

Young people's reflections on engaging with youth offending services. A psycho-  
social exploration

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**Abstract**

This exploratory, psycho-social study examined young people's reflections on their experiences of engaging with a youth offending service (YOS). There is a paucity of research that explores this. Five participants were recruited from a YOS in the UK. Free association techniques were used; five participants were interviewed using the Grid Elaboration Method, four were interviewed again using the Free-Association Narrative Interview. Interview transcripts were analysed using thematic analysis, a psycho-social lens was then applied and 'scenic understandings' composed for each participant.

The thematic analysis illuminated four themes: transformative relationship with YOT worker: identity transformation: engaging: then's presence in now. Themes and 'scenic understandings' were drawn upon in discussion of links to literature, navigated as: trust in relationships; past and present, developing an identity distanced from a past self, engagement in personalised intervention, the function and structure of YOS, YOS engagement; a window of opportunity, developing a psycho-social understanding of what participants talked about. Strengths of the study lie in the psycho-social approach and free association method of data collection, enabling rich descriptions and interpretations that considered the interrelatedness of psychological and social experiences. Potential implications for practice were highlighted; 1. consideration of what participants talked about by professionals working in YOS and with similar populations, 2. consideration of the development of the EP role, such as providing supervisory support to reflect on the psycho-social needs of young people engaging with YOS, 3. maintenance and

development of the focus of YOS procedures such as emphasising the importance of building meaningful relationships and providing structure for young people engaging with YOS. Recommendations for future research are; 1. undertaking similar studies with young people having difficulty with engagement, 2. investigating both young people's and their YOT worker's experiences of working together to develop understanding of the intersubjective nature of the engagement process.



## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.1 Chapter overview .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.2 The National Context.....</b>	<b>9</b>
1.2.1 The establishment of Youth Offending Services and Teams .....	9
1.2.2 The Youth Justice Board and its role .....	10
<b>1.3 The Local Context .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.4 Educational Psychology and YOS.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.5 The position of the researcher .....</b>	<b>13</b>
1.5.1 My interest in this field.....	13
1.5.2 Why a psycho-social stance is appropriate for this research .....	14
1.5.3 Defining engagement .....	16
<b>1.6 The research aims.....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2 Literature Review.....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.1 Chapter overview .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.2 Literature searches .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.3 Literature review question 1:.....</b>	<b>21</b>
2.3.1 Rehabilitation .....	22
2.3.2 Intensive intervention .....	23
2.3.3 Therapeutic intervention.....	25
2.3.4 Engaging with education, training and employment.....	26
2.3.5 Engaging with YOS .....	28
2.3.6 Restorative justice .....	31
2.3.7 Literature Review Question 1: Findings.....	33
<b>2.4 Literature Review Question 2: .....</b>	<b>34</b>
2.4.1 Traumatic life events .....	35
2.4.2 Mental health and health needs.....	37
2.4.3 Social policy around youth offending .....	40
2.4.4 Literature Review Question 2: Findings.....	41
<b>3 Methodology.....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3.1 Chapter overview .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3.2 Research question, purpose and aim .....</b>	<b>42</b>
3.2.1 Research question .....	42
3.2.2 Research purpose – exploratory.....	43
3.2.3 Research aim .....	43
<b>3.3 Ontology and epistemology .....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>3.4 Methodology.....</b>	<b>48</b>
3.4.1 Qualitative methodology .....	48
<b>3.5 Participants .....</b>	<b>48</b>
3.5.1 Sampling strategy, recruitment and selection.....	48

<b>3.5.2 The definitions used for the recruitment of participants in the study .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>3.5 Methods.....</b>	<b>50</b>
3.5.1 Data collection .....	50
3.5.2 The Grid Elaboration Method (GEM).....	51
3.5.3 Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) .....	53
3.5.4 Data analysis.....	53
3.5.5 Thematic Analysis .....	54
3.5.6 Psycho-social analysis.....	56
<b>3.6 Credibility and Trustworthiness .....</b>	<b>58</b>
3.6.1 Sensitivity to context .....	59
3.6.2 Commitment and rigour .....	60
3.6.3 Coherence and transparency.....	61
3.6.4 Impact and importance .....	61
<b>3.7 Ethical Considerations .....</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>4 Findings.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>4.1 Chapter overview .....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>4.2 Overview of themes from thematic analysis .....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>4.3 Transformative relationship with YOT worker theme .....</b>	<b>69</b>
4.3.1 ‘Relationship’ subtheme.....	69
4.3.2 ‘How they made me feel’ subtheme .....	72
4.3.3 ‘Work on’ subtheme.....	73
<b>4.4 Identity transformation theme .....</b>	<b>76</b>
4.4.1 ‘Identity’ subtheme .....	76
4.4.2 ‘Perspective’ subtheme .....	83
<b>4.5 ‘Engaging’ theme .....</b>	<b>87</b>
4.5.1 ‘What works’ subtheme .....	87
4.5.2 ‘Resistance’ subtheme.....	90
<b>4.6 Then’s presence in now theme .....</b>	<b>93</b>
4.6.1 ‘Experiences’ subtheme.....	93
4.6.2 ‘Environment’ subtheme .....	98
4.6.3 ‘Relationship security’ subtheme .....	103
4.6.4 ‘Importance of trust’ subtheme .....	106
<b>4.7 Psycho-social analysis of each participant’s narrative .....</b>	<b>110</b>
4.7.1 Jamie’s pen portrait.....	111
4.7.2 Terry’s pen portrait.....	113
4.7.3 Chris’s pen portrait .....	115
4.7.4 Kevin’s pen portrait .....	117
4.7.5 Josh’s pen portrait .....	119
<b>4.8 The findings and how they address the research question .....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>5 Discussion.....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>5.1 Chapter overview .....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>5.2 Findings in the context of literature review literature .....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>5.3 Findings in the context of wider literature .....</b>	<b>124</b>

5.3.1 Trust in relationships; past and present .....	124
5.3.2 Developing an identity distanced from a past self .....	131
5.3.3 Engagement in personalised intervention.....	141
5.3.4 The function of the structure of YOS .....	145
5.3.5 YOS engagement; a window of opportunity.....	148
5.3.6 Developing a psycho-social understanding of what participants talked about..	149
<b>5.4. Strengths and limitations.....</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>5.5 Implications.....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>5.6 Dissemination.....</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>5.7 Reflections of the researcher .....</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>5.8 Recommendations for future research .....</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>6. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>7. References.....</b>	<b>161</b>
<b>8. Appendices.....</b>	<b>169</b>
Appendix A. Tavistock Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC) approval letter .....	169
Appendix B. Local Authority permission to conduct research .....	170
Appendix C. Participant information sheets.....	171
Appendix D. Parent information sheet .....	173
Appendix E. Participant consent form .....	175
Appendix F. Participant assent form .....	176
Appendix G. Parent/legal guardian consent form.....	177
Appendix H. Inclusion and exclusion process from literature searching .....	178
Appendix I. Critical appraisals of research studies included in the literature review ..	190
Appendix J. 2 examples of Grid Elaboration Method data capture (Terry and Chris) ..	198
Appendix K. Scenic understanding analysis for each participant .....	200
Appendix L. Themes, subthemes and codes.....	219
Appendix M. Thematic analysis .....	223

## **TABLE OF TABLES**

<i>Table 1. 76 articles included after two initial database searches.....</i>	<i>178</i>
<i>Table 2. Further search on 05.11.2015 resulting in a further 4 papers .....</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Table 3. 13 articles included in the literature review .....</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Table 4. Theme 1: Transformative relationship with YOT worker .....</i>	<i>219</i>
<i>Table 5. Theme 2: Identity transformation.....</i>	<i>220</i>
<i>Table 6. Theme 3: Engaging .....</i>	<i>221</i>
<i>Table 7. Theme 4: Then's presence now.....</i>	<i>222</i>
<i>Table 8. Retrieved segments linked to codes.....</i>	<i>223</i>

**TABLE OF FIGURES**

<i>Figure 1. Thematic map for Transformative relationship with YOT worker theme</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Figure 2. Thematic map for Identity transformation theme</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>Figure 3. Thematic map for Engaging theme</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Figure 4. Thematic map for Then's presence in now theme</i>	<i>93</i>
<i>Figure 5. Document portrait of Jamie's transcript</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>Figure 6. Document portrait of Terry's transcript</i>	<i>113</i>
<i>Figure 7. Document portrait of Chris's transcript</i>	<i>115</i>
<i>Figure 8. Document portrait of Kevin's transcript</i>	<i>117</i>
<i>Figure 9. Document portrait of Josh's transcript</i>	<i>119</i>

## **1 Introduction**

### **1.1 Chapter overview**

This chapter aims to contextualise the significance of a psycho-social exploration of young people's experiences of engaging with a YOS in the UK. It seeks to demonstrate the relevance of the research to both the national and local contexts. It also aims to convey how the research relates to the educational psychology profession. The chapter seeks to introduce the reader to the position of the researcher and establish why a psycho-social lens is appropriate here.

### **1.2 The National Context**

#### **1.2.1 The establishment of Youth Offending Services and Teams**

In England and Wales, the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) established a new youth justice system. This act saw the introduction of Youth Offending Services (YOS) in 2000, which ever since then, have increased in number. There are currently 157 Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) in the UK (Youth Justice Board, July 2014). YOTs are multi-agency partnerships that deliver youth justice services locally. Teams, while variable in composition, can consist of social workers, youth workers, police, probation, child and adolescent mental health specialists, speech and language specialists and Educational Psychologists (EPs). YOTs are funded by their statutory partners and receive an annual grant from central government administered and overseen by the Youth Justice Board (YJB) (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2015).

YOTs were established with the principal aim of working to prevent offending in young people. One way this is achieved is through engaging young people in

compulsory rehabilitative programs thereby avoiding costly custodial sentencing. Custodial sentencing is costly both financially and in terms of the personal cost to those in custody, who then face greater risk of a number of difficulties including poor mental health, poor physical health, financial difficulties, social stigma and the risk of further offending. The framework that YOTs were to operate under would provide interventions to address personal, family, social, educational and health factors that can increase a young person's risk of offending. This framework was designed to build on the protective factors in young people's lives in order to reduce these risks. This in turn was intended to provide access to opportunities aimed to redirect young people from a trajectory that involves offending. Allocated YOT social workers encourage young people to develop a sense of responsibility for their behaviour and consideration for the victims of their crime.

### **1.2.2 The Youth Justice Board and its role**

The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) also established the YJB; a non-departmental public body created to oversee, monitor and lead the youth justice system in England and Wales (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2015). The YJB sets standards in youth justice services and monitors YOTs' performance. On the YJB website, key areas of work are identified as; prevention of offending or re-offending, ensuring custody is safe and secure and addressing the causes of offending behaviour (Youth Justice Board, 2014). Another area of work is the commissioning and publishing of research on preventing youth offending (Youth Justice Board, 2014).

The Ministry of Justice undertook a 'stock take' of 20 YOTs in 2015 to give them a 'better understanding of how local youth justice services are being delivered and funded; and to inform future thinking about how the system can be improved to provide more support to young people and their communities' (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2015). They announced that this would involve a 'more qualitative contextual analysis' through visits to YOTs. The findings showed alongside generic approaches, services were developing discrete interventions revealing some variation in approach across YOTs. Different specialist programmes and early intervention innovations were being implemented in different areas. The findings demonstrated development of specific approaches such as parenting programmes, speech, language and communication needs and the establishment of relationships with head teachers to meet the particular needs of a given area.

### **1.3 The Local Context**

As outlined, each local authority YOS has particular areas in which they focus, based on the needs of their locality. During a meeting with the Education, Training and Employment Manager in the writer's local authority (November 2014) an intention to develop speech and language assessment and provision was shared. It was also shared that the education status of young people entering this YOS is one of the worst in the UK. The polarised economic status of the residents in the region was also shared. The region is located near to London and therefore its use as a satellite region for gangs from London meant young people in this area are at particular risk of being recruited by gangs. The most recent statistics available show that between October 2014 and September 2015 there were 391 first time entrants into the YOT, this was down 24.1% from the previous year in which there were 515. There was an

0.11% reduction in use of custody between the periods January 2014-December 2014 and January 2016-December 2015. In terms of reoffending rates, they were up 8.6% between the periods of April 2012-March 2013 and April 2013-March 2014.

There are no lower age limits for YOT involvement and the upper age limit is 18.

There are four YOT bases in the writer's local authority. There is also an Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP) designed to be the most intensive non-custodial intervention available to Youth Offending Services. The YOTs in the local authority are of multi-disciplinary composition, professionals working in the teams are as follows: social workers, youth workers, police, probation, child and adolescent mental health specialists, speech and language specialists and educational psychologists. In this local authority EPs are commissioned to undertake individual assessment work, facilitating meetings with schools and other agencies, training at a service and team level and consultation with YOT case workers. For the purpose of this study, YOT case workers will be referred to as YOT workers.

#### **1.4 Educational Psychology and YOS**

An understanding of the complex needs of the young people attending YOTs (Chitsabesan and Bailey, 2006) is reflected in the multi-agency nature of teams.

Educational Psychologists (EPs) have a presence in some YOTs in the UK and their presence is increasing. The EP role has the potential to be flexible depending on both the needs of the teams and the needs of young people they engage with.

Young people attending YOS often fall within the bracket of 'adolescence'. This can involve a number of physiological and neuropsychological changes, bringing specific needs and vulnerabilities that can arguably exacerbate the social, psychological,



educational and health needs that many young people attending YOTs already present with. The often multiple and complex needs of these young people can also mean that engagement with professionals is a complicated and challenging process, creating potential barriers in communication or understanding that can have an impact on the engagement relationship. EPs' with their understanding of theories of development; the dynamic processes in the development of relationships and theory around the functioning of systems could be an important resource in considering the phenomena at play when young people engage with YOS.

The complex individual and social needs of these young people points to early intervention approaches in school and home settings. EPs are well placed to formulate a holistic and psychologically informed understanding of these needs, sharing that expertise with YOT colleagues in the interest of positive outcomes for young people. Interventions in the community have been found to be more effective than interventions in institutions (Smith, 2005) and community interventions can be considered to be early intervention. Early intervention work is widely espoused in the EP profession and therefore the role of the EP in YOTs could be promoted in order to support early intervention approaches.

## **1.5 The position of the researcher**

### **1.5.1 My interest in this field**

My interest in the field originated from my former role in a young offender institution. While working as a child and adolescent mental health service (CAMHS) prison-in-reach team assistant psychologist I became aware of the complex needs of young people in custodial settings. These young people often had individual

psychological, learning and social needs; a psychological understanding of how these interrelated needs impacted on each other was applied in order to consider appropriate intervention.

Considering the early intervention role of YOS in preventing custodial sentencing, I aspired to contribute to the literature around YOS work, in ways that took into account young people's social and individual histories placing attention on their experiences. I believe that this can be approached through qualitative research that seeks richness of data that can represent richness of experience. I reject that this can be achieved through positivist research approaches. Through academic and work experiences I have been influenced by psychoanalytically informed theories of relating. Particular interests in attachment theory and therapeutic approaches to change are present in my thinking and therefore will be part of the lens through which I view my participants, experience the research process and interpret data.

### **1.5.2 Why a psycho-social stance is appropriate for this research**

A psycho-social stance in this research will apply a lens through which psychological theory and social theory can be considered when interpreting data. It is both the ontological position I take as a researcher and epistemology I choose to come to know the area being researched. This allows the intersubjectivity of the psychological and social to be considered at each stage of the research process, including during the literature review and discussion for example. It has guided the choices made in terms of data collection methods.

This approach is the most appropriate way to consider the interrelatedness of the social and individual psychological experiences of the research participants without emphasising the importance of one over the other. For this research, the psycho-

social stance and method of data collection provides rich narratives about young people's experiences of engaging with YOS. Mischel's (1973) cognitive social learning framework outlines how important it is to pay attention to "person variables that are the products of the individual's total history [which] in turn mediate the manner in which new experiences affect him" (Mischel, 1973, p265). In this piece of research I aimed to take into account the relevance of the participants' 'total history' to current experiences of engaging with YOS. Part of my lens included psychological theories such as attachment theory that also talk to the relevance of history to a person's development of ways of relating.

A psycho-social stance allows me to explicitly consider my presence in the research process and the impact that may have. For example, it is important at the outset to recognise my assumption that engagement with YOTs is beneficial for young people, in terms of rehabilitation and of possible therapeutic value. My awareness of this potential bias is communicated openly in the interest of remaining mindful of it through the research process. It is anticipated that this will support the intention to be receptive to the participants' perceptions while accepting that they may not all believe that engagement with a YOT is 'good for them'.

The term 'young offender' is currently widely used in the literature to describe the population of interest. For the purpose of this research, participants will be referred to as 'young people engaging with YOS' and 'participants', as opposed to 'young offender'. This is in keeping with a psycho-social stance which aims to consider research participants as a whole rather than reduced to a single defining label. While there is always a presence of socially defining labels, I will not seek to apply these to participants myself. In line with the psycho-social stance, such labels will be

identified as they emerge from the data and will be considered when a psycho-social lens is applied explicitly in the analysis.

### 1.5.3 Defining engagement

The concept of 'engagement', for the purpose of this research, will be that it is a fundamentally interpersonal process; the formation of a relationship with the 'other' whether it be YOS as a service or an individual YOT worker. The interest in this piece of research lies in a hypothesis that the capacity to engage may be based on psycho-social experiences; a dialectic between collective cultural experience and individual everyday experience (Weber, 2013), and that the experience can be understood using a psychological lens that takes into account the social reality of individual research participants.

One working definition of engagement that has been helpful here is "interest and willing participation in interventions or programme of interventions intended to prevent or reduce reoffending...personal motivation and commitment to involvement in activities...passive involvement is not enough" (Mason and Prior, 2008, p12). Mason and Prior (2008) also highlight the complicating reality of working with young people within YOS, and of the practitioner's dual role as both part of a legal enforcement service and as a helping, therapeutic and problem solving service. It is hoped that this research may provide some insight into how the dual role is experienced by young people engaging with YOS. The aim in this research is to operationalise an interpretation of the term engagement, to think about both 'working with' which includes relating to and trusting, as well as 'working on' which focuses on the work around reducing offending.

## **1.6 The research aims**

The research aims to explore young people's experiences of engaging with one Local Authority YOS in the UK. It aims to apply a psycho-social approach in order to consider both the wider social and individual psychological experiences that emerge as relevant to engagement. It also aims to highlight implications for the educational psychology professions including the potential development of the role of EPs in YOS. Chapter 2 presents evidence of the importance of this research in a review of existing literature in the field.

## **2 Literature Review**

### **2.1 Chapter overview**

A comprehensive literature review was undertaken to explore the range and quality of research that has been undertaken in relation to young people's experience with Youth Offending Services, specifically Youth Offending Teams (YOTs). In the Local Authority from which I recruited participants, there is also an Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (ISSP) that is related to but separate from YOTs. This is designed to be the most intensive non-custodial intervention available to Youth Offending Services. For this reason, papers that relate to ISSP that have resulted from literature searches have been included in the literature review.

This chapter begins by providing an overview of how studies were identified and selected for inclusion in the literature review. The findings of the review are then presented in two separate sections. The first section synthesises and reports findings that address the first literature review question - 1. What kind of rehabilitative work do young people referred to YOT access and engage in? The second section synthesises and reports findings that address the second literature review question - 2. What are the psycho-social experiences of young people engaging with youth offending services? The review provides summaries showing that no studies were identified that address the research questions that have been addressed in the research presented in this thesis.

### **2.2 Literature searches**

A database search was carried out on 19.07.2015 using the following databases: PsycINFO, SocINDEX and PEP Archive. The subject term 'young offender' was used

with the following limiters: “peer reviewed journals” and “published date from January 2000” (this year was chosen because this is when YOS became operational nationally).

This resulted in 268 hits. 206 papers were excluded based on the titles for the following reasons; 127 were not from the UK, 58 related to young offenders in custody, 3 related to young offenders who were hospitalised, 16 were not about YOT work specifically, 1 was a duplication of a hit, 1 was a book review. At this stage 62 articles were included.

A database search was carried out on 25.07.2015 using PsycINFO, SocINDEX and PEP Archive with subject search terms ‘delinquent’ AND ‘engagement’ AND ‘community’ with the following limiters: “peer reviewed journal”, “published date from January 2000”.

This resulted in 193 hits. 179 papers were excluded based on examination of the titles for the following reasons; 145 were not from the UK, 7 related to young offenders in custody, 18 were not related to young offenders, 3 were not about YOT work specifically, 5 were a duplication of the initial young offender search, 1 was related to a residential setting. At this stage 14 articles were included.

In total 76 articles were included at this stage.

Appendix H provides information about the inclusion and exclusion criteria that were applied to the 76 articles.

Of the 76 articles, abstracts were read to ascertain relevance to the current study. A further 50 were excluded because they did not relate to young people’s work with

YOT, 4 were excluded because they related to young offenders in a custodial setting, 5 were excluded because they were book reviews and 1 was excluded because it was a duplication of an article in the search.

This left 16 articles relating to young people's engagement with YOT. At this point each article was read in full to ascertain relevance to the review question. 1 was excluded because it related to young offenders in a custodial setting, 1 was excluded because it focused on parenting orders, 1 was excluded because it was an international review that did not look specifically at young people's work with YOT, 1 was excluded because it focused on mental health interventions rather than specifically on young people's work with YOT. 2 further articles were then excluded; 1 because it focused on young people and their families' experience of multi-systemic therapy rather than specifically YOT work and 1 because the sample included adults and those 'at risk of offending' rather than those specifically engaging with YOT.

Of the remaining 11 articles; 4 were identified as discussion papers, 1 was identified to apply mixed methodology research methods, 2 were identified to apply qualitative research methods and 4 were identified to apply quantitative research methods.

A further database search was undertaken on 05.11.2015 using PsychINFO, SocINDEX and PEP Archive with title search terms young offender\* AND engag\* in order to capture papers that may not have been located during initial searches. The following limiters were applied; Peer Reviewed Journal, Published date from January 2000.



This resulted in 4 hits. 1 was excluded as a duplication from a previous search and 1 was excluded because it did not relate to YOT work specifically.

A further 2 papers were therefore included in the review of the literature; 1 was identified as a discussion paper and 1 was identified to apply quantitative research methods.

This search process resulted in the inclusion of 13 articles. The included papers were critically appraised using appraisal grids based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP, 2014) that can be found in Appendix I. The articles were critically reviewed and synthesised to address the literature review questions asked.

### **2.3 Literature review question 1:**

*What kind of rehabilitative work do young people referred to YOT access and engage in?*

This review question sought to find out what is already known about young peoples' experience of working within a youth offending service structure. The reviewed papers are presented below under sub headings that depict how the papers have been synthesised. A research paper (Millward and Senker, 2012) relating to the rehabilitation of young people is introduced, moving through to a research paper (Little, Kogan, Bullock and Van Der Laan, 2004) and discussion paper (Flint, 2011) that reviewed young people's engagement with intensive interventions. While Flint's (2011) paper refers to a previous study undertaken by the author, the original study is not included in the literature review because it did not result from literature searches undertaken. It was therefore not possible to review the quality of the previous study. Flint's (2011) paper is treated as a discussion paper for these

reasons. A therapeutic intervention is examined through one research paper (Butler, Baruch, Hickey and Fonagy, 2011) then a research study (Knight, 2012) investigating young people's engagement with an education and training programme is outlined. A research paper (Brooks and Khan, 2015) and a discussion paper (Prior and Mason, 2010) then specifically examine young people's engagement with YOS. The final two discussion papers (Gray, 2005; Smith 2009) relate to young people's engagement with restorative justice interventions. While Gray's (2005) paper refers to a previous study undertaken by the author, this was not included in the review because it did not result from literature searches undertaken and it is therefore not possible to review the quality of the study. The paper is treated as a discussion paper for these reasons.

### **2.3.1 Rehabilitation**

Millward and Senker's (2012) Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) gained insights into young people's thoughts about their views on their offending behaviour and rehabilitation. The authors recruited 3 young offenders from a YOS, aspiring to theoretical rather than empirical generalizability and found two master themes to emerge from their data. These were; 'Dissociating from an offender identity and authoring a new non-offender, more individuated identity' and; 'Masculinity as multifaceted'. The authors explore the idea of identity as shaped by experiences and potentially transforming through engagement with YOT. They also consider the social construction of masculinity and its role in shaping young people's individual perceptions of themselves and their world.

A sense of young people authoring new identities was described by the authors as either extrinsically or intrinsically led, for example extrinsic motivators such as tagging worked best when the young person had internalised the decision to change. Millward and Senker (2012) draw upon self determination theory to explain the shift in motivation from external to internally driven and provide three helpful implications for practice; 'Emphasis on individual work and exploration of individual identity'; 'Practitioners should strive to create an environment which meets the principles of autonomy, relatedness and competence in order to harness intrinsic motivation and long term change' and; 'Positive male role models' (for males). A criticism of the paper is that it keeps the focus and locus of control within the young person rather than exploring in detail the role of interpersonal relationships in enabling internalisation of a sense of belief in the ability to change or the role of social influences on this. It is a descriptive account of the change rather than exploring in depth the processes that may be underlying the change, something that I hope to illuminate through my exploratory approach.

### **2.3.2 Intensive intervention**

Little et al (2004) employed a randomised control trial (RCT) to measure effectiveness of an intensive intervention with YOS. Difficulties with defining and measuring 'effectiveness' are discussed as different constructions around what would be considered as effective outcomes of YOT work exist in the literature. Little et al's study (2004) assigned persistent young offenders to an Intensive Supervision and Support Programme (ISSP) or control group receiving standard services. Data was gathered from three sources; police records, professional records and interviews with youth justice workers and national criminal records. Professional

perspectives on the efficacy of ISSP were also gathered. This data was collated and calculated into one single score which captured young people's engagement with intervention. They found that reconviction rates were unaffected by ISSP but that volume of crime decreased by 30-50%, suggesting some effectiveness in terms of crime reduction. These results perhaps also highlight the importance of thoughtful consideration and measurement of 'effectiveness' and 'engagement'. It is possible that the single score used to measure young people's engagement did not fully capture the complexity of the process, demonstrating an area for development in my research in terms of gathering rich data based on young people's narratives. While Flint (2011) refers to his research, it will not be reviewed here because it did not result from literature searching. However, his position on intensive interventions as outlined in the discussion paper will be included. Flint (2011) argues that meaningful engagement enables motivation to change through locating it in the relationship between the young person and the YOT worker designated to support them. He is critical of a youth justice approach that relies on sanctions to enforce change rather than an approach that provides guidance and capacity for reflection. Flint (2011) talks about the importance of the relationship with YOT professionals for example and it's "capacity to effect change was located within 'persistent', 'assertive' and 'tenacious' practitioners who would 'challenge' families, who 'would not take no for an answer' and 'who will not go away' (Flint, 2011, p6). There is acknowledgement of the importance of young people making an active choice to change and that this involved voluntary engagement rather than enforced engagement.

### 2.3.3 Therapeutic intervention

An RCT comparing the interventions of Multisystemic Therapy (MST) and 'YOT as usual' was carried out by Butler et al (2011). 108 families were randomly allocated to one of the two arms of the study. Effectiveness of each intervention was measured using initially primary outcome measures such as police records of custodial sentencing or offending behaviour at 6 monthly intervals until an 18 month follow up point. Secondary outcomes measured self and parent report of antisocial behaviour, delinquency linked cognitions, personality functioning and parenting variables.

The authors describe MST as a social-ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to intervention and investigated whether MST leads to broader improvements in "youth sociality, family function as well as looking at potential mediators of change such as parenting skills, parent adolescent communication, and dissociation from deviant peers" (Butler et al, 2011, p4) than 'treatment as usual'. MST 'targets drivers related to the young person's individual adjustment, their family relationships, school functioning, and peer group affiliations and parental involvement is considered central to the intervention (Butler et al, 2011). The YOT group received tailored interventions aimed at preventing reoffending; these interventions were reported by the authors to be extensive and multi-component with a 'well-structured' YOT intervention including many of the components of MST. The main difference highlighted between the two interventions was the absence of MST principles guiding the YOT work alongside the absence of the specific component of family work delivered by a single therapist in the YOT 'as usual' group. In terms of primary outcomes, MST was found to be superior to YOT interventions in reducing

re-offending rates over time, although in a number of areas, there was no significant difference between the two groups. In terms of secondary outcomes, there were steeper declines for some externalising problems (aggression and delinquency) although overall, the rate of change did not differ significantly between the two groups.

Some limitations of the paper communicated by the authors are that due to the small sample size, the results do not have statistical power. They also comment that it does not help us understand the *process* of change and the study did not investigate possible treatment mechanisms underlying change. Therapeutic mechanisms during interventions were not explored and the authors highlighted the importance of exploring this further. This is something that may emerge from my research.

#### **2.3.4 Engaging with education, training and employment**

Knight (2012) investigated the Education, Training and Employment (ETE) status of young offenders and related outcomes. Data was collected from 617 young offenders. Their ETE status was captured in four categories; 0 hours, 1-15 hours, 16-24 hours and 25+ hours and correlated with gravity of offence, reoffending rates, conviction rates and with the YOS risk of offending assessment (ASSET) using an analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistical test. The ASSET assesses factors associated with the risk of re-offending such as; living arrangements, family and personal relationships, education, training and employment, neighbourhood, lifestyle, substance use, physical health, emotional and mental health, perception of self and others, thinking and behaviour, attitudes to offending and motivation to change. Overall, the author found mean total of offending, gravity of offence and conviction

rates to be higher for young people less engaged with ETE at the end of their last order. While the correlations with offending and gravity of offence were statistically significant, the correlation with conviction rates was not statistically significant although there was a positive correlation, suggesting a small trend.

The ANOVA found that young people engaged in full time ETE for more than 25 hours had a lower mean ASSET score across all different ASSET fields relating to emotional and cognitive abilities than all the other groups. In particular, she found a strong association between a motivation to change and those in full time ETE. The author argues therefore that it is important at the point of the first ASSET assessment to ascertain motivation to change with the score indicating readiness or whether further work may be required to support the establishment of motivation to change.

There is an emphasis in the paper on the individual agent and their choice in change and while social factors are considered, it has been found that ETE interventions are easier to address than issues such as living arrangements, emotional and mental health, relationships and motivation to change (Sutherland, 2009). Despite the difficulties being discussed around measuring effectiveness and engagement, the author reminds us of the YJB target of 90% engagement in ETE for YOTs; a target that perhaps does not take into account the complexities present in these processes. Knight (2012) herself talks about the limitations of the kind of quantitative data she collected in that individual diversity is lost in the interest of generalizability in a field that is likely not always well-matched with studies that aim to generalize.

### 2.3.5 Engaging with YOS

Brooks and Khan (2015) undertook a quantitative study with 109 young offenders in a non-custodial community intervention, investigating what factors influence their motivation to engage with interventions available. Factors examined were; internal characteristics or behaviour and relationships with parents. Five questionnaires were administered measuring motivation, self esteem, parental bonding, school information, behaviour out of the family and aggression. Regression and correlational analyses were undertaken which found that; aggressive subtypes correlated with amotivation; school behaviour was a predictor of both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and negatively associated with identified regulation; and maternal care styles were predictors of intrinsic motivation, identified regulation and amotivation whilst control or overprotective styles predicted all four motivational subtypes. Brooks and Khan (2015) discuss the importance of internalising extrinsic motivation through the promotion of self autonomy and competence to maximise engagement, noting a 'fundamental attribution error' in research that focuses on individual motivations to change without looking in enough detail at external factors which they say influence cognitive distortions and offence related behaviour.

The paper suggests that affective control is predictive of readiness to engage, highlighting the importance of interventions and approaches that can support regulation of affect. The paper also suggests that too much parental control can make it difficult to foster intrinsic motivation, suggesting an important and sensitive balance may be sought during family intervention work. A limitation of the study is the moderate amount of variation in the analysis which the authors hypothesise to



be due to there being a number of interrelated factors related to engagement that perhaps were not captured. This again highlights the difficulties in encapsulating the complex data present in this area of research through quantitative methods alone. Brooks and Khan (2015) suggest further exploration of possible interrelated factors and highlight substance use, psychopathology programme content and therapeutic relationship as possible further areas to explore.

In their discussion paper around 'what works' in engaging young people in YOS, Prior and Mason (2010) comment on research and practice literature differences. They argue that while engagement is always thought of as key in effective youth offending work, the research does not sufficiently explore *how* to secure it. They refer to the 'what works' literature and suggest that the elements around *how* it works should be explored more with this crucial element being missing from the literature. Within this, they discuss the complexities of the socio-political context in that the YJB in some ways hold some monopoly over the way the literature is shaped. They discuss the YJB approach of commissioning systematic reviews to provide the evidence base for practice guidance. The authors themselves share their experience of being commissioned by the YJB to undertake a review of engagement in 2008 under strict guidelines around quality research. They shared their definition of engagement for the purpose of the review;

"young people's interest and willing participation in interventions...intended to prevent or reduce offending. 'Engagement' suggests a set of objectives around developing young people's personal motivation and commitment to involvement in activities. It implies that passive involvement is not enough – for example, if a young

person attends and takes part in a prescribed programme of activities but does not feel any commitment to the objectives of the programme and is not motivated to benefit, through learning or personal development, from the programme activities, then they are not 'engaged' and the programme is unlikely to be successful. For practitioners, the implication is that specific skills and knowledge ('techniques') are required to achieve engagement, in addition to skills and knowledge associated with the particular type of intervention" (Mason and Prior, 2008).

Prior and Mason (2010) shared how the focus of the review in 2008 was to determine which types of intervention were effective. They revealed their apparent frustration with how little attention was paid to the techniques or factors that may have supported the intervention working in practice, including the factor of 'engagement'.

Prior and Mason (2010) highlight how the practice literature theorizes engagement around two themes; processes of child and adolescent development i.e. "psychological, social and cultural factors that shape the experiences and influence the attitudes and behaviours of young people as they move from childhood through adolescence to adulthood" and the nature of human relationships, "in particular the requirements for establishing and maintaining a therapeutic relationship between an adult professional worker and a young person that will help the development of the latter's personal and social wellbeing" (Prior and Mason, 2010, p215). These key themes, for the authors, demonstrate how the practice literature holds a theoretical account of human development and interaction with little evidence of how these accounts may apply in practice.

The authors purport that the complexity of the lives of young people engaging with YOT requires professional sensitivity in attempts to recognize and acknowledge young people's lived experiences, referencing Eadie and Canton (2002) who say;

“Offending by young people is associated with rather than necessarily caused by, numerous social and psychological influences...Any purposeful attempt to ‘address offending behaviour’ must take account of these influences, the reality of their lived experiences” (Eadie and Canton, 2002). Exploring how the reality of young people's experiences is attended to and worked with in the engagement process is something that my method of data collection and analysis aims to capture.

### **2.3.6 Restorative justice**

Restorative justice is an intervention designed to work towards restoration of victim-offender relations that are believed to have been damaged through offending. This restoration is intended to promote the reintegration of young people engaging with YOS into mainstream life and wider society. While Gray (2005) is critical of the ‘narrow’ implementation of the intervention, Smith (2009) espouses a restorative justice approach stressing the importance of emphasizing rehabilitative justice, inclusivity, reciprocity and repairing relationships.

Gray's (2005) criticisms come from what is deemed to be the overemphasis on ‘responsibilisation’ (the young person accepting responsibility for their offending and taking appropriate steps to rectify this) and moral reasoning deficits of young people, firmly placing the locus of responsibility within the individual young person.

Gray (2005) is critical of the 'what works' agenda in its investigation of what is helpful in YOS work. In her view, it focuses on risk with much less emphasis on young people's welfare needs. She highlights the personal and social risks around committing crime, and criticises the current interpretation of restorative justice as focusing on young people's responsibility to manage their own risks of reoffending. She claims that the New Labour reforms that established YOTs in their current organization shaped the service to tackle the social context of youth crime through an 'individualisation' of social context rather than structural or societal change and argues that 'responsibilisation' overshadows what was designed to be a restorative, re-integrative intervention.

Gray (2005) discusses whether the intervention of restorative justice works in practice as the underpinning theory has perhaps been lost in interpretation and real life practice of services that emphasise individual responsibility without the balance of working with social restraints and issues around social exclusion.

There is evident tension in the existing literature around the arbitrary separation between the individual and the social. Indeed, Smith's (2009) discussion paper outlines how historically, youth justice models have fallen into two domains of *justice* and *welfare*. He refers to these as social constructions and questions whether young people's agency is given enough emphasis in either model. He, like Gray (2005) outlines how the justice approach holds young people fully accountable for their individual 'responsibility' and expands this by commenting on their lack of agency in creating the social rules they have broken. Smith (2009) states that the welfare approach places a passivity on young people, denying them a sense of

agency that would permit escape from what is sometimes seen as an inevitable result of their history. In terms of intervention, the justice model primarily focuses on behaviour and 'responsibilisation' while the welfare model concerns itself with social causes of crime; the social context of children, social inclusion and opportunity. Smith (2009) argues that we don't understand childhood and childhood agency enough when engaging with young people in rehabilitative work and that person-centred youth justice models could be a more helpful framework. He outlines the tension between 'structure and agency', particularly the interplay between the two constructions of reality. He also discusses 'identities' of young people who offend such as *victim* or *offender* and the importance of professionals working with these young people to have an integrated understanding of different aspects of their lives.

Despite the tensions between models, Smith (2009) highlights some similarities in that they both find it difficult to view children as independent social actors although for contrasting reasons. He also comments on how they both aspire to change children or their circumstances so they develop normally and conform. Smith (2009) advocates an alternative model which recognises the importance of young people's agency when engaging them in interventions; focusing on participative interventions, their role in the generation of their own solutions and delegating responsibility.

### **2.3.7 Literature Review Question 1: Findings**

The reviewed papers, described above, demonstrate that research around young people's engagement with YOS inclines towards a positivist, 'within participant'

approach. A number of studies rely on regression and correlational analysis to determine relationships between what are expected to be discreet variables. While some correlations are achieved, they often do not specify causal relationships and therefore do not provide detailed insight into how young people might engage with YOS. Statistical significance has been found to be difficult to achieve with some realisations that this is likely owing to the complex process involved in young peoples' engagement with interventions and perhaps the interrelatedness of what are assumed to be distinct 'factors' in the process. Some papers appear to focus on a 'within participant' deficit model which arguably denies the significance of social context in young peoples' engagement with interventions. While some papers explore data qualitatively and investigate young people's views on their experiences, they can be criticised for providing somewhat descriptive accounts of the process rather than providing in-depth understandings of *how* within the process of engagement. So far, the literature review identifies a gap in the literature around an in-depth exploration of young people's experiences of the engagement process with YOS which considers the interrelatedness between individual and social processes that may influence this.

#### **2.4 Literature Review Question 2:**

*What are the psycho-social experiences of young people engaging with youth offending services?*

This review question sought to find out what is already known about the psycho-social experiences of young people engaging with youth offending services. The reviewed papers are presented below under sub headings that depict how the

papers have been synthesised. The review of relevant papers begins with Paton, Crouch and Camic's (2009) research exploring young people's experiences of traumatic life events. A research study relating to young people's mental health needs and access to services (Walsh, Scaife, Notley, Dodsworth and Schofield, 2011) is then discussed, followed by one that examines health needs and access to services (Anderson, Vostanis and Spencer, 2004). Finally Rogowski's (2014) discussion paper around social policy is considered in relation to psycho-social experiences of young people engaging with YOS.

#### **2.4.1 Traumatic life events**

Young people engaging with youth offending services are widely known to have experienced some form of adversity in their lives. Paton, et al (2009) explored, using an IPA methodology, young offender's experiences of traumatic life events. The study reveals the multiple traumatic life events experienced by this particular group of young people and the authors consider the potential impact this has in terms of creating barriers to seeking support. Five master themes emerged from the data; Experiences of violence; Living in a violent world; Instability and transitions; Depriving environment; Effects on participants of difficult life experiences; Changing self and support networks.

The findings from this study fit with a psycho-social understanding of the engagement process for these young people. Real social experiences have been internalised and embodied and now have an impact on the view of self and how the self engages with services.

Within the theme of instability, the perception of instability of relationships with parents and also with relationships in school, particularly around secondary school

emerged. Through the theme of depriving environment, the experience of lack of parental availability were shared and multiple separations from parents were reported. The authors highlight the potential cognitive impact on the individual of difficult life experiences thought suppression, lack of memory, re-experiencing, making sense of violent experiences, minimizing of the impact of the experience, hyper-vigilance, desensitization in relation to violence, and defensive reactions.

The impact on relationships is specifically highlighted in the research with the young people sharing some difficulties with putting trust in others, particularly referring to conflicts with teachers. Participants shared thoughts about changing selves and potential sources of support being found through family and school. Barriers to accessing professional support included professionals not understanding 'street issues' and negative experiences of services being shared, not understanding of their problems and that professionals located the problem in the young person.

The authors warn of the danger with current youth justice policy in locating the problem in young people rather than considering in enough depth, the social experiences and histories of young people and their impact when thinking about rehabilitative work. When linking with theory, the authors refer to psychoanalytic theory, for example through 'identification with the aggressor' (Freud, 1946) referring to the trajectory from victim to perpetrator and young people 'getting tough' as a defence against the more vulnerable parts of themselves. The authors' particular focus appears to be on understanding the reasons why these young people became young offenders. They noted the positive impact on young people of being involved in the research and suggested there were positive benefits for these young people in having the opportunity to talk and reflect.



A limitation of the research is that it is not possible to generalize from, due to being an IPA study; it has a small number of participants and the uniqueness of each individual's experience means that trauma experiences of different young people will not be homogenous.

The study's clinical implications focus on implications for mental health professionals' work around trauma and psycho-educational work in schools for young people who may be considered at risk of offending. Perhaps an area left to explore from this research is a more in-depth understanding of the impact of these psycho-social experiences on the engagement process with YOS, and potential implications for the EP role in YOS. I would hope that my study would be able to illuminate these areas further.

#### **2.4.2 Mental health and health needs**

Walsh et al (2011) applied a mixed methodology to investigate young people's thoughts around their mental health needs and accessing services. 44 young people engaging with a YOS completed a questionnaire pack focusing on three areas; perceptions of psychological, physical and sexual health needs; Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire and; questionnaires about life circumstances, substance use, GP registration and use. Interviews were undertaken with a subset of 6 volunteers from the questionnaire sample around their perceptions of their mental health needs and barriers to accessing services. The interview data were analyzed using thematic analysis.

The authors found the young people to share psychological, social, structural and cultural barriers to accessing services and issues around understanding, stigma and confidentiality emerged. Descriptive statistics from the questionnaire data found

self reports of difficulties in a number of domains (home, friends, school, where they lived). They also found that it was preferred for mental health support to come from people the young people knew such as family and friends although the YOT was also an important possible source of advice. From the thematic analysis of interview data, three themes emerged: fear; lack of certainty about what they were dealing with and; understanding and empathy (finding it difficult to talk to people). The nature of the relationship between young person and service professional was shared by young people as an important factor in whether they sought professional support for their mental health. From the interview data it emerged that young people sometimes rejected the idea of talking to professionals as the relationship was seen as transitory.

The authors purported that there were psychological, social, structural and cultural barriers to accessing services. The study highlighted the importance of confidentiality to participants. The importance of consistency in relationships with professionals was also emphasized with the suggestion that this is owing to the vulnerable presentation of these young people with discontinuity often pervading their lives. The authors argue that the multifaceted difficulties these young people have, impact on psycho-social tasks of identity development and individuation. They describe how their findings support other research that stresses the significance of trusting relationships with professionals for example through a key person working with them in YOT. While the study is helpful in providing statistical data on young people's mental health needs and experiences of sources of support for mental health problems, it does not correlate the data in a way that may reveal relationships between these variables. Interview data is not generalizable due to the

small sample although it helpfully illuminates themes around young peoples' experiences and preferences around accessing mental health support. A development in this area would be to explore the psycho-social experiences that may have an impact on the experience of engaging with professionals in YOS, something specifically mentioned but not further explored

Anderson et al (2004) examined, using quantitative data, young people's health needs and access to services. 50 participants who attended a YOS, completed three questionnaires about their health needs and access to health service provision; a health checklist, the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire and; the Health of the Nation Outcome Scale. The study aimed to understand young peoples' perceptions in order to provide insights into what might improve their engagement with services. Descriptive statistical analysis of young people's responses found that health related services young people would find useful were; 'counselling facilities', 'someone to talk to', 'somewhere to do sport/gym', 'help for housing' and specific help with drinking, anger, weight problems, asthma and literacy. The data suggested that young people visit health services in times of crisis and the authors highlight the role of YOTs in supporting them to access health services in planned, preventative ways. Young people's responses demonstrated a broad range of social stigma related perceptions around mental illness which the authors argue will inevitably have an impact on engagement with services. The authors note the limitation of the heterogeneous sample of participants that would restrict generalizability. They also comment on the lack of in-depth interview data capturing participants' perceptions and past experiences with services that may have influenced this. My research will

aim to capture the influences that psycho-social experiences may have on engagement, capturing this through in-depth qualitative interviews.

### **2.4.3 Social policy around youth offending**

Rogowski's (2014) discussion paper tracks and locates policy development in order to comment on current approaches to youth offending work. He criticises what he argues to be an increasingly punitive approach. He purports that a social emphasis for understanding youth crime and shaping intervention has made way for a more individualist understanding focusing on individual deficiency of young people and their families rather than structural factors such as class, race and gender that are deep rooted and profoundly affect young people's life chances. In his view, interventions in turn focus on the individual and their family with an expectation that "young offenders, not their social and economic circumstances, must change" (Rogowski, 2014, p6).

The paper also discusses the notion of 'adulteration'; the youth justice system increasingly treating young people as adults. Rogowski (2014) notes the rise in prominence of the 'responsibilisation' approach which can arguably neglect society's role and responsibilities around social justice for all in society. The author criticises redevelopments in policy as an 'actuarialist' approach; with the focus on managing risk in the interest of wider society and the prioritisation of welfare needs in interest of preventing future offending rather than redressing inequalities and circumstances that led to offending in the first place. Rogowski (2014) emphasises the importance of considering societal issues at the root of crime and highlights how work with a young offender has to involve building a relationship with them and their family. He goes on to say that the extent to which we help young offenders to remain

motivated relies on the quality of the relationship that has been established; involving the practitioner being genuine, warm and empathetic, developing trust and establishing a rapport (Rogowski, 2014). The author concludes by advocating a psycho-social approach; “All the foregoing involves a psycho-social approach which combines attention to individual psychological need with broader socio-economic circumstances” (Rogowski, 2014, p11).

#### **2.4.4 Literature Review Question 2: Findings**

The reviewed papers, described above, demonstrate that psycho-social experiences are generally researched using more qualitative methods of data gathering and analysis. The research studies focus on the specific psycho-social areas of investigation rather than exploring psycho-social experiences that may emerge from participants’ data. The links made between what participants say about their psycho-social experiences and any potential influences on the process of engagement are somewhat limited, particularly around engagement with YOT professionals. Again, quantitative research is hindered by its not being generalizable due to the heterogeneous sample.

The literature review continues to identify a gap in the literature around exploring participants’ engagement experiences with YOT professionals in a way that can consider psycho-social experiences that emerge through the data collection method and subsequent analysis.

## **3 Methodology**

### **3.1 Chapter overview**

This chapter begins by identifying the research question that is being addressed through the study alongside the purpose and aim. An overview of my psycho-social ontology and epistemology is then provided. Details of how the research question will be explored through the methodology selected, demonstrate how it guided data collection and analysis. Issues relating to credibility and trustworthiness are discussed followed by a summary of the ethical consideration given to this piece of research.

### **3.2 Research question, purpose and aim**

#### **3.2.1 Research question**

The research question that the study addresses is as follows;

What do participants talk about when asked about their engagement experiences with youth offending services?

The research question has remained broad in order to allow for an exploration of what participants bring to interviews through free association. The free associative technique in its essence means that any associations that could be made by participants are relevant and require some interpretation by the researcher. As a psychologist researcher I find it important to prioritise what participants talk about. A more specific question may have contributed to a shaping of what participants talked about or induced me to apply an explicit lens prematurely. Once what *they* talk about is achieved, a psycho-social lens can be explicitly applied to bring a psycho-social interpretation to what they have talked about.

### **3.2.2 Research purpose – exploratory**

The purpose of this research is to explore, in depth, what young people talk about in relation to their experience of engaging with YOS. While the research cannot seek to be emancipatory due to the method of analysis, it is possible that young people will gain some benefit from sharing their insights into their experiences of engagement. They may also feel that they are contributing to YOS work by helping other young people engaging with YOS, or by developing professionals' understanding of the perspectives of the young people with whom they work. The exploratory purpose is appropriate because I do not hold specific hypotheses about what themes or narratives may emerge; my hypothesis rests on the belief that there are psycho-social processes related to engagement with YOS that can be illuminated.

### **3.2.3 Research aim**

The aim of the study is to provide new insights in relation to the experiences of a group of young people engaging with a YOS. It is hoped that such insights could be used by EPs and other professionals, to inform their own hypothesis generation and testing, when working with similar populations.

### **3.3 Ontology and epistemology**

The ontological position in research reflects how the researcher views the status of truth and knowledge in the real world. Epistemology relates to how the researcher plans to find out about that world. Theoretical lenses can be used to view the information according to a particular theory or framework.

This research is based upon a psycho-social ontology. It assumes that there are social and psychological realities that have an impact on individuals, and individuals

also have a role in shaping social and psychological realities (Hollway, 2011; Hollway and Froggett, 2013; Lorenzer, 1986 cited in Bereswill, Morgenroth, & Redman, 2010, Salling Olesen, 2013; Weber, 2013). This takes place between people through an inter-subjective process and how this unfolds is unique to each person in their unique situation. This ontological stance also means that a researcher's interpretation will be unique, based on their individual psychic reality, their social reality and their embodiment of these, something that is present during the research interview process and having an inevitable impact on the process.

Hollway (2004) has described a 'critical realist psychosocial' ontology as a best fit to describe a reality that is a product of one's own social world and a shared social world. However, in a lecture at the Tavistock and Portman clinic in May 2015 titled 'The place of psychoanalytically informed epistemology and ontology in psycho-social methods' (Hollway, 2015), Hollway discussed the need for the label 'psycho-social ontology' to be available for use without reference to critical realism. The psycho-social ontology attempts to transcend the individual-social binary. This is the ontological label that has been adopted in this research.

A psycho-social ontology lends to a psycho-social epistemology (Hollway and Froggett, 2013, Hollway, 2015) and this is the epistemology applied in this research. Both the psychological and the social are explored and interpretations are not reduced to a focus on one or the other.

My academic background in sociology and anthropology alongside psychology has meant that I interpret the impact of phenomena through a lens that considers societal and cultural alongside psychological factors when working to understand an individual's experiences. My training on the Tavistock and Portman Child,



Community and Educational Psychology course, has exposed me to psychoanalytic and psychodynamic ways of understanding phenomena, which also has an impact on the lens through which I interpret what I see and experience.

I believe my ontological and epistemological stance in this research stems from a growing understanding of how I see the world and how I apply psychology in practice. In my work, I am often most interested in an individual's lived experience and how this may be informed by psycho-social experiences through life. I believe through this lens, we can come to *an* understanding of underlying processes that have an impact on experiences and human responses to these. I believe an individual's narrative about an experience is shaped by the interplay between influences on the level of individual in relation to 'other' (relational) and 'others' (social) (Hollway and Froggett, 2013; Lorenzer, 1986, cited in Bereswill et al, 2010; Salling Olesen, 2013). In this way, each individual's narrative of their experience is uniquely constructed as is any researcher's interpretation of the meanings behind their articulation of their experience.

Like their participants, each individual researcher's world view has been shaped and constructed by psycho-social influences. In the meeting of the two individuals during a research interview, the interaction can also be understood using a psycho-social lens. Psychoanalytic theory can help us to think about the unconscious communications (Klein, 1988b) that underlie this interaction. A psycho-social approach can also consider the context within which these interactions take place, and this also influences what is communicated and how. Also, the notion of an intermediate area of experience between the inside and the outside (Winnicott, 1971) might be explored. In my view, like all theory, psycho-analytic theory can offer

us a construction of reality based on individual and societal collective experience. It is impossible to remove the social and individual influences on these real experiences in order to reduce them to their 'truth'. That would require a reductionist and positivist stance; one that is not taken in this research.

Taking a psycho-social approach in this research allows me to explore the complexity of subjectivity in social interaction (Salling Olesen, 2013), investigating the embodied experience of social interaction with conscious levels but also what can be understood as unconscious levels. Through this approach, I am combining a theory of subjectivity with a methodology that allows an interpretation of the subjectivity expressed consciously and unconsciously in the research interview process.

For Michels (1985) 'psychic reality' is a "subjective experience influenced by unconscious processes" (Michels, 1985). Because of its subjective nature, psychic reality can be seen to be an ambiguous term and something that is difficult to know (Arlow, 1984). For Freud (1946), the internal world and the external world are both realities. While Freud's focus was on the psychologically real experiences of his clients, therefore perhaps placing more significance on internal experiences, this research focuses on the interplay between psychologically real and socially real experiences. There is a case for considering, from a psycho-social perspective, how these internal realities came to be so for participants. This is because the psycho-social experiences of participants will have had an impact on the shaping of these realities and in turn, these realities will shape future psycho-social experiences, including engagement experiences with YOS. A developmental perspective is therefore taken in this research. This allows exploration of how these realities have

developed over time and the impact they may be having now, during the developmental period of adolescence.

Klein's developmental perspective in object relations theory (Klein, 1988a, 1988b) provides a framework for understanding the impact of early experiences on future experiences of relating. It also supports the view that the process of psychological development is not linear, but rather oscillates between the depressive and paranoid-schizoid position (Klein 1988a, 1988b); between healthy and more anxiety driven ways of relating. Building on Klein, for Fonagy, psychoanalytic thinking offers a developmental perspective which considers what in the early environment of a young child develops their capacity to mentalize and in turn, relate effectively to others. Indeed;

“from a psychoanalytic perspective...one of the key evolutionary functions of early object relations for humans was to equip the very young child with an environment where the processing capacity for the understanding of mental states in others and the self can fully develop. The social nature of thought is thus part of the very essence of subjectivity” (Fonagy et al, 2004, p256).

As already stated, the researcher is also subject to these processes during the research encounter. What the researcher attends to in the interview; how they attend to it and why they attend to it, will be shaped by psycho-social experiences they have had. Alongside providing useful insights into the meaning behind the participant's story, they perhaps also give an insight into the psycho-social experiences of the researcher and demonstrate how the encounter becomes a co-constructed reality. Paying attention to these phenomena can help the researcher to reflexively consider their role in what is actually a dynamic research encounter. This

ontological and epistemological stance understands research activity as phenomena that can also be examined to hypothesise about meaning. The psycho-social approach I am taking therefore espouses the unison between methodology and epistemology (Hollway, 2015)

### **3.4 Methodology**

#### **3.4.1 Qualitative methodology**

Qualitative methods are widely understood to be a way of gaining meaningful and in-depth insights into the complex psychological and interpersonal processes that underlie effective therapeutic interventions (Elliot 2010, McLeod 2001, Pistrang and Barker 2010). They provide a means to a more exploratory approach; eliciting information about the *process* of change (Tighe, Pistrang, Casdagli, Baruch and Butler 2012) that other forms of data collection and analysis are not necessarily designed to pick up. Exploring in depth what participants talked about when they were asked about their engagement with YOS, including individual, relational and social aspects, meant that the data I was looking for was most likely to emerge through qualitative means of data collection and analysis.

### **3.5 Participants**

#### **3.5.1 Sampling strategy, recruitment and selection**

A purposive sampling strategy was chosen for recruiting participants. This entailed YOT professionals identifying young people as appropriate participants for the research; young people whom they were working with who would be willing to participate and may find it a positive experience to engage with the research process. My reasoning behind this method of recruitment involved a number of

considerations. Because of my psycho-social stance, and because of the complex nature of the needs of young people engaging with YOS, I believe that my population and sample is heterogeneous. My inclusion criteria for the study remained relatively broad because of this. Inclusion criteria were that potential participants were currently, or had recently attended (within the last 3 months), the YOS and met with a YOT professional at least once. I asked that YOT professionals identified participants whom they believed, from their experience of working with them, could engage with the research process and might benefit from the experience of sharing their narratives about engaging with YOS. There are four YOT bases in the local authority from which I recruited the research participants. Recruiting up to 6 participants was feasible both in terms of likelihood of participant take up and pragmatic considerations for the study, for example timeframe and resources. As I was not seeking a representative sample, it was not necessary to recruit a set number of young people from each base. I recruited 5 participants into the study; 3 from one base and 2 from another.

### **3.5.2 The definitions used for the recruitment of participants in the study**

For the purpose of this research, research participants will be referred to as young people engaging with YOS as opposed to young offender. This will include those currently engaging with YOS and those who have recently been engaging with YOS (within the last 3 months). The study does not aim to specifically seek young people who have particular YOS orders or who have engaged with YOS for a particular period of time. Data around the participant's specific offenses has not been sought and some participants expressed some anxiety around discussing offenses. Offense type/severity or YOS order types are not an area of focus for this piece of research.

As discussed, the research literature pays particular attention to offense type, severity, deficit and the correlational relationships between these. This research study looks at an area much less explored; young people's experience of engaging with a YOS and how this can be understood using a psycho-social lens. In the research literature 'young offender' refers to young people engaging with YOS and those in custodial or hospital settings. This research study focuses on young people engaging with community YOS as the population of interest.

### **3.5 Methods**

#### **3.5.1 Data collection**

A psycho-social, free association methodology was used to capture the data I aimed to explore and the lens of a psycho-social perspective to interpret the qualitative data that I collected (Hollway and Jefferson, 2012). My justification for applying this approach will now be outlined.

Through a preliminary exploration of literature around 'young offenders', I learned that there is significant evidence of a prevalence of speech and language needs within the population from which I recruited participants (Bryan, and Gregory, 2013; Gregory, and Bryan, 2015, Games, Curran and Porter, 2012; Snow, Powell, and Sanger, 2012). This evidence was important to consider when thinking about appropriate and ethical methods of data collection that would be accessible to my participants; allowing them an opportunity to share their narrative.

There is also research literature (Hill, 2006) that found that young people in general prefer to be offered choices in terms of the ways in which they provide their views for the purposes of research. This also contributed to my decision making process

around which data collection methods would be most appropriate for my research participants.

I chose to combine two free association methods to collect research data; the Grid Elaboration Method (GEM) (Joffe and Elsey, 2014) and the Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) (Hollway and Jefferson, 2008). I aimed for my participants to have the opportunity to share their narratives in ways that were accessible, while also eliciting the depth of data that I was looking for in order to enable rich analysis. My commitment to the psycho-social approach in this research means that I maintain an explicit awareness of the lens through which I undertake each element of it. This lens is most explicitly applied when undertaking analysis of the research transcripts while also guiding all other elements of the process. While the psycho-social approach guides the method of data collection, it is important that free association techniques invite data to come from participants and honours their narratives. This is the approach that was taken in the research as a consequence of which, non-directive questions were asked which were designed to seek free associations and further elaboration of earlier participant responses.

### **3.5.2 The Grid Elaboration Method (GEM)**

The GEM involved an initial interview where participants “are presented with a grid containing four empty boxes and requested to write or draw in each box any image, word, or feeling that comes to mind when they hear/think of the term under study” (Joffe and Elsey, 2014, p178). The phrase used was; “Tell me, write or draw the first four things that come into your head when you think of Youth Offending Services”. It was expected that I would be able to have access to free associations that were made regarding YOS, particularly the possible “emotive and implicit dimensions”

(Joffe and Elsey, 2014, p177) of participants' responses. A benefit of using the GEM was that it arguably "minimizes the extent to which the interviewer molds the material elicited" (Joffe and Elsey, 2014, p178), therefore getting as close as possible to participants' own free associations of their relationship with YOS. This method was used with the intention to provide participants with several choices in how they might provide their views. It was also anticipated that participants be 'eased into' the interviewing process, gaining a sense of what to expect in preparation for the second interview where further detail was elicited. This approach also allowed for those who may have some underlying speech and language needs or who may need some time to process some of their more narrative responses, access to an approachable method that elicited their initial responses in a less demanding way. During the GEM interview participants were asked open questions about their free associations in order to elaborate further on the first four things that came to mind when thinking about YOS. Open questions such as 'can you tell me a bit more about that' or 'tell me what you mean' elicited these elaborations.

The GEM interview was recorded and each participants' grid retained by the researcher; two examples of which are provided in Appendix J. Each GEM interview was transcribed in two rounds; the first being a 'rough transcript' including words spoken, pauses and laughter. The second round included more detail; fillers and false starts and anything else noticed such as intonation. The transcripts were then read. During this initial reading, pertinent areas that participants talked about were highlighted with a view to returning to them during the second interview. This process involved the generation of provisional hypotheses or 'emergent hunches' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2008) from a psycho-social perspective, that were noted in



preparation for the FANI where further exploration of psychological and social experiences highlighted was planned.

### **3.5.3 Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI)**

The FANI involved focusing on recalling specific experiences in order to elicit further rich narratives. Associations that emerged during the GEM and had been drawn out during an initial reading of the GEM transcripts were revisited. Participants were reminded of some extracts from their GEM interview and asked to elaborate further about “the story” related to a particular comment, “a time when that happened” or to “tell me more about that”. Further elaboration, more detailed narratives and richly described scenes provided further context around their experiences.

The intention was that some rapport would have been built from the GEM interview, enabling participants to share their narratives freely and openly during the FANI interview which was the second time they met with me. The FANI interviews were recorded and transcribed in two rounds; the first being a ‘rough transcript’ including words spoken, pauses and laughter. The second round included more detail; fillers and false starts and anything else noticed such as intonation. Any responses I experienced in myself in relation to the participants and the interviews were noted in research field notes and discussed in research supervision of my analysis in order to support reflexivity through the process.

### **3.5.4 Data analysis**

Flick (2014) describes a ‘third’ approach to qualitative data analysis beyond descriptive and empathic interpretations; that investigates implicit and unconscious aspects of social phenomenon. She believes that data from ‘recording interactions’

as well as analysing 'phenomena beyond individual awareness' allows for interpretation of 'phenomena, interaction and discourses'. Flick states that a layer of interpretation comes from knowledge and meaning reported by participants that can be linked to social theories, for example symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969). In this way, knowledge beyond the individual's accessibility could be illuminated through a lens which applies both social models and psychological models for understanding human experience, including models that acknowledge the interplay between the two. This was the data analysis approach that was decided upon, complementing the psycho-social approach method of data collection and in line with the ontological and epistemological position of the research.

Stage one of analysis involved a thematic analysis which allowed themes to emerge from the data inductively. Stage two of analysis involved applying a psycho-social lens to the data to provide a deductive analysis in a 'scenic understanding' (Lorenzer, 1986, cited in Bereswill et al, 2010) for each participant. This was intended to maintain the sense of each individual, locating them in their social and individual psychological context, in order to demonstrate the interrelatedness of their experiences and the subsequent relationship with their engagement with YOS. The reasons for the decision to undertake the analysis in this way and further description of the process will now be outlined.

### **3.5.5 Thematic Analysis**

Thematic analysis was the method chosen for analysing the data, because it enables a researcher to identify and analyse the most prevalent patterns of meaning in a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and allows for a systematic and transparent analysis. It is considered to be compatible with psycho-social approaches (Joffe and

Eley, 2014; Hollway and Jefferson, 2013), this is due to its epistemology-free position (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and its capacity to allow for analysis of participant's experiences (Clarke and Braun, 2013). Thematic analysis also allows for inductive codes to emerge from a dataset as well as more theoretically driven codes conceived by the researcher (Joffe, 2012). This relates well to the epistemological approach taken in the study and complements the further psycho-social analysis undertaken during a second layer of analysis.

After interviews were undertaken and transcribed, four of the five participants had one transcript each that included both their GEM and their FANI. The fifth participant's transcript included his GEM interview as he did not attend his FANI.

The MAX-QDA programme version 12.0 was used to support thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) of interview transcripts. The recursive process of thematic analysis began by the drawing out of inductive codes through reading and re-reading transcripts in order to allow the raw transcript data to drive interpretations made. Codes began to emerge and were grouped through an iterative process involving cross checking codes and their grouping into subthemes and themes. Themes were identified based on relevance to the research question and therefore while frequency was considered, it did not determine whether a code or theme was recorded and included in the thematic analysis.

Inevitably, as outlined by the ontological and epistemological approach, the identification, selection and naming of codes and themes will have been shaped by the psycho-social influences that impact upon me as a researcher, both consciously and unconsciously, making the thematic analysis both inductive and deductive.

### 3.5.6 Psycho-social analysis

Further, psycho-social analysis was chosen as the method for analysing participants' narratives as a whole. It was felt that, with the inherent purpose of thematic analysis to separate the dataset into themes, it would not be able to honour a holistic sense of the psycho-social influences on participants' reflections around engaging with YOS. Elements of data that are particularly pertinent for an in-depth psycho-social exploration, consideration of the social and individual psychological experiences, that could be lost through undertaking thematic analysis alone, will be preserved through this further theoretically driven layer of analysis. Following a participant's narrative using a psycho-social lens allows the researcher to gain a sense of what pervaded an individual participant's transcript. The researcher is able to relate comments talked about in one part of the transcript to another and make connections between these separate extracts. This approach also allows the researcher to pick up on contradictions in the transcript in order to consider and hypothesise about the possible meaning behind those contradictions, not possible through undertaking thematic analysis alone.

Initially, codes that had been colour coded using the MAX-QDA programme were drawn upon to create a 'document portrait' (Figures 5-9) for each participant in the 'visual tools' function of the programme. This allowed for a detailed overview of their transcript for the researcher to consider visually which subthemes dominated the transcript. Then, participants' transcripts were read in their entirety again and notes made in order to cross check that subthemes pervading their document portrait also were noted to pervade their full transcripts. A psycho-social interpretation of the narrative was provided for each participant through the

composition of a 'scenic understanding' (Lorenzer, 1986, cited in Bereswill et al, 2010; Froggett and Hollway, 2010; Hollway and Froggett, 2013) of both the scenes of the interviews themselves and scenes from participants' pasts that they revisited and described during the interviews. This was an explicitly latent and interpretive level of analysis (Boyatzis, 1998 cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006). This layer of interpretation was decided upon when it became apparent through initial thematic coding that themes would not necessarily encapsulate each participant's individual story and important and meaningful data could be lost.

For the 'scenic understanding', I considered what Lorenzer (1986, cited in Bereswill et al, 2010) deems to be the 'societal collective unconscious', that is, discourses around class, race, gender and other social constructions that penetrate individual subjective unconscious, that may be present in transcripts. Lorenzer is clear that it is impossible to separate internal and external or subjectivity and objectivity, and the space between them cannot be understood as 'intermediate' but rather, the aim is to think about the psychological and the social together. This complements the ontology, epistemology and methodological approach of this study. Lorenzer understands the complexity of subjectivity as both individual attribute and 'embodied experience of interaction which has conscious and unconscious levels', and 'a relational and dynamic aspect of social interaction' (Salling Olesen, 2013). I applied a 'depth hermeneutic' (Bereswill et al, 2010, Salling Olesen, 2013) approach for my analysis of each participant's 'scenic understanding' in order to consider the 'social level of reality which is present both as an environment and as an embodied meaning of the individual' (Salling Olesen, 2013).

When composing the scenic understandings for each participant, the presence of a possible societal collective unconscious was considered. This was picked up through participant's explicit naming of their experience of their social reality, or through what they talked about being interpreted as evidence for their embodiment of a societal collective unconscious. I also examined contradictions in participants' narratives in order to consider what unsymbolised socio-cultural knowledge, such as a societal collective unconscious (Hollway, 2015) may be present. I considered scenes that had been recalled from participants' memory as 'memory traces'; interaction and relational experiences built up through life, now impacting on a participant's experience of engagement with YOS in the present. Finally, I also considered Bion's concept of 'thoughts without a thinker' to interpret moments in the interviews when participants were unable to express something using language. This was interpreted as raw not yet symbolised thought and emotional experience and the possible meaning behind them were reflected upon.

The themes that emerged during thematic analysis are provided and explained in detail in Chapter 4. Each participants' scenic understanding was summarised as a pen portrait in order to provide brief overviews of the detailed analysis; these pen portraits are also presented in Chapter 4.

### **3.6 Credibility and Trustworthiness**

Because of the psycho-social stance of the study, I have not proclaimed to seek objectivity, reliability or statistical generalizability through my research. I sought to demonstrate robustness and credibility in order that it be considered trustworthy. I have designed my study to ensure 'sensitivity to context', 'commitment and rigour', 'coherence and transparency' and 'impact and importance' (Yardley, 2008). The

procedures undertaken to attend to Yardley's four principles of validity of qualitative research will now be outlined.

### **3.6.1 Sensitivity to context**

In order to attend to this principle, I undertook a systematic exploration of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature in the area of interest. The decision to include discussion papers in this examination of the relevant literature was guided by the aim to consider all pertinent contextual data available through clearly delineated literature searching. This therefore included the socio-political and historical context that was provided by those papers; perspectives of which I chose not to exclude.

In order to ensure sensitivity to the perspective and socio-cultural context of participants in the study, I thought carefully about the context in which we might meet to undertake the research. It was important to ensure that participants were able to meet with me in contexts that they felt comfortable and that were accessible to them. The YOS helpfully agreed to cover costs of travel for young people taking part in the research. Participants were given the choice of whether they would like to meet in their educational setting, in the YOT or in a local authority building that was more convenient, for example near home.

The method of data collection applied in the study was sensitive to participants by design; the use of open ended questions which actively encouraged free association was intended to avoid researcher bias being imposed through leading or closed questions. The choice to use the GEM in the light of language difficulties in the population was also sensitive to participants' potential language needs.

One way I sought to take into account young peoples' position in their socio-cultural context was by explicitly considering this during the psycho-social analysis stage of the study. This involved paying particular attention to what young people emphasised in their narratives and recognizing as much as possible the complexities and inconsistencies that appeared to be present. I believe this demonstrated sensitivity to data, particularly when it was felt that thematic analysis alone would not attend enough to the very relevant socio-cultural context of participants' engagement experiences.

### **3.6.2 Commitment and rigour**

In order to attend to this principle, the process of thorough data collection and analysis outlined above was planned and executed systematically. At the stage of thematic analysis, the emerging data was responded to flexibly in order to ensure that the breadth and depth of a psycho-social analysis was undertaken in consideration of the study's attendance to the research question, outlined above. I aspired to capture and interpret the data in a way that preserved the richness of what participants shared. I also sought to use methods of interpretation that honoured the complexity of what they talked about. Finally, I endeavoured to collect and analyse data in ways that provided new insights into what is known about young people's experiences of engaging with YOS.

In order to achieve this, I undertook two layers of data analysis. This approach was decided upon when engaging with the data and in response to it; during initial thematic analysis, it became clear that this method would not necessarily capture relevant and pertinent individual and socio-cultural data that young people talked about. In engaging with the data in this way, I made the decision to undertake a



further psycho-social analysis through scenic understandings, in order to consider individual and socio-cultural contexts and interpret them using psychological and social theory.

### **3.6.3 Coherence and transparency**

In order to provide clarity and coherence for the study, I aimed to consider and apply a psycho-social approach at each stage. This required the inclusion of psycho-socially relevant literature in the systematic review. It also involved employing the most appropriate methods of data collection for participants to engage with and to answer the research question. It was central to the decision making process in considering the methods of data analysis to apply to the study. Finally, it guided choices made regarding relevance of wider literature in Chapter 5.

Also fitting with a psycho-social approach, I sought to be reflexive through the research process in order to consider my contribution to co-constructions made during the research encounter and during data analysis. A research diary was kept through the duration of the study in order to note my own responses to the participants and to the data in order to track its influence on my interpretations. Alongside this, I sought specific research supervision that focused on the psycho-social analysis I was undertaking to bring to my awareness the emotional and psychological impact of meeting with the participants and working with their narratives. This was also considered when making interpretations of the data.

### **3.6.4 Impact and importance**

While the findings from my research do not aim to be generalizable, I endorse Willig's (2001) view that once experience has been identified through qualitative

research, it is known that it exists within society; suggesting a relevance of findings without the need for generalizability. Going beyond this, my psycho-social interpretations again are not generalizable as they consider each individual's unique narrative developed both before and during the research encounter, including the uniqueness of individual participant and individual researcher interaction on a given day in a given context. I hope that the findings can be theoretically relevant in terms of the applicability of the study's theoretical understanding of the process of engagement with young people.

Barbour 2014 (cited in Flick 2014) discusses the concept of internal generalizability as the 'capacity of the typology, model or theoretical framework developed to explain processes observed in the specific setting or group or institution studied'.

With this in mind, I anticipated that the richness of the data would mean that some findings would have transferable value. I hoped that the data could be considered to be relevant in other similar contexts such as other similarly constructed YOTs with a similar demographic in terms of the young people who attend them or YOTs based in regions that are similar in terms of the demographic of the setting's population. I would also hope that some of the data could be relevant for teams with a comparable multiagency composition such as those who may be working with similarly complex young people with a range of social, educational and psychological needs.

It is intended that the research has practical implications in terms of providing insights that come directly from participants' experiences of engagement

with YOS. The attention paid to what participants talk about gives weight to practical implications that emerge, particularly in the current climate that emphasises the importance of gaining young people's views about the services they receive.

It is also anticipated that the epistemological and methodological approach applied has allowed for the development of new and innovative ways of relating psychological and social theory to understanding the psycho-social processes that can be present when young people engage with a YOS.

The study was undertaken with a view to the insights gained being useful to practitioners working with young people engaging with YOS when they undertake assessment, develop hypotheses and design interventions that consider the psycho-social processes that participants have talked about. Considering the individual but often complex needs of the young people whom I interviewed, it is worth thinking about the potential value the data may also have for professionals working in youth custodial settings, in terms of having an understanding of what processes underlie narratives around the engagement experience. Equally, the data may be helpful for professionals working with young people who have been deemed 'at risk of offending'.

The engagement of young people in YOS is intended to prevent custodial sentencing and to enhance life opportunities that have been restricted through psycho-social experiences including engagement with offending. Undertaking this research has strengthened my belief that it is in the interests of young people, their families, wider networks and society as a whole, that we continue to develop our understanding of the complex psycho-social processes that occur when young people engage with YOS.

### 3.7 Ethical Considerations

Because of the potential vulnerabilities of my participants and the kind of personal experiences that I explored, there were a number of important ethical considerations for this piece of research. Permission to undertake the research in the YOS was provided by the local authority (Appendix B) and ethical permission was granted by the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust Research Ethics Committee (Appendix A).

All participants were provided with information sheets about the study (Appendix C). For participants who were under 16, parental consent and participant assent was required and therefore a parent information sheet was provided (Appendix D).

Information sheets were designed to be accessible and outline the study clearly; its aims and what exactly would be required from participants. Participants' right to withdraw was outlined clearly. The information sheets also explained how their research data would be handled and kept secure. The use of pseudonyms to protect identity was also explained, both in the information sheets and again in person.

Because of the compulsory nature of my participant's attendance to YOTs, I stressed in the information sheets, and confirmed their understanding when I met them, that their involvement in the research was voluntary and had no impact on their involvement with YOS.

I considered, and was mindful of, power imbalances that can exist or be perceived to exist between a researcher and participants. Because of the age range of young people attending YOTs, it was possible that I would recruit participants aged under 16; in these cases, I gained both parental consent and assent from the young person in order for them to be able to participate in the research. Participants that were 16

and over were able to consent for themselves, therefore a separate consent form was created for them. Each consent form created for the study can be found in Appendix E, F and G.

In my introduction to the study before the first interview, I made clear the parameters of confidentiality that were possible within the study; that information participants shared with me was confidential, however, if I had a concern around risk to them or others then the information would be shared with relevant people, therefore breaking confidentiality. I was clear that if this was the case, I would discuss my plan with the participant wherever possible and also involve them in decisions wherever possible.

In considering the possible impact that involvement in the research might have on my participants' emotional wellbeing, I debriefed them at the end of each interview and offered further opportunities to talk with me, if they felt it would be helpful. If a young person required further emotional support, or if something urgent needed to be fed back to parents, the YOT or other professionals, I contracted with YOT that I would take responsibility for the prompt sharing of relevant information. When meeting with participants, I was clear about how their data would be anonymised using pseudonyms and how I planned to share the findings of the research with the YOS in ways that would protect their identity.

Other ethical considerations included consideration of my methodology, particularly how the method of data analysis represented my participants (Flick, 2014) From this it was decided that I would initially offer my thematic analysis to my participants so as to share the overall themes of the research data providing them with my

interpretations of their narratives in the hope of doing 'justice to their expectations and feelings' (Flick, 2014).

## 4 Findings

### 4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter begins by providing a brief overview of the themes that were identified through the data analysis using MAX-QDA to support a thematic analysis. This is followed by each theme being presented in its thematic map (Figures 1-4); illustrating the relationship between each theme, its subthemes and codes. Themes, subthemes and codes are then described in depth, supported and illuminated by extracts from the participants' accounts, which provide evidence for how the themes were identified. Appendix L provides tables to show the relationship between themes, subthemes and codes. The full analysis has been provided in Appendix M which shows the relationship between themes, sub themes, codes and segmented text. Appendix N contains all participant transcripts, the full thematic analysis and the original thematic maps that were created using a visual tool function of MAX-QDA; MAXmaps.

The chapter then goes on to present each participant's 'pen portrait' which is a summary of their 'scenic understandings' as described in chapter 3 and provided in full in Appendix K. The scenic understandings, summarised as pen portraits provide a holistic analysis of each participant's narrative; considering what they talked about when asked about their engagement with YOS and what pervaded their interviews and transcripts. The psycho-social lens is explicitly applied in order to interpret what they said using psychological and social theory.

## **4.2 Overview of themes from thematic analysis**

### **Transformative relationship with YOT worker**

This theme encompasses participants' reflections on their relationship with their YOT worker, how their YOT worker made them feel and what they focused on during their work together.

### **Identity transformation**

This theme encapsulates participants' reflections on the ways in which their identities were developing as well as their changes in perspective on different areas of life.

### **Engaging**

This theme captures participants' thoughts about what they found to 'work' for them in the engagement process and parts of engaging with YOT that they were more resistant to.

### **Then's presence in now**

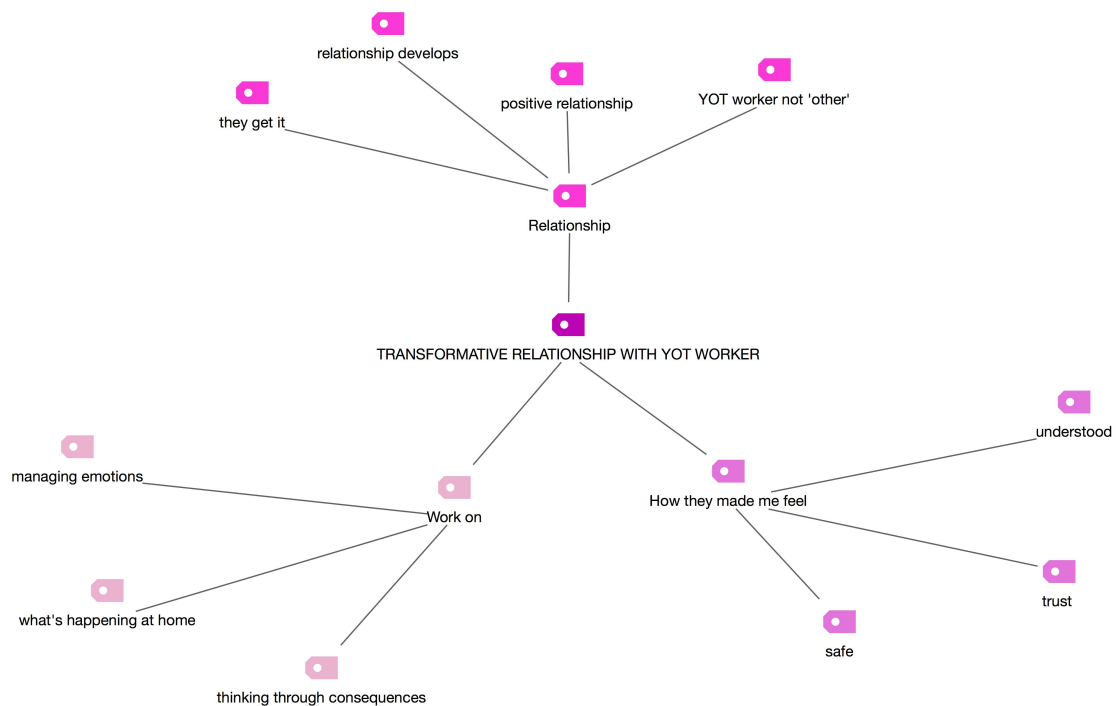
This theme is comprised of the social and relational experiences that participants brought from the past when talking about their current experiences of engaging with YOS. They reflected on both environmental experiences and experiences of relationships.



### 4.3 Transformative relationship with YOT worker theme

A thematic map is provided in Figure 1 to illustrate the relationship between the theme, subthemes and codes for the theme of Transformative relationship with YOT worker.

Figure 1. Thematic map for Transformative relationship with YOT worker theme



#### 4.3.1 'Relationship' subtheme

This subtheme related to the relationship participants felt they had with their YOT worker including the elements of the relationship that were positive and how the relationship had developed over time. There was a sense that YOT workers understood the young people. There were also times when describing the relationship with their YOT worker, participants used an 'other' person to provide a comparison between that person and their YOT worker.

#### 4.3.1.1 'Positive relationship' code

Each participant, in varying degree, spoke positively about the relationship they had with their YOT worker. For some it was felt to be a reciprocal relationship;

*"I mean towards the end [participant and YOT worker] started like talking to each other a lot more about things and erm that was like we were having proper conversations," (Chris, line 50)*

*"we've always had a good understanding of each other actually, that's been really nice," (Josh, line 43)*

while for others it was described as simply getting along;

*"with [YOT worker] we get along I think she's a nice woman and that," (Kevin, line 81).*

There was a sense that the YOT worker did not judge them and was genuinely there to understand what was going on for them and help;

*"it's just helpful having someone there that I can sort of explain things to who will actually listen and not sort of judge me for it," (Jamie, line 101)*

*"Yeah, she's sort of on a level...she listens and sort of tries to help, even things that aren't to do with YOT I can just talk to her and sort of feel a lot more relaxed having someone I know I can talk to," (Jamie, line 147)*

#### 4.3.1.2 'Relationship develops' code

The relationship with the YOT worker, for those that had known theirs for some time was described as having developed significantly over that time as the YOT worker

got to know them;

*“I met [YOT worker] more and more I could trust her more and I started, well obviously I started to trust her a lot more every time I met her and spoke to her cos she asked how things was at home all the time, how’s everyone, she just the only person that understood what was going on really,” (Terry, line 77)*

*“like actually grown a friendship as well so its not like I need to go see these guys its like I don’t mind going to see them,” (Josh, line 27)*

#### 4.3.1.3 ‘They get it’ code (Kevin only)

For Kevin in particular, it was important that his YOT worker could relate to them in specific ways;

*“if [YOT workers have] a bit of experience then they’ll be able to talk to us a bit better get a bit more erm I dunno down to things if you get what I mean actually be able to do some real help,” (Kevin, line 51)*

*“[my YOT worker is] like more like of a younger person who understands things and that,” (Kevin, line 85)*

#### 4.3.1.4 ‘YOT worker not ‘other’ code (Jamie only)

Jamie used his experiences and perceptions of other professionals to discern the differences between his YOT worker and other professionals;

*“[YOT workers are] not, I don’t know how to explain it like, police you just sort of don’t get on with them cos I suppose its more what they represent...I don’t know, I don’t know how to explain it, they’re just not ahh, can’t think of the word (pause) I really can’t think of the word to explain it,” (Jamie, line 23)*

*“[YOT worker is] not, I don’t know how to, it’s just that usual look of sort of either a social services person or YOT where you just think ah, she’s gonna tell you what to do when to do and you know, she’s not, she doesn’t,” (Jamie, line 153)*

#### 4.3.2 ‘How they made me feel’ subtheme

This subtheme related to how participants described the relationship and interacting with their YOT worker as making them feel. There was a sense of feeling safe, feeling that they could trust their YOT worker and feeling understood by them.

##### 4.3.2.1 ‘Safe’ code

The safety that was inherent in the relationship came through in the ways young people described working with their YOT worker. Safety appeared to relate to feeling that it was safe to share information about themselves;

*“I kind of feel like safe erm in the sessions [YOT worker is] the only one that knows about it...I kind of feel safe that I won’t have to worry about anyone knowing,” (Chris, line 17)*

*“I’m not afraid to share my beliefs and things...I’m very religious and erm [YOT workers] were really understanding, asking me questions about my religion, trying to understand my religion a little bit more as well so I’ve never felt uncomfortable,” (Josh, line 43)*

##### 4.3.2.2 ‘Trust’ code

A feeling of trust was also fostered in the relationship and this was developed over time;

*“I could trust [YOT worker] more and I started, well obviously I started to trust her a*

*lot more every time I met her,” (Terry, line 77)*

*“I don’t like trusting people much and [YOT worker] pretty much, well the first person I trusted apart from my best mate....First person I trusted really,” (Terry, line 81)*

*“I guess I trusted [YOT worker] cos we knew each other quite well and in the sessions I was really confident with talking to him and I like trusted him with er quite a lot...I did trust him with er like with the information and stuff,” (Chris, line 78)*

#### 4.3.2.3 ‘Understood’ code

There was a feeling that a participant’s individual and specific needs or circumstance were understood by their YOT worker;

*“she understands just how important it is for me to be at home cos she saw me when I was still in care,” (Jamie, line 237)*

*“he’s been really supportive and he’s been really helpful and he’s kind of understood everything,” (Chris, line 21)*

*“she’s younger and she just understands more if you know what I mean like old people just don’t get what you mean,” (Kevin, line 89)*

#### 4.3.3 ‘Work on’ subtheme

This subtheme related to how participants described what they worked on and how this was facilitated through the relationship with their YOT worker. Specific work was around managing emotional experiences, thinking about and supporting with things that might be happening at home and supporting participants to develop skills in thinking through consequences.

#### 4.3.3.1 'Managing emotions' code (Terry only)

Terry specifically talked about how his YOT worker supported him to work on problems he had with anger;

*"[YOT worker is] helping me control my anger and like thinking of my actions before I do anything," (Terry, line 13)*

*"[YOT worker] tell me like if I'm gonna get angry just walk out, do something that I enjoy or do something that will keep my mind off it or talk to my mum about it tell her about what's getting me angry or someone I can really talk to and trust and or count in my head to 10," (Terry, line 67)*

#### 4.3.3.2 'What's happening at home' code (Terry only)

Terry also talked about the support he had received from his YOT worker around relationships at home;

*"You can just talk to the person like your caseworker about what's happening at home and that," (Terry, line 17)*

*"Yeah and [YOT worker] that's helping me with my anger and well my family problems," (Terry, line 39)*

*"[I] talk to my caseworker more about what's happening at home than I used to where I used to bottle things up all the time," (Terry, line 73)*

#### 4.3.3.3 'Thinking through consequences' code

There was also a sense of receiving specific support around thinking things through, particularly around consequences of actions;

*“a lot of things that they teach you sort of realising how it affects other people, not just yourself,” (Jamie, line 69)*

*“[YOT worker] Helping me think what I’m gonna do before I act,” (Terry, line 11)*

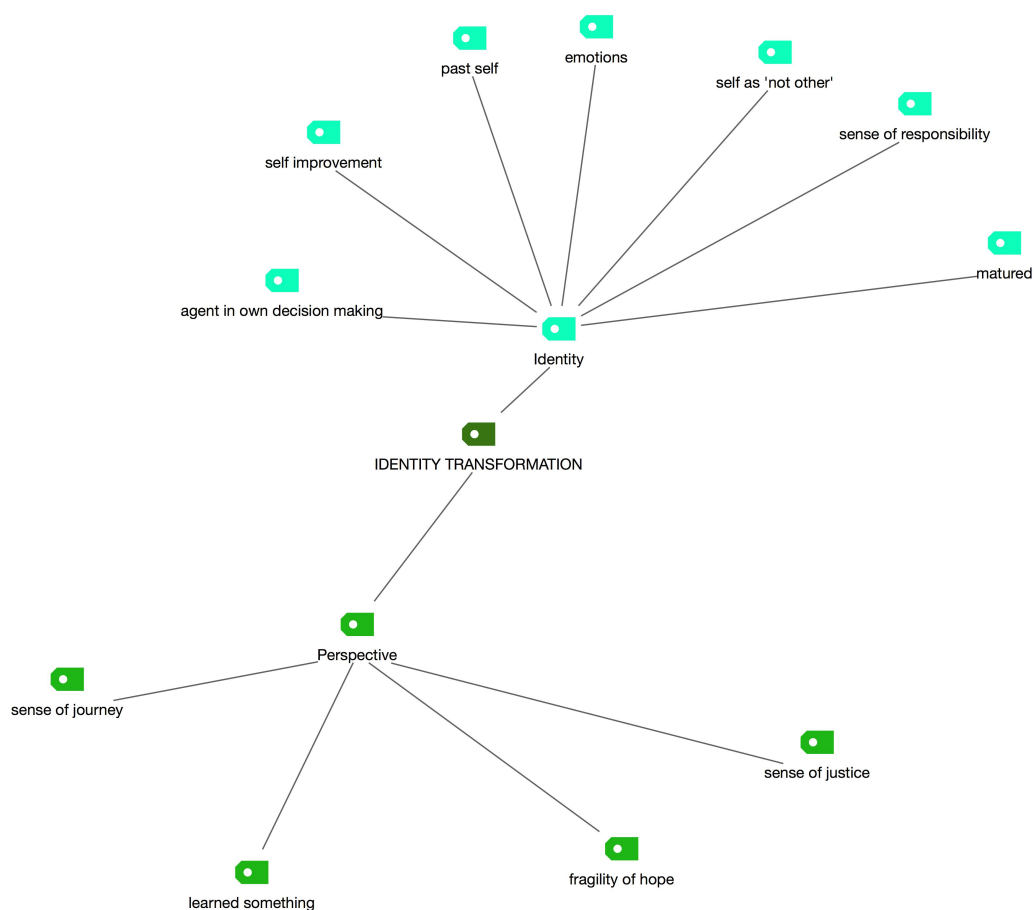
*“I never thought about, I never thought what I was gonna do I just did it straight away and then got me in trouble because but now I got youth offenders they’re helping me understand, they’re helping me think before I act,” (Terry, line 33)*

*“Before they helped me I wouldn’t think I’d act straight away I would never think before I act,” (Terry, line 147)*

#### 4.4 Identity transformation theme

A thematic map is provided in Figure 2 to illustrate the relationship between the theme, subthemes and codes for the theme of Identity transformation

Figure 2. Thematic map for Identity transformation theme



##### 4.4.1 'Identity' subtheme

This subtheme related to how participants talked about the transformation they felt had taken place in their sense of self. There appeared to be a demarcation between the person now, who had been able to develop in different ways and a past self who had experienced difficulties with their sense of self. There was also a demarcation



between how the participants identified themselves and how that contrasted with how they identified others.

#### 4.4.1.1 'Self improvement' code

Some participants talked about being supported by their YOT worker in specific areas of their life that they wanted to improve;

*"[YOT worker] helped me to get someone to help me find a job that I really wanna do cos I don't wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life I just want money for myself and well help my mum out," (Terry, line 103)*

*"after the sessions I started talking to a lot more people and erm like hanging out with more people and now it's like they're good friends now and erm yeah it's because I'm more confident talking to people," (Chris, line 42)*

*"everybody wants to improve and I feel like as far as the place I'm in and as far as I've improved massively but never you know enough improvement you can always improve," (Josh, line 73)*

In contrast to working with their YOT worker on areas of their lives they wanted to improve, some participants felt that had to rely on themselves to make changes;

*"so I just figure out my life plan I guess, if not I'll go do something, just a big move with a lot of risk but I won't fuck it up err I'll go rich as well cos I'd rather be rich," (Kevin, line 209)*

*"I'm kind of better like working for myself like all throughout my life," (Kevin, line 57)*

#### 4.4.1.2 'Agent in own decision making' code

This code captures how participants did not see themselves as passive agents when talking about the engagement process. They shared their development of the capacity to think independently, demonstrating a sense of agency in the decisions they make in their lives, including decisions they made that led them to YOT and decisions made when engaging with YOT;

*"I chose that if you know what I mean I chose to go that...then I had an option to sort of go back again at the boarding school instead I kept going, and I kept going to the point where you crash you've got nowhere else to go and this is where you end up," (Jamie, line 197)*

*"I mean you have a choice, you can break it [your YOT order] but you'll just go to prison so you have a choice you always have a choice it's just shit choices," (Jamie, line 293)*

*"through my life I've just learnt things by myself really no-one's ever like told me how to do certain things like I've learnt how to do literally the majority of everything myself like cos when I've been told by my parents its either been the wrong way, the worst way or the stupidest way to do it any other people tell me anything it's just shit ways I dunno I just figure out everything myself I think like all the mistakes I've made before I've thought about that in my head like I've been the rest of it I've learnt something through it I know I can name everything I've learnt from it so this doesn't really help that much I prefer to just learn from my mistakes," (Kevin, line 59)*

*"I wanted to get [the YOT order] it sorted I wanted to get on with my life, you know mistake made, lets sort it out," (Josh, line 77)*

There were times when decisions participants made when engaging, went against the YOT order and would have had negative consequences for them;

*“I called her up and I was like I don’t really think I can do reparation today and [YOT worker] was like there’s nothing I can do about that well I try calling her back up, I tried explaining it again, just didn’t wanna hear it so I was like alright then I won’t come,” (Kevin, line 31)*

#### 4.4.1.3 ‘Past self’ code

At the same time as sharing new developing identities when they talked about engaging with YOS, participants shared identities of their ‘past self’ that they were now distancing themselves from;

*“before I was a very closed person, like I never told anyone anything, if someone asked how I was feeling, I could be feeling as upset as anyone and I’d say I’m fine,” (Jamie, line 157)*

*“I was with people that were like me that weren’t sort of up for school work my behaviour sort of got worse and that’s when I was sort of more of a violent person,” (Jamie, line 173)*

*“I thought I was a big bad tough kid sort of didn’t take no shit,” (Jamie, line 193)*

*“I used to bottle things up all the time and I wouldn’t talk to no one,” (Terry, line 73)*

*“before where I just be I would punch everything around me I would just lose it with anyone in my way,” (Terry, line 73)*

*“I was kind of like a really shy person,” (Chris, line 33)*

*“I didn’t really do anything at lunch and break I didn’t really have any friends,” (Chris, line 37)*

*“I was fourteen maybe fifteen when I offended so I feel like I was still very immature,” (Josh, line 67)*

#### 4.4.1.4 ‘Emotions’ code

When talking about engaging with YOS and often when describing the work they did with their YOT worker, particularly around managing emotions, some participants identified themselves as having difficulties in the past and present with their emotions. There was an overall sense of a change in how they identified themselves in relation to their emotions;

*“I had a fiery temper so I didn’t help it...I would just lose my temper so I guess with the people that were trying to bully me I got violent whereas I should’ve just ignored them and laughed at them,” (Jamie, line 197)*

*“where I’m ginger obviously and gingers have really short tempers,” (Terry, line 61)*

*“at the start I was kind of really nervous and I was really like worried about everything and as it went on I got more comfortable,” (Chris, line 29)*

#### 4.4.1.5 ‘Self as ‘not other’ code

When talking about their developing identities, some participants used an identity of an ‘other’ person in order to provide the distinction between what they considered themselves to be like and what they considered other people to be like. When this occurred, others were portrayed negatively. This positive view of self in relation to others was at times at odds with, and contradictory to, other parts of their

transcript;

*“if you’re a violent sort of person it won’t really affect you [attending YOT] but if you weren’t that type of person when you got onto YOT and stuff it puts you off,” (Jamie, line 9)*

*“[how you engage with YOS] all just boils down to what type of person you are its as simple as that that’s the best way to explain YOT depending on what type of person you are is depends on your experience simple as that if you bow like you’re the type who’ll just sort of go with the crowd and you know yeah I don’t know how to explain it properly without someone else being there to sort of like, this is them this is me,” (Jamie, line 323)*

*“I wouldn’t go out on the street and just hit someone because they looked at me like if someone was proper staring at me I’d have an issue like I’d say something to em but I wouldn’t just walk up to em and just punch em that’s not me but a lot of people would you wouldn’t even have to look at them for more than a second you’ll have a fist coming at ya...that’s the kind of people that should be [in YOS],” (Jamie, line 327)*

*“I had my reasons [for attending YOS], I didn’t just rebel against things like I had things going on in my life that most people wouldn’t wanna deal with even now in an adult age so like I’ll admit I had my reasons I know they’re not great but they were my reasons whereas some of em [other young people in YOS] they’re just here like they’ve got no reasons they’re just oh I did this,” (Jamie, line 337)*

*“I don’t wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life,” (Terry, line 103)*

*“I don’t wanna be like my brothers that didn’t help [participant’s mum] once I move*

*out I'll still give her money for everything she's done for me," (Terry, line 117)*

*"she [participant's niece] don't really know about hitting people but she gets it from mainly next door cos no one will fight in front of her [at participant's house] no one would ever," (Terry, line 133)*

*"I'm not too shy like I do talk sometimes I've seen like people who just never talk erm and I'm not kinda like them," (Chris, line 62)*

#### 4.4.1.6 'Sense of responsibility' code

When reflecting on engaging with YOS, some young people shared their sense of developing a responsibility for others, particularly younger or more vulnerable members of their family;

*"I'd feel like kinda responsible...that's the main reason I've changed my ways my nephew cos he's at that age now where he's picking things up like he's learning words and I'm just like where did you hear this sort of thing...I don't wanna be the reason he goes down a wrong path I'd rather be the reason he went down a good path at least I can be sort of proud," (Jamie, line 343)*

*"my next door neighbour all they do is scream and shout and hear violence and that and I make sure she [participant's niece] doesn't see it," (Terry, line 135)*

*"I stick up for my stepbrother the most where they my uncle tries to take the living piss out of him and try to make him do stuff for free," Terry line 159*

#### 4.4.1.7 'Matured' code

When talking about their experience of engaging with YOS, there was an acknowledgement for some that they were 'growing up' and maturing;

*“I’m learning to deal with sort of a lot of things, growing up,” (Jamie, line 159)*

*“I was fourteen maybe fifteen when I offended so I feel like I was still very immature and very young...its opened my eyes and learned about that through maturity I guess,” (Josh, line 67)*

*“I’ve said because I’ve matured I’ve been able to take this [interventions in YOS] in but it could be the other way as well, taking this in could cause me to mature I think together they go really well,” (Josh, line 79)*

#### **4.4.2 ‘Perspective’ subtheme**

This subtheme related to how participants’ described their perspectives as having changed over time and through the course of engagement with YOT. There was a sense of reflecting back over the journey they had taken in their lives. There was also a feeling of having learned something through engaging with YOT as well as justice having been done. Alongside the optimistic tone of the subtheme, it also contains a contrasting code that relates to participants’ uncertainties about whether changes would be sustained or whether hopes for the future would transpire;

##### **4.4.2.1 ‘Sense of journey’ code**

Participants shared their sense of journey when talking about their engagement with YOS; both the journey through working with YOS and more broadly across their lives;

*“I had a tough life and I’ve come on here [YOS] and I’ve realised its not where I wanna be so I just think if everyone just sort of took a step back and realised what they were doing with their lives and where it was going or sort of tell em to look like*

*this time next year where do you see yourself like I'd hopefully see myself in a job doing well," (Jamie, line 357)*

*"before the [YOT] session I didn't really do anything at lunch and break I didn't really have any friends but since then I kind of started gaining the confidence and started hanging out with people...I'm kind of more comfortable with that cos they like since I've been with like been going there at lunch for like a long time like I've made friends there and it's all been very good so if I didn't have the sessions I probably I probably like walk around at lunch just not doing anything," (Chris, line 37)*

#### 4.4.2.2 'Learned something' code

Some young people shared that they had learned something through working with YOT that appeared to meet their particular needs;

*"just sort of a lot of things that [YOT] teach you sort of realising how it affects other people, not just yourself," (Jamie, line 69)*

*"I'm learning how to control [anger] a lot more than I used to...I haven't been getting angry for, since they helped me this time," (Terry, line 63)*

*"throughout the [YOT] sessions I kinda learned to talk to [YOT worker] a lot and erm it kind of built my confidence up," (Chris, line 42)*

*"instead of me going to erm like having a [prison] sentence erm I came [to YOT] for twelve months and got educated about different things," (Josh, line 39)*

*"I learnt a lot about it how much it hah mmm huh (clears throat) sorry how much when you effect, when you offend it doesn't just affect one person that you offended*



*and it doesn't just affect those people at this point in time its later on in life, there's so much more to it and it's helped me understand [YOT intervention] has been really good in decision making," (Josh, line 53)*

#### 4.4.2.3 'Fragility of hope' code

In contrast to the overall sense of progress within this subtheme, there was also a feeling that hope was fragile; ground that had been gained could also be lost, or the progress made was inconsequential. A sense of despondency was captured in this code;

*"the world is shit that's what it is, it is though innit really if you think about it what's good about it you live you die you come in this world with nothing at the end of the day you leave with nothing so that's how I look at life," Jamie line 371*

*"Painting and decorating [participant's job] anyone can slap some paint on a wall like me, you don't even have to get taught to do that it's not that hard, the first day I go in get told you got to get the scraper, put some water on it, wallpaper, everyone in my class can do it unless you're a spastic like literally like if you can't like move like you'd have to be in a wheelchair you know what I mean you definitely, it's like the easiest thing in the world," (Kevin, line 195)*

*"[participant's plans for the future] it probably I don't know it might never happen like it probably won't like you get what I mean like it doesn't happen to everyone does it," (Kevin, line 217)*

*"when my dad dies me and my brother get his house or we get all the money from it alright, rent that house cos my brother aint gonna or me we aint gonna have a good*

*job or anything or we'll have a couple of bits like painting and decorating or if I get rich I'll be happy (laughter) it probably won't happen," (Kevin, line 219)*

*"if I go jail no-ones gonna come and see me are they (laughter) like it's a jail no-ones gonna want to go into a jail like I dunno a couple people might but not many," (Kevin, line 264)*

#### 4.4.2.4 'Sense of justice' code (Josh only)

Josh shared his feeling that his involvement with YOT was due justice;

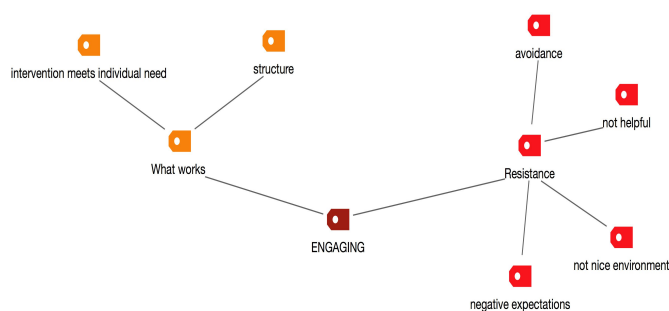
*"it's like paying a price for it, like paying a price for what you do," (Josh, line 17)*

*"instead of me going to erm like having a sentence erm I came here for twelve months...so it was justice yeah it's like a punishment but it's a nice punishment," (Josh, line 39)*

## 4.5 'Engaging' theme

A thematic map is provided in Figure 3 to illustrate the relationship between the theme, subthemes and codes for the theme of Engaging.

Figure 3. Thematic map for Engaging theme



### 4.5.1 'What works' subtheme

This subtheme captures participants' thoughts about what worked for them when they engaged with YOS. The intervention being shaped to some degree to meet their particular needs was pertinent as was the structure that the YOS injected into their lives.

#### 4.5.1.1 'Intervention meets individual need' code

When discussing their work with their YOT worker, participants talked about the experience of their needs being met in flexible and responsive ways, in particular rehabilitation specific needs and psychological and/or social needs;

*"[YOT worker] does sessions but she does 'em sort of at a pace instead of just going through everything you're supposed to do she'll talk to you to sort of try and help you out as much as she can," (Jamie, line 153)*

*"we [participant and YOT worker] just don't do it [YOT interventions] all at once, she'll let me do it a bit later on if I need to talk to her," (Jamie, line 155)*

*"[YOT worker] tell me like if I'm gonna get angry just walk out, do something that I enjoy or do something that will keep my mind off it or talk to my mum about it tell her about what's getting me angry or someone I can really talk to and trust and or count in my head to 10," (Terry, line 67)*

*"[YOT worker] asked me what would I like to do and I said I would like to get a job," (Terry, line 105)*

*"Erm well before the [YOT] sessions I was kind of like a really shy person I didn't really talk to people who I didn't know too well and erm like I wasn't really that good at making friends but as the sessions moved on I kinda talked to [YOT worker] more and that kind of helped my like life outside of the sessions," (Chris, line 33)*

*"it's alright some like sometimes when [YOT workers] talk to you and try to tell you what you're aiming towards and try and keep you on track and like that's good towards me and keeping me from going to prison or dying or making bad choices or whatever," (Kevin, line 21)*

*"what they've asked me to do [YOT interventions] isn't too much, isn't too little everything's just how it should be so," Josh line 45*

*"[a YOT intervention] has been really good, victim awareness the two main things*

*I've kind of taken a liking to... learnt a lot," (Josh, line 53)*

#### 4.5.1.2 'Structure' code

When talking about their experience of the schedule and procedures of YOT, the structure and boundaries provided were something that some participants felt kept them on track with their YOT order;

*"[YOT appointments] sort of gives you things to do...it takes up some of your time to keep you away from reoffending," (Jamie, line 7)*

*"[YOT appointments are] sort of like a school day so like you go, you wake up you go, you come back sort of thing...before I had nothing to do so I was more likely to just go out and get in trouble cos I had no, nothing to do with my life...so I had something not bad that was more hours," (Jamie, line 75)*

*"when I got back [from a day of YOT interventions] I was just so shattered from the day I just couldn't be bothered...Sometimes I feel like they do it deliberately but other times not so much I guess it was good cos the less I was out is less time I could be reoffending that's the way I looked at it," (Jamie, line 273)*

*"in the summer and that [YOT] gave me something to do and err they're not really very flexible if you know what I mean, the other week er I was like I can't do this cos I've gotta go and do this and like they basically said tough so I just skipped it and now I'll get one of them things for missing it," (Kevin, line 7)*

*"if I forget to come [to YOT] obviously I'm gonna get a text or something...when I come here it keeps me being careful if you get what I mean (laughter) just don't do anything stupid like that could get anything happen to me," (Kevin, line 237)*

#### 4.5.2 'Resistance' subtheme

This subtheme encapsulates the participants' more negative and resistant thoughts and feelings about their engagement with YOS. These feelings presented themselves through avoidance and explicitly stating what they did not like about engaging with YOS;

##### 4.5.2.1 'Avoidance' code

Participants expressed the compulsion to avoid engaging with YOT. At times this urge remained a feeling, at other times YOT's boundaries were actively avoided;

*"I used to start breaking my [curfew] tag...first I would come back like 20 minutes late and be like oh sorry I got held up and then it'd be hours and one time I cut it off and disappeared for like a week and a half that's when I started getting moved cos it got out of control," (Jamie, line 279)*

*"before the [YOT] sessions like the first couple of times I was like I would really not wanna go I would try and find a way out of it," (Chris, line 106)*

*"well coming [to YOT] it's not much fun...so yeah it's boring...it's not what I wanna be doing with my time so much things that I'd prefer to be doing," (Kevin, line 15)*

*"I missed quite a few appointments at the start of [YOT order] but then going through into it I missed a couple as well and I had to have an emergency panel meeting and then err I had a possibility of going back to court," (Kevin, line 41)*

*"so I was like fuck you, I'm going alright, I left...that was the first day I missed YOT cos it was my first one and I didn't know about it that day well I don't know, I might of, I might of just missed it (laughter)," (Kevin, line 145)*

*“I didn’t know the YOT, I didn’t wanna go to YOT I wasn’t gonna go I’d be like no I’m not going to do it at all...it all happened cos of a reason and I said no fuck that reason I’m not gonna go...I only think I missed like two sessions but I didn’t wanna go,” (Kevin, line 167)*

#### 4.5.2.2 ‘Not helpful’ code

Some participants shared their views about what they thought was particularly unhelpful when it came to engaging with YOT, such as their experience of the approach of YOT staff towards them or the interventions available;

*“some of the older staff [in YOT] they need to sort of not get rid of em but sort of teach em cos you can’t teach like talk to a kid how they would’ve if you know what I mean like some of the ways they talk to us I’m like who the fuck are you like why are you trying to talk to me like I’m an idiot,” (Jamie, line 365)*

*“they’re all [YOT staff] trained to work with children it’s just some of them aren’t good at it),” (Kevin, line 45)*

*“[YOT staff] think I’m doing good on the [intervention] like what have I actually learned from it...Nothing like what is that gonna make me do...Nothing they tell me here will help really much,” (Kevin, line 53)*

*“[YOT] don’t really help that much I could come in here, do exactly what [YOT staff] do talking to myself,” (Kevin, line 61)*

*“Well erm all you do yeah is [go to YOT] have a little chat with [YOT worker] really you don’t learn anything I don’t know even know if you’re meant to to be honest I don’t even know the point in coming here it’s just I come here once a week to do*

*some shit,” (Kevin, line 71)*

#### 4.5.2.3 ‘Not nice environment’ code

For some participants there was a feeling that elements of the YOT experience were unpleasant, for example the environment. This meant that it was fundamentally something they did not want to engage with;

*“[YOT is] not really a nice place to be [other young people in YOT] you’ll see, depending on sort of what type of person you are will, you don’t really wanna come back and see all of these people again, it’s just not a fun place,” (Jamie, line 47)*

*“other [young people in YOT] say ah, he’s called you this or they’ve called you that it’s like they sort of fuel it...they just wanna see it all kick off so they’ll feed it as much as they can. It’s not really a nice environment to be honest, it’s like this (points to panic alarm), this is instantly a sign that it’s a bad place, the fact there’s a panel on the wall for like the whole building will come running it sort of says it all doesn’t it,” (Jamie, line 181)*

#### 4.5.2.4 ‘Negative expectations’ code

Some participants spoke of the negative expectations they had around what engaging with YOT might be like;

*“it’s just that usual look of sort of either a social services person or YOT where you just think ah, [YOT worker is] gonna tell you what to do when to do,” (Jamie, line 153)*

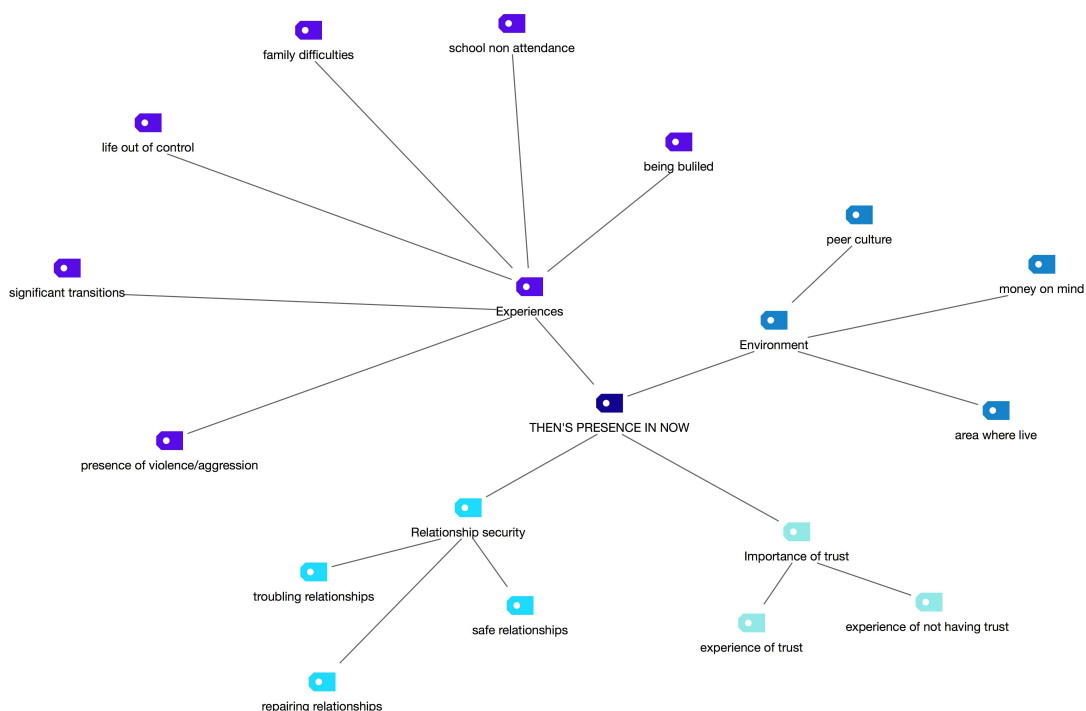
*“I kind of like pictured [YOT worker] to be like telling me off the whole time or just I’d tell them something and they’d just jot it down and that’d be it,” (Chris, line 102)*



## 4.6 Then's presence in now theme

A thematic map is provided in Figure 4 to illustrate the relationship between the theme, subthemes and codes for the theme of Then's presence in now.

Figure 4. Thematic map for Then's presence in now theme



### 4.6.1 'Experiences' subtheme

When talking about their engagement with YOT some participants appeared to revisit experiences from their past. These recollections related to their experience in YOT in different ways, such as thinking about what had brought them to YOT in the first place, what was happening now that mirrored something from the past, and what was still present from their past.

#### 4.6.1.1 'Presence of violence/aggression' code

Participants' different experiences of violence or aggression in the past pervaded transcripts and seemed to bring a sense of threat to their current experience of

engagement with YOT;

*“it was a difficult time at that school and where I was with people that were like me that weren’t sort of up for school work my behaviour sort of got worse and that’s when I was sort of more of a violent person like there was a lot of violent people around it was basically like a prison cos we couldn’t go anywhere, there was fences, it was all swipe cards and keys and stuff so it was, you were around them 24/7 so if there’s an issue, it wouldn’t go away it would build up. One day it pretty much ended up all out warfare with all the kids yeah it exploded so, wasn’t good. I think that school didn’t help me either I think if I’d have gone to a normal school I’d have settled down whereas around kids like me I wasn’t sort of using my mind I was just sort of doing nothing,” (Jamie, line 173)*

*“[other young people in YOT] just wanna see things kick off I don’t know why people just wanna see fights and stuff like, they don’t wanna do it they wanna watch, they want others to do it,” (Jamie, line 209)*

*“I don’t want him to see violence like I did and I saw my mum beaten by the age of 6 like that’s what I mean like I’ve seen things that are horrible like they haunt me still like sometimes I’ll sleep and I’ll wake up and it will just come back,” (Jamie, line 345)*

*“[participant’s stepdad] threw a mug at me so I punched it and I ran up to him and punched him in the face then me and my brother started fighting and arguing then my mum called the police,” (Terry, line 51)*

#### 4.6.1.2 ‘Significant transitions’ code

When talking about engaging with YOT, participants shared their experiences of

significant transitions in their lives, with some negative and positive associations with the changes;

*“I got taken away [from home] and then came back when I sort of was about 16...I was in a place, in a foster placement, so it wasn’t where I wanted to be so I just did whatever I wanted, I didn’t care if I got kicked out of, you know, that foster placement,” (Jamie, line 113)*

*“down here [local area] is better for me cos I know I won’t really get in trouble with anyone like people in [previous area where lived] cos they’re just usually out on the streets just being little rats and I don’t see the point of it I don’t see the point of being a little rat outside,” (Terry, line 171)*

*“in year 7 for some reason I made lots of friends but unfortunately we don’t keep in touch yeah I made lots of friends in year 7 and then in year 8 when I first came to the school I wasn’t too good at making friends cos I didn’t know everyone,” (Chris, line 42)*

*“things were going like upside down I was living...with my mum and her boyfriend in a studio flat cos I got kicked out of my dad’s err I wasn’t going to school or nothing I was just fed up cos I felt like I’d been taken the piss out of err and yeah so I missed quite a few appointments at the start of that one,” (Kevin, line 41)*

#### 4.6.1.3 ‘Life out of control’ code (Jamie only)

When talking about his engagement with YOT, Jamie reflected on his past, he talked specifically about having experiences of his life being out of control or feeling that it was in other people’s control at times;

*“My life just all around me was just crashing like friends that I thought were friends weren’t at all...just all over the place it just sort of collapsed everywhere, I don’t know how to explain it,” (Jamie, line 199)*

*“I wasn’t in control of my life either where I wasn’t an adult [others] had control of it which is how its been my whole life which I guess is sort of why I rebelled so much cos I’ve had no control I just I dunno like I didn’t choose to move to some of the places I just got put there whether I liked it or not I had no choice,” Jamie line 289*

#### 4.6.1.4 ‘Family difficulties’ code

When talking about working with YOT, some participants reflected on past difficulties they had with their family. These difficulties were for them in some way related to or contributed to how they came to engage with YOT;

*“there was a lot going on sort of before I went into care, I haven’t met my dad but erm he was basically being a dick I’ll put it that way, it’s the only way I know how to put it erm my sister had just been hit by a car,” (Jamie, line 111)*

*“I just end up snapping at [brother] and snapping at my stepdad and then end up well getting arrested,” (Terry, line 47)*

*“Me and my brother was arguing...my stepdad thought I was talking to him where I called my brother a see you next Tuesday, my stepdad thought I was talking to him so he threw a mug at me so I punched it and I ran up to him and punched him in the face then me and my brother started fighting and arguing then my mum called the police,” (Terry, line 51)*

#### 4.6.1.5 'School non attendance' code

Some participants appeared to relate difficulties in school such as non attendance to their later involvement with YOT when talking about their engagement with YOT;

*"year 9 I missed the whole year of and year 7 and 8 I went to a school in [place name] and I hardly ever used to go," (Terry, line 163)*

*"in year 8 erm I think I didn't go to [school] for the first 2 or 3 weeks because we were still trying to get into a school...I joined maybe 3 weeks late but I don't think that made too much difference because I still wouldn't have liked talked to too many people anyway I think if I joined straight away it might have been just a tiny little bit better but not too much of a difference," (Chris, line 56)*

#### 4.6.1.6 'Being bullied' code

When talking about their engagement with YOS, some participants shared their experiences of being bullied in the past, and were able to share some reflections on the impact that the experience had on them and its relevance to now;

*"I've been bullied in prim secondary school before so I know what it's gonna be like when someone's taking the mickey cos my uncle knows where I've been bullied before he knows I will say something about it now where I just never used to say anything," (Terry, line 159)*

*"throughout primary school I got bullied a lot by the same person. It wasn't very good," (Chris, line 42)*

*"I was bullied for a while, being in care and not being from the area and all of that stuff just everything, what I wore, what I said, how I talk and erm yeah I sort of didn't*

*really trust anyone, basically no friends, I didn't trust anyone enough," (Jamie, line 173)*

#### 4.6.2 'Environment' subtheme

This subtheme captured what participants shared about how they experienced the environment around them in the past and currently, when talking about engaging with YOS.

##### 4.6.2.1 'Peer culture' code

Some participants talked about peer interactions, peer activity and the expectation or pressure at times to conform to peer culture. Some reflected on their relationship to peer culture before and after involvement with YOS;

*"it gets to a point where you can't stop you get yourself this kind of image and you think either you've got to look like basically a bitch or a pussy [to peers] and not go through or you've just gotta keep going," (Jamie, line 201)*

*"[peers] would just sort of watch everything happen...watch everything go off, come and say things that people apparently said when I know for a fact they hadn't it's just on that particular day I was pissed off I was just looking for any excuse, one came up, I went for it but I mean friends that aren't really friends they just wanna see it all kick off," (Jamie, line 203)*

*"I got in the wrong crowd again but the sort of the worst that I'd been with cos in [area where lived in the past] they just sort of put criminals and all that that's what they do out of prison they end up going into [area] statistically anyway but you know I was just with the wrong group doing the wrong things like I ended up doing car*

*burglaries, not that I've been nicked for it but I have or been there should I say and it it's just not good like it was sort of watching, it didn't feel like I was doing it I felt like I just had no control its hard to explain," (Jamie, line 277)*

*"if people thought about things before they did em a bit more even just a little bit more and make sure its really what they want to do they'd probably back out but once you get in its like once you get a certain reputation you can't lose face basically you got to keep at it," (Jamie, line 361)*

*"when you're in that type of lifestyle when you got drug habits and shit like that yeah you need it [money] but when you just get on with your life you don't need it...I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do so I'm like why would you need that like you're 17 you don't need it and that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like ooh I guess I got attracted my issue was I always got on with people either a bit younger than me a year or so younger than me or just older, any age older so where I was getting in with older people I basically became like their younger they looked at me like that so from sort of about 12 I was like I said going down the wrong path sort of thing so when I was getting involved with people that were doing more things than people my age would've like things kids my like when I was about that age shoplifting was a big deal if you shoplifted you were instantly a badass whereas now you shoplift that don't mean anything that's like wow you stole like a 2p sweet good for you try robbing a bank or something next time that's what it's got to but that's the difference it was the difference between shoplifting or*

*robbing a bank kind of thing it's a big leap," (Jamie, line 373)*

*"I won't really get in trouble with anyone like people in [current area where live] cos they're just usually out on the streets just being little rats and I don't see the point of it I don't see the point of being a little rat outside," (Terry, line 171)*

*"where I used to...be a little rugrat just getting chased by the police and all that but since I been down here [current area where live] I just stopped doing that and just kept myself to myself really and just stayed out of trouble with a lot of people," (Terry, line 175)*

#### 4.6.2.2 'Money on mind' code

For some participants, when talking about engagement with YOT, they shared that money had a significant role in the path that lead to YOT or in plans for their future. The lure of money or the lack of it were areas they spoke about;

*"my main issue before I had no money so I sort of did what I did and that's, I started to get worried because I don't want to go back to how it was," (Jamie, line 155)*

*"monetary things like that was one of my biggest issues...when you're in that type of lifestyle when you got drug habits and shit like that yeah you need it...I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do...that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like ooh I guess I got attracted," (Jamie, line 373)*

*"I don't wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life I just want money for myself and well help my mum out," (Terry, line 103)*



*"I wanna help my mum out cos she aint getting child benefits or anything for me so I just wanna make sure she gets money in her pocket so she can get food and all that, what she needs cos well she doesn't really buy herself anything when she has money," (Terry, line 115)*

*"once I move out I'll still give her money for everything she's done for me I don't really expect anything from my mum when she's done and if I do have a kid I'll let my mum see them whenever she wants and I'll give her money for doing it for like babysitting," (Terry, line 117)*

*"loads of shit you can...to make money innit err I dunno I think you can make money out of anything...I just need some start-up money, it aint even hard to get start-up money just gotta do shit like I could go do a lumberjack course now yeah, get a van, get a couple of chain saws and that," (Kevin, line 173)*

*"buy my own digger and that when I get enough money, renting that out, doing shit like that just, slowly build it then you've got loads of money coming in (laughter) and that's just how it works...that's just one idea I could do loads of different shit I dunno I just wanna be rich you know what I mean I don't even have to work do you know what I mean I'll pay people to work for me," (Kevin, line 177)*

*"what would be good about being rich? Erm that I'm just above everyone and I'm just like like I've like it's the best that's what it would be like I'd just love to be rich...**Interviewer:** So how is that different to how you feel now?...**Participant:** Erm when I go out and I have no money and I want some fucking lunch or I want some clothes cos they're fucking dirty (laughter) I can't do it can I, if I was rich I could go shop and buy Versace clothes and go buy some Gucci stuff, get a couple of bags, get*

*some trainers, go spend £80 in a restaurant for a little meal, tiny glass of drink, get what I mean,” (Kevin, line 183)*

*“Painting and decorating as a trade isn’t something you can really make a lot of money out of is it like anyone can slap some paint on a wall like me,” (Kevin, line 195)*

*“people try to be rich don’t they, that’s what everyone wants to be so obviously not everyone’s gonna so it’s like why just me one person why aren’t you [interviewer] rich like it’s not that hard to come up with an idea like you could just think of something else like literally I see a van drive past, you buy twelve vans, you’ve got a van company, I dunno,” (Kevin, line 219)*

#### 4.6.2.3 ‘Area where live’ code

When talking about their work with YOT, some participants commented on places where they had lived or were living. For some, this related to the travel commitments of getting to YOT, for others it related to the social environment in which they lived and the impact that had on them;

*“it’s such a small place that no one cares enough...I mean there’s one train, if I miss that [to get to YOT appointment] I’ve gotta wait a whole hour,” (Jamie, line 265)*

*“sort of put criminals and all that that’s what they do out of prison they end up going into [area where had lived] statistically anyway but you know I was just with the wrong group doing the wrong things,” (Jamie, line 277)*

*“it’s a dead area [area where currently lives] its basically impossible to get in trouble without meaning to basically like there is there’s nothing to do you can’t break stuff*

*there's just nothing literally nothing," (Jamie, line 311)*

*"My areas just full of druggies, people that sells weed and smokes it and then there's all like alcoholics that starts wants to start a fight, start arguments with everyone and well police round there a lot," (Terry, line 91)*

*"I got a lot of mates here but erm it's a bit of a drippy area innit like a lot of dickheads about," (Kevin, line 149)*

#### **4.6.3 'Relationship security' subtheme**

This subtheme encapsulates how young people referred to past and present relationships outside of the YOT worker relationship when talking about their engagement with YOS. They talked about troubling relationships, those that were felt to be safe and those where they had worked towards repair.

##### **4.6.3.1 'Troubling relationships' code**

Participants spoke about their experiences of relationships with peers and family that had been or were still troubling them;

*"when my nan first went into hospital...it took like a couple of days before I even knew what was going on so it just sort of felt like I wasn't part of the family anymore, I was just an extra," (Jamie, line 125)*

*"me and my brother aren't really that close now...had I spent a bit more time with him we might have found something...I don't really know my own brother which aint nice," (Jamie, line 133)*

*"friends that I thought were friends weren't at all, like other people, it's just things*

*like little things, just all over the place it just sort of collapsed everywhere,” (Jamie, line 199)*

*“I guess I made it more difficult for myself just where I didn’t get on with some people my own age from being in care I just instantly assume everyone’s gonna be as much of a twat basically so I just sort of didn’t go out of my way to make friends if people got on with me great but if not its their problem like its not my problem I don’t care,” (Jamie, line 245)*

*“[getting arrested] got out of hand because of my brother so in the end I just ended up getting worse and worse because of it where I couldn’t handle it anymore,” (Terry, line 47)*

*“in primary school I think I had one friend from the beginning til about year 3 or something like that cos there were people that came in in year 3 and like my friend started hanging out with me like a lot less,” (Chris, line 42)*

*“my dad is terrible with children and so that’s why he doesn’t work well with me,” (Kevin, line 119)*

#### 4.6.3.2 ‘Safe relationships’ code

Participants talked about relationships that they felt more safe and secure in and the fear they have, at times, of losing that security;

*“I’ve moved back to my mum’s so I sort of, I don’t wanna risk moving again cos I’ve got more to lose than I did before,” (Jamie, line 67)*

*“I don’t know how to explain it, I just feel relaxed [with family], I’m not constantly on edge, with other foster kids you never know they could be eyeing up your stuff in*

*your room, they'll just take stuff, it's just how it is...whereas at home I know if I leave my door open and I come home the next day, everything will still be where I left it so its sort of a lot of the worries are gone, like I know what's going on with my family,"*  
(Jamie, line 121)

*"my true friends would tell me what people have said but they wouldn't say it the way others would they'd sort of say yeah they've said this but don't worry about it,"*  
(Jamie, line 205)

*"when I got bullied [participant's friend] was the only one that stuck up for me and since then me and him has been mates from then...it's like it's rare to get someone that actually knows what you're like even though they haven't known you that long,"*  
(Terry, line 179)

*"He said he's proud of me for it and well that's the only one I really wanna be proud of me, my oldest brother,"* (Terry, line 229)

*"I think the year after I made friends with someone that I still talk to a lot today and in year 4 or 5 he was like my best friend, in year 6 I started to make a couple more friends cos I knew everyone quite a long time,"* (Chris, line 42)

#### 4.6.3.3 'Repairing relationships' code

Some participants shared their experiences around the efforts to repair different relationships that perhaps had been more troubling in the past. The impact of the repair is also talked about by some;

*"I felt better having known that it wasn't anything to do with me cos I had sort of been under that impression my whole life that it was my fault I was a trouble child,*

*all of that usual stuff, its nothing to do with that at all,” (Jamie, line 139)*

*“me and my mum and stepdad spoke about it and we apologised to each other said it would never happen again and from then we’ve been getting along so well,” (Terry, line 53)*

*“Yeah and me and him[brother] have got a lot more closer than we used to be, we talk more before when I was really pissed off, he just spoke to me and calmed me down as well,” (Terry, line 137)*

*“most of the time I just get in trouble cos of my brother usually but recently me and him have been just normal and not arguing,” (Terry, line 151)*

*“I was over the moon when I got home and I said to my mum as soon as I got home [YOT worker is] gonna be bringing the letter I wrote, the apology letter I wrote to you with her when she comes for the home visit,” (Terry, line 217)*

#### **4.6.4 ‘Importance of trust’ subtheme**

When talking about their engagement with YOS, the importance of trust for participants was pervading and present in more than one theme. Relationships between subthemes that are present in more than one theme will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Participants shared different experiences of trust through their lives when providing context as to the importance of trust now, during engagement.

##### **4.6.4.1 ‘Experience of not having trust’ code**

Some participants (particularly Jamie) shared their experiences of not having trust in others, either through an event where trust was lost, or because of the expectations they had built over time that meant it was hard to trust others;

*“social services tried to tell me my mum just got a bit ill but mum didn’t want them to lie to me so she told me like this is what’s happened,” (Jamie, line 137)*

*“people my age, I can’t tell them anything, you can’t it will just go around everywhere in about 5 minutes,” (Jamie, line 147)*

*“that’s when I lost a lot of trust, I ended up in a boarding school for people with Aspergers, anger problems just anything that can hinder ‘em at school they just sort of get put together and you’re sort of meant to build a bit of a relationship with the staff, have a thing, it was sort of there was some that I could tell things to and they wouldn’t tell but others would blab it out and erm yeah, one, what happened is I told someone something and it came straight back to me and I was like, there was only one person I told that to, how the hell can you know and that’s when I lost a lot of trust and started like rebelling at school again,” (Jamie, line 165)*

*“like I was bullied for a while, being in care and not being from the area and all of that stuff just everything, what I wore, what I said, how I talk and erm yeah I sort of didn’t really trust anyone, basically no friends, I didn’t trust anyone enough. I went there and sort of learnt that I can trust people and then it just sort of went again,” (Jamie, line 173)*

*“I prefer people being honest like I don’t I don’t like people that just sort of fucking about I’d rather know the truth like it’s, it’s like when people, I don’t know how to, it’s like when people, in social services when I was younger they used to try and sort of sweeten things, there’s no point just tell me how it is and get it over and done with its like it took em about a week to properly tell me what was wrong with my nan they just said oh it’s just sort of a little thing in the end I was like bollocks you’re lying*

*to me cos it keeps getting a little bit worse every time so just tell me what's wrong sort of thing I had to basically shout at em and kick off for em to tell me," (Jamie, line 223)*

*"I don't know how to explain it like with them they just sort of tell me a little thing but in my mind I'd know they were lying so I could just sort of I'd be thinking all sorts could be wrong," (Jamie, line 227)*

*"my social worker decided to play me and my mum against each other which we didn't know about cos I was told she said it would be a good idea if I learned some independence skills whereas my mum was told that I wanted to do it so if we'd have just spoke to each other we'd have been like hang on a minute," (Jamie, line 287)*

*"people are just like ah yeah she's [participant's mum] just away but ah I mean she'd gone to prison I didn't even know," (Jamie, line 347)*

*"social services didn't she'd written to me and everything and she thought I was ignoring her but I didn't get em like they had hold of em they wouldn't let her I was like what I went at that point I went mental cos she had it in her head that I didn't want to talk to her basically no one had said that she just didn't get any replies or anything," (Jamie, line 355)*

*"I don't trust a lot of people," (Terry, line 79)*

#### 4.6.4.2 'Experience of trust' code

Some shared their experience of being able to trust others over time; there was a sense that trust is a feeling and for Chris in particular, once it had been achieved with one person it can enable trust of others;



*“now, like, my nan, she’s had something else diagnosed I knew straight away, as soon as my mum knew it was straight to me so I just sort of felt like, I don’t know, I feel part of the family routine again,” (Jamie, line 127)*

*“mum didn’t want them to lie to me so she told me like this is what’s happened,” (Jamie, line 137)*

*“what annoyed me is I found out that my mum actually told them to tell me but where she didn’t have full control they thought they knew what’s best but they knew, she knew with me to just tell me straight cos otherwise I’ll get more agitated,” (Jamie, line 225)*

*“since like I’ve become really confident with the youth offending team it’s kind of helped me with other things like I can’t think of an example but I’ve been more confident with people kind of I trust more people,” (Chris, line 118)*

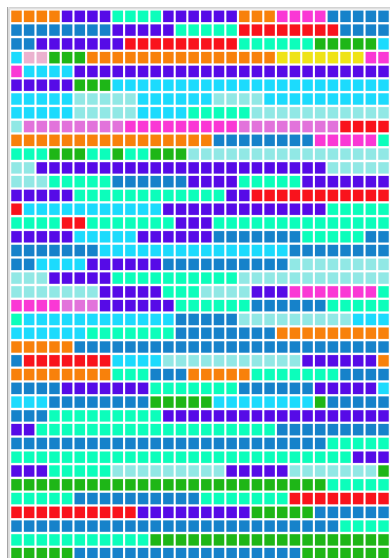
#### **4.7 Psycho-social analysis of each participant's narrative**

Codes that had been colour coded during thematic analysis using the MAX-QDA programme were drawn upon to create a 'document portrait' (Figures 5-9) for each participant in the 'visual tools' function of the MAX-QDA programme. This allowed for a detailed colour coded overview of their transcript and narrative for the researcher to consider visually which subthemes (from the thematic analysis) dominated the transcript. As described in 3.5.6, a psycho-social interpretation of the narrative was provided for each participant through the composition of a 'scenic understanding'.

Scenic understandings for each participant can be found in appendix K. The pen portraits below are a reductive description of each participant based on their more detailed scenic understandings (appendix K). Brief reflexive accounts are included alongside each scenic understanding which can be found in appendix K. These reflexive accounts are intended to provide consideration of my personal and professional thoughts and biases that have a role in developing my interpretations through the scenic understandings.

#### 4.7.1 Jamie's pen portrait

Figure 5. Document portrait of Jamie's transcript



Jamie believed the boundaries of the structure of YOT were helpful; being at certain places at certain times and regularly seeing his YOT worker; building a relationship. This was contradicted when he talked about pushing the boundaries of his tag; first 20 minutes late, then hours late, then cutting it off and disappearing for a week and a half. Sometimes there was resistance.

Jamie described distressing family times in his early childhood, then being taken into care at the age of 9. Now living back with his mum, he shared how he was motivated to stay on track so he would not lose what he now had. A distinction between a chaotic 'then' and a calmer 'now' is something that is revisited through the whole transcript.

Jamie reflected on experiences of losing trust in professionals and peers; this shaped a mistrust of others through life and pervaded the transcript. This uncertainty fed into thoughts about himself; he was taken into care because he was a 'trouble child'. His mistrust of professionals contradicts his trusting relationship with his YOT worker.

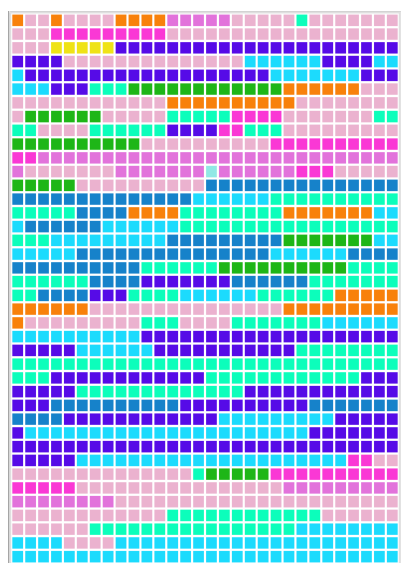
Peer relationships have always been difficult for Jamie; overall he finds it hard to trust peers and he particularly dislikes peers in YOT. He distances himself from the

'young offender' identity through the transcript by sharing how he is different from 'them'. He shares the struggle to distance himself from his peer culture though; the cultural expectations, the attraction of money involved at times, and fear of losing face, all have a strong influence.

Through his transcript Jamie grapples with the welfare and justice models of youth offending. His narratives of vulnerability contrast with those of agency, as he embodies the tension between the two ways that society understands young offenders.

#### 4.7.2 Terry's pen portrait

Figure 6. Document portrait of Terry's transcript



Terry's transcript focused on the ways in which he felt YOT had helped him; managing his anger, thinking before acting, thinking through consequences, working through family difficulties. Terry had some speech difficulties which seemed to have an impact on miscommunication and misunderstandings in the past and between us.

Terry's identity shifts from descriptions of vulnerability; being picked on as the youngest in his family and school to 'I'm ginger obviously and gingers have really short tempers'. Violent altercations with family are described, contradicting his wanting to protect his niece from witnessing violence. The identity of protector and provider are shared and these appear to be the ones that are helping him move away from the past identities described.

He spoke warmly about his YOT worker, sharing that each time he met with her, he trusted her more, allowing the relationship to grow over time. He felt understood by her and despite having difficulties with trusting people, he was able to trust her.

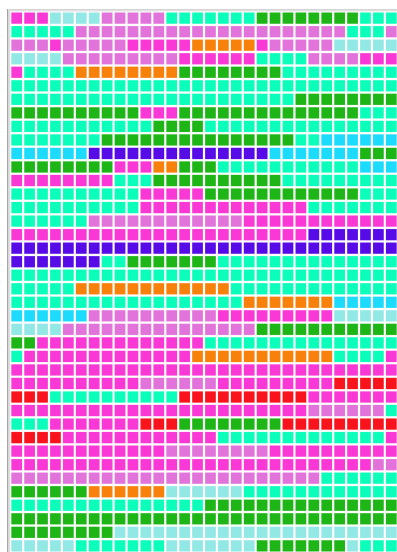
Terry's keenness to work and find a job pervades the transcript and is part of the development of a new identity; one that is distanced from those in the area where he lives who do not want to work. An identity of protector is shared when he talks about making sure his uncle does not take advantage of his vulnerable stepbrother, by making him work unpaid. Money is on his mind as he shares his family's financial

difficulties and his plans to earn money to provide for them in some ways. His motivation for this seems to be to position himself in his family as provider and protector; an identity distanced from his brothers who 'didn't help like when they were young' while identifying with an older brother who was always protective of him.

His YOT worker's support in helping him learn ways to regulate his emotional state and with repairing relationships with his family is shared through the transcript. He experiences her as responding to him in attuned and containing ways.

### 4.7.3 Chris's pen portrait

Figure 7. Document portrait of Chris's transcript



Chris was my youngest participant at 13 years of age. There was an emphasis in his transcript on feeling safe both in terms of feeling comfortable with his YOT worker and knowing that information about him was 'safe'. An initial resistance was fed by fears of a persecutory YOT worker. He shared how this was alleviated over time and he was able to see his YOT worker as a person rather than a YOT worker; it seemed as though the associations with YOT were something to avoid.

Past disappointments with friendships and experiences of being bullied, seem to have contributed to an insecure identity that he feels he has moved away from now, having become more confident. Chris relates his increased confidence in social interaction to his work with his YOT worker, with whom he was able to interact in a safe environment. He felt understood and supported by his YOT worker and from there, trust developed.

A home move and a delayed school move is mentioned then downplayed but there is a sense that it had a significant impact; 'I think if I joined straight away it might have been just a tiny little bit better but not too much of a difference'.

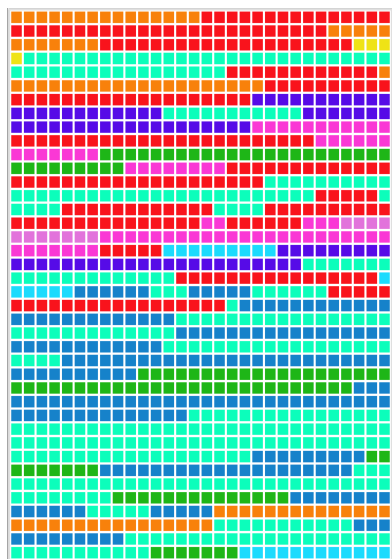
Through the entire interview there is a sense of Chris having experienced a significant journey and a development of a set of skills in the safety of the

relationship with the YOT worker that then could be taken out into the wider world with peers and others.



#### 4.7.4 Kevin's pen portrait

Figure 8. Document portrait of Kevin's transcript



Kevin was honest about the resistance he felt towards engaging with YOT; at times finding it boring and being reluctant to attend. He was critical of the way the work is done while acknowledging the difficulty of the task. A particular criticism was around what he was experiencing as the rigid approach of YOT and his struggle with the tension between responding defiantly and compliantly. His

awareness that prison could be a consequence of not complying appeared to demonstrate his acknowledgement of the clear boundary of YOT.

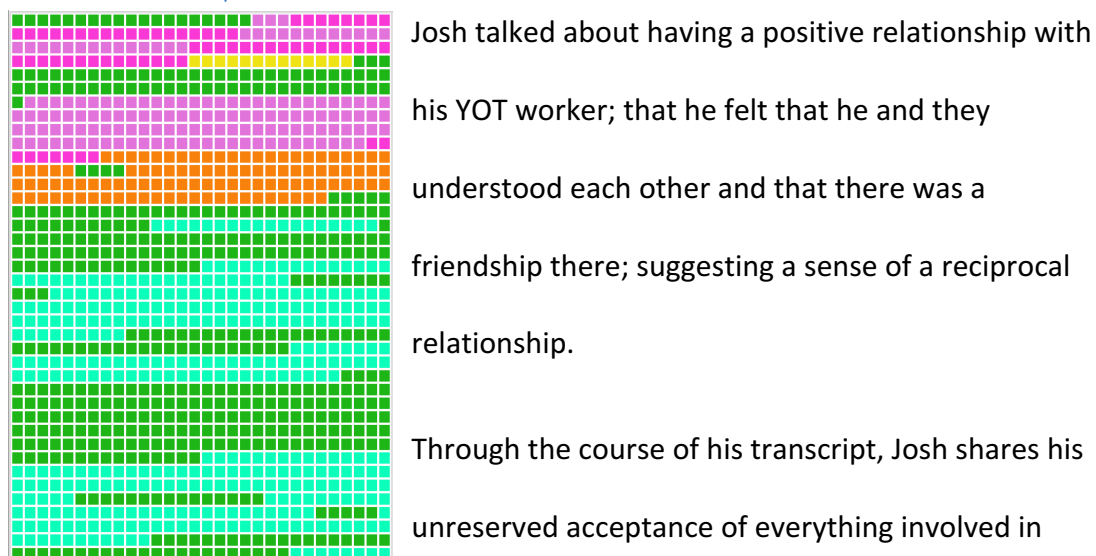
Kevin shares his views about the importance of finding suitable people to work in YOT; that young people 'can kinda relate to' and who have experience both in terms of working with young people and having some life experience themselves. Kevin is also critical of interventions at YOT believing they have not particularly helped him. He talks about a positive relationship with his YOT worker, having previously had a YOT worker who he was less able to relate to; 'I dunno it's just like when she like talks to me...she just weren't like I dunno I dunno'. It is difficult for Kevin to access the words to express his feelings about the relational experience. He expresses an uncertainty about the parameters of his work in YOT as he is not sure if he can trust his YOT worker in order to be honest with her.

Kevin shares a strong sense of self reliance that he has developed through experiences of not being able to rely on others in his life. Perhaps this contributes to his feelings of resistance towards YOT interventions. He shares that while he attends and others think he does well, he does not think the interventions help him; that they are 'a bit of a waste of my time'.

Ideas about finding occupations and money, perhaps in Australia are prominent through the transcript. There is an energy related to talking about his plans and the motivation for being 'on top' is also shared. This contradicts how he feels about his position now; 'I go out and I have no money and I want some fucking lunch or I want some clothes cos they're fucking dirty (laughter) I can't do it can I'. He also downplays the value of his current work as a painter and decorator. There is a stark contrast between the lived reality and the hoped for dream and the sense that Kevin shares is that he will have to rely on himself again to get there.

#### 4.7.5 Josh's pen portrait

Figure 9. Document portrait of Josh's transcript



engaging with YOT. He shares his feeling that 'everything's just how it should be'; that justice has been done and that he has received a fair punishment. He talks about putting right the mistakes that he made and that he feels that he has learned a great deal from engaging with work. He commented on interventions that he found particularly helpful and identified an intervention that focuses on victim awareness as making an impact by learning 'how much it hah mmm huh (clears throat) sorry how much when you effect, when you offend it doesn't just affect one person that you offended and it doesn't just affect those people at this point in time its later on in life'. He shares how working with YOT has helped him open his mind and his reflectivity pervades the interview and transcript.

There is a sense of journey from a past immature self, that he sees as the young person who committed the offense(s) that led him to YOT to a current self, who has matured through working with YOT. There is a distancing from the past identity

which perhaps enables him to identify with the more mature, responsible young man he sees himself as.

While Kevin talks at length about reflection and self improvement, there is also some awareness of perhaps the long term impact of YOT involvement in terms of wider society's view; 'you can always improve and not perhaps on this massive scale where you're an offender technically'. There is a suggestion that there is a restriction on how much he can distance himself from his former identity.

Josh did not attend the FANI interview and I reflected upon this in the context of his appearing to distance himself from a young offender identity. By the time of the intended FANI he would have ended his YOT order and as outlined above, he had begun working. Perhaps for these reasons, there was an avoidance of revisiting memories that placed him in an identity where he embodies society's negative views of young offenders. Alongside this, revisiting the painful feelings that are evoked when thinking about the harm he may have done to others when he was 'immature' may have also been difficult to think about.

#### **4.8 The findings and how they address the research question**

The themes, subthemes and codes that emerged through thematic analysis provide some responses to the question the study posed; 'What do participants talk about when asked about their engagement experiences with youth offending services?'

Participants talked about their relationship with their YOT worker and how the *process* of working with them had supported change. They talked about the interpersonal elements in the relationship that were positive, linking these to emotional responses that their YOT worker aroused in them. Finally, they talked

about the practical components of the 'working relationship' which supported positive changes they were making

Participants talked about how they were moving away from a 'young offender' identity, towards a more responsible, mature self. With the aid of hindsight, they talked about how their perspectives were different now.

Working within the framework of YOS was talked about both positively and negatively; there were elements that worked for participants alongside elements that were more challenging for them to engage with.

Through the transcripts participants drew on experiences in their lives that were talked about as impacting on their experiences now. These included environmental and relational experiences.

The analysis using a psycho-social lens found participants' narratives to have distinct emphases from each other. Each had different focuses in terms of their engagement with YOS and different ways on reflecting on past experiences to talk about it's relationship to their engagement experience now. Some participants talked more about the past, some about the future. Some talked more about their relationships with others, others focused on their own development.

In combining the themes emerging from the thematic analysis and the pertinent topics emerging from the psycho-social 'scenic understandings', further insight into areas for consideration arising from the study could be developed. These areas will be discussed in further detail in chapter 5.

## **5 Discussion**

### **5.1 Chapter overview**

This chapter begins by discussing how the findings can be considered in relation to literature examined in the literature review; both in terms of how they complement the existing literature and what they add further. Links made between the findings and wider literature are then discussed, navigated as: the importance of trust in relationships; past and present, the importance of developing an identity distance from a past self, engagement in personalised intervention, the function and structure of YOS, YOS engagement; a window of opportunity, developing a psycho-social understanding of what participants talked about. Implications related to the research are then proposed and strengths and limitations of the study discussed. The process of dissemination is shared with the chapter closing with my reflections on the process of undertaking the research.

### **5.2 Findings in the context of literature review literature**

Findings in my research that relate to participant's identity complement Millward and Senker's (2012) IPA study, specifically their master theme 'Dissociating from an offender identity and authoring a new non-offender, more individuated identity' Millward and Senker (2012). My finding that participants were developing their identities in ways that distanced themselves from the 'youth offender' identity fits well with Millward and Senker's (2012) interpretation. Much like my research, the authors found that their participants talked about the influence of engagement with YOS on this process. My interpretations around social reality's potential influence on participant's' experiences complements and extends Millward and Senker's (2012)

focus on the social construction of masculinity and its role in shaping young people's perceptions of themselves and their world. This is because I was open to the social realities that participants talked about which allowed a number of social constructions to be considered such as that of 'young offender', 'member of the workforce' and 'childhood'. One of the authors' suggestions for individual work with YOT to focus on individual identity is something I build on in the discussion of wider literature.

By finding out how my participants talked about engagement, I complemented quantitative research that has found positive relationships between vocational or therapeutic interventions with YOS and encouraging outcomes for young people. My findings around the centrality of relationships with YOT professionals, the task of shaping identity, the emotional and behavioural response to the YOS structure and the backdrop of relational and environmental experiences has helped to illuminate what young people said about engagement, providing rich insights into what might be helpful to consider in this work with young people attending YOS.

My findings outlined what participants talked about in terms of what they thought can get in the way of their engagement with YOS including individual, relational and environmental experiences. Paton, et al's (2009) study focused on the potential role of traumatic life experiences in creating barriers to seeking support. My 'Then's presence in now' theme and its subthemes encompass some of the master themes Paton et al (2009) described; Experiences of violence; Living in a violent world; Instability and transitions; Depriving environment; Effects on participants of difficult life experiences; Changing self and support networks. Similarly, Walsh et al (2011) found their participants to share psychological, social, structural and cultural

barriers to accessing mental health services. Their three emerging themes were; Fear; Lack of certainty about what they were dealing with and; Understanding and empathy (finding it difficult to talk to people). Some of these themes are encapsulated in my theme of Transformative relationship with YOT worker, specifically within the subtheme; How they made me feel which picks up on what participants said about how their YOT worker worked with these kinds of feelings. My findings broaden the existing literature by considering further psycho-social experiences participants talk about. They also provide, through preserving individual narratives, an understanding of how not just barriers to engagement but also beneficial elements may have come to be.

### **5.3 Findings in the context of wider literature**

The findings in relation to the wider literature will now be discussed. Themes that emerged from the thematic analysis alongside pertinent illuminations that were composed through the scenic understandings will be drawn upon.

#### **5.3.1 Trust in relationships; past and present**

Participants talked about their valuable relationship with their YOT worker, with a sense of transformation through the relationship for some. This was associated with elements of the relationship itself such as the YOT worker being there to listen to and support them in non-judgemental ways and describing the relationship as having developed over time; offering them consistency.

*“it’s just helpful having someone [at YOT] that I can sort of explain things to who will actually listen and not sort of judge me for it,” (Jamie, line 101)*

*“I met [YOT worker] more and more I could trust her more and I started, well*



*obviously I started to trust her a lot more every time I met her and spoke to her...she just the only person that understood what was going on really," (Terry, line 77)*

Carl Rogers' (1951) work around the importance of the development of a meaningful interpersonal relationship between therapist and client supports what young people are commenting on. Rogers (1951) purported genuineness, unconditional positive regard and empathy to be fundamental conditions for change in a therapeutic encounter. For him the quality of the encounter has an impact on the extent of change that takes place. Rogers theorised the importance of the consistency of the relationship as something that is unique to a therapeutic encounter and arguably is relevant when considering young people's work with YOS. Indeed, participants commented on the development of their relationship with their YOT worker in ways that suggested a consistent approach.

The benefit of this approach was demonstrated in the ways participants described how their YOT worker or the relationship that had been established between them made them feel; that they were safe, could trust their YOT worker and felt understood by them.

*"I kind of feel like safe erm in the sessions...I kind of feel safe that I won't have to worry about anyone knowing," (Chris, line 17)*

*"[YOT worker] understands just how important it is for me to be at home cos she saw me when I was still in care," (Jamie, line 237)*

The sense of safety and trust described, evoke associations with attachment theory (Ainsworth and Bell, 1970; Bowlby, 1969) with Chris in particular expressing his sense of security 'in the room' in sessions with his YOT worker, suggesting their function as a 'secure base' (1988) from which he is able to explore and try things out

in the world; developing both socially and in terms of his ability to trust others;

*“working with [YOT worker] has helped me gain trust with other people,” (Chris, line 132)*

The subtheme of trust is present both under the theme of Transformative relationship with YOT worker and the theme of ‘Then’s presence in now’ and the relevance of trust in relationships across themes is illuminated by Terry and Jamie’s narratives;

*“I don’t like trusting people [YOT worker] pretty much, well the first person I trusted apart from my best mate...First person I trusted really,” (Terry, line 81)*

*“like I was bullied for a while, being in care and not being from the area and all of that stuff just everything, what I wore, what I said, how I talk and erm yeah I sort of didn’t really trust anyone, basically no friends, I didn’t trust anyone enough,” (Jamie, line 173)*

We begin to see the impact that social relationships have on individual experience and in turn, the development of trusting relationships. In these examples, the development of mistrust has occurred over time, becoming internalised into an ‘internal working model’ (Bowlby, 1969); shaping expectations for future relationships, something that then requires work within and through the relationship between YOT worker and young person.

The development of trust in the relationship with YOT worker and how it enables growth in other areas of the young person’s life is interesting to consider in the context of mentalization and epistemic trust (Fonagy and Allison, 2014). How participants talk about what they worked on with their YOT worker becomes relevant in this context.

The ability to mentalize is understood to develop through primary attachment relationships and is described as the ‘capacity to understand others’ and one’s own behaviour in terms of mental states (Fonagy and Allison, 2014). Epistemic trust is defined as “trust in the authenticity and personal relevance of interpersonally transmitted information” (Fonagy and Allison, 2014, p2). These concepts can help us recognise the valuable relationship developed with the YOT worker in terms of a young person establishing a sense that they are being mentalized; their thoughts and feelings are understood. This in turn fosters a sense of epistemic trust in the YOT worker with an ‘epistemic superhighway’ running between them where a young person can be open to acquiring new knowledge, such as Chris developing socially and his ability to trust others or Terry developing self-regulation skills;

*“tell me like if I’m gonna get angry just walk out, do something that I enjoy or do something that will keep my mind off it or talk to my mum about it tell her about what’s getting me angry or someone I can really talk to and trust and or count in my head to 10,” (Terry, line 67)*

Terry has been able to acquire new knowledge and practice skills learned through his epistemic trust of the person advising him of what techniques might be helpful. This trust has developed in the context of Terry being thought about holistically; supported with finding work, supported with family problems as well as supported to find ways of coping with feelings of anger;

*“[YOT worker] helped me to get someone to help me find a job,” (Terry, line 103)*

*“Yeah and [a YOT worker] that’s helping me with my anger and well my family problems,” (Terry, line 39)*

Kevin, who has 18 months left on his YOT order is ambivalent about whether

engaging with YOT is helpful;

*“Well erm all you do yeah is come in here to have a little chat with this person really you don’t learn anything I don’t know even know if you’re meant to to be honest I don’t even know the point in coming here it’s just I come here once a week to do some shit,” (Kevin, 4 line 71)*

Kevin perhaps is demonstrating what Fonagy and Allison (2014) call ‘epistemic vigilance’ where he is not able to trust in YOT enough to be open to receiving new knowledge. There is a sense that interpersonal relationships have not yet developed in ways that establish a feeling of trust for Kevin;

*“[YOT workers are] all trained to work with children it’s just some of them aren’t good at it (laughter),” (Kevin, line 45)*

Kevin himself provides some insights into psycho-social experiences that may have contributed to the development of this ‘epistemic vigilance’ that now shape his expectations of future relationships;

*“through my life I’ve just learnt things by myself really no-one’s ever like told me how to do certain things like I’ve learnt how to do literally the majority of everything myself like cos when I’ve been told by my parents its either been the wrong way, the worst way or the stupidest way to do it any other people tell me anything it’s just shit ways I dunno I just figure out everything myself I think,” (Kevin, line 59)*

It seems as though Kevin’s current relationships in YOT are not yet developing his feeling of trust in others enough in order for him to feel he has anything he can take from them for his own development. Knowing that he is still early on in his YOT order gives a sense of hope that relationships may feel consistent, safe and meaningful enough that he can begin to build some trust because, according to

Fonagy and Allison (2014) 'in the absence of trust the capacity for change is absent' (Fonagy and Allison, 2014, p12).

For some participants, their capacity to mentalize others appears to have developed as has their capacity to think about their impact on another person;

*"I'd feel like kinda responsible... I don't wanna be the reason [nephew] goes down a wrong path I'd rather be the reason he went down a good path at least I can be sort of proud," (Jamie, line 343)*

*"the victim awareness I learnt a lot about it how much it hah mmm huh (clears throat) sorry how much when you effect, when you offend it doesn't just affect one person that you offended and it doesn't just affect those people at this point in time its later on in life, there's so much more to it and it's helped me understand it I guess," (Josh, line 53)*

The development of these capacities could be argued at least in part to have been enabled by participants' own experience of being listened to, heard and mentalized themselves in their relationship with their YOT worker.

For Fonagy, Gergely and Jurist (2004) the capacity to mentalize enables a person to experience others' actions as being attributable to thoughts and feelings and therefore predictable. They also suggest that mentalization allows a person to make the distinction between inner and outer 'truths' permitting more adaptable interpretations of events to take place. Having a clear representation of others' mental states supports understanding between people, indeed the authors state that mentalizing can help a person "achieve a higher level of intersubjectivity; deeper experiences with others and ultimately a life experienced as more meaningful" (Fonagy et al, 2004, p265). From the findings in this study, it appears

that through being mentalized in their interaction with their YOT worker, participants have been able to consider in some depth, their identity in relation to others over time and during the engagement process. Fonagy et al (2004) argue that the development of the capacity to mentalize is not simply achieved through a process of maturing, rather, it happens through 'experience with another'. This is interesting to consider in light of how Josh is sure to emphasise the role of his engagement in YOS as the key contributor to his maturation;

*"I've said because I've matured I've been able to take [interventions in YOS] in but it could be the other way as well, taking this in could cause me to mature I think together they go really well," (Josh, line 79)*

While there is a focus here on the relationship with YOT worker, there is also an acknowledgement of the role of wider society in shaping some of the processes being discussed. While change has been brought about through what occurs between participants and their YOT workers, this change is embedded through experiences outside of the therapeutic encounter, supporting maintenance.

For example, Jamie's feeling motivated to stay with his mum after years in care or Terry's improved relationships with his family through doing things differently. Chris showed how he was trying out being more talkative after building his confidence with his YOT worker and Josh wanted to extend what was being learned during YOT interventions to other areas of his life;

*"stuff they're saying about decision making...I've put like the smaller decisions in my life so I can improve in the best way I possibly can," (Josh, line 69)*

The emphasis is then on the dual importance of both developing a therapeutic relationship and the maintenance that comes through taking what has been learned

into the outside world.

### 5.3.2 Developing an identity distanced from a past self

Fonagy and Allison (2014) theorise mentalization's role in increasing a person's self control and self coherence through experiencing "themselves as an agent in the mind of their therapist' (Fonagy and Allison, 2014, p19).

Whether supported by their YOT worker or instigated by themselves, participants shared a feeling that they were working on self-improvement and moving away from a 'past self'. For each person this was a very subjective task;

Terry was trying to become a member of the workforce by finding a job, indeed, it is purported that adolescence is a period when individuals have difficulty in settling on an 'occupational identity' (Erikson, 1968). It was important for Terry to distance himself from the identity he associated with the area in which he lived by developing an occupational identity;

*"I don't wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life," (Terry, line 103)*

Terry also revealed an identity that was transforming in terms of the way he coped with his emotional and behavioural responses.

Chris's identity shifted from someone who was shy and found it difficult to talk to people, to someone who is more socially competent; an identity that is arguably more accepted and celebrated in Western culture. Chris also distances himself from others whose identities are perhaps less socially appealing by remarking;

*"I'm not too shy like I do talk sometimes I've seen like people who just never talk erm and I'm not kinda like them," (Chris, line 62)*

Josh appeared focused on shifting from an immature identity to one of a mature

young person, learning from his mistakes and from what YOT had to offer;

*“I was fourteen maybe fifteen when I offended so I feel like I was still very immature,” (Josh, line 67)*

While Josh was working hard to move away from an offender identity, there were moments of his transcript when he shared an acute awareness of the social stigma and potential restriction related to a young offender identity (Rasmusen, 1996) even after he had moved away from it. He continues;

*“you can always improve and not perhaps on this massive scale where you’re an offender technically,” (Josh, line 73)*

For Kevin, there was a sense that he was on the cusp of an intended change; he talked in detail and with great energy about big plans for his future which involved becoming successful as an entrepreneur; earning a lot of money. He was attracted to the social status accompanying the money he intended to make;

*“what would be good about being rich? Erm that I’m just above everyone and I’m just like like I’ve like it’s the best that’s what it would be like I’d just love to be rich...you know what I mean, wouldn’t you love to be rich you’d just feel like on top innit,” (Kevin, line 183)*

This future planned identity contrasted greatly to where he actually felt he was;

*“I go out and I have no money and I want some fucking lunch or I want some clothes cos they’re fucking dirty (laughter) I can’t do it can I,” Kevin line 186*

For Jamie individuation came from a sense of moving away from peers both physically not being around them and in terms of his lessening identification with them and with peer culture. Jamie gave an evocative insight into his internal struggle with this change from being caught up with peer culture and then the challenges



that came with trying to move away from it, perhaps driving a need to separate their identities;

*“it all just boils down to what type of person you are its as simple as that that’s the best way to explain YOT depending on what type of person you are is depends on your experience simple as that if you bow like you’re the type who’ll just sort of go with the crowd and you know yeah I don’t know how to explain it properly without someone else being there to sort of like, this is them this is me,” (Jamie, line 323)*

Like Chris, Jamie also talked about changes in his management of his emotions and how he was beginning to learn to cope;

*“I’m learning to deal with sort of a lot of things, growing up,” Jamie line 159*

Structural symbolic interactionism provides a helpful framework for understanding the link between roles, meanings, identities and subculture (Stryker, 1980). Uggen, Manza and Behrens (2004) draw on symbolic interactionist theories of crime to highlight the importance of those forming identities away from criminal ones to find new roles and perform successful ‘role transition’ in order to enable ‘civic reintegration’ (Uggen et al, 2004). Each participant’s navigation of their developing identities was talked about when they were asked about their experiences of engagement with YOS.

Erikson’s (1968) model of identity development considers the role of context in how people’s identity is shaped. His thoughts about development as characterised by psycho-social crisis is interesting to think about when considering how each participant experienced psycho-social crisis in both their journey towards and into YOT. For Erikson (1968) the ‘social’ element of the psycho-social relates to relationships. For Terry and Chris in particular, it is through the relationship with

their YOT worker that they feel able to re-shape their identities. Both participants, and arguably Josh as well, appear to be working towards more socially acceptable identities and perhaps this is acted out and tested out through relationships with significant others, indeed Pittman, Keiley, Kerpelman and Vaughn (2011) when reflecting on Erikson's model, consider there to be an emphasis in the model on "growth and change at the intraindividual level and the reciprocal influences between individual-level growth and relational aspects of functioning" (Pittman et al, 2011, p32).

Some participants' communication of a 'past self' and its relationship with current self parallels what Pittman et al describe as the role of identity in providing a means to focussing on the future; to merge "ones individual development and history, including attachment representations, to ones social and personal goals in the context of a larger culture" (Pittman et al, 2011, p33). For some participants, there was a sense of working on the development of an identity that distances itself from that of 'young offender'. This is in the context of a wider culture that views the identity negatively and continues to perpetuate stigma associated with the identity (Rasmusen, 1996) long after a young person would have done what was required to right the wrong they were seen to have done to society. When thinking about their shaping of 'legitimate' identities, participants consider occupation and work related roles as well as social roles, including roles within their family. For some participants, they had developed a sense of responsibility in their family and saw themselves as responsible for others in their family;

*"my next door neighbour all they do is scream and shout and hear violence and that and I make sure [niece] doesn't see it," (Terry, line 135)*

*"I stick up for my stepbrother the most where they my uncle tries to take the living piss out of him and try to make him do stuff for free," (Terry, line 159)*

For these participants in particular then, it is important to identify themselves as being responsible for the welfare of others in their shaping of their role perhaps in their family and in wider society. In Erikson's model (1968) the dialectic between identity versus role confusion is the psycho-social crisis that he considers to be the priority of adolescence. For him, this is resolved by a coherent sense of the fusion of both negative and positive aspects of the adolescent experience in order to reconceptualise a sense of identity.

Through their relationships with and in relation to significant others, they can try out new identities and see how they 'fit',

Jamie appears to be working on his identity as family man since moving back in with his mum after years of foster placements. Terry is working on his identity as provider and protector after seeing his family struggle financially and being bullied himself in the past. Chris is trying out his 'chatterbox' identity with his YOT worker and beyond after seeing himself as shy, experiencing bullying in the past and losing peer relationships through moving home. Kevin is energised by an identity of wealthy man 'on top' in contrast to his experience now where in relation to society, he is 'near bottom'. Josh finds an identity in relation to his family and the role he has with family members whilst distancing himself from a young offender identity.

For all participants, their identity development is represented as something emerging through exploration; an interweaving of their past experiences, current experiences and goals for the future. For Marcia (1966) identity is achieved when exploration and commitment to an identity have occurred. Some participants

appear to demonstrate commitment while others perhaps are in the exploratory stages. When considering the role of past experience, Pittman et al (2011) considers the similarities between Erikson's and Bowlby's models. Erikson (1968) purports that identity is a psycho-social co-construction shaped through a person relating to an environmental context and the significant others within that. Bowlby introduced us to the concept of an internal working model (Bowlby, 1969); a representation of self, others and the world that is shaped through early relationships and experiences and in turn shapes expectations of future experiences and relationships.

Again, the importance of the early development of trust in relationships with significant others during early years lays the foundation for trust in others in the future, what Erikson (1968) names as a sense of hope in self, others and the world. It is possible that Kevin is finding it difficult to trust in others during the early stages of his YOT engagement because of the development of mistrust of others and this is contributing at least in part to his frantic naming of all the occupations he could have, which perhaps highlights his insecurity in his exploration of what identity he is forming;

*"that's just one idea I could do loads of different shit I dunno I just wanna be rich you know what I mean," (Kevin, line 179)*

in turn creating a fragile sense of hope;

*"it probably I don't know it might never happen like it probably won't like you get what I mean like it doesn't happen to everyone does it," (Kevin, line 217)*

There is a sense in Kevin's transcript that he has learned that he can only trust himself, developing a sense of self sufficiency that perhaps is obstructing his opportunities to learn through experiences with others.

Interestingly, from a social psychological perspective, Cote (1996) shares the concepts of social identity, personal identity and ego identity to denote different forms of identity that are not necessarily competing with each other and can in fact exist at the same time. Cote (1996) introduced the notion of 'identity capital', that is how identity can be traded and transacted day to day in 'identity markets' in modern communities. This is interesting to consider in the context of reflecting on the occupational roles that Jamie, Terry and Kevin are aspiring to move into, in relation to social influences. Jamie, for example shared his disinterest in the bar work that a YOT adviser had investigated for him, believing it would not be a suitable occupation for him. Terry, has interviews for volunteer work and care work and is currently helping his uncle with house clearance work. Kevin, despite having energy about ideas for entrepreneurship is currently painting and decorating seeing it as a non-skilled role;

*"Painting and decorating as a trade isn't something you can really make a lot of money out of is it like anyone can slap some paint on a wall like me, you don't even have to get taught to do that it's not that hard, the first day I go in get told you got to get the scraper, put some water on it, wallpaper, everyone in my class can do it unless you're a spastic," Kevin line 197*

While Terry shared a keenness to acquire the roles he was supported to find, Jamie and Kevin were less enthusiastic, perhaps embodying society's view of these kinds of roles as unskilled or less valuable in the 'identity markets' Cote (1996) conceptualizes. Kevin in particular shared his frustration when asked about how he was being supported to think about job roles;

*"nowhere (laughter) literally I've thought all this myself, all my life you gotta work*

*out what you wanna do your whole life do this or do that alright, I spent four straight months like every day thinking what do I wanna do what do I wanna do flicking through books thinking what do I wanna do. Nothing. Can't think of anything. I picked painting and decorating cos I wanna get my GCSE alright like literally that's it (laughter)," (Kevin, line 207)*

Bosma and Kunnen (2001) theorize key themes have an important role in identity formations; one, the individual's openness versus rigidity to assume an identity and two, the support and opportunities offered by the environment to enable the person to adopt the identity. I would add that an individual's psycho-social perception of the social status of an identity as well as their ability to trust environmental support would have a further impact on openness to take up an identity, with Kevin being an example of how this process can become complex, as his 'intangible' identity capital resources, for example self efficacy, cognitive flexibility and self monitoring act as a current barrier to developing and then committing to an identity or identities. A third theme the authors suggest is the outcome of previous psycho-social crises, how they were resolved and whether development had taken place through them.

A psycho-social interpretation supports what participants talked about, indeed for Grotevant (1987) identity development is a process with exploration and formation of commitments as central. Grotevant (1987) is clear that the process is not one way where young person is solely affected by their environment without their own input being considered as part of the 'transaction';

"at the same time that these contexts affect the identity formation process at every step, it is important to recognise that they in turn are shaped themselves by

individuals' choices within these settings" (Grotevant, 1987, p205).

Kaplan and O'Connor (1993) talk about the importance of the process of working within the stage life event that has triggered the psycho-social crisis. They suggest that the negative qualities of the period require integration with the parts that were 'detached and de-individuated' becoming 'attached and individuated'. These ideas are interesting to build upon for Jamie, who through most of his transcript shared his reflections on detaching himself from his peer group and 'youth offending culture' whilst also integrating his experiences into the identity he was shaping for himself.

There was a sense in his transcript of a psycho-social crisis with his life 'crashing', after which there were periods of exploration, testing out whether he would keep a 'youth offender identity' or commit to moving away from it. Much like Bosma and Kunnen (2001) suggest, this was an iterative process for Jamie;

*"I used to start breaking my tag...first I would come back like 20 minutes late and be like oh sorry I got held up and then it'd be hours and one time I cut it off and disappeared for like a week and a half," (Jamie, line 279)*

*"I got in the wrong crowd again but the sort of the worst that I'd been with...it's just not good like it was sort of watching, it didn't feel like I was doing it I felt like I just had no control its hard to explain," (Jamie, line 277)*

It appears that Jamie is describing an experience that Erikson (1968) named as the pull to "keep themselves together they temporarily overidentify with the heroes of cliques and crowds to the point of an apparently complete loss of individuality" (Erikson, 1968, p312).

Despite the above, from the start of his interview, Jamie expressed how he felt he

was not like his peers or young people in YOT who should be there. This 'externalization of alien self' (Fonagy et al, 2004), rejection of the self he did not want to acknowledge appeared to be a strategy that helped him shape the self he wanted to associate himself with. Fonagy et al (2004) explain that it is challenging in adolescence to accept the similarity that may exist when we judge ourselves against others, and it is perhaps easier to see difference. The importance of working on this in the interest of developing an integrated sense of identity is perhaps because as Erikson describes, "in the social jungle of human existence there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of identity" (Erikson, 1968, p130)

Towards the end of his interview, Jamie had a more integrated perspective; sharing the negative nature of that period while redefining his relationship to it;

*"I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do so I'm like why would you need that like you're 17 you don't need it and that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like ooh I guess I got attracted...from sort of about 12 I was like I said going down the wrong path sort of thing," (Jamie, line 373)*

Winnicott's (1984) work on understanding 'delinquency' has been insightful when thinking about participant changes in identity and perspective. Winnicott hypothesises around feelings of concern and guilt driving reparation, with this being a positive sign of development. This is present in some participant's transcripts. Jamie is concerned with repairing family relationships as is Terry. For Josh there was a sense of repairing his relationship with society through making things right for the victim of his offence;



*“it’s like paying a price for it, like paying a price for what you do,” (Josh, line 17)*

Winnicott (1984) suggests that when a young person begins to accept personal responsibility for the harm they may have done, to accept the ‘destructive’ side of themselves, they are working towards ‘the urge to be constructive’ (Winnicott, 1984) which includes growth in their identity. Indeed, Jamie is clear that he is responsible for the choices he has made despite also being aware of the impact of other influences on his choices;

*“I chose that if you know what I mean I chose to go that way...I had an option to sort of go back again at the boarding school instead I kept going, and I kept going to the point where you crash you’ve got nowhere else to go and this is where you end up,” (Jamie, line 197)*

### **5.3.3 Engagement in personalised intervention**

When talking about their engagement experiences, participants shared their thoughts about what worked for them alongside the significant resistance and avoidance they felt towards YOS.

Each participant’s focus of engagement with YOT was different; it seemed that each intervention was personalised to meet their specific needs, this required an attuned and responsive approach which would involve a holistic understanding of their needs and intended outcomes of engagement.

Jamie noted that developing trust in others, keeping him away from ‘youth offending culture’ and supporting his reintegration into family life were key for him. His YOT worker’s flexible approach worked for him;

*“[YOT worker] does sessions but she does ‘em sort of at a pace instead of just going through everything you’re supposed to do she’ll talk to you to sort of try and help,”*

*(Jamie, line 153)*

Terry was clear that repairing relationships with family, working on managing feelings of anger and looking for work were central for him. Chris reflected on needing to build his confidence in order to develop his social experiences outside of sessions which in turn had a positive impact on his sense of self efficacy outside of sessions at YOT.

*"before the session I didn't really do anything at lunch and break I didn't really have any friends but since then I kind of started gaining the confidence and started hanging out with people...I've made friends there and it's all been very good so if I didn't have the sessions I probably I probably like walk around at lunch just not doing anything," (Chris, line 37)*

While Kevin talked about wanting to think about ideas for work, he did not feel that this was being built into his YOT programme, perhaps having an impact on his engagement with other compulsory elements of his order;

*"I mean like other things it's just like where they talk about trying to be streetwise and that and like other little things I just think I don't need to hear this shit (laughter) or that pump whatever it was smart thinking thing yeah that was a bit that didn't help me at all. All that did was talk about knives the whole time...there's literally not a point," (Kevin, line 77)*

Josh was motivated to work on paying a price for his offence and wanted to reflect on decision making processes that he felt can be useful in life outside of YOT;

*"in my eyes it should've been a massive thing I guess and I wanted to get it sorted I wanted to get on with my life, you know mistake made, lets sort it out," (Josh, line 77)*

An approach that considers a young person's holistic individual psychological and wider social needs (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) requires that a relationship has been built between YOT worker and young person. This enables a young person to be open in sharing what they feel their needs are. This also enables a YOT worker to act responsively to those needs; both psychologically and practically.

For Crittenden (2003), offering 'safety and comfort' through human relationships is an important way to work with young people in her Dynamic-Maturational model. Through taking a strengths approach to making sense of behaviour, she proposes that recognizing "past and present circumstances that elicit problematic behaviour, differentiating behaviour that is adaptive under some conditions from behaviour that is consistently maladaptive, and discovering how an adolescent's behaviour affects other people is central to successful change" (Crittenden, 2003, p43). She states that this is achievable "in the context of relationships with the goal of changing individuals' contribution to relationships as well as the adaptiveness of interpersonal processes" (Crittenden, 2003, p43). This relates to how participants talked about their engagement with YOS by recalling past events and their impact now in the Then's presence in now theme. For Crittenden (2003) it is the way individuals relate to past events that is important; this is because we can only know what people say about the past and the past does not necessarily determine an individual's response to it. This further supports the idea that this can be attended to through their relationship with their YOT worker; by considering perspectives on their past. This is a subtheme that emerged under the theme Then's presence in now. Crittenden (2003) suggests that patterns of attributions of meaning and intent of behaviour, while complex, can be inferred over time through repeated exposure,

in essence through getting to know a young person through a relationship; learning about and supporting their evolving perspectives.

For the four participants who had been involved in YOT for some time, the relationship with their YOT worker offered consistency and reliability which had a positive impact on their engagement. For the participant who had not been involved with YOT for long, this relationship appeared to be in the early stages of development. The trust built through a consistent relationship, as described above, is theorised to have an impact on a young person's openness (Fonagy and Allison, 2014) to take on information and learning shared by the person they are engaging with. Considering attachment theory, it is perhaps helpful to think about *how* the development of a relationship with YOT worker may support or hinder the engagement process. Stern, Saner, Nahum, Harrison, Lyons-Ruth, Morgan, Bruschiweilerstern and Tronick (1998) discuss the 'procedural knowledge of relationships'; something that is implicit, outside of both conscious attention and conscious verbal experience. They call this experience of relationships as 'implicit relational knowing', meaning the interpersonal and intersubjective experience of 'being with' someone. I would argue that it is through this that the participants are able to relate to their YOT worker enough to share their experiences, and in turn, the YOT worker is able to tune into what would be important for each individual young person to work on. Perhaps through this 'implicit relational knowing', they are also able to gauge a young person's capacity to work on something at a given time. Both are responding to their 'implicit relational knowing' in this transaction. There is evidence in the transcripts of a 'hard to consciously verbalise' sense of how their YOT worker was relating to them and what it evoked in them;

*“as I had more sessions...it wasn't like he was working with me he was like he was actually erm having conversations with me and like erm I don't know how to explain it but erm yeah I just feel like as I was talking to him a lot more...I didn't have to worry about him being part of the youth offending team I could see him more like someone else like for example like someone I dunno I dunno how to explain it like I just I talk to him a lot more so he kinda became a lot more like err (sticks tongue out) I really don't know how to explain it,” (Chris, line 86)*

*“They're not, I don't know how to explain it like, police you just sort of don't get on with them cos I suppose its more what they represent...I don't know, I don't know how to explain it, they're just not ahh, can't think of the word (pause) I really can't think of the word to explain it,” (Jamie, line 23)*

Jamie's reflections demonstrate how patterns of relating to others have been embedded over time and impact on the ways that he experiences 'implicit relational knowing' now;

*“it's what I've learned in my 17 years of life, don't trust the wrong people...I don't know how to explain it, you just get a feeling you just, something you're just like yeah something not right about them, I'll either feel completely relaxed or if I feel on edge I dunno how to explain it, I just know they're sort of a more dodgy person, if that makes any sense, I don't know how to explain it, it's just weird, I just get a feeling and I'm like nah, I don't like this,” (Jamie, line 213)*

#### **5.3.4 The function of the structure of YOS**

The experience of the structure of the YOT programme was reflected on by some participants. Jamie appeared to reflect positively on this, feeling that the structure provided a timetable of activity; keeping him occupied and out of trouble. Despite

also feeling similarly to Jamie, Kevin appeared more resistant to fully engaging with the structure of YOT;

*“in the summer and that cos it gave me something to do and err they’re not really very flexible if you know what I mean, the other week er I was like I can’t do this cos I’ve gotta go and do this and like they basically said tough so I just skipped it and now I’ll get one of them things for missing it,” Kevin line 7*

Bion’s (1963) concept of containment has been helpful to consider when thinking about *how* participants talked about their experience of the structure of YOT and what purpose it can serve psychologically as well as practically. For some, the regulatory function of YOT meant that externally imposed timetables were adhered to and served a purpose. Through providing this form of physical containment, psychological containment (Bion, 1963) appeared to become possible through YOT attendance, meeting with and developing a reliable relationship with YOT worker. For Bion (1963) the experience of the maternal figure being able to take in overwhelming and frightening feelings and make sense of them develops the capacity for a young person to be able to do the same for themselves, moving from mutual regulation to self regulation. Bion (1963) purports this to be a necessary foundation for the capacity to think. Young people engaging with YOT arguably are engaging with this process with their YOT worker through the transference and countertransference dynamics between them both; a young person’s application of a past experience of a relationship to the relationship with their YOT worker and the YOT worker’s response to this in terms of their own feelings and thoughts.

The ‘holding’ environment; a concept introduced by Winnicott (1953, 1971) is described as providing the infant with a ‘good enough’ experience in order to

develop healthily. A 'good enough' mother, according to Winnicott, is able to adapt to her infant's needs and over time adapts 'less and less completely' as the infant increases their capability in coping with her failure (Winnicott, 1953). This 'good enough', 'holding' environment appears to be echoed in some experiences of the structure of YOT. This is particularly relevant when considering the subtheme of resistance where participants were avoidant and arguably not yet trusting of YOT. If we follow Winnicott's (1953, 1971, 1984) thinking and apply it to participant's reflections it can be interpreted that when participants such as Jamie and Kevin were provided with what they initially viewed as an imposing, at times inflexible structure, the boundary of the structure gets tested out;

*"I used to start breaking my tag...first I would come back like 20 minutes late and be like oh sorry I got held up and then it'd be hours and one time I cut it off and disappeared for like a week and a half that's when I started getting moved cos it got out of control," (Jamie, line 279)*

*"I missed a couple when that the first ever one...I missed quite a few appointments at the start of that one but then going through into it I missed a couple as well and I had to have an emergency panel meeting and then err I had a possibility of going back to court," (Kevin, line 41)*

Participant's initial resistance could suggest that they require consistency in the structure of YOT as it holds and contains them. In both examples, YOT's structure responded promptly and decisively. This resulted in the experience of the predictability of the structure of YOT which in itself provides a containing function. A subsequent reduction in resistant feelings over time can facilitate increases in feelings of trust as described above; enabling the development of a meaningful

relationship with a YOT worker. Engagement occurs through this relationship and provides the psychological containment and holding that enables the young person to venture further and further into the world with a developed sense of trust in others and the world and an integrated sense of self that has internalised a good object, that is, a good relationship (Klein, 1988a, 1988b).

In thinking specifically about delinquency, Winnicott (1984) describes structure as providing a 'strict father' function and suggests that young people will offend so that they can 're-establish control' through their external environment (Winnicott, 1984).

A psycho-social interpretation could suggest that a young person will act out an internalised role of young offender, for example Jamie removing his tag and breaking his curfew for increasing lengths of time, in order to force 'parents', that is the state, to respond firmly through YOT procedure. Perhaps he is forcing his environment to contain him in unconscious and undeveloped attempts to contain himself.

### **5.3.5 YOS engagement; a window of opportunity**

Considering that all participants in the study were adolescents and that significant changes are aspired to through engagement with YOS, it is helpful to think about the potential window of opportunity that is created through engagement with YOS because of brain plasticity. Crittenden (2003) talks about adolescence being a prime time to provide young people with alternatives to earlier attachment relationships in order to prepare for adult life and effective interpersonal engagement through it. She cites the brain undergoing significant neurological maturation as the first opportunity since the initial 'critical period' of brain development to change the influence that early attachment relationship may have had. According to imaging



studies (Blakemore and Choudhury, 2006), the adolescent brain undergoes significant architectural changes through synaptic reorganisation. This has been proposed to be interpretable as demonstrating that significant developments in executive function and social cognition are taking place. Neuroscience research remains in its infancy and brain imaging research can be open to interpretation as it is difficult to know how changes in brain structure translate in terms of psychological process. Recent findings around the increased brain activity when adolescents undertake mentalizing tasks (Blakemore, 2012) are interesting to consider in the context of the discussion around mentalization in this research. While this area of research is complex, there is confidence in the field that what we know about brain plasticity and brain development in the adolescent period stands us in good stead for facilitating change, particularly for young people engaging with YOS. Indeed “Developmental neuroimaging data also suggest that the brain is still developing during adolescence, and that it is not too late for rehabilitation” (Blakemore, 2012, p404)

### **5.3.6 Developing a psycho-social understanding of what participants talked about**

Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological systems theory provides a framework for considering the role of the social environment in a young person’s development. Mischel’s (1973) cognitive social learning framework provides a model for considering personality as not static or trait based but as an individual “generating diverse behaviours in response to diverse conditions” (Mischel, 1973, p264). Each participant’s interview provided rich narratives about their social experiences; in the family, in their school and in wider society. They described often in poignant detail the reflections they were having on the impact those experiences had on their

development, including its relevance to the 'here and now'.

Personality traits are seen by Mischel (1973) as 'summary terms' comprised of labels, codes and organizing constructs which can change in different situations. Indeed "a viable psychology of personality demands attention to person variables that are the products of the individual's total history and that in turn mediate the manner in which new experiences affect him" (Mischel,1973, p265). This is interesting to consider when interpreting participant's constructions around experiences they have had and also the presentation and potential co-construction of that again in the research encounter. According to Mischel (1973) new environmental learning, when attended to, can be incorporated into cognitive structures. This becomes part of long term memory; retrievable for use as integrated elements of a person's identity. This links back to narratives participants shared about taking on new learning through YOS and developing a new identity. In thinking about how participants talked about personalised interventions meeting individual need, we can refer to Mischel's (1973) thinking about how situations, (for the purpose of the discussion I have interpreted this to include YOS work) "are weak to the degree that they are not uniformly encoded, do not generate uniform expectancies concerning the desired behaviour, do not offer sufficient incentives for its performance, or fail to provide the learning conditions required for successful construction of the behaviour" (Mischel, 1973, p276). According to his framework, a situation i.e. YOS, would need to be personalised in order to reach out to individuals in meaningful and effective ways and work towards outcomes that are valuable to them in order to support change.

Social representation theory (Moscovici, 1961 cited in Wagner 1999; Wagner 1999)

can provide a means of examining psycho-social phenomena and processes “embedded in historical, cultural and macro social conditions” (Wagner et al, 1999, p95). Social representations are “the ensemble of thoughts and feelings being expressed in verbal and overt behaviour of actors which constitutes an object for a social group” (Wagner et al, 1999, p95). Wagner (1999) sees the theory to be social constructivist and ‘discursively oriented approach’ (Wagner, 1999).

This theory is interesting to consider in relation to participants’ talking about their position and role in different cultural groups. Some participants talked about experiencing a strong sense of group with their peers. Applying social representation theory to making sense of this; affiliation with peers is fostered because the shaping of identities is based on shared representations. While this brings group cohesion, this can create real difficulty, as Jamie shared in particular detail, because moving away from the group can impact on the sense of belonging and identity as represented by the group. New representations become accepted into the group identity and become hard to move away from, for example for Jamie, he felt he was becoming involved in crimes of increasing seriousness because the group identity was adding new representations about the crimes the group would engage with. Jamie talked about moving away from those peers and was developing new representations of himself in his family; having moved back in with his mum after a childhood spent in care. Participants appeared to be navigating their narratives with attempts at ‘sense making’; revisiting and reflecting on experiences in their lives when talking about their experience of engagement with YOS. De Jaegher and Froese (2009) propose that sense making is ‘the capacity for the system to enact a world and imbue it with significance from it’s own point of view’ (De Jaegher and

Froese, 2009, p447).

For De Jaegher and Froese (2009) social cognition theory proposes that agents are autonomous but co-produce meaning through embodied and situated interactions, meaning that they can become transformed through interactions with others.

Individuals may try to regulate the interaction but don't necessarily have full control over the process, indeed "Engaging in interaction can provide the agent with new skills' (De Jaegher and Froese, 2009, p451). This is interesting to consider in terms of the skills participants felt that they had learned through engaging with YOS and the ways they took those skills out into the world; "interaction can change him in such a way as to make different things possible outside of that interaction as well' (De Jaegher and Froese, 2009, p453).

#### **5.4. Strengths and limitations**

Applying a psycho-social approach to what participants talked about when asked about their engagement with YOS allowed an exploration of interrelated individual psychological and wider social perspectives. The combination of the GEM and FANI methods allowed free associations to be accessed and dominant narratives to emerge. Using two interviews also enabled participants to become familiar with the interview process and it is hoped, feel more comfortable. This in turn enabled rich descriptions of their experiences. On a group level these emerged as themes and subthemes, providing insights into the preoccupations of participants when they talked about their work with YOS. The preservation of each participant's personal narrative kept the data 'whole', providing a rich picture of participants as people. From this, insights into the connections made between past and present,

contradictions that appeared through the course of the transcripts and social relational influences could be considered.

A limitation of this study could lie in the selection process of participants. It was decided, for ethical and practical reasons that YOT professionals would select potential participants to be offered the opportunity to take part in the study. It is possible that being selected by their YOT worker to take part may have had an influence on participants' associations and narratives, for example they may have felt they were expected to talk about positive aspects of YOS or to discuss the YOT worker who referred them for the research. This could also mean that some participants may have assumed that I would be interested in hearing about what was helpful in their work with YOS, despite being invited to free associate. It is likely that young people who were engaging relatively well with the YOS were invited to take part in the research as they would have been more agreeable to participating than perhaps young people who were not thought to be engaging well with the service. This would mean that the study does not include young people who experience significant difficulties with engagement with YOS.

The study may have benefitted from inclusion of more information about what the participants received in terms of the YOT intervention in order to contextualise some of what they talked about.

## **5.5 Implications**

In terms of implications for educational psychology practice, there are a number of areas where the research has relevance. Firstly, with the changes in the SEN Code of Practice, from September 2014 EPs have increasing involvement in the educational and psychological needs of young people up to the age of 25, EPs also have a key

role in the facilitation of Education, Health and Care plans, the new statutory document which lays out the specialist provision provided for young people experiencing complex difficulties in relation to educational, health and social care needs (Children and Families Act, 2014; Department for Education. Department of Health, 2015). YOTs are able to work with young people up to the age of 18 (there is no lower limit for age), and often present with complex social histories and needs. It is likely that EPs will become increasingly involved in considering these young peoples' education needs and provision within a context of considering wider health and social care needs. EPs working under this framework may find it helpful to consider the findings available from the study and be mindful of them when undertaking assessment, developing hypotheses and designing interventions for young people engaging with YOS. Findings around the significance of a trusting relationship, the focus on forging a new identity, the value of a personalised intervention and the function of YOS structure may be helpful psycho-social insights for EPs to consider when working in YOS. An in-depth understanding of whether these findings also have resonance for other young people engaging with a YOS may be valuable to explore.

Secondly, EPs' continually developing role and their increasing presence in multiagency settings means that what EPs can offer YOS has the potential to be varied, flexible and needs led. The findings of this research have relevance for EPs working in YOTs who are continuing to develop and shape their role, both in the interest of supporting their one to one work as well as to support a more supervisory role of the EP in YOTs. EPs not working in YOTs have the potential to also offer this. EPs offering a supervisory role to non-EP professionals is a precedent that

has been set; both one to one supervision (Dunsmuir, Lang, & Leadbetter, 2015). and group supervision (Bartle & Trevis, 2015; Maxwell, 2013). EPs have the skills, psychological understanding (Health and Care Professions Council, 2012; The British Psychological Society, 2002) and are well placed to support professionals working in local authority YOSs. They can do this by providing a space in which professionals are able to perhaps reflect on the relationship between themselves and a young person. They could also support thinking around young peoples' development of their identity. They can provide a space to reflect on interpretations of young peoples' responses to the structure of YOS. They have the training and skills to supervise professionals working with young people with complex social and psychological needs (Health and Care Professions Council, 2012; The British Psychological Society, 2002) in ways that attends to the professional and emotional dilemmas that this challenging work can evoke.

Thirdly, EPs involved in more strategic roles may find it helpful to draw upon the findings of the study to consider the psycho-social function of some of the YOS structures in place. This consideration may highlight the multifaceted function of some structures that could be considered to provide both practical and psychological support, for example my interpretation that the YOS timetable can provide both 'physical management' and 'psychological containment' functions. Consideration of some of the areas illuminated in the study may support the development of areas of YOS in response to the illumination of young peoples' focus on young peoples' relationships with their YOT worker and psychological work around identity development which may helpfully inform the direction of interventions.

It is also worth considering the implications of this research for other professionals who both work in YOS and in settings with populations of young people with similar needs, such as custodial populations and those at risk of offending. Findings around the the experience of trust in relationships, the focus on forging a new identity, the value of a personalised intervention and the function of YOS structure are all valuable psycho-social insights and could be helpful to apply in these settings in the interest of rehabilitative and preventative work.

### **5.6 Dissemination**

In terms of dissemination, I agreed with the YOS from which I recruited my participants that I would share my research findings and conclusions with them through presentations of my analysis in the context of a team meeting.

In discussion with my participants it was agreed that I would contact them at the end of my research process in order to share findings with them. My sharing of the research findings will involve a discussion of themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the data and is planned for summer 2016.

I also intend to share my findings and conclusions from the research with the local authority educational psychology service. This is planned to take place during a 'Projects and Research' event in July 2016.

### **5.7 Reflections of the researcher**

My psycho-social ontological and epistemological stance in this research has allowed me to explore this area of interest in a way that complements the way I work as a psychologist. The work we do as psychologists is psycho-social; we consider the interrelatedness of the individual psychological and wider social influences when



working with a young person in the interest of change. While each psychologist has their own theoretical emphasis and each piece of psychological work will involve considering the needs of a young person first as much as possible before applying a psychological lens, the complexities of our work are extensive. It has been challenging to try to capture what I am in essence arguing is multifaceted. During the process, frustrations and resistance emerged in response to reducing young people's narratives into themes. While this was temporarily alleviated through the opportunity to compose scenic understandings, the frustration returned when reducing data again into pen portraits. Working within the binary constraints of traditional ontological and epistemological positions was avoided as much as possible through applying a psycho-social approach. Inevitably, constraints of the thesis structure and procedure contained this piece of work in ways I found difficult to always contain myself because of my interest in the area. It was incredibly thought-provoking to consider during research supervision, how similar these feelings of resistance, avoidance and containment were to my participants' feelings as expressed in their interviews and interpreted by me. This demonstrated to me how intertwined the researcher can become in the research process, often without realising. It has been important for me to maintain an awareness of this in the interest of prioritising participant narratives.

### **5.8 Recommendations for future research**

This study explored what participant's talked about when asked about their engagement with YOS. Using free association methods, it found that developing a trusting relationship in YOS, focusing on forging a new identity, personalised

intervention and the YOS structure were all prominent in participants' associations. Preoccupations with the relationship between the 'then and now' were also present. Recommendations for future research would be to undertake similar studies with young people who perhaps may be more difficult to reach and to engage in a piece of research such as this. This could extend our understanding of more resistant and negative feelings that may exist in relation to engagement with YOS, in the interest of supporting change.

Future research exploring and evaluating the impact of the developing role of the EP in YOTs may be helpful. This could highlight EPs' roles in these settings and demonstrate the effectiveness of EP work in these settings, for example in one to one work and more supervisory roles.

Research that combines the experiences of the participant and their YOT worker may be helpful in exploring the intersubjectivity of the engagement process and provide further insights into the qualities present in the relationship.

## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to provide new insights in relation to a group of young people's experiences of engaging with a YOS. These insights can be used by EPs and other professionals to inform their own assessment, hypothesis generation and intervention when working in YOS and with similar populations.

Five young people aged between 13 and 17 years old were recruited to the study from a YOS in a Local Authority in the UK. All were engaging with, or had recently engaged with (within the last 3 months), the YOS. All five participants were initially interviewed using the GEM. Four participants were interviewed again within one to three weeks using the FANI method.

Interview transcripts were analysed in two stages. The first stage involved inductive coding during which four themes emerged; Transformative relationship with YOT worker, Identity transformation, Engaging and Then's presence in now.

Scenic understandings were composed as the second, deductive stage of analysis. This provided an interpretation of dominant psycho-social narratives that were experienced in participants' transcripts.

In consideration of the themes and each individual participant's narratives, the discussion explored these areas in relation to existing literature; Trust in relationships; past and present, Developing an identity distanced from a past self, Engagement in personalised intervention, The function of the structure of YOS, YOS engagement; a window of opportunity and Developing a psycho-social understanding of what participants talked about.

There are a number of potential implications that professionals can consider when working with young people attending YOS and similar populations. For EPs and their multiagency colleagues, the study has illuminated particular areas that it may be helpful to focus on when engaging with a young person in YOS. Further, for EPs working both inside and outside YOS, the development of a supervisory role for YOT workers who are building relationships with young people may be helpful in supporting the potential focus on complex psycho-social intervention described. Strategic consideration in terms of the emphasis in the focus of YOT intervention, for example supporting the development of a genuine relationship between YOT worker and young person could also be helpful.

The strengths of this study are the richness of data collected through ways that were accessible to young people and the detailed exploration using two stages of analysis. The limitations of this study are the selection process of participants and underdeveloped use of the researcher's own responses in the analysis.

Recommendations for future research are to undertake similar studies with young people who are having difficulties with the engagement experience. Research evaluating, for example the EP role may be helpful. For example, if EPs are providing supervision to YOT colleagues, an evaluation of the impact of this for both professionals and young people engaging with YOT may provide information about whether that kind of intervention is indicated. Finally, research that combines the experiences of young people engaging with YOS and their YOT worker may be helpful to develop our understanding of the intersubjective nature of the engagement process further.

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## 8. Appendices

### Appendix A. Tavistock Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC) approval letter

The Tavistock and Portman   
NHS Foundation Trust

Quality Assurance & Enhancement  
Directorate of Education & Training  
Tavistock Centre  
120 Belsize Lane  
London  
NW3 5BA

Tel: 020 8938 2548  
Fax: 020 7447 3837  
[www.tavi-port.org](http://www.tavi-port.org)

Janchai King  
Flat 2  
29 Ferme Park Road  
London  
N4 4EB

25<sup>th</sup> March 2015

**Re: Research Ethics Application**

***Title: Young people's experiences of engaging with Youth Offending Services***

Dear Janchai,

I am pleased to inform you that subject to formal ratification by the Trust Research Ethics Committee your application has been approved.

If you have any further questions or require any clarification do not hesitate to contact me.

I am copying this communication to your supervisor.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely



Louis Taussig

Secretary to the Trust Research Ethics Committee

Cc: Dr Judith Mortell

## Appendix B. Local Authority permission to conduct research

Tavistock and Portman Trust  
Research Ethics Committee (TREC)  
120 Belsize Lane  
London  
NW3 5BA

Friday 6<sup>th</sup> February 2015

Dear Institutional Review Board

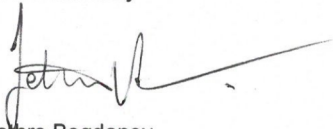
Re: Letter of permission to conduct research

The purpose of this letter is to inform you that I give Janchai King permission to conduct the research entitled 'A psychosocial exploration of young people's experiences of engagement with youth offending teams' at Essex Youth Offending Service, and that Essex Youth Offending Service is prepared to assist Ms King in the identification and recruitment of suitable participants to assist her in her research activities.

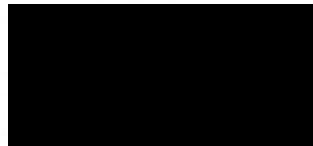
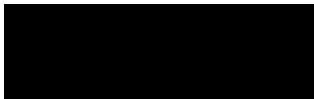
This also serves as assurance that this service complies with requirements of the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) and the Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA) and local safeguarding and child protection arrangements made under the Essex Safeguarding Children Board (ESCB) and will ensure that these requirements are followed in the conduct of this research.

Finally, please do not hesitate to get in touch for any further enquiries.

Yours sincerely



Jethro Bogdanov  
Education, Training and Employment Manager



## Appendix C. Participant information sheets

The Tavistock and Portman   
NHS Foundation Trust

### Information Sheet

#### **Title: Young people's experiences of Youth Offending Services**

**Who is doing the research?** My name is Jan King and I am doing an Educational Psychology course. I am doing this research as a part of my course.

**Would you like to take part in research?** I want to invite you to do my research. Before you decide if you want to, you need to understand what it is about and what I am asking you to do. Please take time to read the information carefully and decide whether or not you want to take part.

**What is the aim of the research and who can take part?** I want to find out about young people's experiences of working with Youth Offending Services (YOS). I am looking for young people who are working with YOS and can talk with me about their experiences of working with YOS.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?** There is not much research about young people's experience of working with YOTs. What you say is important because my research is all about young people's experiences. Everyone who takes part will get a voucher as a thank you for travel and time.

**Do I have to take part?** **No.** You do not have to; it is up to you to decide. You are free to stop doing the research at any time. This will not affect any work you are doing with the YOS.

**Who has given permission for this research?** The YOS has given me permission and The Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust (where I am training) have given me permission too.

**What will happen to me if I take part?** You will be invited to come and meet me at YOS buildings or your school. When we meet, I will explain what we will do and we will talk for a short time (no longer than 30 minutes) about your first thoughts about your experiences of working with the YOT. About a week after we first meet, we will meet again to think a bit more (no longer than an hour). I would like to make audio recordings of our meetings to help me remember and think about things that were said during them. The recordings will be stored using password-protected software. You can ask for the recordings to be stopped or deleted at any time and they will be deleted once I have typed them up.

**What will happen to the findings from the research?** I will write it up as part of my course. I will share some findings with the YOS so they hear about young people's experiences. I might also share the findings with other

professionals working with young people. I want to tell you about what I write up if you would like. We can decide how you would like to know about the findings such as me explaining them to you in person or me sending them to you.

**What will happen if I don't want to carry on with this research?** You can change your mind at any time and if you want to stop. Any research data collected before you stop might be used, unless you ask for it to be destroyed. If it has already been anonymised then I will not be able to remove your data and it will not be traceable to anyone, including me.

**Will my information be kept confidential? Yes.** I will follow the law (Data Protection Act, 1998), so all information about you will be confidential and stored properly. Your name will be changed to a pseudonym (made up name) to protect your identity. The data will be kept for a minimum of 5 years.

**Are there times when my information cannot be kept confidential?** If you tell me something that makes me worry about your safety or someone else then I might have to share that with others to keep you or someone else safe. I would always aim to talk with you first. Because I am meeting with 6 to 8 young people, there is a chance you might recognise some of the things you said. To protect your identity, your name will be a pseudonym (a made up name) so that others are less able to recognise you and what you said.

**For more information and contact details, please turn over**

If you have any questions or concerns about any aspect of the research, please contact me:

Email: [JKing@tavi-port.nhs.uk](mailto:JKing@tavi-port.nhs.uk)

Telephone: 07740901478

**If you have any concerns about the research then you can contact Louis Taussig who works for the Tavistock and Portman research department. His contact details are:**

Email: [ltaussig@tavi-port.nhs.uk](mailto:ltaussig@tavi-port.nhs.uk)

Telephone: 020 7435 7111





**Parent Information Sheet****Title: Young people's experiences of Youth Offending Services****Who is doing the research?**

My name is Jan King and I am studying a course in Educational Psychology. I am doing this piece of research as a part of my course.

**Would your child like to take part in research?**

I would like to invite your child to take part in my research study. Before you decide whether you would like to give permission for your child to take part, I will explain what the research would involve. Please take time to read the information carefully and decide whether or not you wish for your child to take part.

**What is the aim of the research and who can take part?**

I want to find out about young people's experiences of working with Youth Offending Services (YOS). I am looking for young people who are working with YOS and can talk with me about their experiences of working with YOS.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

There is not much research that looks at how young people experience working with YOTs. Your child's opinions and thoughts are really important for my research because it is all about young people's experiences.

**Who has given permission for this research?**

The YOS has given me permission to do this research with young people who would like to take part. The training institution that I am studying at is called the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust and they have given me ethical approval to do the research.

**Does my child have to take part?**

Your child does not have to take part, and it is up to you both to decide. Your child would be free to withdraw (stop taking part in the research) at any time, without giving a reason. This will not affect any work they are doing with the YOS now or in the future.

**What will happen to my child if they take part?**

They will be invited to come and meet me at the YOT they usually go to. On the first day that we meet, I will explain what we will do and we will talk for a short time (no longer than 30 minutes) about their first thoughts about their experiences of working with the YOT. About a week after we first meet, we will meet again to think a bit more (no longer than an hour) about their first thoughts and if they have had any thoughts since. I would like to make audio recordings of our meetings to help me remember and think about things that were said during them. The recordings will be stored anonymously, using password-protected software. Your child can ask for the recordings to be stopped or deleted at any time. The recordings will be deleted once I have typed them up.

### **What will happen to the findings from the research?**

The findings will be typed up and will make up my thesis which will be part of my Educational Psychology qualification. I will share some of the findings with the YOS so that they find out about what young people's experiences are and there might be times where I share the findings with other professionals working with young people. I would like to tell you about the findings of the research if you would like. We can talk about the ways in which you would like to know about the findings such as me explaining them to you in person or me sending them to you.

### **What will happen if my child doesn't want to carry on with this research?**

Your child can change their mind at any time and if they want to stop, they can at any time without explaining why. Any research data collected before their withdrawal may still be used, unless they request that it is destroyed. If it has reached the point that it has been anonymised to the point that I can no longer retrieve the data I will not be able to remove the data and it will not be traceable to anyone, including me.

### **Will what my child talks about be kept confidential?**

**Yes.** I will follow ethical and legal practice and all information about your child will be handled in confidence. All information that is collected will be kept strictly confidential. All records related to your child's participation in this research study will be handled and stored appropriately. Your child's identity on these records will be indicated by a pseudonym rather than by their name. The data will be kept for a minimum of 5 years. Data collected during the study will be stored and used in compliance with the UK Data Protection Act (1998).

### **Are there times when my child's data cannot be kept confidential?**

If your child tells me something that makes me concerned about their safety or the safety of someone else then I might have to share that information with others in order to keep them or someone else safe. However, I would always aim to discuss this with your child first when possible. Because I am meeting with between 6 to 8 young people, there is a chance that your child may recognise some of the things they said in my research. To protect your child's identity, their name will be a pseudonym so that others are less likely to be able to recognise them and what they said.

### **Further information and contact details**

If you have any questions or concerns about any aspect of the research, please contact me: Email: [JKing@tavi-port.nhs.uk](mailto:JKing@tavi-port.nhs.uk) Telephone: 07740901478

**If you have any concerns about the research then you can contact Louis Taussig who works for the Tavistock and Portman research department. His contact details are:** Email: [ltaussig@tavi-port.nhs.uk](mailto:ltaussig@tavi-port.nhs.uk)  
Telephone: 020 7435 7111



**Participant Consent Form****Title: Young people's experiences of Youth Offending Services**

**Please initial the statements below if you agree with them**

**Initial here**



1. I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the chance to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
3. I agree to participate in the research.
4. I agree for my interviews to be recorded.
5. I understand that my data will be anonymised using a pseudonym and that this is done to protect my identity as much as possible.
6. I understand that my interviews will be used for this research and cannot be accessed for any other purposes.
7. I understand that the only time where my confidential data might be shared is when there is an issue of safety around me or somebody else.
8. I understand that the research will be written up as a thesis which means it can be accessed through libraries and that it will be shared with professionals who work with young people.


➤ **If you do want to participate, please sign your name below:**

Your name.....Signed.....Date...../...../.....

➤ **As the researcher who explained this research, I need to sign my name too:**

Researcher name...**Jan King**.....Signed.....Date...../...../.....

**Thank you for your help.**

**Appendix F. Participant assent form**

**Participant Assent Form (under 16)**

**Title: Young people’s experiences of Youth Offending Services**

**Please initial the statements below if you agree with them**

**Initial here**



1. I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the chance to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
3. I agree to participate in the research.
4. I agree for my interviews to be recorded.
5. I understand that my data will be anonymised using a pseudonym and that this is done to protect my identity as much as possible.
6. I understand that my interviews will be used for this research and cannot be accessed for any other purposes.
7. I understand that the only time where my confidential data might be shared is when there is an issue of safety around me or somebody else.
8. I understand that the research will be written up as a thesis which means it can be accessed through libraries and that it will be shared with professionals who work with young people.


➤ **If you do want to participate, please sign your name below:**

Your name.....Signed.....Date...../...../.....

➤ **As the researcher who explained this research, I need to sign my name too:**

Researcher name...**Jan King**.....Signed.....Date...../...../.....

**Thank you for your help.**

**Appendix G. Parent/legal guardian consent form**

**Parent/Legal Guardian Consent Form (under 16)**

**Title: Young people’s experiences of Youth Offending Services**

**Please initial the statements below if you agree with them**

**Initial here**



1. I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the chance to ask questions.
2. I understand that my child’s participation is voluntary and he/she is free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
3. I agree to my child participating in the research.
4. I agree for my child’s interviews to be recorded.
5. I understand that my child’s data will be anonymised using a pseudonym and that this is done to protect their identity as much as possible.
6. I understand that my child’s interviews will be used for this research and cannot be accessed for any other purposes.
7. I understand that the only time where my child’s confidential data might be shared is when there is an issue of safety around my child or somebody else.
8. I understand that the research will be written up as a thesis which means it can be accessed through libraries and that it will be shared with professionals who work with young people.


➤ **If you agree to your child taking part, please sign your name below:**

Your name.....Signed.....Date...../...../.....

➤ **As the researcher who explained this research, I need to sign my name too:**

Researcher name...**Jan King**.....Signed.....Date...../...../.....

**Thank you for your help.**

## Appendix H. Inclusion and exclusion process from literature searching

Table 1. 76 articles included after two initial database searches

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
Associations between psychotic symptoms and substance use in young offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Mental health, educational and social needs of young offenders in custody and in the community.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
'In two minds'—Socially motivated self-harm is perceived as less serious than internally motivated: A qualitative study of youth justice staff.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Factors associated with self-harm in community-based young offenders: The importance of psychological variables.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Community-based forensic child and adolescent mental health services in England, Scotland and Wales: A national mapping exercise.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Perception of need and barriers to access: The mental health needs of young people attending a youth offending team in the UK.	
Distress, defiance or adaptation? A review paper of at-risk mental health states in young offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Recent advances in the development of screening tools for mental health in young offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Mental health needs of young offenders in custody and in the community.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
Mental health provision for young offenders: Service use and cost.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Using ASSET data for mental health research on young offenders: Issues and implications for researchers.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Young offenders and mental health.	International review of literature not specific to UK and does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams.
The mental health of young people attending a Youth Offending Team: A descriptive study.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Psychiatric morbidity among young offenders in England and Wales.	Paper focuses on young offenders in custody
Health needs of young offenders.	
Perceptions of staff on embedding speech and language therapy within a youth offending team.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Young offenders' emotion recognition dysfunction across emotion intensities: Explaining variation using psychopathic traits, conduct disorder and offense severity.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Screening with young offenders with an intellectual disability.	Paper focuses on young offenders in custody
Shameless yet angry: Shame and its relationship to anger in male young offenders and undergraduate controls.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Amnesia for violent crime among young offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams



Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
Intrusive memories and ruminations related to violent crime among young offenders: Phenomenological characteristics.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Intellectual Ability in Adolescents With Conduct Disorder.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Young Offenders' Emotion Recognition Dysfunction Across Emotion Intensities: Explaining Variation Using Psychopathic Traits, Conduct Disorder and Offense Severity.	Paper is a duplication
Teenagers under the knife: A decivilising process.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Young Men as Victims and Perpetrators of Violence in Northern Ireland: A Qualitative Analysis.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Radical/critical social work with young offenders: Challenges and possibilities.	
Young offenders' experiences of traumatic life events: A qualitative investigation.	
The psycho-social needs of young offenders and adolescents from an inner city area.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Psycho-social influences that motivate young offenders to engage in a non-custodial community intervention.	
An interpretative phenomenological analysis and repertory grid exploration of anger in young offenders.	Paper focuses on young offenders in custody



Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
The Good Lives Model—New directions for preventative practice with children?	Paper does not look specifically at YOT work
Self-determination in rehabilitation: A qualitative case study of three young offenders on community orders.	
Diversion in youth justice: A pilot study of effects on self-reported mental health problems.	Paper does not look specifically at YOT work
The long term recidivism risk of young sexual offenders in England and Wales—Enduring risk or redemption?	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
'You have to do it for yourself': Responsibilization in youth justice and young people's situated knowledge of youth justice practice.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Multisystemic therapy for young offenders: Families' experiences of therapeutic processes and outcomes.	
'A randomized controlled trial of multisystemic therapy and a statutory therapeutic intervention for young offenders'	
Family group conferences in youth justice.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
The policing of young offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Schools, pupil behaviour and young offenders: Using postcode classification to target behaviour support and crime prevention programmes.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
Working with a Youth Offending Team: Personal perspectives on challenges and opportunities for the practice of educational psychology.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
The politics of risk and young offenders' experiences of social exclusion and restorative justice.	
Partnership in Working with Young Offenders with Substance Misuse Problems.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
The effectiveness of the juvenile justice system.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Restorative Justice - Is More Better? The Experience of Police-led Restorative Cautioning Pilots in Northern Ireland.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Responding to Youth Crime in Scotland.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
ISSP: An Experiment in Multi-Systemic Responses to Persistent Young Offenders Known to Children's Services.	
Evidence, effectiveness and groupwork developments in youth justice.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
The persistent offenders debate: A focus on temporal changes.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
No place for children: A case for the abolition of child imprisonment in England and Wales.	Paper focuses on young offenders in custody

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
The role of sanctions in intensive support and rehabilitation: rhetoric, rationalities and realities.	
New occupations in community justice: inventing the professional curriculum for community safety and anti social behaviour officers.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Professional education in youth justice	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
A research basis for addressing youth offending on the Broadland 'Stairway out of crime' programme.	
An Inter-agency Assessment Framework for Young People Who Sexually Abuse: Principles, Processes and Practicalities.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Systematic review and meta-analysis of interventions relevant for young offenders with mood disorders, anxiety disorders, or self-harm.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Review of Persistent young offenders. An evaluation of two projects.	Book review not paper
Review of RU listenin? Helping defiant men to recognise their true potential.	Book review not paper
Review of The mental health needs of young offenders: Forging paths toward reintegration and rehabilitation.	Book review not paper
Review of ISSP: The Initial Report.	Book review not paper
Review of Integrating Victims in Restorative Youth Justice.	Book review not paper

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
Understanding young offenders' experiences of drinking alcohol: An interpretative phenomenological analysis.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Young people in coerced drug treatment: Does the UK Drug Intervention Programme provide a useful and effective service to young offenders?	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Predictors of injurious assault committed during or after drinking alcohol: A case-control study of young offenders.	Paper focuses on young offenders in custody
Overcoming the challenges of researching 'young offenders': Using assisted questionnaires—A research note.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Making sense of Tom: Seeing the reparative in restorative justice.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Criminological ethnography: risks, dilemmas and their negotiation.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
(En)gendering responsibilities: Experiences of parenting a 'young offender.'	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Childhood Experiences of Parenting and Causal Attributions for Criminal Behavior Among Young Offenders and Non-Offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Perceived Parental Care and Supervision: Relations With Cognitive Representations of Future Offending in a Sample of Young Offenders.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
The National Troubled Families Programme.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
How the News was Made: The Anti-Social Behaviour Day Count, Newsmaking Criminology and the Construction of Anti-Social Behaviour.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
A Structural Modelling Approach to Predict Adolescent Offending Behaviour from Family, School and Community Factors.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Childhood, Agency and Youth Justice.	
Holding Parents to Account: Tough on Children, Tough on the Causes of Children?	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams
Youth offending and youth transitions: the power of capital in influencing change.	Paper does not look at young people's work with youth offending teams

Table 2. Further search on 05.11.2015 resulting in a further 4 papers

Article title	Reason for exclusion if excluded
Psycho-social influences that motivate young offenders to engage in a non-custodial community intervention.	Duplication from previous search
Scaling it down? A study to identify how 16+ young offenders across Leicestershire engage with education, training or employment.	
A different kind of evidence? Looking for 'What Works' in engaging young offenders.	
Daring to engage: Psychoanalysis for Young Offenders in a Unit based therapy programme.	Paper does not look at YOT work specifically

Table 3. 13 articles included in the literature review

Article title	Area paper contributes to	Methodology
Walsh, J., Scaife, V., Notley, C., Dodsworth, J., & Schofield, G. (2011). Perception of need and barriers to access: The mental health needs of young people attending a Youth Offending Team in the UK. <i>Health &amp; social care in the community</i> , 19(4), 420-428.	Young people engaging with YOT and their perceptions around accessing services	Mixed method
Anderson, L., Vostanis, P., & Spencer, N. (2004). Health needs of young offenders. <i>Journal of Child Health Care</i> , 8(2), 149-164	Young people engaging with YOT and their perceptions around accessing services	Quantitative

Rogowski, S. (2014). Radical/critical social work with young offenders: challenges and possibilities. <i>Journal of Social Work Practice</i> , 28(1), 7-21.	Discusses approaches to working with young people referred to youth offending services	Discussion paper
Paton, J., Crouch, W., & Camic, P. (2009). Young offenders' experiences of traumatic life events: a qualitative investigation. <i>Clinical child psychology and psychiatry</i> , 14(1), 43-62.	Explores young people's perceptions around and experiences of intervention	Qualitative
Brooks, M., & Khan, R. (2015). Psychosocial influences that motivate young offenders to engage in a non-custodial community intervention. <i>The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry &amp; Psychology</i> , 26(3), 351-367.	Investigates factors that influence motivation to engage with interventions	Quantitative
Millward, L., & Senker, S. (2012). Self-determination in rehabilitation: a qualitative case study of three young offenders on community orders. <i>The British Journal of Forensic Practice</i> , 14(3), 204-216.	Young people's experience of engagement and accessing services	Qualitative
Butler, S., Baruch, G., Hickey, N., & Fonagy, P. (2011). A randomized controlled trial of multisystemic therapy and a statutory therapeutic intervention	Measuring intervention outcomes	Quantitative

<p>for young offenders. <i>Journal of the American Academy of Child &amp; Adolescent Psychiatry</i>, 50(12), 1220-1235.</p>		
<p>Gray, P. (2005). The politics of risk and young offenders' experiences of social exclusion and restorative justice. <i>British Journal of Criminology</i>, 45(6), 938-957.</p>	<p>Young people's perceptions and experiences around intervention</p>	<p>Discussion paper</p>
<p>Little, M., Kogan, J., Bullock, R., &amp; Van Der Laan, P. (2004). ISSP An Experiment in Multi-Systemic Responses to Persistent Young Offenders Known to Children's Services. <i>British Journal of Criminology</i>, 44(2), 225-240.</p>	<p>Measuring intervention outcomes</p>	<p>Quantitative</p>
<p>Flint, J. (2011). The role of sanctions in intensive support and rehabilitation: Rhetoric, rationalities and realities. <i>British Journal of Community Justice</i>, 9(1/2), 55.</p>	<p>Paper discusses young people's engagement with and access to services</p>	<p>Discussion paper</p>
<p>Smith, R. (2009). Childhood, agency and youth justice. <i>Children &amp; society</i>, 23(4), 252-264.</p>	<p>Discusses approaches to interventions with young people involved with the youth justice system</p>	<p>Discussion paper</p>
<p>Prior, D., &amp; Mason, P. (2010). A different kind of evidence? Looking for 'what works' in engaging</p>	<p>Discusses literature around young people's engagement with services and gaps in literature</p>	<p>Discussion paper</p>



young offenders. <i>Youth Justice</i> , 10(3), 211-226.		
Knight, V. (2012). Scaling it down? A Study to Identify How 16+ Young Offenders across Leicestershire Engage with Education, Training or Employment.	Looks at relationship between engagement with ETE and ASSET scores	Quantitative

## Appendix I. Critical appraisals of research studies included in the literature review

Mixed methods study critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Walsh, J., Scaife, V., Notley, C., Dodsworth, J., & Schofield, G. (2011). Perception of need and barriers to access: The mental health needs of young people attending a Youth Offending Team in the UK. *Health & social care in the community*, 19(4), 420-428.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?			
2. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?			
3. Is a mixed methodology appropriate? Did the researchers describe the qual/quant relationship?			
4. Are the results of the study reported clearly?			
5. Have the authors identified all important confounding factors?			
6. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?			
7. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?			
8. Have the authors conveyed how precise the results are? Is there a clear statement of findings?			
9. How valuable is the research?			
10. Can the results be applied to the local population?			

Quantitative study critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Anderson, L., Vostanis, P., & Spencer, N. (2004). Health needs of young offenders. *Journal of Child Health Care*, 8(2), 149-164.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?			
2. Was the cohort recruited in an acceptable way?			
3. Was the exposure accurately measured to minimise bias?			
4. Was the outcome accurately measured to minimise bias?			
5. Have the authors identified all important confounding factors?			
6. Are the results of the reported clearly?			
7. Have the authors conveyed how precise the results are?			
8. Do you believe the results?			
9. Can the results be applied to the local population			

Qualitative study critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Paton, J., Crouch, W., & Camic, P. (2009). Young offenders' experiences of traumatic life events: a qualitative investigation. *Clinical child psychology and psychiatry*, 14(1), 43-62.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?			
2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?			
3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?			
4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?			
5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?			
6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?			
7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?			
8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?			
9. Is there a clear statement of findings?			
10. How valuable is the research?			

Quantitative study critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Brooks, M., & Khan, R. (2015). Psychosocial influences that motivate young offenders to engage in a non-custodial community intervention. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 26(3), 351-367.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?			
2. Was the cohort recruited in an acceptable way?			
3. Was the exposure accurately measured to minimise bias?			
4. Was the outcome accurately measured to minimise bias?			
5. Have the authors identified all important confounding factors?			
6. Are the results of the reported clearly?			
7. Have the authors conveyed how precise the results are?			
8. Do you believe the results?			
9. Can the results be applied to the local population			

Qualitative study critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Millward, L., & Senker, S. (2012). Self-determination in rehabilitation: a qualitative case study of three young offenders on community orders. *The British Journal of Forensic Practice*, 14(3), 204-216.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?			
2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?			
3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?			
4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?			
5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?			
6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?			
7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?			
8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?			
9. Is there a clear statement of findings?			
10. How valuable is the research?			

Randomised Control Trial critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Butler, S., Baruch, G., Hickey, N., & Fonagy, P. (2011). A randomized controlled trial of multisystemic therapy and a statutory therapeutic intervention for young offenders. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 50(12), 1220-1235.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?			
2. Were the participants randomised?			
3. Were the participants and researchers blinded?			
4. Were the groups similar at the start of the trial?			
5. Aside from the experimental intervention were the groups treated equally?			
6. Were all of the participants who entered the trial properly accounted for at its conclusion?			
7. Was the size of the effect clearly communicated?			
8. Have the authors conveyed how precise the estimate of the effect was?			
9. Can the results be applied in the current research context?			
10. Were all clinically important outcomes considered?			

Randomised Control Trial critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Little, M., Kogan, J., Bullock, R., & Van Der Laan, P. (2004). ISSP An Experiment in Multi-Systemic Responses to Persistent Young Offenders Known to Children's Services. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44(2), 225-240.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?			
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9. Can the results be applied in the current research context?			
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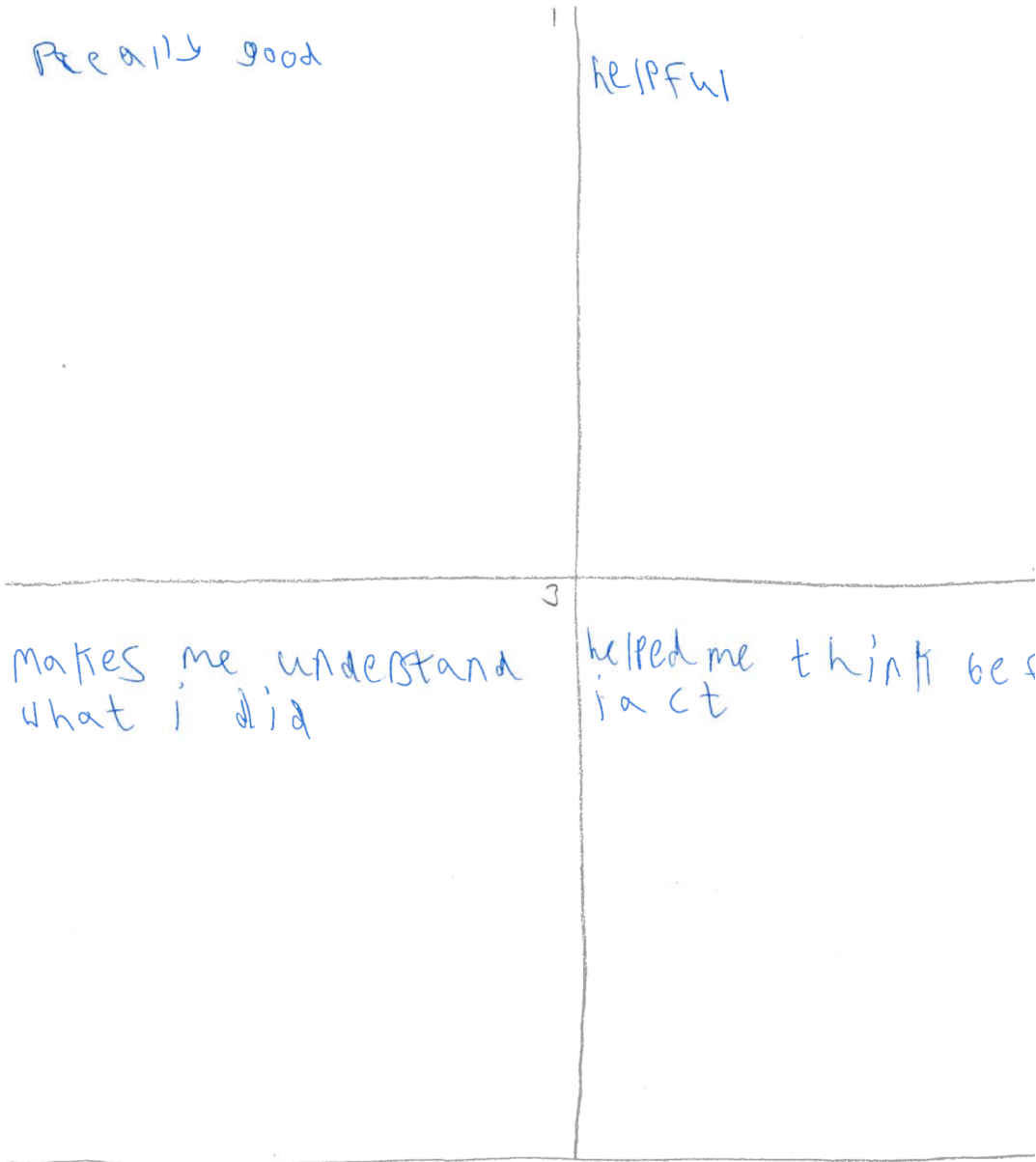


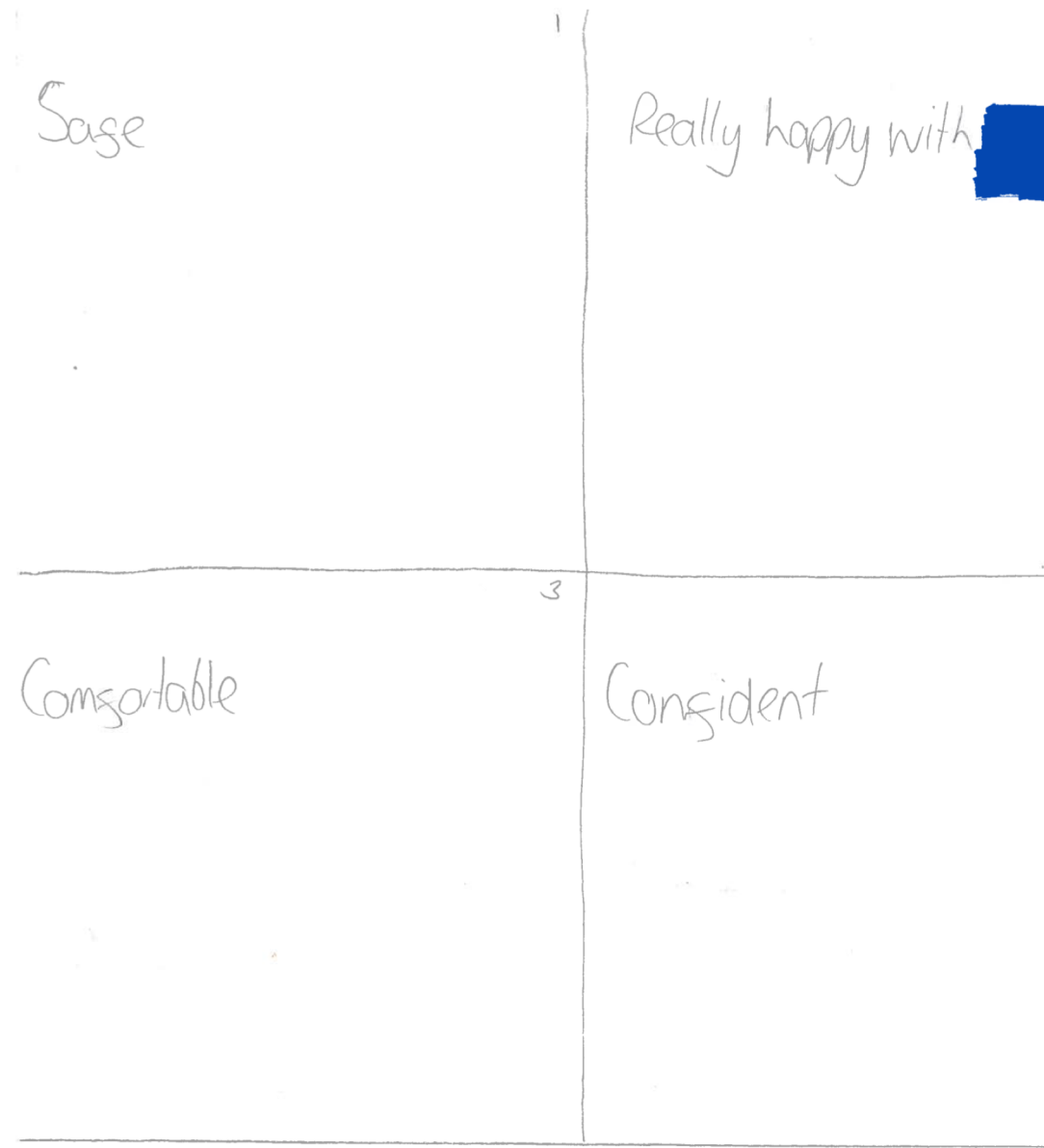
Quantitative study critical appraisal based on the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP).

Paper: Knight, V. (2012). Scaling it down? A Study to Identify How 16+ Young Offenders across Leicestershire Engage with Education, Training or Employment.

CASP question	Yes	Can't tell	No
1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue?			
2. Was the cohort recruited in an acceptable way?			
3. Was the exposure accurately measured to minimise bias?			
4. Was the outcome accurately measured to minimise bias?			
5. Have the authors identified all important confounding factors?			
6. Are the results of the reported clearly?			
7. Have the authors conveyed how precise the results are?			
8. Do you believe the results?			
9. Can the results be applied to the local population			

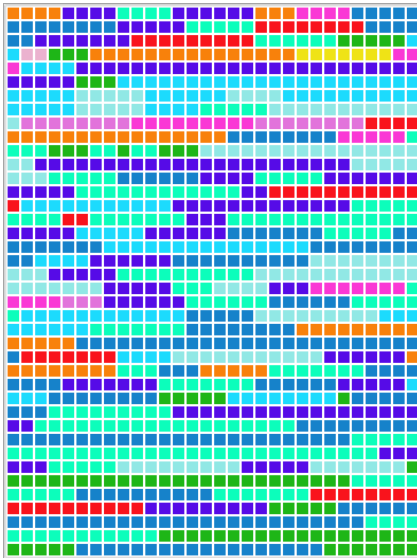
Appendix J. 2 examples of Grid Elaboration Method data capture (Terry and Chris)





## Appendix K. Scenic understanding analysis for each participant

### Jamie's document portrait from MAXQDA colour codes: scenes within a scene transcript overview



#### Brief reflexive account:

As I met Jamie, he threw himself on the low fabric seats, tired and dishevelled, explaining that he had been to a party late the night before. He was dressed in a jumper and jogging bottoms, this reminded me of the clothes worn by young people in the prison I worked in before. Jamie was not very impressed about not being made aware of my visiting him on the day I did; I felt irritated on his behalf that he had not been told but also wondered if he had been told but had forgotten. I offered that he come another day to do the GEM interview hoping that he would say he was willing to do it today. His being let down by not being told by my visit becomes increasingly relevant when Jamie begins to share his experiences around not being able to trust others, particularly professionals who he has experienced as untrustworthy in the past. The more I learn of these events the more I sympathise and feel protective of him. I feel the need to be overly transparent in my interview, for example when the window swings open I ask him about confidentiality, wanting to prove that I am a trustworthy professional.

Jamie hoped to complete his order soon; his YOT worker had told him he might finish earlier than expected. He also shared that he had moved back in with his mum after years of being in care. Again a feeling of being protective emerges for me when he talks about his mum and the relationship they are repairing. I find myself seeing him as the young boy of 9 taken into care, deprived in many ways and injustices done to him that were no fault of his own. Just before the GEM session started, Jamie had been provided with some sheets about jobs in a pub. At the end of the session he walked away without the sheets. When asked, he said dismissively that pub roles were not what he was looking for. I found this a little irritating as he did not seem grateful for the efforts others were making to find him work. Reflecting on what he had said about his experiences of professionals through his life it also made some sense that he might not be grateful.

## GEM

1. Structure
2. It will put you off wanting to come back
3. Staff and that, they're quite alright
4. Travelling

**Structure** was Jamie's first association with YOT; this emerged as the boundaries of place and time; having to be certain places at certain times, 'like a school day' he said. He also associated 'structure' with seeing his YOT worker; the structure that seeing the same person each session provides. Structure was seen as a mediator in keeping him away from crime. He also associated YOT with other young people he met there; **it will put you off wanting to come back** because he found peer relationships difficult. This pervades his entire transcript. Another association was; **staff and that, they're quite alright**. From this he began sharing his mistrust of professionals which again is something that runs through the transcript. It was at this point that he began to share that he had moved back to his mum's, leaving me curious about what the story was there.

## FANI

His associations as the GEM interview ended shaped the way we began FANI; I was drawn to finding out more. His narrative was of a scene of family upheaval and distress, described pragmatically; 'dad was a dick', 'sister was hit by a car', 'mum was in and out of court for my brother', 'mum had a new baby', 'mum had a breakdown and was drinking'. 'I got taken into care and came back when I was 16'. There was an association with 'not caring'; that he had nothing to lose when in foster care; he'd already lost his family. He contrasted this to feeling different now that he is at home and the distinction between a chaotic 'then' and a calmer 'now' is something that is revisited through the whole transcript. The 'now' holds a sense of safety, security and reduced anxiety through being at home as 'worries are gone'. Threat lies in the scene of no locks, fire hazards, things going missing; this was the past.

His narrative of past dishonesty of professionals and peers, for him, shaped the experience of not being able to trust others. It also fed into thoughts he built about himself; that it was because he was a 'trouble child' that he was taken into care. A mistrust of professionals contrasts with his relationship with his YOT worker as he describes feeling 'relaxed' with her and that she is responsive to his needs which shapes the way they work together. He described being a 'closed' person before; there is a sense of movement from the past to the present and the progress that has taken place by being able to talk things through with his YOT worker, 'learning to deal with things' and 'growing up'. Through the relationship he has moved on from 'closed' and growth has been facilitated.

A striking scene portrays how he 'ended up in a boarding school for people with Asperger's, anger problems'. He described being bullied in that setting for being an outsider; 'being in care and not being from the area and all of that stuff just everything, what I wore, what I said, how I talk about and erm yeah I sort of didn't really trust anyone, basically no friends, I didn't trust anyone enough'. Describing the school as a prison emphasizes the feeling of past exclusion from society, perhaps punishment for being that 'trouble child'. He described the impact of not using his mind, 'I was just sort of doing nothing' despite wanting to be 'normal'. It makes sense that he would want to distance himself from 'offender' if that means being a trouble child and in prison again; 'taken away'. A misunderstanding occurs in our communication where I think he is talking about the boarding school but he is talking about working with YOT, perhaps the two are associated somehow. Feelings of chaos are evoked when both settings are talked about and the language of 'clash' 'kick off', 'flames' and 'fuel' used to describe how other young people behave in YOT emphasizes the sense of threat. In the room we are in, he points out the panic alarm which is a thin grey strip of rubber running all the way around the wall of the room. The sense of threat that is present in the scene enters the room.

The acceptance of his role in making the decisions that led him to YOT juxtapose his feeling that he is different from other young people who 'belong' in YOT. He shares his narrative of having 'had a difficult start in life' and distances himself from peers who he identifies as 'violent', 'wanting to be in YOT and in prison' while he himself can identify as someone who 'does not belong in YOT'. These contradictions perhaps demonstrate how he has come to embody the complex associations wider society has with young people who offend; torn between welfare and justice models of understanding. His identity that was once normal is shared; having being predicted 'As and Bs' in the past, but problems with a 'fiery temper' let him down he said. When he relays the narrative of the change from 'normal' to not, a feeling of momentum builds until life 'crashed' and 'collapsed' during a 'downward spiral...to a point where you can't stop' in terms of the image he had created amongst his peers where 'you think either you've got to look like basically a bitch or a pussy and not go through or you've just gotta keep going'. Perhaps he is describing what it is like to embody society's constructions around masculinity and more expressly the construction of masculinity in the culture of his peers. He seems to be experiencing an internal struggle with these internalized expectations learned 'in relation' to others that have now become self imposed.

Sharing a poignant reflection on learning not to trust the wrong people in life he described that 'you just get a feeling...I'll either feel completely relaxed or if I feel on edge I dunno how to explain it'. The hard to explain, suggests an 'in-between', a feeling difficult to represent through language but that has

developed in relation to others over time. The scene moves on to describe the experience of professionals trying to 'sweeten things' in the past; the dishonesty picked up on as a child having shaped distrust and negative expectations of others. Again the experience of distrust is juxtaposed to a narrative about the development of the relationship with his YOT worker who knows him as a whole and 'from sort of before I properly got into trouble and down the wrong path properly'. Contrasting this, the difficulties with peers that runs through the interview impacts on his expectations of others; 'I guess I made it more difficult for myself just where I didn't get on with some people my own age from being in care I just instantly assume everyone's gonna be as much of a twat basically so I just sort of didn't go out of my way to make friends'.

While associating YOT with structure that helped him stay away from crime, there is also a narrative of resistance to this, for example pushing the boundaries of his tag; first 20 minutes late, then hours late, then cutting it off and disappearing for a week and a half. The pull to push further and further seemed to lead to YOT reinforcing the boundary with the 'bottom line' of legal implications. The potential for things to 'spiral' as they had done before was 'contained'. The tension between not having control 'my whole life' and YOT taking control is evident alongside the acceptance of the necessary boundary and a sense of agency that has increased over time; from more of a powerless 'child' position to one of having some control over decision making.

To prematurely close his profoundly personal and multifaceted narrative, there is a drive to summarise and simplify; I am told that it actually 'boils down' to what type of person you are and that it is difficult to explain without a comparison which is then provided; 'this is them [young offenders], this is me'. The distancing of self from 'other' has been present through the transcript, in this scene the distancing is now more explicitly from 'young offender'. This appears to provide a meaningful function in allowing the forging of a new identity as 'non-offender' and new positions in relation to the past, family, peers, YOT and wider society.

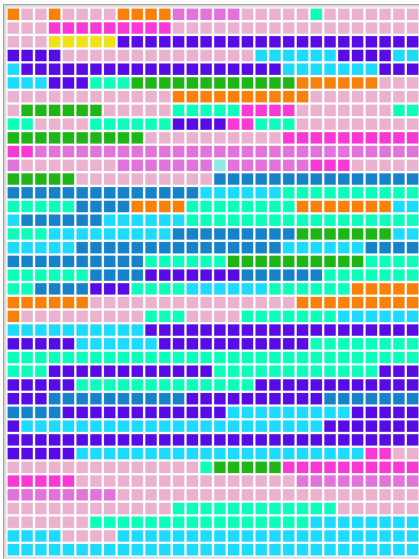
The complexity surrounding young people entering YOT is then revisited with the description of seeing a 10 year old in the waiting area of YOT; Jamie shares his experience of feeling disturbed by this, leading me to reflect on his earlier having revealed that he was taken into care at a similar age; social constructions of an 'ideal' childhood are presented as says children are 'supposed to be having fun in a playground'; perhaps this being a comment on his own 'loss' or deprivation of an idealized childhood. His thoughts move to his nephew and the sense of responsibility he has for being a role model for him and then a shift to the recollection of himself in a scene as a 15 year old in court. Again there is a tension between the Jamie who is growing up, taking responsibility and being a role model and the Jamie who had difficult

experiences during a time he was supposed to be a child having fun in a playground. Through this, Jamie embodies society's dilemma with how to position young people engaging with youth offending services; he himself is struggling with the dilemma when he says young people are not punished enough 'these days'.

Reflections on money and peer relationships indicate the pull of both. Jamie described seeking relationships and a sense of belonging with peers and the experience of being 'their younger', almost like a sibling; a part of the family. The vulnerability of the youngest emerges as crimes became more serious with no adults to place boundaries on the 'children's behaviour' or perhaps even notice it. Frank admissions of the attraction of money; 'something in my mind just sort of rang' evoke thoughts around social meanings around money and the status it can represent; seeing money in other young people's hands was fundamentally attractive to Jamie. There is a sense that money could at least temporarily detract and detach from feelings of deprivation that are also present; there is a draw to money that is difficult to express through language. Despite this initial attraction the feeling now is that he doesn't need it, perhaps he no longer feels as deprived as he once did.



### Terry's document portrait from MAXQDA colour codes: scenes within a scene transcript overview



#### Brief reflexive account:

When I met with Terry he was very softly spoken and came across as timid. This was a surprise to me considering he was engaging with youth offending services. Perhaps this reflected my assumptions about what kind of young person I would meet during the research. There were times when Terry's speech was not clear and his use of language meant that I did not always immediately understand what he told me. I found it frustrating at times to try to understand what he was saying and thought that this might be how others feel too. On reflection, I wondered how frustrating it must be to not be able to always make yourself understood by others and whether this may have led to problems with anger that Terry so openly talks about through his transcript. From work experience, this seemed likely to me, especially as he related some difficult experiences such as arguments with family that led to YOS involvement, to miscommunication between himself and others.

I found myself during interviews noticing the contradictions in Terry's narrative and feeling the urge to call him out on them, perhaps relating myself to the YOT worker who was helping him to notice and make sense of experiences in order to help things change.

#### GEM

1. **Really good**
2. **Helpful**
3. **Makes me understand what I did**
4. **Helping me think what I'm gonna do before I act**

What was **really good** for Terry was the way he felt YOT was supporting him to develop skills in managing anger and thinking before acting. Being able to talk to his YOT worker was seen as central to this. He related **helpful** to being supported in a practical sense to look for work and **makes me understand what I did** to working on thinking over and over about the potential consequences of his offending. **Helping me think what I'm gonna do before I act** was something he shared he had never done before, associating it with his work with his YOT worker.

## FANI

As the FANI opens, Terry began providing an insight into how he became involved in YOT; the difficulties with his brothers and how things 'got out of hand' until he ended up 'snapping'. The image he describes contrasts with the softly spoken and shy boy sitting in front of me. His explanation that he is the youngest sibling and so gets picked on provides some clues as to how he identifies himself. He describes a scene of high emotional arousal in his family and a miscommunication and misunderstanding; his stepdad thinks he's called him a 'see you next Tuesday' and throws a mug at him. Terry describes punching the mug then punching his stepdad. Straight after the violent clash comes the repair that I am told the family have sustained ever since; an abrupt ending to a dramatic scene.

As well as being the youngest in his family, he shares another 'self' identifier; 'I'm ginger obviously and gingers have really short tempers'. He listed the strategies that his YOT worker had helpfully given him to cope with this temper before sharing that he used to 'bottle things up all the time' and how he 'would punch everything around me', a claim that had earlier been substantiated by his punching the mug in the opening scene.

He spoke warmly about his YOT worker, sharing that each time he met with her, he trusted her more; providing a sense of a relationship that grew over time. He felt that she understood him and that this trust had developed against the odds 'I can only trust her really cos I don't trust a lot of people', in fact he reveals that she is the first person he has trusted.

The area he lives in being 'full of druggies, people that sells weed and smokes it and then there's all like alcoholics that starts wants to start a fight' makes him not want to socialize. The scene conjures images of people without their faculties and therefore perhaps difficult to trust which can be linked back to experiences of finding it hard to trust people. He tells me who he will go out with; his mum and his girlfriend and it is clear that these are relationships in which he feels some safety.

The emphasis moves on to finding a job and being independent 'want money for myself and well help my mum out', perhaps shaping an identity for himself as a provider. He talks about his aspirations for work; 'voluntary work for disabled kids' and a 'carers job' and I wonder how these roles position him both in terms of the role and identity he shapes for himself and where these job roles are placed in wider society. One task of finding work is to enable him to 'finally move out' with a feeling that it can't happen soon enough.

A scene about him working for his uncle emerges and he shares the intention to give all that he earns from the work to his mum and his step brother. He provides a picture of a family struggling to make ends meet at times; 'well my

stepdad gets paid monthly so does my mum...she just can't always save the money for the future week...to get shopping electric, gas and the essentials that she needs'. Money is on his mind and his plans for future earnings are being made as well, for example if he has a child he will pay his mum to look after them while he works. How he speaks next gives some insight into the motivation behind these thoughts; 'I don't wanna be like my brothers that didn't help like when they were young' and here we get a sense of positioning himself and shaping his identity as 'not like' others, in this case, his brothers.

In realizing that he wants to work and support himself he shares some regrets about the past and how it has meant that he is not able to get a 'decent job'. He provides the backdrop 'everyone wants to be on benefits well it's pretty much most of [place name] don't wanna work' which again conflicts with his own emerging identity. He goes on to talk about his belief that his neighbours have influenced his niece being 'violent' saying 'all they do is scream and shout and hear violence'. He positions himself as protecting her from it, despite sharing with me early on in the interview a scene where his family, including him, behaved violently. A miscommunication occurs between us when Terry explains how he used to act 'rational' in the past; I don't correct him although find it confusing to think about the meaning of what he has said and wondered about how he might experience being understood or misunderstood at times. The importance of feeling understood by his YOT worker makes sense in this context.

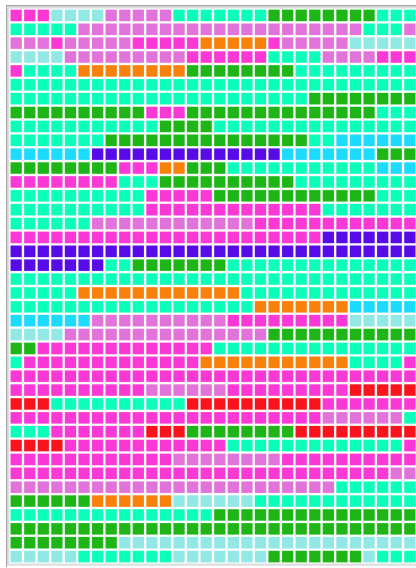
The topic shifts to talking about his difficulties with his brothers; he used to have problems getting on with one brother but that's improved and the relationship with another brother is now more difficult; 'he tried getting me arrested'. Being the only one left at home now seems to have helped things but then it is shared that a stepbrother also lives at home. He talks about protecting his stepbrother from being taken advantage of 'cos where he's disabled so he doesn't really know anything' and I wonder about the identity that is formed when we protect others. Terry's experiences of being bullied are shared and I can see how he might be able to identify with his stepbrother as his vulnerable 'past self' while also distancing himself from that vulnerable position by being the more powerful protector now.

The experience of moving from one town to another in recent years is shared as is the reflection that this was good for him with more risk 'getting chased by the police' in his old town. A scene of a friendship starting at school and growing outside school is described; this building of a relationship mirrors the one described when talking about his YOT worker. The YOT worker returns to the conversation as he recalls how she supports him when he is angry with his family. He shared a scene where he was angry with his mum and how his YOT worker noticed straight away how he was feeling, responding by calming and reassuring him then mediating the repair that followed. There was a

sense of attunement, responsiveness and containment. Repair of relationships was exemplified during the apology letter scene that followed where he was supported with communicating through a letter to his mum; he spoke with a sense of pride; 'it was the best one she saw as well where I did it'.

Another brother appeared towards the end of the interview and Terry's identification with him was clear; 'we're both ginger as well'. This brother 'used to always stick up for me' and was portrayed as protective over Terry, sorting things out for him when his other brothers picked on him. It seemed like Terry was now identifying with his brother's position of protector; himself now protecting others; his stepbrother, niece and his mum.

### Chris's document portrait from MAXQDA colour codes: scenes within a scene transcript overview



#### Brief reflexive account:

Chris was my youngest participant at 13 years of age. I met him at his school which contrasted with meeting others at YOT. This made me acutely aware of his age and his vulnerability. Chris had recently completed his YOT order and I arranged with his mum to meet him at his school. When referring him to me, his YOT worker told me that he had sought reassurance that his offences would not be specifically discussed and I was able to reassure him and his mum that my questions did not relate to offences.

When meeting with Chris, he talked a great deal about the support he felt he had received from his YOT worker. When exploring whether Chris was able to elaborate on these experiences he would repeat what he had said before. I experienced frustration when Chris simply repeated what he had said earlier in the interviews when I had invited him to elaborate. On reflection it was perhaps my expectation for there to 'be more' that hindered my ability at times to appreciate what was being said in the moment.

#### GEM

1. I feel kind of safe
2. Really happy with the person [YOT worker]
3. Comfortable
4. More confident

**Safe** for him meant trusting his YOT worker and the YOT team being the only ones who 'know' information about him. **Really happy with the person [YOT worker]** for him meant that he felt that they were helpful, supportive and the intervention felt like it worked for him, for example helping him build his confidence. **Comfortable**, like 'safe' was initially associated with being comfortable with YOT 'knowing what they know, then also associating it with feeling more comfortable as time has gone on, becoming more familiar with his YOT worker and the setting 'kind of sitting in the room and talking about it'. His last association was with how the work with his YOT worker made him **more confident** 'I kinda talked to him more and that kind of helped my like life outside of the sessions' as he shared that he had been shy in the past.

## FANI

Mixed experiences of relationships with peers through school were shared with some good relationships, some experiences of loss of friendships and then bullying. Interspersed with these experiences of relationships were experiences of transition; a home move that meant a school move leading to a delayed school start date. The relevance of the transition is suggested through its being returned to during the course of the interview.

The relationship with his YOT worker appeared to enable the development of other relationships; 'after the sessions I started talking to a lot more people and erm like hanging out with more people and now it's like they're good friends now and erm yeah it's because I'm more confident talking to people'. The relationship developed through the feeling of being understood and supported by his YOT worker; 'it just really helped that he knew that I was just nervous the whole time' suggesting attunement and responsiveness to his needs. There was a reciprocity in them having more like 'proper conversations' rather than what was described as just answering questions initially.

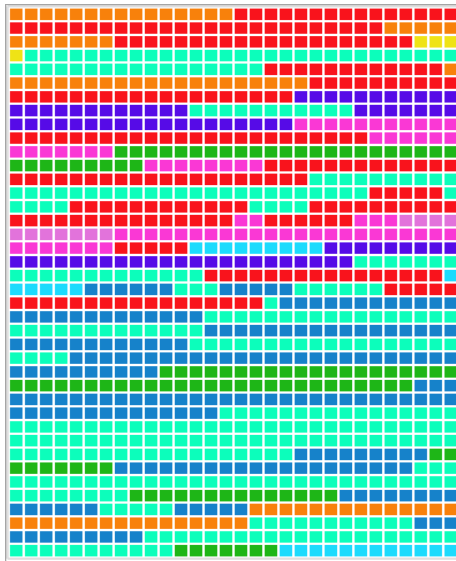
The scene of moving house and school is described in detail as there 'wasn't enough room' in the planned school so a later start was inevitable and while 'I don't think that made too much difference' the acknowledgement of some impact is shared; 'I think if I joined straight away it might have been just a tiny little bit better but not too much of a difference' with some feeling that skills at building friendships were not developed enough before the transition. The memory of joining school and not talking to anyone is painfully recalled and there is a sense of amazement at how others can just start 'talking to all the popular people and they just started being popular straight away and I was just wondering how they did it'. This contrasts with the feelings of confidence now with talking with people since working with his YOT worker. His new found confidence is played out in a scene where he now talks more than his talkative sister when visiting gran and granddads and finding the subject of Chelsea football club something he can talk to his gran about at length. This fledgling skill also can be difficult to manage and contain as he can at times 'go off topic and then I don't know they just think I'm like crazy or something'. There seems a real draw to position a new developing identity as a 'chatterbox'; perhaps being socially able is more acceptable amongst peers and in wider society, there is no doubt that it is important to him and he talks about linking with people through communication and conversation which seems like a central social motivator to communicate.

An initial resistance to YOT because of nervousness is shared. This changed when a relationship with his YOT worker was formed and it was no longer as scary; 'I didn't have to worry about him being part of the youth offending team

I could see him more like someone else like for example like someone I dunno'. It seems important to not see the YOT worker as a YOT worker, presumably because of what YOT represents; there is a reluctance or difficulty to find the word that might represent the relationship and in time the idea of comparing the YOT worker to a teacher emerges. The more vivid negative expectation of someone not being at all supportive is shared in a scene where he fears being told off by the YOT worker. There is a feeling of surprise when this was not the case; 'it wasn't like being told off by a teacher' 'they'd actually kind of help'. I wondered if the fear of the YOT worker and how they might behave towards him was representative of wider society's judgement of young offenders. It made me think about Chris's concerns about talking about offenses with me as well as the expectation that he might be at the receiving end of a purely justice model approach to working; punishment without understanding. He shared his imagining of an image of how the YOT worker might be before working with him; like a very scary and persecutory character and how 'as I met him more the faster the image changed'.

Through the entire interview there was a sense of his journey and a development of a set of skills in the safety of the relationship with the YOT worker that then could be taken out into the wider world and used with peers and others. Within this and poignantly towards the end of the interview, he shared an experience which touched on the fragility of the hope that has been built through these experiences and how trusting others could in fact backfire although he is resisting that idea; 'the only time it backfired on me was...this boy took the ball out of my bag and said he was going to go to the tennis...I was like alright I didn't kind of stop him...five minutes later and it had gone over the fence and like they lost it erm but that was probably because he just did it without asking I just didn't really stop him but that didn't really set anything back but just made me know not to trust that person'. Despite the risk that this would set him back, he is clear that it will not.

### Kevin's document portrait from MAXQDA colour codes: scenes within a scene transcript overview



#### Brief reflexive account:

When I met with Kevin, he had lots of energy and this stayed with him through the course of the interviews. His YOT worker told me that he would be quite talkative which was the case. His energy appeared to relate to ideas he had for working in the future, however, he found it difficult to focus on one idea and would flit between many different ideas making them feel less realistic as time went on. While I was initially energised by Kevin's conversation and felt hopeful for him,

through the course of the interviews it became exhausting to listen to his unmanaged train of thought and I lost hope.

Kevin had the longest time left on his YOT order of all the participants and he was the most ambivalent about whether the YOT work was really helping him. He shared resentments around his obligation to attend YOT sessions and this stirred mixed feelings for me. At times I would feel irritated by his prioritising sorting out his phone over his planned YOT sessions, at others I would sympathise with his frustration that the YOT was not flexible when he tried to communicate that he would run late to a session.

#### GEM

1. **Oh no**
2. **Boring**
3. **Alright**
4. **Not very flexible**

Through his association **oh no** Kevin shared his explicit feelings of resistance towards YOT and not wanting to be there, citing finding it **boring**. An acceptance that intervention can meet needs by it being **alright** was shared. He was critical of the way the work is done but also acknowledged the difficulty of the task of working with young people engaging with YOT. The bottom line was even though it can be helpful I don't want to do it. A complaint about YOT's **not very flexible** approach was made and the scene to demonstrate this was enacted; he wanted to sort out problems with his phone at the shop and called his YOT worker to let her know he didn't think he could do a specific intervention ; her response was there was nothing she could do



about it and his defiance was displayed 'I tried explaining it again, just didn't wanna hear it so I was like alright then I won't come'. A scene from past YOT involvement was provided when 'things were like upside down' and appointments were missed when he 'got kicked out of my dad's err I wasn't going to school...I missed quite a few appointments at the start of that one but then going through into it I missed a couple as well and I had to have an emergency panel meeting and then err I had a possibility of going back to court but they didn't so it was alright'. He shares what is at risk by missing appointments; a court date with potential prison time.

His good relationship with his YOT worker is contrasted with his relationship with a previous one who he did not get on with. From this he shares how important it is to find suitable people who young people 'can kinda relate to'. He talks about them needing to have experience; on one level this means experience working with young people. On another, he talks about himself valuing the experience of people who have been in similar positions to him in the past having got past them. His own reflection on the relevance of this emerges when he shares that he helps his brother understand why he is now getting arrested. After saying what would be helpful in terms of professionals at YOT, he shares his feeling that the interventions at YOT are not particularly helpful. This seems at least in part to be owing to his strong sense of independence and being used to 'working for myself like all throughout my life...when I've been told by my parents its either been the wrong way, the worst way or the stupidest way to do it' giving the message that he has learned that it is better to things alone. From this the sense is that input will not be helpful as it is 'yeah a bit of a waste of my time' as he shares his feeling that he has better things to do with his time.

## **FANI**

He explains his involvement with YOT as 'erm all you do yeah is come in here to have a little chat with this person really you don't learn anything I don't know even know if you're meant to to be honest I don't even know the point in coming here its just I come here once a week to do some shit'. There is a sense that he is not sure of the parameters of the work; he is not sure if it is safe to be honest with his YOT worker and therefore does not trust the process yet. He compares his YOT worker to his past one 'she just understands more if you know what I mean like old people just don't get what you mean' and there is a sense of her being good because she is *not* the last one. For him, it is important for his YOT worker to get it and this seems to be where the idea comes from that if someone has been through similar things they can legitimately help 'most of the stuff then talk about from when they were younger and from when I was younger' showing an interest in relating to someone who has had similar experiences that can be shared through the relationship. He goes on to explain what didn't work with his old YOT worker

'Erm I dunno it's just like when she like talks to me and that I dunno she just weren't like I dunno I dunno' it seems that what didn't work is difficult to explain using language, perhaps because it is a feeling, a relational quality in the 'in-between' that is hard to verbalize. Directly after this he shares his feeling that his dad is 'terrible with children'; suggesting that he has experienced feelings of not being understood that re-surfaced through his relationship with his old YOT worker.

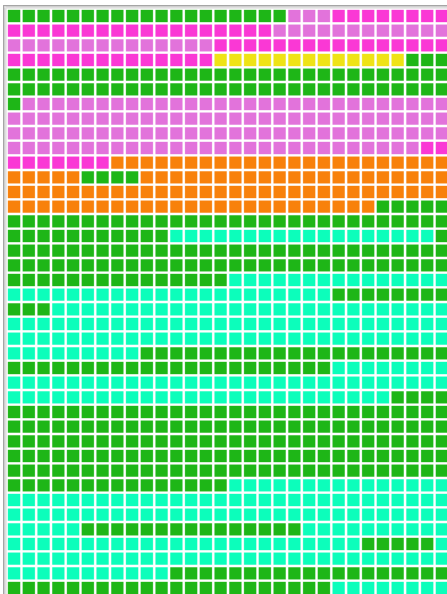
The next scene involves a plan to leave his current situation and move to Australia to 'meet a load of new people' in search of occupation and money. There is a sense of Australia as a land of hope where he can escape from the restrictions imposed on him here. His dream involves ideas around work, with there being 'loads of shit you can do' then listing; doing a college course and making a business in it, just needing some start up money doing a lumberjack course, getting a van, a couple of chain saws, buying a digger and renting it out. Money becomes a key topic of conversation; he shares that he would like to be rich so that he can feel 'on top', in direct contrast to how he feels in reality; 'I go out and I have no money and I want some fucking lunch or I want some clothes cos they're fucking dirty (laughter) I can't do it can I'. There is a real sense of deprivation in saying that he doesn't have enough money for food and clothes; the pull to escape is understandable, perhaps defending against current feelings of 'definitely not' being on top.

The energy in the ideas about how to make money is contagious and after that high comes a low as he talks despondently about his current painting and decorating job that anyone can do 'unless you're a spastic'. I wonder about his thoughts about the position of this job in wider society's view and whether he is embodying that now by denigrating it. His dream begins to unravel a little as he shares that he probably won't do the things he's just said; they're just examples. When asked about the support he receives to think through his ideas for work he shared that he has no support and the sense of him trying to figure things out alone is revisited. As he shares that he will either sort out his life plan or go to Australia, there is a sense of confusion; is Australia not part of the life plan? This confusion leads onto him talking in a way that emphasizes how fragile a sense of hope can be as his dream further unravels; 'it might never happen like it probably won't'. He shares that everyone wants to be rich 'so obviously not everyones gonna' embodying the social reality of the unequal distribution of wealth.

Some final comments he makes focus on the structure of YOT reminding us again of the consequences of not attending YOT appointments; 'if I forget to come here obviously I'm gonna get a text or something you know what I mean, when I come here it keeps me being careful if you get what I mean (laughter)'. While currently resistant to them, he is aware of the boundaries within which to operate with YOT with the ultimate punishment being prison

and therefore complete restriction of freedom to which he comments I 'don't fucks with that'.

## Josh's document portrait from MAXQDA colour codes: scenes within a scene transcript overview



### Brief reflexive account:

Josh's YOT worker told me he would be chatty and would be able to reflect on his experience. She shared that she enjoyed working with him. When I met him I could relate to his YOT worker's experience as I found Josh to be reflective, eloquent and focused on his future. Josh was coming to the end of his order with only two weeks left. When he talked at length about how he had matured and learned so much through working with YOS and his YOT worker I felt uplifted about how YOS can serve young people. There were times when Josh talked

about how his growth and development might be restricted by his history with YOS. I felt injustice on his behalf at the thought of this considering his commitment to pay for what he had done and to move on from it.

Josh did not return for a second interview; when I found it difficult to get in touch with him to arrange a second interview, his YOT worker explained that he had been busy with work in a shop over the Christmas period and that he would soon no longer have contact with YOT due to his order being complete around that time. I felt disappointed to not be able to meet with him a second time alongside a sense of hope that he was moving on from YOS in ways that he had intended.

### GEM

1. **My workers**
2. **Justice**
3. **Understanding**
4. **Fair**

His first association with YOT is with **my workers** and the feeling that he has developed good relationships and 'grown a friendship' with his YOT workers over the period of his involvement with YOT. There is a feeling of safety, of being understood and understanding each other so 'everything's just how it should be'. There seems to be complete acceptance of his work with YOT. For him **justice** means paying a price for what you did and again the acceptance that 'its like a punishment but it's a nice punishment'. He felt that YOT were understanding in that they; wanted to understand him, they understood each other and they understand that 'people make mistakes'. For

him, **fair** means that what YOT asked him to do was fair, it 'isn't too much isn't too little'. He goes on to share particular interventions such as AIM and victim awareness that he's 'taken a liking to'. During victim awareness he reveals how he 'learnt a lot about it how much it hah mmm huh (clears throat) sorry how much when you effect, when you offend it doesn't just affect one person that you offended and it doesn't just affect those people at this point in time its later on in life'. There appears to be some difficulty with expressing this, perhaps this is indicative of some difficult feelings that thinking about this evokes for him. Perhaps it is difficult to think about how actions in his past have affected others and may affect them in the future. He shares his belief that the work with YOT has 'really opened up my mind', perhaps enabling thinking and the reflection that pervades the interview.

Perhaps as a defense against the pain of thinking about how he has affected others, he explains how he 'had a big long wait' between his offence and his YOT order and how he had been very immature then. There is an emphasis on how much younger he was then and how much change has taken place and perhaps this emphasis suggests a drive to distance himself from that younger person that was immature and did harm to others. While he owes his change to maturity he also emphasizes the importance he places on the YOT work 'its opened my eyes and learned about that through maturity I guess and through this stuff massively'.

He shares that he has not thought about offending again and thinks about the way the work can perhaps help other offenders in resisting offending in the future. In this sense he is distancing himself from an offender identity but also reflects on how he is able to apply what he has learned at YOT to wider experiences, for example wanting to be a positive influence for his younger brother. While his interview talks at length about reflection and self improvement it also suggest an awareness and embodiment of his position in society and the meaning of that, for example the restriction it places on how far your self improvement can go 'you can always improve and not perhaps on this massive scale where you're an offender technically'; there's a feeling that there is a socially constructed limitation to how far you can escape the identity of young offender status.

Josh did not attend the FANI interview and I reflected upon this in the context of his appearing to distance himself from a young offender identity. By the time of the intended FANI he would have ended his YOT order and as outlined above, he had begun working. Perhaps for these reasons, there was an avoidance of revisiting memories that placed him in an identity where he embodies society's negative views of young offenders. Alongside this, revisiting the painful feelings that are evoked when thinking about the harm he may have done to others when he was 'immature' may have also been difficult to think about.



### Appendix L. Themes, subthemes and codes

Table 4. Theme 1: Transformative relationship with YOT worker

Codes	Sub Themes	Theme 1
positive relationship	Relationship with YOT worker	<b>TRANSFORMATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH YOT WORKER</b>
relationship develops		
they get it		
YOT worker not 'other'		
safe	How they made me feel	
trust		
understood		
managing emotions	Work on	
what's happening at home		
thinking through consequences		

Table 5. Theme 2: Identity transformation

Codes	Sub Themes	Theme 2
self improvement	Identity	<b>IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION</b>
agent in own decision making		
past self		
self as 'not other'		
sense of responsibility		
matured		
sense of journey	Perspective	
learned something		
fragility of hope		
sense of justice		
managing emotions	Emotions	
nervous before YOT		



Table 6. Theme 3: Engaging

Codes	Sub Themes	Theme 3
intervention meets individual need	What works	<b>ENGAGING</b>
structure		
fair		
avoidance	Resistance	
not helpful		
not nice environment		
negative expectations		
negative experience of staff in YOT		

Table 7. Theme 4: Then's presence now

Code	Sub Themes	Theme 4
presence of violence/aggression	Experiences	<b>THEN'S PRESENCE NOW</b>
significant transitions		
life out of control		
family difficulties		
school non attendance		
being bullied		
lack of support		
peer culture	Environment	
money on mind		
area where live		
troubling relationships	Relationship security	
safe relationships		
repairing relationships		
experience of not having trust	Importance of trust	
experience of trust		

## Appendix M. Thematic analysis

Table 8. Retrieved segments linked to codes

Participant	Code	Retrieved segments	Line
Jamie	Avoidance	Participant: Ah no I used to start breaking my tag like Interviewer: Oh I see Participant: Like first I would come back like 20 minutes late and be like oh sorry I got held up and then it'd be hours and one time I cut it off and disappeared for like a week and a half that's when I started getting moved cos it got out of control like I was	279
Chris	Avoidance	before the sessions like the first couple of times I was like I would really not wanna go I would try and find a way out of it	106
Kevin	Avoidance	Boring	5
Kevin	Avoidance	Erm sometimes it's like alright...in the summer and that cos it gave me something to do and err they're not really very flexible if you know what I mean, the other week er I was like I can't do this cos I've gotta go and do this and like they basically said tough so I just skipped it and now I'll get one of them things for missing it	7
Kevin	Avoidance	Participant: Err, well coming here, sit down, and get seen to and yeah erm it's not much fun thing I want to be doing with my time is it so yeah it's boring Interviewer: What's boring like with what you're doing? Participant: It's literally just boring, it's not what I wanna be doing with my time so much things that I'd prefer to be doing	15
Kevin	Avoidance	I mean it, it can always be helpful unless I'm talking about something that's not like very it's not productive but I mean even though it's helpful it's still not what I wanna be doing with my time i	27
Kevin	Avoidance	so I called her up and I was like I don't really think I can do reparation today and she was like there's nothing I can do about that well I try calling her back up, I tried explaining it again, just didn't wanna hear it so I was like alright then I won't come (defiant tone)	31
Kevin	Avoidance	when I was on that erm that weren't the first like I missed a couple when that the first ever one I was meant to go to cos things were going like upside down I was living in **** in ***** with my mum and her boyfriend in a studio flat cos I got kicked out of my dad's err I wasn't going to school or nothing I was just	41

		fed up cos I felt like I'd been taken the piss out of err and yeah so I missed quite a few appointments at the start of that one but then going through into it I missed a couple as well and I had to have an emergency panel meeting and then err I had a possibility of going back to court but they didn't so it was alright	
Kevin	Avoidance	cos it doesn't really help you that much coming here it's not like they do very much to change my life I come to do some smart thinking thing like they don't tell like this don't go to none of the court or nothing does it?	51
Kevin	Avoidance	I spent like four six weeks doing it I can't remember which one yeah a bit of a waste of my time	77
Kevin	Avoidance	so I was like fuck you, I'm going alright, I left and I went to ***** erm just got put there, can't even remember how I got back here (laughter) I don't remember that but erm that was the first day I missed YOT cos it was my first one and I didn't know about it that day well I don't know, I might of, I might of just missed it (laughter).	145
Kevin	Avoidance	Participant: I didn't know the YOT, I didn't wanna go to YOT I wasn't gonna go I'd be like no I'm not going to do it at all Interviewer: Okay Participant: Yeah err it all happened cos of a reason and I said no fuck that reason I'm not gonna go Interviewer: And then what happened Participant: I dunno I can't remember it was too long ago (laughter) Interviewer: Okay, but you did end up going back to YOT Participant: Yeah I only think I missed like two sessions but I didn't wanna go	161
Jamie	Negative expectations	Yeah, she's not, I don't know how to, it's just that usual look of sort of either a social services person or YOT where you just think ah, she's gonna tell you what to do when to do and you know, she's not	153
Chris	Negative expectations	someone like who was quite strict or like someone who wouldn't have been that supportive who would have just like who would have been like erm getting told off by a teacher or something like that, you wouldn't like enjoy or you'd kinda feel bad the whole time	100
Chris	Negative expectations	Erm and I kind of like pictured them to be like telling me off the whole time or just I'd tell them something and	102

		they'd just jot it down and that'd be it	
Chris	Negative expectations	Oh yeah and erm another thing cos like sometimes you'd get a teacher that was really nice at the start and you'd really like em and then as you get to know them more like they'd get a bit more strict, it's like the opposite of the image that I had so they'd start off really nice but the more you had them the faster the image changed into like a strict teacher and erm like you can start off like no homework and then they'd just like thow a lot more homework and becoming strict and stuff like that	108
Jamie	Not helpful	The only thing I can sort of say as an improvement for YOT would be some of the older staff they need to sort of not get rid of em but sort of teach em cos you can't teach like talk to a kid how they would've if you know what I mean like some of the ways they talk to us I'm like who the fuck are you like why are you trying to talk to me like I'm an idiot	365
Jamie	Not helpful	what the staff thought she'd heard was he was smoking weed up in this place so was like oh you've broke the law then its like no what are you on about so she was butting in got it all wrong and then was trying to get aggressive about it so we were getting more aggressive like what are you on about like we've not spoken about any crimes what are you on about but then we sort of when they realised they were like oh its just sort of the way they were speaking to us like back in my day I was like don't even give me that shit	367
Kevin	Not helpful	they don't really do it the best of ways but it's not the worst way, I don't know how I'd start to do (laughter) this with children like you know what I mean, it's pretty hard Interviewer: Right, arrhh Participant: Like it's really hard	21
Kevin	Not helpful	they're all trained to work with children it's just some of them aren't good at it (laughter)	45
Kevin	Not helpful	yeah definitely cos there's like some people I think they should think more about erm like when they actually apply people for a job to this it's like I dunno, one of the things working with young people you can kinda like relate to 'em err people who were like offenders before who have completely changed it around who haven't had any offences for a long time they haven't done anything towards it like say they'd be a really good	47

		person to speak to	
Kevin	Not helpful	it doesn't really help you that much coming here it's not like they do very much to change my life I come to do some smart thinking thing like they don't tell like this don't go to none of the court or nothing does it?	51
Kevin	Not helpful	No I'm just saying yeah they all think I'm doing good on the smart thinking like what have I actually learned from it (laughter) Interviewer: Mmm Participant: Nothing like what is that gonna make me do to go out on the street and do anything. Nothing they tell me here will help really much so	53
Kevin	Not helpful	With these, these don't really help that much I could come in here, do exactly what they do talking to myself (laughter)	61
Kevin	Not helpful	Well erm all you do yeah is come in here to have a little chat with this person really you don't learn anything I don't know even know if you're meant to to be honest I don't even know the point in coming here it's just I come here once a week to do some shit	71
Kevin	Not helpful	I mean like other things it's just like where they talk about trying to be streetwise and that and like other little things I just think I don't need to hear this shit (laughter) or that pump whatever it was smart thinking thing yeah that was a bit that didn't help me at all. All that did was talk about knives the whole time and everyone just joked bombs and that was all I wanted to talk about like just making jokes like there's literally not a point.	77
Kevin	Not helpful	My old case worker ***** I didn't tell her anything I didn't speak to her like some weird woman I never met before	81
Kevin	Not helpful	Erm I dunno it's just like when she like talks to me and that I dunno she just weren't like I dunno I dunno	111
Jamie	Not nice environment	Participant: It's not really a nice place to be Interviewer: Mmm, so when you said it, it puts you off wanting to come back, what do you, putting you off wanting you to come back to YOT Participant: Yeah, it's sort of the people you'll see, depending on sort of what type of person you are will, you don't really wanna come back and see all of these	47

		people again, it's just not a fun place	
Jamie	Not nice environment	<p>Interviewer: So when you say you wouldn't want to come back it's more for</p> <p>Participant: It's more the people that are on there rather than the staff and that yeah</p> <p>Interviewer: Oh young people, rather than the staff, that's really interesting isn't it</p> <p>Participant: It's just cos, I just, ahh, I can't, there was one point where I would've happily have come on here and not worried about it</p> <p>Interviewer: Mmm</p> <p>Participant: Cos that's when I was a violent thug</p>	60
Jamie	Not nice environment	Nah, oh nah, ISS, YOT and stuff, other people say ah, he's called you this or they've called you that it's like they sort of fuel it a bit cos they knew they wouldn't get in trouble for it they're not fighting, they're not getting in trouble, they just wanna see it all kick off so they'll feed it as much as they can. It's not really a nice environment to be honest, it's like this (points to panic alarm), this is instantly a sign that it's a bad place, the fact there's a panel on the wall for like the whole building will come running it sort of says it all doesn't it	181
Jamie	Not nice environment	I made a few bad decisions and ended up here, it's not it's not a nice place, I don't enjoy it	193
Kevin	Not nice environment	Erm it's just something like you don't really wanna be doing it, it's not like I wanted to come here, it's not like I yeah err (laughter) so 'oh no' like I wake up in the morning 'ah no' I've got youth offending how long is that	13
Josh	Intervention meets individual need	They're fair it kind of ties in with understanding and justice really its fair that I'm here and they've been fair to me as well, what they've asked me to do isn't too much, isn't too little everythings just how it should be so, in my opinion so it's been fair	45
Josh	Intervention meets individual need	We've done loads of stuff AIM work has been really good, victim awareness the two main things I've kind of taken a liking to, we've done we've done more things when actually that's like the bubble it's protected, in theres so much to go into so. Erm yeah so the victim awareness I learnt a lot about it how much it hah mmm huh (clears throat) sorry how much when you effect, when you offend it doesn't just affect one person that you offended and it doesn't just affect those people at	53

		this point in time its later on in life, there's so much more to it and it's helped me understand it I guess and then the AIM to stuff the AIM work has been really good in decision making and different things like that	
Jamie	Intervention meets individual need	she does sessions but she does 'em sort of at a pace instead of just going through everything you're supposed to do she'll talk to you to sort of try and help you out as much as she can	153
Jamie	Intervention meets individual need	Yeah but like, they're not, I dunno, they're not how they should be, they're done properly, they're not, we just don't do it all at once, she'll let me do it a bit later on if I need to talk to her, cos like I have to go back to court on the 21st for non payment of fine but where I've been stressed before cos my main issue before I had no money so I sort of did what I did and that's, I started to get worried because I don't want to go back to how it was, I wanna stay just off of it and I don't want to go back to YOT or worse go to prison cos that's what's gonna happen if I do anything else, so it's yeah	155
Jamie	Intervention meets individual need	Participant: Erm I was in a lucky circumstance where they sort of looked at everything that had just sort of been going on and at that time and they were like yeah its no surprise to be honest like fights every, like it was ISS as well	299
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	Makes me understand what I did	9
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	Helping me think what I'm gonna do before I act	11
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	They helping me cal, helping me control my anger and like thinking of my actions before I do anything	13
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	I'm learning how to control it a lot more than I used to Interviewer: Uhhuh Participant: And well I haven't been getting angry for, since they helped me this time	63
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	They tell me like if I'm gonna get angry just walk out, do something that I enjoy or do something that will keep my mind off it or talk to my mum about it tell her about what's getting me angry or someone I can really talk to and trust and or count in my head to 10	67
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	she's been pretty much helping me and actually got someone straight away to help me find a job	103



Terry	Intervention meets individual need	***** asked me what would I like to do and I said I would like to get a job and help my mum and finally move out and obviously if my girlfriend moves in with me, support her as well as me	105
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	Yeah they make you, well telling you over and over again what you did so that you keep it in your head and that and so you can make sure you never do it again and change the way you act so you think before you act so you don't get arrested or get into any sort of trouble or don't have any violent	143
Terry	Intervention meets individual need	It's like they wanna make sure the people like me before I'm going to do something cos otherwise I'll end up getting arrested for it I just used to act rational and get into trouble because of it and now they literally help me sort of think before I act	145
Chris	Intervention meets individual need	I understand erm like the work and err like everything we've been doing I'm kind of understanding that as well and its just really helpful and erm I find the sessions like really effective	21
Chris	Intervention meets individual need	Erm well before the sessions I was kind of like a really shy person I didn't really talk to people who I didn't know too well and erm like I wasn't really that good at making friends but as the sessions moved on I kinda talked to him more and that kind of helped my like life outside of the sessions	33
Chris	Intervention meets individual need	throughout the sessions I kinda learned to talk to **** a lot and erm it kind of built my confidence up	42
Chris	Intervention meets individual need	basically now I would talk to more people about my opinions instead of just me having to talk to them because we have to work each other work with each other in lessons but erm I'm not too shy like I do talk sometimes I've seen like people who just never talk erm and I'm not kinda like them I do talk sometimes well I did talk sometimes now erm I'm constant like talking to anyone in my class erm but yeah I think it's just because I'm more like confident with expressing my opinion	62
Chris	Intervention meets individual need	We talked about that and then we talked that led onto other things and other things and then like me and that person would talk a lot more now and no matter what it's about, it's about sport or music or video games or something like that it leads on to talking about other things	72

Chris	Intervention meets individual need	I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it but I became more confident like talking about things and obviously that led on to me making more friends like I've said and yeah just really just knowing how supportive he is and that has kind of lead on to me trusting him cos he's been really supportive and like and er as time went on I kinda shared more information with him cos I knew I could also trust him with having that information	82
Chris	Intervention meets individual need	Oh yeah erm probably erm since like I've become really confident with the youth offending team it's kind of helped me with other things like I can't think of an example but I've been more confident with people kind of I trust more people	118
Kevin	Intervention meets individual need	it's alright some like sometimes when they talk to you and try to tell you what you're aiming towards and try and keep you on track and like that's good towards me and keeping me from going to prison or dying or making bad choices or whatever they wanna do so that kind of helps	21
Jamie	Structure	Participant: Structure I guess Interviewer: Mmm hmm Participant: Build structure	3
Jamie	Structure	Sort of gives you things to do, not things to do just sort of, I don't know, it takes up some of your time to keep you away from reoffending	7
Jamie	Structure	when you go on ISS you sort of have to go every day to sort of a child's place like youth centre and do meetings there then come back to here and do other things,	25
Jamie	Structure	Interviewer: So, last thing, the structure, tell me a bit more about that Participant: Umm, well, sort of when I was on ISS, we had to go to ***** everyday and then, well from 9 til 12, 12 we'd travel back to ***** until 3 and then I'd get the train back	72
Jamie	Structure	Participant: So it's sort of like a school day so like you go, you wake up you go, you come back sort of thing Interviewer: Mmm Participant: Whereas before I had nothing to do so I was more likely to just go out and get in trouble cos I had no, nothing to do with my life Interviewer: So it helped you know what you were doing at the beginning of the day, the middle of the day the end of the day	75

		Participant: Yeah, so I had something not bad that was more hours that I didn't have to worry about not doing anything sort of thing	
Jamie	Structure	<p>I'd have to get there at about 9 in the morning so I'd have to leave about twenty past 8 in the morning and then leave well I'd then go from (place name) at about 12 to here to then do an afternoon session here til 3 and then get the train back to (place name) and then being on tag you get til 7 so by the time I got back I had about 2 hours to go out in and when I got back I was just so shattered from the day I just couldn't be bothered</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah, what do you think of things being organised that way</p> <p>Participant: Sometimes I feel like they do it deliberately but other times not so much I guess it was good cos the less I was out is less time I could be reoffending that's the way I looked at it</p>	273
Jamie	Structure	<p>which is good it cos where I was out of school for so long I wasn't in a routine like I'd go to bed like 3 in the morning wake up at like 3 in the afternoon go out do all kinds of things like either get stoned or drink or just anything do home play xbox go back to sleep repeat just every day it's the same thing I wasn't in a good routine and then that's that's the whole point of ISS is they get you in a routine up out in basically</p>	291
Kevin	Structure	<p>Erm sometimes it's like alright...in the summer and that cos it gave me something to do and err they're not really very flexible if you know what I mean, the other week er I was like I can't do this cos I've gotta go and do this and like they basically said tough so I just skipped it and now I'll get one of them things for missing it</p>	7
Kevin	Structure	<p>she was like there's nothing I can do about that well I try calling her back up, I tried explaining it again, just didn't wanna hear it</p>	31
Kevin	Structure	<p>Like if you don't wanna erm be flexible with me, I always turn up to my appointments</p>	33
Kevin	Structure	<p>Interviewer: So you feel like you erm kind of follow the rules in terms of like getting to your appointments</p> <p>Participant: Well I kind of have to</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah</p> <p>Participant: Otherwise I'm gonna go court, go jail. I</p>	34

		don't wanna go jail	
Kevin	Structure	Well if I come here, that is a good point, if I forget to erm, no if I forget to come here obviously I'm gonna get a text or something you know what I mean, when I come here it keeps me being careful if you get what I mean (laughter) just don't do anything stupid like that could get anything happen to me	237
Kevin	Structure	it just keeps my, it just keeps me thinking to come here innit	242
Kevin	Structure	I bet you broke the law today like everyone's done it like even little things like driving without your seatbelt on and that but like when they get big enough things from the court like one of those things could get you in Interviewer: To prison Participant: Yeah so I don't fucks with that	244
Josh	Agent in own decision making	No it's everybody wants to improve and I feel like as far as the place I'm in and as far as I've improved massively but never you know enough improvement you can always improve and not perhaps on this massive scale where you're an offender technically I still am to take a step down and try to improve different steps as well, you know you've got to make the most of it	73
Josh	Agent in own decision making	in my eyes it should've been a massive thing I guess and I wanted to get it sorted I wanted to get on with my life, you know mistake made, lets sort it out	77
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	I'm not a scared person it wouldn't matter who was in front of me if I had something to say, I'd say it so sort of on ISS they used to intimidate people and bullying them into things whereas I was just like no, I'm not doing it	175
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	I don't back down, if I don't want to do something then I won't do it, simple as, there's not point trying to beg me to do it I'll just say no, so that's when it sort of kicks off there's obviously its like, I'm saying no and they're not used to it, they're used to people backing down but there's no point being scared of people, it gets you nowhere and that's where most of my troubles were cos I never back down to them, I wouldn't care. Its there's 2 people kicking off in one part and 2 people kicking off in another and where there was only sort of 3 staff it got a bit out of hand sometimes	177
Jamie	Agent in own	if you just got in with the wrong crowd made a few shit decisions and ended up here it's not really a nice place	191

	decision making	at all cos you didn't, you're not that type of person	
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	I made a few bad decisions and ended up here,	193
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	I just see myself as a kid phewww, that's had a di, I wouldn't say a shit life but I had a difficult start in life and err I went the wrong way, I could've gone one way but I chose another	195
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	but I chose that if you know what I mean I chose to go that way chose to just and then I had an option to sort of go back again at the boarding school instead I kept going, and I kept going to the point where you crash you've got nowhere else to go and this is where you end up	197
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	I mean you have a choice, you can break it but you'll just go to prison so you have a choice you always have a choice it's just shit choices	293
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	I'm sitting in a court room at 15 basically with burglary of £7000 and possession with class A with intent to supply so it's not really a nice thing for a 15 year old like and it's my choices I know but I just think like if people thought about things before they did em a bit more even just a little bit more and make sure its really what they want to do they'd probably back out but once you get in its like once you get a certain reputation you can't lose face basically you got to keep at it	361
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	By just being who I really am not lying about anything not bigging myself up to be something I'm not it's like one of the boys off ISS said I was one of the only ones that was there that was actually alright cos I didn't go in there basically huffing my gums trying to be something I'm not said he came on and he was like you're alright its just who I am basically	363
Jamie	Agent in own decision making	Yeah nah that's different what I mean is sort of monetary things like that was one of my biggest issues where I realised you don't really need it when you're in that type of lifestyle when you got drug habits and shit like that yeah you need it but when you just get on with your life you don't need it that much when you're an adult you pay bills and stuff I mean I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do so I'm like why would you need that like you're 17 you don't need it and that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't	373

		know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like oooh I guess I got attracted	
Terry	Agent in own decision making	I had a go at him, I said to my uncle give **** my money cos it'll have only been about 50 quid to **** my stepbrothers name and he needed the money anyway I said to him give him the money I get to **** so he did and so I was like and before you say anything, he did more than you do did and don't try and mug him off ever again with it	157
Terry	Agent in own decision making	I've been bullied in prim secondary school before so I know what it's gonna be like when someone's taking the mickey cos my uncle knows where I've been bullied before he knows I will say something about it now where I just never used to say anything it took about over a year well couple of months for my mum to find out	159
Terry	Agent in own decision making	Yeah I knew, as soon as I got home I knew how I wanted to be; calm and relaxed while speaking to my mum instead of us shouting at each other all the time	207
Terry	Agent in own decision making	actually felt really happy with myself and proud of myself that I actually made it the best one and I was over the moon when I got home and I said to my mum as soon as I got home *****'s gonna be bringing the letter I wrote, the apology letter I wrote to you with her when she comes for the home visit she said okay, she didn't expect it to be that good though cos she knows I don't like writing, like when it comes to	217
Chris	Agent in own decision making	he's just really had a big input in my life because I've made, I like speak to more people I'm not shy anymore kind of I talk I like I think someone used to say I'm like I always stay in a shell it's like before and now it's pretty safe to say I've come out of that shell now and I like to talk to a lot more people like if if we were having this meeting before the sessions I wouldn't like talk as much as I would but err I'm just like more confident with talking to people and even talking about people that erm like things that like if I'm supposed to talk to someone about a certain thing I'll end up making conversation with them as well and talking about other things that can lead on	35
Chris	Agent in own decision making	share my opinion more with people about like things that are relevant like the news and stuff like that if	37

		something happens I'll just say my opinion on it	
Chris	Agent in own decision making	when there was five minutes left erm we would talk about something like a subject was brought up and that kind of made me really confident because usually I'd only talk to people if I kind needed to but now I just talk to people just because like like no matter what it's about cos I'm more confident with like sharing what I think with other people to the like not say anything at all	44
Chris	Agent in own decision making	she would non-stop talk and now it's kinda been me talking a lot more because I'm more confident with talking	62
Chris	Agent in own decision making	basically now I would talk to more people about my opinions	62
Chris	Agent in own decision making	Yeah its like the I didn't think I couldn't trust them...the only time it backfired on me was no it wasn't really any ... I was outside and this boy took the ball out of my bag and said he was going to go to the tennis courts to play with it and cos I kind of knew him I was like alright I didn't kind of stop him like if he had asked me I would've said like no just wait for me to go there cos I was going to go in a minute and then I went to there like five minutes later and it had gone over the fence and like they lost it erm but that was probably because he just did it without asking I just didn't really stop him but that didn't really set anything back but just made me know not to trust that person just that if I want to say something then just say it instead of being too nervous like saying oh okay sure like if someone wanted to take something of mine I would just be like okay cos I wouldn't want them to not like me but now I'm like no actually I kinda need that and you can't really have it but like and I'd like want them to ask a lot more	126
Chris	Agent in own decision making	And also made me like speak up a lot more	134
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	this phone, alright, I was taking it to the shop alright they was like your names not on the thing so you can't err put your phone in so I was like alright I'll ride home quick cos I've just finished college and I've gotta wait two hours til erm til college no this but there was about an hour left so I went home and I come back up and I was gonna go get my phone done and erm cos my mum's just put a password on that only lasts a certain amount of hours I think and then erm so I come in and sorted my phone and I called them up said like I don't	31

		really think I'm gonna make it they're keep you in there for like an hour a time and I'd already been in there for like half hour forty five minutes like just to get told my phone (laughter) like I can't do anything so I called her up and I was like I don't really think I can do reparation today and she was like there's nothing I can do about that well I try calling her back up, I tried explaining it again, just didn't wanna hear it so I was like alright then I won't come (defiant tone)	
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	Yeah well like through my life I've just learnt things by myself really no-one's ever like told me how to do certain things like I've learnt how to do literally the majority of everything myself like cos when I've been told by my parents its either been the wrong way, the worst way or the stupidest way to do it any other people tell me anything it's just shit ways I dunno I just figure out everything myself I think like all the mistakes I've made before I've thought about that in my head like I've been the rest of it I've learnt something through it I know I can name everything I've learnt from it so this doesn't really help that much I prefer to just learn from my mistakes	59
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	With these, these don't really help that much I could come in here, do exactly what they do talking to myself (laughter)	61
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	Erm I don't know like it's just things usually come easier coming from myself as well	75
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	I was like I don't care if go to dads I got to go to ***** cos that's like my town alright, so I was like fuck you, I'm going alright, I left and I went to ***** erm just got put there, can't even remember how I got back here (laughter) I don't remember that but erm that was the first day I missed YOT cos it was my first one and I didn't know about it that day well I don't know, I might of, I might of just missed it (laughter).	145
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	I dunno anything you just got like you think I could go to college right now yeah I could do a course of something I could make my business in it. I just need some start-up money, it aint even hard to get start-up money just gotta do shit like I could go do a lumberjack course now yeah, get a van, get a couple of chain saws and that	175
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	Err nowhere (laughter) literally I've thought all this myself, all my life you gotta work out what you wanna do your whole life do this or do that alright, I spent four	207



		straight months like every day thinking what do I wanna do what do I wanna do flicking through books thinking what do I wanna do. Nothing. Can't think of anything. I picked painting and decorating cos I wanna get my GCSE alright like literally that's it (laughter)	
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	Lots of people try to be rich don't they, that's what everyone wants to be so obviously not everyone's gonna so it's like why just me one person why aren't you rich like it's not that hard to come up with an idea like you could just think of something else like literally I see a van drive past, you buy twelve vans, you've got a van company, I dunno, buy some land in ***** put a car park on it I dunno anything, there's so much shit you could do.	219
Kevin	Agent in own decision making	Like if I was to do something really high risk like that like moving to Australia isn't that high risk come on I'm not gonna die from it, I'm not gonna go jail for it I'm not gonna lose any of my friends or anything there they're still gonna be here like if I do something high risk that's what I mean I probably won't do that cos I'm not that naughty	256
Jamie	Emotions	I had a fiery temper so I didn't help it so in school, school work was fine I was predicted As and stuff and Bs my behaviour was what let me down sort of at break and lunch people would come and say things like ah they said this and I would just lose my temper so I guess with the people that were trying to bully me I got violent whereas I should've just ignored them and laughed at them	197
Jamie	Emotions	I have I guess, not an active imagination but my mind wanders like it could be a little cut in my head some deep like cut across the head that's losing blood I dunno	225
Jamie	Emotions	now where I'm a lot calmer	233
Jamie	Emotions	I didn't get on with the people I was getting into fights all the time pretty much every day, I'd walk out and either come back with my blood or someone else's blood over me or you know so they sort of said if he stays there someone's either gonna get really hurt or he's gonna get in more trouble sort of thing	239
Jamie	Emotions	I'd go to ISS deal with all of that agg go home and deal with more so every day I was just getting more wound up and wound up it got to a point where I almost sort of kicked off in ISS like I have we've had a bit of a heated sort of thing but it got to a point where I saw a chair	299

		and I was just gonna whack it round his head honest for a while that's what I felt like	
Terry	Emotions	where I'm ginger obviously and gingers have really short tempers	61
Terry	Emotions	I used to bottle things up all the time and I wouldn't talk to no one	73
Terry	Emotions	making sure that my brother knows that I'm calmed down a lot more and that I won't react to him like	73
Terry	Emotions	Participant: I'm a hard person to calm down cos I don't listen a lot	75
Terry	Emotions	I was so angry with my mum	197
Chris	Emotions	Erm well at the start I was kind of really nervous and I was really like worried about everything and as it went on I got more comfortable and safe and more confident	29
Chris	Emotions	I don't know like in the first couple of sessions I didn't really talk a lot I got I got really nervous	44
Chris	Emotions	I think it's just because he was really nice and supportive and kind of understood that I was quite nervous and since he understood it kinda helped me talk a lot more I think its cos he understood I was nervous so I like felt more comfortable I was a lot more confident cos I knew he was like he was really supportive and it just really helped that he knew that I was just nervous the whole time but as it went on I liked to talk to him a lot more and I was more like comfortable with talking to him yeah	48
Chris	Emotions	Yeah I just worried about talking to him cos I didn't know I was kinda nervous I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it	82
Chris	Emotions	Yeah I think towards the beginning I wouldn't say much because I was kinda nervous about what would happen but the more I knew the more knew the more I shared	84
Chris	Emotions	Interviewer: Erm and I just wondered what that picture was I would really like to know what that picture was Participant: Erm I dunno someone like who was quite strict or like someone who wouldn't have been that supportive who would have just like who would have been like erm getting told off by a teacher or something like that, you wouldn't like enjoy or you'd kinda feel bad the whole time	99

Chris	Emotions	before the sessions like the first couple of times I was like I would really not wanna go I would try and find a way out of it	106
Chris	Emotions	Oh yeah and erm another thing cos like sometimes you'd get a teacher that was really nice at the start and you'd really like em and then as you get to know them more like they'd get a bit more strict, it's like the opposite of the image that I had so they'd start off really nice but the more you had them the faster the image changed into like a strict teacher and erm like you can start off like no homework and then they'd just like thow a lot more homework and becoming strict and stuff like that	108
Josh	Matured	I was fourteen maybe fifteen when I offended so I feel like I was still very immature and very young still and I didn't open my mind and so there you go its opened my eyes and learned about that through maturity I guess and through this stuff massively, yeah	67
Josh	Matured	I've said because I've matured I've been able to take this in but it could be the other way as well, taking this in could cause me to mature I think together they go really well and so I could've been immature and still be learning I probably was immature before I actually started so erm I guess erm being able to err like if it came first before maturity it would've led to maturity	79
Josh	Matured	I guess being mature already erm has helped that come in even more	81
Jamie	Matured	Erm I'm learning to deal with sort of a lot of things, growing up, sort of	159
Jamie	Matured	As much as I can anyway but I dunno, it's just different now, I think I've got a different outlook on life	161
Josh	Past self	I was fourteen maybe fifteen when I offended so I feel like I was still very immature	67
Jamie	Past self	Participant: Cos that's when I was a violent thug Interviewer: Mmm Participant: My lifestyles changed from somewhere I wanted to be like I've moved back to my mum's so I sort of, I don't wanna risk moving again cos I've got more to lose than I did before so	65
Jamie	Past self	I felt better having known that it wasn't anything to do with me cos I had sort of been under that impression my whole life that it was my fault I was a trouble child,	139

		all of that usual stuff, its nothing to do with that at all	
Jamie	Past self	before I was a very closed person, like I never told anyone anything, if someone asked how I was feeling, I could be feeling as upset as anyone and I'd say I'm fine, it's just how I am	157
Jamie	Past self	it was a difficult time at that school and where I was with people that were like me that weren't sort of up for school work my behaviour sort of got worse and that's when I was sort of more of a violent person like there was a lot of violent people around	173
Jamie	Past self	I thought I was a big bad tough kid sort of didn't take no shit	193
Jamie	Past self	sort of started going on a downhill spiral it gets to a point where you can't stop you get yourself this kind of image and you think either you've got to look like basically a bitch or a pussy and not go through or you've just gotta keep going it's what it gets to	201
Jamie	Past self	I didn't get on with the people I was getting into fights all the time pretty much every day, I'd walk out and either come back with my blood or someone else's blood over me or you know so they sort of said if he stays there someone's either gonna get really hurt or he's gonna get in more trouble sort of thing	239
Jamie	Past self	I'd go to ISS deal with all of that agg go home and deal with more so every day I was just getting more wound up and wound up it got to a point where I almost sort of kicked off in ISS like I have we've had a bit of a heated sort of thing but it got to a point where I saw a chair and I was just gonna whack it round his head honest for a while that's what I felt like	299
Terry	Past self	I used to bottle things up all the time and I wouldn't talk to no one	73
Terry	Past self	before where I just be I would punch everything around me I would just lose it with anyone in my way so pretty much, ***** could pretty much just calm me down and like	73
Terry	Past self	Before they helped me I wouldn't think I'd act straight away I would never think before I act	147
Terry	Past self	I would think straight after I done it and then I'd feel really bad cos I didn't think before I acted and I'd end up well getting upset cos I did something wrong and I'd	149

		know I did it so	
Terry	Past self	Yeah from year 10 and year 11 but then I went back to school in year 11 about October November time I stopped going again til February and a month later I went back again and got put in to the inner college	161
Terry	Past self	No I went to that school in year 10 but year 9 I missed the whole year of and year 7 and 8 I went to a school in ***** and I hardly ever used to go	163
Terry	Past self	Yeah I knew, as soon as I got home I knew how I wanted to be; calm and relaxed while speaking to my mum instead of us shouting at each other all the time	207
Chris	Past self	I'd probably say more confident because now like erm like before we started the interviews I was quite shy and I didn't like I didn't really talk to people I didn't really know but erm when I like towards the end of it, the sessions, erm I started like getting more confident to talk to people so yeah	15
Chris	Past self	before the sessions I was kind of like a really shy person	33
Chris	Past self	he's just really had a big input in my life because I've made, I like speak to more people I'm not shy anymore kind of I talk I like I think someone used to say I'm like I always stay in a shell it's like before and now it's pretty safe to say I've come out of that shell now and I like to talk to a lot more people like if if we were having this meeting before the sessions I wouldn't like talk as much as I would but err I'm just like more confident with talking to people and even talking about people that erm like things that like if I'm supposed to talk to someone about a certain thing I'll end up making conversation with them as well and talking about other things that can lead on	35
Chris	Past self	before the session I didn't really do anything at lunch and break I didn't really have any friends	37
Chris	Past self	I was just kind of too just and nervous to talk to anyone	60
Chris	Past self	basically now I would talk to more people about my opinions instead of just me having to talk to them because we have to work each other work with each other in lessons but erm I'm not too shy like I do talk sometimes I've seen like people who just never talk erm and I'm not kinda like them I do talk sometimes well I did talk sometimes now erm I'm constant like talking to anyone in my class erm but yeah I think it's just because	62

		I'm more like confident with expressing my opinion	
Kevin	Past self	things were going like upside down I was living in **** in ***** with my mum and her boyfriend in a studio flat cos I got kicked out of my dad's err I wasn't going to school or nothing I was just fed up cos I felt like I'd been taken the piss out of err	41
Josh	Self as 'not other'	I haven't ever thought about offending again ever and so I don't know about other young people that might take that into the next time I want to offend or the next time I want to hurt somebody you need to think about it but for me I haven't really had that chance to like I need to think about it	69
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	it will put you off wanting to come back, sort of if you're a violent sort of person it won't really affect you but if you weren't that type of person when you got onto YOT and stuff it puts you off	9
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	I wouldn't just mug a person on the street but I couldn't do that, if, the type of people that come, can end up on here are like that, they'll fit right in, they'll have no issues, but if you're more of a calm person and you're not sort of a, I guess an aggy teenager	45
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	if you just got in with the wrong crowd made a few shit decisions and ended up here it's not really a nice place at all cos you didn't, you're not that type of person	191
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	some people do like this is where they wanna be, they talk about going to prison like it's nothing and those are the type of people that sort of should be on here	193
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	whereas other people just sort of pass it like it's nothing if that makes sense that's how I can tell the right from wrong people the more excited they get about specific things. I know people that'll get excited about football the same way someone would about a fight if that makes sense, depending on Interviewer: I see, and it sounds like you would kind of put yourself in a different group to that kind of person Participant: I'm my own person yes, personally I don't think I'm two faced	217
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	Like I can't I'm not I'm a lively person like obviously last time you found out, that was fun but I am also a quieter person I'm not about partying and loud music every night maybe like Saturday and Sunday and that but	249

		other than that not really I wouldn't just think oh someones just come home from a holiday yeah party I'm not that type of person	
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	In the end it all just boils down to what type of person you are its as simple as that that's the best way to explain YOT depending on what type of person you are is depends on your experience simple as that if you bow like you're the type who'll just sort of go with the crowd and you know yeah I don't know how to explain it properly without someone else being there to sort of like, this is them this is me	323
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	Participant: Kind of, you'd need to show, not show but just look at the comparisons sort of thing like I dress like most people here that's just how I choose to dress that's just how I feel comfortable but I wouldn't go out on the street and just hit someone because they looked at me like if someone was proper staring at me I'd have an issue like I'd say something to em but I wouldn't just walk up to em and just punch em that's not me but a lot of people would you wouldn't even have to look at them for more than a second you'll have a fist coming at ya Interviewer: That's the other kind of person that Participant: That's the kind of people that should be on here its weird though like I've I've been sitting out there waiting and I've seen kids as young as like 10 and I was like please tell me they've just come for their older brother or something like please but no there's like kids as young as 10 on here its mad like what can you do at 10 to get that bad of a YOT order its just mad	327
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	I dunno I don't wanna say I just think they need to have some kind of more severe punishment cos I mean kids if they're here now what are they gonna be like when they're my age if you know what I mean like they if they're that type of person that I'm on about they're just gonna be in and out of here all the time or in prison like its just as simple as that	333
Jamie	Self as 'not other'	I dunno I admit I was like that at that age but I had my reasons I didn't just rebel against things like I had things going on in my life that most people wouldn't wanna deal with even now in an adult age so like I'll admit I had my reasons I know they're not great but they were my reasons whereas some of em they're just here like they've got no reasons they're just oh I did this, well why just because its like fucking hell what you doing you're supposed to be having fun in a playground not	337

Terry	Self as 'not other'	Yeah she helped me to get someone to help me find a job that I really wanna do cos I don't wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life I just want money for myself and well help my mum out.	103
Terry	Self as 'not other'	I don't wanna be like my brothers that didn't help like when they were young like once I move out I'll still give her money for everything she's done for me	117
Terry	Self as 'not other'	Cos she don't really know about hitting people but she gets it from mainly next door cos no one will fight in front of her no one would ever	133
Terry	Self as 'not other'	Like my next door neighbour all they do is scream and shout and hear violence and that and I make sure she doesn't see it	135
Chris	Self as 'not other'	basically now I would talk to more people about my opinions instead of just me having to talk to them because we have to work each other work with each other in lessons but erm I'm not too shy like I do talk sometimes I've seen like people who just never talk erm and I'm not kinda like them I do talk sometimes well I did talk sometimes now erm I'm constant like talking to anyone in my class erm but yeah I think it's just because I'm more like confident with expressing my opinion	62
Josh	Self improvement	it all has actually really opened up my mind so erm I don't think I've really had any pointless visits here, I feel like I've always taken something from it erm	57
Josh	Self improvement	Yeah time, time's helped I guess but erm the majority of it is obviously like you know I can mature but being told all that stuff helped a lot so what YOT did and they are doing still with me is helping, helped a lot. And so the sort of stuff they're saying about decision making I haven't just taken that like I haven't ever thought about offending again ever and so I don't know about other young people that might take that into the next time I want to offend or the next time I want to hurt somebody you need to think about it but for me I haven't really had that chance to like I need to think about it so I've put like the smaller decisions in my life so I can improve in the best way I possibly can because I don't feel offending is an option for me ever like its like completely out of the picture so it comes down to a little things like lying to my family or like my little brother	69



Josh	Self improvement	Or maybe saying or making fun of my little brother or you know just little things like that makes me open up my mind like oh how's that going to affect him its not giving him a positive influence like I noticed myself like a lot like thinking about it yeah so this is all designed for the bigger stuff the bigger offending but it helps me with the smaller aspects as well and that's how I've taken it because well I guess the reason that I've never thought about offending is because of the work as well and cos of my experience that should have been out of the water anyway, I made a mistake so	71
Josh	Self improvement	No it's everybody wants to improve and I feel like as far as the place I'm in and as far as I've improved massively but never you know enough improvement you can always improve and not perhaps on this massive scale where you're an offender technically I still am to take a step down and try to improve different steps as well, you know you've got to make the most of it	73
Josh	Self improvement	in my eyes it should've been a massive thing I guess and I wanted to get it sorted I wanted to get on with my life, you know mistake made, lets sort it out	77
Terry	Self improvement	They got someone to help me look for work	21
Terry	Self improvement	Yeah she helped me to get someone to help me find a job that I really wanna do cos I don't wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life I just want money for myself and well help my mum out.	103
Terry	Self improvement	pretty much helping me and actually got someone straight away to help me find a job I have an interview for voluntary work for disabled kids and once as soon as I turn 18 I'll go for a carers job and then try with that	103
Terry	Self improvement	just waiting for the payment for the house we just did Interviewer: What do you mean? Participant: Like painting, did all the painting Interviewer: Oh right Participant: Ripped all the carpets and the underlay up and put it in the van and we did another job like clearance	109
Terry	Self improvement	well I wanna help my mum out cos she aint getting child benefits or anything for me so I just wanna make sure she gets money in her pocket so she can get food and all that, what she needs cos well she doesn't really buy herself anything when she has money	115

Terry	Self improvement	Yeah, and I've been thinking about it since I left and I've been realising how much I wanna work and obviously I do regret what I did and everyone did that with not going so they could get better grades and getting a decent job and support themselves and everyone around them.	123
Terry	Self improvement	Interviewer: So you know you want to work and finding work is really important to you at the moment Participant: Yeah it's the most important thing	140
Chris	Self improvement	I'd probably say more confident because now like erm like before we started the interviews I was quite shy and I didn't like I didn't really talk to people I didn't really know but erm when I like towards the end of it, the sessions, erm I started like getting more confident to talk to people so yeah	15
Chris	Self improvement	Yeah erm he's been really helpful with the erm in the sessions cos obviously he like made me comfortable and erm like put my confidence up	21
Chris	Self improvement	Erm well at the start I was kind of really nervous and I was really like worried about everything and as it went on I got more comfortable and safe and more confident	29
Chris	Self improvement	Erm well before the sessions I was kind of like a really shy person I didn't really talk to people who I didn't know too well and erm like I wasn't really that good at making friends but as the sessions moved on I kinda talked to him more and that kind of helped my like life outside of the sessions	33
Chris	Self improvement	he's just really had a big input in my life because I've made, I like speak to more people I'm not shy anymore kind of I talk I like I think someone used to say I'm like I always stay in a shell it's like before and now it's pretty safe to say I've come out of that shell now and I like to talk to a lot more people like if if we were having this meeting before the sessions I wouldn't like talk as much as I would but err I'm just like more confident with talking to people and even talking about people that erm like things that like if I'm supposed to talk to someone about a certain thing I'll end up making conversation with them as well and talking about other things that can lead on	35
Chris	Self improvement	I realised that erm like that lots of people would actually listen and erm obviously there would be some people who don't but that would be that would also help as well I need to like to some people I wouldn't talk	37

		to at all and some people I wouldn't stop talking to and I kind of like balance them both talk to people like regularly like err some people I would just talk to like every now and again like ask if they're alright and now I like talk to people about things we both like for example like er like games I was talking about I talk to them a lot more	
Chris	Self improvement	share my opinion more with people about like things that are relevant like the news and stuff like that if something happens I'll just say my opinion on it	37
Chris	Self improvement	one last thing is that erm before the session I didn't really do anything at lunch and break I didn't really have any friends but since then I kind of started gaining the confidence and started hanging out with people at like the tennis courts and like we usually do basketball and erm I'm kind of more comfortable with that cos they like since I've been with like been going there at lunch for like a long time like I've made friends there and it's all been very good so if I didn't have the sessions I probably I probably like walk around at lunch just not doing anything	37
Chris	Self improvement	throughout the sessions I kinda learned to talk to **** a lot and erm it kind of built my confidence up about by talking to people so that kind of helped a lot so during sessions the time when sessions were taking place and after the sessions I started talking to a lot more people and erm like hanging out with more people and now it's like they're good friends now and erm yeah it's because I'm more confident talking to people	42
Chris	Self improvement	when there was five minutes left erm we would talk about something like a subject was brought up and that kind of made me really confident because usually I'd only talk to people if I kind needed to but now I just talk to people just because like like no matter what it's about cos I'm more confident with like sharing what I think with other people to the like not say anything at all	44
Chris	Self improvement	I think it's just because he was really nice and supportive and kind of understood that I was quite nervous and since he understood it kinda helped me talk a lot more I think its cos he understood I was nervous so I like felt more comfortable I was a lot more confident cos I knew he was like he was really supportive and it just really helped that he knew that I was just nervous the whole time but as it went on I	48

		liked to talk to him a lot more and I was more like comfortable with talking to him yeah	
Chris	Self improvement	I've noticed I've started to talk a lot more because usually me and my sister *** would go to our nan and grandads and erm like quite recently like well before it was always like *** just talking she would non-stop talk and now it's kinda been me talking a lot more because I'm more confident with talking	62
Chris	Self improvement	basically now I would talk to more people about my opinions instead of just me having to talk to them because we have to work each other work with each other in lessons but erm I'm not too shy like I do talk sometimes I've seen like people who just never talk erm and I'm not kinda like them I do talk sometimes well I did talk sometimes now erm I'm constant like talking to anyone in my class erm but yeah I think it's just because I'm more like confident with expressing my opinion	62
Chris	Self improvement	Like and when I realise I'm like oh I might have said too much cos I don't know I just go off topic and then I don't know they just think I'm like crazy or something (both laugh) it's just the fact they I dunno I just talk a lot and then I just like I take one thing and I end up with another thing and I realise that I haven't really made sense yeah because I'm not that much of a chatterbox to be honest but recently I have been Interviewer: Ah okay Participant: But it's better than not talking at all	66
Chris	Self improvement	I dunno I kind of talk to someone about something and like if they know what I'm talking about they'd like talk about it as well and they'd like talk about it as well and we'd kind of both share our opinions about it like say if I was talking about something and then the other person was like oh yeah I know I've done that before or that I've experienced something like that before and then we'd start, like if I've done something before erm like cos I remember I don't quite a lot of like kinda I always used to do silly things before like one time I was doing football and I run into a goalpost and I was talking about that once and then someone else started talking about how they ran into a lamppost because	70
Chris	Self improvement	Yeah I just worried about talking to him cos I didn't know I was kinda nervous I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it but I became more confident like talking about things and obviously that led on to me making more friends like I've said and yeah just really	82

		just knowing how supportive he is and that has kind of lead on to me trusting him cos he's been really supportive and like and er as time went on I kinda shared more information with him cos I knew I could also trust him with having that information	
Chris	Self improvement	Oh yeah erm probably erm since like I've become really confident with the youth offending team it's kind of helped me with other things like I can't think of an example but I've been more confident with people kind of I trust more people	118
Chris	Self improvement	Yeah kind of like if one person did something it wouldn't mean that I couldn't trust anyone else but erm like I was saying earlier I couldn't think of an example but maybe if I was applying for a job and like they needed to know details or something I would like trust them I do	130
Chris	Self improvement	And also made me like speak up a lot more	134
Kevin	Self improvement	I'm kind of better like working for myself like all throughout my life	57
Kevin	Self improvement	I'd like to move to Australia got meet a load of new people	149
Kevin	Self improvement	Go and do something like that go stay or something do you know what I mean go and get my grand, go and do something, I dunno	151
Kevin	Self improvement	It's a dream I mean like a hot country	171
Kevin	Self improvement	I dunno anything you just got like you think I could go to college right now yeah I could do a course of something I could make my business in it. I just need some start-up money, it aint even hard to get start-up money just gotta do shit like I could go do a lumberjack course now yeah, get a van, get a couple of chain saws and that Interviewer: Right	175
Kevin	Self improvement	And that'll cut down the trees and I'll move it on, buy my own digger and that when I get enough money, renting that out, doing shit like that just, slowly build it then you've got loads of money coming in (laughter) and that's just how it works	177
Kevin	Self improvement	that's just one idea I could do loads of different shit I dunno I just wanna be rich you know what I mean I don't even have to work do you know what I mean I'll pay people to work for me	179

		Interviewer: You wanna be that successful that you	
Kevin	Self improvement	<p>I think these chairs, these make money, people make them and sell them don't they I bet that company is rich don't you, that's what I mean the owner of anyone who made anything like this is probably quite rich</p> <p>Interviewer: So why is painting and decorating not working towards it cos it could be that you're, you're in employment</p> <p>Participant: Painting and decorating as a trade isn't something you can really make a lot of money out of is it like anyone can slap some paint on a wall like me, you don't even have to get taught to do that it's not that hard, the first day I go in get told you got to get the scraper, put some water on it, wallpaper, everyone in my class can do it unless you're a spastic like literally like if you can't like move like you'd have to be in a wheelchair you know what I mean you definitely, it's like the easiest thing in the world it's like anyone anywhere will be able to do it and err like painting as well, that's so easy like you just get a brush, dip it in a pot, put it on a wall, it's not very much is it.</p>	195
Kevin	Self improvement	Err nowhere (laughter) literally I've thought all this myself, all my life you gotta work out what you wanna do your whole life do this or do that alright, I spent four straight months like every day thinking what do I wanna do what do I wanna do flicking through books thinking what do I wanna do. Nothing. Can't think of anything. I picked painting and decorating cos I wanna get my GCSE alright like literally that's it (laughter)	207
Kevin	Self improvement	And then er yeah so I just figure out my life plan I guess, if not I'll go do something, just a big move with a lot of risk but I won't fuck it up err I'll go rich as well cos I'd rather be rich get what I mean	209
Kevin	Self improvement	: Lots of people try to be rich don't they, that's what everyone wants to be so obviously not everyone's gonna so it's like why just me one person why aren't you rich like it's not that hard to come up with an idea like you could just think of something else like literally I see a van drive past, you buy twelve vans, you've got a van company, I dunno, buy some land in ***** put a car park on it I dunno anything, there's so much shit you could do.	219
Kevin	Self improvement	Nah I'll just think I've had a good life innit that's literally like what it means well I feel like (laughter)	221

Kevin	Self improvement	Yeah like I mean the risk of that is I could either fuck it up or not do you know what I mean, if I was to go over there I'd probably get rich first (laughter) cos how am I gonna get the money to go over there but when I said as I said like high risk it's like legal	254
Kevin	Self improvement	Like if I was to do something really high risk like that like moving to Australia isn't that high risk come on I'm not gonna die from it, I'm not gonna go jail for it I'm not gonna lose any of my friends or anything there they're still gonna be here like if I do something high risk that's what I mean I probably won't do that cos I'm not that naughty	256
Josh	Sense of responsibility	Or maybe saying or making fun of my little brother or you know just little things like that makes me open up my mind like oh how's that going to affect him its not giving him a positive influence	71
Jamie	Sense of responsibility	I think I'd feel like, I think I'd feel like kinda responsible at some point nah like if it was just cos I'd think well did he grow up thinking of me or what I wouldn't want that's the main reason I've changed my ways my nephew cos he's at that age now where he's picking things up like he's learning words and I'm just like where did you hear this sort of thing he's like I overheard you and my mum and it's like what shit you know he's picking up one of his first words was swearing he called someone an arse but I don't think he meant to call em that I dunno but I just sort of think like I don't wanna be the reason he goes down a wrong path I'd rather be the reason he went down a good path at least I can be sort of proud	343
Jamie	Sense of responsibility	I don't want him to see violence like I did	345
Jamie	Sense of responsibility	Pretty much just sort of for his sake as much as anyone else cos I don't want it to be like me when I was younger like whereas my mum and people are just like ah yeah she's just away but ah I mean she'd gone to prison I didn't even know	347
Terry	Sense of responsibility	Like my next door neighbour all they do is scream and shout and hear violence and that and I make sure she doesn't see it	135
Terry	Sense of responsibility	me and my stepbrother get along really well cos like if anyone tries to take the piss out of him I start on them like cos where my uncle tries like mugging my stepbrother off I have a go at him because of that he	155

		doesn't like	
Terry	Sense of responsibility	I had a go at him, I said to my uncle give **** my money cos it'll have only been about 50 quid to **** my stepbrothers name and he needed the money anyway I said to him give him the money I get to **** so he did and so I was like and before you say anything, he did more than you do did and don't try and mug him off ever again with it	157
Terry	Sense of responsibility	Yeah I stick up for my stepbrother the most where they my uncle tries to take the living piss out of him and try to make him do stuff for free and that and do most of the work where he doesn't have to do nothing	159
Jamie	Fragility of hope	Yeah, as much as the world is shit that's what it is, it is though innit really if you think about it what's good about it you live you die you come in this world with nothing at the end of the day you leave with nothing so that's how I look at life	371
Chris	Fragility of hope	Yeah its like the I didn't think I couldn't trust them...the only time it backfired on me was no it wasn't really any .... I was outside and this boy took the ball out of my bag and said he was going to go to the tennis courts to play with it and cos I kind of knew him I was like alright I didn't kind of stop him like if he had asked me I would've said like no just wait for me to go there cos I was going to go in a minute and then I went to there like five minutes later and it had gone over the fence and like they lost it erm but that was probably because he just did it without asking I just didn't really stop him but that didn't really set anything back but just made me know not to trust that person just that if I want to say something then just say it instead of being too nervous like saying oh okay sure like if someone wanted to take something of mine I would just be like okay cos I wouldn't want them to not like me but now I'm like no actually I kinda need that and you can't really have it but like and I'd like want them to ask a lot more	126
Kevin	Fragility of hope	I think these chairs, these make money, people make them and sell them don't they I bet that company is rich don't you, that's what I mean the owner of anyone who made anything like this is probably quite rich Interviewer: So why is painting and decorating not working towards it cos it could be that you're, you're in employment Participant: Painting and decorating as a trade isn't something you can really make a lot of money out of is	195



		it like anyone can slap some paint on a wall like me, you don't even have to get taught to do that it's not that hard, the first day I go in get told you got to get the scraper, put some water on it, wallpaper, everyone in my class can do it unless you're a spastic like literally like if you can't like move like you'd have to be in a wheelchair you know what I mean you definitely, it's like the easiest thing in the world it's like anyone anywhere will be able to do it and err like painting as well, that's so easy like you just get a brush, dip it in a pot, put it on a wall, it's not very much is it.	
Kevin	Fragility of hope	Yeah a bit but it probably I don't know it might never happen like it probably won't like you get what I mean like it doesn't happen to everyone does it but if it does I got a couple of plans	217
Kevin	Fragility of hope	when my dad dies me and my brother get his house or we get all the money from it alright, rent that house cos my brother aint gonna or me we aint gonna have a good job or anything or we'll have a couple of bits like painting and decorating or if I get rich I'll be happy (laughter) it probably won't happen but	219
Kevin	Fragility of hope	if I go jail no-ones gonna come and see me are they (laughter) like it's a jail no-ones gonna want to go into a jail like I dunno a couple people might but not many	264
Josh	Learned something	everyone pays a price for what they've done and so there's a way of doing it instead of me going to erm like having a sentence erm I came here for twelve months and got educated about different things and so it was justice yeah it's like a punishment but it's a nice punishment yeah it's good	39
Josh	Learned something	I learnt a lot about it how much it hah mmm huh (clears throat) sorry how much when you effect, when you offend it doesn't just affect one person that you offended and it doesn't just affect those people at this point in time its later on in life, there's so much more to it and it's helped me understand it I guess and then the AIM to stuff the AIM work has been really good in decision making and different things like that	53
Josh	Learned something	it all has actually really opened up my mind so erm I don't think I've really had any pointless visits here, I feel like I've always taken something from it erm	57
Josh	Learned something	its opened my eyes and learned about that through maturity I guess and through this stuff massively	67

Josh	Learned something	being told all that stuff helped a lot so what YOT did and they are doing still with me is helping, helped a lot	69
Josh	Learned something	I've put like the smaller decisions in my life so I can improve in the best way I possibly can because I don't feel offending is an option for me ever like its like completely out of the picture so it comes down to a little things like lying to my family or like my little brother	69
Josh	Learned something	Or maybe saying or making fun of my little brother or you know just little things like that makes me open up my mind like oh how's that going to affect him its not giving him a positive influence like I noticed myself like a lot like thinking about it yeah so this is all designed for the bigger stuff the bigger offending but it helps me with the smaller aspects as well and that's how I've taken it because well I guess the reason that I've never thought about offending is because of the work as well and cos of my experience that should have been out of the water anyway, I made a mistake so	71
Josh	Learned something	No it's everybody wants to improve and I feel like as far as the place I'm in and as far as I've improved massively but never you know enough improvement you can always improve and not perhaps on this massive scale where you're an offender technically I still am to take a step down and try to improve different steps as well, you know you've got to make the most of it	73
Josh	Learned something	you know you can either sit there and sulk or make the most of it and see what they actually have to offer and it's been really beneficial to me	75
Josh	Learned something	yeah I guess it taught me good patience but yeah	77
Josh	Learned something	I've said because I've matured I've been able to take this in but it could be the other way as well, taking this in could cause me to mature I think together they go really well and so I could've been immature and still be learning I probably was immature before I actually started so erm I guess erm being able to err like if it came first before maturity it would've led to maturity	79
Jamie	Learned something	ust sort of a lot of things that they teach you sort of realising how it affects other people, not just yourself	69
Jamie	Learned something	Erm I'm learning to deal with sort of a lot of things, growing up, sort of	159

Jamie	Learned something	<p>I had a tough life and I've come on here and I've realised it's not where I wanna be so I just think if everyone just sort of took a step back and realised what they were doing with their lives and where it was going or sort of tell em to look like this time next year where do you see yourself like I'd hopefully see myself in a job doing well</p> <p>Interviewer: Are these the kinds of conversations you've had with ***** or</p> <p>Participant: Pretty much</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah</p> <p>Participant: That's what I mean I've realised things she's sort of not woke me up to but put in my head and where I've thought about em I'm like shit she's right what am I doing with my life</p>	357
Terry	Learned something	<p>I'm learning how to control it a lot more than I used to</p> <p>Interviewer: Uhhuh</p> <p>Participant: And well I haven't been getting angry for, since they helped me this time</p>	63
Terry	Learned something	<p>Interviewer: So you got quite a few ideas from</p> <p>Participant: Yeah</p> <p>Interviewer: Did you have those ideas before?</p> <p>Participant: Nah, they were all new to me</p>	68
Terry	Learned something	<p>I've started to listen to people and to calm down to sort my anger out so much more than I have. I've finally realised that it's not gonna get me nowhere and it's just gonna make me a bad person and not gonna get me job or not gonna make me happy or anything</p>	75
Terry	Learned something	<p>I actually I just thought about what she said and it actually worked I got home and I spoke to her and we just sorted it out straight away</p>	199
Chris	Learned something	<p>Erm well before the sessions I was kind of like a really shy person I didn't really talk to people who I didn't know too well and erm like I wasn't really that good at making friends but as the sessions moved on I kinda talked to him more and that kind of helped my like life outside of the sessions</p>	33
Chris	Learned something	<p>throughout the sessions I kinda learned to talk to **** a lot and erm it kind of built my confidence up</p>	42
Chris	Learned something	<p>Oh yeah erm probably erm since like I've become really confident with the youth offending team it's kind of helped me with other things like I can't think of an example but I've been more confident with people kind</p>	118

		of I trust more people	
Josh	Sense of journey	Okay so when I actually offended, I can't remember what year it was it was like two years ago and then I had what nine ten months to wait for my court thing to come through so I had a big long wait and then my order started so effectively it's been a long time since the actual offense and I was fourteen maybe fifteen when I offended so I feel like I was still very immature and very young still and I didn't open my mind and so there you go its opened my eyes and learned about that through maturity I guess and through this stuff massively, yeah	67
Josh	Sense of journey	Or maybe saying or making fun of my little brother or you know just little things like that makes me open up my mind like oh how's that going to affect him its not giving him a positive influence like I noticed myself like a lot like thinking about it yeah so this is all designed for the bigger stuff the bigger offending but it helps me with the smaller aspects as well and that's how I've taken it because well I guess the reason that I've never thought about offending is because of the work as well and cos of my experience that should have been out of the water anyway, I made a mistake so	71
Jamie	Sense of journey	Participant: Cos that's when I was a violent thug Interviewer: Mmm Participant: My lifestyles changed from somewhere I wanted to be like I've moved back to my mum's so I sort of, I don't wanna risk moving again cos I've got more to lose than I did before so	65
Jamie	Sense of journey	but at home, I don't want to get kicked out of my home because its where I wanna be so I've actually got things I can lose now rather than sort of only gaining	113
Jamie	Sense of journey	before I was a very closed person, like I never told anyone anything, if someone asked how I was feeling, I could be feeling as upset as anyone and I'd say I'm fine, it's just how I am	157
Jamie	Sense of journey	It's partly experience, if I hadn't done the things that I've done and gone where I am now it could have even been a lot worse but I'll never know	163
Jamie	Sense of journey	Interviewer: So you kind of put things down to cos things are going well right like with your mum things are settled Participant: Yeah like I haven't been in trouble with the police for any new offences in since I've been home	314

		which is about nearly like 10 months	
Jamie	Sense of journey	Participant: Yeah this is the most settled I've ever been	321
Jamie	Sense of journey	<p>I had a tough life and I've come on here and I've realised its not where I wanna be so I just think if everyone just sort of took a step back and realised what they were doing with their lives and where it was going or sort of tell em to look like this time next year where do you see yourself like I'd hopefully see myself in a job doing well</p> <p>Interviewer: Are these the kinds of conversations you've had with ***** or</p> <p>Participant: Pretty much</p> <p>Interviewer: Yeah</p> <p>Participant: That's what I mean I've realised things she's sort of not woke me up to but put in my head and where I've thought about em I'm like shit she's right what am I doing with my life</p>	357
Jamie	Sense of journey	<p>Yeah nah that's different what I mean is sort of monetary things like that was one of my biggest issues where I realised you don't really need it when you're in that type of lifestyle when you got drug habits and shit like that yeah you need it but when you just get on with your life you don't need it that much when you're an adult you pay bills and stuff I mean I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do so I'm like why would you need that like you're 17 you don't need it and that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like oooh I guess I got attracted my issue was I always got on with people either a bit younger than me a year or so younger than me or just older, any age older so where I was getting in with older people I basically became like their younger they looked at me like that so from sort of about 12 I was like I said going down the wrong path sort of thing so when I was getting involved with people that were doing more things than people my age would've like things kids my like</p>	373
Jamie	Sense of journey	<p>Like don't get me wrong there's some times I'm just like ah I could go back to doing what I was doing but it's just not worth it like I got caught the first time so I'm probably gonna get caught the second or the third or the fourth there's no such thing as a good criminal</p>	379

		anymore it's just a lucky criminal	
Terry	Sense of journey	I'm learning how to control it a lot more than I used to Interviewer: Uhhuh Participant: And well I haven't been getting angry for, since they helped me this time	63
Terry	Sense of journey	Yeah, making sure everything's okay at home and I'm not getting angry and make sure I haven't been in any type of trouble which I haven't.	89
Terry	Sense of journey	Just realising what she's done for me in the past and what she's been there and supported me through everything that I've been through and it's not just her, it's my stepdad as well	117
Terry	Sense of journey	Yeah, and I've been thinking about it since I left and I've been realising how much I wanna work and obviously I do regret what I did and everyone did that with not going so they could get better grades and getting a decent job and support themselves and everyone around them.	123
Chris	Sense of journey	I'd probably say more confident because now like erm like before we started the interviews I was quite shy and I didn't like I didn't really talk to people I didn't really know but erm when I like towards the end of it, the sessions, erm I started like getting more confident to talk to people so yeah	15
Chris	Sense of journey	he's just really had a big input in my life because I've made, I like speak to more people I'm not shy anymore kind of I talk I like I think someone used to say I'm like I always stay in a shell it's like before and now it's pretty safe to say I've come out of that shell now and I like to talk to a lot more people like if if if we were having this meeting before the sessions I wouldn't like talk as much as I would but err I'm just like more confident with talking to people and even talking about people that erm like things that like if I'm supposed to talk to someone about a certain thing I'll end up making conversation with them as well and talking about other things that can lead on	35
Chris	Sense of journey	I realised that erm like that lots of people would actually listen and erm obviously there would be some people who don't but that would be that would also help as well I need to like to some people I wouldn't talk to at all and some people I wouldn't stop talking to and I kind of like balance them both talk to people like regularly like err some people I would just talk to like	37

		every now and again like ask if they're alright and now I like talk to people about things we both like for example like er like games I was talking about I talk to them a lot more	
Chris	Sense of journey	share my opinion more with people about like things that are relevant like the news and stuff like that if something happens I'll just say my opinion on it	37
Chris	Sense of journey	one last thing is that erm before the session I didn't really do anything at lunch and break I didn't really have any friends but since then I kind of started gaining the confidence and started hanging out with people at like the tennis courts and like we usually do basketball and erm I'm kind of more comfortable with that cos they like since I've been with like been going there at lunch for like a long time like I've made friends there and it's all been very good so if I didn't have the sessions I probably I probably like walk around at lunch just not doing anything	37
Chris	Sense of journey	throughout the sessions I kinda learned to talk to **** a lot and erm it kind of built my confidence up about by talking to people so that kind of helped a lot so during sessions the time when sessions were taking place and after the sessions I started talking to a lot more people and erm like hanging out with more people and now it's like they're good friends now and erm yeah it's because I'm more confident talking to people	42
Chris	Sense of journey	when there was five minutes left erm we would talk about something like a subject was brought up and that kind of made me really confident because usually I'd only talk to people if I kind needed to but now I just talk to people just because like like no matter what it's about cos I'm more confident with like sharing what I think with other people to the like not say anything at all	44
Chris	Sense of journey	I think it's just because he was really nice and supportive and kind of understood that I was quite nervous and since he understood it kinda helped me talk a lot more I think its cos he understood I was nervous so I like felt more comfortable I was a lot more confident cos I knew he was like he was really supportive and it just really helped that he knew that I was just nervous the whole time but as it went on I liked to talk to him a lot more and I was more like comfortable with talking to him yeah	48

Chris	Sense of journey	I've noticed I've started to talk a lot more because usually me and my sister *** would go to our nan and grandads and erm like quite recently like well before it was always like *** just talking she would non-stop talk and now it's kinda been me talking a lot more because I'm more confident with talking	62
Chris	Sense of journey	Yeah I just worried about talking to him cos I didn't know I was kinda nervous I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it but I became more confident like talking about things and obviously that led on to me making more friends like I've said and yeah just really just knowing how supportive he is and that has kind of lead on to me trusting him cos he's been really supportive and like and er as time went on I kinda shared more information with him cos I knew I could also trust him with having that information	82
Chris	Sense of journey	before the sessions like the first couple of times I was like I would really not wanna go I would try and find a way out of it but erm like towards the end I was kind of I'd be like alright I've got my meeting today and that would like be it, I wouldn't worry about it I'd just remember that I've got it	106
Chris	Sense of journey	Yeah its like the I didn't think I couldn't trust them...the only time it backfired on me was no it wasn't really any .... I was outside and this boy took the ball out of my bag and said he was going to go to the tennis courts to play with it and cos I kind of knew him I was like alright I didn't kind of stop him like if he had asked me I would've said like no just wait for me to go there cos I was going to go in a minute and then I went to there like five minutes later and it had gone over the fence and like they lost it erm but that was probably because he just did it without asking I just didn't really stop him but that didn't really set anything back but just made me know not to trust that person just that if I want to say something then just say it instead of being too nervous like saying oh okay sure like if someone wanted to take something of mine I would just be like okay cos I wouldn't want them to not like me but now I'm like no actually I kinda need that and you can't really have it but like and I'd like want them to ask a lot more	126
Chris	Sense of journey	Yeah kind of like if one person did something it wouldn't mean that I couldn't trust anyone else but erm like I was saying earlier I couldn't think of an example but maybe if I was applying for a job and like they needed to know details or something I would like trust	130



		them I do	
Kevin	Sense of journey	<p>if I was to speak to my older brother about like stuff like this like obviously it's my I've had like three offences that I've been arrested for and that say if he had nothing he'd been arrested for and I don't know where I'm going with this, what was I talking about</p> <p>Interviewer: So you were saying that it's good when someone's got some experience in the past</p> <p>Participant: Oh yeah cos I have experience I can explain to him like what if like he got arrested the other day for doing something my dad and like I feel like I can explain to him better why he's getting arrested because I can see it and err like I know why I've been arrested myself in the past because I've done similar things that he was doing and yeah so</p>	47
Josh	Sense of justice	Okay erm, what's the word for it, I want to say like justice almost like, do you know what I mean	13
Josh	Sense of justice	Yeah I guess its like paying a price for it, like paying a price for what you do	17
Josh	Sense of justice	everyone pays a price for what they've done and so there's a way of doing it instead of me going to erm like having a sentence erm I came here for twelve months and got educated about different things and so it was justice yeah it's like a punishment but it's a nice punishment yeah it's good	39
Josh	Sense of justice	justice really its fair that I'm here	45
Jamie	Area where live	<p>Interviewer: Yeah okay, so what about the travelling tell me what's...the issue around that</p> <p>Participant: Erm, it's not really an issue its just sort of where I live its awkward, there's one train an hour so if I miss that I've gotta wait another hour for the next train and it's the same getting here, if I miss that one I don't make it to the appointment on time so it's a, it's an issue</p>	38
Jamie	Area where live	Nah it's just that it's such a small place that no one cares enough to run it I mean there's one train, if I miss that I've gotta wait a whole hour so its sort I could be waiting who knows and that, like when it was hot and the trains were all delayed I'd end up waiting two hours just to get home I might as well have just fucking walked it to be honest I'd have probably got home quicker	265

Jamie	Area where live	but then I started breaking it like I got in the wrong crowd again but the sort of the worst that I'd been with cos in (place name) they just sort of put criminals and all that that's what they do out of prison they end up going into (place name) statistically anyway but you know I was just with the wrong group doing the wrong things like I ended up doing car burglaries, not that I've been nicked for it but I have or been there should I say and it's just not good like it was sort of watching, it didn't feel like I was doing it I felt like I just had no control its hard to explain but I have a messed up mind anyway so you know	277
Jamie	Area where live	it's a dead area its basically impossible to get in trouble without meaning to basically like there is there's nothing to do you cant break stuff there's just nothing literally nothing	311
Terry	Area where live	I just don't really like socialising with people well in ***** I don't cos it's full of druggies	89
Terry	Area where live	My areas just full of druggies, people that sells weed and smokes it and then there's all like alcoholics that starts wants to start a fight, start arguments with everyone and well police round there a lot	91
Terry	Area where live	The police are there pretty much every day cos of mainly ***** area and that	93
Terry	Area where live	The worst area is ***** cos the police go there all the time cos of the people that sell drugs there and buy drugs there	95
Terry	Area where live	No, well if I have to go to my uncles then I have to pass it cos he lives near where all the houses are at the back of ***** but that areas alright it's just the centre bit of ***** where it's just crap there but I don't really do anything outside anyway	97
Terry	Area where live	Everyone wants to be on benefits well it's pretty much most of ***** don't wanna work.	123
Terry	Area where live	Cos she don't really know about hitting people but she gets it from mainly next door cos no one will fight in front of her no one would ever	133
Terry	Area where live	Like my next door neighbour all they do is scream and shout and hear violence and that	135
Kevin	Area where live	just I got a lot of mates here but erm it's a bit of a drippy area innit like a lot of dickheads about err aint	149

		the nicest weather you know	
Jamie	Money on mind	I have to go back to court on the 21st for non payment of fine but where I've been stressed before cos my main issue before I had no money so I sort of did what I did and that's, I started to get worried because I don't want to go back to how it was, I wanna stay just off of it and I don't want to go back to YOT or worse go to prison cos that's what's gonna happen if I do anything else, so it's yeah	155
Jamie	Money on mind	Yeah nah that's different what I mean is sort of monetary things like that was one of my biggest issues where I realised you don't really need it when you're in that type of lifestyle when you got drug habits and shit like that yeah you need it but when you just get on with your life you don't need it that much when you're an adult you pay bills and stuff I mean I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do so I'm like why would you need that like you're 17 you don't need it and that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like ooh I guess I got attracted	373
Jamie	Money on mind	Interviewer: You were saying the money attracted you Participant: Yeah money's always it's not so much now like I don't need it it's just something in my mind	376
Terry	Money on mind	I don't wanna be one of those people on benefits all their life I just want money for myself and well help my mum out	103
Terry	Money on mind	Yeah move out and if my mum needs money give it to her so I said to her that I've been working with my uncle lately I said to her I'll give her all the money for it	107
Terry	Money on mind	I wanna help my mum out cos she aint getting child benefits or anything for me so I just wanna make sure she gets money in her pocket so she can get food and all that, what she needs cos well she doesn't really buy herself anything when she has money	115
Terry	Money on mind	they get money once a well my stepdad gets paid monthly so does my mum and she's just she just can't always save the money for the future week like for later that month to get shopping electric, gas and the essentials that she needs it for the house and that doesn't help with my stepdad painting so that's a lot more money out her pocket so I just wanna help her	117

		out more and more than I have been.	
Terry	Money on mind	I don't wanna be like my brothers that didn't help like when they were young like once I move out I'll still give her money for everything she's done for me I don't really expect anything from my mum when she's done and if I do have a kid I'll let my mum see them whenever she wants and I'll give her money for doing it for like babysitting if I have to work a lot then mum has the work	117
Kevin	Money on mind	Go and do something like that go stay or something do you know what I mean go and get my grand, go and do something, I dunno	151
Kevin	Money on mind	And yeah like loads of shit you can do out there to make money innit err I dunno I think you can make money out of anything Interviewer: Really, what kind of things, what you got planned tell me Participant: I dunno anything you just got like you think I could go to college right now yeah I could do a course of something I could make my business in it. I just need some start-up money, it aint even hard to get start-up money just gotta do shit like I could go do a lumberjack course now yeah, get a van, get a couple of chain saws and that	173
Kevin	Money on mind	Participant: And that'll cut down the trees and I'll move it on, buy my own digger and that when I get enough money, renting that out, doing shit like that just, slowly build it then you've got loads of money coming in (laughter) and that's just how it works Interviewer: Is that here or over there Participant: Err I dunno just wherever, I could have it here then bring it over there know what I mean then it'll be even bigger but err I dunno that that that that's just one idea I could do loads of different shit I dunno I just wanna be rich you know what I mean I don't even have to work do you know what I mean I'll pay people to work for me	177
Kevin	Money on mind	Participant: (laughter) what would be good about being rich? Erm that I'm just above everyone and I'm just like like I've like it's the best that's what it would be like I'd just love to be rich Interviewer: Yeah Participant: ...you know what I mean, wouldn't you love to be rich you'd just feel like on top innit	183

		<p>Interviewer: So how is that different to how you feel now?</p> <p>Participant: Erm when I go out and I have no money and I want some fucking lunch or I want some clothes cos they're fucking dirty (laughter) I can't do it can I, if I was rich I could go shop and buy Versace clothes and go buy some Gucci stuff, get a couple of bags, get some trainers, go spend £80 in a restaurant for a little meal, tiny glass of drink, get what I mean</p>	
Kevin	Money on mind	I could do anything like you can make money out of anything literally	193
Kevin	Money on mind	<p>I think these chairs, these make money, people make them and sell them don't they I bet that company is rich don't you, that's what I mean the owner of anyone who made anything like this is probably quite rich</p> <p>Interviewer: So why is painting and decorating not working towards it cos it could be that you're, you're in employment</p> <p>Participant: Painting and decorating as a trade isn't something you can really make a lot of money out of is it like anyone can slap some paint on a wall like me, you don't even have to get taught to do that it's not that hard, the first day I go in get told you got to get the scraper, put some water on it, wallpaper, everyone in my class can do it unless you're a spastic like literally like if you can't like move like you'd have to be in a wheelchair you know what I mean you definitely, it's like the easiest thing in the world it's like anyone anywhere will be able to do it and err like painting as well, that's so easy like you just get a brush, dip it in a pot, put it on a wall, it's not very much is it.</p>	195
Kevin	Money on mind	And then er yeah so I just figure out my life plan I guess, if not I'll go do something, just a big move with a lot of risk but I won't fuck it up err I'll go rich as well cos I'd rather be rich get what I mean	209
Kevin	Money on mind	Lots of people try to be rich don't they, that's what everyone wants to be so obviously not everyone's gonna so it's like why just me one person why aren't you rich like it's not that hard to come up with an idea like you could just think of something else like literally I see a van drive past, you buy twelve vans, you've got a van company, I dunno, buy some land in ***** put a car park on it I dunno anything, there's so much shit you could do.	219

Kevin	Money on mind	when my dad dies me and my brother get his house or we get all the money from it alright, rent that house cos my brother aint gonna or me we aint gonna have a good job or anything or we'll have a couple of bits like painting and decorating or if I get rich I'll be happy (laughter) it probably won't happen but	219
Kevin	Money on mind	Participant: Just wanna be rich Interviewer: Okay is there anything else you wanna be apart from rich Participant: Rich	223
Kevin	Money on mind	Yeah like I mean the risk of that is I could either fuck it up or not do you know what I mean, if I was to go over there I'd probably get rich first (laughter) cos how am I gonna get the money to go over there but when I said as I said like high risk it's like legal	254
Jamie	Peer culture	I wouldn't just mug a person on the street but I couldn't do that, if, the type of people that come, can end up on here are like that, they'll fit right in, they'll have no issues, but if you're more of a calm person and you're not sort of a, I guess an aggy teenager	45
Jamie	Peer culture	Interviewer: So what people wouldn't you want to come back and see Participant: Just most people in there to be honest, like there are some people that are alright and I've got on with some of them but others it's just sort of think they're all big and tough and they just act like something they're not	50
Jamie	Peer culture	without sounding really stupid but I'm not a scared person it wouldn't matter who was in front of me if I had something to say, I'd say it so sort of on ISS they used to intimidate people and bullying them into things whereas I was just like no, I'm not doing it	175
Jamie	Peer culture	Yeah pretty much, I had my first assault charge by about 11 so yeah it sort of started going on a downhill spiral it gets to a point where you can't stop you get yourself this kind of image and you think either you've got to look like basically a bitch or a pussy and not go through or you've just gotta keep going it's what it gets to	201
Jamie	Peer culture	Yeah at the time they would just sort of watch everything happen, I had some that if anything happened they'd be there but others were just there to watch everything go off, come and say things that people apparently said when I know for a fact they	203

		hadn't it's just on that particular day I was pissed off I was just looking for any excuse, one came up, I went for it but I mean friends that aren't really friends they just wanna see it all kick off	
Jamie	Peer culture	whereas others say they've called you this, they make it worse than what it actually was like someone could call me a dickhead and I'd be like alright whatever they call me a dickhead or something bad but like if they're calling me a lot stronger I'd probably start getting a bit more annoyed but that's what they, they'd say ah they've called you this or they've said this about someone or they've said this about your mum that, that was where I was more weak like if someone said stuff about my family that was it	205
Jamie	Peer culture	people just wanna see things kick off I don't know why people just wanna see fights and stuff like, they don't wanna do it they wanna watch, they want others to do it	209
Jamie	Peer culture	And then like sometimes if they had an issue with someone they'd just sort of say ah, they've said this about you, even if they haven't, they've said it about them, they just haven't got it in them to deal with it so they tell someone else to do it basically, its just how it is most people are two face nowadays anyway	211
Jamie	Peer culture	I didn't get on with the people I was getting into fights all the time pretty much every day, I'd walk out and either come back with my blood or someone else's blood over me or you know so they sort of said if he stays there someone's either gonna get really hurt or he's gonna get in more trouble sort of thing	239
Jamie	Peer culture	once again it's people my own age I don't really get on with most people my own age unless I've known em for ages I just sort of clash with em cos I admit most people my age are big headed they all think they're some sort of something they're not bigger than they are	243
Jamie	Peer culture	Mmm, the less time I'm out...yeah but then I but then I started breaking it like I got in the wrong crowd again but the sort of the worst that I'd been with cos in (place name) they just sort of put criminals and all that that's what they do out of prison they end up going into (place name) statistically anyway but you know I was just with the wrong group doing the wrong things like I ended up doing car burglaries, not that I've been nicked for it but I have or been there should I say and it's just not good like it was sort of watching, it didn't feel like I was doing	277

		it I felt like I just had no control its hard to explain but I have a messed up mind anyway so you know	
Jamie	Peer culture	Participant: Exactly, if social life was going out with people and getting into trouble 24/7 being worried about police every 5 minutes its just not worth it its more agg	297
Jamie	Peer culture	I'd go to ISS deal with all of that agg go home and deal with more so every day I was just getting more wound up and wound up it got to a point where I almost sort of kicked off in ISS like I have we've had a bit of a heated sort of thing but it got to a point where I saw a chair and I was just gonna whack it round his head honest for a while that's what I felt like	299
Jamie	Peer culture	Interviewer: When you say, was that you were getting agg you said agg Participant: Yeah what I mean is I was going to (place name) dealing with dickheads basically like getting in arguments fights at home to then go to ISS the next day still pissed off to deal with more	304
Jamie	Peer culture	there's nothing to do you cant break stuff there's just nothing literally nothing Interviewer: You can't break stuff Participant: Nah there's nothing to damage like you could break windows but that's about it	311
Jamie	Peer culture	In the end it all just boils down to what type of person you are its as simple as that that's the best way to explain YOT depending on what type of person you are is depends on your experience simple as that if you bow like you're the type who'll just sort of go with the crowd and you know yeah I don't know how to explain it properly without someone else being there to sort of like, this is them this is me	323
Jamie	Peer culture	Participant: Kind of, you'd need to show, not show but just look at the comparisons sort of thing like I dress like most people here that's just how I choose to dress that's just how I feel comfortable but I wouldn't go out on the street and just hit someone because they looked at me like if someone was proper staring at me I'd have an issue like I'd say something to em but I wouldn't just walk up to em and just punch em that's not me but a lot of people would you wouldn't even have to look at them for more than a second you'll have a fist coming at ya	327



		<p>Interviewer: That's the other kind of person that</p> <p>Participant: That's the kind of people that should be on here its weird though like I've I've been sitting out there waiting and I've seen kids as young as like 10 and I was like please tell me they've just come for their older brother or something like please but no there's like kids as young as 10 on here its mad like what can you do at 10 to get that bad of a YOT order its just mad</p>	
Jamie	Peer culture	<p>now like I'll admit I can get away with murder now compared to back in my uncles day my uncles was telling me like I think back in his day he used to still get the cane and stuff so if he misbehaved even at a young age he'd get a cane round him whereas now they're not allowed to do it like kids can just run riot its simple as that police aren't allowed to use as much force as they used to at least not on us unless we give em enough reason to so its just sort of kids feel like I admit I feel like I can get away with a lot like my offences I was told even by the barrister if that was an adult that'd be looking at at least 7 years that's just minimum 7 years so</p>	331
Jamie	Peer culture	<p>I'm sitting in a court room at 15 basically with burglary of £7000 and possession with class A with intent to supply so it's not really a nice thing for a 15 year old like and it's my choices I know but I just think like if people thought about things before they did em a bit more even just a little bit more and make sure its really what they want to do they'd probably back out but once you get in its like once you get a certain reputation you can't lose face basically you got to keep at it</p>	361
Jamie	Peer culture	<p>Participant: Yeah nah that's different what I mean is sort of monetary things like that was one of my biggest issues where I realised you don't really need it when you're in that type of lifestyle when you got drug habits and shit like that yeah you need it but when you just get on with your life you don't need it that much when you're an adult you pay bills and stuff I mean I know kids my age that'll walk around with £200 cash just from what they do so I'm like why would you need that like you're 17 you don't need it and that's just what they'd spend like daily and that's crazy but that's what attracted me to it seeing the money in their hands it just sort of I don't know just something in my mind just sort of rang and I was like ooh I guess I got attracted my issue was I always got on with people either a bit younger than me a year or so younger than me or just older, any age older so where I was getting in with older</p>	373

		people I basically became like their younger they looked at me like that so from sort of about 12 I was like I said going down the wrong path sort of thing so when I was getting involved with people that were doing more things than people my age would've like things kids my like when I was about that age shoplifting was a big deal if you shoplifted you were instantly a badass whereas now you shoplift that don't mean anything that's like wow you stole like a 2p sweet good for you try robbing a bank or something next time that's what it's got to but that's the difference it was the difference between shoplifting or robbing a bank kind of thing it's a big leap	
Terry	Peer culture	Yeah, but down here is better for me cos I know I won't really get in trouble with anyone like people in ***** cos they're just usually out on the streets just being little rats and I don't see the point of it I don't see the point of being a little rat outside	171
Terry	Peer culture	Yeah cos I got people round here that are supporting me than I did in ***** where I used to go out a be a little rugrat just getting chased by the police and all that but since I been down here I just stopped doing that and just kept myself to myself really and just stayed out of trouble with a lot of people	175
Terry	Being bullied	where cos I've been bullied in prim secondary school before so I know what it's gonna be like when someone's taking the mickey cos my uncle knows where I've been bullied before he knows I will say something about it now where I just never used to say anything it took about over a year well couple of months for my mum to find out	159
Terry	Being bullied	why I stopped going to school and all that and they they said one of them well my mate **** stuck up for me in school when I got bullied he was the only one that stuck up for me	179
Terry	Being bullied	Oh in school we used to, before like I got bullied and I got to know a lot of people I used to do corridors with my mate where we run through the corridors and dinner ladies used to chase us but where one time we was all running, we all stopped and my mate decided to kick the pizza out of my hand so it went flying hit my other mate but then we all found it funny though it was a joke we got along since then me and him just been talking a lot when we used, like, we spoke a bit on that day but then that the day after I went round his with him and we just started getting along, we both liked	185

		walking dead and all that so pretty much we liked the same thing so that's what made us even a lot closer than we were and we got, just started getting along and we started meeting up after school going out and then meeting up on the weekends and staying round at his and just do whatever we did on the weekend which was pretty much nothing	
Chris	Being bullied	but er like throughout primary school I got bullied a lot by the same person. It wasn't very good but in year 7 for some reason I made lots of friends but unfortunately we don't keep in touch yeah I made lots of friends in year 7 and then in year 8 when I first came to the school I wasn't too good at making friends cos I didn't know everyone	42
Jamie	Family difficulties	Erm well, there was a lot going on sort of before I went into care, I haven't met my dad but erm he was basically being a dick I'll put it that way, it's the only way I know how to put it erm my sister had just been hit by a car	111
Jamie	Family difficulties	Yeah my brother, well my mum was going in and out of court with my brother for not going to school and all of that and of top of just sort of just having a baby being born at the same time, that was all in a little bundle at once my mum sort of had a bit of a breakdown, started drinking, I got taken away and then came back when I sort of was about 16 but it was, before all my behaviour, I didn't really care because I had nothing to lose, I was in a place, in a foster placement, so it wasn't where I wanted to be so I just did whatever I wanted, I didn't care if I got kicked out of, you know, that foster placement	113
Jamie	Family difficulties	more seeing everyone when their parents would come and pick them up and there's me getting in a taxi from school it just weren't good	207
Jamie	Family difficulties	ended up as cancer but for all I knew she could be dying I don't know, they haven't told me anything so I was more annoyed at that point than anything	227
Terry	Family difficulties	I just end up snapping at him and snapping at my stepdad and then end up well getting arrested because of him	47
Terry	Family difficulties	Me and my brother was arguing, he thought I was talking, my stepdad thought I was talking to him where I called my brother a see you next Tuesday, my stepdad thought I was talking to him so he threw a mug at me so	51

		I punched it and I ran up to him and punched him in the face then me and my brother started fighting and arguing then my mum called the police	
Terry	Family difficulties	I'm the only one living there apart from my stepbrother cos where he's disabled so he doesn't really know anything	155
Jamie	Life out of control	I just see myself as a kid phewww, that's had a di, I wouldn't say a shit life but I had a difficult start in life and err I went the wrong way, I could've gone one way but I chose another	195
Jamie	Life out of control	My life just all around me was just crashing like friends that I thought were friends weren't at all, like other people, it's just things like little things, just all over the place it just sort of collapsed everywhere, I don't know how to explain it	199
Jamie	Life out of control	what annoyed me is I found out that my mum actually told them to tell me but where she didn't have full control they thought they knew what's best but they knew, she knew with me to just tell me straight cos otherwise I'll get more agitated	225
Jamie	Life out of control	And I wasn't in control of my life either where I wasn't an adult they had control of it which is how its been my whole life which I guess is sort of why I rebelled so much cos I've had no control I just I dunno like I didn't choose to move to some of the places I just got put there whether I liked it or not I had no choice	289
Jamie	Life out of control	Like social services didn't she'd written to me and everything and she thought I was ignoring her but I didn't get em like they had hold of em they wouldn't let her I was like what I went at that point I went mental cos she had it in	355
Terry	Life out of control	Yeah, like before I had youth offenders the first time with my anger I learnt to control it before but for some reason it got out of hand because of my brother so in the end I just ended up getting worse and worse because of it where I couldn't handle it anymore and then he just pushed me to the limit where I couldn't can't go anymore, they've helped me to calm it down and then I just end up snapping at him and snapping at my stepdad and then end up well getting arrested because of him cos the main reason I get angry is cos of my brother and they're trying to help me, well they're helping me sort that out cos where I'm one of 6 and it's not good to be the youngest cos they tried picking on	47

		you	
Kevin	Life out of control	things were going like upside down I was living in **** in ***** with my mum and her boyfriend in a studio flat cos I got kicked out of my dad's err I wasn't going to school or nothing I was just fed up cos I felt like I'd been taken the piss out of err and yeah so I missed quite a few appointments at the start of that one but then going through into it I missed a couple as well and I had to have an emergency panel meeting and then err I had a possibility of going back to court but they didn't so it was alright	41
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	it will put you off wanting to come back, sort of if you're a violent sort of person it won't really affect you but if you weren't that type of person when you got onto YOT and stuff it puts you off	9
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	It's a good thing is that all the sort of the staff and that, they're quite alright, they're not sort of, I don't know how to put it, they're not jobs worth basically they're not trying to know all of your business its just sort of there to keep everything, its sane ahah cos there would be riots otherwise	13
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I wouldn't just mug a person on the street but I couldn't do that, if, the type of people that come, can end up on here are like that, they'll fit right in, they'll have no issues, but if you're more of a calm person and you're not sort of a, I guess an aggy teenager	45
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	sort of a dodgy place to be cos if someone kicks off, two people aren't really gonna stop anything really not when there could be chairs thrown or hit with people, there's pool cues, there's all sorts	55
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	people have sort of got in arguments, it sort of everyone walks off cos they know they can't risk it but some people would happily go to prison just to prove a point	59

Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	Yeah and after all everything that happened like I was bullied for a while, being in care and not being from the area and all of that stuff just everything, what I wore, what I said, how I talk and erm yeah I sort of didn't really trust anyone, basically no friends, I didn't trust anyone enough. I went there and sort of learnt that I can trust people and then it just sort of went again so, yeah, it was a difficult time at that school and where I was with people that were like me that weren't sort of up for school work my behaviour sort of got worse and that's when I was sort of more of a violent person like there was a lot of violent people around it was basically like a prison cos we couldn't go anywhere, there was fences, it was all swipe cards and keys and stuff so it was, you were around them 24/7 so if there's an issue, it wouldn't go away it would build up. One day it pretty much ended up all out warfare with all the kids yeah it exploded so, wasn't good. I think that school didn't help me either I think if I'd have gone to a normal school I'd have settled down whereas around kids like me I wasn't sort of using my mind I was just sort of doing nothing	173
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I'm not a scared person it wouldn't matter who was in front of me if I had something to say, I'd say it so sort of on ISS they used to intimidate people and bullying them into things whereas I was just like no, I'm not doing it	175
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I don't back down, if I don't want to do something then I won't do it, simple as, there's not point trying to beg me to do it I'll just say no, so that's when it sort of kicks off there's obviously its like, I'm saying no and they're not used to it, they're used to people backing down but there's no point being scared of people, it gets you nowhere and that's where most of my troubles were cos I never back down to them, I wouldn't care. Its there's 2 people kicking off in one part and 2 people kicking off in another and where there was only sort of 3 staff it got a bit out of hand sometimes	177
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	And where everyone's about like more fights and not school work and stuff they'd all add to it sort of, add to the flames	179
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	It's not really a nice environment to be honest, it's like this (points to panic alarm), this is instantly a sign that it's a bad place, the fact there's a panel on the wall for like the whole building will come running it sort of says it all doesn't it Interviewer: What's your take on that then Participant: Guess it's for safety really. Wouldn't you,	181

		no, put a load of like criminals from prison in a room and not have some way of getting hold of someone if you needed it but you know	
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I just see it as a precaution, its fair enough, they've got them in the police station as well, so you know if someone does get a bit violent just tap that yeah	185
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	Yeah pretty much, I had my first assault charge by about 11 so yeah it sort of started going on a downhill spiral it gets to a point where you can't stop you get yourself this kind of image and you think either you've got to look like basically a bitch or a pussy and not go through or you've just gotta keep going it's what it gets to	201
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	people just wanna see things kick off I don't know why people just wanna see fights and stuff like, they don't wanna do it they wanna watch, they want others to do it	209
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I think it's, when they say things, it's the way they say it or the way they talk about certain things so you can tell, people that are aggressive, when they talk about violence they get excited they get like more into it, they start getting louder,	217
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I didn't get on with the people I was getting into fights all the time pretty much every day, I'd walk out and either come back with my blood or someone else's blood over me or you know so they sort of said if he stays there someone's either gonna get really hurt or he's gonna get in more trouble sort of thing	239
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I'd go to ISS deal with all of that agg go home and deal with more so every day I was just getting more wound up and wound up it got to a point where I almost sort of kicked off in ISS like I have we've had a bit of a heated sort of thing but it got to a point where I saw a chair and I was just gonna whack it round his head honest for a while that's what I felt like	299
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	Interviewer: When you say, was that you were getting agg you said agg Participant: Yeah what I mean is I was going to (place name) dealing with dickheads basically like getting in arguments fights at home to then go to ISS the next day still pissed off to deal with more	304

Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	<p>Participant: Kind of, you'd need to show, not show but just look at the comparisons sort of thing like I dress like most people here that's just how I choose to dress that's just how I feel comfortable but I wouldn't go out on the street and just hit someone because they looked at me like if someone was proper staring at me I'd have an issue like I'd say something to em but I wouldn't just walk up to em and just punch em that's not me but a lot of people would you wouldn't even have to look at them for more than a second you'll have a fist coming at ya</p> <p>Interviewer: That's the other kind of person that</p> <p>Participant: That's the kind of people that should be on here its weird though like I've I've been sitting out there waiting and I've seen kids as young as like 10 and I was like please tell me they've just come for their older brother or something like please but no there's like kids as young as 10 on here its mad like what can you do at 10 to get that bad of a YOT order its just mad</p>	327
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	I don't want him to see violence like I did and I saw my mum beaten by the age of 6 like that's what I mean like I've seen things that are horrible like they haunt me still like sometimes I'll sleep and I'll wake up and it will just come back and I don't want him to grow up the same way	345
Jamie	Presence of violence/aggression	so was like oh you've broke the law then its like no what are you on about so she was butting in got it all wrong and then was trying to get aggressive about it so we were getting more aggressive like what are you on about like we've not spoken about any crimes what are you on about but then we sort of when they realised they were like oh its just sort of the way they were speaking to us like back in my day I was like don't even give me that shit	367
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	so he threw a mug at me so I punched it and I ran up to him and punched him in the face then me and my brother started fighting and arguing then my mum called the police	51
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	no I got involved last year cos where I got arrested for beating up my other brother again	57
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	Violence with my brother, two are with the same one and then ones with another one	59
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	before where I just be I would punch everything around me I would just lose it with anyone in my way so pretty	73



		much	
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	Well, she aint a normal baby though cos she's not even 1 she'll climb up all my stairs on her own talk walk she's a violent baby as well already Interviewer: Fighting? Participant: Violent Interviewer: Violent	129
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	Like my next door neighbour all they do is scream and shout and hear violence and that	135
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	my other brother, me and him have been arguing a lot cos where he tried getting me arrested he tried to say I assaulted him when I was first with youth offenders but I told the police why would I hit him first when I've got a youth offenders already they said exactly cos they came back to mine but before he had to turn himself in but he didn't after 2 days so the police had to go to my brother with the daughter house and get him then once he got released the police came round mine saying that he said I assaulted him first when I never, even my mum, stepdad, cousin my brothers mate and next door neighbour as well said I didn't Interviewer: So there were witnesses	151
Terry	Presence of violence/aggression	Yeah, and if I hit him first he would've had a mark on him but I had a black eye, cuts on my back and shoulder and well that bit (eye) is still swollen, it won't go down	153
Kevin	Presence of violence/aggression	my dad is terrible with children and so that's why he doesn't work well with me and if my dad was a youth offending person pffffff he would (laughter) not get on with any of the kids, he'd probably end up getting beat up	119
Terry	School non attendance	Yeah from year 10 and year 11 but then I went back to school in year 11 about October November time I stopped going again til February and a month later I went back again and got put in to the inner college	161
Terry	School non attendance	No I went to that school in year 10 but year 9 I missed the whole year of and year 7 and 8 I went to a school in ***** and I hardly ever used to go	163
Terry	School non attendance	where they know what like I told them why I stopped going to school and all that and they they said one of them well my mate **** stuck up for me in school	179

Chris	School non attendance	Yeah at the end of year 7 during the summer holidays we moved house and then in year 8 erm I think I didn't go to (school) for the first 2 or 3 weeks because we were still trying to get into a school, I was trying to get into (school) and then there wasn't enough room so we ended up erm I ended up going to (school) and I joined maybe 3 weeks late but I don't think that made too much difference because I still wouldn't have liked talked to too many people anyway I think if I joined straight away it might have been just a tiny little bit better but not too much of a difference	56
Kevin	School non attendance	things were going like upside down I was living in **** in ***** with my mum and her boyfriend in a studio flat cos I got kicked out of my dad's err I wasn't going to school or nothing I was just fed up cos I felt like I'd been taken the piss out of err	41
Jamie	Significant transitions	Yeah my brother, well my mum was going in and out of court with my brother for not going to school and all of that and of top of just sort of just having a baby being born at the same time, that was all in a little bundle at once my mum sort of had a bit of a breakdown, started drinking, I got taken away and then came back when I sort of was about 16 but it was, before all my behaviour, I didn't really care because I had nothing to lose, I was in a place, in a foster placement, so it wasn't where I wanted to be so I just did whatever I wanted, I didn't care if I got kicked out of, you know, that foster placement	113
Terry	Significant transitions	Annoying, didn't want to move to **** at first I didn't want to move down here cos I didn't know no one but then I got used to the area and got to know people more and I do want to move back to ***** cos it's where I'm from and I miss all my mates there	169
Terry	Significant transitions	Yeah, but down here is better for me cos I know I won't really get in trouble with anyone like people in ***** cos they're just usually out on the streets just being little rats and I don't see the point of it I don't see the point of being a little rat outside	171
Terry	Significant transitions	Yeah cos I got people round here that are supporting me than I did in ***** where I used to go out a be a little rugrat just getting chased by the police and all that but since I been down here I just stopped doing that and just kept myself to myself really and just stayed out of trouble with a lot of people	175

Chris	Significant transitions	in year 7 for some reason I made lots of friends but unfortunately we don't keep in touch yeah I made lots of friends in year 7 and then in year 8 when I first came to the school I wasn't too good at making friends cos I didn't know everyone	42
Chris	Significant transitions	Yeah at the end of year 7 during the summer holidays we moved house and then in year 8 erm I think I didn't go to (school) for the first 2 or 3 weeks because we were still trying to get into a school, I was trying to get into (school) and then there wasn't enough room so we ended up erm I ended up going to (school)	56
Chris	Significant transitions	The fact that I'd only been in year 7 like at my old school for 1 year and I was like since I was like so confident with talking to people I think I needed more time so that I could become so confident that I could just talk to anyone cos lots of when usually when there's a new person at school like straight away they would just talk to everyone	58
Chris	Significant transitions	Cos I joined for cos obviously I joined and then I just didn't talk to anyone and then when like new people came in was like oh they're probably not gonna be able to talk to anyone either and then they just started talking to all the popular people and they just started being popular straight away and I was just wondering how they did it I don't know if they knew them from outside of school or something like that cos they kind of did something and it worked I was just kind of too just and nervous to talk to anyone	60
Kevin	Significant transitions	things were going like upside down I was living in **** in ***** with my mum and her boyfriend in a studio flat cos I got kicked out of my dad's err I wasn't going to school or nothing I was just fed up cos I felt like I'd been taken the piss out of err and yeah so I missed quite a few appointments at the start of that one	41
Kevin	Significant transitions	On a errr I kept saying I'm gonna go back to ***** I was like I don't care if go to dads I got to go to ***** cos that's like my town alright, so I was like fuck you, I'm going alright, I left and I went to ***** erm just got put there, can't even remember how I got back here (laughter) I don't remember that but erm that was the first day I missed YOT cos it was my first one and I didn't know about it that day well I don't know, I might of, I might of just missed it (laughter).	145

Jamie	Experience of not having trust	No it used to have my own room, we were never had locks, fire hazards and all of that shit but it was always the fear of like you go home and stuff would be missing from, obviously no one's gonna own up to it, you're never getting it back	123
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	social services tried to tell me my mum just got a bit ill but mum didn't want them to lie to me so she told me like this is what's happened blah de blah de blah so	137
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Yeah, she's sort of on a level, she's not like a lot of YOT workers who are just there to do their job, she listens and sort of tries to help, even things that aren't to do with YOT I can just talk to her and sort of feel a lot more relaxed having someone I know I can talk to that's not just gonna go sort of everywhere, like people my age, I can't tell them anything, you can't it will just go around everywhere in about 5 minutes	147
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Yeah, that's when I lost a lot of trust, I ended up in a boarding school for people with Aspergers, anger problems just anything that can hinder 'em at school they just sort of get put together and you're sort of meant to build a bit of a relationship with the staff, have a thing, it was sort of there was some that I could tell things to and they wouldn't tell but others would blab it out and erm yeah, one, what happened is I told someone something and it came straight back to me and I was like, there was only one person I told that to, how the hell can you know and that's when I lost a lot of trust and started like rebelling at school again, just going back to how I was	165
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Yeah and after all everything that happened like I was bullied for a while, being in care and not being from the area and all of that stuff just everything, what I wore, what I said, how I talk and erm yeah I sort of didn't really trust anyone, basically no friends, I didn't trust anyone enough. I went there and sort of learnt that I can trust people and then it just sort of went again so, yeah, i	173
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Yeah erm I prefer people being honest like I don't I don't like people that just sort of fucking about I'd rather know the truth like it's, it's like when people, I don't know how to, it's like when people, in social services when I was younger they used to try and sort of sweeten things, theres no point just tell me how it is and get it over and done with its like it took em about a week to properly tell me what was wrong with my nan	223

		they just said oh it's just sort of a little thing in the end I was like bollocks you're lying to me cos it keeps getting a little bit worse every time so just tell me whats wrong sort of thing I had to basically shout at em and kick off for em to tell me	
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Like I don't know how to explain it like with them they just sort of tell me a little thing but in my mind I'd know they were lying so I could just sort of I'd be thinking all sorts could be wrong.	227
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Erm yeah but it's more I dunno I guess I made it more difficult for myself just where I didn't get on with some people my own age from being in care I just instantly assume everyone's gonna be as much of a twat basically so I just sort of didn't go out of my way to make friends if people got on with me great but if not its their problem like its not my problem I don't care like I'd happily be by myself or with other people it doesn't bother me	245
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Cos I told em I said I even said I didn't want to go to (place name) I want to go straight home I don't wanna go anywhere else and I don't care about anywhere else that's where I wanna be but my social worker decided to play me and my mum against each other which we didn't know about cos I was told she said it would be a good idea if I learned some independence skills whereas my mum was told that I wanted to do it so if we'd have just spoke to each other we'd have been like hang on a minute Interviewer: So at the time you weren't able to speak	287
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Pretty much just sort of for his sake as much as anyone else cos I don't want it to be like me when I was younger like whereas my mum and people are just like ah yeah she's just away but ah I mean she'd gone to prison I didn't even know	347
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Interviewer: Mmm, how old were you when your mum went to prison Participant: About 9 Interviewer: Okay so you were already in care and you found out about Participant: No I well I think I must have been about 10 I didn't find out til I was about 13	350
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Like social services didn't she'd written to me and everything and she thought I was ignoring her but I didn't get em like they had hold of em they wouldn't let her I was like what I went at that point I went mental	355

		cos she had it in her head that I didn't want to talk to her basically no one had said that she just didn't get any replies or anything so	
Terry	Experience of not having trust	cos I don't trust a lot of people	79
Chris	Experience of not having trust	Yeah its like the I didn't think I couldn't trust them...the only time it backfired on me was no it wasn't really any .... I was outside and this boy took the ball out of my bag and said he was going to go to the tennis courts to play with it and cos I kind of knew him I was like alright I didn't kind of stop him like if he had asked me I would've said like no just wait for me to go there cos I was going to go in a minute and then I went to there like five minutes later and it had gone over the fence and like they lost it erm but that was probably because he just did it without asking I just didn't really stop him but that didn't really set anything back but just made me know not to trust that person just that if I want to say something then just say it instead of being too nervous like saying oh okay sure like if someone wanted to take something of mine I would just be like okay cos I wouldn't want them to not like me but now I'm like no actually I kinda need that and you can't really have it but like and I'd like want them to ask a lot more	126
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	So now, like, my nan, she's had something else diagnosed I knew straight away, as soon as my mum knew it was straight to me so I just sort of felt like, I don't know, I feel part of the family routine again	127
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	mum didn't want them to lie to me so she told me like this is what's happened blah de blah de blah so	137
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Interviewer: She was honest with you Participant: Mmm, she always has been, it's just how we are, we don't like sort of keeping things from people, there's no point	144
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Interviewer: And you said that's where you lost your trust, can you tell me a bit more about that Participant: Erm I just sort of I dunno I went through a stage of learning to trust people again	170
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	Yeah, pretty much, it's what I've learned in my 17 years of life, don't trust the wrong people Interviewer: So how do you know now who's right to trust, who's wrong to trust Participant: You just, I don't know how to explain it, you just get a feeling you just, something you're just like	213

		yeah something not right about them, I'll either feel completely relaxed or if I feel on edge I dunno how to explain it, I just know they're sort of a more dodgy person, if that makes any sense, I don't know how to explain it, it's just weird, I just get a feeling and I'm like nah, I don't like this	
Jamie	Experience of not having trust	what annoyed me is I found out that my mum actually told them to tell me but where she didn't have full control they thought they knew what's best but they knew, she knew with me to just tell me straight cos otherwise I'll get more agitated	225
Chris	Experience of not having trust	Erm I feel kinda like comfortable knowing that erm people like with the people knowing, people knowing what they know and who they are I just kind of comfortable with them knowing that	13
Chris	Experience of not having trust	I dunno like I think erm well not like kind of when I said that they know I meant that erm like they're the people who know like about it and not anyone else cos erm I'm rea, like as I said earlier when I said I was safe like I'm not worried about anyone finding out I'm really erm like comfortable with erm like the people who do know knowing what they know (laughter)	27
Chris	Experience of not having trust	Oh yeah erm probably erm since like I've become really confident with the youth offending team it's kind of helped me with other things like I can't think of an example but I've been more confident with people kind of I trust more people	118
Chris	Experience of not having trust	Yeah kind of like if one person did something it wouldn't mean that I couldn't trust anyone else but erm like I was saying earlier I couldn't think of an example but maybe if I was applying for a job and like they needed to know details or something I would like trust them I do	130
Chris	Experience of not having trust	Like working with **** has helped me gain trust with other people	132
Jamie	Repairing relationships	I felt better having known that it wasn't anything to do with me cos I had sort of been under that impression my whole life that it was my fault I was a trouble child, all of that usual stuff, its nothing to do with that at all	139
Terry	Repairing relationships	when I got home they, me and my mum and stepdad spoke about it and we apologised to each other said it would never happen again and from then we've been	53

		getting along so well	
Terry	Repairing relationships	Yeah move out and if my mum needs money give it to her so I said to her that I've been working with my uncle lately I said to her I'll give her all the money for it	107
Terry	Repairing relationships	well I wanna help my mum out cos she aint getting child benefits or anything for me so I just wanna make sure she gets money in her pocket so she can get food and all that, what she needs cos well she doesn't really buy herself anything when she has money	115
Terry	Repairing relationships	Just realising what she's done for me in the past and what she's been there and supported me through everything that I've been through and it's not just her, it's my stepdad as well	117
Terry	Repairing relationships	I don't wanna be like my brothers that didn't help like when they were young like once I move out I'll still give her money for everything she's done for me	117
Terry	Repairing relationships	Yeah and me and him have got a lot more closer than we used to be, we talk more before when I was really pissed off, he just spoke to me and calmed me down as well	137
Terry	Repairing relationships	most of the time I just get in trouble cos of my brother usually but recently me and him have been just normal and not arguing or anything	151
Terry	Repairing relationships	I was over the moon when I got home and I said to my mum as soon as I got home *****'s gonna be bringing the letter I wrote, the apology letter I wrote to you with her when she comes for the home visit she said okay, she didn't expect it to be that good though cos she knows I don't like writing, like when it comes to	217
Terry	Repairing relationships	Like the way I put showed how sorry I was to my mum and I understood what I did wrong and it's like, it's the way I really put it in words cos I just don't normally put things in words I just usually use slang or something or shortened words	219
Jamie	Safe relationships	I've moved back to my mum's so I sort of, I don't wanna risk moving again cos I've got more to lose than I did before so	67
Jamie	Safe relationships	there's not really a lot of people I can hang about with to get into the wrong thing which is why I got moved back Interviewer: To your mum's Participant: Yeah, just to keep me out of trouble, its	103



		helped, its kept me away from stuff but	
Jamie	Safe relationships	but at home, I don't want to get kicked out of my home because its where I wanna be so I've actually got things I can lose now rather than sort of only gaining	113
Jamie	Safe relationships	Basically my home, it's the way I see it as, I've never seen anywhere else as home, it's always been with my family, I'm a very family orientated person, no one comes before 'em and no one will	119
Jamie	Safe relationships	Participant: I don't know how to explain it, I just feel relaxed, I'm not constantly on edge, with other foster kids you never know they could be eyeing up your stuff in your room, they'll just take stuff, it's just how it is Interviewer: You used to share with other children Participant: No it used to have my own room, we were never had locks, fire hazards and all of that shit but it was always the fear of like you go home and stuff would be missing from, obviously no one's gonna own up to it, you're never getting it back, little things like that whereas at home I know if I leave my door open and I come home the next day, everything will still be where I left it so its sort of a lot of the worries are gone, like I know what's going on with my family	121
Jamie	Safe relationships	Someone that tries to keep you out of trouble rather than get you in it like if someone, fair enough like my true friends would tell me what people have said but they wouldn't say it the way others would they'd sort of say yeah they've said this but don't worry about it,	205
Jamie	Safe relationships	I got moved back to my mums that's when I got moved Interviewer: Okay Participant: That was the decision that it was the safest place for me where I wanted to be as well	283
Jamie	Safe relationships	Okay and you put that down to (place name) being quiet Participant: Erm kind of, that helped but it was more I was somewhere I wanted to be like it comes back to that I had stuff to lose again whereas my whole like for the 9 years before no matter what I did I was in the same position just a new place whereas then I could lose just everything I worked for like getting home so I guess that's when it hit me	316
Terry	Safe relationships	the only one that doesn't is my oldest one that used to stick up for me	49

Terry	Safe relationships	If I do go out it's just to play football or go shop or go shopping with my mum and that's it or meet my girlfriend and that and that's really it and go home	99
Terry	Safe relationships	obviously if my girlfriend moves in with me, support her as well as me	105
Terry	Safe relationships	Interviewer: Mmmhmm. who would you say is supporting you here? Participant: My girlfriend, now my mum, my stepdad, my cousin, my gir, my best mate *****, my other mate **** that I talk to from school and obviously my girlfriend and that's it really	176
Terry	Safe relationships	where they know what like I told them why I stopped going to school and all that and they they said one of them well my mate **** stuck up for me in school when I got bullied he was the only one that stuck up for me and since then me and him has been mates from then well we still talk now even on x-box and just constantly play games with each other and take the mickey out of each other but we both know we're joking cos it's like it's rare to get someone that actually knows what you're like even though they haven't known you that long cos he's known me for since, since I moved down here November time	179
Terry	Safe relationships	we spoke a bit on that day but then that the day after I went round his with him and we just started getting along, we both liked walking dead and all that so pretty much we liked the same thing so that's what made us even a lot closer than we were and we got, just started getting along and we started meeting up after school going out and then meeting up on the weekends and staying round at his and just do whatever we did on the weekend which was pretty much nothing Interviewer: Just enjoy hanging out Participant: Yeah just enjoy hanging out with him and having a laugh	185
Terry	Safe relationships	He said he's proud of me for it Interviewer: Sorry Participant: He said he's proud of me for it and well that's the only one I really wanna be proud of me, my oldest brother	229
Terry	Safe relationships	Yeah like we're both ginger as well and cos where my brothers used to pick on me he used to always stick up for me cos of it	235

Terry	Safe relationships	Yeah he's still in *****, cos I message him on Facebook as well like I go you alright and he'll go you alright and I say yeah it's just they been picking on me again and he goes I'll sort it out for ya and I'm like cheers so he's always there for me when I need him as well	237
Terry	Safe relationships	I just feel upset I just don't want him to go home it's like I haven't seen him in god knows how long before that I didn't see him for two years Interviewer: Wow okay Participant: And with the first time he came up I didn't see him for two years and when I did I just gave him a hug cos of it Interviewer: Sound like you're really close Participant: Yeah we just get along so well Interviewer: So it's hard not having him around when you've got others that it's harder to get along with at home Participant: Yeah it's a lot harder not having him around	243
Chris	Safe relationships	I think the year after I made friends with someone that I still talk to a lot today and in year 4 or 5 he was like my best friend, in year 6 I started to make a couple more friends cos I knew everyone quite a long time	42
Chris	Safe relationships	after the sessions I started talking to a lot more people and erm like hanging out with more people and now it's like they're good friends now	42
Chris	Safe relationships	Well yeah, I think it might have been another connection the fact that we were kind of linking like it was kind of to do with what you said just now like we were kind of linking things and er kind of saying like similar things to each other erm one of my good friends in this school I didn't even know that they were a fan of football and I talked about football and then they started talking about erm like football as well and it really surprised	74
Jamie	Troubling relationships	No it used to have my own room, we were never had locks, fire hazards and all of that shit but it was always the fear of like you go home and stuff would be missing from, obviously no one's gonna own up to it, you're never getting it back	123
Jamie	Troubling relationships	Before I was in ***** which is about a 3 hour drive so when my nan first went into hospital, it took me nearly 4 hours to get there and it took like a couple of days before I even knew what was going on so it just sort of felt like I wasn't part of the family anymore, I was just	125

		an extra, so now I feel sort of more	
Jamie	Troubling relationships	Interviewer: Okay, and what is it about erm I know you said kind of you would lose your home but you're really saying a lot about family is really important Participant: Yeah I feel like I'd be losing them slightly again	132
Jamie	Troubling relationships	ike me and my brother aren't really that close now but where he's 10 years older than me that's bound to happen like just sort of, had I spent a bit more time with him we might have found something, but he works all the time, he's moved out I don't really know my own brother which aint nice	133
Jamie	Troubling relationships	we just a weird family, we're close but we're sort of the furthest apart family you'll ever meet at the same time like if anything happens we're all there but other than that we just sort of get on with our day	135
Jamie	Troubling relationships	Nah, oh nah, ISS, YOT and stuff, other people say ah, he's called you this or they've called you that it's like they sort of fuel it a bit cos they knew they wouldn't get in trouble for it they're not fighting, they're not getting in trouble, they just wanna see it all kick off so they'll feed it as much as they can. It's not really a nice environment to be honest, it's like this (points to panic alarm), this is instantly a sign that it's a bad place, the fact there's a panel on the wall for like the whole building will come running it sort of says it all doesn't it	181
Jamie	Troubling relationships	My life just all around me was just crashing like friends that I thought were friends weren't at all, like other people, it's just things like little things, just all over the place it just sort of collapsed everywhere, I don't know how to explain it	199
Jamie	Troubling relationships	Yeah at the time they would just sort of watch everything happen, I had some that if anything happened they'd be there but others were just there to watch everything go off, come and say things that people apparently said when I know for a fact they hadn't it's just on that particular day I was pissed off I was just looking for any excuse, one came up, I went for it but I mean friends that aren't really friends they just wanna see it all kick off	203
Jamie	Troubling relationships	It's because I wasn't there so it was more of a reminder every time family got brought up it was just a constant reminder that mum wasn't with me at that point so I	207

		guess it wound me up	
Jamie	Troubling relationships	I didn't get on with the people I was getting into fights all the time pretty much every day, I'd walk out and either come back with my blood or someone else's blood over me or you know so they sort of said if he stays there someone's either gonna get really hurt or he's gonna get in more trouble sort of thing	239
Jamie	Troubling relationships	once again it's people my own age I don't really get on with most people my own age unless I've known em for ages I just sort of clash with em cos I admit most people my age are big headed they all think they're some sort of something they're not bigger than they are	243
Jamie	Troubling relationships	Erm yeah but it's more I dunno I guess I made it more difficult for myself just where I didn't get on with some people my own age from being in care I just instantly assume everyone's gonna be as much of a twat basically so I just sort of didn't go out of my way to make friends if people got on with me great but if not its their problem like its not my problem I don't care like I'd happily be by myself or with other people it doesn't bother me	245
Jamie	Troubling relationships	Yeah what I mean is I was going to (place name) dealing with dickheads basically like getting in arguments fights at home to then go to ISS the next day still pissed off to deal with more	305
Terry	Troubling relationships	for some reason it got out of hand because of my brother so in the end I just ended up getting worse and worse because of it where I couldn't handle it anymore	47
Terry	Troubling relationships	Violence with my brother, two are with the same one and then ones with another one	59
Terry	Troubling relationships	Yeah with myself cos I know I did something wrong and as soon as I apologized because erm well if I didn't do nothing wrong first then I wouldn't apologise because I wasn't wrong in my place where I was sticking up for myself but most of the time I just get in trouble cos of my brother usually	151
Terry	Troubling relationships	my other brother, me and him have been arguing a lot cos where he tried getting me arrested he tried to say I assaulted him when I was first with youth offenders	151
Chris	Troubling relationships	Erm well in primary school I think I had one friend from the beginning til about year 3 or something like that cos there were people that came in in year 3 and like my	42

		friend started hanging out with me like a lot less	
Chris	Troubling relationships	all of them people have known each other since year 7 and known some people from primary school and I was the only one I didn't know anybody there erm so before the sessions I didn't really talk to anyone I didn't hang out with anyone at break I just didn't really do anything	42
Kevin	Troubling relationships	my dad is terrible with children and so that's why he doesn't work well with me and if my dad was a youth offending person pffffff he would (laughter) not get on with any of the kids, he'd probably end up getting beat up	119
Kevin	Troubling relationships	just I got a lot of mates here but erm it's a bit of a drippy area innit like a lot of dickheads about err aint the nicest weather you know	149
Kevin	Troubling relationships	no-ones gonna want to go into a jail like I dunno a couple people might but not many Interviewer: Who would be the ones that would go? Participant: (Names some people) Interviewer: So they're good friends kind of thing Participant: Yeah a few of them	264
Josh	Safe	Really understanding, friendly, I haven't felt too awkward about speaking to them about anything so yeah I've been fine	29
Josh	Safe	Yeah as I said before *****, ***** and ***** have all been really understanding like you know like I feel like I can say anything to them ...you know I'm not afraid to share my beliefs and things I'm a Mormon if you knew, err and erm I'm very religious and erm ***** and ***** were really understanding, asking me questions about my religion, trying to understand my religion a little bit more as well so I've never felt uncomfortable	43
Terry	Safe	She went, it's all gonna be alright, every family argues you just gotta sort it out when we get, when you get home and your mums gonna understand why you're angry with her and she's gonna sort it out with you straight away and your gonna, I'm gonna say sorry when I go home I said yeah I will cos it was my fault in the first place for getting that angry with her I should've just spoke to her in a calm way and it just calmed me down a lot	205
Chris	Safe	I feel kind of safe	3
Chris	Safe	Erm I feel kinda like comfortable knowing that erm	13

		people like with the people knowing, people knowing what they know and who they are I just kind of comfortable with them knowing that	
Chris	Safe	I kind of feel like safe erm in the sessions because like erm obviously ****'s the only one that knows about it first then he shares it with other people like who he works with and I'm kind of I feel safe that no one else will know about it and I kind of feel safe that I won't have to worry about anyone knowing so yeah	17
Chris	Safe	Yeah erm he's been really helpful with the erm in the sessions cos obviously he like made me comfortable and erm like put my confidence up and	21
Chris	Safe	I'm really safe with him knowing like him being the first to like know of everything yeah	25
Chris	Safe	they're the people who know like about it and not anyone else cos erm I'm rea, like as I said earlier when I said I was safe like I'm not worried about anyone finding out	27
Chris	Safe	Erm well at the start I was kind of really nervous and I was really like worried about everything and as it went on I got more comfortable and safe and more confident	29
Chris	Safe	he understood it kinda helped me talk a lot more I think its cos he understood I was nervous so I like felt more comfortable I was a lot more confident cos I knew he was like he was really supportive and it just really helped that he knew that I was just nervous the whole time but as it went on I liked to talk to him a lot more and I was more like comfortable with talking to him yeah	48
Chris	Safe	And erm that kinda really helped cos I didn't picture him as someone like from the youth offending team I kinda pictured him as someone I'm really comfortable talking to like a teacher or someone like that Interviewer: I see yeah	90
Chris	Safe	as I met him more the faster the image changed and towards the end like I kind of like knew who he really was since I wasn't like scared I would actually like talk to him about different things he'd be really supportive and he'd listen	104
Chris	Safe	But **** is like the complete opposite of that he was like nice the whole way through and erm at no point he became strict he was nice the whole time and that's	110

		what really change the image I think if he would have been like really strict or not supportive the image would have like kind of stopped or maybe went back a bit but it's never happened	
Chris	Safe	Yeah and another thing is erm he said like at the beginning he said if you don't wanna answer something you don't have to but erm and sometimes like I wouldn't but erm that like as I was more confident talking to him I would kind of give him the answer to those questions that I wasn't like kind of like obviously that's another thing with trust erm I kind of talked to him a lot more about stuff I couldn't talk to him about before like it's the same with friends you wouldn't probably talk to them about something	112
Jamie	Trust	Yeah, she's sort of on a level, she's not like a lot of YOT workers who are just there to do their job, she listens and sort of tries to help, even things that aren't to do with YOT I can just talk to her and sort of feel a lot more relaxed having someone I know I can talk to that's not just gonna go sort of everywhere, like people my age, I can't tell them anything, you can't it will just go around everywhere in about 5 minutes	147
Jamie	Trust	It's just sort of confidential like no one else will know, unless it's life threatening obviously but if it's just little things that are on my mind, she's good to talk to Interviewer: How do you know that it's gonna be co, how do you know that you can trust her and Participant: I don't, she's just, I dunno, I just trust her, she's got that, she's just that type of person	149
Terry	Trust	You can just talk to the person like your caseworker about what's happening at home and that and they will keep it to themselves	17
Terry	Trust	if I met her more and more I could trust her more and I started, well obviously I started to trust her a lot more every time I met her and spoke to her cos she asked how things was at home all the time, how's everyone, she just the only person that understood what was going on really	77
Terry	Trust	I don't know, I just got that where she's so understanding and knows how to like make sure I stay calm all the time and how I can only trust her really cos I don't trust a lot of people	79
Terry	Trust	I don't like trusting people much and she pretty much, well the first person I trusted apart from my best mate	81



		****. First person I trusted really.	
Chris	Trust	I feel safe that no one else will know about it and I kind of feel safe that I won't have to worry about anyone knowing so yeah	17
Chris	Trust	I don't really know cos erm well I've been told that no ones gonna know about it and as far as, no one does know about it besides the like youth offending team and obviously people who should know about it erm yeah I just haven't had to worry about people knowing about it cos I'm very I don't know like I'm pretty confi..I'm pretty like ssss ah, I don't know I just trust him a lot	19
Chris	Trust	I'm really safe with him knowing like him being the first to like know of everything yeah	25
Chris	Trust	they're the people who know like about it and not anyone else cos erm I'm rea, like as I said earlier when I said I was safe like I'm not worried about anyone finding out	27
Chris	Trust	Erm I don't really know because erm mmhm I guess I trusted **** cos we knew each other quite well and in the sessions I was really confident with talking to him and I like trusted him with er quite a lot of things sounded up like I did trust him with er like with the information and stuff like that so I didn't really have any worries cos I knew **** so well	78
Chris	Trust	I was really confident and trusted them with knowing what they knew	80
Chris	Trust	Yeah I just worried about talking to him cos I didn't know I was kinda nervous I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it but I became more confident like talking about things and obviously that led on to me making more friends like I've said and yeah just really just knowing how supportive he is and that has kind of lead on to me trusting him cos he's been really supportive and like and er as time went on I kinda shared more information with him cos I knew I could also trust him with having that information	82
Chris	Trust	Yeah and another thing is erm he said like at the beginning he said if you don't wanna answer something you don't have to but erm and sometimes like I wouldn't but erm that like as I was more confident talking to him I would kind of give him the answer to those questions that I wasn't like kind of like obviously	112

		that's another thing with trust erm I kind of talked to him a lot more about stuff I couldn't talk to him about before like it's the same with friends you wouldn't probably talk to them about something	
Josh	Understood	say understanding is a good one	17
Josh	Understood	Really understanding, friendly, I haven't felt too awkward about speaking to them about anything so yeah I've been fine	29
Josh	Understood	Yeah as I said before *****, ***** and ***** have all been really understanding like you know like I feel like I can say anything to them ...you know I'm not afraid to share my beliefs and things I'm a Mormon if you knew, err and erm I'm very religious and erm ***** and ***** were really understanding, asking me questions about my religion, trying to understand my religion a little bit more as well so I've never felt uncomfortable	43
Josh	Understood	they've always been really understanding, we've always had a good understanding of each other actually, that's been really nice, makes it a lot easier but yeah understanding, they understand that people make mistakes	43
Jamie	Understood	And she understands just how important it is for me to be at home cos she saw me when I was still in care as well	237
Terry	Understood	Cos where I knew I could end up, if I met her more and more I could trust her more and I started, well obviously I started to trust her a lot more every time I met her and spoke to her cos she asked how things was at home all the time, how's everyone, she just the only person that understood what was going on really	77
Terry	Understood	I don't know, I just got that where she's so understanding and knows how to like make sure I stay calm all the time and how I can only trust her really cos I don't trust a lot of people	79
Chris	Understood	they've been really supportive as well like that was one of the words I was thinking of earlier but he's been really supportive and he's been really helpful and he's kind of understood everything	21
Chris	Understood	he understood it kinda helped me talk a lot more I think its cos he understood I was nervous	48
Kevin	Understood	I mean *****'s like more like of a younger person who	85

		understands things and that	
Kevin	Understood	It's not even it's not like I opened up it's just like she's younger and she just understands more if you know what I mean like old people just don't get what you mean	89
Josh	Positive relationship	Erm whenever I come here they're the ones I'm with so what's nice is they're the ones I think of	25
Josh	Positive relationship	Really understanding, friendly, I haven't felt too awkward about speaking to them about anything so yeah I've been fine	29
Josh	Positive relationship	we've always had a good understanding of each other actually, that's been really nice	43
Jamie	Positive relationship	it's just helpful having someone there that I can sort of explain things to who will actually listen and not sort of judge me for it	101
Jamie	Positive relationship	Yeah, she's sort of on a level, she's not like a lot of YOT workers who are just there to do their job, she listens and sort of tries to help, even things that aren't to do with YOT I can just talk to her and sort of feel a lot more relaxed having someone I know I can talk to that's not just gonna go sort of everywhere, like people my age, I can't tell them anything, you can't it will just go around everywhere in about 5 minutes	147
Jamie	Positive relationship	Yeah I just talk things through sort of what's going on, what's on my mind, cos before I was a very closed person, like I never told anyone anything, if someone asked how I was feeling, I could be feeling as upset as anyone and I'd say I'm fine, it's just how I am	157
Terry	Positive relationship	Helpful	7
Terry	Positive relationship	They got someone to help me look for work and well obviously helping me control my temper with my family, don't get in trouble anymore	21
Terry	Positive relationship	***** could pretty much just calm me down and like	73
Terry	Positive relationship	help me get through my problems and just support me	195
Terry	Positive relationship	I just looked, I just looked like the grumpiest person ever and my face was really red that day as well so she knew straight away I was angry cos she's seen me angry before where cos of my brother	203
Chris	Positive relationship	Well I kinda feel...I don't know how to explain it, it's like	9

		really happy with the person, like ****	
Chris	Positive relationship	he's been really helpful with the erm in the sessions	21
Chris	Positive relationship	they've been really supportive as well like that was one of the words I was thinking of earlier but he's been really supportive and he's been really helpful and he's kind of understood everything	21
Chris	Positive relationship	kinda really I said supportive I can't think of another word it's like	25
Chris	Positive relationship	Erm yeah like erm once the session had ended like if we were waiting for someone like a subject would be brought up we'd both kind of like would say our opinions about it erm yeah	46
Chris	Positive relationship	I think it's just because he was really nice and supportive and kind of understood that I was quite nervous and since he understood it kinda helped me talk a lot more I think its cos he understood I was nervous so I like felt more comfortable I was a lot more confident cos I knew he was like he was really supportive and it just really helped that he knew that I was just nervous the whole time but as it went on I liked to talk to him a lot more and I was more like comfortable with talking to him yeah	48
Chris	Positive relationship	I mean towards the end we started like talking to each other a lot more about things and erm that was like we were having proper conversations it wasn't just him asking me questions and me giving an answer it was more like kinda us actually talking to each other instead of like me just answering what he asked	50
Chris	Positive relationship	er saw him a lot more so he kinda cos easier to talk to each time and he was just really nice throughout the whole thing and er and yeah wait erm he was just really supportive and that kind of helped me talk more and more each time and like towards the sessions that's when we were having like more conversations	50
Chris	Positive relationship	Yeah I just worried about talking to him cos I didn't know I was kinda nervous I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it but I became more confident like talking about things and obviously that led on to me making more friends like I've said and yeah just really just knowing how supportive he is and that has kind of lead on to me trusting him cos he's been really supportive and like and er as time went on I kinda shared more information with him cos I knew I could	82

		also trust him with having that information	
Chris	Positive relationship	Erm the fact that as I erm like as I had more sessions I kind of like I dunno I kind of more like I kind of it wasn't like he was working with me he was like he was actually erm having conversations with me and like erm I don't know how to explain it but erm yeah I just feel like as I was talking to him a lot more it wasn't really it didn't seem like he was kind of I don't know I kind of like I could forget.	86
Chris	Positive relationship	it felt like I weren't talking to someone on the youth offending team I was talking to someone to kind of I was talking to a teacher or someone I see quite a lot	88
Chris	Positive relationship	I didn't picture him as someone like from the youth offending team I kinda pictured him as someone I'm really comfortable talking to	90
Chris	Positive relationship	it wasn't like being told off by a teacher it was actually like kind of like if you've got for example, if you've got a problem and you go and talk to a teacher it's like really they'd actually kind of help you about it they'd actually come and listen, they'd support you and that's exactly like how **** was and that's how he reminded me of a teacher	102
Chris	Positive relationship	as I met him more the faster the image changed and towards the end like I kind of like knew who he really was since I wasn't like scared I would actually like talk to him about different things he'd be really supportive and he'd listen	104
Chris	Positive relationship	Oh yeah and erm another thing cos like sometimes you'd get a teacher that was really nice at the start and you'd really like em and then as you get to know them more like they'd get a bit more strict, it's like the opposite of the image that I had so they'd start off really nice but the more you had them the faster the image changed into like a strict teacher and erm like you can start off like no homework and then they'd just like thow a lot more homework and becoming strict and stuff like that	108
Chris	Positive relationship	But **** is like the complete opposite of that he was like nice the whole way through and erm at no point he became strict he was nice the whole time and that's what really change the image I think if he would have been like really strict or not supportive the image would	110

		have like kind of stopped or maybe went back a bit but it's never happened	
Chris	Positive relationship	Yeah and another thing is erm he said like at the beginning he said if you don't wanna answer something you don't have to but erm and sometimes like I wouldn't but erm that like as I was more confident talking to him I would kind of give him the answer to those questions that I wasn't like kind of like obviously that's another thing with trust erm I kind of talked to him a lot more about stuff I couldn't talk to him about before like it's the same with friends you wouldn't probably talk to them about something	112
Kevin	Positive relationship	Err no I had ***** at the start and now I'm with **** I think ****'s a lot nicer she's a lot better to work with but she's leaving soon so I don't know what's gonna happen after that but I might just get some person I don't like	43
Kevin	Positive relationship	Like with ***** we get along I think she's a nice woman and that	81
Josh	Relationship develops	Its been really good like actually grown a friendship as well so its not like I need to go see these guys its like I don't mind going to see them	27
Josh	Relationship develops	***** is the only other person I've had so it's been those three and ***** and ***** I've had them for about 8, 9 months so actually probably more like 10.	33
Jamie	Relationship develops	Participant: ***** was the first YOT worker I had when I came to here, and then I moved and then I came back for ISS and then I ended up with ***** for my YOT worker again	31
Jamie	Relationship develops	I've known ***** since I first got YOT then when I moved and came back and after ISS I had her again so she's known me from sort of before I properly got into trouble and down the wrong path properly like I was just that was when I got my last assault charge sort of think like a warning sort of thing so she saw me then and how I was and then the change when I	233
Jamie	Relationship develops	She knows all the, she knows the case, she knows what I've done like my history basically I haven't got to repeat it again to other people which it's hard for me sometimes to sort of go through it all cos it was a bad time in my life	235
Terry	Relationship	Interviewer: Is that a different person or the same	22

	develops	person always helping? Participant: Same person, yeah	
Terry	Relationship develops	started to get to know her more and more I started to talk to her about it and she helped me	73
Terry	Relationship develops	Cos where I knew I could end up, if I met her more and more I could trust her more and I started, well obviously I started to trust her a lot more every time I met her and spoke to her cos she asked how things was at home all the time, how's everyone, she just the only person that understood what was going on really	77
Terry	Relationship develops	Interviewer: Do you know how long it took you to trust her? Participant: About a month	82
Terry	Relationship develops	I just looked, I just looked like the grumpiest person ever and my face was really red that day as well so she knew straight away I was angry cos she's seen me angry before where cos of my brother	203
Chris	Relationship develops	I've been really comfortable with going to the sessions as well like as the erm the time goes on I feel more comfortable erm like kind of sitting in the room and talking about it I'm kind of comfortable with that as well yeah	27
Chris	Relationship develops	Erm well at the start I was kind of really nervous and I was really like worried about everything and as it went on I got more comfortable and safe and more confident	29
Chris	Relationship develops	No it's just that erm session by session I kept talking more to him and that kind of like made me talk to people a lot more	37
Chris	Relationship develops	throughout the sessions I kinda learned to talk to **** a lot and erm it kind of built my confidence up	42
Chris	Relationship develops	I don't know like in the first couple of sessions I didn't really talk a lot I got I got really nervous and since like they kept going on and we kept talking more and more and when erm I became more familiar with **** and like erm when it came towards the end of the sessions we started to talk about other things	44
Chris	Relationship develops	I mean towards the end we started like talking to each other a lot more about things and erm that was like we were having proper conversations it wasn't just him asking me questions and me giving an answer it was more like kinda us actually talking to each other instead of like me just answering what he asked and then erm	50

		like we would since I saw him a lot like I just erm I don't really know I guess like I became more familiar with him	
Chris	Relationship develops	er saw him a lot more so he kinda cos easier to talk to each time and he was just really nice throughout the whole thing and er and yeah wait erm he was just really supportive and that kind of helped me talk more and more each time and like towards the sessions that's when we were having like more conversations	50
Chris	Relationship develops	Erm I don't really know because erm mmhm I guess I trusted **** cos we knew each other quite well and in the sessions I was really confident with talking to him and I like trusted him with er quite a lot of things sounded up like I did trust him with er like with the information and stuff like that so I didn't really have any worries cos I knew **** so well	78
Chris	Relationship develops	Yeah I just worried about talking to him cos I didn't know I was kinda nervous I was kinda embarrassed about talking about it but I became more confident like talking about things and obviously that led on to me making more friends like I've said and yeah just really just knowing how supportive he is and that has kind of lead on to me trusting him cos he's been really supportive and like and er as time went on I kinda shared more information with him cos I knew I could also trust him with having that information	82
Chris	Relationship develops	Yeah I think towards the beginning I wouldn't say much because I was kinda nervous about what would happen but the more I knew the more knew the more I shared	84
Chris	Relationship develops	Erm the fact that as I erm like as I had more sessions I kind of like I dunno I kind of more like I kind of it wasn't like he was working with me he was like he was actually erm having conversations with me and like erm I don't know how to explain it but erm yeah I just feel like as I was talking to him a lot more it wasn't really it didn't seem like he was kind of I don't know I kind of like I could forget. I didn't have to worry about him being part of the youth offending team I could see him more like someone else like for example like someone I dunno I dunno how to explain it like I just I talk to him a lot more so he kinda became a lot more like err (sticks tongue out) I really don't know how to explain it	86
Chris	Relationship develops	It's like it felt like I weren't talking to someone on the youth offending team I was talking to someone to kind of I was talking to a teacher or someone I see quite a lot	88



Chris	Relationship develops	And erm that kinda really helped cos I didn't picture him as someone like from the youth offending team I kinda pictured him as someone I'm really comfortable talking to like a teacher or someone like that Interviewer: I see yeah	90
Chris	Relationship develops	with **** kind of he, it wasn't like being told off by a teacher it was actually like kind of like if you've got for example, if you've got a problem and you go and talk to a teacher it's like really they'd actually kind of help you about it they'd actually come and listen, they'd support you and that's exactly like how **** was and that's how he reminded me of a teacher	102
Chris	Relationship develops	as I met him more the faster the image changed and towards the end like I kind of like knew who he really was since I wasn't like scared I would actually like talk to him about different things he'd be really supportive and he'd listen	104
Chris	Relationship develops	before the sessions like the first couple of times I was like I would really not wanna go I would try and find a way out of it but erm like towards the end I was kind of I'd be like alright I've got my meeting today and that would like be it, I wouldn't worry about it I'd just remember that I've got it	106
Chris	Relationship develops	Oh yeah and erm another thing cos like sometimes you'd get a teacher that was really nice at the start and you'd really like em and then as you get to know them more like they'd get a bit more strict, it's like the opposite of the image that I had so they'd start off really nice but the more you had them the faster the image changed into like a strict teacher and erm like you can start off like no homework and then they'd just like thow a lot more homework and becoming strict and stuff like that	108
Chris	Relationship develops	he was like nice the whole way through and erm at no point he became strict he was nice the whole time	110
Chris	Relationship develops	Yeah and another thing is erm he said like at the beginning he said if you don't wanna answer something you don't have to but erm and sometimes like I wouldn't but erm that like as I was more confident talking to him I would kind of give him the answer to those questions that I wasn't like kind of like obviously that's another thing with trust erm I kind of talked to him a lot more about stuff I couldn't talk to him about before like it's the same with friends you wouldn't	112

		probably talk to them about something	
Kevin	They get it	You can kinda like relate to 'em err people who were like offenders before who have completely changed it around who haven't had any offences for a long time they haven't done anything towards it like say they'd be a really good person to speak to cos they've done it themselves	47
Kevin	They get it	if they've got a bit of experience then they'll be able to talk to us a bit better get a bit more erm I dunno down to things if you get what I mean actually be able to do some real help	51
Kevin	They get it	I mean *****'s like more like of a younger person who understands things and that	85
Kevin	They get it	It's not even it's not like I opened up it's just like she's younger and she just understands more if you know what I mean like old people just don't get what you mean	89
Kevin	They get it	Erm well I mean if they've got past experience and they've turned their life around then that can show you that it's possible Interviewer: How would they show you, what would you Participant: They'd tell you about it when you have your little chats when you come in Interviewer: (laughter) okay so the content of the chat would be different Participant: Yeah it's still most of the stuff they talk about from when they were younger and from when I was younger and so it's not very much	99
Terry	Managing emotions	They helping me cal, helping me control my anger and like thinking of my actions before I do anything	13
Terry	Managing emotions	They got someone to help me look for work and well obviously helping me control my temper with my family, don't get in trouble anymore	21
Terry	Managing emotions	Yeah and one that's helping me with my anger and well my family problems as well	39
Terry	Managing emotions	Yeah, like before I had youth offenders the first time with my anger I learnt to control it before but for some reason it got out of hand because of my brother so in the end I just ended up getting worse and worse because of it where I couldn't handle it anymore and	47

		then he just pushed me to the limit where I couldn't can't go anymore, they've helped me to calm it down	
Terry	Managing emotions	I'm learning how to control it a lot more than I used to	63
Terry	Managing emotions	And well I haven't been getting angry for, since they helped me this time	65
Terry	Managing emotions	They tell me like if I'm gonna get angry just walk out, do something that I enjoy or do something that will keep my mind off it or talk to my mum about it tell her about what's getting me angry or someone I can really talk to and trust and or count in my head to 10	67
Terry	Managing emotions	I've started to listen to people and to calm down to sort my anger out so much more than I have. I've finally realised that it's not gonna get me nowhere and it's just gonna make me a bad person and not gonna get me job or not gonna make me happy or anything	75
Terry	Managing emotions	I don't know, I just got that where she's so understanding and knows how to like make sure I stay calm all the time and how I can only trust her really cos I don't trust a lot of people	79
Terry	Managing emotions	Yeah, making sure everything's okay at home and I'm not getting angry and make sure I haven't been in any type of trouble which I haven't.	89
Terry	Managing emotions	It's like they wanna make sure the people like me before I'm going to do something cos otherwise I'll end up getting arrested for it I just used to act rational and get into trouble because of it and now they literally help me sort of think before I act	145
Terry	Managing emotions	She went, it's all gonna be alright, every family argues you just gotta sort it out when we get, when you get home and your mums gonna understand why you're angry with her and she's gonna sort it out with you straight away and your gonna, I'm gonna say sorry when I go home I said yeah I will cos it was my fault in the first place for getting that angry with her I should've just spoke to her in a calm way and it just calmed me down a lot	205
Terry	Managing emotions	Yeah I knew, as soon as I got home I knew how I wanted to be; calm and relaxed while speaking to my mum instead of us shouting at each other all the time	207
Jamie	Thinking through consequences	Just sort of a lot of things that they teach you sort of realising how it affects other people, not just yourself	69

Terry	Thinking through consequences	Helping me think what I'm gonna do before I act	11
Terry	Thinking through consequences	They make me rethink what I've done over and over again until I get it in my head what I actually did and think about what I, what I'm gonna, what I'd end up like if I carry on the way I am	27
Terry	Thinking through consequences	I never thought about, I never thought what I was gonna do I just did it straight away and then got me in trouble because but now I got youth offenders they're helping me understand, they're helping me think before I act	33
Terry	Thinking through consequences	she helped me understand like, think about what's going to happen to me if I kept going the way I was and how I'd end up and so she's making sure I keeping my head down and don't do what I've done before	73
Terry	Thinking through consequences	I've started to listen to people and to calm down to sort my anger out so much more than I have. I've finally realised that it's not gonna get me nowhere and it's just gonna make me a bad person and not gonna get me job or not gonna make me happy or anything	75
Terry	Thinking through consequences	Yeah they make you, well telling you over and over again what you did so that you keep it in your head and that and so you can make sure you never do it again and change the way you act so you think before you act so you don't get arrested or get into any sort of trouble or don't have any violent	143
Terry	Thinking through consequences	they pretty much helped me sort out everything they make sure the person knows what to do before they act.	145
Terry	Thinking through consequences	Before they helped me I wouldn't think I'd act straight away I would never think before I act	147
Terry	Thinking through consequences	I was so angry with my mum and I had to meet ***** that day and she asked, she noticed straight away where I was really angry she said what's wrong and I spoke to her about it and she calmed spoke to me and she calmed me down about it and said it's all gonna be alright and we're gonna get through it and all that and just you and your mums gonna sort it out straight away	197
Terry	Thinking through consequences	She went, it's all gonna be alright, every family argues you just gotta sort it out when we get, when you get home and your mums gonna understand why you're angry with her and she's gonna sort it out with you	205

		straight away and your gonna, I'm gonna say sorry when I go home I said yeah I will cos it was my fault in the first place for getting that angry with her I should've just spoke to her in a calm way and it just calmed me down a lot	
Terry	What's happening at home	You can just talk to the person like your caseworker about what's happening at home and that and they will keep it to themselves	17
Terry	What's happening at home	They got someone to help me look for work and well obviously helping me control my temper with my family, don't get in trouble anymore	21
Terry	What's happening at home	Yeah and one that's helping me with my anger and well my family problems as well	39
Terry	What's happening at home	They tell me like if I'm gonna get angry just walk out, do something that I enjoy or do something that will keep my mind off it or talk to my mum about it tell her about what's getting me angry or someone I can really talk to and trust and or count in my head to 10	67
Terry	What's happening at home	can just talk to my caseworker more about what's happening at home than I used to where I used to bottle things up all the time	73
Terry	What's happening at home	she spoke to my mum about it when I had a home visit and my mum said yeah he's actually calmed down a lot	73
Terry	What's happening at home	Interviewer: Okay and then she also visits home sometimes Participant: Yeah like once in a while where I have to have a home visit	86
Terry	What's happening at home	Yeah, making sure everything's okay at home and I'm not getting angry and make sure I haven't been in any type of trouble which I haven't.	89
Terry	What's happening at home	she helps me as well and talks to me about my family	195
Terry	What's happening at home	every family argues you just gotta sort it out when we get, when you get home and your mums gonna understand why you're angry with her and she's gonna sort it out with you straight away and your gonna, I'm gonna say sorry when I go home I said yeah I will cos it was my fault in the first place for getting that angry with her	205
Terry	What's happening	Well I was happy with it where I knew it worked straight away when me and my mum sorted it out I was so	209

	at home	happy and when I saw ***** next I thanked her for it	
Terry	What's happening at home	Yeah to my mum, she said it was the best one she saw where I did it all...I didn't have no help with what I did, it showed how sorry I was and when my mum saw it she was happy with it as well	213
Terry	What's happening at home	*****'s gonna be bringing the letter I wrote, the apology letter I wrote to you with her when she comes for the home visit	217