

**Manchester
Metropolitan
University**

**T2A FINAL PROCESS EVALUATION
REPORT**

FOR THE BARROW CADBURY TRUST

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1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 THE T2A PATHWAY PROGRAMME

The Barrow Cadbury Trust is an independent, charitable foundation, committed to bringing about socially just change. The Transitions to Adulthood (T2A) programme is part of the Trust's criminal justice work and aims to establish an evidence base and effective practice for young adults throughout the criminal justice system. The work undertaken as part of the T2A programme is supported by the T2A Alliance, a coalition of sixteen leading criminal justice, health and youth charities.

In recognition of the vulnerabilities faced by young adults in contact with the criminal justice system the T2A programme aims to develop alternative and innovative approaches for young adults aged 18-25. Much of the work undertaken as part the T2A programme centres around the concept of 'maturity' and makes the case that developmental maturity is a more appropriate guide than chronological age when working with young adult offenders and the level of maturity for each individual should be taken into account when sentencing and delivering interventions within the criminal justice system (www.t2a.org.uk).

As part of the T2A programme, three pilot projects were selected to demonstrate new ways of involving the voluntary sector in supporting young adults under supervision by probation services. The projects ran between 2009 and 2013, working with more than 1000 young adults and demonstrated innovative approaches to reducing reoffending, addressing breach rates and improving social outcomes. Building on the learning from the three T2A pilot projects, the T2A Alliance developed a new programme, the T2A Pathway Programme. The T2A Pathway Programme was launched in January 2014 to test innovative ways of working with young adults at the key points of the criminal justice system - the T2A Pathway Model (illustrated in Figure 1.1. below).



Figure 1.1 T2A Pathway Model

Over three years, between 2014 and 2016, the programme has delivered interventions to young adults via six projects across England, with the aim of reducing their reoffending and involvement in the criminal justice system. These six projects represent collectively a ‘whole pathway’ approach to working with 16-24 year olds throughout the criminal justice process. The projects have been run by the following voluntary sector organisations:

- Addaction
- Advance Minerva
- Pact (Prison Advice and Care Trust)
- The Prince’s Trust
- Remedi
- Together for Mental Wellbeing.

1.2 EVALUATING THE T2A PATHWAY PROGRAMME

The evaluation of the T2A pathway programme was commissioned by the Barrow Cadbury Trust. The evaluation began in 2013 and is due to be completed at the end of 2017. It has been delivered by the same research team which since January 2017 has been based at the Policy and Evaluation Research Unit (PERU) at Manchester Metropolitan University. Prior to that, the team was based at the Hallam Centre for Community Justice at Sheffield Hallam University.

The overarching aims of the evaluation were to:

- Establish an **evidence base** for the T2A projects (supporting delivery organisations with data collection and research methods), to **demonstrate effective interventions** and **measure the impact** of delivering young adult-specific interventions at the T2A Pathway points.
- Provide **robust evidence** that will be taken seriously by policy-makers and commissioners at a central and local level.

Details of the methodology are provided in Section 2.

1.3 POLICY AND PRACTICE CONTEXT

The T2A projects operated during a period of considerable change within the criminal justice system in England and Wales, most significantly, the reconfiguration of adult offender management provision (for individuals aged 18 or over) under the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) changes (MoJ, 2014). Other changes included: “speedy justice” within the courts;¹ the implementation of a new out of court disposal framework for young offenders (MoJ, 2013); and continued reductions in public spending on justice services (MoJ, 2012).

The way that the projects have been shaped by and responded to these structural changes is considered in Section 3.

¹ This initiative was intended to accelerate the processing of cases through the court system.

Although the number of young adults entering the criminal justice system has fallen, with 43% fewer young adults in prison in England and Wales than in 2011 (Prison Reform Trust, 2016), those who are still in contact with the criminal justice system have some of the most complex needs and their outcomes tend to be poor (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2016). Thus, there is a clear need to try to improve outcomes for young adults in contact with the criminal justice system and to identify effective approaches and interventions to address the vulnerabilities faced by many young adult offenders.

Developing a better understanding of the processes by which young adults desist from crime is important in improving services and practices which support young people in contact with the criminal justice system. The process of desistance is often non-linear and a gradual process (Shapland and Bottoms, 2011) and although it has long been established that many people often 'grow out of crime' (Mulvey and LaRosa, 1986, cited in Maruna, 1999), a better understanding of how and why this happens is required. Whilst age is often still considered a key predictor of desistance, it has not been without challenge, as McNeill et al. (2012) argue that "age includes a range of different components (biological changes, social transitions, and life experiences)". In line with this, there has been a drive to consider notions of maturity as key factors in desisting from crime and a shift from defining levels of maturity solely by age (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2016).

Looking forward, provision for young adult offenders and those at risk of being involved in the criminal justice system will be shaped by a crowded policy and practice landscape, including:

- the Justice Select Committee Report into young adults in the criminal justice system (Justice Committee, 2016);
- justice devolution in its various forms: from a formal settlement between Government and English regions such as Greater Manchester, police and crime commissioners making good on the 'and crime' part of their remit and greater autonomy for prison governors (Fox, 2017);
- the requirement for the National Probation Service to undertake maturity assessments in determining pre-sentence reports (NOMS, 2017); and
- Lord Laming's report into the over-representation of children in care, or with experience of care, in the criminal justice system (Laming, 2016).

1.4 FOCUS OF THIS REPORT

The focus of this process evaluation report is on drawing together learning from across the three phases of the evaluation to inform future practice in commissioning, project development and implementation of services for young adults in the criminal justice system and more generally for vulnerable young people with complex needs.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 OVERVIEW

The research methodology consisted of the following qualitative and quantitative research activities:

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- Documentation review;
- Four programme workshops;
- Interviews with project staff, representatives from partner agencies, service users, local commissioners and programme commissioners;
- Analysis of throughput data measuring demographics of service users, needs and reasons for exit;
- Reducing reoffending Pathway 'intermediate outcomes' evaluation;
- Reconviction study;
- Cost benefit analysis.

They were conducted in three phases between January 2014 and April 2017 across all six sites. Additional activities also took place during a set up phase prior to the projects' commencement in January 2014. The timeframes for the different phases are outlined below:

- Set up Phase – between November 2013 and January 2014
- Phase One – between February 2014 and May 2015
- Phase Two – between June 2015 and June 2016
- Phase Three – between July 2016 and April 2017

The Set up Phase consisted of a theory of change workshop with project staff and partners focusing on: projects' theories of change; the evaluation support required by the projects; and the feasibility of selecting project service users to enable a randomised control trial and/or comparator cohort impact assessment to be made. In addition, the research team reviewed project documentation to inform the design of the evaluation including: project bids, assessment tools and operating models.

Three additional workshops were also held with the projects over the course of the evaluation. The first workshop held in Phase One was used to review models of delivery and assess the data being collected by the sites to inform the tools used for collecting throughput data and intermediate outcomes data. A further two workshops were conducted, one in Phase Two and one in Phase Three, with the aim to capture and mobilise learning from the development and implementation of the projects and help improve service delivery for young people at all stages of the CJS. The second workshop was also used to review the data being collected by the projects to try to improve the quality of the data.

Fieldwork activities took place across the three phases. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with: 39 service users, 47 project staff (both operational and managerial), 47 partner agencies (from public sector, voluntary and statutory agencies), and 9 local commissioners and project commissioners, to explore, in depth, the implementation and operation of the projects, governance

structures, partnerships and benefits of the projects. Interviews were conducted either face-to-face or over the telephone.

Additional interviews were also conducted in Phase Three with project staff, to map delivery costs, including contribution of time and resources by partner agencies. It was hoped that we would also be able to capture costs from partner agencies referring into the T2A projects and/or receiving referrals from the T2A projects. This had limited success, as we received very few responses to the cost questions sent to partner agencies.

Details of the numbers of interviews conducted and other research activities are presented in Appendix 1.

As this report is a process report, it does not include analysis from the intermediate outcomes data collected by the projects or work still to be undertaken to support a costing exercise and reconviction study, which will be included in an impact evaluation report, due in December 2017.

2.1 QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

The qualitative interviews were undertaken with individuals who were selected to represent the range of stakeholders involved with the projects across the six sites. Where possible the research team interviewed all project staff and aimed to interview staff from the main partner agencies. In some sites, it proved difficult to arrange interviews with partners despite repeated attempts at contact. Telephone interviews were offered and the fieldwork period was extended to try and facilitate these interviews. Interviews with project staff and partners were carried out over three different phases. Where staff remained in the same post for the duration of the evaluation, the same staff member was interviewed. Where staff changed roles, interviews were undertaken with the person in the relevant post. It should be noted that the partners interviewed were selected by the sites themselves and thus may not represent the views of all stakeholders.

Projects were initially provided with a sampling frame for the service user interviews to ensure we achieved a spread in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and level of engagement with the projects. This had limited success because of difficulties contacting individuals and/or securing their involvement to take part in an interview. As such, service users were selected on the basis they were still in contact with the project and were willing to take part in an interview. Interviews with service users took place in Phase One and Phase Three of the evaluation. Attempts were also made to interview service users who started with the projects but did not complete in order to capture their reasons for exiting the projects; however, this did not prove possible due to out of date contact details or service users not responding to contact from the project staff. Thus, the findings from the interviews with service users may not be representative of all service users, in particular those who exited the project without successfully completing. High number of 'no shows' (service users not attending interviews once they had been arranged) also impacted on the overall number of interviews we were able to conduct with service users. Interviews with service users were undertaken at different points in their engagement with the T2A projects, ranging from relatively recent involvement such as 1 week to much longer-term engagement of up to 2 years. Their experience of the project and their ability to comment on it was naturally affected by the duration of their involvement

The qualitative interviews were analysed using a thematic framework approach (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). This allowed the interview data to be systematically ordered in relation to the research objectives, whilst still being grounded in participants' own accounts. The process of analysis involved ongoing conversations between the research team as key themes emerged. This approach also provided a 'checking mechanism' for the interpretation of data, thus adding to the validity of the results.

To preserve the anonymity of the interviewees where they have been quoted, they have been attributed to one of three groups of interviewees: T2A project staff; partner agency staff; or T2A service users.

2.2 QUANTITATIVE METHDOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

Throughput data were collected using a standard template designed by the research team to capture numbers of referrals, demographic characteristics of the service user group, their criminogenic needs and details of when and how service users exited from the project. These data were collected every four months and the results presented in this report are a cumulative dataset combining data from 1st May 2014 to 31st March 2017.²

While the majority of data collected are straightforward and unambiguous, there are some things to note. Firstly interpreting data on "reasons for exit" is complex. The options for this data field are:

- Successful completion;
- Disengaged from programme;
- Dismissed from programme;
- Recalled into custody;
- Custodial sentence (new offence);
- Unknown.

The nature of the projects means that the definition of a successful outcome varies. For example, for some it is the completion of a programme; for others it is defined more broadly as a "managed exit".

There is no common method of assessing needs across the sites. Thus the numbers and types of needs identified may, to some extent, be "project-led". For example: the needs identified by a project may be driven by the services they offer, or the perceptions of referrers/service users of what the service can offer. Thus, the needs identified may not represent all the needs of the service user.

Across all the projects, a number of common issues exist that need to be borne in mind when interpreting the results. These were as follows:

² Projects also supplied data for the first four months of the project (January 1st 2014 to 30th April 2014) but these have not been included as it covers the period of early implementation and thus is not representative of the projects' later operation.

- Project service users were likely to be receiving support and/or supervision from other agencies; therefore it has not been possible to wholly attribute any changes in the lives of the T2A service users to interventions delivered just by the projects.
- Similarly, all service users will have aged between initial and subsequent assessment. Maturation is a key factor in desistance from offending, and some rapid changes have been observed in other studies, particularly in the age groups covered by these projects. Again, without a counterfactual group to compare progress against, it is impossible to robustly identify change that has happened as a result of engagement with the projects, and change that might have happened anyway.
- Across all projects, service users who were initially engaged at a later date had less time to record any outcomes or referrals, whether positive or negative than the service users engaged with earlier in the project.
- The numbers of service users on each project are small: no tests of statistical significance are calculated, as this might give the impression of unwarranted robustness. It is important that in interpreting the results, the small sample sizes are taken into account.

Throughout the report, where percentages are given these are percentages of those service users for whom data were provided (i.e. it excludes missing data).

3. T2A THEORY OF CHANGE, IMPLEMENTATION AND DELIVERY

3.1 T2A THEORY OF CHANGE

This section presents a theory of change (TOC) for the T2A Pathway Programme drawing on: the interview data from project staff, partners and service users; information gathered from the research workshops; and findings from the document review.

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Commonly, a *prospective* theory of change is developed either at: the planning stage of a programme, to guide implementation; and/or the commencement stage of an evaluation – to inform the methodology and determine what data need to be collected (Fox, Grimm and Caldeira, 2017). A theory of change exercise for each individual project was undertaken during the first research workshop in November 2013, prior to the commencement of the projects in January 2014. This yielded limited results, as the majority of participants (project staff and partner agency representatives) had limited knowledge of their project models due to the early stage of implementation.

The theory of change presented in this report is *retrospective* and has been devised at the end of the evaluation. Its purpose is to provide policy makers and commissioners with an account of the key features common across the projects, which enabled and facilitated the effective delivery of the programme. These ‘active ingredients’ are summarised in Figure 3.1 and examined in further detail below. To provide a framework for this theory of change, a context-mechanism-outcome approach (Pawson and Tilley, 1997) has been adopted, structuring the findings as answers to the following questions:

- What did the projects deliver?
- How did they deliver this?
- In what context did they deliver?
- What outcomes were they aiming to achieve?

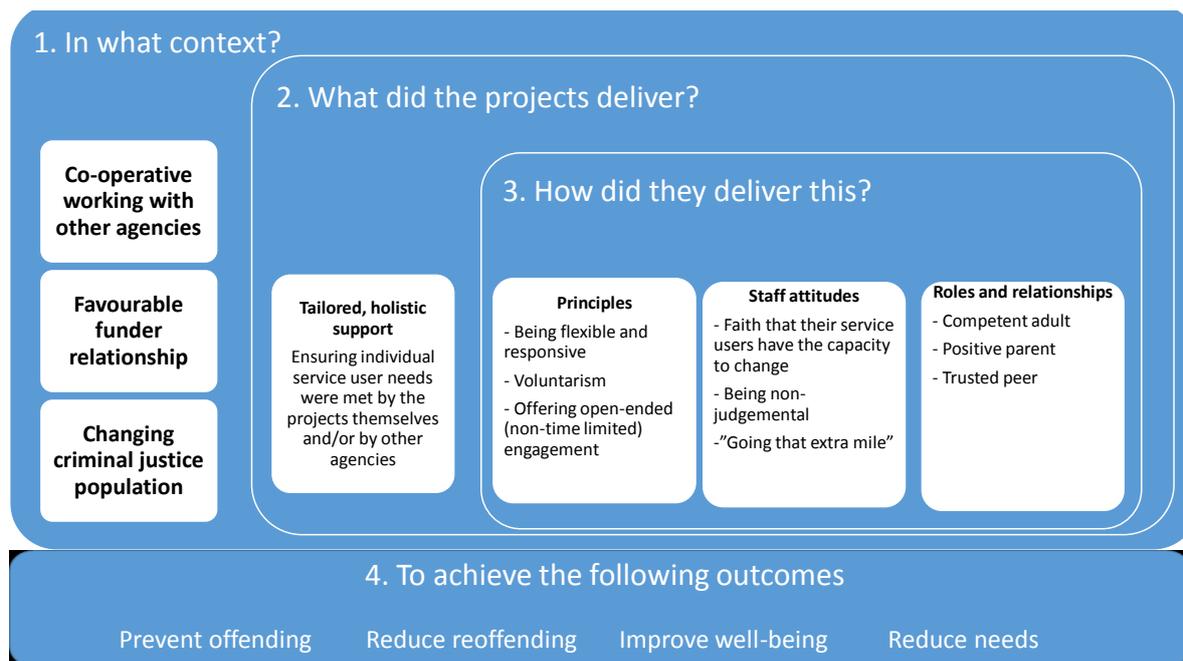


Figure 3.1 T2A Pathway Programme – theory of change

3.1.1 WHAT DID THE PROJECTS DELIVER?

As acknowledged by the commissioners interviewed during the final phase of the evaluation, the T2A Pathway Programme projects were commissioned in 2013 with the intention of testing out a transition to adulthood approach at each of the T2A Pathway points detailed in Figure 1.1. An earlier group of three demonstration projects working with probation trusts had tested the approach at the point of sentence, the new demonstration projects were selected to ensure coverage of the remaining, previously untested points. Mindful of the potential impact of the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) changes, the commissioners, where possible chose projects whose design (as indicated in their bids) were least likely to be affected by TR.

A summary of the models for each project are presented in Table 3.1. The left hand columns show how they *intended to operate* as set out in their funding applications to the Trust. These were largely based on models which the lead organisations themselves had run. Recorded in the right hand column are key modifications which were made to the models. The reasons for these changes are examined in Section 3.2.

Project, location	Intended operating model		Summary of key changes to operating model (Reasons for changes are in Section 3.2)	
	Age range	Key intervention		Pathway point(s)
Addaction (Liverpool)	16-24	6 week voluntary treatment programme for young people who present to the youth court with drug or alcohol-related offences	1 - Policing and arrest 5 - Sentencing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overwhelming majority of service users were aged under 18 Majority of referrals came via the YOT rather than through the courts One to one mentoring support was offered in addition to the treatment programme for service users who needed additional support
Advance Minerva (Tri-borough area of London)	18-24	Early stage tailored support for young women through group work	1 - Policing and arrest 2 - Diversion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One to one support instead of group work
Pact (HMP/YOIs in West Midlands)	16-24	Case management support for prisoners and their families; family group conferencing in three prisons	8 - Custody 9 - Resettlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operated in two prisons for first two years then in the final year in one prison which resulted in a specific service for female prisoners only
Prince's Trust (HMP/YOIs in Staffordshire)	16-24	Mentoring to support entry to education, training and employment in last three months of a custodial sentence in up to three prisons.	8 - Custody 9 - Resettlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operated in two prisons then concentrated on a single male adult prison/YOI One to one engagement instead of group work proved a better way of recruiting prisoners to the project. Paid Prince's Trust prisoner representatives were established to form links between the project and prisoners to aid recruitment to the project.
Remedi (South Yorkshire)	17-24	Restorative mentoring	3 - Restorative Justice 6 - Community sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked with young people for longer and more intensively than envisaged at the start of the programme Towards the latter stage of the project a focus on young people in care and/or care leavers (aged 16-19) due to these individuals being more vulnerable with more complex needs
Together (Rotherham)	18-24	Early stage mental health assessment and support for 3 months	1 - Policing and arrest 2 - Diversion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Working with individuals at the point of sentence in addition to the point of policing and arrest Receiving referrals from probation Worked with service users much longer than initial 3 months

Table 3.1 Summary of project models and key changes

Project staff, partner agency and service user interviewees confirmed that the projects provided tailored, holistic support for their service users. Commonly, this was provided by the project staff themselves and/or in conjunction with other agencies. The interview data suggest that it was

delivered in three operational modes: key worker; niche service provider; and gap filler; though none of these are mutually exclusive. These are explored more fully below.

It should be noted that the operating modes were based on pre-existing models. For example, the key worker/lead professional role has operated in all social policy areas from child protection (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2009) to integrated offender management (Senior et al., 2011) to families in the guise of the Troubled Families keyworker (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017). However, in relation to the T2A projects, the interview data suggest it is the mode of operation in combination with the service principles, staff attitudes and the roles which the staff inhabited that were the key mechanisms of change, which enabled the projects to work.

KEY WORKER

This was common across all the T2A projects. Staff became the key worker/lead professional in many instances, largely responsible for “wrap around support” ensuring that all the service user’s needs were met by themselves and/or other agencies, illustrated by the following observation:

“...the good thing about the service we offered is that it was so tailor made and we did pretty much anything the young person needed or at least help them with...” T2A project staff

This ranged from finding appropriate accommodation for a service user subject to child protection who was unable to live in the family home to taking a service user for biometric testing. In many instances taking on this key worker role occurred by default, in the absence of the role being adopted by other agencies either because of:

- a history of failed engagement by service users with other agencies, manifested in missed appointments and being excluded from services, leaving the T2A project as one of the few or the only agency remaining that was willing to work with the service user; and/or
- caseloads and staff resources of other agencies - these organisations were only able to offer limited support that was insufficient to meet all of the service user’s wide ranging needs. By default, it fell to the T2A project to ensure that the other needs were met.

NICHE SERVICE PROVIDER

Partner agency interviewees reported the T2A projects were able to meet a specific service user need by delivering a niche service not provided by their own or other agencies. In these instances, these other agencies were frequently operating a similar key worker/lead professional service themselves. To illustrate, one partner reported that while they themselves were adopting the key worker role, primarily supporting the service user with drug misuse, they had referred a service user to their local T2A project specifically to address the service user’s self-esteem and assist with domestic violence.

GAP FILLER

Partner agency interviewees frequently recognised that their service users had a high level of need, which included accompanying them to meetings and appointments. Because of the size of their

caseloads and or their remit, they did not have time or were not able to take them. However, this was something which the T2A project workers did have the time to do:

"My work is more specific in terms of offence focused work, ensuring his order is met, liaising with social care, [the T2A project worker's] work... [is] around practical and emotional support and things that I would struggle to have time to do." Partner agency interviewee

These activities were described by some interviewees as the glue that connected the service user to the services they need to access.

In other instances, the project acted as a 'stop-gap', in lieu of their service users being able to access services for which there were considerable delays, such as mental health provision in one site where there was a two-year waiting period. In this instance, the T2A worker's role was viewed as vital in "keeping things ticking over".

Due to the specialised therapeutic expertise of one T2A worker, one project was routinely involved in the co-delivery of bespoke therapeutic interventions. These were experimental therapeutic interventions designed by a psychotherapist to address the specific mental health problems experience by the service user, such as anxiety and hyper-vigilance.

3.1.2 HOW DID THE PROJECTS DELIVER THIS?

BEING FLEXIBLE AND RESPONSIVE

Partner agency and service user interviewees confirmed that project staff were willing to work with their service users in a variety of settings - at their offices and/or in the community. In practical terms, this meant meeting service users where they lived: at a local coffee shop; in the service user's home; and/or at the offices of another agency. In the latter instance, project staff and partner agency interviewees spoke of engaging in a 'pop-up', impromptu, one stop arrangement where the service user was seen at the offices of another agency, by the T2A project worker, probation staff³ and staff from the partner agency.

Project staff travelling to meet with their service users was also a practical response to the circumstances of their service users. One project interviewee commented that young people who were addicted to drug use would rather spend money on cannabis than catch a bus to visit the project.

This was further confirmed in the cost collection interviews with project staff and reflected in the following observation from a T2A worker:

"the good thing about the service we offered is that it was so tailor made and we did pretty much anything the young person needed we could do or at least help them with which meant that we could see them 3 times a week if we wanted to." T2A project staff

³ This term refers to offender managers in the National Probation Service and Community Rehabilitation Companies.

The speed with which T2A staff responded to their service users was considered exemplary by partner interviewees, highlighted by one such interviewee who compared the speed of response of the T2A project to that from a social worker commenting:

"...it's been done quicker and more thoroughly because [name of T2A project worker] has been involved." Partner agency interviewee

As acknowledged by these interviewees, the young adults targeted by the local T2A projects were leading chaotic and disorganised lives; therefore timeliness of response was particularly important.

The willingness of project staff to make time for their service users was valued as indicated by the following view from a service user:

"Whenever I'm upset I come to see them and they always see me." T2A service user

However, the willingness of T2A staff to be flexible in how they delivered their service had its own drawbacks. A partner agency interviewee reported that the T2A project worker struggled with communicating the aims of the project and in maintaining the boundaries of their role with other agencies – who may have had unrealistic expectations:

"Often that [the T2A project worker's view of the project aims] might not have dovetailed neatly with the [name of agency] and they probably tried to shoehorn other things in and around it so I often in the case planning meetings heard her say...I can see what you are trying to achieve there but that's not necessarily my role." Partner agency interviewee

This flexibility also proved difficult for the T2A staff themselves as a project worker reflected:

"I think sometimes that's what makes our jobs more complex cos we haven't got a set criteria...we're looking at everything." T2A project staff

This suggests that while flexibility was important, equally important was having clear boundaries which were communicated to other agencies and services users in order to: manage their expectations; avoid the T2A projects becoming a 'dumping ground' for overstretched agencies; and to enable the projects to maintain their own professional 'niche'.

VOLUNTARY INVOLVEMENT OF SERVICE USER

Project staff, partner agency and service user interviewees identified the voluntary nature of T2A projects as being a key principle of the service. As one T2A project worker observed:

"...we won't be annoyed with them or discharge them, [we] just look into the reasons why [they may not be attending]." T2A project staff

Young adults had the option of choosing to engage with the project or not. This was attractive to the service users and as noted by a partner agency interviewee made it easier to sell the service to them. However, some service user interviewees suggested that they felt that a level of compulsion was involved in their attendance at some T2A projects. For example, one service user commented that

they felt they had no choice about attending because it was suggested by their YOT worker; another that involvement with T2A was part of a post release settlement plan.

Conversely, because there was no compulsion to engage with the T2A projects, some service users chose not to maintain their involvement with the projects. The challenges of projects sustaining their engagement with young adults, many of whom had chaotic and difficult lives are examined in detail in Section 3.3.

Among the service users who were engaged with the projects (at the time when they were interviewed for the evaluation), a number had previously received assistance from the projects, had ended their involvement with projects but then subsequently returned to the project. Some returnees had been referred by another agency, others had directly re-engaged with the project at their own volition.

The way in which the services were organised enabled service users to engage with the projects in this non-linear manner. It was a strength of the projects and accords with the non-linear route to reoffending expressed through the desistance literature (Maruna, 2001; Maruna and Farrall, 2004; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; McNeill, 2016).

OPEN-ENDED ENGAGEMENT

A key principle of the T2A projects which was welcomed by service user and partner interviewees was the open-ended nature of their engagement with their service users. As indicated earlier, in some instances, they were the projects of last resort for their service users, because of failed engagement with other agencies. In other instances this was due to the limitations on service users' access to services illustrated by the following service user account:

"...when I've had mental health workers...which I've worked with for six months or a couple of months, then after, when I feel a bit better and I don't need support, then when things go wrong because I've left the program they won't see me again... I've got [specific mental disability] as well, as soon as I've got discharged from their services, the early intervention team, because they've worked with me before they won't see me, I've phoned the crisis team before and they won't help me. Here it's not like that." T2A service user

This is suggestive of a form of rationing, which is inevitable given limited public resources, but which placed the T2A projects in a unique position of offering a non-time limited safety net.

STAFF ATTITUDES

The attitude of T2A staff (to young adults) was regarded as an important change element in establishing good working relationships with their service users.

Project staff themselves reported having *faith in their services* and in their way of working as a means of effecting change in their service users. This has been identified as an important mechanism among offender managers that has been posited to improve engagement with offenders leading to improved attendance and completion of community orders (Sorsby, Shapland and Robinson, 2017).

Service users reported T2A staff were *non-judgemental* and treated them fairly. In part, this may be because no element of compulsion was involved, unlike contact with statutory agencies such as YOTs, probation or police. This sense of being treated fairly has potential to foster a sense of obligation (Ugwudike, 2010:338) and cultivate normative compliance with T2A agencies.

Partner and service user interviewees across the projects commented that T2A staff were willing to go that “*extra little mile*” illustrated by a partner interviewee who recounted how one T2A project worker waited in a GP surgery with a service user to see if she was expecting a child. A service user captured this attitude more prosaically:

“I’ve worked with housing people before but they were in their 40s or 50s and they just didn’t give a fuck, just doing it for their job and not to help me, not like here, they’re young and they care.” T2A service user

ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH SERVICE USERS

The accounts of project, partner and service user interviewees suggested that the T2A staff inhabited three key roles/relationships with their service users.

Competent adult – as indicated earlier, T2A project staff were among the few or in some cases the sole adult the young adults encountered on a regular basis. Project and partner interviewees viewed the role of T2A staff and how they engaged with service users as important for pro-social modelling;⁴ a factor which has been identified as an effective component of influencing offenders (Sorsby, 2017).

Positive parent – project and partner interviewees suggested that T2A staff fulfilled this role with some of their service users. A partner agency interviewee commented that the local T2A key worker acted as a parental figure with young people who were without positive parental influence or support. A project interviewee observed that the service users who did not enjoy positive relationships with their parents were those who generally had greater needs and therefore required a greater level of support.

Trusted peer – the service user interviewees overwhelmingly attested to having developed positive relationships with the T2A staff, such that for some interviewees, they had become a trusted peer, someone that they liked and respected, as illustrated by the following response from a service user:

“She’s not like one of them that will tell you what to do...she’ll let you explain yourself...when I speak to her I can speak to her on a one to one level, it’s two adults talking.” T2A service user

3.1.3 IN WHAT CONTEXT?

CO-OPERATIVE WORKING WITH OTHER AGENCIES

It may be redundant to report that co-operative working with other agencies was an important service principle which guided the T2A projects; however, the reality is that this cannot always be guaranteed

⁴ This involves the routine and conscious use of a set of behaviours, responses and psychological rewards which positive social behaviours and attitudes while eroding negative ones.

(Senior et al., 2011; Wong et al., 2012). The overwhelming response from partner agencies confirmed that the T2A projects in all sites worked to this principle, however, the projects themselves experienced difficulties in establishing referral arrangements with other agencies; the reasons for this are examined in Section 3.3. In addition, as indicated above, agencies which did work with the T2A projects commonly did so out of pragmatism; the projects were an additional resource for those agencies' service users.

Examples of good practice in co-operative working drawn from project and partner interviewees were as follows:

- at a minimum ensuring good communication with other agencies so each understood their roles;
- joint meetings to share knowledge and intelligence and to identify which agency would do what;
- agencies, playing to their strengths, being aware of the limits of their expertise and having a good knowledge of other services. For example where a T2A project (which did not have drugs expertise) identified that their service user required assistance with drugs, referring them to an appropriate drug agency partner;
- in one project site, T2A staff covered for key worker absences in other agencies, for example where a key worker was on annual leave; and
- formal case planning with other agencies.

FAVOURABLE FUNDER RELATIONSHIP

Project interviewees were positive about their relationship with the commissioners. It enabled the projects to develop their services in a safe environment which was not bound by meeting specific delivery targets. The commissioners were flexible with the changes made by projects to the operating models as presented in Table 3.1. They were understanding about the differences between the projected and actual numbers of service users which the projects worked with and the reasons for this. Throughout the programme, the commissioners maintained the view that what was important to them was the quality of the service which was provided rather than meeting the projected number of service users. Such accommodation by a commissioner is perhaps rare and marked out the relationship between funder and recipient as being more collaborative than other commissioning arrangements. This extended to the commissioners supporting local projects by attending meetings with local agencies, which gave the projects credibility with their partners.

Partner agencies themselves were positive about the investment that the Trust had made in the projects, particularly at a time when resourcing for services for this target were scarce.

The commissioners' approach appeared to be grounded in their view of their role as policy and practice change-makers. The purpose behind commissioning the services was (as they have consistently stated over the three years of the programme) to test out approaches to working with young adults at different T2A Pathway points. They did not waver from this and enabled the projects to test out their services, adapting them to need or circumstance as required, ensuring that they kept a focus on the voluntary nature of the services, young adults and establishing effective referral routes.

CHANGING CRIMINAL JUSTICE POPULATION

During the operational period of the T2A projects, the criminal justice population in England and Wales continued to decline as part of a longer-term downward trend.

- between 2006 and 2016, there was an 83% reduction in the number of young people (aged 10-17) entering the criminal justice for the first time;⁵
- between 2007 and 2016, the number of adults (aged 18 and over) entering the criminal justice system for the first time, almost halved (46%);⁶
- between 2005 and 2015 the number of young adult reoffenders (aged 15 to 24)⁷ decreased by 52%.⁸

Anecdotal evidence from criminal justice practitioners more generally suggests that the needs of individuals involved in the criminal justice system have become more complex.

There are two potential explanations for this. Firstly, that the problems faced by this population are more complex, perhaps reflecting higher levels of mental health and other social problems among younger end of the population. Secondly, the ‘thicker soup’ explanation: that the number of complex cases has remained the same. However, as the number of first time entrants and individuals with less complex needs have declined, a *greater proportion* of the current population are therefore more likely to have complex needs – giving a perception that the needs of the overall population have changed and have become more complex.

This requires detailed analysis of needs data outside the scope of this evaluation but which is being scoped by the research team for a separate piece of work.

3.2 IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

The First T2A Pathway Interim Evaluation Report comprehensively examined the key barriers and facilitators to developing and setting up the T2A projects (Wong et al., 2015). It is not intended that those issues should be re-examined in this report. Instead, this section will highlight the broader and more enduring challenges that faced the projects across the three years of their operation. In particular, those which accounted for the changes to the operating models summarised in Table 3.1. They are examined below under three broad themes:

- ensuring effective and sustained referrals;
- working with service users with complex needs; and
- maintaining service user engagement.

⁵ From 108,210 in 2006 to 17,077 in 2016.

⁶ 221,498 in 2007 and 120,030 in 2016.

⁷ The age range structure used by the MoJ for these published data.

⁸ From 302,158 in 2005 to 145,701 in 2015.

3.2.1 ENSURING EFFECTIVE AND SUSTAINED REFERRALS

The biggest challenge faced by T2A projects was developing and maintaining effective referral routes to ensure adequate numbers of appropriate referrals to their services. This is a common problem for organisations where the service offered is not part of a legal requirement, such as court order, and/or commissioned by an organisation that can ensure referrals are made (Wong et al., 2012).

Table 3.2 sets out the intended and actual referral routes established by the projects.

Project and location	Intended referral route(s)	Actual referral route(s)	Reasons for change
Addaction Liverpool	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth court (under 18 year olds)– primary referral route Police – via custody suites Probation - for service users aged 18-24 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The majority of referrals were made via the YOT Some referrals through Social Services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diverting young people from the court meant delaying court processes which did not align with the speedy justice initiative Very limited referrals through the police custody suite Probation were unwilling to engage with the service
Advance London	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Police Custody officers, ASB meeting referrals from partner agencies Joint Action Group meetings, Youth courts, specialist domestic violence courts and generic courts, YOTs Safeguarding /looked after children team meetings, Troubled family case panels Housing providers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The majority of referrals were made by the police 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The project focused on the police and provided training to officers around the needs of young adult women as a means of facilitating referrals
Pact Prisons in Staffordshire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HMP Stafford HMP/YOI Werrington HMP/YOI Drake Hall 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked in HMP/YOI Werrington for the first 2 years and HMP/YOI Drake Hall throughout the 3 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work did not take place in HMP Stafford due to a change in its function – it became a sex offender-only prison Work in HMYOI Werrington was severely restricted due to Transforming Youth Custody – requirement for young people to do 30 hours education per week
Prince’s Trust Prisons in Staffordshire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HMP Oakwood HMP/YOI Featherstone HMP/YOI Brinsford 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operated solely in HMP/YOI Brinsford 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The populations in the other two prisons changed so that there were insufficient young adults

Remedi South Yorkshire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • YOT • Probation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • YOT • Probation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The balance of referrals between YOT and Probation was not as expected and was not uniform between local authority areas, being dependent on previous relationships between workers and local agencies
Together Rotherham	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police • Troubled families • Mental health teams • CAMHS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of referrals from the police • Limited referrals from mental health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited engagement from mental health services

Table 3.2 T2A project referral routes

Over the three years of the project, the majority had to invest considerable time and effort to ensure referrals. The factors that made this challenging are considered below. It should be noted that some of these were *outside the control* of the projects, such as external structural changes. Other factors had the *potential to be mitigated* by project staff, including: the attitudes of referral gatekeepers, personnel changes in external agencies and organisational resistance. Finally, there were factors that were more *directly in the control* of the projects such as establishing referral criteria which could be easily understood by external organisations.

EXTERNAL STRUCTURAL CHANGES

The projects operated during a period of considerable change in the criminal justice system, described by a commissioner interviewee as being an unprecedented level of change. The most significant change was the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) reforms which saw the restructuring and part-privatisation of probation services into 21 community rehabilitation companies (CRCs) and the NPS, a single, national probation service (MoJ, 2014). According to project interviewees, it made general relationship building more challenging; establishing who to speak to and in persuading these contacts to allocate time to engaging with the T2A projects. During this period, the priorities of the CRCs and NPS were internally focused on managing the fall-out from the structural changes arising from TR (HM Probation Inspectorate 2015; 2016). The changes also ushered in other services which competed for service users with some of the T2A projects. For example, in one site, the CRC had their own mentoring provider and therefore did not refer to the T2A project.

Specific national initiatives which impeded referral arrangements and access to service users included:

- *Speedy justice* – one project which intended to receive the majority of their referrals from the youth court, received no referrals from this route at all. Offering a diversion from court scheme, the primary operating model for one T2A project, was viewed as hindering the aim of the speedy justice initiative which was intended to quicken the pace at which cases were processed through the court system. The project responded to this by re-directing their efforts to securing referrals through the police custody suite and the YOT.
- *Transforming Youth Custody* – required that under 18 year olds held in a secure establishment received 30 hours of education a week. This meant that one of the T2A custody projects were unable to access young people to work with. The project responded

by switching all their staff resources to delivering the service in the other establishment that they had been working with. This held female young adults aged 18 and over⁹ who were unaffected by this change.

- *Re-structuring the prison estate* – a prison that the same project had intended to work in changed its function from being a category C male training prison to a sex offender only establishment. Consequently, the project withdrew from working in this prison and focused on the other two establishments that they worked in.

ATTITUDES OF REFERRAL GATEKEEPERS

T2A project interviewees reported that generally the organisations they worked with were supportive of their services. However, negative views of young offenders were held among some “referral gatekeepers”, (i.e. those individuals who could have potentially referred to the projects) of young adult offenders. As reported by one T2A project worker a police officer expressed the view that:

“The [police] officer kept telling me 'by eighteen they have a criminal mind-set. There's no hope for them already'.” T2A Project staff

One project interviewee also reported that police officers who were used to making face to face referrals to drugs and alcohol workers in the custody suite viewed making referrals to the T2A project via email and/or by telephone as an “alien concept”. Because this was not their usual custom and practice they failed to make referrals at all.

REFERRAL AGENCY PERSONNEL CHANGES

Project staff reported that where referral arrangements did exist, these were not always sustained when there were personnel changes. For example, one project received referrals through a triage arrangement operated by a police officer. Once this officer retired the triage process did not continue. This illustrated the fragility of such arrangements which project staff were alert to – project interviewees from this project made efforts to forge strategic links with the local police over the three years of the project's operation. However, this yielded limited embedded referral arrangements. This is not a new challenge and one that all agencies perennially grapple with. One answer to this might have been a steering group with representatives from the key agencies working with the project. In one site, where such a group existed, this helped with referrals from one agency but made little difference to referrals from a different agency.

ORGANISATIONAL RESISTANCE

While the projects generally enjoyed supportive relationships with partner agencies, some project staff interviewees reported frustration in establishing referral routes with some statutory agencies. The agencies which proved challenging were different from area to area but included the police, probation services and mental health services in some sites. This was crystallised for one project

⁹ As well as under 18 year olds.

interviewee as a cultural antipathy towards voluntary sector led services, illustrated by the following account:

“I continue to feel like overall the culture in the [name of statutory agency] is that voluntary sector organisations aren't as professional or we don't have the knowledge. It's really frustrating, around the end of the second year I just felt why do we even bother, because you just get knocked back or derided. I had a really bad experience...really belittling and it was so unnecessary.” T2A project staff

Such difficulties are not unusual and have been noted in other evaluations conducted by members of the T2A research team (Wong et al., 2014; Wong et al., 2012). However, such organisational resistance from these agencies was not universal across all the T2A project sites. In one site, the project enjoyed a supportive relationship with the police; receiving regular referrals and with the local police commander acting as the chairperson of the project's strategic board.

UNDERSTANDING THE REFERRAL CRITERIA

Some partner interviewees reported that the criteria for referring into projects were too restrictive. For example, for one project, referrals had to be from one local authority area only, when the police force covered more than one area. In this instance, this may have reflected a more general lack of understanding by partner agencies of the remit of individual projects, i.e. that they were established to work with service users from a specific local authority area and the resourcing was insufficient to extend beyond this.

Elsewhere, some partner agencies towards the latter part of the final year of a different T2A project were still unclear about the referral criteria to the project as reported by T2A project worker:

“Recently we noticed when we went to a meeting that people were saying there that our criteria is too specific, we're asking for too much. And it was too general but too specific at the same time.” T2A project staff

This suggests a need for projects to systematically review referral arrangements with existing and potential referral agencies to ensure a common understanding of the referral criteria and mechanism.

3.2.2 WORKING WITH INDIVIDUALS WITH COMPLEX AND DIVERSE NEEDS

This section examines the challenges faced by the T2A projects in providing their services to a cohort of young adults with complex and diverse needs. There is a particular focus on how the projects responded to emergent needs as well the extent to which gender, ethnicity and offending history affected the complexity of needs.

NUMBER OF NEEDS

The T2A projects were asked to record the needs of each service user in relation to the seven reducing reoffending Pathway.

While the data on service user needs collected by the T2A projects for the evaluation are not representative of the criminal justice population nor even the 16-24 year old segment of that population, nevertheless they confirm the views of project and partner interviewees that the young adults which were referred to the projects did indeed have complex needs. Across the projects, service users had an average of 4.3 criminogenic needs out of a potential total of 7.¹⁰ Between the projects, the average number of recorded needs varied between a project average of 2.5 needs recorded by the Prince's Trust to 5.3 by Remedi. This in part may have reflected differences in: the project model; which needs were assessed and recorded; the types of service users that the different projects worked with; project location; and whether custody or community based.

Project staff from across the projects reported that they offered tailored support to their service users to address a range of needs. Where the project model was principally mentoring (i.e. without a specific focus on any specific needs), projects such as Advance, Remedi and Together, tended to record a higher average number of needs for their service users, respectively, 5.2, 5.3 and 4.9. Projects whose core offer was principally focused around a single criminogenic need: education, employment and training (Prince's Trust); and drugs and alcohol (Addaction) recorded fewer needs, respectively, 2.5 and 3.1. This does not necessarily mean that service users who engaged with these agencies had fewer needs but because of their specific focus they may not have identified other needs beyond education and drugs.

This seems to be further borne out when comparing needs and offending history. While there might be an expectation that prisoners would have a high number of needs such as recorded by Pact (5.1) - the other custody based T2A project; Prince's Trust service users recorded the lowest average number of needs of all the T2A projects, even lower than Addaction where three quarters of service users did not have a prior criminal record. However, it should be noted that the higher number of needs recorded by Pact compared to the Prince's Trust may be due to gender differences between the two cohorts. The Prince's Trust worked solely with male prisoners while the Pact cohort had equal numbers of male and female prisoners. Young adult females tend to have more complex needs than males (Corston, 2007; Prison Reform Trust, 2016). This examined in more detail below for the overall T2A service user population.

Further data on needs are presented in Appendix 2.

RESPONDING TO EMERGENT ISSUES

Project and partner interviewees in three sites reported that the incidence of child sexual exploitation (CSE) among their service users as victims was a significant emergent problem. This view perhaps reflected an increase in police recorded child sexual abuse offences across England and Wales between 2014/15 and 2015/16 (HM Government, 2017).¹¹

¹⁰ These were: accommodation; employment, training and education; health including mental health; drugs and alcohol; finance, benefits and debt; relationships with family; attitudes, thinking and behaviour.

¹¹ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/592588/Tackling_Child_Sexual_Exploitation_-_Progress_Report__web_.pdf

CSE among their service users was *one of a range of issues* that the T2A project staff had to deal with. However, it has been highlighted in this report because it is illustrative of three things. Firstly, in relation to project design, at the bid stage, CSE was not identified by any of the projects as an issue that they would be dealing with. Secondly, in relation to project implementation and delivery, it is illustrative of the challenge of having to be agile and responding to issues as they arise. And, finally ensuring that staff are adequately equipped and supported to deal with such emergent problems.

The interviews with project staff suggested that those who had to deal with CSE were adequately supported.

GENDER AND NEEDS

There is a wealth of information which suggests that the needs of women and girls in the criminal justice system differ from males (Annison, Brayford and Deering, 2015; Corston, 2007). In addition that they are more likely to be the victim of violence and child abuse than their male counterparts (MoJ, 2016)

Across the projects, almost one in three service users (125 of 414) were female. Two projects made up three quarters of this total, reflecting their gender focus. Almost all of the Advance service users were young adult women (56 of 57), one was transgendered and half of Pact's service users (30 of 60) were female.

Across the projects, on average, female service users had a slightly higher number of criminogenic needs (4.7) compared with male service users (4.0). As would be expected the average number of needs of female service users varied between projects, from 2.8 to 5.9. Further details are in Appendix 2.

In addition to the criminogenic needs referred to above, projects were asked to record two additional needs for female service users: experience of abuse, rape or domestic violence; and involvement in sex working.¹² Across the projects six out of 10 young adult women (79 of 125) had experienced abuse, rape or domestic violence; and 15% (19 of 125) had been involved in sex working. This added additional complexity to their needs. Interviews with some female service users indicated that their roles as mothers (while in custody) was a significant issue for them, although this may also have reflected the focus of the project.

A gender focused approach for young adult women in the community was trialled by Advance (which solely worked with young adult women) where a young female key worker provided the service to young adult female service users. The efficacy of this model is illustrated by a partner agency interviewee who recalled the example of an Advance service user. She was struggling with an eating disorder and had previously experienced sexual abuse - so she could only work with other female professionals. The service user had been trying to access an eating disorder clinic but was repeatedly assigned a male professional to assist her. The Advance worker was able to advocate on the service user's behalf and attended the eating disorder clinic with them until they were allocated a female

¹² These were included for female service users, as they have been identified as additional reducing reoffending pathway needs for female offenders by specialist women offender support agencies.

worker. It should be noted that other projects which worked with male and female service users also deployed female key workers to work with female service users where required.

ETHNICITY AND NEEDS

While 18-24 year olds generally are over-represented in the criminal justice system as a whole, there are even higher levels of over-representation of black and minority ethnic offenders within this age group (Young, 2014).

Across the T2A projects, 7 out of 10 (291 of 414) service users were white, correspondingly, 3 out of 10 were non-white.¹³ However, there were differences between the projects.

Of the prison projects, 39% (36 of 92) of Prince's Trust service users were non-white, a higher proportion than within the general prison population where 25% are non-white (MoJ, 2017)¹⁴ but which itself is disproportionately represented in comparison with the general population of England and Wales (12%).

Almost half (26 of 57) of Advance service users were non-white, the largest proportion of non-white service users of all the T2A projects. This was higher than the local population in the three boroughs where Advance operated.¹⁵

At the opposite end of this spectrum, white service users made up the overwhelming majority 92% (48 of 52) of Together service users which matches the proportion of white people in the local population based on 2011 census data (reported in Rotherham Joint Strategic Needs Assessment).¹⁶

Across the projects, white and non-white service users had similar average numbers of needs, respectively 4.5 and 4.3.

OFFENDING HISTORY AND NEEDS

Three quarters of service users (300 of 407) had a criminal record prior to commencing with the T2A projects.

Over three quarters (47 of 61) of Addaction service users had no prior criminal record which reflected: the age of their service users where 83% (49 of 59) were aged between 16 to 17; and the referral stage within the criminal justice system (at arrest and diversion).

13 Given the relatively small numbers of individuals from some black and minority ethnic groups, the numbers have been collapsed into a non-white grouping to enable a clearer presentation of the findings. Numbers for individual groups are presented in Appendix 2.

14 Based on prison population figures for July to September 2016.

15 The non-white populations of the tri-boroughs were: Westminster- 41% (<https://www.westminster.gov.uk/westminster-population>) Hammersmith and Fulham – 32% (https://www.lbhf.gov.uk/sites/default/files/section_attachments/hammersmith_and_fulham_borough_profile_2014.pdf) and 20% (<https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/pdf/Ethnicity.pdf>).

16 http://www.rotherham.gov.uk/jsna/info/23/people/54/ethnicity_and_cultural_identity.

As noted in 3.1 while the original intention of Advance and Together was to divert young adults from the criminal justice system, equal numbers of Advance service users (18 of 50)¹⁷ had a criminal record/no criminal record prior to commencing with the project; and the majority of Together service users (30 of 52) had a prior criminal record.

As would be expected from prison based projects almost all Pact (59 of 60)¹⁸ and Prince's Trust service users (91 of 92)¹⁹ had a prior criminal record.

Across the projects, on average, service users with a criminal record had a higher number of needs (4.7) than those with no criminal record (4.0). This varied between the projects for service users with a criminal record, from an average of 3.9 to 6.3 needs.

3.2.3 MAINTAINING SERVICE USER ENGAGEMENT

This section will examine the challenges of sustaining engagement with service users by considering the duration and intensity of engagement and how this was affected by: the staff resources; gender; ethnicity and offending history.

As noted in Section 2, while the research team intended to sample service users who had disengaged from the projects in addition to those who were engaged, none were persuaded to participate in the research. It has not been possible to include their views in this evaluation and specifically in relation to this section, assess the extent to which the voluntary nature of the arrangement between service user and project affected engagement.²⁰

Service users could choose to withdraw from the T2A projects at any time. They were under no compulsion to work with the service, which as demonstrated in Section 3.2 was regarded as a positive feature of the T2A Pathway Model, however, in some instances, or for some service users, this may have provided insufficient incentive for them to continue with the service.

RESOURCING AND ENGAGEMENT

"Initially we only thought we'd work with people for 3 months. And as that's gone on we've realised that actually, that's not enough time, because we're getting lots of complex cases. It can take that time just to engage people, never mind making any kind of change." T2A project staff

The complexity of service user needs as illustrated by the above quote were matched in part by extending the time periods over which T2A staff worked with their service users. There may have been initial time limits for working with service users, such as three months for Together. In practice, project interviewees, reported that they were able to offer open-ended engagement with their service

17 In 14 of 50 cases, data on offending history were not recorded.

18 In 1 of 60 cases data no criminal record were recorded.

19 In 1 of 92 cases, data on offending history were not recorded.

20 Despite the recruitment efforts of the projects and research team, it was not possible to sample and interview any service users who had disengaged from the service.

users. This enabled them to build trust and allowed the service users to reveal their needs over time, once a relationship with the project worker had been established.

The ability of the projects to extend the duration of engagement was enabled by the commissioners who were accommodating about the number of service users worked with. As described by one commissioner their focus was on prioritising the quality of service user engagement over quantity. All of the projects worked with fewer service users than originally projected in their bids. Further details are contained in Appendix 2.

Across the projects, the average duration of service user engagement was 159 days. It should be noted that this analysis is based on *elapsed time*, measuring the number of days between commencement and disengagement from the projects. This differed between projects, in part based on the project model, staff resources, caseload and complexity of service user needs. This is summarised along with the average duration of engagement in Table 3.3.

Project	No. of cases (May 2014 to December 2016)	No. of full time equivalent staff involved in front line delivery***	Average no. of service user needs (of a potential 7 needs)	Average duration of service user engagement (days)
Addaction	61	1.25	3.1	67
Advance Minerva	57	1	5.2	147
Pact	60	1	5.1	**
Prince's Trust	92	1	2.5	**
Remedi	92	3	5.3	198
Together	52*	2.5	4.9	230

*This figure is based on cases from May 2014 to March 2017

** Data from Pact and Princes Trust were excluded from this analysis because data were missing for a number of cases.

***Based on data collected during cost collection interviews.

Table 3.3 T2A project caseloads, resources, service user needs and duration of engagement

As indicated earlier, Addaction operated a six week treatment drug and alcohol programme (over a minimum of 42 days) with ongoing support offered if required, delivered primarily by one full time worker. The average duration of service user engagement was 67 days. In contrast, Together provided wrap around mentoring support over an indeterminate time period for a wide range of needs, delivered by two full time workers and a full time project manager. The average duration of service user engagement was 230 days.

As confirmed in both the process evaluation and cost collection project staff interviews, the amount of time that project staff worked with their service users varied. There were periods of intense activity, illustrated by the following account:

"Some were coming in every day in crisis and in chaos and if you were going to make a change with them I think it needed to be something different than they'd ever been given...intensive support every day." T2A project staff

GENDER, ETHNICITY, OFFENDING HISTORY AND SERVICE USER ENGAGEMENT

Across the projects, the average duration of engagement for female service users (183 days) was longer than for male service users (159). This pattern was replicated in three of four of the projects which worked with male and female service users. The difference may have reflected the higher level of needs of female service users compared to their male counterparts as indicated in 3.2.1.

The average duration of engagement for white service users (163) and non-white service users (167) across the programme was similar.

Across the projects, on average, service users with a criminal record engaged with the T2A projects over a shorter duration than those with no criminal record: 165 days compared with 185 days. This may reflect the more chaotic and complex lives of individuals who have a criminal record compared to those who had no criminal record.

Further details are provided in Appendix 2.

4. VALUE OF THE PROGRAMME TO STAKEHOLDERS

As may be expected, the primary beneficiaries of the T2A projects have been the service users. At the same time, benefits also accrued to the lead organisations delivering the projects and to their partner agencies. The value of the Pathway Programme to these beneficiaries is drawn from the interviews with these stakeholders. As explained in Section 2, the findings in this section should be treated with caution given the sampling limitations.

4.1 VALUE TO SERVICE USERS

The factors which contribute desistance can be summarised as: motivation and hope (le Bel et al., 2008); acquiring a sense of control/choice over one's life; development of social capital; and generative activities and restorative practices which facilitate identity shifts and promote self-worth (McNeill and Maruna, 2008).

The value of the T2A projects to service users while not described by them in terms of desistance nevertheless reflect those factors identified in the research literature as contributing to desistance. They are considered below in relation to: service users' motivation for engagement with the projects; the needs and life skills which the projects helped them to address; the confidence and self-esteem generated; their outlook and taking responsibility for their lives.

MOTIVATION FOR ENGAGEMENT WITH THE T2A PROJECTS

Service user interviewees had varying levels of understanding about how the T2A projects could assist them. Some were aware of the services that were available, whilst others had no information or expectations. Despite this and based on the interviews with service users, a number suggested that at the time when they were referred to the projects, they wanted to change their lives. This included: wanting a better future, characterised by getting a job, house and car; improving their prospects by getting involved in education, training and employment;

Service user interviewees reported that based on the information they received from the referral agency their expectations of the T2A projects were met and/or even exceeded. However, others commented that they were unsure what to expect, illustrated by one interviewee who suggested that he thought he would attend on the basis that: *"if it fails, it fails"* (T2A service user).

NEEDS AND LIFE SKILLS

Interviews with engaged service users confirmed that the T2A projects assisted their service users in accessing vital services which addressed their criminogenic needs, which ranged education, accessing a college course, applying for an apprenticeship to enabling them to reduce their substance misuse.

This also included accelerating access to services, such as accommodation as reported by one service user who had been trying by themselves for a year to acquire a new flat; and mental health provision which some service users had been trying unsuccessfully to access for some time.

Partner agency interviewees confirmed that T2A project staff provided life skills to their service users, such as diet planning, budgeting, setting up bank accounts and mapping weekly activities, commonly, in preparation for independent living. One service user recounted that they were autistic and liked routine and that the T2A worker had helped them to organise themselves. A partner interviewee observed that their local T2A project had enabled their service users to organise previously chaotic lives more effectively so that they were able to engage with and access services (which they needed) in a more organised and co-ordinated manner.

However, the projects offered assistance with even more fundamental requirements. One service user recounted how their local project had discovered that they had not been eating much and had taken them shopping for food.

For some service users who had no family contacts, the projects fulfilled one of the most fundamental of functions – someone to act as a family contact because they themselves did not have any contact with their family members. As noted by T2A project interviewee:

"One [service user] had to put his T2A mentor as his next of kin on the form as he had no-one." T2A project staff

CONFIDENCE AND SELF ESTEEM

Service users reported that T2A project staff had helped them with their confidence and self-esteem. One service user interview talked of having their confidence boosted through a process of relatively simple interactions, which arguably may be considered an everyday activity to the general population:

"For the first month or two our appointments weren't in here [the office] they were out and about. We went to cafes I'd never been in before she 'strived me' [inverted commas added by report authors] to have actual drinks rather than water...she's motivated me to eat normal food like normal people do." T2A service user

One of the projects systematically acknowledged their service user's achievements by providing them with a certificate and recounting what had had happened during their time with the project:

"I listed all of her achievements for the whole year and gave her that...she, like, cried and was like my mum never said, noticed anything I did and was just like this is the first time someone's noticed her. So I really like to make a fuss about endings now as these are so important to the client. It is just one of those helpful things you can do for the clients." T2A project staff

OUTLOOK

Service users reported that their interactions with the T2A staff had enabled them to be more positive about their lives. One service user recounted receiving motivational texts from the worker which helped them to get up in the morning. A different service user described how the worker had helped them cope with their anxieties by providing them with coping strategies. Another described the positive feeling more directly:

“When I walk out of a session I feel more positive in my head about things.” T2A service user

One service user reported that it was important to them that they were informed about the exchanges between the agencies that they worked with them. They described how they had felt let down by their social worker who had not done this. They described their social worker as not being reliable, unlike the T2A staff member who did not let them down.

“I’ve got support all way round me, no matter where I am I’ve got support...they all talk to each other, they all email each other.” T2A service user

Another service user reported that because the T2A project had helped them resolve their basic needs, such as facilitating access to dental services, this had enabled them to change how they responded to the world around them:

“Without them I’d be stuck in my bedroom all day, I’d have no money, bad teeth, on a rampage because my teeth were in pain.” T2A service user

TAKING RESPONSIBILITY

Partner agency interviewees commented that for this age group, many were not at the point emotionally where they were able to take responsibility for themselves and their actions. One such interviewee described it as a shock to their service users that there were pressures on them to behave in a certain way, i.e. be responsible for themselves and their action. However, their local T2A project supported the service user through this. In relation to one of the custody based projects, a partner interviewee observed that the T2A project:

“Helps them [the service users] to realise what they’ve done and to prepare for going home.”
Partner agency interviewee

Other ways in which the projects fostered service user taking responsibility was in the co-production of action plans. As described by one service user this involved the service user deciding what to do because they wanted to do something. In other instances it was decided jointly between the T2A worker and the service user. Co-production has been identified as one of the key processes through which desistance can be supported (Weaver, 2011).

One partner agency interviewee, whose local T2A project routinely worked with their service users over long durations, acknowledged that it took time for the project to achieve change with their service users:

“...they've been able to give the continued support. And whilst sometimes it wasn't necessarily immediate, and it would take many, you know, six months up to maybe a year, but people do modify their behaviour, and do find a way of behaving that means that they are able to act without getting themselves into situations that would cause them to be arrested.” Partner agency interviewee

4.2 VALUE TO PROJECT ORGANISATIONS

Project interviewees welcomed the opportunity to test out new approaches provided by the Pathway Programme. For example, one project interviewee commented that the intensive one to one support model developed by their T2A project was unique within their organisation. Having trialled their T2A project model in one area, interviewees from one organisation reported that they were able to secure funding to establish it in another area. Within this same organisation, interviewees described how they had embedded local practice in working with young adults among other workers who previously had had no direct role with the T2A service.

Interviewees from across the organisations also described benefiting from being involved in a national programme and having opportunities to participate more widely in T2A Alliance activities such as conferences, seminars and workshops. Some projects were directly involved in influencing policy makers, such as providing evidence to the Justice Committee and providing regular updates about their activities to local strategic stakeholders.

In the process of implementing and delivering the projects, interviewees described establishing relationships with agencies which they had not previously worked with, as well as affirming the partnerships which existed before the Pathway Programme.

4.3 VALUE TO PARTNER AGENCIES AND NATIONAL POLICY MAKERS

Partner agency interviewees generally reported greater understanding of the needs of young adults as a consequence of the work of the local T2A projects. In one area, this was manifested by the local strategic criminal justice group organising an event after the end of the programme to encourage actions and local commitments (by agencies) to enhance the work that they did with young adults.

As indicated in 3.1.1 the most significant value that the T2A projects provided was as an additional and free resource for other agencies. However, as demonstrated in 3.2.1 this did not of itself guarantee that agencies would refer service users to the projects. Partners who were interviewed for the evaluation were overwhelmingly positive about the T2A projects both in terms of the service that they provided to their service users and in the way that they provided that service. They recounted how the projects had enabled the young adults to engage better with their own services.

In some instances the specialist nature of the local T2A services such as the gendered focused work of Advance was regarded as an additional benefit to existing provision, offering a gendered lens through which specialist support for young adult women was provided.

More generally, the T2A projects have contributed to national policy making, for example, most directly by providing evidence to the Justice Committee inquiry into young adults and the criminal justice system (Justice Committee, 2016). They have also added considerable value to the work of the Barrow Cadbury Trust and the T2A Alliance.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents the conclusions and recommendations from this process evaluation.

5.1 T2A PATHWAY PROGRAMME AND OPERATIONALISING DESISTANCE

“It's just little things that don't seem big but it's a big deal to our service users.” T2A project worker

The T2A projects worked at different points across the criminal justice system and T2A pathway and they focused on different reducing reoffending Pathway outcomes. Nevertheless, it has been possible to discern a theory of change and a common model across the projects. This largely emerged organically, shaped by the openness and flexibility of the commissioners; the space and time within which the projects could develop their services; and in finding the best way to work with service users whose complex needs emerged over time.

For much of the twentieth century until the mid-1990s probation officers and social workers underwent the same training (Senior, 2008). The underlying principle of the probation service was that of advising, assisting and befriending members of society that were subject to probation, providing supervision and support rather than enforcement. In moving away from such a seemingly straight forward and naïve principle, the findings from the T2A Pathway Programme evaluation suggests that something has been lost from the process of engaging with offenders.

The Skills for Effective Engagement and Development (SEED) programme initiated by NOMS in 2012 was aimed at reintroducing engagement skills to offender managers (Sorsby, 2017). More may be known now, about how and why offenders desist from crime because of a burgeoning evidence base (contributed to by Maruna, Farrall, Bottoms, Shapland, McNeill, Weaver and others), paradoxically, as a society, we no longer appear to have the capability nor the resources or time to enable it to happen.

The T2A projects in part, appear to be have operationalised some of the principles of desistance which appear to be lacking in the approach of other agencies. However, it should be noted that this has occurred in an enabling and considerate funding environment which has fostered such development. Something which is rare (if not unique), within the current justice service commissioning. This has allowed workers within the T2A projects the time to: *“go that extra little mile”*; to extend the time that staff worked with service users beyond the initial projected time frame; to work with smaller caseloads than were originally envisaged in their funding bids; and having the flexibility to develop and adapt their model.

In facilitating this, it has enabled the projects to do **small, big things**. A *small* thing (as likely to be viewed by the general population) such as attend a GP clinic with a service user but making a *big difference* to the service user. This is likely to be regarded as a minor “nice to do” activity that few, if any staff from agencies with statutory responsibilities currently have time to do; or those agencies, VCS, statutory or private sector who have to deliver to strict service delivery agreement targets could entertain. However, the findings suggest that the investment of time was repaid, in developing

rapport and trust between T2A staff and service users and in exposing service users to positive pro-social modelling.

This programme has brought to the fore the change in individuals which can occur from the accumulation of “small big things”. It points to the operation of the principle of marginal gains at a micro, individual level, which arguably has been observed at a meso and macro, justice system level through the Youth Justice Custody Reinvestment Pathfinder (Wong et al., 2015).

Whether the projects have had a measurable impact on reoffending and whether the relatively modest investment in these projects have been worth it, will be examined in the final impact and cost benefit analysis report due to be completed in December 2017.

In the meantime, three recommendations flow from the above conclusions:

- Firstly that commissioners should give greater attention to specifying *how services* should be delivered in addition to *what services* they specify;
- Secondly, that the principle of *small big things* merits further investigation into how this contributes to desistance; and
- Finally, given the promising nature of the *small big things* approach, commissioners should consider how to mainstream the commissioning of such provision, in particular for those most vulnerable young adults.

5.2 COMMISSIONING AND SET-UP OF DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

While the projects should be commended for adapting their model, this could have been mitigated at the proposal and early set up stage had the lead organisations fully tested out the feasibility of the service as proposed. This is important for two reasons, firstly this would have minimised the delay in the project becoming fully operational; secondly, potentially recruiting staff with a particular skillset and/or experience which did not match the actual service and/or service user group. It is to the credit of the staff that they adapted to the changed service user group and/or model. This may not be the case in other future instances and as such could potentially impair the service that is delivered.

The ideal scenario would be for agencies when submitting bids to invest time and effort in ensuring that everything is in place for their projects to start from the appointed commencement date. The reality of bidding for projects suggests that this is unlikely to happen, unless, in effect, funding was being applied to continue an existing project where referral routes and partners were already well established.

When commissioning demonstration projects which are truly innovative and intended to be experimental such arrangements are unlikely to be in place. This suggests that there should be four phases to the bidding and establishment of such projects:

- Bidding phase – with sufficient time to allow discussions to take place between interested agencies and for initial proposals to be developed and submitted to the funder;
- Shortlisting phase – where potential projects (more than are required for the final list) are selected and allowed further time to develop more detailed proposals to address

weaknesses identified in the initial proposals, in particular, how they will resource any data collection activity required for evaluation and monitoring;

- Set-up phase – once the final projects have been selected, allowing sufficient time for the projects to be set up. The learning from the T2A projects is that there was considerable variation in how long this took, with six months as a minimum period;
- Establishment phase – even when a project has been set up, sufficient time needs to be allowed for services to be modified in order to move to a point where they are running in an optimal manner. It can take interventions up to eighteen months to overcome initial teething problems (Hedderman, 2004)

In addition, it is also important (as demonstrated through the T2A Pathways programme) for the commissioner to provide flexibility for the projects to adapt their services as required while at the same time ensuring that they abide by the over-arching principles/model of the services that they are testing.

5.3 WORKING WITH YOUNG ADULTS

The case has been made by for the T2A Pathway Programme and recognised more widely (Justice Committee, 2016) that working with young adults requires a different approach to working with older adults.

As with all offenders there should be an expectation that the process of working with young adults will be “stop and start”, one step forwards then two steps back.

However, such set-backs from the service users are likely to try the patience of the individuals who work with them. Their ability to sustain working with them is itself an act of faith on the part of the staff, an almost unwavering belief that their service users have the potential to change.

The Pathway Programme has shown that the attitudes that the staff bring to their work is therefore critical. It sustains them in times when they themselves may want to “throw in the towel” but also is important for motivating the service user and enabling the service users to believe in themselves - because someone believes in them. Not all criminal justice practitioners believe in the capacity for young adults to change as indicated from the interview data. Not all of the general population are likely to either. Therefore, when recruiting staff to work with young adults, arguably at all points in the criminal justice system such “faith” should be an important prerequisite. This secular faith in humanity is a recruitment “deal breaker”.

5.4 MEETING COMPLEX AND CHANGING NEEDS

As suggested earlier, staff across the projects were largely unprepared for the complex needs of the service users that they worked with, particularly those who were recruited to work for a project which was intended to work with first time offenders with low levels of need. This suggests four key actions for services:

- Firstly – a more accurate assessment of the types and levels of the needs of the target service user group needs to be undertaken at project commencement and on an on-going basis;
- Secondly – recruiting individuals with the right skills and experience to work with the service user group and/or ensuring that adequate training and support is in place to ensure that the staff have the appropriate capability; and
- Thirdly – given that some projects consciously changed the target group that they worked with part way through their operation, ensuring that staff have the appropriate skills and advice to work with such a change.
- Fourthly – responding to emerging needs such as child sexual exploitation, ensuring that such new needs are monitored and captured to evidence such a change; but also ensuring that the staff have appropriate training and support to deal with such needs.

For commissioners, being alert to changing and emerging needs is important as this may determine future commissioning requirements.

5.5 ENSURING A REFERRAL STREAM

The experience of the T2A projects suggests that to ensure adequate referrals into the projects requires the establishment of referral routes from a range of agencies and buy-in from a number of individuals within individual agencies. In the fast changing criminal justice policy and practice landscape, the expectation should be that this needs to be an ongoing process. Therefore management resources need to be allocated to this and to signal its importance, given the same management priority as ensuring front line delivery.

If, as suggested, the voluntary nature of the T2A Pathway Model is a key element to the successful engagement with this service user group, then it is important that this is made explicit in any communication about the project, particularly by the referring agency with their service users when making referrals.

5.6 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Adequate resourcing of monitoring and evaluation by project staff is required to enable the results of their efforts to be measured rigorously. Missing data and/or poorly recorded data ultimately assist neither the projects, the service users, or other vulnerable young adults in need of services provided by the T2A projects. Data collection was treated, understandably, by project staff not as part of project implementation and delivery but as a separate and additional activity and one that in some instances got in the way of real work – face to face project delivery. The research team are undertaking separate work to identify how best to engage with practitioners in outcome measurement, taking the learning from this evaluation and other projects which they have been involved in.

The views of service users who disengaged from the projects are a significant missing voice from this evaluation. Having reflected on the failure to secure such interviews in Phases One and Phase Three, the research team have considered how this might be approached for future research. Timeliness is

key. First of all, service users would need to give written consent, at the earliest point of engagement with the project, to be approached by the research team. Secondly, the projects would need to notify the research team as soon as a service user disengages, however this is defined, such as failure to attend a first, second or third meeting. Thirdly, the research team would then aim to contact the service user as soon as possible after this. Given the complex lives of this service user group, this is based on the presumption that: they are more likely to be motivated to participate in the research, the closer they are to having had exposure to the project; and on a practical basis that their contact details such as mobile phone numbers are likely to still be current. However, such a research approach is resource intensive and needs to be adequately budgeted for.

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APPENDIX ONE – RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Table A.1 Research activities across the three phases of the evaluation

Research activity	Set up phase	Phase 1	Phase 2 ²¹	Phase 3 ²²	Total
Interviews with service users (varying in age from 16 -24 years old)	-	20	-	19	39
Interviews with project staff (both managerial and operational)	-	19	16	12	47
Interviews with partner agencies (including public sector, statutory and voluntary sector agencies who referred service users into the T2A projects and/or received referrals from the projects)	-	18	11	18	47
Interviews with local commissioners	-	-	-	6 ²³	6
Interviews with programme commissioners	-	-	-	2	3
Workshops (WS)	WS 1 held in November 2013 to review the projects' theories of change and types of data that the projects were collecting.	WS 2 held in September 2014 to explore project delivery models and review the data being collected by the projects.	WS 3 held in November 2015 to capture and mobilise learning. Projects also undertook a cost collection exercise.	WS 4 held in November 2016 to reflect on the development of the projects, sharing innovation and learning.	4
Document Review	Reviewed project documents; types of data the projects were collecting; and systems in use to manage the data to inform our methodology.				
Cost collection activities	-	-	-	Interviews with project staff. Cost questions emailed to partner agencies.	

21 In Phase Two, 1 partner was interviewed for the Prince's Trust and no partner interviews were undertaken for Pact.

22 In Phase Three, 1 partner was interviewed for Addaction and the Prince's Trust.

23 Three of these participants were interviewed in their roles as both a local commissioner and partner agency.

Research activity	Set up phase	Phase 1	Phase 2 ²¹	Phase 3 ²²	Total
Analysis of throughput data	Each of the projects completed a throughput spreadsheet, which captured data on the number of service users, their characteristics (age, gender and ethnicity), their needs and reasons for exit from the project. Projects provided throughput data every 4 months.				
Analysis of intermediate outcomes data ²⁴	The six projects collected data to demonstrate the benefits of their projects. The tools used for collecting these data varied by sites (discussed in more detail below).				

APPENDIX TWO – ANALYSIS OF THROUGHPUT DATA

NUMBER OF SERVICE USERS

Table A.2.1 Intended and actual numbers of service users by project

Project	Intended number of service users over the 3 years of the project	Actual number (May 2014 to Dec 2016)
Addaction	150	61
Advance	150*	57
Pact	120*	60
Prince's Trust	120	92
Remedi	150*	92
Together	120*	52
TOTAL	810	414

*In their bids, these projects stated that they would work with this number service user per annum. However, the research team were advised by the commissioners that these projected figures were for the three years of the programme.

24 Intermediate outcomes are outcomes that contribute directly or indirectly to reductions in reoffending, for example reducing substance misuse or access to employment, training and education. They are indicators of positive progress towards stopping offending. See, for example, Taylor et al. (2013).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Table A2.2 Gender of service users

Project	Male		Female		Transgender		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All projects	288	70%	125	30%	1	0%	414	100%
Addaction	48	79%	13	21%	0	0%	61	100%
Advance	0	0%	56	98%	1	2%	57	100%
Pact	30	50%	30	50%	0	0%	60	100%
Prince's Trust	92	100%	0	0%	0	0%	92	100%
Remedi	78	85%	14	15%	0	0%	92	100%
Together	40	77%	12	23%	0	0%	52	100%

Table A2.3 Ethnicity of service users

Project	Asian		Black		Mixed		Chinese/Other		White		Unknown		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All projects	18	4%	35	8%	38	9%	7	2%	291	70%	25	6%	414	100%
Addaction	2	3%	5	8%	1	2%	1	2%	52	85%	0	0%	61	100%
Advance	0	0%	11	19%	13	23%	2	4%	19	33%	12	21%	57	100%
Pact	5	8%	1	2%	4	7%	0	0%	48	80%	2	3%	60	100%
Prince's Trust	9	10%	13	14%	13	14%	1	1%	45	49%	11	12%	92	100%
Remedi	1	1%	5	5%	4	4%	3	3%	79	86%	0	0%	92	100%
Together	1	2%	0	0%	3	6%	0	0%	48	92%	0	0%	52	100%

Table A2.4 Age profile of service users

Project	16-17		18-20		21+		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All projects	118	29%	190	47%	97	24%	405	100%
Addaction	49	83%	8	14%	2	3%	59	100%
Advance	8	15%	22	40%	25	46%	55	100%
Pact	24	41%	11	19%	24	41%	59	100%
Prince's Trust	0	0%	73	79%	19	21%	92	100%
Remedi	34	38%	41	46%	14	16%	89	100%
Together	3	6%	35	69%	13	26%	51	100%

* 9 cases were excluded where no DOB provided, invalid DOB provided, or the service user was under-16.

OFFENDING BACKGROUND

Table A2.5 Prior criminal record

Project	Yes		No		Don't know		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All projects	300	74%	91	22%	16	4%	407	100%
Addaction	14	23%	47	77%	0	0%	61	100%
Advance	18	36%	18	36%	14	28%	50	100%
Pact	59	98%	1	2%	0	0%	60	100%
Prince's Trust	91	99%	0	0%	1	1%	92	100%
Remedi	88	96%	3	3%	1	1%	92	100%
Together	30	58%	22	42%	0	0%	52	100%

* 7 cases were excluded as no response provided.

NEEDS OF SERVICE USERS

Table A2.6 Types of service user needs

Project	ETE		Attitudes, thinking and behaviour		Drugs and alcohol		Relationships with family		Health		Accommodation		Finance, benefits, debt		Total cases for each site
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
All projects	296	77%	267	70%	238	62%	232	60%	225	59%	197	51%	183	48%	384*
Addaction	25	41%	50	82%	61	100%	9	15%	15	25%	2	3%	25	41%	61
Advance	39	78%	39	78%	29	58%	45	90%	41	82%	39	78%	28	56%	50
Pact	45	75%	59	98%	44	73%	59	98%	29	48%	41	68%	27	45%	60
Prince's Trust	62	82%	16	21%	19	25%	11	14%	26	34%	37	49%	16	21%	76
Remedi	78	92%	70	82%	58	68%	65	76%	65	76%	52	61%	59	69%	85
Together	47	90%	33	63%	27	52%	43	83%	49	94%	26	50%	28	54%	52

*30 cases were excluded from the analysis as the needs data were missing.

Table A2.7 Additional needs recorded for female service users

Project	Abuse, rape, experience of DV		Involvement in prostitution		Total female cases at each site
	N	%	N	%	
All projects	79	63%	19	15%	125
Addaction	0	0%	0	0%	13
Advance	38	68%	5	9%	56
Pact	23	77%	13	43%	30
Prince's Trust	0	0%	0	0%	0
Remedi	9	64%	0	0%	14
Together	9	75%	1	8%	12

Table A2.8 Average numbers of service user needs

Project	Average number of needs (does not include: Abuse, rape, experience of DV or Involvement in prostitution)
All projects	4.3
Addaction	3.1
Advance	5.2
Pact	5.1
Prince's Trust	2.5
Remedi	5.3
Together	4.9

* 7 cases were excluded (where all needs responses were recorded as 'don't know' this case was excluded, where the case had a mix of 'don't know' and 'yes/no' responses, this was included and the number of 'yes' results counted).

Tables A2.9 - A2.11 Average number of needs by gender, ethnicity and whether the service user had a previous criminal record

Where all needs responses were recorded as 'don't know' this case was excluded, where the case had a mix of 'don't know' and 'yes/no' responses, this was included and the number of 'yes' results counted.

Project	Average number of needs by gender (does not include: Abuse, rape, experience of DV or Involvement in prostitution)		
	Male	Female	Transgender
All projects	4.0	4.7	7.0
Addaction	3.1	2.8	0.0
Advance	0.0	5.4	7.0
Pact	4.2	5.9	0.0
Prince's Trust	2.5	0.0	0.0
Remedi	5.3	5.1	0.0
Together	5.1	4.2	0.0

Project	Average number of needs by ethnicity (does not include: Abuse, rape, experience of DV or Involvement in prostitution)		
	White	Non-White	Not known
All projects	4.5	4.3	3.3
Addaction	3.0	3.3	0.0
Advance	5.7	5.8	2.8
Pact	5.2	4.3	6.0
Prince's Trust	2.8	2.3	1.2
Remedi	5.3	5.0	0.0
Together	4.8	5.3	0.0

Project	Average number of needs by prior criminal record (does not include: Abuse, rape, experience of DV or Involvement in prostitution)		
	Record	No Record	Not known
All projects	4.7	4.0	4.4
Addaction	3.9	2.8	0.0
Advance	6.3	5.8	3.8
Pact	5.1	2.0	0.0
Prince's Trust	2.5	0.0	0.0
Remedi	5.3	4.7	5.0
Together	4.9	4.8	0.0

SERVICE USER ENGAGEMENT

Where cases had no end date or an invalid end date these cases were excluded.

Table A2. 12 Service user engagement

Project	Average length of engagement (days)
All projects (not Pact or PT)	159
Addaction	67
Advance	147
Pact	168
Prince's Trust	146
Remedi	198
Together	230

Table A2.13 – A2.15 Average length of engagement by gender, ethnicity and prior criminal record

Project	Average length of engagement by gender (days)		
	Male	Female	Transgender
All projects	159	183	106
Addaction	64	81	0
Advance	0	147	106
Pact	188	133	0
Prince's Trust	146	0	0
Remedi	190	243	0
Together	208	309	0

Project	Average length of engagement by ethnicity (days)		
	White	Non-White	Not known
All projects	163	167	104
Addaction	69	57	0
Advance	164	172	65
Pact	163	189	171
Prince's Trust	148	150	76
Remedi	210	132	0
Together	223	303	0

Project	Average length of engagement by prior criminal record (days)		
	Record	No Record	Not known
All projects	165	185	72
Addaction	68	67	0
Advance	208	177	70
Pact	168	0	0
Prince's Trust	147	0	62
Remedi	199	229	83
Together	201	265	0