reflections. Additionally, I was unable to interview any young people who had left the programme or reoffended.

Research over a longer timeframe could also allow for observation of the duration or any reduction in reoffending among participants, to explore the lasting impact of participation. For researchers considering such a study there remains the question of how to measure resettlement outcomes since the widespread use of binary (yes/no) reoffending rates as a primary measure of the performance of crime reduction interventions has been criticised because they are a 'blunt' measure of efficacy (McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Lacey, 2012). Alternative metrics for positive resettlement outcomes could, alongside the use of official statistics, incorporate broader indices of behaviour change, such as young people retaining a housing tenancy or sustaining employment.

My interviews with former Safe Hands participants involved retrospective accounts of their experiences with the programme, and the recollection of past events may not always be accurate (Hegney, Fallon and O'Brien, 2008; Mitchell-Miller and Ventura-Mitchell, 2015). It has been argued that retrospective accounts present particular problems when interviewing those involved with criminal behaviour, as interviewees might amend their accounts to minimise their culpability and guilt through a process of psychological self-preservation (Benson, 1985). It is possible this might have occurred in my interviews. It is also the case that, given some of the young people were still actively engaged with Safe Hands or working for EiTC, they may have not wanted to raise any negative issues with the programme for fear of reprisals resulting from their disclosures.

A further limitation relates to the gender of the young people I interviewed from Safe Hands and in custody in Scotland, since it was an entirely male sample. While it remains the case that almost all Safe Hands participants have been male (e.g. 30 of the 32 who completed the transition from Pre-Season to Mid-Season between April 2017 and April 2018 were male), and the overwhelming majority of young people in prison in Scotland are male (Robinson, Leishman and Lightowler, 2017), the absence of female participants' in my research continues the underrepresentation of the voices of girls and young women in resettlement research (Wright, Factor and Goodfellow, 2014). While studies have found that women can benefit from participating in lifestyle projects delivered in sport settings (Rutherford et al., 2014), it remains the case that most of these programmes have targeted male participants, and the possible role that resettlement interventions delivered in sporting contexts for young female prison leavers remains underexplored. The exploration of young women's perceptions about engaging with a programme like Safe Hands or a feasibility study about a similar programme for female young prison leavers is a possible area for future research.

From a methodological perspective, my research with Safe Hands relied entirely on qualitative data. Although this provided a rich illustration of the impact the programme could have on young prison leavers, adopting a mixed-methods approach, such as those used by Meek (2012), could allow for measurement of a range of variables (e.g. attitudes towards offending) over time, to assess changes in attitudes and behaviours among Safe Hands participants from commencing Pre-Season through to the End of Season stage. Additionally, and as with all qualitative research, the data are influenced

by my understandings, in respect of both the ways they were generated and interpreted (Jootun, McGhee and Marland, 2009). The findings presented are based on participants' narratives and how I interpreted them. Additionally, the accounts given by participants are representations they chose to present during an interaction with a researcher, which could have been influenced by choices they made relating to the 'presentation of self' (Goffman, 1990).

While my research fills an apparent gap in the literature concerning the current operating context of SFiTCs, these conclusions were drawn from interviews with only eight out of the current 42 member clubs of the SPFL, and those included were purposively selected from a subsample of SFiTCs thought to be the most likely to be able to deliver a programme like Safe Hands. Accordingly, the representativeness of the findings should be taken with caution and a larger study with more SFiTCs might offer deeper insight into the current context of SFiTCs. Additionally, the majority of the participating SFiTCs were situated in urban areas so the voices of SFiTCs in small towns or more rural places are largely missing. The potential contrast between the experiences of rural and urban SFiTCs and those in urban areas would present an interesting area for future research.

A final limitation to my research relates to the overall approach taken to my investigation with Safe Hands. The aim of this research was to identify and consider the components of Safe Hands, to see how they were connected to one another, and consider how they worked in promoting successful resettlement among young prison leavers. Reflecting on my research at the end of the process, it is now apparent to me that these aims align closely with what Pawson & Tilley (1997) refer to as realist evaluation. Realist evaluations seek to establish what works, for whom, in what circumstances, in what respects, to what extent, and why (Wong et al., 2012). Key purposes of realist evaluation are to test and refine programme theory, to determine whether and how programmes work in particular settings (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). While there are elements of my research that align closely with a realist approach, such as gathering qualitative data with a focus on explanation, my research would likely have benefited from adopting a more explicit realist evaluation approach. For example, given that a key strength of realistic evaluation is the ability to take the lessons learnt from one evaluation and apply them across a range of different contexts (Westhorp, 2014), this may have strengthened my research into exploring whether Safe Hands could be

applied in a Scottish context. There are, of course, challenges to using a realist approach. If a realist evaluation is to be useful it requires establishing and gathering outcomes, which can be a particularly resource intensive aspect of realist evaluations (Holme Pedersen and Reiper, 2008). Given the logistical challenges I faced during my research with Safe Hands, it is not certain that I would have had the capacity to gather outcome data from the programme.

7.4.3 Reflections on my research with young people in custody.

I began this thesis by reflecting on my motivations for wanting to research the lives of young prison leavers. It feels correct, to me at least, that I should end it with some reflections on how I experienced researching the lives of young people who had been in custody or were currently in prison. Reflexivity has come to be considered an integral aspect of qualitative research (Downing, Polzer and Levan, 2013). According to Hardy, Phillips and Clegg (2001) reflexivity can involve researchers thinking deeply about how the act of doing research can shape the outcomes and looking back on how empirical research was carried out. Given the often complex and challenging nature of prison-based research, as documented in other studies (Rhodes, 2009; Sutton, 2011; Beyens et al., 2015), I think it important I offer some reflections on my experiences of research in a YOI, both as an aspect of my own reflexive practice as a researcher and in the hope that they might inform future research.

Firstly, I am aware that I may have enjoyed certain advantages over other doctoral students concerning my ability to access prison staff and navigate internal prison bureaucracy. For example, having an SPS employee as a member of my supervisory team, who could provide insight into internal policies and practices, likely meant that I was able to efficiently access SPS staff with knowledge and experience germane to my research. Thus, and in common with the experiences of Heffernan (1972), who described how the fact she knew members of prison management benefitted her research with female prisoners in Washington D.C in the late 1960s, I am drawn to the conclusion that a major factor in dictating successful research in prison settings might be partly a case of who you know, rather than what you know (Jewkes and Wright, 2016).

My second reflection is that, while I am confident my research with young people in Polmont adhered to the ethical safeguards described in this thesis, I am aware that it may have contributed to an emergent issue of overburdening young people and SPS staff in Polmont with research requests. An analysis of research activity within the SPS found that while people aged under 21 years comprise less than 5% of the prison population in Scotland, almost 20% of primary research studies given approval by the SPS Research Access and Ethics Committee concerned young people in custody (Maycock, Pratt and Morrison, 2018).

My final reflection concerns my uncertainty regarding claims made about people in custody benefiting from their participation in research (e.g. Copes, Hochstetler and Brown, 2012). To illustrate, when jotting down supplemental notes in the Polmont carpark, as I did after every interview, I regularly found myself questioning aspects of the interviews I had conducted with these young people. Simply put, I could not help but feel a degree of guilt about interviewing them. I was struck by a sense that the experience felt transactional, in that I acquired something from these participants in the form of their answers to my questions, so contributing to me potentially acquiring a doctorate. Yet I am unsure what claims I can make towards what *they* gained from the experience. It is possible, as others such as Maruna (2001) have observed, that the interview afforded these young people a space within which to reflect on their past and think about their future, which may have led them to make more positive decisions after their release. But this is speculative. In addition, I struggled with my feelings about discussing with young people in custody a programme which has shown some evidence of supporting those in similar circumstances to change the course of their lives when such an opportunity is unlikely to be available to any of those I interviewed.

There are parallels between these reflections and the experiences of Mamali (2018), who described feelings of guilt associated with commodifying research participants in an ethnographic study with a voluntary arts charity. Whilst the concept of researcher guilt has been subject to criticism on the basis that it simply represents emotional self-punishment (Greenspan, 1992), or is a sign that a researcher could be overly invested in a project (Mamali, 2018), I was not satisfied with these conclusions. In trying to understand my own feelings of guilt, I was drawn to Baumeister et al's (1994) writing on equity theory which, in the context of the research process, frames feelings of guilt as 'the comparison between one's outcomes and others' (p.274). While the outcome of the

research activities contained within this thesis will be of benefit to me, the wider outcomes of my research may largely be irrelevant to the participants themselves, although the findings may benefit others like them. It remains an ongoing source of frustration to me that, even while writing this thesis, I have yet to resolve the satisfaction I feel regarding completing what I believe to be a credible and ethical piece of research in a complex setting, with my remaining guilt over what I gained from the process in comparison to the young people in Polmont. In truth I suspect I never will. However, if my thesis were to contribute to piloting a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland, this could serve as fitting acknowledgement to the contributions of the young people I interviewed in Polmont.

7.5 Recommendations

This section presents the key recommendations for policy makers and practitioners generated by the three strands of my research. They are produced to: stimulate debate about how programmes like Safe Hands could be more widely adopted; advise changes in policy regarding the resettlement of young prison leavers; and suggest how conceptualising resettlement as a distinct 'system' could pave the way for improved service integration.

Recommendation 1: Based on my research, Safe Hands affords strong potential for supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers. Other FiTCs in England and Wales should be actively encouraged to adopt similar schemes to enable a wider range of young people leaving prison to benefit from this innovative programme. This could be achieved via the creation of a manualised form of Safe Hands as part of this programme expansion. However, as with any small-scale intervention that has shown promise, scaling out or scaling up of the model should be done sensitively, with careful attention to the key elements so as not to jeopardise their value or impact (Meek, 2012).

Recommendation 2: A key component to the effectiveness of Safe Hands is the role of the setting. Being delivered by an FiTC proved attractive to young people and allowed the programme to harness and benefit from other aspects of the organisation, such as other in-house programmes. While football remains the most popular sport in the UK, consideration should be given to whether other sporting settings might also be suitable to deliver similar schemes. This would enable a wider range of young people leaving

prison to benefit from the kinds of support offered by a programme like Safe Hands. Examples of this in other spheres have included how the Football Fans in Training programme has been adapted for use in different counites by using sports with greater cultural resonance than football, such as ice hockey in Canada (Gill et al., 2016) and rugby in New Zealand (Maddison et al., 2020).

Recommendation 3: Of the four elements identified as key to the efficacy of Safe Hands (the programme's setting, structure, team, and activities), those which promote a young person's engagement with the programme may be the most vital. Aside from the attraction of the FiTC setting, an aspect of programme structure, specifically having support that spanned the transition from custody to community was crucial to engagement. This highlights the value of 'through-the-gate' support to resettlement outcomes, as has been highlighted in other research (Whyte, 2011; Meek, 2012; Brunton-Smith and Hopkins, 2013; Malloch et al., 2013; Parker, Meek and Lewis, 2013; Burke et al., 2017; Maycock, McGuckin and Morrison, 2020). However, what was also highlighted in my research was how the relationships between Safe Hands and prisons was a key area of vulnerability in the programme which could interrupt engagement. Accordingly, it is suggested that the Safe Hands consider appointing a staff member as the dedicated contact for prisons, taking responsibility for building and maintaining relationships and facilitating strong lines of two-way communication.

Recommendation 4: Based on my research in Scotland, there are grounds to suggest that Safe Hands could, and indeed should, be delivered in the country. Building on Recommendation 1, careful attention should be paid to whether there are certain SFiTCs that would be better equipped in terms of capacity and capability to deliver the key elements. Moreover, it may be the case that the programme requires some adaptations to take account of the Scottish context, such as seeking to engage with an older cohort of people in prison (e.g. young adults) or by adopting a national approach to delivering Safe Hands via an umbrella organisation like the SPFL Trust.

Recommendation 5: In the absence of abolishing incarceration for young people, which has been advocated because of the lengthy list of harms it causes, combined with seeming ineffectiveness at preventing future reoffending (Goldson, 2005; Gavin, 2014), it is essential that policymakers acknowledge the many challenges that young people

face when leaving prison and take this into account in resettlement policy, resourcing, and enforcement to promote swifter and more effective longer-term resettlement.

Recommendation 6: Given the continuing poor outcomes for young prison leavers across the UK, questions remain about both whether resettlement services are meeting the needs of these young people and the degree to which services are integrated. A bespoke needs assessment for young prison leavers is recommended to clarify the aims, approaches, resources, and structures of existing resettlement provision and consider what could be done to better facilitate successful resettlement and redress the underlying social, economic, and political conditions that contribute to many of the barriers facing young prison leavers. This needs assessment should include comprehensive engagement with stakeholders including resettlement providers and agencies which support young prison leavers, policymakers, youth justice professionals, the police, prison services, researchers, and, most crucially, young people in prison and those who have experienced successful and unsuccessful resettlement. The goals of such an assessment could include developing a collective understanding of why such a high percentage of young people reoffend after leaving prison; diagnose and devise strategies to remove the systemic barriers young people facing during resettlement and consider how they can compound one another; and strengthen collaboration across the resettlement landscape. An approach to achieve these goals could be a systems mapping exercise (e.g. Lane & Reynolds, 2018) to illuminate local and national resettlement landscapes and show how people, organisations and issues inter-connect with one another to support the creation of a shared narrative about why reoffending and return to custody rates are so high among young prison leavers. In doing so, this exercise could identify gaps and discontinuities in the system and potential unintended impacts of stakeholder activities. This may be a challenging process and may require support to stakeholders to enable them look beyond their own on specialities and vested interests. However, the result could be a better understanding of how resettlement success is contingent on different components of the resettlement system and that improving resettlement is not about optimising each part of the system but about enhancing relationships among all stakeholders (Stroh, 2015).

8 Thesis conclusion

My research about Safe Hands, is the first study of an FiTC delivering a resettlement programme that offers through the gate support to young people leaving prison. Four aspects of the programme, relating to the role of the setting, structure, programme team, and activities, were identified in respect of how they might support resettlement. The non-sporting components of the programme were most impactful in respect of encouraging a narrative shift in young prison leavers from pro-offending to pro-social. In creating a logic model for Safe hands, I sought to frame the programme in way which does not focus on how to 'fix' these young people from a deficit perspective, which has been a criticism of previous resettlement programmes and guidance (McMurran et al., 2008; Bateman and Hazel, 2018), but towards conceptualising how Safe Hands promotes the positive development of young prison leavers.

Resettlement programmes can fail if they are implemented without taking into account local conditions (Harris and Smith, 1996). The use of sport in a more nuanced fashion in Scotland to deter young people from offending or support rehabilitation would appear to lag the developments seen in England. From a Throughcare perspective, there could be more barriers than facilitators to delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland. However, several barriers relate to the specific nature of the current Scottish Throughcare context; the current policy focus on improving outcomes for young prison leavers suggests that there is a potential opportunity and rationale for delivering a programme like Safe Hands in Scotland. Potential modifications were suggested to overcome some of the barriers identified and adapt Safe Hands to the Scottish context. This included proposing a hub and spoke approach to Safe Hands, which could allow the programme to be delivered on a national scale.

To conclude this thesis, and to return to my primary motivation for starting this research, which was my frustration at the lack of resettlement support for young prison leavers, it is my hope that my research could have two outcomes. Firstly, that my exploratory research with Safe Hands could act as a platform for more extensive research about the programme, which could test out some of the relationships between programme activities and outcomes that I have suggested. Secondly, that shedding light on areas related to potential barriers and facilitators to delivering a programme like

Safe Hands in Scotland, could contribute to a pilot study of the programme in the country.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Safe Hands participant information sheet.

Study Information Sheet.

The 'Safe Hands' programme, run by the Everton in the Community Foundation, has helped many young people who have been in a Young Offenders Institution. 'Safe Hands' has helped many young people to avoid reoffending.

Researchers from the University of Glasgow are working with Everton in the Community to understand how 'Safe Hands' works, and what the people who have used it think about it.

> **PLEASE TAKE TIME TO READ THE INFORMATION SHEET.**
>
> **PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS BEFORE YOU DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY**

Who is running the study?
The study is funded by the Medical Research Council and is being conducted by Ian MacNeill who is a research student at the University of Glasgow.

Who has reviewed the study?
The study has been reviewed by the University of Glasgow, College of Social Science board of ethics and by people in Everton in the Community.

If you want to find out more about the study, you can contact:

Mathew Maycock or Kate Hunt
MRC/SPHSU Unit
200 Renfield St
Glasgow G2 3QB
Telephone: 0141 353 7500

If you have any concerns about taking part in the study, please contact our independent adviser:

Helen Sweeting
MRC/SPHSU Unit
200 Renfield St
Glasgow G2 3QB
Telephone: 0141 353 7500

Why have I been invited to take part?

You are being asked to take part in this study because you have been involved with 'Safe Hands' or another Everton in the Community project.

Do I have to take part in the study?
No, it is completely up to you to decide if you want to take part or not.

What will happen next?
Ian, one of our researchers, will take time with you to answer any questions you have about the study before you decide if you want to take part or not. If you agree to take part, we may invite you to take part in either an interview with a researcher or a focus group. We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences with of 'Safe Hands'. We expect that interviews will last about 30 minutes, but they make take longer depending on how much you have to tell us.

Ian will also be spending time seeing the work that Safe Hands does with young people – he will observe, and possibly take part in, various sessions and might ask to speak with you about the content of the sessions and what you like or dislike about them.

Ian might also wish to ask you a few questions about the time you spent in a Young Offenders Institute and about any contacts you had with 'Safe Hands' staff at that time.

What will taking part in the study mean for me?
We want to understand more about why 'Safe Hands' is successful in helping young people when they are released back into the community, and to see whether programmes like 'Safe Hands' could work in other parts of the country as well.

Will I benefit from taking part?
We can't promise that taking part in the study will directly benefit you. But you will be helping people to better understand the 'Safe Hands' model, which we hope will help other people like you in the future. The research team will share the results of this study with staff at Everton in the Community so they can think about whether there are any ways that the programme could be changed to help other people in the future.

Can I change my mind about taking part?
Yes of course. You can say that you don't want to take part in the study anymore, and you don't have to give a reason for changing your mind.

What will happen to the information about me?
Your information will be made completely anonymous. Anything that could identify you will be kept separately from all other information. Data will be stored securely for at least 10 years, in line with Glasgow University and MRC policy. If any other researchers want to look at the anonymous data in the future, we will make sure they follow the

correct research guidelines.

If, at any time, you tell us anything about seriously harming yourself or someone else, or about anything else that is a risk to security, we may have to inform the relevant authorities.

What will happen to the study results?
We will write a report about the study and prepare articles for publication and presentations. We can send you a summary of the results if you would like. We will use the study findings to help the Safe Hands staff to understand what works and what does not work. The findings of this study might also be used to develop similar programmes in other places.

Are there any risks involved in taking part?
It is very unlikely that you can come to any harm by taking part in the study. However, if you have any problem relating to the research, please speak to a member of Safe Hands staff. Your participation in the Safe Hands project will not be affected in any way, even if you change your mind about taking part in the research.

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet.

Appendix 2: Safe Hands consent form

1	I confirm that I have read and understood the Study Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and I have had these answered satisfactorily.	Please ☐
2	I understand that it is my choice to take part in the interview. I know I can withdraw at any time without giving any reason and that this will not affect my participation in any Everton in the Community projects.	Please ☐
3	I understand that I do NOT have to answer any question if I don't want to.	Please ☐
4	I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed.	Please ☐
5	I understand that all my information will be treated in strict confidence and held securely.	Please ☐
6	I understand that my information will be available to the research team and will be stored for at least 10 years in line with Glasgow University and MRC research practice guidelines.	Please ☐
7	I understand that anonymous information may be made available to other researchers in the future for further research, and that the research team will make sure they follow the right research guidelines.	Please ☐
8	I agree that my anonymous information can be used for research purposes (including the use of quotes) in reports, publications and presentations, and understand that my name will not be used at any time.	Please ☐
9	I understand that if I stop participating in the study for any reason, the research team will retain and continue to use the information I have already given them.	Please ☐
10	I understand if I disclose any information about any intention to harm myself or other people, or otherwise pose a threat to security, the research team have to pass this information to the relevant authorities.	Please ☐
11	I agree to take part in the interview.	Please ☐

Name _____ Date _____ Signature _____

Researcher _____ Date _____ Signature _____

Appendix 3: Safe Hands participant topic guide

Safe Hands Participant's Topic Guide
These interviews are designed to uncover some of the participants experiences of the 'Safe Hands' projective – including both the Pre-Season and Mid-Season stages. In addition, these interviews will seek to uncover the participants experiences of: their time in custody; the transition from custody to community; and what impact their involvement with the Safe Hands programme may have had on their desistance from offending behaviour.

<u>**Starter Questions:**</u>

Can I start by asking how old you are?
Can I ask how when you were released from prison and how long you were you in custody?
Was that your first time in prison?

<u>**Becoming/being involved with Everton in the Community**</u>

How did you first come into contact the Safe Hands programme?

Can I ask why you decided to work with Safe Hands (Prompt: was there anything about the programme that particularly appealed to you?)

Did Safe Hand's association with the club/football/sport matter to you when you first got involved with EITC? (Prompt: What role did football or sport play in your life before your sentence? Are you an Everton supporter/have you been involved with the club before? If **NOT** an Everton supporter -did it matter to you that you don't support Everton?)

<u>**Pre-Season**</u>

So, thinking about the support you received from Safe Hands while you were still in prison, can you tell me:

How often did you see the Safe Hands team and what sort of things would you talk about when they visited you?

Did they help you to arrange anything before you were released? Or give you support with somethings you were worried about before you were released? (Did they help you access benefits/sort accommodation/ help with getting identification/highlight other services you might need?)

Did being involved with Safe Hands affect how you felt about being released?

How did you feel about the prospect of working with Safe Hands after you were released? (where you looking forward to it? what kinds of things did you think you would be doing? What kinds of things did you want to be doing?)

Did being involved with Safe Hands change how you behaved while you were in prison?

While you were in prison, how did you feel about your offending in the past? Was this something you wanted to stop being involved with after you were released? (Do you think you would have felt differently about this if you were not involved with Safe Hands?

(If not in custody) Life post-release - general

How were you feeling immediately before you were released? (Prompts: What were your hopes/ fears pre-release?

Can you describe to me what happened on the day you were released?

How soon after you were released did you start working with Safe Hands? (Do you think you would have become involved with Safe Hands if you had not worked with them while you were in custody?)

How did you find being back in the community after your release? (Did it feel strange? Did you find yourself feeling anxious or nervous about anything? Did you find how you were feeling changed the longer you were back in the community?)

What things have you found most difficult after being released?

Life post-release: Midseason

What has been the biggest change in your life since you started with Safe Hands?

How have Safe Hands been supporting you after you have been released? (Prompt: how many days a week do you come into Safe Hands? Do you look forward to coming into Safe Hands? Has anything happened in your life that has prevented you from attending Safe Hands?)

What do you think might have happened if you had not been working with Safe Hands after you were released?

Where have you been living since you were released back into the community (issues with this?)

How does it feel coming to a programme that is in/close to a football stadium?

What aspects of the Safe Hands have been most useful to you? (why?) Which, if any, aspects have been least useful? What parts of the programme were most enjoyable and worthwhile? What parts of the programme were least enjoyable and worthwhile?

Have you been involved with any other EiTC programmes? How did that come about? What did you think about them?

Are there any things that you feel you need more support with? (What are they?)

In what ways (if any) do you feel fitter, healthier or happier as a result of taking part in Safe Hands? (prompt mental and physical health)

How would you sum up the positive ways in which Safe Hands has helped you?

[If not first sentence] Have you received resettlement support from other organisations in the past? (If so, is Safe Hands any different to support you have received in the past?)

Can you tell me about the relationship you have with the Safe Hands team? (Do you feel that you can confide in them/relaxed when you talk with them? Have they supported in you doing activities that you want to do? Do you feel they listen to you and respond to any problems you might have?)

Desistance – evidenced via the impact of Safe Hands?

What kinds of things do you do when you are not working with Safe Hands?

Do you fell that you act or behave any differently since you have started working with Safe Hands? (Any changes in how they act, tings they do, clothes they wear etc?)

What has your relationship been like with your family since you were released? (Are you/have you been living with them? What do they think about you coming to Safe Hands?)

What has your relationships been like with your friends since you were released? (Do you still hang around with the same people? What do they think about your involvement with Safe Hands?

Looking forward, what are your hopes for the future? (Prompt: what are your hopes in the short-term? And what are your goals for life in the long-term?)

Have you been involved with any voluntary work in the community as part of your time with Safe Hands (what was that experience like? would you be interested in doing more of that kind of thing?)

Now that you have been out of prison for … how do you feel about your previous offending behaviour? If you could say anything to yourself before you went to prison what do you think you would say?

Taking everything together, how easy or difficult do you think it will be to stay out of trouble/reoffend in the future? (Prompt - have you already been in any situations which made you think about reoffending? What types of situations/circumstances/people make you most likely to fall foul of the law again? What types of situations/circumstances/people make you less likely to fall foul of the law again?)

Have Safe Hands been able to help you in looking for employment, training or education? (what kind of opportunities do you think would interest you?

What goals do you have for the future?

Suggested changes to the Safe Hands programme
On the basis of your own experiences (and anyone else you know that has been involved with the programme), do you have any suggestions for changes to the Safe Hands programme that could make it (even) better?

(*prompt re work*: employment history, factors which have helped or facilitated getting work; *prompt re education and training*: are they currently in any education/training? *prompt re living circumstances*: living with family temporarily or permanently, any periods of being homeless, anything that helped them to find more secure accommodation etc.)

Contrasts with other resettlement programmes? Do you feel that you have been treated differently?

Appendix 4: EiTC staff topic guide

Safe Hands Participant's Topic Guide

These interviews are designed to uncover some of the participants experiences of the 'Safe Hands' projective – including both the Pre-Season and Mid-Season stages. In addition, these interviews will seek to uncover the participants experiences of: their time in custody; the transition from custody to community; and what impact their involvement with the Safe Hands programme may have had on their desistance from offending behaviour.

Starter Questions:

Can I start by asking how old you are?
Can I ask how when you were released from prison and how long you were you in custody?
Was that your first time in prison?

Becoming/being involved with Everton in the Community

How did you first come into contact the Safe Hands programme?

Can I ask why you decided to work with Safe Hands (Prompt: was there anything about the programme that particularly appealed to you?)

Did Safe Hand's association with the club/football/sport matter to you when you first got involved with EITC? (Prompt: What role did football or sport play in your life before your sentence? Are you an Everton supporter/have you been involved with the club before? If **NOT** an Everton supporter -did it matter to you that you don't support Everton?)

Pre-Season

So, thinking about the support you received from Safe Hands while you were still in prison, can you tell me:

How often did you see the Safe Hands team and what sort of things would you talk about when they visited you?

Did they help you to arrange anything before you were released? Or give you support with somethings you were worried about before you were released? (Did they help you access benefits/sort accommodation/ help with getting identification/highlight other services you might need?)

Did being involved with Safe Hands affect how you felt about being released?

How did you feel about the prospect of working with Safe Hands after you were released? (where you looking forward to it? what kinds of things did you think you would be doing? What kinds of things did you want to be doing?)

Did being involved with Safe Hands change how you behaved while you were in prison?

While you were in prison, how did you feel about your offending in the past? Was this something you wanted to stop being involved with after you were released? (Do you think you would have felt differently about this if you were not involved with Safe Hands?

(If not in custody) Life post-release - general

How were you feeling immediately before you were released? (Prompts: What were your hopes/ fears pre-release?

Can you describe to me what happened on the day you were released?

How soon after you were released did you start working with Safe Hands? (Do you think you would have become involved with Safe Hands if you had not worked with them while you were in custody?)

How did you find being back in the community after your release? (Did it feel strange? Did you find yourself feeling anxious or nervous about anything? Did you find how you were feeling changed the longer you were back in the community?)

What things have you found most difficult after being released?

Life post-release: Midseason

What has been the biggest change in your life since you started with Safe Hands?

How have Safe Hands been supporting you after you have been released? (Prompt: how many days a week do you come into Safe Hands? Do you look forward to coming into Safe Hands? Has anything happened in your life that has prevented you from attending Safe Hands?)

What do you think might have happened if you had not been working with Safe Hands after you were released?

Where have you been living since you were released back into the community (issues with this?)

How does it feel coming to a programme that is in/close to a football stadium?

What aspects of the Safe Hands have been most useful to you? (why?) Which, if any, aspects have been least useful? What parts of the programme were most enjoyable and worthwhile? What parts of the programme were least enjoyable and worthwhile?

Have you been involved with any other EiTC programmes? How did that come about? What did you think about them?

Are there any things that you feel you need more support with? (What are they?)

In what ways (if any) do you feel fitter, healthier or happier as a result of taking part in Safe Hands? (prompt mental and physical health)

How would you sum up the positive ways in which Safe Hands has helped you?

[If not first sentence] Have you received resettlement support from other organisations in the past? (If so, is Safe Hands any different to support you have received in the past?

Can you tell me about the relationship you have with the Safe Hands team? (Do you feel that you can confide in them/relaxed when you talk with them? Have they supported in you doing activities that you want to do? Do you feel they listen to you and respond to any problems you might have?)

Desistance – evidenced via the impact of Safe Hands?

What kinds of things do you do when you are not working with Safe Hands?

Do you fell that you act or behave any differently since you have started working with Safe Hands? (Any changes in how they act, tings they do, clothes they wear etc?)

What has your relationship been like with your family since you were released? (Are you/have you been living with them? What do they think about you coming to Safe Hands?)

What has your relationships been like with your friends since you were released? (Do you still hang around with the same people? What do they think about your involvement with Safe Hands?

Looking forward, what are your hopes for the future? (Prompt: what are your hopes in the short-term? And what are your goals for life in the long-term?)

Have you been involved with any voluntary work in the community as part of your time with Safe Hands (what was that experience like? would you be interested in doing more of that kind of thing?)

Now that you have been out of prison for … how do you feel about your previous offending behaviour? If you could say anything to yourself before you went to prison what do you think you would say?

Taking everything together, how easy or difficult do you think it will be to stay out of trouble/reoffend in the future? (Prompt - have you already been in any situations which made you think about reoffending? What types of situations/circumstances/people make you most likely to fall foul of the law again? What types of situations/circumstances/people make you less likely to fall foul of the law again?)

Have Safe Hands been able to help you in looking for employment, training or education? (what kind of opportunities do you think would interest you?

What goals do you have for the future?

Suggested changes to the Safe Hands programme
On the basis of your own experiences (and anyone else you know that has been involved with the programme), do you have any suggestions for changes to the Safe Hands programme that could make it (even) better?

(*prompt re work*: employment history, factors which have helped or facilitated getting work; *prompt re education and training*: are they currently in any education/training? *prompt re living circumstances*: living with family temporarily or permanently, any periods of being homeless, anything that helped them to find more secure accommodation etc.)

Contrasts with other resettlement programmes? Do you feel that you have been treated differently?

Appendix 5: Participant information for young people in HMYOI Polmont

Using Sport to Support Young Prison Leavers
Participant Information Sheet.

This study is examining the potential role of sporting organisations to support young people after they are released from custody. Some football clubs in England already support young people after they leave prison. This study would like to find out if the kinds of programmes that football clubs have used in England could be used in Scotland. To do so we would like to learn more about the experiences of young people in custody who are working with organisations to support them after they are released.

> **PLEASE TAKE TIME TO READ THIS INFORMATION SHEET.**
>
> **PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS BEFORE YOU DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY**

Who is running the study?
The study is funded by the Medical Research Council and is being conducted by Ian MacNeill who is a research student at the University of Glasgow, supervised by Professor Kate Hunt, Dr Matthew Maycock and Dr Helen Sweeting.

Why have I been invited to take part?
You are being asked to take part in this study because you are getting support from someone who is helping you prepare for your release from custody.

Do I have to take part in the study?
No, it is completely up to you to decide if you want to take part or not. If you choose not to take part this will have no impact on the Throughcare support you are currently receiving or your ability to access this support in the future.

What will happen next?
If you agree to take part, you will be invited to take part in an interview with a researcher. We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences of being involved with someone who is supporting you to prepare for your release from custody. We expect that interviews will last about 30 minutes, but they make take longer depending on how much you have to tell us. This interview will be audio recorded using a dictaphone.

What will taking part in the study mean for me?
We want to understand more about what it is like for young people preparing to leave prison. We are especially interested to hear about the relationship you have with the people supporting you, how you are feeling about released, your goals for the future and how sport might be able to support young people leaving prison. Your personal details will be anonymised in this study so that you cannot be identified. Should your words appear in the products of this research they will be an anonymised. What you say to the

researcher in the interview will remain confidential unless something is disclosed in the course of the interview that suggests that you or someone else is at risk of harm.

Will I benefit from taking part?
We can't promise that taking part in the study will directly benefit you. But you will be helping people to better understand the experience of young people leaving prison and the types of support they might need.

Can I change my mind about taking part?
Yes of course. You are free to decide at any time that you don't want to take part in the study any more, and you don't have to give a reason for changing your mind.

What will happen to the information about me?
Your information will be made completely anonymous. Anything that could identify you will be kept separately from information you provide in the interview. Data will be stored securely for 10 years, in line with Glasgow University and MRC policy. If any other researchers want to look at the anonymous data in the future, we will make sure they follow the correct research guidelines. With your consent, fully anonymised data may be made available to other genuine researchers with the University of Glasgow's approval and strict confidentiality guidelines.

What will happen to the study results?
The results will form part of the Ian MacNeill's thesis and will be used to prepare articles for publication and presentations. He can send you a summary of the results if you would like.

Are there any risks involved in taking part?
It is very unlikely that you can come to any harm by taking part in the study.

Who has reviewed the study?
The study has been reviewed by the University of Glasgow, College of Social Science board of ethics.

If you want to find out more about the study, you can contact:
Kate Hunt or Helen Sweeting, *MRC/SPHSU Unit*, *200 Renfield St*, *Glasgow G2 3QB*
Kate.Hunt@glasgow.ac.uk / Helen.Sweeting@glasgow.ac.uk
Telephone: 0141 353 7500

If you have any concerns about taking part in the study, or wish to make a complaint please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer:
Dr Muir Houston, **Florentine House, 53 Hillhead Street**, **GLASGOW, G12 8QF**
0141 330 6076
Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix 6: Consent form for young people in HMYOI Polmont, SPS, third sector and SFiTC participants

Using Sport to Support Young Prison Leavers
INTERVIEW CONSENT
PARTICIPANT COPY

		Please initial
1	I confirm that I have read and understood the Study Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and I have had these answered satisfactorily.	
2	I understand that it is my choice to take part in the interview. I know I can withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	
3	I understand that I do NOT have to answer any question if I don't want to.	
4	I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed.	
5	I understand that all my information will be treated in strict confidence and held securely.	
6	I understand that my information will be available to the research team, and will be stored for at least 10 years in line with Glasgow University's and the MRC's research practice guidelines.	
7	I agree that my anonymous information can be used for research purposes (including the use of quotes) in reports, publications and presentations, and understand that my name will not be used at any time.	
8	I understand that if I stop participating in the study for any reason, the research team will retain and continue to use the information I have already given them.	
9	I understand that if I disclose any information about any intention to harm myself or other people, or otherwise pose a threat to security, the research team have to pass this information to the relevant authorities.	

		Please tick one	
		Yes	No
10	I agree that anonymous information may be made available to other genuine researchers in the future for further research. I understand that if this happens, the research team will make sure they follow the right research guidelines.		

		Please initial
11	I agree to take part in the interview.	

Name _____   Date _____   Signature _____

Researcher _____   Date _____   Signature _____

Appendix 7: Participant information sheet for SPS and third sector staff

Using Sport to Support Young Prison Leavers
Participant Information Sheet.

> **PLEASE TAKE TIME TO READ THIS INFORMATION SHEET.**
>
> **PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS BEFORE YOU DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY**

This study is examining the potential role of sporting organisations to support young people after they are released from custody. Some football clubs in England already support people after they leave prison. This study would like to find out if the kinds of programmes that football clubs have used in England could be used in Scotland. To do so we would like to learn more about the kinds of Throughcare support that are offered to young people in custody and in the community and your experiences in supporting the resettlement of young prison leavers.

Who is running the study?
The study is funded by the Medical Research Council and is being conducted by Ian MacNeill who is a research student at the University of Glasgow, supervised by Professor Kate Hunt, Dr Matthew Maycock and Dr Helen Sweeting.

Why have I been invited to take part?
You are being asked to take part in this study because you have are providing or have knowledge about Throughcare support to young people in custody and the community in Scotland.

Do I have to take part in the study?
No, it is completely up to you to decide if you want to take part or not.

What will happen next?
If you agree to take part, you will be invited to take part in either a face to face or telephone interview with a researcher. We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences of providing Throughcare support to young people in custody and the community. We expect that interviews will last between 45 and 60, but they make take longer depending on how much you have to tell us. With your permission, the interviews will be recorded with a dictaphone.

What will taking part in the study mean for me?
We want to understand more about what it is like for young people preparing to leave prison. We are especially interested to hear about the relationship you have you have with the young people you support, some of the barriers and enables to providing Throughcare support and your views on the potential for sport/sporting organisations to become more in involved in the resettlement and rehabilitation of young prison leavers in Scotland. Your personal details will be anonymised in this study so that you cannot be identified. Should your words appear in the products of this research they will be an anonymised. Your participation in this study will remain confidential unless something is

disclosed in the course of the interview that suggests that you or someone else is at risk of harm.

Will I benefit from taking part?
We can't promise that taking part in the study will directly benefit you. But you will be helping people to better understand how Scottish Football in the Community organisations help support people in society, especially those who are hard to reach. There is also the potential that your contribution to this research could lead to a programme similar to Safe Hands being piloted in Scotland.

Can I change my mind about taking part?
Yes of course. You are free to decide at any time that you don't want to take part in the study any more, and you don't have to give a reason for changing your mind.

What will happen to the information about me?
Your information will be made completely anonymous. Anything that could identify you will be kept separately from information you provide in the interview. Data will be stored securely for 10 years, in line with Glasgow University and MRC policy. If any other researchers want to look at the anonymous data in the future, we will make sure they follow the correct research guidelines. With your consent, fully anonymised data may be made available to other genuine researchers with the University of Glasgow's approval and strict confidentiality guidelines.

What will happen to the study results?
The results will form part of the Ian MacNeill's thesis and will be used to prepare articles for publication and presentations. He can send you a summary of the results if you would like.

Are there any risks involved in taking part?
It is very unlikely that you can come to any harm by taking part in the study.

Who has reviewed the study?
The study has been reviewed by the University of Glasgow, College of Social Science board of ethics.

If you want to find out more about the study, you can contact:
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Appendix 8: Topic guide for SPS and third sector staff

<u>Aim</u>

These interviews are intended to explore: the current status of Throughcare support in HMPYOI Polmont specifically and in Scotland more widely; the current (if any) role of sport in the rehabilitation of young offenders; the potential barriers and enablers to a successful transition from custody to community, reoffending and desistance.

Thank the interviewee for agreeing to the interview and to the recording of the interview. Ask participant to read the study information and if they have any questions before the interview begins. Request that participant signs consent form and that it is okay for the interview to be recorded. Explain that the participant can chose not to answer any question they do not want to and can end the interview at any time. Check consent and if it is OK to record the interviews. Ask them if they have any questions before the interview begins.

<u>Resettlement Support in HMPYOI Polmont</u>

I would like to start this interview by asking about you about your knowledge and experience of Throughcare support.

Could we begin by me asking you to explain how it is you support young people here at HMPYOI Polmont? (Prompt: *What kinds of things do you help young people with (accommodation or practical issues/accessing employment education or training/mentoring/family mediation/work related to their offending?) Do you use any particular activities or guidelines to structure the support you offer? How much input does a young person have over the support they receive?)*

Based on your experiences, can you explain to me what you see to be the benefits and challenges of providing Throughcare support to young people while they are in custody?

Given your experience of working with young people, what do you think are the kinds of support they are looking for? (Prompt: *Are there certain types of approaches to supporting young people in custody that work better than others?*)

Do you get the sense that young people are willing to engage with particular agencies/types of programmes more than others? (Prompt: *Can you think of any examples of programmes that have been particularly well/poorly received by people?*)

If I asked you to design a Throughcare programme for young people, what do you think would are the most important/useful activities for young people in Polmont and the community?

<u>Transition from Custody to Community, Reoffending & Desistance</u>

Thank you for your responses to those questions. I would now like to ask you a few questions concerning young people's transitions from custody to the community and how young people might desist from criminal behaviour after they are released.

Do you notice any changes in young people as their get closer to their release date? What kind of changes do you see in a young person after they have left custody? (Prompt: *Do you think that being involved with Throughcare support changes how a young person feels about being released? What (if any) impact does Throughcare support have on a young person's transition from custody to community?*)

How do you support a young person Can you describe to me how your role as a TSO changes once a young person leaves custody? (Prompt: *How soon do you start working with a young person after they are released? What kinds of support do you offer a young person after they leave custody? How often do you meet with a young person? Where do these meetings take place? How does a young person get in contact with you?*)

What do you think are the most important support needs for young people leaving custody? (Prompt: *What kind of support do you think young people want after they leave custody?*)

Why do you think such a high proportion of young offenders end up reoffending after they are released from custody? (Prompt: *What do you feel are the biggest risk factors in terms of reoffending after a young person leaves custody?*)

The Potential Role of Sport in Rehabilitation

Thank you for your answers to those questions. A part of my research is interested in looking at the potential role for sport and sporting organisations in supporting the resettlement of young offenders in custody and to desist from crime after they are released. I would like to now ask you some questions about the current role that sport plays in supporting young offenders and to talk about the potential for sporting organisations to provide resettlement support for young people.

What kinds of sporting activities and facilities are currently available for young people in Polmont? (*What proportion of prisoners use them on a regular basis? What benefits do you see to young people engaging with sport while they are in custody? Do you think there are any barriers to young people participating in sport in custody?*)

Are you aware of any sporting organisations currently or previously that have provided activities in Polmont? (Prompt: *If not, do you feel that this is something that sporting organisations could offer and would be of interest to young people? What kinds of activities do you think sporting organisations could offer in custody that would interest and be of benefit to young people? Do you think that some types of sports would be more popular than others? Do you think any of the following would appeal to young people: coaching courses, sport skills courses, industry specific skills training (e.g. personal training), recreational sport or more practical resettlement support?*)

What role does sport currently play in supporting the rehabilitation of young offenders in Polmont? (Prompt: *Is sport something that you feel could be more widely used to support the rehabilitation of young offenders while they are in custody? Has sport been used previously?*)

Given the popularity of football in Scotland do you think there is a role for Scottish football clubs to have more involvement in crime prevention?

Have you in the past referred any young people to work with or had any engagement with Scottish football in the community organisations (Prompt: *Have young people been*

receptive to working with these organisations? Can you explain why you think young people have wanted to engage with these organisations? Can you reflect on how some of these referrals have worked out?)

Safe Hands Questions

Can I ask if you had a chance to watch the view of Safe Hands before this interview – if Yes:
What were your immediate impressions?

What impact did you take from the video that Safe Hands had on the young person in the videos life after prison? (What did you see as being the most important aspects of the programme in their journey?)

[talk through the diagram and explain the Safe Hands model]

Do you think a similar programme could support young prison leavers in Scotland?

What do you see as the main strengths of the programme to supporting young prison leavers?

Do you think it has any weaknesses or could be improved upon in any way?

What would say could be the main facilitators to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

What would you say would be the main barriers to SFiTCs delivering a programme like Safe Hands?

Based on your experiences of working for an SFiTC is there anything that you think might need to be changed to the programme to take account of the specific Scottish Throughcare context or for young prison leavers in Scotland?

Appendix 9: Topic guide for young people in Polmont

Polmont YOI Interview Topic Guide

<u>Aim</u>

These interviews are intended to explore: young people in custody's experiences of the resettlement support they receive in custody; their feelings about release; what barriers to desistance/resettlement they feel they might encounter after they are released; how the support they receive might promote the cognitive, behavioural and identity changes associated with the desistance process; and their views on the potentials for sport and sporting organisations to offer resettlement support to young people in custody and the community.

Thank the interviewee for agreeing to the interview and to the recording of the interview. Ask participant to read the study information sheet (offer the participant the option of having the information sheet to read to them) and ask them if they have any questions before the interview begins. Explain the nature of 'limited confidentiality' to the participant. Request that participant signs consent form and that it is okay for the interview to be recorded. Explain that the participant can chose not to answer any question they do not want to and they are free to end the interview at any time. Check consent and if it is OK to record the interviews. Ask them if they have any questions before the interview begins.

I'd like to being just begin by asking you some quick questions:

1. How old are you?
2. What is the nature of your current offence?
3. What is the length of your current sentence/how long do you have left on your sentence?
4. Have you been convicted of any previous offences?
5. Have you served any previous prison sentences?

<u>Resettlement Support for Young People in Prison</u>

I would like to start this interview by asking you some questions about the support you are receiving at the moment

Can you tell me which agencies you are currently receiving support from? (Prompt: *How did you come into contact with…? Why did you choose to accept support from…?*)

Can you tell me about the relationship you have with your support worker? (Prompt: *Do you trust and feel relaxed when you talk to them? Do you have a different relationship with this person than with the prison officers? Do you feel that they are helping you? What type of person do you think young people in prison want to work with?*)

Did it matter to you where the support comes from? (Prompt: *Are there any organisations that you would not accept support from? Have there been programmes offered to you that you did not want to work with?*)

What aspects of the … programme have you found to be the most/least helpful? Have there been any activities you would have liked to do more of or activities that you would like to do but have been unable to?

Do you think you will continue to be involved with … after you are released? (Prompt: *Can you think of any reasons that would mean you would not continue to work with … after you are released? Is there anything that … could do to make it more likely that you will stay working with them after you are released?*)

Transition from Custody to Community

Thank you for your responses to those questions. I would like to move on to ask you some questions about you being released from custody.

If this is not the interviewee's first custodial sentence:

Can you tell me about what happened the last time you were released from custody? How were you feeling before you were released? What happened on the day that you were released? Were you worried that you would reoffend after you were released? What was the gap between you being released and you reoffending? Had you been receiving support from anyone before you were released/after you were released?

How are you feeling about being released? (Prompt: *Is there anything about released that you are particularly worried/excited about?*)

Has being involved with … changed how you feel about being released (Prompt: *Are you feeling more positive about the future? Do you think you would do anything differently if you were released and not receiving support from…?*)

Support in the Community

Do you think you will continue to work with … after you are released?

What changes do you think will happen in your life after being released? (*Prompt: Do you think these would have taken place had you not been involved with …?*)

What kinds of activities and support are you expecting to do with … after you leave custody?

What kinds of activities and support do you think young people might need after they released from prison? (Prompt: Do you think young people need help with practical issues (like accessing housing/benefits? Do you think young people need social/emotional support? So do you think young people need help accessing employment, training or education?)

Do you think there might be any issues you might face after you are released that might affect your ability to continue working with …?

Desistance

Thank you for answering those questions. I would know like ask you about how you feel about your previous behaviour, your hopes for the future and how you think young people could be helped to not reoffend after they are released.

Can you tell me about what goals you have for after you are released and how … is supporting you in achieving those goals? (Prompt: *ask about goals in relation to employment; education family and relationships; drug/alcohol use; finances; attitudes and behaviour. How confident are you that you will be able to achieve your goals? Do you think that these plans might help reduce the chances of you reoffending?*)

Are you worried that you might reoffend after you are released? Do you want to stop offending after you are released? (Prompt: *Can you think of any circumstances that you might find yourself in where you feel you might be more likely to reoffend?*)

How do you feel about your previous offending behaviour? Has anything changed in how you think about it? (Prompt: *Do you think that working with … has helped you think differently about your past behaviour? If so, why do you think you have changed your attitude towards offending*?)

Do you feel like you have changed as a person as a result of the support you have been receiving from…? (Prompts: *Do you still recognise the person you were before you were sentenced? Do you see yourself as different from that person now? What kind of person do you want to be after you are released? Has the support you are receiving helped you to think about yourself in a different way?*)

How would you help young people leaving prison to not reoffend? (Prompt: *What changes do you think people have to make to their lives to be successful after they are released from prison?*)

The Potential Role of Sport in Rehabilitation

Thank you for your answers to those questions. Before we finish up I would just like to ask you some final questions. A part of my research is interested in looking at the role for sport and sporting organisations in supporting the resettlement of young offenders in custody and after they are released. I would like to ask you some questions and to talk about the potential for sporting organisations to support young people in custody and the community.

During your sentence, have you had the opportunity to take part in any sporting activities (e.g. attending the gym, playing football etc? (*Prompt: If so, do you think you have found these experiences helpful/positive? Would you have liked the opportunity to take part in other sporting activities (different sports/learn coaching qualifications If not: is sport something you are interested in? Can you think of anything that would have helped you to participate in sporting activities that are on offer?)*

Was sport something that was important to you before your sentence?

Do you think you will would you like to continue to play or would be interested in taking part in sport after you are released?

Explain the Safe Hands programme to the young person

What would you say if you were offered the chance to join this programme?

Would it matter to you that the programme would be associated with a football l club? (prompt: ask if they can explain why or why not?)

How do you think this programme might help you before you are released? (Prompt: talk through Pre-Season again)

How do you think this programme might help you after you are released? (Prompt: talk through Mid-season and End of season again)

Are there are any activities offered by the programme in the community that you think you might enjoy/not enjoy? And how do you think they might help you in the community or before being released?

Is there anything else a programme like this could do offer to young people leaving prison?

Thank for again for agreeing to take part in this interview. That is the end of my questions. Before we finish this interview is there anything that you would like to add that you don't feel we have covered so far?

Appendix 10: Participant information sheet for SFiTC staff

Using Sport to Support Young Prison Leavers
Participant Information Sheet.

This study is examining whether Football in the Community organisations in Scotland can potentially play any role to help to support the criminal of young offenders after they are released from custody. This study is being conducted with the co-operation of Everton in the Community, whose Safe Hands Programme has helped to support young people in custody and in the community after they have been released from prison. For Safe Hands participants, the Everton in the Community setting appears to be instrumental in encouraging them to engage with the programme and to support their desistance from criminal behaviour. Part of this study is concerned with exploring the potential for a programme like the Safe Hands programme in Scotland. To do so we would like to know more about the social, political and economic context of Scottish Football in the Community organisations.

PLEASE TAKE TIME TO READ THIS INFORMATION SHEET.

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ASK ANY QUESTIONS BEFORE YOU DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY

Who is running the study?
The study is funded by the Medical Research Council and is being conducted by Ian MacNeill who is a research student at the University of Glasgow, supervised by Professor Kate Hunt, Dr Matthew Maycock and Dr Helen Sweeting.

Why have I been invited to take part?
You are being asked to take part in this study because you are involved, in either a paid or voluntary capacity, with a Scottish Football in the Community organisation.

Do I have to take part in the study?
No, it is completely up to you to decide if you want to take part or not.

What will happen next?

If you agree to participate, you will be invited to take part in an interview with Ian MacNeill, either in person or on the telephone. We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences of being involved with a Scottish Football in the Community organisation. We expect that interviews will last about 45-60 minutes, but they make take longer depending on how much you have to tell us. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded using a Dictaphone

What will taking part in the study mean for me?
We want to understand more about Football in the Community organisations in Scotland. We are especially interested to hear about the history and development of your organisation, the different types of programmes your organisation offers, your experiences of these programmes, and your views on the wider social, political and economic context surrounding Football in the Community organisations in Scotland. Your personal details will be anonymised in this study so that you cannot be identified. Should your words appear in the outputs of this research, they will be anonymised. The information you provide will remain confidential unless something is disclosed during your interview to suggest that you or someone else is at risk of harm.

Will I benefit from taking part?
We can't promise that taking part in the study will directly benefit you. But you will be helping people to better understand how Scottish Football in the Community organisations help support people in society, especially those who are hard to reach. There is also the potential that your contribution to this research could lead to a programme similar to Safe Hands being piloted in Scotland.

Can I change my mind about taking part?
Yes of course. You are free to decide at any time that you don't want to take part in the study any more, and you don't have to give a reason for changing your mind.

What will happen to the information about me?
Your information will be made completely anonymous. Anything that could identify you will be kept separately from information you provide in the interview. Data will be stored securely for 10 years, in line with Glasgow University and MRC policy. If any other researchers want to look at the anonymous data in the future, we will make sure they follow the correct research guidelines. With your consent, fully anonymised data may be made available to other genuine researchers with the University of Glasgow's approval and strict confidentiality guidelines.

What will happen to the study results?
The results will form part of the Ian MacNeill's thesis and will be used to prepare articles for publication and presentations. He can send you a summary of the results if you would like.

Are there any risks involved in taking part?
It is very unlikely that you can come to any harm by taking part in the study.

Who has reviewed the study?
The study has been reviewed by the University of Glasgow, College of Social Science board of ethics.

If you want to find out more about the study, you can contact:
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Telephone: 0141 353 7500

If you have any concerns about taking part in the study, or wish to make a complaint please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer:

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Appendix 11: SFiTC topic guide

Scottish Football in the Community (SFiTC) Interview Topic Guide

Aim
These interviews are intended to explore the operational, social, economic and political context of SFiTCs; the attitudes of SFiTCs towards working with young offenders; and what possibilities and challenges people working within SFiTCs foresee, at the participant, policy and organisational level, with potentially working to support young offenders, both in the lead up to and following their release into the community.

Thank the interviewee for agreeing to the interview and to the recording of the interview. Confirm consent and if it is OK to record the interview. Ask them if they have any questions before the interview begins.

Can we begin by me asking you to explain the work that you do here at (name of SFiTC)?

Can you tell me what you know about the origins of (name of SFiTC) and how it has developed? (Prompt: *What were the motivations/drivers behind the development of your organisation? Can you tell me about any significant changes in your organisation in the last 5 years?*)

Operational Context

Over the last decade there has been an increase in the community activities of football clubs in Scotland that are directed towards the delivery of health and social outcomes (– e.g. football camps/FFIT). What do you think are the reasons behind this? What have been the implications of this for football clubs in Scotland?

Can you tell me about some of the interventions you deliver that are designed to improve health and/or social outcomes? (Prompt: *Are there some types of programmes that you think that have worked better than others? What are the strengths of your organisation in terms of delivering these types of programmes? Are there any types of programs you would like your organisation to offer in the future? What are some of the barriers you face when delivering programmes?*)

What are your current strategic priorities in terms of the programmes/interventions that you offer? (Prompt: *Have your objectives changed over the lifetime of the FiTC? Do you foresee them changing in the future?*)

The phrase 'the power of football' is often used when trying to describe why some social and public health programmes (such as Football Fans in Training) run through SFiTC organisations have proved to be successful at engaging participants. Can you explain to me what you think that phrase means? Do you think particular groups of people are more or less likely to be susceptible to the 'power of football'?

In your view, how successful do you think that SFiTC programmes have been in engaging with and sustaining the interest of participants in these types of programmes? Why do you think that is? (Prompt: *Why does this appear to be*

particularly the case with marginalised/hard to reach groups? *What do you think sustains a person's engagement with the programmes you offer?*)

What do you feel are the biggest challenges to SFiTCs in terms of attracting participants, delivering interventions and achieving outcomes?

What factors do you take into account when planning a new intervention? (Prompt: *do you take into account: the needs of the local community; current funding streams; the skills within your organisation to deliver a specific outcome? Are the views of your parent club something you would take in to account? Does your parent club have any influence on the types of interventions you offer? Have there been instances where the club has been resistant to any programme proposals? Would you take into account how the clubs fans might react to any proposed interventions?*)

(If not an independent trust) Do you see any potential benefits and limitations to your department becoming independent from the football club?

(If an independent trust) Can you describe the benefits and difficulties of operating your organisation as an independent trust? (Prompt: *Is it difficult to communicate that, while you share the name and branding with your parent club, you are an independent organisation? Have you found it difficult to attract funding? Has being separated from the football club had an impact on the scope of the programmes and activities you offer?*)

Economic context

If appropriate, can you tell me about your current funding arrangements? (Prompt: D*o you receive funding for each programme or does the organisation receive a block grant that you can spend according to your own priorities? Is there a relationship between the types of programmes you offer and what funding is available? Do you receive any finding from your parent club? Are there safeguards in place should the club relegated or enter financial difficulty?*)

Political context

Can you describe to me the relationship your FiTC has with the local community (Prompt: *Can you tell me about what existing collaborations you have with other sectors (e.g. business, political, education, religious, recreation, local/national government) in the local community? Which partnerships have worked particularly well (and why)? Can you think of any difficulties you have had in your partnership working with any other sectors? Are there particular types of organisations that are more interested in working with SFiTCs than others?*)

Relationship with 'parent' club, fans and other footballing organisations

Can you describe the relationship you (name of SFiTC) have with your 'parent' football club? (Prompt: *What support do you receive from the club? Does the football club (or particular people within the club) have an influence in terms of the programmes you offer? Have you found any conflicts of interest between yourselves and the football club in terms of the programmes you want to offer? Do changes in the leadership/corporate structure of your club have any influence on your organisation or the programmes you offer?*)

What feedback do you get from your fans about the activities of the FiTC? (Prompt: *Has the feedback been positive/negative? Do you receive any negative feedback? How do you engage with any negative views from the fans about your activities? Are the views of your fans something you consider when planning programmes?*)

To what extent do you and other colleagues utilise the football stadium as part of any of your programmes? (Prompt: *What kind of influence do you think hosting programmes at the club's stadium has on participants? Can you tell me about some of the other spaces you use to run programmes (e.g. local schools, community centres etc.)? How do you feel running programmes in these spaces compares with programmes that are hosted at the stadium?*)

SFiTC and Crime Prevention

My research is concerned with the exploring a possible role of SFiTCs in reducing youth crime (mention work with Safe Hands and Everton here). My understanding is that SFiTCs have had quite a limited role in crime prevention up until now, do you think that's right? (Prompt: *Why do you think that is? Is there an appetite with your organisation to do more work with 'at risk' youth? Does your organisation run any programmes that engage with 'at risk' young people? Have you done so in the past? Can you comment on how those programmes performed?*)

Given the popularity of football in Scotland do you think there is a role for Scottish football clubs to have more involvement in crime prevention?

[If Albion Rovers] Can you tell me about the Prison Citizenship programme? (Prompt: *Where did the idea come from? What kind of activities did the programme offer? What were the strengths and weaknesses of the programme? What outcomes did the programme achieve? Why do you think the football setting might have appealed to programme participants? Is this the kind of programme you would look to repeat in the future?*)

[If Annan Athletic] Can you tell me about the 'Sporting Chance' programme? (Prompt: *Where did the idea come from? What kind of activities did the programme offer? What were the strengths and weaknesses of the programme? What outcomes did the programme achieve? Why do you think the football setting might have appealed to programme participants? Is this the kind of programme you would look to repeat in the future?*)