

# T2A submission to the Sentencing Review Panel

## Outline response

January 2025

### Introduction to T2A and the evidence

Barrow Cadbury Trust welcomes the Sentencing Review's particular consideration of whether the sentencing framework should be amended to consider the specific needs or vulnerabilities of specific cohorts, including young adults.

The strong neuroscientific evidence on the maturation of young adults provides the government with a positive opportunity for ambitious change with both age and maturity being taken into significantly greater account within the sentencing framework and the administration of sentences.

Developing sentencing policies backed by legislation and investing to save in this cohort would create an impact in the relatively short term by reducing demand and increasing the longer-term effectiveness of approaches to young adults, with wider dividends for society's safety and productivity. Dealing effectively with young adults while the brain is still developing is crucial for them in making successful transitions to a crime-free adulthood.

After a year-long inquiry into the psycho-social developmental evidence and the treatment of young adults in the criminal justice system in 2016, the Justice Select Committee concluded that:

"Young adults offend the most but have the most potential to stop offending. They are resource-intensive as they are challenging to manage. A strong case could be made for recognising that expenditure to make the system more developmentally responsive would pay dividends in reduced costs to the system in reducing incidents of violence and to society in reducing offending and the creation of further victims. (JSC 2016, para 139)"

The Committee also advocated for greater resources to be apportioned to this cohort within both prison and probation budgets in recognition of the likelihood that they will have more intensive needs; the importance of developing healthy adult identities to support long-term desistance from crime; and the long-term costs to the justice system of not providing developmentally appropriate approaches that aid desistance. They proposed the development of the equivalent of a 'pupil premium' approach and called for a business case to be drafted to examine the cost-benefits of prioritising investment in this group. There continues to be merit in considering such an approach. Research for T2A demonstrates that investment in more positive and tailored approaches to young adults would produce savings in respect of lower reoffending and resulting costs to criminal justice agencies, which have been calculated as savings of £33 million over two Parliaments.

We note that the three principles of the Review emphasise individualised failure which underplays the structural and other environmental conditions in which offending takes place. This is of particular importance for young people navigating the transition to adulthood. Accordingly, we draw the Review panel's attention to another recommendation of the Justice Select Committee:

"Cross-government recognition must be given to the need to promote desistance among those involved in the criminal justice system by offering the possibility of extending statutory support provided by a range of agencies to under 18s to up to 25 year olds, including through legislative change if necessary. Young adults are treated distinctly by a range of other Government departments, including some which preside over dedicated policies which can hinder the chances of young adults who do not have support networks from desisting from crime. Legislative provision to recognise the developmental status of young adults may be necessary both to demonstrate political courage in prioritising a better and more consistent approach to the treatment of young adults who offend and to provide a statutory underpinning to facilitate the shift required within the range of cross-government agencies that support young adults." (paras 147 - 148)

T2A proposes that the government adopts a mission-led approach to young adults involved in the criminal justice system, tied to its forthcoming Youth Strategy, and aligned with their commitment to be a mission-driven government.

We advocate that the Sentencing Review 2024/2025 embodies a transformative shift away from traditional 'binary thinking' of offender and victim, culpable and vulnerable, towards a more holistic view of justice that recognises the interconnectedness of sectors and social issues, enabling the justice system can move beyond siloed operations, acknowledging the nuanced realities faced by individuals and communities. We are inspired by the concept of 'boundary spanning systems thinking' noted below.<sup>1</sup>

This approach supports four of the government's main five missions for a better Britain, primarily by working towards long term national sentencing goals. In relation to young adults, this would centre on the development of a specific young adult sentencing framework for 18 – 25 year olds. This would include distinct young adult courts, increased

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<sup>1</sup> Examples of boundary spanning system thinking in criminal justice and public policy spaces can be found below:

[https://pureportal.strath.ac.uk/files/121014486/Stock\\_Rankin\\_cycj2020\\_the\\_contribution\\_of\\_cycj\\_boundary\\_spanning\\_and\\_system\\_development.pdf](https://pureportal.strath.ac.uk/files/121014486/Stock_Rankin_cycj2020_the_contribution_of_cycj_boundary_spanning_and_system_development.pdf)

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0275074007311889>

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF02351050>

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/00953997231219262>

use of early release, and non-custodial, community based and deferred sentencing options. Additionally, it would see departments and organisations working together rather than in silos, with private, public and voluntary sector collaboration enabling the voluntary sector to be viewed as equal status system partners. This provides a pivotal opportunity to support the strengthening of the sector, helping to amplify its voice and aligning with Lord Timpson's reformative agenda. It presents a strategic opening, advocating broader structural changes, especially in the context of young adults and women's justice. Further it would allow for better partnerships between national and local government to embed sentencing delivery ambitions post review.

The proposed shift aims to create a more empathetic and effective sentencing system that aligns with the broader mission of fostering social and young adult justice as well as holistic rehabilitation. This transition can serve as a positive political lever, demonstrating a strong commitment from a government truly driven by mission-led objectives.

### **General principles related to evidence**

HMPPS conducted an evidence review in 2021 on the types of initiatives most likely to be effective in supporting young adults in prisons and on probation, which is unpublished but could provide a useful guide for the Review panel. T2A has recently summarised the evidence for Clinks Evidence Library (publication forthcoming, available on request).

### **Psycho-social maturation**

The brain remains in an active state of development until approximately 25 years of age. The control centre of the brain (prefrontal cortex) which governs prosocial behaviour, successful goal planning and achievement only reaches full biological maturity at 25 years or older. The last region of the brain to develop is that responsible for executive function.

As a result, young adults may not have fully developed the cognitive abilities which are necessary for **prosocial behaviour, successful goal planning and achievement**. They are likely to have **immature and compromised core cognitive abilities** including **poor impulse control** (thinking before acting) and **challenges in evaluating risks**, including **dealing with unanticipated challenges and adapting to changed circumstances**. This, coupled with an increased motivation to achieve rewards which develops in adolescence and young adulthood is thought to be the most likely underlying mechanism contributing to **poor problem solving, poor information processing, poor decision making and risk-taking behaviours**.

Due to young adults' stage of brain development, there is a higher likelihood of breach and reoffending during this period. Changes in practice for this cohort are, therefore, likely to be particularly impactful in reducing demand created through administrative measures like breach and recall.

Typical maturation may be hindered or compromised by several factors including **traumatic brain injury, alcohol and substance use, psychiatric and neurodevelopmental disorders and adverse childhood experiences**.

HMPPS's own evidence detailed in the Model of Operational Delivery for Young Adults highlights the following data on vulnerabilities (see that document for references):

- Young People and Young Adults in custody are likely to have had four or more adverse childhood experiences (ACEs).
- Between 70-90% of Young Adults in custody are estimated to have experienced a traumatic brain injury which can have a significant impact on behaviour.
- Young Adults are known to have higher rates of speech and language difficulties.
- 45% of Young Adults are screened as having learning difficulties or challenges.
- Over 25% of the adult prison population has previously been in care; 49% of young men under the age of 21 in the criminal justice system have spent time in care.

### **Growing out of crime**

The age-crime curve is a well-known criminological concept that illustrates that young people naturally stop committing crimes as they age: the prevalence of offending peaks during the teenage years and then declines from the early 20s.<sup>i</sup> Put another way, as young adults gain higher psycho-social maturity, there is a higher potential for desistance from crime.<sup>ii</sup>

### **Patterns of sentencing**

The Centre for Crime and Justice Studies has recently found that while fewer young adults are going through the courts, those who do find themselves in court for offences classified as serious (indictable or triable either way) have been increasingly more likely to receive custodial sentences and less likely to receive community sentences (forthcoming, January 2025). This is counter to evidence as we know that **standard enforcement and punishment-oriented responses are shown to make reoffending more rather than less likely**<sup>iii</sup>. The lengths of prison sentences are also increasing, and we know that long sentences at a formative stage in young adults' lives have a disproportionately detrimental impact on them because of the disruption to their education, employment, and social relationships, which are critical for their development, and on their identity and mental health.<sup>iv</sup>

### **Race and gender**

T2A's work with EQUAL and the Agenda Alliance has shown us that significant work remains to be done to develop gender-appropriate, race-appropriate, and culturally competent community-based support, which is chronically underfunded. Other examples of work T2A has funded on racial disparities are:

- Baroness Lola Young of Hornsey's research on how to improve outcomes for young black and/or Muslim men in the CJS, known as the Young Review.
- Maslaha's research on the impact of Islamophobia on criminal justice decision making

- Leaders Unlocked's report based on interviews with Black, Asian or minority ethnic young adults on their experiences of engagement with the CJS
- Revolving Doors Agency's work on young adults in the revolving door of the CJS, including a briefing on Racial bias. For example, they found that Black young adults are more likely to be pulled into the revolving door of the CJS than any other ethnic group but highlights gaps in the data which make it challenging to understand their trajectories.

We are also impressed by Harm to Healing work resisting racial injustice in the criminal legal system of England and Wales <https://harmtohealing.uk/report>

### **Stimulating a cultural and systems shift**

Building on the momentum of the Child-First principles, we advocate for a young adult-first or people-first approach in sentencing, which emphasises consideration of the whole individual rather than reinforcing binary categorisations. This approach is grounded not only in the ethical and compassionate treatment of individuals—acknowledging the continued development of their brains, behaviours, and life choices as outlined above—but also in substantial evidence demonstrating its efficacy in reducing recidivism.

Research indicates that successful rehabilitation is closely linked to strengthening community connections, family ties, and fostering a sense of aspiration, identity, purpose, and hope. Addressing the underlying causes of crime, such as structural and systemic issues like classism, racism, gender discrimination, homelessness, child poverty, and the like is essential. By recognising and tackling these root factors, we can create a more humane and effective justice system. As such, we would hope to see sentencing options that prioritise accountability and consequence for actions over punishment; takes into consideration reparation, recompense and restorative justice; and both rehabilitates and transforms lives. Therefore, it is essential to take this opportunity in developing effective and age appropriate sentencing for this demographic.

The importance of getting sentencing right for young adults has been noted for a long time. In 1974, the Advisory Council on the Penal System stated that

“a special concentration of public effort upon this group of young adults, who are in danger of going on to long and costly criminal careers, is a sensible investment by society at a time when resources, both human and material, are too scarce to allow a similar degree of attention to be paid to all age groups”.

This has not yet been realised, despite age now being a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010 and well-intended changes to policy and practice since the Justice Committee's report. The capacity of the criminal justice system to support and rehabilitate maturing young adults during this critical period as they navigate the transition to adulthood remains poor. An important feature of this developmental period is that the brain 'prunes' unnecessary synaptic connections and can still 'rewire' itself. This plasticity means that it is a particularly good time to promote the development of positive neural connections by

providing opportunities for learning, personal growth, and the development of pro-social identity. On the other hand, the evidence demonstrates the detrimental impact on an individual's developing maturity when involved with the criminal justice system (HMPPS, 2021).

The lack of creativity in the sentencing of young adults within the existing justice system effectively writes them off, resulting in protracted involvement in the justice system and wider perverse outcomes. Current policy responses towards young adults tend to rely on 'risk factor approaches', particularly interventions aimed at individual behavioural change; this ignores wider structural conditions as well as their propensity to grow out of crime. Failing to deal effectively with young adults, in accordance with the evidence about their needs and vulnerabilities, significantly undermines their capacity to desist from offending and become net contributors to society. We discuss below the importance of social capital, identity and belonging on desistance for young adults.

Furthermore, it is both inefficient and ineffective for criminal justice agencies to be the primary statutory space to 'hold' young adults as they navigate the challenging transition into adulthood. Prisons are overcrowded, long prison sentences are counter-productive, and probation services and police are overworked. Shorter prison sentences, deferred community sentences and other forms of diversion are ways to alleviate the pressures on the system.

Despite the increasing recognition of neuroscientific evidence on maturity during young adulthood and the widespread adoption of distinct approaches, we are not yet at the stage of a cultural, and hence systemic, shift in our approach towards young adults involved in the criminal justice system. We would strongly encourage the government to adopt a more courageous approach based on the evidence T2A has amassed, which can usefully be applied to counter certain limiting beliefs that are used in this context to undermine the importance of the evidence. This has included unsubstantiated viewpoints such as 'young adults must learn delayed gratification to change their behaviour', 'the sophistication of offending being equated with or indicative of maturity', and that 'young adults who commit offences in positions of responsibility must be dealt with more severely'. The neuro-scientific evidence explains the behaviours related to each of these assumptions.

We outline below our perspective on the key components of a systemic shift which recognises in sentencing policy and practice the vulnerabilities and needs of young adults in the criminal justice system.

### **Young adult (or people) first principles**

The Mayor's Office of Policing and Crime has developed 'young adult first' principles, which have been applied in the Newham pilot of a young adult probation hub. These have been adapted from the 'child first' principles developed by the Youth Justice Board for youth justice, which have reduced the volume of children in the youth justice system. but concentrated needs, as detailed in the recent [Centre for Young Lives and Leeds University report](#). This found that most children involved in the criminal justice system share similar

experiences of childhood adversity, including poverty, unmet SEND, exclusion from school, abuse, neglect and exposure to domestic violence, addiction, or mental ill-health at home.

There have been similar shifts in volumes of young adults, as a knock-on effect of this, but as soon as they become 18, the difference is that their vulnerabilities and needs are no longer central. Like children, those young adults who remain in the justice system are often facing multiple challenges and severe, cumulative, and often very complex problems which the criminal justice system is largely ill-equipped to deal with.

A series of PQs asked by Alex Cunningham MP in 2021 illustrated that the government is not routinely considering these vulnerabilities amongst young adults as it was unable to provide any relevant data on the history of adverse childhood experiences in young adults who are either charged or sentenced or on what proportion of young adults convicted for serious offences were themselves past victims of violent and sexual offences as a child.

We resolve that part of a proposed young adult sentencing framework, including all sentencing options, pre-sentence reporting and/or monitoring, would reflect a similar approach, by expanding on the above and developing a bespoke set of principles for young adult sentencing.

### **Defining vulnerability and exploitation**

Young adults' vulnerability is currently viewed predominantly through a lens of risk rather than a supportive lens that seeks to develop environments that facilitate positive neural connections in the brain. Professor Neal Hazel's research provides valuable insights into the relationship between identity and desistance in young adults and emphasises the importance of developing a pro-social identity to reduce the likelihood of future offending by approaching young adults through an "identity lens" to foster positive future orientation.<sup>v</sup>

### **Safeguarding**

Existing safeguarding provisions do not appear to be working well for young adults. For example, T2A has concerns about the operation of the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) in enabling young adults who have offended to be recognised as victims of exploitation. We know that very few young adults benefit from legal entitlements to support, including access to relevant legal advice, safe accommodation, and independent emotional and practical help. In our experience, referring agencies are not identifying victims early enough (or at all), information sharing between key bodies can be poor, and there are severe delays in reaching decisions. There have been promising results from pilots which devolve NRM decision-making (in children's cases) from the central Home Office NRM team to local authorities - expediting the process significantly, which there is scope to expand.

Taking steps to enable young adults who have been exploited to benefit from this legislative provision, which was intended for them as much as for children, could reduce demand on the criminal justice system and enable them to be dealt with through safeguarding rather

than punitive routes. T2A would like to see a more local, coordinated, multi-agency approach taken to NRM with a wider range of routes for referral.

Another important consideration during this period is the need to preserve protections afforded to those with care experience entitled to additional support from local authorities during the transition to adulthood. If these particularly vulnerable young adults spend this period in custody, these protections are meaningless.

### **Transitional safeguarding**

HMPPS consistently evidence that at least 25% of those in custody have care experience, with an even higher percentage among the young adult populations. The 2023 Ofsted judgement "The Experiences and Progress of Care Leavers" highlights the critical importance of tailored support for this vulnerable group, emphasising that many care experienced and / or care leavers face significant challenges in attaining stability and resilience as they transition into adulthood. The findings from the 2021/2022 Social Care Review further reinforce this, revealing that care experience / leavers experience higher risks of involvement in the criminal justice system due to inadequate support networks and unmet needs.

The judgement also emphasises the essential components that matter most to care leavers, including relationship-building, access to social and recreational opportunities, the ability to influence the services they receive, and the importance of health and emotional well-being. Implemented in January 2023, it replaces previous evaluations by focusing specifically on the unique needs and challenges care leavers face as they transition to adulthood.

This focus further aligns with the Independent Review of Children's Social Care in England, which highlighted several key areas for improvement, such as the need for a national definition for Family Help, enhanced professional development for social workers, and increased support for foster care, including recruiting more foster carers and embedding innovative programmes. The review also emphasised broadening the role of government, business, and society in supporting care-experienced individuals and creating a fair child (and young adult) protection system that recognises family networks' potential.

In response, the Government's publication "Stable Homes, Built on Love" outlines a commitment to addressing these challenges and improving outcomes for children and young adults in care. Currently, the government is consulting on an implementation strategy that seeks to unify these various aims into a coherent framework, which should also influence sentencing outcomes for young adults. This would include the need for statutory or clear formal definitions of vulnerability and exploitation as it relates to young adults.

The Children Social Care Review complements these efforts by stressing the importance of nurturing long-standing relationships and providing love and support to children and young adults, critical for fostering resilience and stability. As the Sentencing Review considers the complexities surrounding young adults in the criminal justice system and young adult sentencing, recognising the specific circumstances and experiences of care experience and /

or leavers is imperative. Ensuring that their experiences are acknowledged and addressed, and their needs are integrated into sentencing decisions can help mitigate risk, promote and facilitate positive pathways to rehabilitation and reduce recidivism, ultimately fostering a more equitable, effective and efficient justice system.<sup>2</sup> The Review should also consider the vulnerabilities of young adults who were known to social care services as children even if formal care proceedings were never initiated or concluded and could usefully seek to establish the proportion of sentenced young adults that this applies to.

## Trauma recovery

Psychologists working in therapeutic communities and children’s homes have developed an approach to trauma recovery which ensures that psychological safety has primacy in interventions dealing with vulnerabilities related to past trauma.

### Working with young adults with trauma



The Trauma Recovery Model

Phase	What you see	What to do
1. Entry into the setting	Period of destabilisation; confrontational or challenging behaviour, disengagement	Focus on creating a sense of safety, <b>provide structure and predictability</b> (rules, routines)
2. Building a relationship	Behaviours stabilise, greater openness to forming relationships with professionals in the setting .	Focus on <b>building rapport, starting to build trust</b> , and on building intersubjectivity and interactive repair (connect - break-reconnect).
3. Emotional regulation	Starting to articulate past experiences, explore trauma, opening up and being more vulnerable.	<b>Refer to trauma services where appropriate</b> , focus on building skills in emotional regulation, <b>seek support and use supervision</b>
4. Cognitive intervention	Behaviour is calmer, less emotionally driven, and see greater insight into their own behaviour	Use <b>strengths-based, future-focussed approaches</b> , structured interventions (accredited programmes), build prosocial identity and networks, help with goal setting
5.(Re) Settlement support	Increased self-belief and a greater acceptance of their abilities and potential, achieving more prosocial goals	<b>Support with entry into ETE</b> , structuring free time and sustaining a <b>prosocial support network</b>

Skuse, T., & Matthew, J. (2015). The Trauma Recovery Model: sequencing youth justice interventions for young people with complex needs. *Prison Service Journal*, 220, 16–25  
 Mcminn, L.E., Akerman, G., & Gaffney, E. (2024). Healing trauma in a traumatising environment with young adult men. *Journal of Men's Health*, 20(1),120-126.

Not being dealt with in a developmentally appropriate way causes further trauma and as we have noted above, there are also harmful effects on young adults of the system itself due to the impact on maturation and a loss of childhood or young adulthood caught up in the criminal justice system.

### Social capital, desistance and belonging

Social capital plays a crucial role in supporting desistance from crime and is particularly important for young adults as they transition to adulthood and build independent networks and pro-social identities. In its 2021 evidence review, HMPPS advocates for support for young adults to build close relationships and strong ties with social networks, such as family and close friends. These relationships provide emotional support, trust, and a sense of belonging, which are essential for personal stability, resilience and desistance. Other forms of

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[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/60b108a88fa8f5489192fdb3/dhsc\\_transitional\\_safeguarding\\_report\\_bridging\\_the\\_gap\\_web.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/60b108a88fa8f5489192fdb3/dhsc_transitional_safeguarding_report_bridging_the_gap_web.pdf)

social capital are also important. Bridging social capital involves building connections with more distant acquaintances and diverse social groups which can provide access to new opportunities, resources, and information, helping individuals to expand their horizons and integrate into broader social contexts.

Finally, linking social capital refers to connections with institutions and individuals in positions of power, such as mentors, community leaders, and service providers. These relationships can facilitate access to services, support, and opportunities that are critical for successful reintegration and long-term desistance by fostering belonging, community involvement and social integration.

### **Relational practices**

To support young adults in the criminal justice system in building social capital, relational practices like coaching, mentoring and restorative justice can be of particular benefit in providing emotional support and guidance.<sup>vi</sup> T2A has recently supported Switchback, Spark Inside and Why Me? to research and deliver such support and interventions but these types of provision are not widely available and could usefully be scaled up as part of sentencing reforms.

### **Cultural contextualising/understanding multiple identities**

To approach sentencing effectively for young adults, it is essential to understand individuals within their broader contexts, considering multiple identities shaped by socio-economic factors, culture, race, and personal experiences. This requires an individualised approach that recognises the complexities of identity, which lessens the risk of oversimplification in understanding offending behaviour. Fostering a culture of curiosity about individuals' lives and circumstances is vital. Understanding each person's unique context allows judges and members of the criminal justice system to make informed decisions that positively influence prevention, rehabilitation and reducing recidivism.

De-biasing is a theory that suggests systematic strategies can reduce cognitive biases that affect decision-making in sentencing and other legal contexts. It is based on the understanding that individuals often make judgments influenced by stereotypes and preconceived notions, which can lead to discriminatory practices. Research, including works by Dr Georgia Barnett and others, emphasises techniques to minimise biases, such as increasing awareness of implicit attitudes, enhancing knowledge of diverse communities, and employing structured decision-making processes. Implementing de-biasing strategies can be crucial in sentencing, as it enhances judges', prison and probation staff, and broader legal, delivery and front line professionals' abilities to act fairly and equitably toward individuals from varying backgrounds. These approaches help mitigate the impact of biases that often arise when individuals are viewed through a narrow, stereotyped or limited lens.

### **Reducing stigma and institutional harm**

Stigma surrounding individuals in the justice system often exacerbates their marginalised status and hinders possibilities for rehabilitation. Understanding intersectionality—the overlap of social identities and the unique experiences that arise from that intersection—is critical. For instance, British courts have increasingly recognised that discrimination often cannot be categorised neatly, as demonstrated in the case of *Ministry of Defence v Debiq*. Ms. Debiq, a single mother from St Vincent, faced discrimination based on race and sex due to her inability to meet the Army's 24/7 availability requirement, compounded by her childcare challenges. The UK Employment Appeal Tribunal acknowledged that the intersection of race and sex must be considered collectively, highlighting that experiences of discrimination vary significantly based on individual circumstances.<sup>vii</sup>

However, there is a noted lack of intersectional analysis in British criminology and legal frameworks, with the UK's Equality Act 2010 not incorporating intersectionality, thereby limiting its application in legal contexts. This illustrates how biases and stigmas can influence outcomes in the justice system. This case highlighted the importance of considering the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of defendants, which can lead to more equitable treatment and understanding of individual circumstances and risks. We would want to see this reflected in sentencing options with suitable amendments to subsequent statutory and legislative frameworks.

### Practical Applications in Sentencing

To apply these principles effectively in the context of sentencing, the following recommendations are seen as key to supporting sentencing decision, policies and practice:

- Pre-sentence reports should include rich, qualitative data regarding an individual's background, including mental health, trauma, and cultural context. These reports provide a fuller picture of the defendant's circumstances and help mitigate any biases that may affect sentencing outcomes.
- Training, development and creating inclusive work cultures should extend to all individuals, sector, organisations involved in the sentencing process—judges, magistrates, parole board members, probation officers, social workers, and frontline staff.
- This training must focus on understanding intersectionality, recognising biases through de-biasing strategies, and enhancing cultural awareness and competence. Continuous education is crucial to evolving practices within the justice system, ensuring sensitivity to individual experiences.
- Sentencing should employ holistic, strengths-based assessments that prioritise rehabilitation over punishment. Evidence from various reports supports that such approaches can lead to lower recidivism rates and better reintegration into society.
- Creating a supportive environment where individuals feel seen and understood is essential in promoting positive behavioural change. This requires dismantling the barriers of stigma and othering that often hinder constructive engagement with the justice system, fostering relationships and building trust within the system.

Adopting a holistic, individualised approach that prioritises understanding and empathy can transform the sentencing process. This involves institutionalising relevant embedding processes for all relevant people, teams, departments and organisations, as well as building centralised knowledge and learning within systems and structures to ensure the principles of de-biasing and contextual understanding are consistently applied, ultimately leading to a more equitable and just system for all young adults involved.

### **This is what it we think the above evidence means for a youth adult focused approach to sentencing**

#### **Options for legislative change**

T2A proposes that legislative safeguards be introduced to ensure that sentencing for young adults is developmentally appropriate, in line with statutory responsibilities under the Equalities Act related to age, and international expectations about the treatment of young adults in justice systems.

#### **International expectations**

The international human rights framework is increasingly specifically recognising that young adults should also have specific procedures and mitigation in recognition of their vulnerability. For example,

- Rule 3.3 of the Beijing Rules (1985) provides that “efforts shall also be made to extend the principles embodied in the Rules to young adult offenders”.
- In its revised (2019) General Comment on the rights of children in child justice proceedings, the UN Committee explicitly recognised and approved the application of mitigation and special procedures for young adults.
- The Council of Europe has also recognised the principle of treating young adults differently. Rule 11 of the 2008 Recommendation states that “the extended transition to adulthood”, which should make it “possible for young adults under the age of 21 to be treated in a way comparable to juveniles and to be subject to the same interventions”.
- Similarly, the European Rules for Juvenile Offenders Subject to Sanctions or Measures state in Basic Rule No. 17 that “young adult offenders may, where appropriate, be regarded as juveniles and dealt with accordingly”.

The Council of Europe Guidelines on Child-friendly Justice are primarily focused on children, but also apply to young adults. They emphasise the need for justice systems to be adapted to the needs of young people, ensuring that their rights are protected and that they receive appropriate support and guidance

The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-custodial Measures, also known as the Tokyo Rules, emphasise the importance of using non-custodial measures for all people who commit crime, including young adults. While the rules do not specifically focus on young adults, they highlight several principles that are particularly relevant to this age group:

- **Flexibility and Individualisation:** The Rules advocate for a wide range of non-custodial measures that can be tailored to the nature and gravity of the offence, as well as the personality and background of the perpetrator. This flexibility is crucial for young adults, whose developmental stage and potential for rehabilitation differs from older offenders.
- **Community Involvement:** The rules promote greater community involvement in the management of criminal justice, specifically in the treatment of those who commit crime. For young adults, community-based interventions can provide the support and social capital necessary for successful reintegration.
- **Rehabilitation and Social Justice:** The Tokyo Rules emphasise the need to balance the rights of offenders, victims, and society, with a focus on rehabilitation and social justice. This approach aligns with the developmental needs of young adults, who benefit from rehabilitative measures that support their growth and reintegration.
- **Minimum Intervention:** The principle of minimum intervention suggests that non-custodial measures should be used whenever possible to avoid the negative impacts of imprisonment

This might be achieved, for example, by creating a separate statutory sentencing framework for young adults akin to that for children or by reducing the lengths of adult sentences by a certain proportion. Taking such a route could also include changes in sentencing thresholds, including min/max sentences, which could be lowered for young adults and changes to the custody threshold, which could be raised on safeguarding and welfare grounds related to age, as it is for children. Another option could be reducing the weight given to previous convictions for young adults, which would also effectively raise the custody threshold.

The age-crime curve demonstrates that the chances that young adults will desist from crime within a short period of time are much greater than for older adults. At the point of sentence, the system currently looks at maturity related to culpability for the offence rather than their safety for release. Young adults' risks may reduce rapidly during this period, meaning monitoring this with a view to releasing them sooner would be helpful and could be legislated for.

Placing the need for a distinct approach to young adults within criminal justice on a legislative footing would also ensure that developmentally appropriate sentencing is not reliant on initiatives which could lose momentum or be lost following a change in government. It would also speed up the incremental progress that is currently being made to improve outcomes for young adults.

### **Young adult-specific community orders**

There is scope for creating young adult-specific community orders as part of a distinct framework. The Intensive Alternative to Custody (IAC) pilot programme in Greater Manchester, launched by the probation service in 2009, targeted young adults aged 18-25

who were at risk of short-term imprisonment. The programme combined intensive probation supervision with various interventions, including education, employment support, and mental health services. Evidence from the pilot indicated that the IAC effectively reduced reoffending rates and supported positive behavioural changes. Participants reported improved life skills, better access to support services, and a greater sense of accountability. This highlights the potential of intensive support and supervision orders to provide a more rehabilitative and cost-effective alternative to short-term custody for young adults.

The Panel could also usefully consider the potential for reversing the abolition of attendance centres (in the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2021) and developing a community-based approach specifically for young adults focused on therapeutic principles, supporting identity shift and the development of social capital, particularly belonging, alongside purposeful activity. More could have been done to create a sentence linked to attendance centres that embedded young adult principles.

### **Young adult-specific custodial sentences**

#### **Detention in a young offender institution**

The sentence of detention in a young offender institution for 18-20-year-old young adults remains on the statute book despite the lack of dedicated young adult prisons. There is the potential to legislate to shift the age of detention in a young offender institution to 25 and create a bespoke custodial provision that genuinely meets young adults' needs using young adult first principles and the evidence on desistance, identity, social capital and reintegration.

#### **Reversal (or more) of the changes to custodial periods under the PCSC Act 2021**

The recent increase in prison sentence lengths due to changing release criteria under the PCSC Act 2021 has placed greater strain on the already overcrowded and under-resourced system. This undermines the system's capacity to support and rehabilitate maturing young adults and may have a detrimental impact on public safety. T2A is concerned about this for two reasons: i) spending long sentences in prison at this stage of a young adult's development will not help them to develop positive identities and move away from future criminal behaviour, and ii) prison environments are not conducive to enabling a brain which has previously been exposed to trauma to rewire itself and generate positive neural connections while it remains in a state of active development up to the mid-20s.

During the Bill's passage, Alex Cunningham MP, supported by T2A, proposed legislative amendments related to the time a young adult serves before being eligible for release. He sought to ensure that the proportion of custodial sentences spent in custody remained at half for young adults up to the age of 26, for example.

We endorse the Centre for Crime and Justice's proposals for the Panel signalling to the Law Commission on secondary liability offences that disproportionately impact young people.

### **Criminal records**

Enabling young adults to develop identities that do not involve criminality requires changing the regime for criminal records which stem directly from sentencing. Having a criminal record is a significant barrier to gaining stable employment, which is crucial to forming a non-criminal identity. T2A advocates for legislative provisions to implement the system proposed by David Lammy MP, like those in Massachusetts, USA, where considerable thinking has been done on developmentally appropriate approaches to young adults. This approach enables a judge or authoritarian body such as a parole board to make the decision to seal a criminal record if they feel doing so would offer better opportunities to the individual than the potential risk of the offences not being declared. A presumption would be that favourable consideration would be given to young adults and children who can demonstrate that their behaviour has changed since their conviction.

### **Options for change in practice**

#### **Use of absolute and conditional discharge**

These are seldom used. There is scope for the magistracy to be empowered to use their professional discretion to use them more than they do. If statutory community-based support for young adults were made available via the Youth Strategy, this would provide a route for sentencers so that criminal justice agencies are not the only agency expected to meet young adults' needs as they navigate the challenging transition to adulthood.

#### **Young adult problem-solving courts**

There is an opportunity to look at the impact that courts play in the young adults' perception and treatment in the young adult system, drawing on the Centre for Justice Innovation's (CJI) work supported by T2A. This demonstrated that young adults' perception of their sentencer has the largest influence on their views of the overall legitimacy of the justice system, even when controlling for the outcome of their case.

T2A believes there is scope for creating young adult courts delivering specific arrangements for this cohort without legislative change. CJI has outlined what a tailored approach might entail providing a more holistic approach to direct young adults onto different paths at this critical juncture in their lives. For example, young adult cases could be heard by judges with experience of dealing with 10–17-year-olds. While adult legislation could be applied, pre-sentence information would include a focus on maturity in relation to the context of the offence and building the various types of capital necessary for desistance to enable young adults to integrate with, have a place in, and contribute to society (described above). Within such an approach, there is scope for a problem-solving court model to be applied using ongoing sentencer engagement and the principles of 'procedural fairness' to support marked and significant shifts in their life trajectories. CJI has detailed what such a model might look like in this feasibility study.

A distinct approach to the sentencing of young adults could contribute to addressing wider racial disproportionality in the justice system. The Centre for Justice Innovation report

Building Trust highlights ways in which courts could improve the treatment of people from Black and minority ethnic communities by the courts, and increase the trust of young black men in particular in the criminal justice process.

### **Diversions and deferred sentencing**

Given the complexity of young adults' needs and their developing maturity and the impact that a criminal record has on future life opportunities, we propose a wider range of options to divert young adults from the police and from court.

T2A is particularly keen to see the **widespread use of deferred prosecution**, proposed by David Lammy MP in his review, whereby an individual can complete specific conditions instead of being prosecuted, without being required to admit guilt. This gives young adults the chance to access the support they should have access to, and if that means they can decrease their risk, they could be given a lesser sentence. The Barrow Cadbury Trust worked with the Ministry of Justice to support a qualitative evaluation of these "Chance to Change" schemes in London and West Yorkshire. Early adopters of such approaches, such as Checkpoint and Chance to Change, have demonstrated that they can effectively increase compliance and engagement and lower reoffending rates (prevalence and frequency), reducing costs for the criminal justice system.<sup>viii</sup>

An example of deferred sentencing in practice is the LEAD model, also known as Let Everyone Advance with Dignity, designed and proven to work for people committing repeat offences. It is a diversion approach specifically designed to work with eligible individuals both pre-arrest and at the point of potential arrest. The police use their discretionary power not to arrest and instead to divert individuals into long-term and non-coercive support focused on harm-reduction and individual and community wellness. Peer reviewed evaluations, including randomised control trials, show that the LEAD approach is proven to achieve 58% decrease in rates of re-arrests and 87% decrease in prison admissions among repeat offenders. It also demonstrates reductions in some of the racial disparities and can help reconcile police and community relations by delivering an evidence-based public health model. Wider social benefits include an 89% increase in permanent housing for participants and a 33% increase in legitimate income.

The Devon and Cornwall police model of diversion also shows emerging benefits, but police forces elsewhere lack the resources to implement such an approach. Valuable resources are tied up in commissioning services in silos, aligned to the pathways identified by the Social Exclusion Unit in 2001 and particular criminogenic needs. The Devon and Cornwall model illustrates that such specific services for e.g. drugs and alcohol, and mental health, are not necessarily required to foster desistance.

One existing challenge of diversion schemes is that emerging violent and abusive behaviours (such as domestic abuse, sexual violence, or harassment) are typically out of scope. Young adults displaying such behaviours may not have been sufficiently exposed to people who use

positive methods of relating to others and communicating effectively in conflict situations. As a result of these exclusions, these young adults may not ever get access to initiatives that could reduce any longer-term propensity to violence or other forms of abuse. There is also limited provision to support young adults who have previously experienced sexual abuse either solely as victims or for whom this was potentially contributing to offending behaviour.

### **Maximising the impact of sentencing guidelines**

The currently unknown impact of mitigation measures applied to the existing sentencing framework through Sentencing Guidelines means we do not know whether the age/ lack of maturity mitigating factor is used to its fullest potential in reducing sentences for young adults.

While our preference is for legislative change, there is scope for greater discretion within the existing sentencing framework to enable better consideration of how best to support the development of a positive identity at a particularly crucial period of a person's life. Options could include reviewing the impact of the mitigating factor age and/or maturity in sentencing guidelines or creating overarching sentencing principles for young adults like those set out for children, for example. T2A supported the Howard League to develop evidence and guidance on this. Taking such an approach opens the possibility of guidance being created on appropriate sentencing ranges for cases involving young adults within the existing legislative framework and giving greater weight to the detrimental impact of involvement in the justice system itself, given the impact of criminal records and disclosure on the factors which are known to support desistance from crime e.g. stable employment and relationships, secure accommodation and the development of positive identities.

### **Young adult community supervision**

T2A would like to see **nationwide availability of young adult hubs** to support young adults on probation. MOPAC developed the Youth to Adult (Y2A) Hub pilot in the London Borough of Newham, funded by MOPAC and the Ministry of Justice, to demonstrate the benefits of a holistic, evidence and trauma-informed approach for young adults subject to probation supervision. The model is based on the co-location of a multi-disciplinary team consisting of probation staff and commissioned services. It provides wrap-around support tailored to young adults' distinct needs and informed by an understanding of ongoing maturation. MOPAC and the Ministry of Justice are in the process of evaluating its impact.

The process evaluation has found that the Y2A Hub has successfully shaped young adults' development, supporting the growth of pro-social identities, resilience, and self-regulation. Young adults reported feeling supported in their journey to independence, which had positive impacts on compliance and engagement. They also welcomed the distinct

environment, as a separate, welcoming space for young adults, reducing stigma and stress, and a departure from the "grey" of probation.

Young adults have also benefited from specialist services co-located in the hub, including speech and language therapy, housing support, mentoring, and well-being support. For example, through speech and language services, young adults have learned how to manage their emotions better, which helps reduce reoffending. Partnerships between these different services in the Hub have allowed for stronger relationships and quicker access to necessary support, such as same-day referrals. This comprehensive and integrated approach ensures that young adults do not "fall through the net" when transitioning from youth services to adult probation.

The justice system is also expected to integrate more technological solutions aimed at reducing the prison population through more efficient monitoring, altern and streamlined processes. While technological adoption is promising, it is vital to ensure these advancements are applied and implemented equitably. Ensuring they do not disproportionately affect marginalised groups and potentially exacerbate existing disparities, will be a key priority, particularly for young adults and disadvantaged communities, where evidence has previously shown higher levels of negative outcomes, in this context.

For example, when sentencing young adults with additional use of electronic monitoring and Home Detention Curfew (HDC), it can present significant risks and necessitate effective implementation to avoid exacerbating demand on the system. The limitations posed by electronic tags, such as potential negative impacts on employment opportunities, gender specific issues such as sizing, wrong fits (either wrists and ankles presenting as too small or too big); equally in regard to uniform specific employment, this may be a barrier to roles that require uniforms including skirts, dresses, and short sleeves, highlighting potential underlying tensions within the judicial framework. Furthermore, the deprivation of liberty and associated stigma can severely affect individuals during critical developmental periods when peer approval is crucial. Additional cultural considerations would need to be carefully thought through, given the stigma that diverse communities may perceive with a young adult being subject to such monitoring and refuse equipment to be allowed or placed in family property, or landlord properties, which evidence has shown disproportionately impacts young adults and women.

When carried out and implemented well, adopting a Young Adult advocacy-first approach could involve integrating electronic monitoring as a supportive measure, focusing on rehabilitation rather than punishment and ensuring that individuals maintain connections to education, training, entrepreneurship and employment, as well as familial and social networks, thereby enhancing their reintegration into society. Therefore, it is essential for vigilant oversight and advocacy to mitigate any adverse impacts, promoting equitable

application and access, aligning technological progress with justice-oriented, inclusive and equitable outcomes.

### **Young adult community-based support**

There is scope for PCCs to work much more closely with crime reduction partners to co-commission or otherwise fund services to ensure that young adults at risk of offending or re-offending have access to appropriate support during the transition to adulthood to prevent them from facing challenges that might result in them becoming engaged or re-engaged in crime. There is also scope for more young adult specific approaches within Integrated Offender Management Schemes (between Probation and the Police), including specialist staff and caseloads and peer support schemes, for example.

Professor Neal Hazel of Salford University has been supported by T2A to develop approaches that enable criminal justice practitioners to change the emphasis of their work (and working cultures) to approach young adults through an 'identity lens' to foster positive future orientation—known to be crucial for desistance—in sentence planning and practice. NACRO's Beyond Youth Custody programme, shows the importance of agencies providing both structural and personal support to children and young adults. This assists in their development of a positive identity and the creation of a new narrative for how they relate to others. Young people should also be recognised as the central agent in their own rehabilitation.

### **Young adult-specific wings and models of practice**

In his review of self-inflicted deaths amongst young adults in custody commissioned by the then government, Lord Harris of Haringey concluded that all young adults in custody were vulnerable by virtue of their maturity. In the absence of evidence on effective prison regimes for young adults, the Justice Select Committee recommended "testing empirically various models of holding young adults, including an examination of the costs and benefits. This should include small, dedicated units within prisons holding older adults; a small number of dedicated institutions; piloting of specialist dedicated officers with smaller caseloads, and enhanced provision of therapeutic support. Where young adults are held in mixed institutions there should be a recognised cap on numbers and benchmarking levels should reflect the need for better ratios of staffing." (JSC 2016, para 154). Since then, the dedicated institutions which did exist have been re-roled but there have been some efforts by HMPPS (or individual governors in a small number of prisons) to establish dedicated young adult wings, with older adult mentors (e.g. HMP Bedford) or wellbeing units (e.g. HMP Hewell). The outcomes of such initiatives have not been independently evaluated. HMP Isis which largely holds young adults also warrants consideration by the Review Panel. T2A considers that there continues to be merit in exploring through research the mix of options across the prison estate work best to improve outcomes for young adults.

HM Inspectorate of Prisons found that Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) schemes are not effective for young adults in custody in England and Wales. The evidence indicates that these schemes often fail to motivate positive behaviour or engagement in rehabilitation programmes among young adults. This suggests to us that the proposed Texan style model of sentence reductions for progression may not either. While these are positive ideas they

will require dedicated thought for young adults and piloting to understand what conditions will be necessary to ensure their efficacy for this cohort.

### **Addressing the impact of structural, systemic failure on young adults**

The government's three guiding principles for the review illustrate that the government considers individuals responsible for crime. Yet, we know that systemic and structural failures also limit outcomes, particularly for young adults with little support during the transition to adulthood. Reforms focusing only on individual responsibility will not sufficiently achieve the impact necessary to shift systemic demand.

Many young adults involved in crime are already known to many statutory services and may have engaged with them as children. This should be the starting point to any policy response. In T2A's view, effective sentencing policy should include the **creation of cross-departmental approaches to young adults that seek to remove structural barriers to gaining employment and affordable accommodation and addresses the fact that the rehabilitative impact of the criminal justice system is severely undermined by an absence of statutory support** provided by a range of agencies. Such support often stops abruptly at 18 leading to what we have characterised as a "cliff edge of support" for young adults. In T2A's view, the evidence on brain development and the government's obligations under the Equalities Act warrants extending such services to up to 25-year-olds, including through legislative change if necessary.

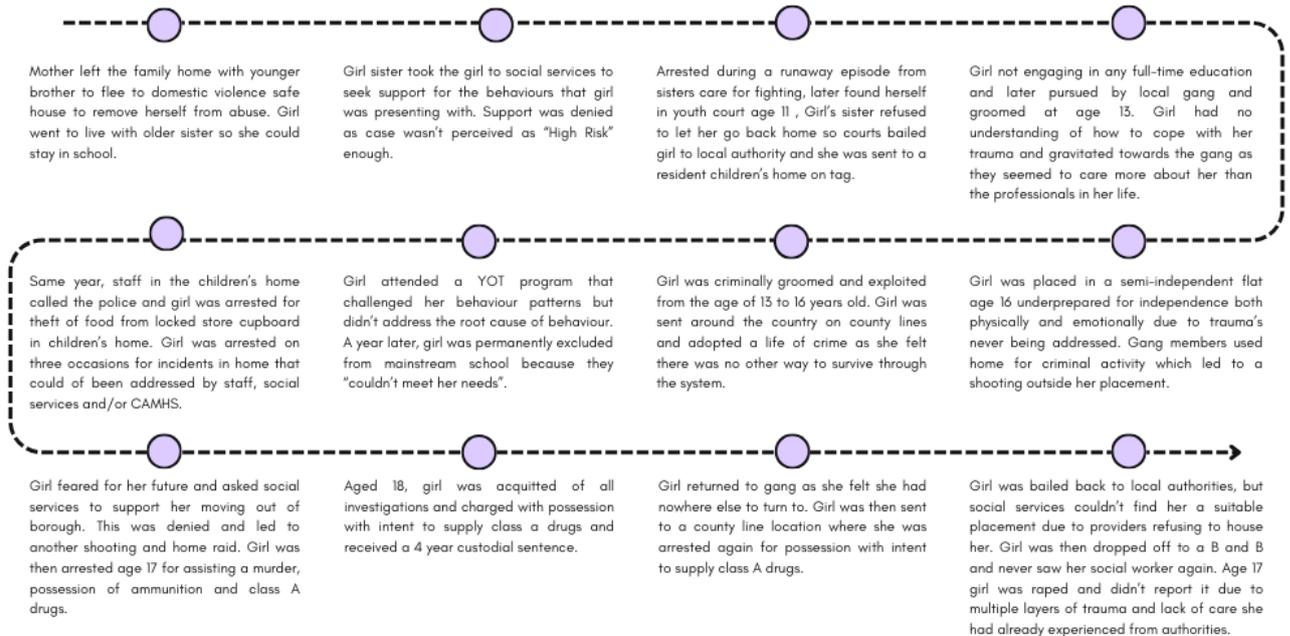
The weight of multiple system expectations on young adults is unrealistic given their developmental status, and the characteristics of their lives, including often mental health challenges, trauma, care and other support needs previously outlined. (Illustrated in anonymised case study from a young adult expert through experience below **NB: Though this particular case study focuses on gender specific care experience, the challenges transfer across the broader young adult cohort**)

# Her Pathway Into Care and Custody

## Background/History

Girl experienced sexual abuse from the age of 6 to 9 years old and grew up in a house where domestic violence and abuse was present, mother struggled with bipolar and substance misuse, father had immigrant status and found himself in and out of prison during her childhood until he was deported back to Africa. By the age of 10 her family home broke down and due to multiple unmet emotional, psychological and physical needs, her behaviour became complex.

## Her Pathway into care and custody



## Her Pathway into care and custody

Many care-experienced young women who are in contact with the criminal justice system have traumatic life histories, underpinned by experiences of violence, abuse and exploitation, poor mental health, substance misuse, poverty, and having no safe place to call home. There is an urgent need to move away from ineffective punitive measures towards preventative support, responding to the gendered needs of young women and working with them to address the root causes of their "offending" behaviour. Without support, too many care-experienced and criminalised young women will experience escalating harm and inequality.

Many young women who are criminalised have experienced violence, abuse, and trauma. In custody, many young women self-harm and have unmet mental health needs.

- 63% of young women serving sentences in the community have experienced rape or domestic abuse in an intimate partner relationship.
- Between three quarters and 90% of girls in the youth justice system have experienced abuse from a family member or someone they trusted.

- In 2022, the number of self-harm incidents in custody amongst 21-to 24-year-old women surpassed all other female age groups.
- 80% of young women in custody report having mental health problems. Of these young women, less than one third said that they felt cared for by prison staff.

Many young women experiencing homelessness have faced violence, abuse, and trauma.<sup>3</sup> Care-leavers and criminalised young women are at particular risk of homelessness.

- In 2022/2023, young women represented 56% of the total number of young people approaching their local authority because they were homeless or at risk of homelessness (almost 76,000 young women).
- Young women are almost five times more likely than young men to be homeless or at risk due to domestic abuse.
- In England, almost a third of the young people who approached their local authority seeking support in 2021-2022 were not assessed for eligibility (68% assessment rate).
- The number of care leavers aged 18 to 20 facing homelessness has increased by at least 33% since 2018.
- Nearly six out of ten women leaving prison have nowhere safe to go.

### **Broader integrated support for young adults**

T2A sees an opportunity to improve the support offered to young adults, linked with the National Youth Strategy, which seeks to 'unlock opportunities in every community' as part of the Government's missions to improve opportunity and improve outcomes for young people. The aim of the Strategy is to focus on "the support services, facilities, and opportunities [young people] need outside the school gates to benefit their lives and futures." The Minister for Youth, Stephanie Peacock has recognised that *"the challenges faced by young people across the country are profound"*. If the government wishes to *"create a future where opportunities are abundant, regardless of circumstances or postcode"* this must include making appropriate provision for young adults who face the biggest challenges in transitioning to adulthood. There is currently a lack of help for young adults outside the criminal justice system to support this transition. Similarly, the new Youth Guarantee will ensure that every 18-21 year-old in England is earning or learning. Yet, for young adults who have been involved in the justice system at a young age, their prospects of moving away from crime and into gainful employment are limited. The combination of the sentencing regime and the criminal records regime creates a significant proportion of young

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<sup>3</sup> [https://www.agendaalliance.org/documents/155/Agenda\\_Alliance\\_-\\_A\\_Call\\_To\\_Action\\_Briefing-Nov\\_2023.pdf](https://www.agendaalliance.org/documents/155/Agenda_Alliance_-_A_Call_To_Action_Briefing-Nov_2023.pdf)

adults with criminal records, which hinder their ability to earn or learn (see legislative proposals above).

Unpublished evidence from Revolving Doors work with police and crime commissioners in 2021 highlighted that there were several cohorts of young adults who are particularly vulnerable or in need of support and would gain particular benefit from more inclusive approaches being taken to opportunities for young people outside the criminal justice system. These are

- young adults at risk of or already victims of exploitation and/or gang affiliation
- young adults who were persistently absent and/or excluded from school
- young adults who are or have been in local authority care
- young adults known to local authorities as being at risk despite not having been subject to formal care proceedings
- young adults with known or suspected substance misuse issues who are not in treatment or for whom the nature of local treatment is not relevant
- young adults with neurodevelopmental conditions or acquired brain injury
- young adults who are known to have been exposed to Adverse Childhood Experiences (domestic abuse, parental offending and/or imprisonment, parental mental ill-health, sexual abuse)
- young adults who have served community sentences or prison sentences and come to the end of their statutory supervision.

As part of the government's endeavours, **it will also be important to consider how to address the issue of the criminal justice system being a gateway to service provision, access to which is often impossible through other pathways.** The criminal justice system is frequently a gateway into public services such as drug and alcohol support, mental health treatment, or to support individuals to gain employment or housing support, which should be accessible to young adults independent of their involvement with the criminal justice system.

Programmes like ROCA in Boston, Massachusetts, USA, sit outside the justice system and provide effective intensive gender-specific support, therapy and engagement in life and work skills to young adult men and women at high risk of offending over a protracted period, even when they are not currently involved in the justice system. The emphasis is on supporting young adults into paid employment whilst recognising that this is not yet a realistic aspiration for many young people. No such infrastructure exists in England and Wales, meaning once a community sentence or post-release licence ends, there is a vacuum in intensive support, which can only be provided through re-engagement with the justice system. The ROCA programme costs approximately \$8,000 per participant annually, which is substantially lower than the \$60,000 annual cost of incarceration. Regarding crime reduction, ROCA reports that 68% of the young men they worked with from 2013-2022 were not incarcerated within three years. 74% of participants came to Roca with violent criminal histories but only 19% were convicted of a violent offence within three years.

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<sup>i</sup> See e.g. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2021) [Outcomes for young adults in custody](#), London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons. [Figure 13](#).

<sup>ii</sup> Steinberg, L., Cauffman, E. & Monahan, K. (2015). [Psychosocial Maturity and Desistance From Crime in a Sample of Serious Juvenile Offenders](#); Monahan et al. (2009) Trajectories of Antisocial Behavior and Psychosocial Maturity From Adolescence to Young Adulthood

<sup>iii</sup> Revolving Doors (2021) [Broke, but not broken What the academic literature and young adults tell us about the interplay between poverty, inequality and repeat contact with policing](#),

<sup>iv</sup> [The challenges and needs of people serving long life sentences from a young age.pdf](#)

<sup>v</sup> Beyond Youth Custody (2017) [Now all I care about is my future: Supporting the shift](#), Nacro

<sup>vi</sup> [Pathways to Desistance From Crime Among Juveniles and Adults: Applications to Criminal Justice Policy and Practice | National Institute of Justice](#)

<sup>vii</sup> <https://www.leaf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Full-Report-Intersectionality-in-Law-and-Legal-Contexts.pdf>

<sup>viii</sup> Kinsella, R., Williams, P. and Wong, K. (2023) [Chance to Change Pilot Qualitative Research Study](#), Manchester Metropolitan University: Manchester; Centre for Justice Innovation (2022) [Establishing pre-court diversion interventions: a guide for police forces](#), CJI: London