The efficacy of community justice intervention services to increase social capital and reduce incarceration for young adults

By

Karen Hart

ID: 3874035

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

College of Law and Justice
Victoria University

31 October 2016

ABSTRACT

Context and purpose of the research project

The period of late 'youth' in the human lifespan is dynamically diverse, culturally contextual and relatively fleeting. Nevertheless, ample opportunity exists to expose the confluence of factors and causes that lead to contemporary offending by this age group and to determine appropriate responses to prevent their continued involvement in the criminal justice system. This research project contributes to that knowledge by evaluating the efficacy of community justice intervention services in increasing social capital and preventing incarceration for a sample population of young adults aged between 18 and 25 years. This evaluation was underpinned by two strong motivations: firstly, to find out the interventions and strategies required to engage young adults in building their resilience against the factors that lead to their offending behaviour; and, secondly, to determine whether the effects of the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP), based in Sunshine, Melbourne, Victoria, contributed to the prevention of crime for young adults. I am satisfied that, in this study, I have reached a conclusion on both counts.

Method of analysis used

This evaluation employed a mixed-methods approach whereby quantitative secondary data were analysed, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), in relation to the material generated on young adults involved in the YCLP case management process. This was supplemented by the analysis of primary qualitative data gathered from self-administered questionnaires completed by case managers and magistrates involved in the evaluation. The mixed methods were then blended through the process of triangulation to provide a consolidated conclusion to the study.

Major conclusions reached

The following conclusions were reached in the evaluation:

- The YCLP was found to build and strengthen linking social capital opportunities for young adults, with resultant beneficial outcomes, through the intervention of timely and appropriate youth services within a co-located and place-based environment;
- Intrinsic elements within the case manager and young adult therapeutic relationship were found to highlight the factors for optimum engagement and empathy to generate positive outcomes and benefits for the young adults;
- Young adults transitioning towards adulthood are responsive and receptive to

positive change opportunities even within a short space of time;

- The program refinements highlighted in the evaluation are achievable and able to surmount possible obstacles, thus having the potential to further improve the efficacy of the program; and
- The YCLP has scalable properties and the potential for other similar jurisdictions to replicate the model presented, with its aims of building linking social capital and preventing incarceration of young adults.

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY STUDENT DECLARATION

I, Karen Hart, declare that the PhD thesis entitled, *The efficacy of community justice intervention services to increase social capital and reduce incarceration for young adults,* is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Karen Hart	11 January 2017
Signature	Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge a number of people who have made this evaluation and, therefore, this thesis possible. I thank The Youth Junction Incorporated (TYJinc.), its committee members and staff for bringing the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) to life and for financially supporting it when other funding sources were not available. I thank the Legal Services Board (LSB) Grants Program at the State of Victoria Attorney-General's Department for funding the program and providing five years of service delivery for young adults.

I express my sincere gratitude to Victoria University's College of Law and Justice for providing me with this opportunity and with the privilege of having Dr Edwin Tanner as my principal supervisor and Professor Neil Armstrong as my secondary supervisor on this study. I thank them for their support, insight and patience and for keeping me motivated and inspired to complete the task. I also thank Dr Kerry Tanner for her support and expert knowledge. I sincerely thank Ms Valerie Williams for editing and formatting the final thesis.

Several significant stakeholders are involved in sustaining the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP). Primarily, I want to thank the Coordinating Magistrate of the Sunshine and Werribee Courts, the Honourable Noreen Toohey, for her drive and commitment to help position the YCLP within the framework of therapeutic justice that underpins much of the work in the Magistrates' Courts of Victoria. I also thank her colleagues and affiliated court personnel for their ongoing support and for keeping the program at the forefront of the courts' practice in their work with young adults. I thank each and every one of the young adults who participated in the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP), for it is these young adults who have increased our understanding of the gravity and extent of the work yet to be done and who have highlighted the gaps in our knowledge of the shifting sands of young adulthood. I thank too those young adults who were referred to the program but did not, or could not, participate. They have provided an insight into the deep and multiple levels of complexity and diversity that are encountered by our ongoing attempts when making one size fit all in terms of crime prevention for this population of young adults.

Finally, I deeply and sincerely thank my husband Paul Hart: without his ongoing love, support and patience during the years committed to this thesis, it may never have come to fruition and I dedicate it entirely to him.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY STUDENT DECLARATION iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v
TABLE OF CONTENTS vi
LIST OF FIGURES ix
LIST OF TABLES ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xi
THESIS CHAPTER OUTLINE xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Background of the problem 1
1.2 Statement of the problem 3
1.3 Purpose and significance of the study 4
1.4 Research questions 5
1.5 Research design: subjects, participants, data collection and research procedure 6
1.6 Research design: evaluation framework 9
1.7 Theory-driven model: logic and rationale 12
1.8 Delimitations of scope and key assumptions and their justifications 15
1.9 One program and one group 17
1.10 Rival explanations for cessation of offending 18
1.11 Conclusion 20
CHAPTER TWO: THE YOUTH, COMMUNITY AND LAW PROGRAM (YCLP) 21
2.1 Introduction 21
2.2 Social and geographical context of the YCLP 21
2.3 Rationale for the YCLP 22
2.4 Description and philosophy of the YCLP 26
2.5 Objectives of the YCLP 27
2.6 Operationalisation of YCLP service delivery 29
2.7 YCLP case management process 31
2.8 Conclusion 33
CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW 34
3.1 Introduction 34
3.2 Youth and young adulthood 34
3.2.1 Young adulthood and Western society 37
3.2.2 Markers of adulthood 40
3.2.3 Immaturity and risk in relation to young adults 44
3.2.4 Young adults' propensity to change, transitions and desistance 50
3.3 Social capital 57
3.3.1 Basic ingredients of social capital: norms of trust, reciprocity and diversity 59
3.3.2 Community, social capital, connectedness and cooperation 61

3.3.3 Social capital and young people ... *64*
3.3.4 Social capital in motion and transition ... *66*
3.3.5 Linking social capital and its measurement ... *68*
3.4 Youth and community service interventions ... 72
3.4.1 Crime, law and justice interventions ... *77*
3.4.2 Crime and young adults in Victoria ... *81*
3.4.3 YCLP and therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) ... *85*
3.4.4 Punishment and incarceration ... *87*
3.5 Conclusion ... 92
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY ... 93
4.1 Introduction ... 93
4.2 Epistemology and ontology: justification for the paradigm and methodology ... 93
4.3 YCLP evaluation model, design and framework ... 97
4.4 Theory-driven evaluation ... 98
4.5 Mixed-methods approach: data sources, data collection, methods, measurements and instruments ... 100
4.6 Quantitative data ... 102
4.7 Qualitative data ... 102
4.8 Treatment and classification of the data ... 105
4.9 Sampling procedure ... 105
4.10 Data sources and collection tools ... 106
4.10.1 Psycho-social assessment as a data collection tool ... *107*
4.10.2 Case management records ... *110*
4.10.3 Court correspondence ... *110*
4.10.4 Self-administered questionnaire to the case managers ... *110*
4.10.5 Self-administered questionnaire to the magistrates ... *111*
4.11 Ethics ... 111
4.12 Mixed methods in data analysis ... 113
4.12.1 Quantitative data analysis ... *114*
4.12.2 Qualitative thematic analysis ... *115*
4.12.3 Triangulation ... *122*
4.13 Conclusion ... 122
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION ... 123
5.1 Introduction ... 123
5.2 Part 1: Overall success of the YCLP ... 124
5.2.1 Conclusion on 12 YCLP objectives ... *146*
5.3 Part 2: Young adults ... 152
5.4 Part 3: Case managers ... 187
5.5 Part 4: Magistrates ... 199
5.6 Part 5: Triangulation ... 207
5.6.1 Relational aspects ... *207*
5.6.2 Technical aspects ... *208*

5.7 Unintended program effects 208
5.8 Areas identified for improvements to the YCLP 210
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION 214
6.1 Introduction 214
6.2 Highlights of the overall program success 214
6.3 Potential areas for future research 224
6.4 Conclusion 225
REFERENCES 227
APPENDICES 243
Appendix One: YCLP Psycho-Social Assessment Form 244
Appendix Two: Case Managers' Questionnaire 253
Appendix Three: Magistrates' Questionnaire 260

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 0.1: Thesis chapter outline xiii
Figure 1.1: Theory-driven logic model YCLP 12
Figure 2.1: Service delivery model YCLP 29
Figure 4.1: Questions used to guide the thematic analysis 117
Figure 4.2: Coding 118
Figure 4.3: Structure of thematic networks to form clusters 119
Figure 4.4: Cluster formation 119
Figure 5.1: Continuum of youth service provision at the Visy Cares Hub 127
Figure 5.2: Cluster analysis of the major categories and themes 136

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Guiding questions for the YCLP evaluation process 9
Table 4.1: Variables (65) for analysis 114
Table 4.2: Six-step method 121
Table 5.1: Number of services engaged with when on YCLP 129
Table 5.2: Ethnic origin/cultural identity 152
Table 5.3: Age at time of referral 153
Table 5.4: Offence types 154
Table 5.5: Motives for offending 154
Table 5.6: Highest previous court disposal 155
Table 5.7: Court outcome/disposal 156
Table 5.8: Offending rate after program 162
Table 5.9: Number of services engaged with when on YCLP 162
Table 5.10: Frequency of appointments with case manager 163
Table 5.11: Prior YCLP employment/income 164
Table 5.12: Post-YCLP employment/income 165
Table 5.13: Number of secondary schools attended 167
Table 5.14: Highest education level and qualifications 167
Table 5.15: Current housing circumstances 169
Table 5.16: Housing post-YCLP 169
Table 5.17: Out-of-home care (Dept. of Health and Human Services) 170
Table 5.18: Family relationships 171
Table 5.19: Parental unit 172
Table 5.20: Immediate family relationships after YCLP 173
Table 5.21: Emergency contact 173
Table 5.22: Caring for a dependant 174
Table 5.23: Dependent children 174
Table 5.24: Friends/peers 175
Table 5.25: Alcohol and other drugs/substances (AOD) use 176

Table 5.26: Improvement in use of alcohol and other drugs/substances (AOD) 177
Table 5.27: Mental health risk/injury..... 178
Table 5.28: Suicide risk..... 179
Table 5.29: Driving as a result of YCLP 181
Table 5.30: Fines and other debts..... 181
Table 5.31: Fines/debt resolution..... 183
Table 5.32: Material aid as inability to make ends meet..... 183
Table 5.33: Hobbies/pastimes..... 184
Table 5.34: End circumstances according to young adult 187

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Alcoholics Anonymous
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AGD	Attorney-General's Department (Australia)
AOD	alcohol and other drugs/substances
ARACY	Australian Research Alliance for Children and Young People
ATSI	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
AYAC	Australian Youth Affairs Coalition
CALD	culturally and linguistically diverse
CBD	central business district
CCO	community corrections order
CCS	Community Correctional Services (also Community Corrections)
CISP	Court Integrated Services Program
CJSW	Criminal Justice Social Work (Development Centre) (UK)
CM	case manager
Corrections	Corrections Victoria
CSA	Crime Statistics Agency
DHHS	Department of Health and Human Services (Victoria)
DoJR	Department of Justice and Regulation (Victoria)
DPC	Department of Premier and Cabinet
GBB	good behaviour bond
GLM	Good Lives Model
GP	general practitioner
HYDDI	Homeless Youth Dual Diagnosis Initiative
ID	identity document (or identity identification)
Inc.	Incorporated
IVO	intervention order
JM	Judicial monitoring
JSS	Jesuit Social Services
LEAP	Law Enforcement Assistance Program (Victoria)
LGA	local government area
LSAY	Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth
LSB	Legal Services Board (Victoria)
Mag.	magistrate
MCV	Magistrates' Court of Victoria

MI	motivational interviewing
MRC	Melbourne Remand Centre
MRI	magnetic resonance imaging
MS	Microsoft
n	number
NA	Narcotics Anonymous
NFP	not-for-profit
NOMS	National Offender Management Service (UK)
NSW	New South Wales
PARTY	Prevent Alcohol and Risk-related Trauma in Youth
POCA	*Proceeds of Crime Act 2002*
RCT	randomised control trial
SAC	Sentencing Advisory Council (Victoria)
SEIFA	Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
T2A	Transition to Adulthood (Alliance)
TJ	therapeutic jurisprudence
TYJinc.	The Youth Junction Incorporated
T2A	Transition to Adulthood (Alliance)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US/USA	United States of America
YCLP	Youth, Community and Law Program
YSAS	Youth Support + Advocacy Service (Victoria)

THESIS CHAPTER OUTLINE

Figure 1 - Chapter outline of thesis

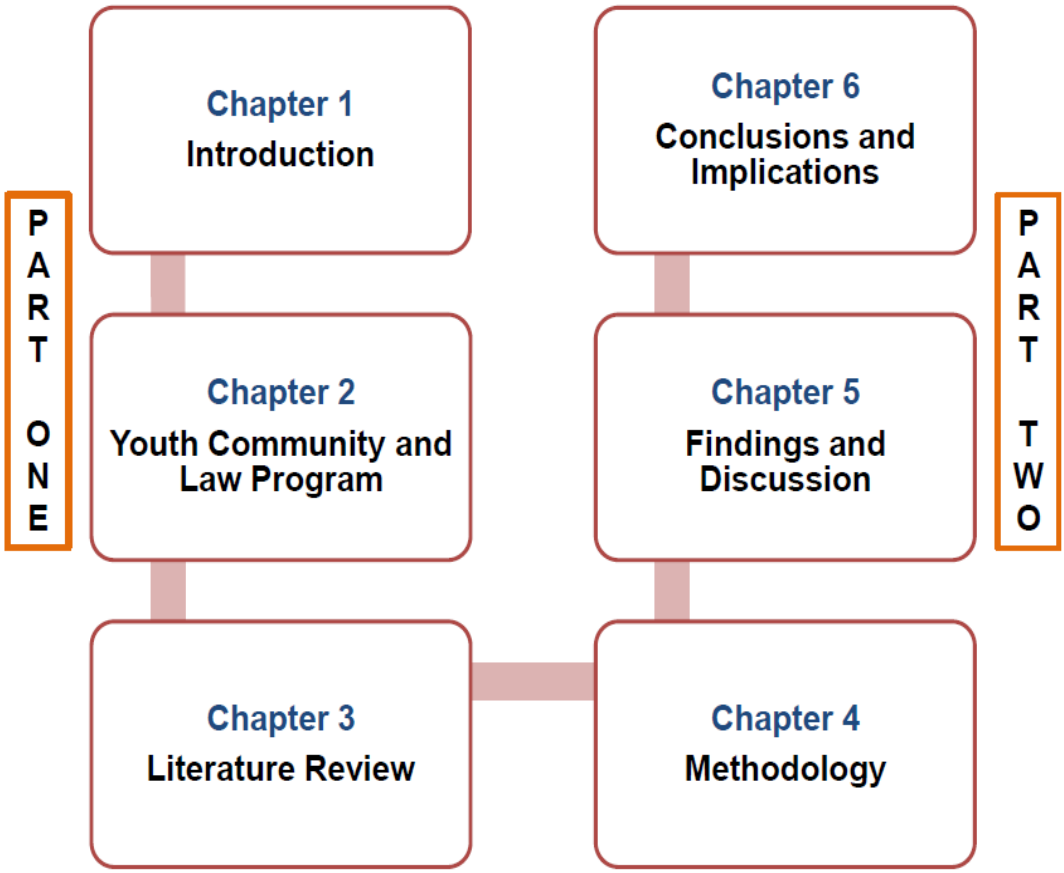


Figure 0.1: Thesis chapter outline

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part, containing Chapters One, Two and Three, pertains to the conceptual and theoretical elements of this evaluation. The second part, containing Chapters Four, Five and Six, provides the research process and outcomes including the research design, methodology, results and the conclusions that can be drawn.

Chapter One: **Introduction** focuses the evaluation by providing the background and context of the research problem and the justification for the research. Definitions are also provided in this chapter relating to the primary concepts of young adulthood, social capital, community justice intervention services and the case management process. In addition, this chapter deals with the delimitations of the research scope and outlines the key assumptions and their justifications.

Chapter Two: The **Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP)** provides a comprehensive overview of the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) that is

evaluated in this thesis, outlining the rationale for the program, its aims, challenges and funding, and providing the context in which it was delivered.

Chapter Three: **Literature Review** provides the review of the literature and sets out the primary concepts and their interpretations to enable their exploration by practical application within the research evaluation study.

Chapter Four: **Methodology** provides the study's methodological approach and evaluation design and explores the epistemological and ontological positions underpinning the research process, outlining their limitations and barriers. Furthermore, this chapter provides the program theory-driven model that guides the evaluation process. Not only does this illustrate and clarify the links between goals, activities, outputs and outcomes, but it also provides a clear trail to what has been done, with whom, when, where and how, relating the data collected and analysed to the primary research question (Trochim, 2014).

Chapter Five: **Research Findings: Analysis and Discussion** presents the findings and provides a discussion on the research data, after the application of a mixed-methods analytical approach, encompassing both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Chapter Six: **Conclusion** summarises and concludes the evaluation, indicating the implications of the research and highlighting potential areas for further research.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the problem

Young adulthood, for most people, is the first dawning of the combined challenges of independent life. It is arguably the most significant transition across the lifespan, where our childhood and family experiences are manifested either providing us with the appropriate scaffolding and insurance necessary for adjusted life in adulthood and further into old age, or not. If not, optimistically, young adulthood is a period in life where earlier life traumas and deficits can be calibrated and, with the appropriate interventions, the past can be left behind and social capital mobilised to form new relationships and family bonds, thus providing potential for a crime-free and stable future towards adulthood.

The contemporary global landscape for young adults is underpinned by the shifting currents of the economy, politics, legislation and culture. Societies and communities change shape and generate new challenges for the way that young adults live their day-to-day lives, form their relationships and friendship groups, and function within their families. These transitions are as mutable as the young adults themselves and, as a consequence, there is a relatively brief opportunity to carry out meaningful research at any one point in time on how to prevent further offending by this population. Longitudinal studies, often considered as having the potential to provide the best evidence for understanding the ingredients for effective crime prevention programming, are falling short in their ability to address the criminogenic needs of contemporary young adults, due to the transient and context-specific nature of 'youth-hood' across timelines. It could be argued that we need to find solutions to the issue of offending by young adults that are inextricably linked to the here and now. Although some progress has been made, there is still a distinct lack of programs designed for young adults, much less programs that have been evaluated for effectiveness, resulting in a shortage of evidence of what does and does not work in the prevention of recidivism. On this note, Rubin, Rabinovich, Hallsworth and Nason (2006) refer to the "evaluation gap" and highlight a "relative dearth of evaluations" and that the data "on effectiveness of interventions relies [sic] heavily on findings from US based studies and meta-analyses" (Rubin et al., 2006:6). As stated in Rubin et al. (2006), the RAND Corporation concurs, stating that there is a: "... problematic scarcity of evaluations (relative to numbers of interventions) encountered when searching for and interpreting information on effective interventions to prevent offending and recidivism" (Rubin et al., 2006:3).

However, on a broader level, research interest in the transition to adulthood for young people has slowly gained momentum over the past 25 years[1] and this provides a platform from which to increase our understanding of the challenges and the necessary supports and buffers required for young people to make successful transitions (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2005). Furthermore, researchers, together with practitioners, politicians and policy makers, are gradually working towards a better understanding of the contributing factors that lead to risk-taking and criminal behaviour for this age group, particularly within the context of contemporary Westernised society. If we can determine the risks, triggers and causes, the notion is that we are better positioned to prevent or modify them through well-thought-out interventions in an attempt to promote desistance, and to reduce risk, recidivism and, therefore, the need for incarceration of young adults.[2]

We know that the prevention of crime requires vision by theorists, scholars and policy makers and that interventions need to be based on the ability to project the deleterious consequences of certain contemporary risk behaviours into an understanding of what is required to prevent these behaviours from recurring. Much research has been conducted, from a retrospective standpoint, on the causes of how and why young people become criminally active; however, significantly fewer examples of research have been found on how to translate this into operative solutions that can adequately predict and prevent further offending behaviour (Murray and Farrington, 2008). This field of inquiry continues to baffle policy makers and the lack of adequate research to inform youth policy can result in youth-specific services not being able to provide clear and consistent frameworks towards healthy and crime-free pathways to adulthood (Mulvey et al., 2004). What is also known is that young people, including young adults, are the group most likely to commit a criminal offence leading to either life-course-persistent or adolescence-limited antisocial pathways[3] and it is claimed that, with the right intervention and support, they are also the group most likely to desist from offending and to "grow out of crime" (Sturrock, 2012:5). A draft document produced in 2007 entitled "Adult Services Plan: Serving 18–25 year-olds – Best Practices" (Chief Probation Officers of California, 2007) urges departments to implement evidence-based practices in screening, assessment, supervision, case management, treatment and referrals for 18–25 year olds to focus more strongly on this area of need.

[1] For further information, see Laub and Sampson (2003); Hogan and Astone (1986); Losel, Bottoms and Farrington (2012); Berlin, Furstenberg and Waters (2010); and Gluckman (2011)
[2] For further information, see Gluckman (2011); Losel et al. (2012); and Mulvey et al. (2004)
[3] Moffitt and Caspi (2001)

While this evaluation is carried out within an Australian context and is therefore closely guided by the local and national literature, it has also been important to explore contributions from an international perspective from which much of the earlier theorising on social capital has stemmed and continues to develop.[4] In addition, it is important to note that the lived experience of young adults in contemporary society and how the Australian criminal justice system responds to them resonates within many other similar Western jurisdictions. Therefore, it is possible and valuable to draw on parallel challenges for young adults and how these challenges are currently being addressed from an international perspective. Recent research insights into the unique lived experience of young adults, particularly those who are disadvantaged and find themselves involved in the criminal justice system, are beginning to reveal the problems faced by this specific group: these insights have been used to inform this evaluation of the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP).[5]

1.2 Statement of the problem

The Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) was established in response to a gap in youth service provision and provided a local solution to address a local problem of young adult offending, where previously the response had been piecemeal and inadequate. At the time of the program's conception and construction in 2008, a similar preventative pre-sentence program did not appear to have been delivered either in Australia, or anywhere else, and so the model was innovative and untested. In fact, while pilot programs (e.g. through the Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance) were beginning to be delivered in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2009, these programs contrasted their work with young adults (16–24 years) by focusing on pre- and post-release from prison (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a). As a result, this evaluation found a paucity of research on pre-sentence programming designed specifically for young adults that had the potential to augment self-awareness and buttress practical benefits to increase protection against the wrongdoing and risk taking that result in criminal activity. It has been suggested in the literature that, if specific measurement tools were available to explore the problems faced by young adults who commit offences, it may be easier to develop more appropriate responses and, in turn, build an evidence base that informs effective and realistic policies for this cohort of young people. As Harrington and Bailey (2005) state: "[t]here needs to be further development of accredited, evidence-based interventions to reduce offending behaviour, with implementation by trained staff" (Harrington and Bailey, 2005:6).

[4] See Bassani (2008) and DeFilippis (2001)
[5] See Helyar-Cardwell (2009a)

In an attempt to respond to this knowledge gap from an Australian perspective, this evaluation assists our understanding of how to mitigate and reconcile the behaviours, attitudes and beliefs, in other words, the criminogenic needs, that support offending for young adults who are involved at the front end of the criminal justice system in Melbourne.

1.3 Purpose and significance of the study

The purpose of this evaluation is closely connected with the reason the YCLP was established in the first place, namely, to strengthen the evidence that a straightforward referral and intake gateway for the Magistrates' Court of Victoria (MCV) would provide a diverse range of community justice interventions to prevent young adults from further offending and consequent incarceration. This evaluation study investigated the efficacy of this initiative through a community justice and social capital lens and has provided the opportunity to explore the experience of young adults, who face matters at the Magistrates' Court, within a framework of practice that is currently unavailable either in Australia or overseas for this age group of 18–25 year olds. This is reinforced by Pope, Hopper, Davis, and Cloud (2016) who state that:

> So far, however, there has been little analysis of how to design interventions at the intersection of criminal justice and behavioral health systems that both decrease recidivism and expand life opportunities for participants. This area calls for greater focus from practitioners, researchers, and policy- makers. The intense attention to reducing recidivism is understandable given the heavy social and economic costs of incarceration. But the fact that research on outcomes is rarely framed by an orientation to recovery—one that looks at opportunities for people with mental illness coming out of incarceration to renew possibilities, to regain competencies, or to reconnect socially—means that existing evaluation research tells us little about how an intervention succeeds in rebuilding lives (Pope et al., 2016:10).

This evaluation is important in responding to an existing gap in knowledge concerning a young adult's ability to avoid going to prison, as a result of the beneficial outcomes of linking social capital from community intervention services. In addition, it is anticipated that by clarifying and aligning definitions of young adults' experiences, the YCLP model can be used as a strategy to prevent crime, increase opportunities for young adults and provide an alternative and more therapeutic decision-making process to what is currently available. The new information generated as a result of this evaluation will be beneficial for improving existing policies relating to the treatment of young adults within the criminal justice system in Victoria. Furthermore, this evaluation proposes innovative programming that has the potential to be replicated in similar jurisdictions across Melbourne with the potential for application even more broadly.

1.4 Research questions

The primary research question that framed the overall evaluation study was:

> *What is the efficacy of community justice intervention services (provided through the Youth, Community and Law Program) to increase social capital and reduce incarceration for young adults?*

The following four focal questions ensured that the primary research question was addressed in the most effective way possible:

Q1. *Did the YCLP meet its overall objectives?*

Q2. *What strategies and interventions were employed by the case managers towards the generation of linking social capital in order to assist the young adults to effect change?*

Q3. Did the sources of linking social capital afforded to young adults decrease incarceration and, if so, how?

Q4. What were the role and perceptions of the magistrates towards the YCLP?

The primary aim of this study was to produce an effective evaluation of one program using the theoretical framework and lens of social capital. However, this meant grappling with a range of aspects relating to young adults; such as youth and maturity, the markers of adulthood, criminal and antisocial activity, linking social capital, and the role of statutory and community justice interventions in their lives. Inconsistent definitions of these constructs created challenges in understanding the current responses to young adults within the criminal justice system, which this research attempted to reconcile insofar as was possible in the evaluation of one program. The intended purpose of the YCLP was to prevent further offending by young adults by tackling the root causes of offending through practical and psychological interventions. However, it was not until the program had been implemented for some months that the theory of linking social capital proved relevant and illuminating in how the program processes could best be tested, understood and articulated. While the focus was on improving the primary domains of relationships, health, housing, employment and legal circumstances, as the main components in promoting productive lives, it became clear that the concept of linking social capital, in particular, could give rise to interpreting these processes within an important relationship-based and place-based context. This provided the opportunity to examine how linking social capital in relation to young adults was generated and fostered through the case management process within the YCLP, to prevent

further offending and, ultimately, to avoid the young adult going to prison. Not only did this offer a greater depth of understanding of the key social relationships and networks required to produce resources that offered protection against risk factors for crime, but it also improved the level of academic debate surrounding social capital as it related to young adults. Through information collected from the primary stakeholders, including young adults, magistrates and case managers, the breadth and depth of the YCLP were revealed in order to test the program's efficacy in preventing incarceration.

1.5 Research design: subjects, participants, data collection and research procedure

An overview of the three critical elements of the evaluation study is provided in this section which describes the subjects and the participants; the instrumentation used to collect data; and the research procedure:

Young adults (subjects): Since 2009, almost 500 young adults had participated in the YCLP, with 300 having completed a 12-month follow-up period of telephone calls at quarterly intervals to check recidivism rates, when this evaluation began. From those 300 young adults, 60 were selected to participate in the study with detailed information recorded on their characteristics in a case management system. This information included each young adult's age, gender and cultural background. Most young adults were male (87%). All young adults were aged between 18 and 25 years, with most aged between 19 and 21 years. While 60% (36/60) of young adults were Anglo and European Australian, a significant proportion were from culturally diverse backgrounds, with African (21.7%, 13/60), Pasifika (from Pacific islands) (11.7%, 7/60) and Asian (6.7%, 4/60) being the most represented groups. Most of the young adults came from postcodes within Melbourne's western suburbs, including almost one-third from the Brimbank local government area (LGA). By many measures, Brimbank is considered one of the most disadvantaged areas in Victoria. For example, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)'s Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), the Brimbank area is ranked in the lowest decile for relative socio-economic disadvantage. This is characterised by high unemployment; low school retention; poor health outcomes; unavailable and unaffordable housing stock; poor public transport links; ubiquitous and prolific accessibility and use of drugs, namely, methamphetamine (also known as 'ice'); high crime rates (at the time the YCLP was running, Sunshine was experiencing the highest level of car theft in Australia); and domestic violence. At the time of their referral to the YCLP, approximately 5% of the young adults were homeless. All young adults had been referred by the Magistrates' Court to participate in the program and were

accused of, or had committed offences, for which they were remanded, bailed or had received a deferral of sentence.

Case managers (participants): The three case managers, who comprised the full team at the YCLP, participated in the evaluation. The case managers were aged between 24 and 28 years and thus were close in age and life experience to the young adults in the study. They were all female and all three lived within, or in close proximity to, the catchment area covered by the program. Two of the case managers held degrees in youth work and the third held a Master's degree in psychology. All three case managers brought a different lived experience to their work, and all were equally committed to building capacity in the lives of young adults, in order to divert them from further involvement with the criminal justice system.

In addition to their qualifications and experience in youth work and psychology, the case managers had undertaken professional development training in various techniques. For example, they had been trained to engage in motivational interviewing techniques encompassing a style of questioning used to encourage the young adult to think about behavioural change. According to Miller and Rollnick (2002), this is based on five principles: first, the ability to express empathy for the young adult where the case manager establishes rapport through reflective listening, rephrasing the young adult's statements and using a problem-solving or solutions-focused approach; second, the ability to develop discrepancy where change is motivated or encouraged by highlighting the difference between present circumstances and behaviour and future goals, and by looking at current consequences and what the young adult wants to achieve; third, avoiding argumentation with the young adult which is counterproductive and indicates resistance; fourth, using this resistance to assist the young adult to explore, within their resources, a new perspective and solution to their problems, as attempting to impose, rather than enabling the young adult to canvas the range of options for themselves, may prove to be counterproductive; and fifth, supporting the young adult's self-efficacy, which is their belief in the potential for change, which acts as a motivator by encouraging the young adult to choose from their options, enabling them to feel that choice at this level can be translated into action and produce positive outcomes for them. McNeill and Weaver (2010), on this note, state that:

> ... the techniques and methods associated with motivational interviewing (MI) are likely to be useful, particularly in exploring and developing cognitive dissonance (where short term behaviours are out of kilter with long term goals), and in assessing readiness for change. MI is also helpful in its stress on the relational qualities of motivation; i.e. locating motivation as something that emerges in and from relationships rather than as a simple attribute of the individual (McNeill and Weaver, 2010:8).

Implicit in the job title, a case manager's job is to manage, coordinate and facilitate the case management process. Simply put, the role of the case manager was to manage the entire case relating to the young adult which entailed coordinating and following up on other parties, keeping lines of communication open, attending meetings and essentially being the source of information and the primary advocate for the young adult. It is argued by writers that the case management process is changing and that:

> ... there is an evolving model of 'case management' which gives greater attention to the concepts of social connectedness, social capital and community development. These new models are founded on 'strengths-based', 'relationship-based' and 'place-based' approaches (Moore, 2009:5).

This is an accurate description of how the YCLP case management framework was initially established. It is important to note, however, that the case manager did not 'manage' the young adult and, while a power deferential was acknowledged, the case manager's role was that of the primary interactant for the purpose of achieving positive results that were mutually negotiated with, and agreed and consented to by the young adult.

Magistrates (participants): The magistrates who took part in the program were responsible for administering and dispensing law within the courts of Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region, specifically those of Sunshine and Werribee. They were well positioned to enforce and reinforce acceptable behaviours and societal norms for the young adults coming through the courts and were able to implement sanctions for unacceptable behaviours in an attempt to deter antisocial and criminal activity by this cohort. In short, the magistrates had significant control over the young adult's destiny within the court process and had the power to remove their liberty, when required, through the ultimate sanction of prison. Within the YCLP, they had full power over the young adult's referral and they decided whether or not the young adult was provided with the opportunity to attend the YCLP. The eight magistrates who were asked to participate in the study had been based at the Sunshine or Werribee Magistrates' Courts for various lengths of time ranging between six months and 12 years and so were familiar with and were actively utilising this program for young adults. A questionnaire (see Appendix Three) was administered to all eight magistrates: the six that were completed and returned in handwritten format provided insightful data on the young adults, the case managers, the courts and criminal justice processes, along with, in relation to the YCLP, their individual perspectives.

***Instrumentation used to collect data*:** Five types of data collection tools were employed to provide the best opportunity for extracting the most relevant and appropriate data from the sources that would sufficiently answer the research questions. These data collection

tools were: first, the psycho-social assessments administered by the case managers to the young adults at the start of their program; second, the case management records created by the case managers (specifically recorded through Microsoft [MS] Excel); third, all court correspondence including pre-sentence, progress and update reports; fourth, the self-administered questionnaires issued during the research process to the three case managers; and, fifth, the self-administered questionnaires issued to the eight magistrates.

1.6 Research design: evaluation framework

The overall evaluation framework, based on the eight questions outlined in Table 1.1 below, was used to guide and frame the evaluation process.

Table 1.1: Guiding questions for the YCLP evaluation process

Question	Data sources	Type of method used	Type of analysis used
What is being evaluated?	YCLP: young adults, case managers, magistrates	Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative): program theory, questionnaires, document review, case files and reports, quantitative data collection	Mixed: qualitative thematic analysis and quantitative statistical analysis using SPSS
What type of evaluation research design is being used?	Young adults, case managers, magistrates, rationale and logic for program	Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative): summative outcomes-based evaluation as outlined in the program theory-driven model	Mixed: qualitative thematic analysis and quantitative statistical analysis
What is the fidelity of the program's implementation in relation to the original program plan?	Original implementation plan and objectives: retrospective program theory-driven model	Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative): program theory, questionnaires, document review, case files and reports, quantitative data collection	Comparative method: 'before and after' analysis 'distance travelled'. Mixed: qualitative and quantitative
What parts of the program will be measured to gauge performance?	Young adults' behavioural change and recidivism rates Referrals and stakeholder involvement	Mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative): looking at compliance of young adults and questionnaires for magistrates and case managers	Thematic analysis of case notes, reports and statistical analysis of profile and young adult-related data
What standards (type or level of performance) need to be attained for the program to be considered successful?	Young adults, case managers, magistrates, services accessed	Summative outcomes-based data: level and number of services accessed, questionnaires	SPSS statistical analysis and thematic analysis; comparative analysis

Question	Data sources	Type of method used	Type of analysis used
What evidence will be used to indicate how the program has performed and how will this be gathered?	Young adults, case managers, magistrates	Questionnaires/document review of client case file content, quantitative data collected through MS Excel and analysed through SPSS	Secondary data thematic analysis
How will the evaluation research data be coded, summarised and analysed?	Young adults, case managers, magistrates	Constant comparative method/deductive and inductive approaches/uncovering social processes by drawing out themes and patterns in qualitative data, percentages in quantitative data	Thematic analysis/SPSS statistical analysis
How will the conclusions be justified?	Young adults, case managers, magistrates	Triangulation	Triangulation

Note: Table 1.1 is adapted from the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department's (AGD, 2012) program specification which was used to guide the research process.

According to the Australian Government's Attorney-General's Department (AGD, 2012), a program specification for an effective evaluation includes three elements: the setting, the group composition and the need or problem being addressed. For the purposes of this evaluation, the Visy Cares Hub, from which the YCLP was implemented and delivered, was the setting and the context. The composition of the group was young adults aged between 18 and 25 years: the problem being addressed was the prevention of further offending (AGD, 2012) through intervention that was provided to increase linking social capital. As a result, the evaluation contained a number of interactive elements including the self (the young adult); the situated activity (the case management process); the social setting (the Visy Cares Hub); and the context (within the criminal justice system and the broader community), all of which were explored to illuminate the processes at play (Boeck, 2011:97). These interactive elements, however, presented a range of challenges in attempting to address the primary research question. For example, an operational definition of the poorly understood concept of social capital, as it relates uniquely to young adults, had to be constructed to establish indicators so it could be explored. In addition, the life stage of 'young adulthood' needed to be clarified within the context of the YCLP and the subsequent evaluation, along with the affiliated, but nebulous, concepts of 'maturity', 'responsibility', 'desistance' and 'independence', as they related to young adults.

Four considerations outlined by Tilley (2001) were also used as a guide for the selection of an appropriate evaluation design: first, the characteristics and features of the program; second, the purpose, focus and timing as they related to the use of the evaluation information for making judgments and decisions; third, the generic criteria that apply to evaluation studies including the technical adequacy of the evaluation data; and fourth, the specific criteria that applied to this particular study, including the practicalities associated with collecting evaluation data that were relevant and feasible to collect (Matthews and Pitts (eds.) 2001), cited in Tilley, 2001:119-169). Given that the YCLP was located within and, therefore, influenced by the social, political, cultural and economic contexts of Australia, it was appropriate for the evaluation to be guided by these four considerations. Moreover, as stated by the AGD (2012), not paying sufficient attention to each of these considerations would dilute the information required for key stakeholders and the audience (Australian Government Attorney-General Department's website, accessed 2012). For these combined reasons, it was determined that the most effective way to investigate these concepts was through a mixed-methods approach, within a summative impact–outcome evaluation framework, for both the data collection and data analyses' stages, in order to reflect on intention, purpose and action (Charmaz, 2006).

Throughout this research, the two evaluation foci ran in parallel and both required concurrent and equal attention. The first focus was the overall performance of the YCLP as a crime prevention program, based on its rationale, theory and structure, in meeting its original objectives. The second focus was whether the program interventions impacted positively on the young adults to increase linking social capital in order to prevent incarceration. To assess how to measure these elements, a decision had to be made on how best to collect the relevant data and what would be the necessary lines of inquiry. As previously stated, the evaluation design was underpinned by a mixed-methods approach which is known for its capacity to assist in understanding complex social phenomena and realities, and was therefore appropriate, relevant and important when attempting to interpret young adults' lived experiences (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). In support of a mixed-methods approach, Boeck (2011) states that:

> The combined quantitative and qualitative enquiry is advocated to aid the exploration of social capital within young people's lives as a process which has to be negotiated in a continuous interaction between the different domains of self, situated activity, social settings and context (Boeck, 2011:104).

More specifically, this evaluation applied both quantitative and qualitative methods in attempting to balance the research process and create both breadth and depth for the study

(Denzin, 1978). It is understood that information gathered from a range of methods in this way is more likely to provide a comprehensive understanding of the program processes and the factors that most influence the program's operation (Owen, 1993).

1.7 Theory-driven model: logic and rationale

In the absence of a clear contextual framework, it would have proved very difficult to anchor the program processes to the nebulous concepts and theories relating to social capital, young adulthood and community justice intervention services. Figure 1.1 below outlines the theory-driven model which is analysed in Chapter Four:

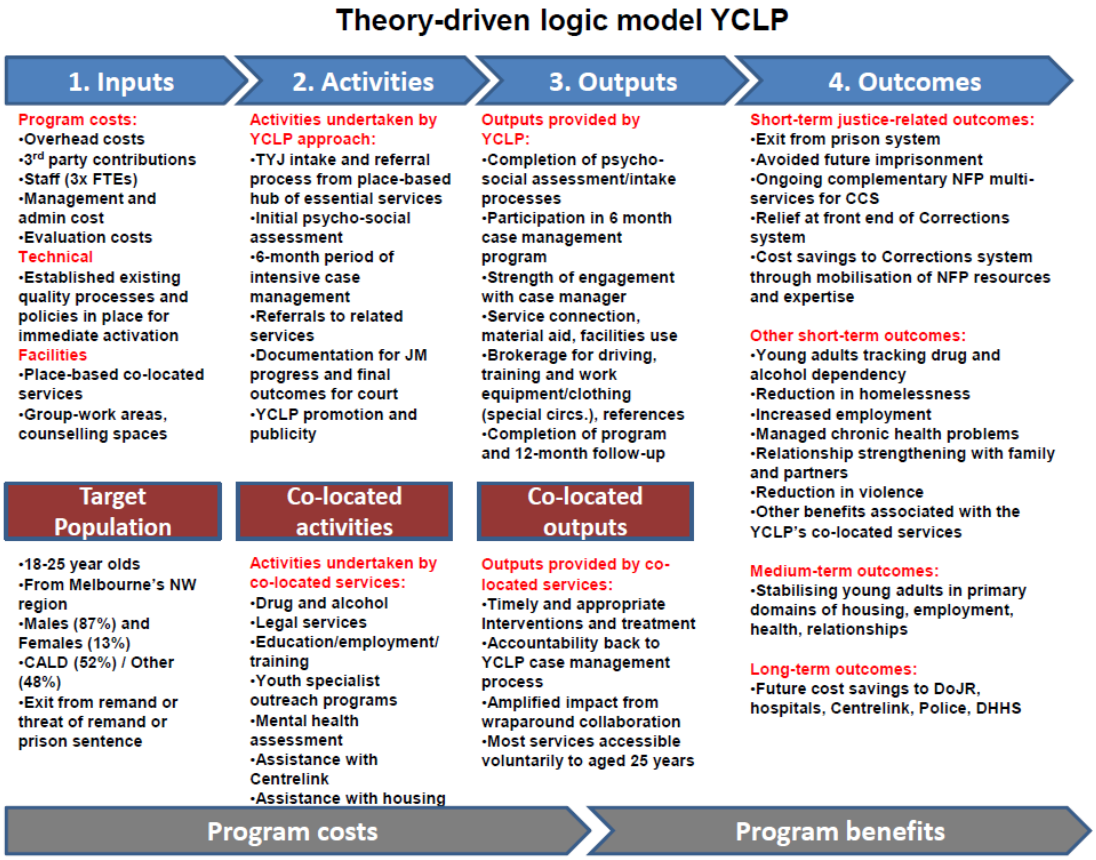


Figure 1.1: Theory-driven logic model YCLP

Note: TYJ=The Youth Junction Incorporated; JM=Judicial monitoring; NFP=not-for-profit; CCS=Community Correctional Services; DoJR=Department of Justice and Regulation; DHHS=Department of Health and Human Services

The theory-driven model shown in Figure 1.1 was modified from Harrell's (1996) logic model and comprises the four primary components of inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes, as described in the following paragraphs:

Program inputs referred to the optimal resources invested in the YCLP to achieve the intended outputs and outcomes. Inputs included the resources and the target population of young adults required for the basic functioning of the program. The ***target population*** were the young adults aged between 18 and 25 years referred to the YCLP by the Magistrates' Court of Victoria who were at a life stage where the attainment of adult markers, such as securing long-term and stable housing, entering the labour market and holding down a job, were vital for their successful transition to adulthood. The program ***resources*** needed to be adequate as they drove and sustained the program, with these resources including funding which subsidised the appropriate level and quality of case management staff and program supervisor, and the necessary work spaces for the YCLP administration and operation, including office equipment such as computers, telephones, a shared data system and quiet, private offices and counselling spaces. Funding availability determined how many case managers could be employed to deliver the YCLP and, therefore, the number of young adults with whom the program could realistically engage, without compromising the ability to intensively case manage the young adults. The target population and resources both functioned as feeders to the YCLP and influenced the type and level of activities and processes involved in the program.

The ***program processes/activities*** involved the referral, assessment, intake and case management processes. In the first instance, the young adults were referred by the Magistrates' Court to undergo a comprehensive psycho-social assessment, followed by the intensive case management process, which involved engaging, relationship building and linking the young adults into relevant services. Although the period of intervention was typically set for a period of 3–6 months, it could take longer to produce meaningful outcomes depending on the complexity of the individual: the YCLP was sufficiently flexible to respond to this situation if the magistrates decided to re-refer the young adult in order to continue their engagement with the program. Several interventions were provided by specialist affiliated youth services that were funded through a variety of sources and offered additional resources and programs that the case managers drew upon to generate linking social capital. The primary resources included: Centrelink; mental health services; general health services; housing services (including crisis, transitional, social and private rental accommodation); employment, education and training services; disability services; alcohol and other drugs' support (including detox and rehabilitation); relationship counselling; dental services; provision of material aid; recreational services; and anger management programs.

Program outputs related to the performance indicators for the YCLP and were the immediate results evidenced as a result of the program. These included the quantification of items or artifacts such as the number of young adults referred to the program, the number of young adults who complied with the program, the quantum of services involved and the recidivism rates during and after program completion.

Program outcomes occurred directly or indirectly as a result of the inputs, actions and outputs. ***Outcomes*** referred to the hard and soft outcomes and the benefits that emanated from the increased linking social capital and ultimately reduced the incarceration rate for young adults. The program outcomes were short term, medium term and long term and, for the purposes of this evaluation, were measured over the short term (3–6 months' intervention) by gauging attitudinal, cognitive and behavioural change. Other measures used over the short term were network development and accessibility to beneficial resources (linking social capital development and outputs) while over the medium term (up to 12 months), measures included sustained behavioural change and positive future intentions to desist from criminal activity (linking social capital outcomes). It was anticipated that non-reoffending, with a commitment to continue to desist from criminal activity, would generate cost savings by preventing future social and health problems and resource pressures on welfare and statutory services.[6]

In addition to these four primary components, three peripheral elements needed to be considered, as follows:

Antecedent variables were the pre-existing factors or influences which included risks to which the young adults were exposed that may have precipitated their offending behaviour.

Mediating variables were the factors or influences that operated in lockstep with the YCLP that may have limited or enhanced the extent to which the program outputs actually produced the outcomes.

Limiting factors were factors that may have prevented the optimal functioning of the program with these including: critical staff leaving the job, staff sickness or holidays and high caseloads, any of which may have meant that continuity in the relationship between the case manager and the young adult was temporarily disrupted.

[6] See Coryn, Noakes, Westine and Schroter (2011:202); NERA Consulting's "Cost Benefit Analysis for The Youth Junction Incorporated" (NERA Consulting, 2015)

1.8 Delimitations of scope and key assumptions and their justifications

The delimitations, pre-existing assumptions and theoretical basis upon which the YCLP was constructed are outlined in this section. One of the early challenges of the evaluation design and process was to arrive at definitions for the ill-defined concepts that were so integral to the study, primarily those related to social capital and its measurement, as well as the definitions of youth and young adulthood, with particular reference to the markers of adulthood. These two concepts are addressed below:

Social capital was identified as a nebulous and slippery concept within the literature. Moreover, researchers have been criticised for retrospectively framing studies that were not devised specifically, or originally intended, to analyse social capital (Stone, 2001). While this criticism could be made of the current research evaluation in which much of the social capital interpretation was done retrospectively, this interpretation nonetheless contributed a useful theory for investigating and explaining the processes required for young adults to build free beneficial resources that enabled them to not only 'get by' and 'get on' in life (Billett, 2011), but also proved to be useful for articulating how young adults 'get in' to access services in the first instance. The benefit of the concept of social capital has broad acceptance across disciplines as an appropriate theory to explain human support structures in a young person's life, with this most prominently exemplified in the disciplines of health and education. While it is evident that the YCLP provides helpful connections and linkages to people who are able to assist young adults to build their capacity and become independent, the function and value of the case manager and young adult relationship in being able to generate linking social capital opportunities that prevent further offending and incarceration have largely been under-researched. Consequently, while the evaluation of the YCLP aimed to address this gap in our knowledge, it lacked specific literature to inform or support the issues that emerged from this exploration. Relative to social capital research on adults, very little research has been carried out on the formation and utilisation of social capital in relation to young people per se, and even less on social capital as it pertains to young adults. It is, however, suggested by writers that: "... it is the accumulation of human and social capital during late adolescence that makes the successful transition to young adulthood, and desistance from antisocial activity, possible" (Mulvey et al., 2004:226).

The sources of social capital are said to be found in relationships and networks that engender value and create benefits between people and that, in order for social capital to manifest and be helpful for young adults, these relationships need to have relevance,

meaning and purpose for them.[7] In this study, linking social capital was specifically explored in relation to the young adults who had participated in the YCLP: also explored was whether the enhancement of linking social capital impacted on the young adults' ability to desist from further offending and, ultimately, avoiding incarceration. The purpose of this evaluation was not to explore the quantity and features of relationships within networks that could generate social capital for young people on a macro level as this had been done elsewhere.[8] Instead, the evaluation investigated the dynamics within a single relationship between the case manager and the young adult, as part of a larger remediating, compensatory and restorative network of resources, with the capacity to promote linking social capital opportunities for young adults. This investigation highlighted both the benefits of the YCLP resulting from the mutuality and interconnectedness of this relationship as well as the resultant social capital scaffolding that was generated through this interaction, in order to reduce risk and prevent further offending. Furthermore, it provided an insight into how this relationship increased network connectivity and service linkages through the process of removing barriers, in often very practical ways, within the critical domains of the young adults' lives, such as housing, employment, substance reduction, mental health and relationships. Acknowledging that these practical components were interrelated and associated had the potential to develop the bio-psycho-social-cultural-economic environment for young adults, to foster and mobilise linking social capital and to create sustainable benefits that prevented further offending. The objective was to encourage the young adults to take greater responsibility and to make decisions that created positive change in these areas of their lives, so that greater value, worth and importance were placed on their immediate and long-term benefits, along with reducing the fortifying barriers that hindered their progress and productivity. Barry (2006) highlights the notion of creating weight in these productive and protective shields for young adults to ward off the potential for risk exposure and risk engagement. Furthermore, the components of linking social capital including social networks, sociability, trust, reciprocity, resource acquisition and norms, insofar as they could be role modelled within an intensive case manager and client relationship, have the ability to restore potential and create aspiration for a better, if not a good, adult life (Ward, 2002).

'Young adulthood' and 'young adults' within a broad Australian cultural context and more specifically within the youth services sector are defined as 'youth' if between the ages of 18 and 25 years and it is this age band on which this study has focused. The traditional markers or indicators of adulthood used in this study were defined as: *family creation and formation*

[7] See Billett (2011)
[8] See Billett (2011) and Furstenberg and Hughes (1995)

(cohabitation, marriage, children); *education and employment leading to socio-economic progress* (housing, regular income, owning a car); *physical and mental health* (psycho-social-bio measures of adjustment for adulthood, including the reduction of risk or increase in pro-social behaviour); and *identity formation*: these are closely aligned with the domains that the case managers focused on within the case management process.[9]

However, Armstrong (2004) provides a cautionary note, stating that, when constructing definitions about young adults and their involvement in risk-taking and criminal activity, the definitions should not be taken at face value and should be viewed critically as they are prone to the subjectivity of those doing the defining (Armstrong, 2004:10).

1.9 One program and one group

One of the key limitations was that the evaluation only looked at one program and only at 'one group' of participants within the YCLP from pre-program to post-program. The 'comparison group' was therefore implicit as it was simply the treatment group before YCLP exposure. This is referred to as a 'reflexive' comparison group and the lack of an explicit comparison group means that most of the threats to internal validity may be present. However, this implicit design is frequently used "despite its inherent weaknesses" and it has been said that the sole advantage of this design is its simplicity and that if the researcher can achieve adequate control over external factors, this design can generate "reasonably valid and conclusive evidence" (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:47). However, this gives rise to the challenge of reaching a definitive conclusion about the overall efficacy of the YCLP interventions, given the diverse external (and internal) factors at play in the lives of the young adults with this increasing the number of potential rival factors or plausible alternative explanations. This has meant that causal relationships between the community justice intervention services and the outcomes achieved by young adults become difficult to prove. Furthermore, often dramatic shifts in the lives of young adults as they transition to adulthood may have an influence (e.g. having their own children, securing a job, growing older and maturing, etc.) and, as the design cannot control for such events outside the YCLP, this may impact on the observed results. It was therefore accepted that while the YCLP was the setting or environment where potential positive change could occur, this might, in and of itself, not be the sole impetus for change. As Haigh (2007) states:

> ... the result may also depend on other factors, without which the result will not occur. Under such circumstances, the result will not occur without the program, but will not necessarily

[9] See Arnett (2000) and Mahaffy (2003)

> occur when the program is present. Here, all that can be inferred is that with the program and with the required factors in place, the result will occur (Haigh, 2007:17).

It has therefore been argued that this affects the generalisability (external validity) of the program to other locations, times and situations and whether implementing the YCLP elsewhere under identical circumstances would result in the same outcome (Haigh, 2007:17). Several rival explanations for the cessation of offending by the young adults are outlined in the next section.

1.10 Rival explanations for cessation of offending

The following rival explanations had to be rationalised in terms of their importance to the interpretation of the data as they may have posed threats when determining the YCLP outcomes. In the case of the YCLP, the four main plausible explanations that needed to be rejected or accounted for were as follows:

Young adults would have grown out of crime anyway: This may suggest one plausible theory in accordance with the evidence provided by the 'age–crime curve'[10] which indicates that risk-taking and experimental behaviour decreases as young people enter into adulthood and as social, biological, psychological and neurological changes in the young adult occur during this time, that is, growing older and growing up. This period in life, however, does not only apply to young people who commit offences, but also to those who do not, which may be the reason why the peak of the curve is skewed in recent years to the older cohort of young adults in their mid-20s. This has given rise to the theory connecting poverty and offending which suggests that young adults are more likely to commit offences because they do not have the same means, resources or social capital as adults, and that it is taking much longer for young adults to attain these, not only in contemporary Australian society, but also in similar Westernised jurisdictions.[11] It is suggested as a counter-notion that the timely opportunity provided by the YCLP interventions prematurely disrupts the 'typical' time taken for desistance from crime to occur and that pro-social infrastructure and capital enhancement, through the support of targeted and timely youth services, can expedite or accelerate this transition into a crime-free lifestyle.

Young adults may have generated linking social capital without participating in the YCLP: This theory is plausible given the voluntary nature of the not-for-profit (NFP) services provided at the Visy Cares Hub. However, given the extensive literature on the difficulty

[10] See Moffitt (1997) and Smith and McVie (2003)
[11] See Shulman, Steinberg and Piquero (2014)

experienced by young people in navigating youth services systems[12] and in engaging in appropriate responses relevant to their needs, there may also be support for the notion that assisted and coordinated engagement, through an intensive case management process, is able to better target the necessary interventions and treatments in a much more effective and efficient way. It is for this very reason that the program was established—to close the gap in provision—as young adults were failing to present and engage in beneficial and timely services that could and would assist them to avoid prison.

Magistrates may have used an alternative disposal to that available in the YCLP that could have contributed to the young adults taking stock and doing something positive about their circumstances: This is plausible; however, lacking any evidence that could substantiate it, it is difficult to prove. The evidence from the magistrates in this evaluation clearly states that there is no alternative to the YCLP and, in the absence of similar programs, they are able to fully maximise the benefits of the YCLP as a referral gateway to services. This was also one of the reasons the program was set up in the first place.

Often, a program is only one of many influences on an outcome: Deciding how much of the outcome for young adults is truly attributable to the YCLP, rather than to other influences, has been one of the most challenging tasks in this evaluation study.

For the most part, these risks were mitigated through the evaluation design in which assumptions were explored, logical arguments were provided and robust and careful analysis was carried out. However, the overall evaluation research design, although the ideal fit for this study, has been criticised for being the least valid of evaluation assessments as measurements were made between the net effects of the start and completion of the program. The implication was that, when using this design, the above factors may have contributed to the identified changes over time. As stated, these factors were mitigated by having a clear evaluation design which helped to identify and isolate the YCLP's effects. The design was also able to reveal the unforeseen factors at play, such as the young adults' full histories; crucial local or national events, including shifts in policy and cultural changes; the simple passage of time and its effects on the maturation process for young adults; as well as ongoing personal crises, any of which, either alone or in combination, could have influenced the outcome of the YCLP interventions, for better or for worse.

[12] See Bond (2010) and Edwards (2003)

In addition, several broader research issues had to be considered when measuring the data as these issues would impact on the evaluation's validity and reliability which, in turn, would affect the depth and breadth of the data and the ability to respond adequately to the line of inquiry (Denzin, 1978). For example, the data collection procedure could be considered faulty or flawed insofar as there were distinctions in the style and technique of engagement and recording by the three case managers (interviewers) that may have produced significant variations in their interactions with the young adults. Researchers suggest that primary data collection becomes necessary in a study if reliable or insufficient data cannot be obtained from a secondary source (Cook and Campbell, 1979:21). Given the limitations of the recording format in the case management process in its capacity to capture direct quotations and the active voices of the young adults involved and given that it was advised by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Victoria University to carry out an evaluation on retrospective data on the young adults, discussed at length in Chapter 4, it was therefore considered important to clarify the points and views of the case managers and magistrates through detailed self-administered questionnaires. The wealth of rich primary data provided was used to substantiate the quantitative and profiling data on the young adults.

1.11 Conclusion

This first chapter has outlined the key aspects and challenges of this evaluation study in terms of its purpose and design. In short, this evaluation used the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) as both a vehicle to extrapolate and a lens through which to ascertain how each aspect of the program contributed, independently and in concert, to create positive change for young adults and to steer them away from a life of crime.

CHAPTER TWO: THE YOUTH, COMMUNITY AND LAW PROGRAM (YCLP)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the context and ecology of the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) by detailing its characteristics and features along with the geographical and demographic environment in which it operates. The Youth Junction Incorporated (TYJinc.) is a not-for-profit (NFP) organisation based in Sunshine, Melbourne, Victoria. A needs-based analysis carried out in the municipality of Brimbank in 2000 highlighted the need to counter the 'silo effect' through the realignment of multiple and diverse youth services with this transpiring into a multi-youth services facility known as the Visy Cares Hub. This innovative co-located model, managed by TYJinc., enables the effective use of resources, timely transfer of information and the development of a transparent and seamless response to the complex needs of disadvantaged young people across Melbourne's rapidly growing Western Metropolitan Region.[13] The YCLP is a crime prevention program of TYJinc. that is able to draw on this generalist and specialist youth services resource in order to achieve its primary objective of preventing young adults from going to prison.

2.2 Social and geographical context of the YCLP

Located immediately to the west of Melbourne's central business district (CBD) and stretching to the urban fringe, Melbourne's West encompasses the municipalities of Brimbank, Hobsons Bay, Maribyrnong, Melton, Moonee Valley and Wyndham. The area was originally occupied by the Kurung-Jang-Balluk and Marin-Balluk clans of the indigenous Wurundjeri people. Melbourne's West was first settled by Europeans in the mid-19th century for agricultural farming, followed by the post-Second World War migration boom from Europe that influenced much urban growth and thriving industry. Over the past decade, all the communities of the West, whether suburbs established in the 19th century, middle ring districts or growth areas, have experienced strong population growth. Brimbank is the second most populous municipality in Melbourne's West with a population of approximately 197,000 residents. It is also the largest culturally diverse municipality in Australia in which, according to immigration records, 25% of young people aged between 15 and 24 years were born overseas.[14] Historically, Melbourne's West was renowned for its rich and thriving industrial activity, but in recent years there has been a distinct decline in traditional

[13] Success Works (2000)
[14] LeadWest (2015) (website information downloaded Annual Report 2014 / 2015 Report to the Region - December 2015)

manufacturing and, as a result, a reduced need for unskilled and low-skilled manual jobs, creating high levels of intergenerational unemployment. This is further compounded by the expectation of employers in the region, within an increasingly competitive job market, that young people need to have basic qualifications or experience for even the most manual and menial jobs. These factors have contributed to the unemployment of young adults and, for some, the prospect of long-term unemployment. Parallels can be drawn from a UK study into the lives of unemployed young men and young women in the mid-1990s when the demise of employment opportunities, after the industrial revolution for manual labourers and unskilled workers, was followed by the onslaught of heroin availability and use. Writers state that:

> This sharp decline in previously established working-class routes to adulthood, in this place at this time, we believe, offers the best clue as to why criminality and dependent drug use became more likely for some, and why purposeless activity emerged from collapsed opportunity, aspiration and direction for many (Bottoms and Shapland, 2010, cited in Farrall, Sparks, Muruna and Hough (eds.), 2010:49).

Interestingly, a similar view was taken of Brimbank in 2009 with the main causes of poor health identified as "... mental illness, alcohol and heroin abuse, poor oral health and asthma" (BYPAP, 2008:10).

The overall population is characterised by a high number of one-parent families and low socio-economic disadvantage with many households barely living above the poverty line. Sunshine, in particular, is noted as having 'an unenviable level of crime' and has the reputation of having the highest number of car-related thefts in Australia. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS,2014)[15] has listed Sunshine/Brimbank as the second most disadvantaged area in Victoria.

2.3 Rationale for the YCLP

This section sets out the rationale for establishing the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP), provides a context for its operations and discusses its alignment with justice policies in Victoria. The design and development of the YCLP stemmed from my current role as General Manager employed by TYJinc. to manage the Visy Cares Hub and my association with the YCLP, in terms of its ongoing program delivery, raised a number of ethical dilemmas, which are discussed later and fully in Chapter Four.

[15] ABS: Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), accessed 2014

Having witnessed an increase in 2008 in the number of young adults aged between 18 and 25 years being referred in an ad hoc way by the Magistrates' Court to access services at the Visy Cares Hub, the opportunity presented itself to formalise the referral process and to encourage the courts to maximise the use of the centre for young people most in need. An initial meeting with the Regional Coordinating Magistrate from the Sunshine Magistrates' Court highlighted the potential for the YCLP to offer a structured program for young adults that would give them direct access to a range of essential and timely services that had previously been difficult to access. Presentations were made to potential stakeholders, including Victoria Police informants, police prosecution, magistrates, defence lawyers and not-for-profit (NFP) and government service providers, to determine the level of interest and support for the program concept. The YCLP was constructed as a result of these background discussions, and a successful funding application to the Legal Services Board (LSB) Grants Program of Victoria enabled a pilot program to be delivered for three years. The magistrates agreed that they would begin making referrals to the YCLP in late 2009 and, having secured their full support, the Youth, Community and Law Program was launched: "... to offer the Sunshine and Werribee Magistrates Courts a clear and straightforward gateway to the range of specialist and universal youth services, where young adults could be referred to receive targeted interventions" (Hart, 2008).

A similar community justice provision, the Red Hook Community Justice Center in New York, worked with adult offenders with the aim being to "... drive home notions of individual responsibility" through the uptake of a range of practical and appropriate interventions. One local resident stated that to halt the "... revolving-door cycle of incarceration and recidivism":

> You can't divide a person up. You have to treat the whole person. You have to have a comprehensive look at the whole person. The justice center could do that. The community court can look at social issues. It has great potential for eliminating social problems (Lee et al., 2013:28).

Instead of a piecemeal approach, the YCLP offered a similarly coordinated approach to young adults' problems to help steer them away from further involvement in the criminal justice system and ultimately prison. When the program was launched, this resource and response were lacking in Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region. Traditionally, the Magistrates' Courts were more likely to deal with problems faced by young adults without reference to issues such as how to reduce the likelihood of reoffending or what structures and supports could be used to enhance the potential for a young adult's rehabilitation. The YCLP took a holistic approach to addressing the needs of young adults and aimed, through tackling the underlying causes of offending behaviour, to ultimately reduce rates of

reoffending. As a result, the YCLP was consistent with the well-developed philosophy of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) which places more emphasis on the effect that courts and the legal system have on the emotions, mental health and behaviours of individuals. Therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) approaches often see courts in the role of 'problem solvers', rather than in their more traditional role in the justice system, with the aim of addressing or solving the 'problems' that led to the offending. It was from this philosophical position that the Sunshine and Werribee magistrates embraced the notion of how the YCLP could complement their work, by providing the court with a single, straightforward point of referral for young adults to participate in a range of services aimed at addressing the causes of their offending behaviour, prior to them being sentenced.

The holistic and strengths-based approach used by the YCLP was built on well-established academic literature and evidence from similar programs which also placed a strong emphasis on diversion and addressing the underlying causes of offending. In Victoria, the closest comparison to the YCLP was the Court Integrated Services Program (CISP), operated by the Victorian Department of Justice and Regulation (DoJR) out of the Magistrates' Court of Victoria. Similar to the YCLP, CISP worked with defendants on bail status, prior to their sentencing for matters in the Magistrates' Court. It also took a multidisciplinary approach to addressing the individual needs of its clients. However, the YCLP had several unique features by which it differentiated from CISP and from other programs with similar therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) objectives, such as:

Co-location with other youth service providers: as stated previously, the YCLP operates from the Visy Cares Hub in Sunshine which is a co-located youth services centre housing 20 other service providers. Stakeholders and research suggest that co-location is important in driving young people's engagement with services, as young people are less likely to attend appointments with multiple service providers if they have to travel extensively and frequently. Co-location has also facilitated strong working relationships between the YCLP staff and staff at other youth services agencies. By contrast, the CISP program operates out of the Magistrates' Court at Sunshine which is considered a more coercive and less objective environment.

Central location within the community: the Visy Cares Hub is prominent within the community of Sunshine and also includes a youth-specific drop-in centre which offers a discreet intake and referral process unconnected to the potential stigma of a court setting. The Visy Cares Hub is easily accessible and well established and is nestled between two

main shopping centres. It is also located 500 metres from the 'government precinct' comprising the regional Magistrates' Court, Centrelink, VicRoads and the police station.

Young adult-specific: the YCLP is specifically targeted at persons aged 18–25 years. These young adults often fall between the gaps in service delivery as, unlike many social services, the justice system generally treats persons aged 18 years and over as adults. Therefore, although these young adults are no longer eligible to participate in mainstream Youth Justice programs, they often lack the capacity to interact with adult services. Unlike CISP, which is open to all ages, the YCLP is targeted at engaging specifically with young adults and attempts to accommodate their specific needs.

Flexibility in relation to status: the YCLP does not work solely with young adults on bail status, with this representing only around a quarter (24%) of the referrals to the program. The remaining 76% of young adults are on a deferral of sentence or an adjourned undertaking and, without the YCLP, would have missed out on the opportunity for interventions as they would not have met the CISP criteria. In this respect, the YCLP was evidenced as an inclusive, flexible and young adult-specific referral point for the Magistrates' Courts.

In terms of policy alignment, it costs the Victorian Government almost $1 billion annually to operate Victoria's prisons. This is equivalent to $328 per prisoner per day, $120,000 per year or $360,000 for the average sentence of nearly three years. From 2012–2014, the prison population in Victoria increased by 25%, driving prison costs higher and putting pressure on the capacity of Victoria's prisons. During the last two years, the number of young people in Victoria's prisons has increased by 16% to more than 750, costing the government an estimated $91 million per annum. Recidivism rates are highest amongst young people, with over half likely to return to prison within two years of release. As noted above, the primary purpose of the YCLP is to prevent further offending by young adults in the criminal justice system. This purpose is closely aligned with the Victorian Government's statements on youth justice, in particular the emphasis placed by the government on diversion and early intervention. The YCLP's approach which aims to help its clients to achieve improved outcomes across a wide range of areas, including education, employment, general health, mental health, drug and alcohol misuse, housing and access to income support, is consistent with statements made by the government on the complex factors that lead to offending. The YCLP's focus on addressing the underlying causes of offending for young people is also consistent with a number of messages delivered by the Victorian Ombudsman

in her report to the Victorian Government in September 2015.[16] This report highlighted the cost of the prison system to the Victorian Government, which will exceed $1 billion in 2014–15, and that prison is the most expensive response that we have to criminal behaviour. In addition, the Ombudsman's report noted the need to address the broad range of offenders' needs and that a strong focus on prevention was required:

> It is patently clear that long-term solutions do not lie within the walls of our prisons or with a single government department. The successful innovations elsewhere have come as a result of a concerted whole-of-government response. The state needs a comprehensive approach – across the justice system, education, health and housing – to focus on the causes of crime rather than its consequences. Offenders need to be dealt with in ways that make it less likely they will reoffend (Glass, 2014:23).

Furthermore, the Ombudsman's report noted the link between the cost of the prison system and the recidivism rates for young people aged 18–24, over half of whom currently return to prison within two years of release, contributing to a cycle of offending that may well remain unbroken through their lifetime.

2.4 Description and philosophy of the YCLP

Crime responses tailored for adults that are underpinned by coercion, control, compliance and breach, with little or no adequate or effective support are unlikely to incentivise young adults to create positive change. The YCLP offered a different type of intervention that could harness the energy of young adulthood in order to promote pro-social lifestyles (Trotter, 1999). The program was intended to enable young adults to create positive change in areas of their lives within a short period of time, before being sentenced for the offence/s they had committed. The underlying philosophy of the YCLP acknowledged that young adults are not removed from the personal choices they make, but being often bereft of natural supports such as family, friends, jobs and money can make it extremely difficult to navigate the challenges they face at this transitional point in their lives. Furthermore, many young adults in this age group are shown to have compounded circumstances through entrenched substance abuse; difficult family and/or romantic relationships; early school exit leading to unemployability; becoming parents themselves; or having the responsibility of being a carer of a parent or other family member. These combined difficulties test their capability and 'copability' skills, particularly when they often lack the means and resources to become independent. The YCLP's philosophy, therefore, was to provide a support structure through strengths-based case management that promotes individual responsibility and motivation to

[16] Glass (2014), *Investigation into the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners in Victoria*, Victorian Ombudsman's Report to the Victorian Government

build on skills and assets by using the resources of a range of services, alongside the young adult's family and social networks, to improve their life circumstances as they transition towards adulthood (Osgood, Foster and Courtney, 2010:45-46).

The intended purpose of the YCLP was to prevent further offending by young adults in the criminal justice system by:

- Determining the causes that led young adults to risk-taking behaviour;
- Addressing the causes that led young adults to risk-taking behaviour;
- Increasing the capacity of the courts to refer young adults to essential intervention services; and
- Connecting young adults with services that led to desistance from crime and increased resilience and independence.

All young adults on the YCLP were:

- Aged 18–25 years;
- Facing criminal matters in the Magistrates' Court (excluding sexual offences) and had admitted or had been found guilty, prior to sentencing; and
- Based in the community or on remand to police cells or the Melbourne Remand Centre (MRC).

The YCLP was funded by a combination of grants from the Victorian Legal Services Board (LSB) Grants Program, self-funding by The Youth Junction Incorporated (TYJinc.) and philanthropic sources. The YCLP was established as a pilot in 2009 with approximately $221,000 in funding from the Victorian LSB Grants Program over three years. In 2012, in response to early evidence of the effectiveness of the program, the Victorian LSB provided a further $181,000 over two years. This funding ceased in November 2014. However, since that time, the YCLP has been able to continue operating at a reduced capacity through short-term funding from other sources, with operation of the program subsidised by drawing down TYJinc. cash reserves, to both retain the expert staff and assist the young adults already participating in the program.

2.5 Objectives of the YCLP

Since 2009, the YCLP has been underpinned by 12 program objectives as follows:

- Construct, refine and implement a range of community justice intervention services and programs for the YCLP, to modify young adults' circumstances and behaviour

- Offer the Magistrates' Courts a clear and straightforward referral point for young adults aged between 18 and 25 years to receive preventative intervention services
- Increase young adults' social capital/development through a range of appropriate and timely interventions, at the earliest opportunity, to prevent further involvement in the criminal justice system
- Construct a system for analysing and reporting outcome data
- Collect client outcome data, measuring 'before and after' effects of intervention, soft and hard outcomes, and 'distance travelled' in order to gauge the impact for the cohort involved
- Analyse the client outcome data results to establish how effective the program is and take a close look at the cohort's engagement and participation in the actions and activities provided under the program
- Increase the use of preventative intervention services by the courts and limit the need for the incarceration of young adults
- Investigate the cost-effectiveness of the community justice intervention services versus the cost to the community of the court process and incarceration
- Obtain stakeholders' views on the benefits of the program and methods for improvement
- Inform policy and secure further funds to sustain and replicate the program
- Communicate how the research contributes to the broader goals of preventing young adults' involvement in criminal activity
- Inform future similar models of intervention.

These objectives are analysed in Chapter Six to test the efficacy and feasibility of the program in relation to its original intent.

2.6 Operationalisation of YCLP service delivery

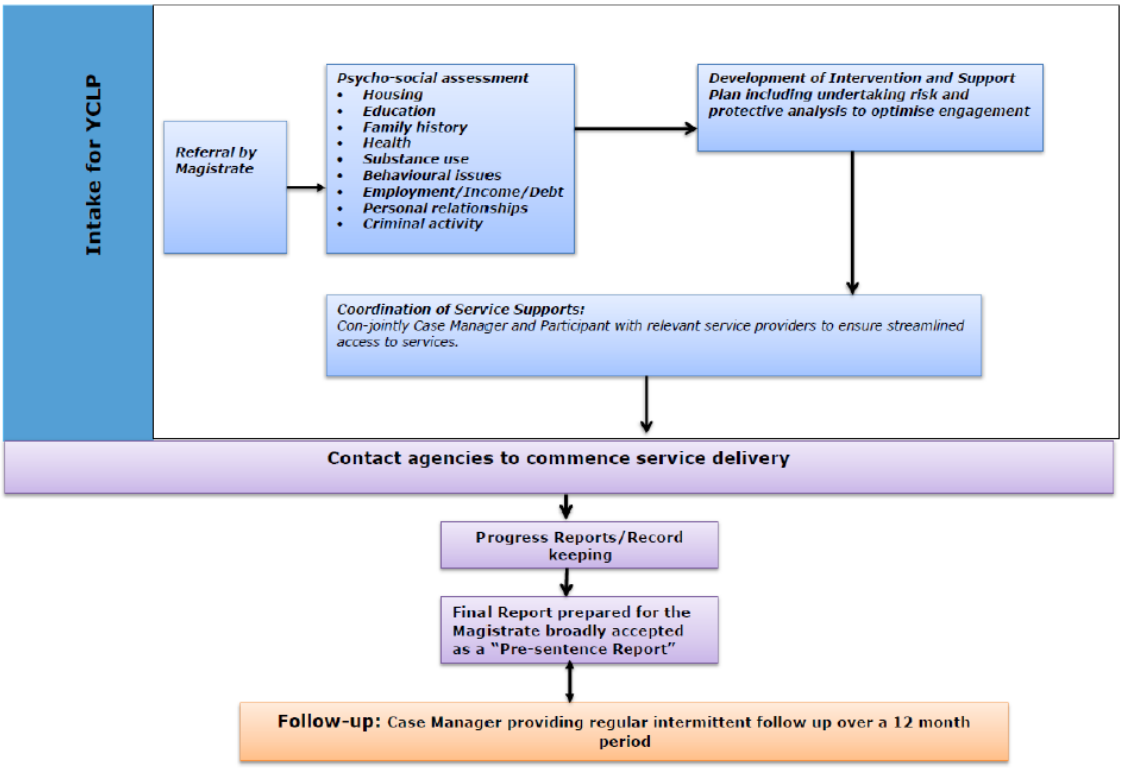


Figure 2.1: Service delivery model YCLP

The key features of the operation of the YCLP are outlined below in accordance with Figure 2.1 above. They are as follows:

Intake/referral processes: young adults were referred to the YCLP by a magistrate. Typically, if the magistrate perceived the young adult as suitable for YCLP, the case was adjourned following the admission or finding of guilt for an offence before sentencing, using the deferral of sentence mechanism.[17] The case was deferred for up to six months for young adults up to the last day of their 25th year. This enabled the YCLP interventions to be delivered within the usual court processing timelines and avoided any unnecessary delays within the sentencing process. In fact, what the program offered was a productive use of time for the young adult to remedy the causes and risks of future reoffending prior to being sentenced.

[17] Section 83A of the *Sentencing Act 1991*

Initial psycho-social assessment: on acceptance into the program, the YCLP's case managers undertook a detailed psycho-social assessment of the young adult, in order to develop an Action Plan for interventions over a three- or six-month period before their return to court (see Appendix One).

Development of an Intervention and Support Plan: In the early case management sessions, the case manager and the young adult agreed on a range of goals emanating from the psycho-social assessment that evolved into an Intervention and Support Plan and was used as a guiding tool throughout the case management process.

Ongoing support, counselling and case management processes: the YCLP's case managers provided ongoing support and counselling sessions to the young adults based on their specific needs. This generally involved connecting the young adults with other service providers alongside regular face-to-face counselling sessions between the case manager and the young adult and recording information through a case management system. Many of the other service providers were co-located with the TYJInc. at the Visy Cares Hub. These services included:

- General health services
- Employment services
- Education and training services
- Housing services
- Mental health services
- Drug and alcohol services
- Legal services
- Assistance with accessing other government services (e.g. income support)

The YCLP staff worked closely with staff at these services to maximise the engagement and participation of the young adults.

Preparation of court reports: through the YCLP, information about the young adult's engagement and participation was entered into a case management and participation tracking system. Reports detailing their progress and participation, often instigated for judicial monitoring purposes by the magistrates at different points throughout the program, were prepared and submitted to the court. The Sunshine Court magistrates actively used judicial monitoring to track young adults' compliance and progress and many, but not all, magistrates 'part heard' matters so the case could be adjourned with the intention of referring young adults to the program. In this way:

> Victoria's justice system appears to provide or encourage greater judicial accountability, and provides programs to support defendants at risk of being remanded in custody based on an 'explicit' acceptance of the concept of therapeutic jurisprudence (Ericson and Vinson, 2010:10).

When the young adult had completed the program, a comprehensive final report was prepared to inform the magistrates about their overall progress. This document was broadly accepted as a 'pre-sentence report' similar in format to those produced by Corrections Victoria and Youth Justice statutory services. It also provided case managers with the opportunity to provide some suggestions or recommendations to the court, regarding ongoing service needs and referrals for the young adult after they had been sentenced. In addition, this information was used to monitor outcomes and to track the program impact across a 12-month follow-up period. The case managers conducted a final evaluation interview to record the young adult's perception of the YCLP and their interpretation of their own progress while on the program.

12 months of follow-up (at intervals of three months): for up to one year after the young adults completed the YCLP, the case managers conducted intermittent follow-up interviews with them. The primary purpose of the interviews was to collect information on reoffending rates and to offer voluntary service intervention, as and when required.

The description above is only a 'typical' example of how the YCLP operated, as it was delivered flexibly and in accordance with the needs of the individual young adult. For example, where they were facing multiple criminal matters or were deemed extremely high risk, the case managers prepared several court reports each time the young adult returned to court. Similarly, where there were unforeseen delays in court processes, the case managers worked with young adults over longer time periods.

2.7 YCLP case management process

The key tasks of the case management process were:

- engagement with the young adult through the initial psycho-social assessment;
- setting up a range of appointments and devising an action plan with agreed goals in such a way that they were flexible for the young adult, but demanding enough to closely monitor and supervise their day-to-day progress;
- collecting information from a range of sources including the young adult, other professionals, family members (when appropriate), the courts and lawyers to construct a full picture of the young adult's circumstances;
- sharing information with others based on consent provided by the young adult;

- recording information clearly and consistently to enable a comprehensive overview on the young adult's progress, effort and upcoming appointments;
- reflecting on the information provided by the young adult and others to understand the young adult's behaviour;
- exploring the circumstances in which the offence occurred and assessing what was going on in the young adult's life at the time, through the domains of housing, education, family history, health, substance use, behavioural issues, employment, money and personal relationships;
- identifying risk and protective factors to inform intervention and action plans where the role of the case manager was to guide the young adult to assist them to highlight their own needs and to understand what they needed to do to address those needs.
- providing offence-focused counselling to determine remorse for and understanding of the offence, while applying equal measures of positive reinforcement and disapproval in order to introduce positive norms; and
- presenting conclusions and recommendations to the Magistrates' Court, based on the overall analysis of the young adult's circumstances, which would be beneficial for the sentencing process.

Weil, Karls and Associates (1985) define case management "as a set of logical steps and a process of interaction within a service network which ensures that a client receives the necessary services in a supportive, effective, efficient and cost-effective manner" (Weil et al., 1985:18). However, while there is a variety of case management models, writers state that case management is essentially a subjective experience. Trotter (1999) outlines that an effective case manager has "... interpersonal skills, such as empathy and reflective listening, self-disclosure, use of humour and optimism" (Trotter, 1999:25).

Dame Ann Owers (2012) reinforces this view as a framework for positive results, based on pilot evaluations that tracked 34 young adults in the UK, only three of whom had reoffended within a six-month period. She states that: "... the provision of individualized and focused support and mentoring – walking alongside young people as they try to change the narrative of their lives – does work" (Owers, 2012:Foreword).

The young adult cannot 'breach' the program, but a lack of willingness to engage and participate would very likely be detrimental to the court outcome, as the case managers and the young adult were required to provide reasons for the lack of cooperation when the young adult returned to court. It was therefore in the young adult's 'best interests' to attend. While there was no enforceable mechanism to coerce them to engage, the skills of the case

managers in encouraging their interest and compliance across a significant period of time required intensive contact and regular face-to-face meetings.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) and outlined the context of Brimbank in Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region where approximately 50% of the program participants live. The rationale and the objectives of the YCLP were outlined: critical to the program model and approach was the case management process, the description of which outlined the interventions with the young adults. The following chapter highlights the literature that is most relevant to the YCLP and provides a broad context and indication of some of the challenges encountered in the construction and delivery of the program.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In carrying out the review of the literature presented in this chapter, the search was focused on three main areas of interest. The first area related to youth and young adulthood, with specific reference to the attainment of the markers of adulthood and the increasingly accepted view that it is a period in life that is peculiar in its own right[18], distinguished as a significant and profound developmental journey in the lifespan, particularly in contemporary Western society.[19] The second area related to the concept of social capital and the issues around the measurement of social capital in relation to previous and current research, as carried out by social capital theorists. The third area focused on the treatment of young adults in relation to community justice intervention services, current legislation, and policy and practice in the criminal justice system, both in Australia and in similar Westernised jurisdictions in contemporary society. Furthermore, the literature search was underpinned by the broader issues relating to crime prevention, case management and program evaluation as they intersected with the three main areas of interest. The search revealed a range of publications on which the literature review was conducted, with these including journal articles, books, policy documents and internet-based resources.

3.2 Youth and young adulthood

Devitt, Knighton and Lowe (2009) pose a persistent question on the definition of 'youth' that has recently attracted much global attention from a range of disciplines, as well as from a diverse range of organisations, agencies and government departments over the years. They ask: "When do we become an adult? At 16, when you can legally have sex, or maybe at 18 because you can vote? Or is it when you get a job or get your own place to live?" (Devitt et al., 2009:1)

Despite abundant theorising, consensus on what constitutes the period of life referred to as 'youth' still needs to be reached. Random definitions, variations and contradictions in attempting to categorise the life stage that is called 'youth' continue to exist at a structural level between sectors, institutions, industries, everyday civic society, popular culture and politics. They are also present, at a policy level, in the areas of health, criminal justice, housing, drug and alcohol services, education and employment and, at a cultural level, between ethnic groups within and outside the boundaries of their countries and cultural

[18] See Losel et al. (2012) and Arnett (2000)
[19] See Clingenpeel and Henggeler (2002); Cernkovich and Giordano (2001); and Barry (2006)

heritage.[20] These discrepancies feature on a global level exemplified by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly that defines youth as persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years. In contrast, the World Bank defines childhood to adulthood as 15–35 years, while the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood defines this life stage as those aged between 18 and 29 years, and the Danish Youth Council defines youth as those aged between 15 and 34 years. The Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance report entitled *A New Start: Young Adults in the Criminal Justice System* focuses on young adults aged between 18 and 24 years, qualifying this by acknowledging that it is a period of life that is difficult to define, dependent on individual maturity and not simply on physical or numeric age, making it "blurry round the edges" (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a:12). Devitt et al. (2009), when researching young adults, discuss challenges directly due to these inconsistencies around definition, highlighting in their research that they had to be flexible with their study sample, as, in the UK:

> ... the Ministry of Justice uses the age-band of 18-20 in its definition of young adults, the national health survey for England terms young adults as those aged 16-24, and the British Crime Survey groups young adults in the 18-25 category (Devitt et al., 2009:iv).

Without an agreed age range for 'youth', the consensus around 'young adulthood' is further blurred. Greeson (2009) outlines the confusion:

> Currently, there is no single definition for the age range that captures the emerging adulthood stage and some variability exists with the upper limit. For example, Furstenberg, Kennedy, McLloyd, Rumbaut, and Setters[t]en (2004) consider the upper limit to be 24–26 years, while the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood's definition spans from 18 to 29 years (Greeson, 2009:41).

Arnett (2000) refers to this period as 'emerging adulthood' which he claims is: "... a framework for recognising that the transition to adulthood was now long enough that it constituted not merely a transition but a separate period of the life course" (Arnett, 2000, cited in Losel et al., 2012:3).

Moreover, this new way of conceptualising the development of young people as they transition from the late teens to the mid-20s (18–25 years) is recognised as a distinct time in a person's life: "... demographically, subjectively, and in terms of identity explorations ... and it ... exists only in cultures that allow young people a prolonged period of independent role exploration during the late teens and twenties" (Arnett, 2000:1).

The literature highlights the conundrum faced by young adults per se as they try to navigate and negotiate the journey towards adulthood and independence, with this time often

[20] See Losel et al. (2012) and Gluckman (2011).

characterised by a lack of adequate financial, psychological, educational and social resources to help them make a smooth transition, even more so when faced with a range of socio-economic and family disadvantages (Bourn and Brown, 2011; Barry, 2006). For these young adults, they have little to rely on other than trial and error, as they make their way towards adulthood (Dorling, Garside and Kerrison, 2011). Writers tend to agree that this period in the human lifespan deserves tailored policy and practice responses, across a range of disciplines, particularly in the fields of criminology, sociology, psychology, human biology and, more recently, neuroscience (Garside, 2009). Other descriptors used for this developmental period include "the frontier of adulthood" and "the novice phase" where, in neuroscience research, the "executive suite" becomes ordered in older youth and improves the "... calibration of risk and reward, problem-solving, prioritizing, thinking ahead, self-evaluation, long-term planning, and regulation of emotion ..." (Simpson, 2005:1).

Writers also note that defining the concept of youth and young adulthood is done within a cultural and sociological context influenced by the norms and values of that context. While there appears to be a broad understanding of what embodies 'youth', the categories of legal rights and responsibilities do not always correspond to young adults' lived experience and are defined in accordance with chronological age, with a "one size fits all approach" that ignores the heterogeneity of young adults (Arnett, 2000). Writers argue that "... terms like 'adult', 'young person' and 'adolescent' embody the ideas of their time and should be understood as 'social constructs' that take into account gender, class and ethnicity" (France, 2007, cited in Devitt et al., 2009:1).

Others agree, stating that the terms are reliant on the context in which they are defined, considering the cultural, social, legal, economic and political influences that have an impact on young adults' lives. Despite the broad consensus that youth are those aged between 12 and 25 years, in reality, there is great variation within the Australian youth services sector in dictating the cut-off age for youth and the 'types' of youth, with these factors selected at random within individual organisations, commonly in response to funding criteria. As a result, eligibility and suitability criteria for services can often exclude young adults who consequently find that they have 'aged out' of services at points in their lives when they most need them. Writers[21] state that for many vulnerable young adults:

> ... at age eighteen or twenty-one, young people age out of more supportive and inclusive systems designed for children to either no services or services with less support designed for adults. Many of these systems still function as if youth become independent adults

[21] See Osgood et al. (2010)

> overnight, and they are at odds with the longer period of semi-autonomy that characterizes young adulthood today (Osgood et al., 2010:15).

This variability makes it challenging to define what constitutes young adulthood. As a consequence, policy makers are baffled, as no precise framework is offered by which to measure the activities of this population across disciplines which results in misaligned policies, inaccessible statistics, ad hoc funding criteria and, ultimately, gaps and cracks in youth services provision for this cohort. Put simply, by its nature, the period of 'youth' moving to 'young adulthood' implies a process that is mercurial and fluid which, in and of itself, may go some way to explain why a consensus has yet to be reached (Boeck, 2011).

3.2.1 Young adulthood and Western society

The literature indicated that, in the past 20 years or so, an improved understanding has developed of the complex, rapidly changing and, arguably, intractable social environment that young adults are expected to negotiate today (Losel et al., 2011). The notion that there is a unique set of behaviours, motivations and struggles specific to the transitional life period between 'youth-hood' and adulthood has manifested in abundant theorising, supported by irrefutable evidence that now galvanises this view. Writers indicate that young adults in Western society face a mass of simultaneously colliding pressures and challenges, across a range of human development areas, and that attempts to moderate, rationalise and standardise this period in the lifespan have become increasingly difficult (Vinum and Nissen, 2006). Writers also outline the complexity of the 'transition to adulthood' and state that this journey is already fraught with barriers and challenges regardless of whether or not a young adult grows up in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. In addition, the lack of close family ties makes this process even more difficult, as vulnerable young adults can find themselves with little support financially, socially and/or emotionally.[22]

Linked to these points is an abundance of evidence, chiefly, in recent years, by researchers in the UK, the United States (USA) and New Zealand[23], indicating that young adulthood is characterised by a unique set of behaviours, motivations and struggles that may contribute to offending behaviour. Thematic to this is that young adults who have been subject to disadvantage, neglect or abuse, if unresolved and/or compounded by substance abuse, mental ill-health, conduct disorders, homelessness and housing instability, lack of education and employment, can find it very difficult to cope and adjust as they transition to adulthood.[24]

[22] See Helyar-Cardwell (2009a) and Barry (2006)
[23] See Helyar-Cardwell (2009a); Farrington (2006); Devitt et al. (2009); Losel et al. (2012); Osgood et al. (2010, cited in Berlin et al., 2010); Arnett (2000, 2006); and Gluckman (2011)
[24] See Losel et al. (2011) and Mulvey et al. (2004)

However, linking the causes of offending behaviour by this age group to these transitions is a complex and multifaceted exercise (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a). This period in the human lifespan, at least in terms of how it is expressed in Westernised societies, is also the most experimental and inventive phase. It is responsible for helping to define the most salient parts of cultures, evidenced throughout every era on a macro scale and also for laying the foundations for a productive life, or otherwise, on a personal micro level (Barry, 2006). Conversely, the behaviour and attitude of young adults during this period are often used to measure levels of unrest and chaos within communities, as they experiment, act out and work out what defines them as adults (Cohen, 2002). This generalised demonisation of young adults is not new: it was exemplified in Stanley Cohen's study (first published in 1972) on "mods and rockers" in the UK, in which one prosecutor in a riots trial was reported to have characterised all of the young people before him as having "no views at all on any serious subject; an inflated idea of their own importance in society; immature, irresponsible; arrogant; [and] lacking in any regard for the law [or] for the property of others" (Cohen, 2002:40).

The focus on young people as a catalyst for deviant and risk-taking behaviour is a common feature in the media and, as a result, it inflates the public perception that teenagers and young adults have the power to rouse and influence the cultural climate in, at times, catastrophic ways through "mob rule" (Zill, 2012). The riots in parts of the UK in 2011 as a result of the death of a young black man, Mark Duggan aged 29 years from Tottenham in London, were one recent example of this, where undertones of the police being racist and too eager to exercise their 'shoot to kill' policy led to an eruption of violence, rioting and destruction across the country. The estimated population of 'rioters' was 13,000–15,000, three-quarters of whom were aged below 24 years. Panic led to multiple arrests resulting in a 'straight to custody' strategy for young adults, some of whom had never been involved in the criminal justice system prior to those incidents.[25] It seems that examples were made to avoid future similar threats to and within British communities. Some young adults, however, did have previous convictions, with 84 young adults having committed 50 or more prior offences. These young adults featured prominently in the report and, although 'prolific offenders' were less than 1% of the overall figure, this information was used in this context to emphasise the severity of the incidents and the 'uncontrollable' nature of the young adults involved. A UK media report in 2011 captures this perception:

[25] See *The Guardian* (2011) (UK) and *The Independent* (2011) (UK)

> The year of 2011 will go down in history as a year of youth revolt. Throughout the year, beginning with the Arab Spring, protests, riots, and revolutions involving tens of millions of teenagers and twenty-somethings have shaken the global political order. International business media outlets from the Financial Times to the Wall Street Journal to the Economist have been fretting openly for months about today's rebellious young people. Commentators across the political spectrum have already started comparing 2011 to that seminal year of international youth rebellion, 1968 (Zill, 2012:1).

Media hype like this creates tension and reinforces the perception that young adults are threatening, particularly when in large numbers. The literature also referred to sub-cultural groups or 'gangs' of young people and showed how adults feel immediately threatened by the potential for violence and robbery. Cunneen and White (2002) highlight that: "... these types have long been a source of consternation among sections of the adult population" (Pearson, 1983, cited in Cunneen and White, 2002:23).

When the behaviour of young adults is identified as negative and destructive, this seems to create a "moral panic" as parents, politicians, police and the public react to safeguard the elements of social control that have been put in place, to keep young people in their place.[26] These are the periods when there is a public outcry for something to be done about the "epidemic" levels of violence, drug taking, crime and other forms of perceived anarchy in the youth population (Zill, 2012). By the time this 'panic' has been translated into a meaningful strategy or policy to address the problems at hand, and to mitigate the occurrence of similar future incidents, the young people have often already incurred responses from law enforcement techniques that claim to prevent further disruption to the social order.[27] The final report recommendations, although in some respects broad and aspirational, of the independent Riots, Communities and Victims Panel, established to analyse some factors that contributed to the riots, contain some points of interest to this evaluation. When discussing why disadvantaged young people made the choice not to be involved, they highlighted the "importance of character" as a contributing factor, which is a loosely defined term that seems to consist of a number of attributes "... including self-discipline, application, the ability to defer gratification and resilience in recovering from setbacks" and that these young people "... will be best placed to make the most of their lives" (Riots, Communities and Victims Panel Final Report 2012:7).

The implication is that if the young adults were of 'good character', the incidents would not have occurred. This idea of 'character' aligns with having assets and resources (economic and personal), networks and supports, in short, the social capital that young adults are able

[26] See Cohen (1991, 2002) and Siegel and McCormick (2006)
[27] See *Guardian News* (2011) and White and Cunneen (2006), cited in Goldson and Muncie (2006):19-27

to draw upon to develop pro-social lifestyles that reduce the risk of them becoming involved in antisocial and criminal activity. In other words, it is through being socially embedded and integrated in their communities that young adults are insulated against risk-taking situations. However, most writers agree that the "folk devils" (Cohen, 2002), such as those involved in the riots, are in the minority and that most young people, as they make their way towards adulthood, tend to leave behind negative and risky peer influences and rebellious instincts.

A prominent body of organisations and groups with extensive expertise with this cohort, referred to as the Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance, states that in contemporary British society in particular, young adults (defined by them as those aged between 16 and 24 years) are expected to negotiate multiple transitions between services, systems, institutions and networks of people. Most young adults take on greater responsibility and undergo significant transformations, such as moving away from negative peer influences to create positive friendships and romantic relationships; moving from school to work; the transition from dependent living to independent living; moving from family or group environments to living alone; and progressing from being a dependant to having dependants of their own. The T2A Alliance states that, in recognition of these shifts, this period needs to be seen as a distinct stage in life (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a; Sturrock, 2012; Laub and Sampson, 2003).

3.2.2 Markers of adulthood

The literature is replete with examples of the deleterious effects of unemployment, family breakdown, illegal substance use, unstable housing and mental ill-health on young adults.[28] While not all young adults who have these experiences go on to offend, these features often characterise the lives of young adults in the criminal justice system (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). A range of perspectives, research outcomes and insights on the peculiarities pertaining to young adulthood indicates that there is a broad willingness by young adults to progress positively through life and that this can become a reality given the right opportunities, pathways and supports. Writers indicate that, for those young adults who have been able to find this path, this transitional period towards adulthood brings with it enormous opportunities to "reset behaviours" and to encourage new directions towards a pro-social and fulfilling adult life (Losel et al., 2012). Writers Cauffman and Steinberg (2012) state that the psycho-social developmental markers of maturity, involving consequential thinking, the ability to resist peer influence and pressure, delayed gratification, avoidance of thrill-seeking and risky behaviour, and impulsivity control, are still formulating for this group until their

[28] See Alexander, Entwistle and Olsen (2014) and Barry (2001a)

middle to late 20s. They note that this process of development entails the individual young adult navigating and negotiating the social context of their lives. The MacArthur Research Network on Transitions to Adulthood and Public Policy (2005) in the US talks about the "coming-of-age schedule" and refers to the five ‘‘key markers" or core transitions (the maturation process) to adulthood, which comprise completing school and having an education, getting a job, getting married or cohabiting, having and rearing children, and having a house (Berlin, Furstenberg and Waters, 2010:20). Of these five, other writers prioritise employment on the basis that having a stable income allows young adults to attain the other "markers of adulthood" (Arnett, 2000). They emphasise that "... a young adult's ability to work steadily and become economically self-sufficient is a primary, if not the most important, marker of a successful transition to adulthood" (Danziger and Ratner, 2010:134).

However, the use of these milestones to gauge adulthood has been questioned by Australian researcher and social capital theorist Dr Paulina Billett (2011) who stated that these milestones are no longer typical for young people: this has led to a redefinition of what the contemporary markers of adulthood are today (Hillman and Marks, 2002:31). Other writers agree that the indicators of adulthood, such as leaving home and school, entering the world of work and creating their own families, traditionally pitched at age cut-off points of 18 or 21 years, have become redundant for this age group, as the modern-day transition to adulthood has been extended, due to a number of factors. Notably, in today's contemporary society in Australia, the ability to progress to adulthood can often entail young adults having to live with their parents for longer periods into their middle to late 20s, as they do not have the resources to move out and live independently. Writers also note that the world of employment has become fiercely competitive and that, in most industries, the expectation is that young adults will have attained a university qualification as a basic prerequisite for most positions outside of the unskilled labour market. This will ensure that they get a ‘decent job' and stable employment, enabling them to become financially independent: again, this takes time to attain and, consequently, slows the process towards independence (see Berlin et al., 2010; Bourn and Brown, 2011). These factors, it is said, have resulted in the phenomenon of extended or prolonged youth, where adult activities such as leaving home, cohabitation, marriage and child-bearing all happen later than in previous decades. However, it could be argued that only paying attention to these tangible and material aspects of maturation takes little account of the psychological, social and biological processes that young adults undergo when moving towards adulthood, consequently, rendering it necessary to have a much more comprehensive measurement framework that better fits the society with which young adults are having to negotiate today.

Devitt et al. (2009), in their exploration of the contexts of young adults' lived experience in the present day, indicate that the transition to adulthood extends further than in previous eras and that entry to employment, romantic relationships and setting up a family home are significantly delayed for many, resulting in a prolonged dependency on others. However, they note that these changes in society are not affecting all young adults equally and that those unable to draw on supports around them to enable them to be supported by others can face an extremely difficult time ahead (Devitt et al., 2009:2). Other writers outline the possible reasons for this as:

> ... employers' reluctance to hire young people without educational credentials. the longer time it is taking many young adults to finish their postsecondary education, longer life spans, shifting sexual attitudes and practices—are unlikely to change any time soon (Berlin et al., 2010:1).

Some writers point to a living environment for young adults today that has undergone significant cultural shifts that once offered support, security and prospects for their future. A number of studies claim that contemporary young adults who are taking longer to leave the family home, to create their own families and become financially independent, therefore delaying the primary markers of adulthood, are placing pressure on the original family home environment (Osgood et al., 2010). However, disadvantaged young adults often do not have the option of extended home life into young adulthood as their home circumstances can be fraught with tension and stress. If growing up in an environment where there is intergenerational unemployment, substance use, mental health concerns and housing instability and where the value of education and qualifications has not been positively reinforced enough for young adults to be competitive in the world of work, their chances of coping as they move towards adulthood can be significantly reduced (Zaretzky and Flatau, 2013). Added to the typical markers of transitioning to adulthood are:

> ... clearly recognized prerogatives of adult status (e.g., smoking, alcohol use, and sexuality) that are widely frowned upon or legally prohibited when engaged in by minors. Youth's engagement in these "problem behaviors" can be attempts to affirm maturity, gain acceptance by peers, or to negotiate adult status (Jessor and Jessor, 1977:206).

Young adults engaged in experimental and antisocial problem behaviours may find themselves becoming involved in the criminal justice system and, to avoid this, they may need positive role models and mentors as they make the transition to adulthood. These role models can be found in a range of settings:

> ... in mainstream society these adults and mentors may be parents, teachers, clergy, older siblings, coaches, neighbors, student dorm-managers, co-workers or supervisors. However, many of the young adults on probation in California have few if any of these positive role models and are likely have unaddressed criminogenic needs as well. There are few if any

> adults or mentors to help them navigate their passage to adulthood (Chief Probation Officers of California, 2007:31).

Without these ties and support from others, young adults can find it daunting when having to secure a house and a job, particularly for those who are involved in the criminal justice system. Writers Bourn and Brown (2011) also make the point that young adults are not a homogeneous group and their lived experience, while likely to share some similarities, will be characterised by "... a complex interplay of factors including gender, access to information (itself affected by socioeconomic status), and the nature of the communities in which they live" (Bourn and Brown, 2011:11).

Writers argue that, to achieve the markers of adulthood and to build life's basic assets during the transition to adulthood, a young person's living environment needs to be able to provide the necessary resources with the geographical location playing a significant role in determining access to these economic resources, employment opportunities and beneficial social networks (Cunneen and White, 2002:23). Garside (2009) highlights the disparities between cohorts of young adults, with these affected by where they live and by their gender. For example, disadvantaged neighbourhoods where young adults grow up often embed a range of risks leading to poor outcomes in health, income and housing, and an unsafe environment with poor lighting and poor employment opportunities. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1998) lists the elements that characterise deprived communities as being: demography, education, employment, poverty, income, mobility, health, social cohesion and crime/security. The OECD (1998) states that high levels of social deprivation and exclusion occur when multiple problems are concentrated in communities and within groups of young people, and that these problems reinforce each other in a negative way. For example, Hardiman, Jones, McAdam, Hallworth and Allain (2004) explored the links between the exclusion of young people in disadvantaged urban areas across Europe and how this disenfranchisement was linked to the level of violent crime. While focusing mainly on the social cohesion of young people, the writers state that the trigger for violence is "... the breakdown of social trust, the loss of a sense of identity and the lack of future prospects" (Hardiman et al., 2004:8).

The elements of social trust, sense of identity and hope for the future are broadly the ingredients of pro-social capital and, in parallel, if these components are robust, the propensity for violence perpetrated by young people in these communities can be prevented. As also stated by Hardiman et al. (2004), the lack of social networks in a young person's life can act as a barrier to them finding work, housing and other necessary resources. They

claim that social relationships based on mutual reciprocity can provide practical support and assistance, while also engendering a sense of well-being and a sense of belonging, stating that "[t]hese relationships help to build a sense of affiliation and security which bolster a young person's sense of identity and perception of their own social status, whilst helping to integrate them into the broader community" (Hardiman et al., 2004:5).

Specifically in relation to education, Hardiman et al. (2004) argue that the absence of social capital diminishes the capacity to pass on values and norms, thus having the potential to stifle young people's educational commitment and success. In addition, the writers say that affective ties within a community provide sanctions against breaches of the established norms of behaviour. These norms operate as a deterrent and in a supervisory capacity resulting in community or social control, with this stated as follows: "[j]uvenile offences peak as the bonds to parents and families weaken but before the young person has new bonds to a family, workplace and neighbourhood of their own" (Hardiman et al., 2004:15-16).

This view is consistent with the research findings in this study which relate to the young adults as they transition to adulthood and are faced with the challenges of needing to conform and take responsibility to become independent, but while lacking adequate family supports to enable them to do this with ease.

3.2.3 Immaturity and risk in relation to young adults

The literature on the factors that place young people at risk of offending is extensive. More recently, this understanding has been extended to older youth with Gluckman (2011) explaining that a number of already complex facets relating to human development have to be considered to reach an understanding of the factors that place young adults at risk of offending. It appears that social, psychological, biological, cultural, economic and behavioural factors interplay in such a complex and nuanced way that it is difficult to analyse and understand risk in a comprehensive way (Gluckman, 2011:vii). However, despite this, Gluckman states that even though our understanding of risk is not exhaustive, we have plenty of evidence to suggest that we can do much better for young people (Gluckman, 2011:viii). Research into risk and protection and their influence on young people's offending behaviour is plentiful. Researchers in the UK have taken a lead in this field and have improved our knowledge and understanding of the relationship between risk factors and pathways into and out of crime and how social processes mediate these pathways (see Farrington, 1996; Boeck, Fleming and Kemshall, 2006; Laub and Sampson, 2003).

Several longitudinal research studies have been successful in unearthing future risk predictors of the increased probability of reoffending (see Farrington, 2000; Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth [LSAY], 2003). Farrington (1998), in particular, carried out extensive research into identifying risk factors that children are exposed to in childhood that, if reduced, would have the potential to stave off offending later in life. These risks include: poverty, truancy, educational performance, inadequate parenting and poor housing, as well as parents' struggles with substance abuse, mental ill-health and criminal lifestyles. The approach taken by Farrington (2000, 2007) to assess and deal with risk at first seems straightforward through the use of the "risk factor prevention paradigm", in which he describes that the key risk factors for offending are identified with this then followed by the implementation of prevention methods designed to counteract them (Farrington, 2009:638). However, despite the implementation of the paradigm in certain parts of the world, it has yet to be fully evaluated to determine its success. While implementation of the paradigm appears at first to be a straightforward process, Farrington (2007), by noting that risk prediction and prevention cannot be done with absolute certainty, later concedes that it is, in fact, complex. He states that:

> '[A]ny theory of the development of offending is inevitably speculative in the present state of knowledge,' he notes, not least because 'most risk factors tend to coincide and tend to be interrelated'. Risk factor analysis also tends to be much better at explaining links and associations after the event than predicting future behaviour. 'Typically, prospective prediction ... is poor but retrospective prediction ... is good (Farrington, 2007:8).

The extensive literature on risk and protection relating to young adults involved in criminal activity often highlights factors that have prevented them from becoming sufficiently resilient to deal with everyday life, resulting in them not making choices that prevent further offending (Farrington, 1992, 1996, 2006). Alongside the extensive works of Farrington in relation to risk, sociologists Hawkins, Catalano and associates (1992) are also proponents of the risk prevention paradigm that identifies risk propensity so it can be addressed through targeted interventions in order to reduce and prevent crime. They state that:

> Exposure to a greater number of risk factors dramatically increases a young person's risk of getting involved in problem behaviors. For programs and services to have the greatest impact, they must reach those young people exposed to the greatest number of risk factors and the fewest protective factors (Hawkins and Catalano, 2005:17).

Hawkins and Catalano (2005) emphasise the bonds to family and community as a precursor to promoting pro-social or antisocial pathways. They state that criminal behaviour results from antisocial beliefs and values and, when under these influences, young adults tend to become disconnected from opportunities that encourage pro-social lifestyles. Conversely, young adults who are positively bonded are able to integrate, and be accepted and able to

participate in lifestyles within the norms, values and role modelling of pro-social groups. Furthermore, within the social development approach espoused by Catalano and Hawkins (1996), they state that: "... the behaviour of the individual will be pro-social or anti-social depending on the pre-determinant behaviours, norms and values held by those to whom the individual is bonded" (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996:157).

Osgood et al. (2010) similarly locate risk and protective factors within families where, it can also be argued, much of social capital is initially fostered. They state that young adults who are socially and economically disadvantaged can, as a result of pressures applied through these circumstances, often have ruptured and difficult relationships with their families that can force premature independence. Osgood et al. (2010) assert that:

> The difficulty is not always a family's lack of motivation. In many cases parents and extended family of these youth strive to be supportive, but the cumulative demands of the long journey through childhood can sap parents' ability to take on the burdens of a longer transition to adulthood (Osgood et al., 2010:212).

As a result, we are challenged in our attempts to understand the causes of offending behaviour relating to young adults, particularly those who have been subject to disadvantage, neglect or abuse, with this often manifesting in an inability to navigate heavy substance use, poor mental health, conduct disorders, homelessness, and lack of education and employment in young adulthood (Barry, 2006). In many Westernised countries including Australia, this risk-taking phase has been described by writers as a "rite of passage" with the influence to develop self-determination, autonomy and self-identity (Shanahan, Wilkins and Hurt, 2002). Writers from the Australian Research Alliance for Children and Young People (ARACY, 2012) state that young people become more autonomous as they grow older and, with that, they are open to experimental and risk-taking behaviour, coupled with facing greater life challenges which can increase the potential for harm and danger. As stated by ARACY, the propensity for young people:

> ... to partake in risky behaviours (e.g., reckless driving, substance use, risky sexual practices) increases across the teenage years, which in turn contributes to higher rates of injury and violence for this age group compared to younger children (Brechman-Toussaint and Kogler, 2010:9).

As Karamanli (2011) states: "[s]uch exclusion from transition processes towards social and economic bonds means that young people are less likely to engage and commit to the other values of inclusion and acceptable social norms" (Karamanli, 2011:6).

Critics have claimed that research into the relationship between risk and young people has, in isolation, failed to adequately address how young people negotiate and interact within

their social worlds. Boeck (2011) carried out a study in the UK investigating social capital and its effect on risk, protection and resilience for 574 young people aged between 13 and 19 years. The study related to: "... how different types of social capital might influence the pathways into and out of crime and the types of risks young people may take or successfully involve" (Boeck, 2011:9).

Boeck (2011) discusses young people's construction and negotiation of risk and resilience factors relating to social capital and offending behaviour, referring to "turning points" in the life course that can influence their pathways into and out of crime (Boeck, 2011:3). To assist his work, he drew on the studies of Weller (2006) and Weller and Bruegel (2009) to connect the emergence of social capital to the reciprocities which arise from the networks available to young people, stating that the relationships within these networks have the "... potential to be transformative" and that there is an "inter-influencing" effect between individuals and their networks (Boeck, 2011:2-3). Boeck and Fleming (2011) also investigated the relationship between "protective factors" and social capital with regard to young people's negotiation and construction of risk. In Boeck et al. (2006), the writers refer to social capital being the glue that holds people together, and that this combining agent is constituted with its primary ingredients of trust, resource acquisition, safety, reciprocity and participation in social networks and communities, sense of belonging, outlook on life and power. However, Boeck et al. (2006) admit that little is known about the elements that protect young people from risk and that the heartwarming qualities that constitute social capital still lack conceptual clarity, thus making them difficult to operationalise in the research process. Despite this, they claim that social capital may still have a key role in how resilience mitigates against crime risks and that integral to this is the notion of trust as an influence on the pathways constructed between bonding, bridging and linking social capital. The potential for this is discussed in the next chapter.

It is well documented that risk-taking behaviour is often a search for autonomy and independence and being able to make choices and control one's daily life. However, young people still require a safety net while they are doing this as some "life experiments" can have disastrous consequences (Karamanli, 2011; Gluckman, 2011). Often this search for autonomy and independence is challenging to navigate as it:

> ... takes place at the boundaries between the known and the unknown, the allowed and the forbidden, the legal and the illegal. Such behaviour, which frequently conflicts with accepted standards and breaks the rules, enables those concerned to go one step further and thus appreciate the real meaning of social and individual conduct. This flirting with risk represents a desire to control one's environment, but also one's own behaviour, and is thus seen by the young person concerned as a crucial step towards greater autonomy (Karamanli, 2011:8).

For example, while many disadvantaged young adults, in an attempt to become independent, may have made an effort to learn how to drive and have obtained a licence, many have had this privilege taken away by the police and the courts as they do not have the finances and, in some cases, the inclination to do it legally. This indicates that the legal right to drive requires a level of maturity to drive responsibly. In some cases, young adults may not yet have acquired the levels of maturity to be aware of the consequences of dangerous and high speed driving which often results in criminal charges, injury, imprisonment and, in extreme circumstances, death. As stated by Cauffman and Steiman (2009), the process of psycho-social development towards maturity for young people relies on the individual's reciprocal interaction with their social context. They state that compensatory and supportive relationships, particularly in the criminal justice system, are necessary as young people may have "... lower adjudicative competence and may thus find it hard to communicate with lawyers, make legal decisions, understand and participate in legal procedures, or stand trial" (Losel et al., 2012:2).

Gluckman (2011), in his review of young people in New Zealand, reveals similar concerns by highlighting that an inherent conflict exists between the practical application of chronological age as a determinant of legal entitlements and rights and the problematic individualistic nature of maturation (Gluckman, 2011:1). In relation to the law and young people, Gluckman states that:

> Laws regarding adolescents try to encapsulate these issues when setting the minimum legal ages for various activities. Unfortunately, this practice leads us to define rights and responsibilities by chronological age even though we recognise that there is enormous individual variation in the rate of maturation and that age is only a rough proxy for developmental stage (Gluckman, 2011:1).

Other research shows that having chronological cut-off points defining young people as adults at 18 or 21 years is problematic, particularly for vulnerable young adults who often lack close ties with family and other supportive structures in their lives. This is particularly the case given that early family life is said to be the formative environment that enables social capital to be developed through trusting and reciprocal relationships. The literature states that these young people, who may be more likely to require human services to bolster and support their development, are often excluded from interventions for being 'too old' or 'aging out' of services when, in fact, they may need them more than ever as they move towards adulthood. Moreover, the services system that they access as 'adults' often tends to assume unrealistic levels of maturity and capability and is unlikely to cater for the specific developmental needs of young adults (MacArthur Research Network on Transitions to Adulthood and Public Policy, 2005:211).

The use of chronological age to dictate how young adults should be dealt with in the criminal justice system is therefore fraught with difficulty, particularly when there are so many potential mitigating factors involved in their individual circumstances, not least of which are those concerning the issue of 'maturity'. In particular, the T2A Alliance makes a convincing case for sentencers and practitioners to consider 'maturity' levels as a mitigating factor when sentencing young adults. However, the T2A Alliance emphasises that the definition and concept of maturity itself are not straightforward, let alone its measurement and application within the court process. This focus has yet to gain momentum in an Australian national context as, to date, only minimal local efforts have been made to address this issue (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). However, the work of the T2A Alliance is a good starting point from which to question the Australian legal context on the treatment of young adult offenders, given that Australian criminal law is constructed within a Commonwealth jurisdiction. Despite the cultural variations, this allows for a framework within which to explore innovative legal and community practices for this cohort. The debate about what 'concludes' the process or transition of reaching adulthood and what constitutes being an adult is centred on the notion of maturity. Edwards (2003) implies that this definition hinges on the acquisition of resources stating that:

> ... the social construction of adulthood seems to rely much less on the traditional demographic markers—home leaving, full-time work, and family formation—and more on personal psychological self-assessments of "maturity". At any rate, the traditional markers do not any longer stand for attaining adulthood (Edwards, 2003:4).

Gluckman (2011) draws on discoveries made in the area of neuroscience in the last 10 years, stating that some parts of the brain are not fully mature until the third decade of life. He states that these areas of the brain are responsible for controlling a range of cognitive functions that moderate impulsivity and attention span, as well as promoting planning, evaluation, problem solving, judgment, wisdom and rationalisation. He discusses a "maturity gap" that leads to thrill seeking, instant gratification and an inability to mitigate and negotiate risk at their own expense, stating that a higher level of risk taking and pushing the boundaries is normal for this age group (Gluckman, 2011:49; Prior et al., 2011:3-5). However, Berns (2009), who has specialised in this field, warns against neuroscientific evidence playing a part when sentencing young adults, stating that:

> If the Court invokes neuroscience, it opens a floodgate for MRIs [magnetic resonance imaging] in the judicial system. It would become necessary to perform MRIs on every child defendant to determine if their brains were sufficiently mature to stand trial, or be punished, as an adult. What should be done with a child who has an unusually mature brain for their age? Or an adult with an immature-looking brain? (Berns, 2009).

In 2004, the Barrow Cadbury Trust in the UK established the Commission on Young Adults through which it was argued: that young adult offenders should be adjudicated, taking into account their maturity levels and susceptibility to change; that specialist teams should be established to respond to their specific needs; and that therapeutic responses, as opposed to direct punishment, should be employed (Losel et al., 2012:3-4). Scott and Grisso (1997) agree that young people are more amenable and likely to profit from rehabilitative interventions and are less capable of mature judgment than their adult counterparts, concluding that they should therefore be dealt with separately in the criminal justice system. However, the writers point out that, without empirical evidence on the young adult's ability for mature judgment and their malleability for rehabilitation, there is no gauge or measure available for the courts to consider the concept of maturity as a mitigating factor when sentencing a young adult. Cauffman and Steinberg (2000) link this challenge of measurement to the one around culpability when they note that:

> Because culpability refers to the extent to which a person can be considered blameworthy or deserving of punishment for a given behavior, the evaluation of culpability is largely a moral decision. Nevertheless, if any such moral standard is to be applied to offenders of varying levels of maturity, it is important that evaluations of maturity (and subsequent determinations of culpability) be grounded in an accurate understanding of the factors that influence how adolescents make decisions (Cauffman and Steinberg, 2000:743).

For the most part, the literature on maturity concludes that the concept is difficult to define and, even if a consensus were to be reached and an assessment tool constructed, it is uncertain how young adults could be assisted to increase their levels of maturity to prevent further offending. Moreover, even if it were concluded that maturity could formally or scientifically be used effectively as mitigation within a court environment, it is not clear how practitioners would go about addressing a 'maturity deficit'. Without this evidence, the use of a deficit or inadequately formed level of maturity to explain or mitigate offending behaviour is debatable unless intervention programs can determine how to successfully build maturity levels in young adults to prevent recidivism.

3.2.4 Young adults' propensity to change, transitions and desistance

Decades of attempts have been made to find solutions, through innovative programming, that respond to young people involved in criminal justice systems across the globe. Debates have arisen concerning the appropriate point and type of intervention in a young person's life, how and when to intervene, to what extent and for how long, with these aspects having been discussed and translated into programs that propose to help young people desist from a life of criminal activity. The strategies to reduce recidivism are diverse and include community-based programs that focus on behavioural cognitive approaches to promote

consequential thinking, community integrative approaches and correctional interventions (see Fagan, 1990; Tate, Reppucci and Mulvey, 1995:227). These approaches, in contrast to prison, indicate evidence that offenders are best worked with within their communities, where they are able to modify their skills, living circumstances, home environments and relationships and demonstrate that they can cease their offending behaviour while at liberty. A number of theories are proposed relating to what might encourage desistance from criminal activity by young adults. Laub and Sampson (2001) state that:

> Several theoretical frameworks can be employed to explain the process of desistance, including maturation and aging, developmental, life-course, rational choice and social learning theories. A life-course perspective provides the most compelling framework, and it can be used to identify institutional sources of desistance and the dynamic social processes inherent in stopping crime (Laub and Sampson, 2001:1).

The theories related to developmental changes state that criminal activity becomes less attractive and more tedious and stressful and that, as young adults become more able to reason and control their impulsive behaviour, they become less carefree and build self-respect and worth into their lives, increasing their ability to look beyond instantly gratifying behaviour and to think consequentially about their actions. It is suggested that these changes may steer young adults away from antisocial and destructive behaviour, and towards pro-social, compliant and law-abiding lifestyles (Steinberg and Cauffman, 1996; Barry, 2006). Another related theory links desistance to the changing roles expected of young adults as they graduate into adulthood and undertake the process of attaining the markers of adulthood. As young adults undergo maturational processes, they may commit to more stable romantic relationships, form families, become parents, secure jobs and generally invest in life at a greater level. As a result, the features of their lives become more valuable and the potential forfeit or loss of these life assets becomes significant (Laub and Sampson, 2001; Barry, 2006; Farrall, 2002). Mulvey et al. (2004) suggest that:

> The strength of attachment and commitment to these new roles and opportunities plays a large part in whether antisocial activities continue. If these new roles and opportunities create valued experiences (e.g., a loving relationship, respect as part of a work group) that are important to the individual offender, then that individual may reach a point where the new lifestyle becomes a reality that is worth protecting. When commitment to work and family have been formed, there is something to lose, and therefore to be guarded. This investment in new social roles is believed to develop over an extended period, as an individual builds a social base that is maintained by eschewing opportunities for criminal involvement (Mulvey et al., 2004:4).

It is also well documented that young people “grow out of crime” as they become young adults in their early 20s (Moffitt, 1993; Piquero and Brezina, 2001; Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a:10; Sturrock, 2012:5; Mulvey et al., 2004) but that this occurs differently for certain cohorts. Furthermore, at an individual level, the ‘turning points’ referred to in the literature,

as in a significant event or the awareness or experience that results in a shift in direction, may be similar, but not the same for each individual (Abbott, 1997:1). It may follow that if we know more about the nature of these turning points, we could endeavor, through effective programming, to expedite the attainment by young adults of these markers, in order to promote desistance from further offending (Teruya and Hser, 2010). This evidence has the potential to be used to legislate for certain rights and responsibilities for young adults, as well as for the timeliness and type of interventions required to expedite their exit from the criminal justice system. This view is reiterated by Karamanli (2011) in a report to the European Parliamentary Assembly where she asserts that a young adult should be treated:

> ... as a developing, learning human being, [who] is still open to positive socialising influences. Retribution and punishment should thus take second place to social measures for, and education and rehabilitation of young offenders. Deprivation of liberty should be a last resort (Karamanli, 2011:1).

There appears to be an expectation on young adults to be cognisant of, and to take responsibility for, the negative and positive life choices they make. Most young people aged below 18 years have adults who make decisions for them and encourage them to make choices within an environment of care, control and safety. Achieving independence typically means taking greater responsibility, but when a young adult lacks adequate natural supports and positive role modelling, they can fall victim to erroneous choices, leading to risk-taking behaviour that can precipitate criminal activity. Barry (2006) reinforces this by stating that the phases of transition from childhood to adulthood can prove extremely challenging for disadvantaged young people, with no political or economic power, who are forced into independent living, having to fend for themselves, whereby the isolation and difficulties are magnified (Barry, 2006:1). Osgood et al. (2010) raise a similar point to the observation made by Danziger and Ratner (2010) that vulnerable young people are often simultaneously connected to a number of systems and organisations, and that this could serve to illuminate how policy reform could better assist young adults (Osgood et al., 2010):

> If the transition to adulthood is slow and arduous for a large share of the general population, how much harder must it be for young people who have spent years in the mental health or juvenile justice system or in foster care? The problems facing these groups as they transition to adulthood are critically important, to these youths and their families of course, but also to the public institutions that have evolved over time to address their special needs, and to the nation as a whole (Danziger et al., 2010:209).

However, much reference is made in the literature to how redeemable young adults can be as they transition towards adulthood. Mulvey et al. (2004) state that offending behaviour can be averted through effective community programs that target those with the least resources to make the transition alone (Eccles and Gootman, 2002:5). Other writers focus on the need

for evidence-based practices with this age group and stress the importance of making allowances in designing services and programming that reflect the specific needs of this cohort. As stated below:

> In any comprehensive analysis of the target population, it is important not to lose sight of the significant strengths and assets these individuals often possess simply because of their youthfulness. It is upon these strengths and with these assets that specific skill building can occur (Chief Probation Officers of California, 2007:23).

The writers qualify this position by highlighting the point that, due to young adults' lack of years, their risk-taking behaviour and habits have not become so entrenched that they are irreversible, and that offending behaviour and substance misuse can be turned around to enable them to lead law-abiding lives. It has been said that researchers know more about the factors that lead young people into trouble, than how they get out of trouble, or how they desist from antisocial and criminal activity (see Farrington, Ohlin and Wilson, 1986; Loeber and LeBlanc, 1990). Furthermore, our capacity to retrospectively analyse social issues does not necessarily translate into knowing how to prevent repeated negative behaviour. One perspective is that the predictors of desistance are simply the reverse of the risk factors predicting offending (Loeber and LeBlanc, 1990). However, other scholars clearly state that the causes leading to crime are not necessarily the same as the causes for ceasing to offend and, again, that more research in this space is necessary to determine the latter (Mulvey et al., 2004). Despite the transition from 'youth-hood' to adulthood being one of the most researched periods in the lifespan in terms of offending (see Bottoms and Shapland, 2010; Laub and Sampson, 2003), there is still a paucity of well-documented evaluations of effective interventions that can prevent further offending by this age group (see Farrington, 2001; Laub and Sampson, 1993). Very little is known about the desistance from crime factors for young people transitioning to adulthood, and how, why and at what point they begin to curb criminal activity. Positive and sustainable change is not likely to be immediate and, as Haigh states, "... desisting from crime involves a continual process of redeveloping oneself" (Haigh, 2007:10).

Farrington (2006), in carrying out the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, a prospective longitudinal survey of 411 London males from age 8 to age 50, evidenced that the median age of first conviction was age 17 and that the median age for last conviction was age 25, indicating that many offenders desisted from crime in their mid-20s (Losel et al., 2012:4). Laub and Sampson (2003) discuss four conceptual accounts that have been prominently advanced to explain desistance from crime; maturation, development, rational

choice and social learning. However, these occurrences will vary with each young adult as noted by Bourn and Brown (2011):

> Young people are not a homogenous group and their experiences are likely to vary hugely with a complex interplay of factors including gender, access to information (itself affected by socio-economic status), and the nature of the communities in which they live (Bourn and Brown, 2011:11).

Gleuck and Gleuck (1974), in the 15-year follow-up in their study on juvenile delinquents, coined the term "delayed maturation" where they state that the differences between young people are due to varying experiences, personal traits and circumstances before the onset of offending and note that recent and current experiences become more significant. Gleuck and Gleuck (1974) concluded that those who reformed "... were better circumstanced than those who continued to recidivate over the long-term follow up span" (Gleuck and Gleuck, 1974:141).

Laub and Sampson (2001) carried out a meta-analysis of 200 studies on desistance, most of which showed statistically significant results. However, the researchers highlight that considerable variation was found in the studies in relation to the interventions provided, prompting the question as to what types of programs are most effective for reducing recidivism (Carcach and Leverett, 1999:4). McNeill and Weaver (2010), in their research into desistance, remark that some studies on desistance suggest that hope and hopefulness are important factors alongside self-efficacy and locus of control. The writers emphasise that these are not to be understood as fixed attributes of the individual, but as indications of specific interventions that may be needed to support and bolster change efforts. They state that:

> Building motivation and a sense of agency is likely to involve helping the individual to recognise the possibilities of a self hood and lifestyle that is more desirable than what s/he currently has; that possibly needs to be meaningful and desirable for the individual. The worker needs to work with him or her towards its formulation and realisation and to persist and maintain hope through lapses and relapses (McNeill and Weaver, 2010:8).

McNeill and Weaver (2010), in their work on the use of the Good Lives Model (a humanistic theory coined by Ward and Stewart (2003) and used in the UK's National Probation Service), discuss individualised desistance pathways.[29] They state that while there may be similarities in how young adults navigate their pathways out of offending lifestyles, they are not a homogeneous population and these pathways will be subjective. In addition, McNeill and

[29] For examples see Victorian Department of Justice and Regulation (DoJR), Corrections Victoria, 2014; Criminal Justice Social Work (CJSW) Development Centre, 2013).

Weaver (2010) look at the stages of the desistance process and suggest, based on the emerging models relating to this process, that assessment should:

> ... focus on exploring issues such as an individual's developing maturity (not necessarily indexed by age), the strength and salience (to them) of the licit or positive social bonds, their aspirations and approach goals (as outlined in the GLM (Good Lives Model)) and their cognitive openness to and readiness for change (McNeill and Weaver, 2010:8).

Ward (2002) asserts that the treatment of people involved in the criminal justice process should be focused on more than just the behaviour of the individual. It should instead take a holistic approach that contextualises the person based on how they interact with their social environment (Ward, 2002:19). He refers to the "design of good lives" and talks about the fundamental prerequisites or "primary goods" including "... body (physiological needs), self (psychological abilities needed to live a good life) and social (the external conditions needed to attain a good life)" (Ward, 2002:24).

However, to secure these "primary goods" or assets, Ward (2002) states that certain internal and external conditions must exist including proper parenting, education and vocational training and that, if these attributes are absent, this may create an inclination in a person to obtain their "well-being" through illegal means. It is on this basis that Ward (2002) states that rehabilitative and interventionist measures should involve reducing the potential for risk, that is, the barriers to self-development and progress, replacing them with the inner means to develop well-being through legitimate methods (Ward, 2002:20). However, this model has been criticised for not being grounded in evidence of its effectiveness and for avoiding a focus on the offender's choice to become involved in offending behaviour (Andrews, Bonta and Wormith, 2011). The need for stability in housing, for employment for income, for relationships for love and for support in making a positive contribution to desistance from crime for young adults is emphasised in the work within the T2A Alliance pilot programs that state:

> Taken as a whole, the availability of finances and support structures, along with family, individual and community aspirations and experiences of what is possible, all help to propel young adults along different routes to adulthood (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a:17).

Most writers agree that something significantly shifts in the behaviour of young adults to act as an impetus to desist from crime. This is evidenced in the "age–crime curve" which shows that crime decreases after a peak between the ages of 21 and 25 years (Moffitt and Caspi, 2001; Piquero, Farrington and Blumstein, 2003; Losel et al., 2012:13). It is this evidence that has the potential to assist our understanding of the processes behind these changes or turning points (Abbott, 1997) in order to construct programs that could accelerate a young

adult's departure from criminal activity at earlier points in the criminal justice system. Writers concede, however, that we are still far from understanding what these processes are (Cauffman, Piquero, Broidy, Espelage and Mazerolle, 2004:216). On the other hand, the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) in the UK suggests seven "pathways" to reduce reoffending with these related to research on desistance from crime which may provide a useful framework for practice. These pathways are: education, training and employment; accommodation; drugs and alcohol; health; finance, benefit and debt; children and families; and attitudes, thinking and behaviour (Catch 22, cited in Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a:20).

Other writers point to young adults going through intense changes, pressures and stresses, and the many who do not have protective networks to bolster them while they find their feet may be likely to flounder. While still viewed largely as 'young people', they can and do make decisions around vital areas of their lives that have long-term consequences, such as drug and alcohol consumption, their health and housing needs, education, employment, romantic relationships and having children. However, disadvantaged young adults' options and opportunities to make the right choices are often hampered by structural deficits in the housing market and the availability and accessibility of work, all of which make the other potentially enjoyable and fulfilling elements of their lives difficult to manage. There is a lack of empathy for many young adults, particularly those involved in the criminal justice system, as the public perception often centres on a life of crime as being a choice. As stated by Leccardi and Ruspini (2006), "[t]he problem of a 'choice trajectory' is that people can make the wrong choices" (Leccardi and Ruspini, 2006:76).

Various theories are suggested as to why offending increases through the teen years and then reduces including changes in hormones, physical capabilities and perception of the severity of penalties; changes in behavioural influences from parental to peers; adolescent uncertainties; and the later development of responsibilities and a sense of direction (Farrington, 2006; Catalano and Hawkins, 1996; Richards, 2011). When these factors are coupled with young adults being less discerning about the negative influence of peers and their curiosity and willingness to experiment at a point in life where one has not yet built a range of assets and responsibilities, the consequences can be destructive on a number of levels. Added to this, and echoed throughout much of the social capital literature, is the need for young people to be able to develop a sense of belonging which, in turn, influences their ability to form a healthy identity, a solid sense of independence and self-efficacy: when absent, Hardiman et al. (2004) note that:

“[w]e cannot develop a sense of belonging when nothing belongs to us ...” (Hardiman et al., 2004:10).

The work of the YCLP is intended to provide stable relationships within the case management process that enable the young adults to develop a stronger sense of belonging and control by anchoring them to services that provide beneficial outcomes.

3.3 Social capital

Social capital is a burgeoning field of interest that appears to have had a slow and, at times, awkward gestation over the past 25 years. Discourse on social capital is abundant, complex and ever-evolving, resulting in plurality in both its definition and application which, according to writers, “... stem from the highly context specific nature of social capital and the complexity of the concept and operationalization” (Claridge, 2004:8).

According to the literature, the definition of the term ‘social capital’ was initially coined by Lyda Hanifan in 1916 with it seen as a dichotomous concept that, in nature and application, can be positive and pro-social or destructive, deviant and antisocial (see Putnam, 2000; Billett, 2011). Social capital can operate at micro, meso and macro levels, between individuals, within society and across cultures and countries. Social capital encapsulates abstract, intangible and nebulous notions, such as trust, societal values and norms, reciprocity, networks and relationships, and how they intermesh, influencing and being influenced by each other. Consequently, social capital opens itself to difficulties in consensual definition, measurement, replicability and applicability. Fundamentally, however, most definitions of social capital focus on social relations that produce benefits, with writers broadly in agreement that people, their function and agency, and their levels of interaction and integration within relationships are central to social capital. Moreover, while social capital is commonly viewed as a societal characteristic, often of macro proportions, with some of its key indicators relating to levels of civic and social trust, social cohesiveness and cooperative networks, it is usually measured at the level of the individual person for it is people who create social relationships and networks. In simple terms, the bones of social capital are people: how and what they do to involve themselves in each other’s lives, to the benefit of themselves and others, builds the living flesh of social capital. It is a concept that is at once personified because without people and their ability to create relationships and networks, through trust building and reciprocity, social capital would not exist either at an individual or structural level.

The three main proponents of social capital are Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), James Coleman (1988, 1990) and Robert Putnam (1990, 2000). These forefathers understand social capital as a "resource to collective action" that can result in a range of beneficial outcomes (Stone, 2001). Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as different types of resources that can either be actual or virtual and which can be accessed by an individual or group through possessing a network of sociable, bi-directional relationships (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119). In relation to economic well-being, Bourdieu states that social capital "... is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

In similar form, but on a broader scale, Putnam (2000) locates social capital as a public resource relating to democracy within society. He asserts that social capital is concerned with social connections among individuals, reciprocal relationships, networks and lives made more productive by social ties (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, Coleman (1988, 1990) concentrates his thinking more towards the benefit of social capital to an individual, with an emphasis on education, and distinguishes social capital as not necessarily being owned by the individual, but being available to them through interpersonal relationships (Gauntlett, Hugman, Kenyon and Logan, 2000). Coleman states that social capital is one of a stock of resources that can be used, including human (personal skills and expertise), physical (material tools), cultural and economic (money) capital. Capital therefore exists in a number of forms and contexts, but it is said that social capital is the most valuable, as it mobilises all other resources (Bassani, 2008:731).

It is largely Putnam's (2000) broader view of social capital, however, that has gained traction with researchers as a framework for understanding societal and community characteristics and functionality. Putnam (2000) offers two levels of social capital that he refers to as bonding and bridging. Bonding is the most proximate form of social capital, as it is generated between similar individuals who have ties and connections with each other and tends to include family and friends providing material and emotional support to each other. These networks are more inward-looking and protective, producing strong ties and cultivating "in-group" loyalty (Woolcock, 2000). Alternatively, bridging social capital refers to relations with certain friends, acquaintances, associates and colleagues of dissimilar backgrounds, for example, comprising those of different socio-economic status, age, generation, race or ethnicity (Woolcock, 2000). Bridging may also refer to those relationships where a single

person or a small number of people are members of groups that have the potential, when mobilised, to create and generate life opportunities for individuals, such as finding a job. Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam (2000) both hold the family as the integral generator of social capital and the transmitter of both bonding (capacity) and bridging (climbing) networks. When individuals interact with each other, they create relationships which form networks, and networks are described as patterns of relationships that harbour resources which can comprise:

> ... personal skills and abilities, their economic resources, resources associated with their jobs, status, and with the other groups to which they are connected, and, by extension, the networks and resources of their families, friends and colleagues. Social capital exists in the relationships between participants (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2004:67).

These resources are generated, in particular, through linking social capital where young adults can access resources and build their networks through the case management process, especially if they lack friendship and family bonds.

3.3.1 Basic ingredients of social capital: norms of trust, reciprocity and diversity

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) refers to the norms and values that exist within networks, such as trust, reciprocity and diversity. It states that these are essential to the healthy functioning of relationships as they encourage behaviour that is cooperative in manner, while providing the rules, guidance, sanctions and mores to which people are expected to adhere in order to maintain proper social order (ABS, 2004:26). Other writers discuss the three dimensions of social capital that relate to structure, relationships and cognition (see Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Lesser, 2000). The structural dimension concerns itself with the overall pattern of network connections between people (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). The relational dimension concerns itself with the types of relationships that develop between players and differentiates between 'strong' or 'weak' connections, with this determined by the time, effort and emotion expended in creating and developing these relationships (Gulati, 1998; Uzzi, 1999). The cognitive dimension comprises: "... shared norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs, predispos[ing] people towards beneficial collective action" (Krishna and Uphoff, 2002, cited in Carillo, Yigitanlar, Garcia and Lonnqvist, 2014:47).

Edgar (1999) highlights another important component of social capital which is the notion of how we imbibe shared norms and values from the society in which we live and the people around us. Falk (2000) argues that this may be difficult in today's increasingly individualistic society where the notions of sharing, looking out for each other and being altruistic appear

to be diminishing. In addition, Falk (2000) discusses the idea of social cohesion, which is closely related to social capital, and the consequences of not having social cohesion within communities which, it could be argued, has a similar impact to that within communities lacking social capital. He states that:

> Social cohesion is used to refer to the ties between people in groups and communities that cause a bonding through common interests ... Western societies seem to have lost a proportion of their social cohesion, symptomized by conflict, breakdown in family structures, intergenerational communication and so on (Falk, 2000:1).

Falk (2000) also refers to "bonding ties" emerging from shared values through participation within families, neighbourhoods and communities which grant us a sense of belonging and of feeling valued, wanted and respected. Falk (2000) sums up social capital as the:

> ... cement of society's good will [sic] – it creates a cohesive society. The networks, trust and shared values of social capital bring to life our human values, skills, expertise and knowledge. Social capital results from effective communication. Social capital provides the social infrastructure support for our lives in a web of elastic networks related to home, work, learning, leisure and public life ... (Falk, 2000:1).

Writers state that an inability to function within "normative structures", in which social capital can be fostered, may result in social exclusion if people are not aware of its function and value for enhancing their networks (Foley and Edwards, 1999). The ABS echoes this by stating that "… norms and values are essential to healthy functioning of networks because they encourage people to act cooperatively, and effectively provide rules and sanctions to govern people's behaviour" (ABS, 2004:26).

In reference to generating social capital, Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) notes that, in order for relationships to generate benefits, they must be understood as bi-directional in nature. It is this two-way process that is being examined within the current study. Whereas Coleman (1986) emphasises the quantity of relationships that an individual has, as an indicator of social capital, the current study looks at the quality or nature of the relationship between the case manager and the young adult and how that generates linking social capital. Using data generated by the young adults through participation in the YCLP and holding them centrally as the primary change agent can improve our understanding of the behaviour directly affecting their social context and, more specifically, their involvement in the criminal justice system. Furthermore, understanding how linking social capital is facilitated through the case manager and young adult relationship with the ensuing network building can actually help to bring about pro-social change and mitigate future risks. Integral to the case management process is advancement of the personal growth and development of the young adults by offering support, building "human bridges" and linkages, providing guidance and assistance,

and opening doors of opportunity which may otherwise remain closed (Wierenga, 2009). Closely linked to generating social capital is the capacity of this relationship to develop the young adult's human capital which relates to their personal competencies, skills, efficacy and capacity (see Becker, 1993). As Mulvey et al. (2004) point out:

> The amount and type of human capital that a young person has, although possibly limited by factors such as basic intelligence or mental illness, is far from set during late adolescence. Significant shifts in human capital can be expected to result from changes in personal agency, psychosocial development, or skill acquisition (Mulvey et al., 2004:226).

Negotiation is linked to rapport and trust and is also an important ingredient for the case manager and young adult relationship. The key elements of negotiation, as defined by Hogan and Owen (2000), are:

> ... the competence of the other party in the relationship; the likelihood that the other party will discharge their obligations, keep their promises and assume their responsibilities; and the chances that the second party understands and adheres to relevant social norms and role expectations, and this will not harm the interest of other parties in the relationship (Hogan and Owen, 2000:98).

Young adults have morals, values, loyalties, things and people to defend and protect. Trust is important to them, as it is to all human beings, and they know when they have been wronged and have had their personal safety and trust breached. They absorb what is going on around them and are trying to make sense of it, as they transition to adulthood. This natural learning applies as equally to young adults from disadvantaged and poor backgrounds as it does to those from more privileged circumstances.

3.3.2 Community, social capital, connectedness and cooperation

According to Putnam (1993), social capital is largely determined by historical factors with the implication being that it cannot be enhanced in the short term. However, this view has been challenged in the literature by a range of writers who posit that social capital creation is possible by definition and can be viewed as a by-product of other activities (see Petersen, 2002; Schmid, 2000; Dekker and Uslaner, 2001). Falk and Harrison (1998) agree that it is possible to build social capital in the short term, stating that this is also known as "capacity building". Social capital, therefore, appears to be related to, and may even incorporate, a number of similar concepts, such as social cohesion, connectedness, inclusion, participation and attachment, and offering resilience against disadvantages, disconnections, isolation, marginalisation, disenfranchisement and exclusion, with these concepts, when combined, broadly contributing to social and economic development (ABS, 2004:14). In Australia, the concept of social capital has had increasing utilisation in both research and at a government level for the purposes of creating a better understanding of the value in the progress and

development of people and their communities. Furthermore, there is abundant interest and research at an academic level with the intent being to maximise our understanding and application of the concept (ABS, 2012:17). The ABS has adopted the OECD's definition of social capital as "... networks, together with shared norms, values and understandings which facilitate cooperation within or among groups" (ABS, 2012:13).

This definition conceptualises social capital as a resource generated by, and for use between, people within relationships and networks created by them. The ABS (2004) constructs its framework broadly on Coleman's (1988, 1990) notion of social capital that defines it as one of a number of resources available to individuals. Grouping social capital with natural, produced economic and human capital, the ABS states that these four types of resources interact in a cultural, political, legal and institutional context contributing to a range of well-being outcomes (ABS, 2004:13). The ABS states that "... social participation means that people are engaging effectively in all domains of living appropriate to their stage of life" (ABS, 2009:14) and that this bolsters the well-being of communities and society through integration, and attitudes of acceptance and inclusiveness. The ABS also refers to a "... rupture in social bonds between the individual and society" that creates social issues such as unemployment, early school drop-out, and unstable housing, health and allied problems resulting in a lack of access to goods, services, activities and resources with compensating interventions required to rectify these deficits for young people (Berger-Schmitt and Noll, 2000, cited in ABS, 2004:15).

From her research, Stokes (2000) determines that the notion of "interconnectedness" is relevant for conceptualising the complexity of young people's lives. Interconnectedness implies a reciprocal relationship that involves supports for and from the young person in their world of school, family, friendship, organisation and community (Stokes, 2000:27). This can also be extended to young adults as a way of interpreting how they generate and mobilise social capital to achieve their private aspirations and goals. Relating this to the YCLP, the case manager plays an integral role in facilitating the process of referrals between youth services in which, as Knoke (1999) indicates, "... social actors create and mobilize their network connections within and between organizations to gain access to other social actors' resources" (Knoke, 1999:18).

Relevant also to social capital is a young adult's sense of efficacy, defined by the ABS (2004) as individuals having the capacity to "... produce desired outcomes by their own actions ... also relates to self reliance, initiative, and the degree of influence believed to be held, as well as the ability to draw upon additional resources as required" (ABS, 2004:26).

Efficacy, in this sense, refers to young adults' capacity to produce what they require through their own actions and it infers their agency, control, self-reliance, initiative and ability to create and draw upon personal resources when needed (ABS, 2004:34). Falk (2000) indicates that self-efficacy results from self-confidence that young adults can change by using the power and resources available through networks (ABS, 2004:34). Closely related to this is confidence, self-esteem and the self-belief needed to take control of their life circumstances in order to take up opportunities that affect positive change and achieve life goals. The concept of self-efficacy is closely related to social capital, as pointed out by Falk (2000) who states that:

> ... when the individual realises that 'I can do something'. The sense of self-efficacy that this engenders should not be under-estimated, since the resulting self-confidence is an enabler of learning to manage change at a personal level. And learning to manage change involves interacting with society and learning how the networks, norms and trust work in the sense of power and resources. In other words, at one end of the self-efficacy continuum there is the individual's battles to come to grips with their own identities, skills and knowledge in a bewilderingly complex society ... (Falk, 2000:3).

It is at this end of the continuum referred to by Falk (2000) where young adults hover as they try to make sense of themselves, their environments, the people who matter within these settings and their future prospects. This is where helping relationships can provide opportunities for young adults to be connected to networks that are going to benefit them and spur them on to attain what they believe to be important for their future security and stability. Butcher, Howard et al. (2003) observe that a weak sense of self-efficacy can lead not only to non-participation and social isolation, but may also result in the flouting of social norms that can lead to antisocial and criminal activity (Butcher, Howard et al., 2003:33).

Each theory of social capital is not without limitations, however, and while it is argued that relationships and people's interaction with each other are vital to social capital, this does not always take centre stage in social capital theorising. For example, Coleman (1988) focuses on the quantity rather than the quality of relationships between people, implying that the greater number of relationships an individual has with people, the greater the individual's stocks of social capital. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) refer to the broad understanding of social capital in the simple aphorism "it's not what you know, it's who you know", highlighting the integral role that networking and relationships play in social capital formation and maintenance. Another relatively recent, but significant, criticism is that much of the extant research on social capital assumes an adult population, tending to ignore the nuances of the life-course perspective of young people by implying that a person has to have attained the markers and milestones of adulthood before social capital can become apparent and

available (Billett, 2011). Theories of social capital have also been criticised for neglecting the dimensions of gender, culture and the economy, neglect which recent research has tried to redress (Billett, 2011; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). Furthermore, the research on young adults and social capital is sparse, with little known about the transformation or changes in social capital for a person across their significant life transitions.

Therefore, using the combined work of social capital theorists and focusing on both adults and young people as a foundation, this evaluation stimulates new debate in the area of social capital and how it manifests in the lives of young adults as they transition from the life stage of 'youth-hood' to 'adulthood'. In this way, the processes and outputs of social capital can be revealed, demonstrating how assets and enablers can "foster and reproduce" linking social capital through one compensatory relationship within a professional capacity that actively links young adults to other relationships that are able to produce benefits for them. In the context of the current study, this means enabling young adults to move towards a crime-free and pro-social lifestyle (Billett, 2011; Boeck, 2011). For clarity, the term 'pro-social', in the context of this evaluation, is married to the notion that norms and values within contemporary Australian society dictate the acceptable boundaries that are able to be negotiated, in relation to young adults' behaviour, as they go about forming their adult persona and identity and as they progress towards attaining the milestones and "markers of adulthood" (Arnett, 2010). It is also important to note that these norms and values exist within the cultural, political and legal context of Australia and will operate differently within other lived environments.

3.3.3 Social capital and young people

Some studies carried out in recent years have looked at social capital in relation to young people aged below 18 years (see Morrow, 2001; Billett, 2011; Barry, 2006; Boeck, 2011; Forbes and Wainwright, 2001; Woolcock, 1998; Edwards, Franklin and Holland, 2003). Billett (2011), who carried out a study in South-West Sydney on 50 young people aged between 14 and 18 years, when comparing their social capital to that of adults, states that social capital does exist for young people and that it is simply different. She argued the following three main points: that existing conceptualisations of social capital are not sufficient to assist in the understanding of social capital and young people; that social capital does not exist in isolation to class, culture and gender and needs to be interpreted through these lenses; and that the current tools to measure social capital are not adequate and require modification to make measurement more relevant and appropriate for young people (Billett, 2011:9). Billett states that, even though social capital indicators for adults do not easily

translate to young people, this does not mean that social capital, in some other relevant forms, does not exist. Billett (2011) emphasises this point by stating that:

> Youth social capital is often constructed in terms of its adult forms due to the depiction of young people in western society as “works in progress” still needing to reach significant “milestones” before they can be seen as fully functioning members of society ... the social capital of young people has come to be considered an incomplete or “unfinished” project, one requiring the guidance of adults to be successfully completed ... This has meant that youth social capital is often constructed in terms of a “deficiency” ... (Billett, 2011:11).

However, it can be argued that the creation and mobilisation of social capital within relationships can be viewed as a social construct, that is, constructed by individuals within their specific age-related environments and lifestyles, and that this process is continuous, progressive and mercurial. It would follow, therefore, that evolving and emerging adults can create and modify the nature and levels of social capital at both an individualised and societal level over this transitional period. This notion counters the stance taken by Billett (2011) that young people and social capital should not be viewed as a “work in progress” but instead be based on young people’s own merits and their particular stage of life. While Billett (2011) differentiates between the negotiation and generation of social capital by young people compared to that of adults, she does not focus on the transitional period between ‘youth-hood’ and adulthood, and the mutable nature of social capital, as young adults traverse these two distinct life periods. It seems that this transition is difficult to ignore as it is a formative period during which, for most young adults, attaining the markers and milestones of adulthood becomes both important and challenging. Again, for most young adults, these are attained through close family and friendship ties (bonding/coping/getting on) and adjusting to a new phase of life requiring responsibility and independence through people who can influence circumstances to generate beneficial outcomes (bridging/climbing/getting ahead).

Barry (2006) captures this notion by stating that the capital peculiar and necessary to young people may become redundant with changes in their life goals as they transition towards adulthood. Assisting young adults to generate and enhance their social capital is, therefore, an important component in their capacity building. In addition, it is noted that certain types of network may be more prominent at various life stages or under different circumstances. For example, during childhood and old age, bonding social capital is important to health in terms of enhancing mental health and when nurturing and caring for family members. As people enter the labour market, bridging social capital becomes important for finding employment, and employment may lead to other opportunities for bridging relationships (ABS, 2004:104). For young adults, bonding and bridging social capital are, therefore,

important to their progress and development in their personal relationships and the attainment of employment which enables them to acquire important material items such as a house, a car and other essential items that provide security, stability, independence and mobility. Added to bonding and bridging social capital is the process of linking social capital where the absence of close kinship bonds and relationships of influence requires compensatory and brokering efforts to enable access to alternative helpful relationships that can produce benefits. Edgar (1999), although focusing here only on positive social capital, states that "[s]ocial capital develops through connections among individuals and the social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them ... risk factors for young people decline as social capital investment is enhanced" (Edgar, 1999:3).

In their research, Boeck and Fleming (2011) also make the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital where individuals are bonded within a closed group and bridging occurs across or between these groups to create and broaden the scope of opportunities. They also identify two types of bonding social capital within their study, these being "dynamic" and "closed". "Closed bonding social capital" infers a protective and restrictive position for young people that provides support but also serves to constrain choice and close off opportunities. On the other hand, "dynamic bonding social capital" is more relaxed and flexible, providing more choice for young people as to how they spend their free time and, as a result, achieving better positioning for building bridging social capital (Boeck and Fleming, 2001). These researchers go so far as to say that this may be the exit strategy off a crime pathway as it "... allows young people to 'navigate' and ultimately have the resources to cope, manage and make informed choices and act upon them" (Boeck and Fleming, 2011).

Although his research was on young people aged below 18 years in the UK, Boeck (2011) focuses on improving young people's networking, life chances and participation in civil society to create or increase their social capital. He locates a young person's immediate ties within particular social contexts as they transition to adulthood and states that the networks and ties of family, friends and peers are important elements in the study of young people and social capital. Boeck (2011) suggests that enabling a young person to realise their full potential may eliminate the influences that foster criminality. This impression is echoed by other writers who note that having an accessible social resource can provide opportunities for education and employment that can help them to build and maximise their social capital (Edwards et al., 2003).

3.3.4 Social capital in motion and transition

Networking, according to social capital theorists, can occur on different levels with the resultant links and ties constructed being able to be drawn upon when needed (Billett, 2011). It is claimed that the purpose of networking is to foster and reproduce trust between individuals, and it is to the creation of trust building between young adults and case managers that we now turn. Billett (2011) uses the terms “getting on” and “getting ahead” in relation to social capital and a necessary add-on to this, when trying initially to access helping services and systems, is the process of “getting in”. Arguably, the case manager plays an instrumental facilitation role in enabling the young adult to access the relevant linking social capital opportunities by removing bureaucratic barriers to easy referral pathways. Barry (2006), in her research on youth offending in the transition to adulthood, focuses attention on the relationship between offending and social recognition, which she defines as “... the attainment of a durable and legitimate combination of capital accumulation and expenditure ...” (Barry, 2006:3).

It is this “durable and legitimate combination of capital” that the case manager is assisting the young adult to generate within the helping relationship. Little is said in the literature about the changing nature and levels of social capital during the transitional phase from childhood to adulthood. However, if the essence of social capital is conceptualised as residing in interpersonal relations and if social interaction is one of the primary components of social capital, then it should be acknowledged that these relationship groups do change over time as individuals negotiate and navigate the lifespan. This omission in the literature until relatively recently is due to the interpretation and application of social capital relating predominantly to adults (Morrow, 2001; Briggs, 1998; Billett, 2011). It is within this neglected area of focus that this study begins to embed young adult transitions within and relating to social capital processes, with particular reference to how increasing social capital can reduce risky behaviours for disadvantaged young adults (see Boeck, 2011; Barry, 2006). The application of Mahaffy’s (2003) definition of disadvantage and inequality in relation to social capital for young adults means “... that one group has different experiences from another group, fewer opportunities to achieve status, power, or material resources, and this access depends on the group’s location in the social hierarchy” (Mahaffy, 2003:3).

In this context, it is argued that young adults face not only structural inequalities, but also socially accepted inequalities (Mahaffy, 2003). For young adults, this may mean not being able to mobilise the tenets of linking social capital in a positive way that would enable them to extricate themselves from the unequal playing field in order to reduce the risks of further offending and, ultimately, prison. The potentially positive effect of assisting young adults

aged 18–25 years to build pro-social capital to reduce offending behaviour has, until now, been unexplored (Boeck, 2011). When working with disadvantaged and vulnerable young adults, particularly those bereft of close family ties, it becomes important to provide compensatory supports through services that can assist them to access resources that family connections, in other circumstances, would be likely to encourage. Social capital theorists refer to the "network transactions" that invest and withdraw resources (both virtual and actual) from these helping relationships. The balance created for young adults consequently develops their resilience, encourages their participation, reduces disconnection and prevents exclusion. Settersten and Ray (2010) highlight that for young adults who do not have close parental ties, other wider connections within the community, for example, with teachers, youth workers and sports mentors can prove to be valuable compensatory supports for young adults as they make their transition to adulthood. This also includes helping relationships through community organisations that play an important support and guidance role for socially and economically disadvantaged and vulnerable young adults (Trotter, 2006). Wyn and White (1997) also state that "... the meaning and experience of becoming adult is mediated by engagement with institutions such as schools, the family, the police and many others" (Wyn and White, 1997:3).

Benefits from these relationships can help young adults to build protection and avoid risks and problematic behaviours as they make their way towards adulthood. Writers also maintain that these types of external relationships are important for generating resources and creating opportunities through their broader social networks and for encouraging and enhancing social capital opportunities (Osgood et al., 2010). As Mulvey et al. (2004) state:

> Social capital (see Lin, 2001[a]; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000) can be thought of as the total value that an adolescent derives from his or her social network. People in an adolescent offender's life (e.g., friends, extended family members, parents, people in community groups, coworkers) all engage in some level of instrumental and emotional exchange with that individual that can promote (or prevent) positive development ... adolescents may become more involved in positive social relationships as they mature and their abilities to relate to others in a more positive manner emerge (Mulvey et al., 2004:226).

Significant evidence found in this evaluation indicates that the young adults become involved in positive relationships and are able to maximise the benefit of these relationships.

3.3.5 Linking social capital and its measurement

The notion of linking social capital which, according to theorists, transmits linkages and connections between people and provides services that can assist in building the capacity of individuals to participate with, and contribute to, their fellow citizens has become a useful articulation of the client and worker relationship. Szreter and Woolcock (2004) state that

“[l]inking social capital refers to ties and relationships with institutions and people who occupy a relative position of power, such as service providers and government agencies” (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004, cited in Barker and Thomson, 2014:132).

Linking social capital is differentiated from the other two forms of social capital as it is not always initiated by choice. This is exemplified in the YCLP where the young adults did not, of their own volition, choose to be referred to the program, but instead the magistrates recommended that they link in with the interventions. However, it was their choice as to whether or not they took that advice to participate in the program. The concept of linking social capital also implies a power differential in the relationship between the case manager and the young adult “... where the social worker is both a carer and an agent of social control” (Burman, 2004, cited in Barker et al., 2014:134).

Nonetheless, even though a power differential does exist, the case manager’s role as primary interactant with the young adult (and also, arguably, the semblance of mutuality, if not reciprocity) has the potential to create a relationship that can generate beneficial and necessary resources at a point in time when they are needed most by the young adult. In order to have a workable definition of ‘linking social capital’ as it relates to the young adults in this study, the dynamics and features of this one significant relationship in the young adults’ lives are isolated in order to focus the process of linking social capital as it relates to the YCLP as follows:

> Linking social capital is stimulated through the productive nature of the young adult and case manager relationship, in order to produce beneficial outcomes that encourage pro-social lifestyles.

This definition embodies the elements of “substance, sources and effects” of social capital that were able to be explored through the vehicle of the case management process within the program (Adler and Kwon, 2000). Semo and Karmel (2011) investigated social capital and youth transitions in the Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth (LSAY) 2003 cohort. Their study explored the relationship between social capital at age 15 years and the young people’s participation in education and training at age 17 years. Results showed that social capital played a clear role in determining participation in education and training, based on good relationships with teachers and participation in school-based activities, and concluded that participation and cooperation levels were more effective predictors than family background characteristics, such as parents’ education levels, geographical location, cultural background and academic achievement. This finding connects with the notion that

effective relationships outside, or in the absence, of close family ties can function to generate social capital for young adults.

One of the most recent and relevant studies to this evaluation that relates to social capital and young people has been carried out by researchers in the UK. Incorporating theories around risk and protective factors, the researchers investigate the relationship between social capital, turning points in the life course and pathways into and out of crime. Basing their study on the work of Layder (1993) who focused on the "... integration of empirical data at the level of individual action, immediate context and the wider social structure" and using a mixed-methods approach, the researchers highlighted that accessing and using a certain type of social capital can create pathways out of crime for young people (Kemshall, Boeck and Fleming, 2009). Billett (2011), who also carried out recent research on young people and social capital in Australia, states that:

> Social capital allows young people in their immediate present to 'get on' in life through networking, by finding ways to overcome the structural and economic challenges which the majority of young people in western society face. Social capital also allows young people to 'get ahead', by providing opportunities which the young person can use in order to gain advantages in their life (Billett, 2011:12-13).

She goes on to state that some writers believe that social capital is a valuable resource in young people's lives with the potential to "promote resilience, improve health, increase a sense of identity, promote family understanding, lower levels of delinquency, and increase the feeling of place within the community" (Billett, 2011:14). However, Billett guards against the notion that social capital is the "magic bullet" to address risky behaviour as this area remains largely under-researched, particularly as it relates to young people. Moreover, Billett (2011) states that the indicators constructed to measure social capital pertain to adults and that other more relevant indicators need to be constructed to measure social capital in the lives of young people. She attempts to redress this imbalance by constructing a range of indicators relevant to young people's lived experience. As found by other writers (Coleman, 1994; Putnam, 2007; Bassani, 2007), her study's findings support claims for the positive benefits of social capital for young people, in terms of acting as a support when needed and providing leverage for upward mobility; however, she notes that the nature of ties to achieve these benefits differs distinctly between young people and adults. Given that social capital is conceptualised and understood as the social process of a "resource to collective action" (Stone, 2001), it involves both the generation of a resource by and for the young adults using the case managers as the conduit to facilitate the resource building, and as an end-product that can be used by the young adults. Stone (2001) states that "[s]eparating the measure of social capital from its outcomes enables social capital to be positioned unambiguously within

any research design, and [to] be understood clearly in relation to its predictors and/or outcomes" (Stone, 2001).

The ABS (2004) provides a framework for measuring social capital based on broad consultation with government and non-government agencies and research institutions. It adopts the definition of social capital used by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) which describes it as "... networks, together with shared norms, values and understandings which facilitate cooperation within or among groups" (OECD, 2004:103).

Stone (2001) outlines the conundrum within the Australian public policy context that, on one hand, there appears to be a demand for an empirical understanding of the concept of social capital, but that empirical research in this area is not in lockstep with the theoretical understandings required to explain its existence and meaning. In addition, Stone (2001) states that the gap created between theory and research serves to confuse the meaning, measurement, outcomes and relevance of social capital. She is also dubious about the value that secondary analyses within research on social capital can add to its understanding, as much of the data have been collected for reasons other than for measuring social capital, stating that:

> The ad hoc mixture of measures, indicators and outcomes drawn upon in secondary analyses have no doubt contributed to the confusion which exists between social capital theory and measurement, despite providing some early indications of the usefulness of social capital as a concept (Stone, 2001:2).

Looking at data taken from secondary sources within the case management process may be perceived to be a limitation of the current study. However, this has been rationalised through the definition of social capital in the context of this study and the need to detect linking social capital through constructed indicators and how they connect with the attainment of the markers of adulthood. Moreover, researchers using indicators to measure social capital are likely to acknowledge that these indicators are neither definitive nor exhaustive and are to be used only as a foundation (ABS, 2004:20; Billett, 2011).

Unlike other studies that specifically focus on social capital indicators to investigate levels and stocks of social capital available to people, this study draws on the literature to initially scope what forms the basis for linking social capital for young adults as they transition from youth-hood to adulthood. However, very little is known in this area as a result of the social capital literature being dominated by studies from the perspective and experience of adults. While an emerging body of research is focused on young people and social capital, as

previously stated, there is still a paucity of available literature on young adults (Barry, 2006). After having reviewed the indicators on social capital, even those indicators in and of themselves are open to interpretation and ill-defined. Many of the indicators for both adults and young people had little potential for use in the assessment of their effect in the prevention of further offending by young adults. It became clear, through reviewing the literature, that in order to investigate whether an increase in (pro)-social capital could influence the prevention of reoffending by young adults, some tangible characteristics of social capital first had to be established. The idea of 'integration' into certain components of society that would produce opportunities to generate and produce social capital became an increasingly helpful way of conceptualising and addressing the problem. This required the establishment of the precursors to social capital and building a framework within which to investigate these precursors. Looking at the literature on integration by Ager and Strang (2004), it appeared helpful to create domains to reflect what was being investigated in the psycho-social assessments and then to identify a series of indicators within those assessments. The indicators were interpreted from available data on transitions and from a number of studies in the social capital literature.[30] Ager and Strang (2004) caution that "[a]ll indicators need to be interpreted with care, taking into consideration context and the relevance of potential comparisons (Ager and Strand, 2004:12).

3.4 Youth and community service interventions

Youth services in Australia are broadly founded to assist the social, emotional and cognitive development of young people in their successful negotiation of life circumstances through to adulthood. By having the barriers to their progress removed, they can learn and live within the social norms, values and expectations of Australian society. Referred to as youth-centred practice, this is viewed as a mechanism for improving the life chances of vulnerable young people as they move towards adulthood (Billett, 2011:41). Through the 1990s, the three tiers of government in Australia appeared to become better informed about the growing complexity, and what appeared to be the intractable nature, of youth problems and, in particular, youth crime. Their improved understanding of a broader social context and the importance of increasing social capital through strengthening community and family networks, reducing risk, fostering protective factors and building resilience and strength for young people as they transition to adulthood seemed to herald an opportunity for a more cohesive approach to service provision for young people.

[30] See Barry, 2006; Billett, 2011; Boeck, 2011.

However, from 2013, the advances made during this period slowly unravelled and, within the current political climate, are continuing to do so, at least at a national level where funding deficits for both research and direct service provision for young people have become a common feature. When funding has been released, it has typically been targeted at programs that are single issue-driven (e.g. mental health, employment) as if components of a young adult's life can be addressed in isolation of all other lived experience. This makes for a piecemeal local and national response to youth needs, creating the inability to build a concrete evidence base across sectors that could provide a convincing argument to government that youth development and transitions should take priority on their policy agendas. If the basic youth development needs of disadvantaged young people do not have a cohesive and audible voice to government, then focusing on the period of young adulthood slips even further down their priority list. As a result, in 2016, the presenting problems of low school retention, high youth unemployment, high levels of drug and alcohol use, unprecedented levels of homelessness and high crime rates are very apparent (Crime Statistics Agency [CSA], 2016). These social issues have placed an inordinate amount of pressure on community organisations attempting to compensate for the reactive practices of government where measures of social control are often implemented through coercive tactics (Cohen, 1980). This is exemplified in the recent restriction of welfare benefits paid directly to young people who are not in education or employment and in young adults being sent to prison or placed on community corrections orders (CCOs) even for low-level offences which often have, at their core, welfare-related stressors. It appears that social ills emanating from what are interpreted as young adults' 'intentional' lifestyle choices, for example, drug use, homelessness and claiming benefits, are a powerful mechanism to expedite government youth policy and legislation, as opposed to introducing structural improvements towards housing affordability and accessibility, employment opportunities, and greater investment in families and schools that would increase youth prospects and potential.

A recent attempt to address issues affecting the Australian youth constituency, aged between 12 and 24 years, was embedded in the National Strategy for Young Australians and the National Youth Policing Model. However, both documents have yet to be implemented, resulting in Australia, in a rapidly changing economic, cultural and political climate, lacking a coherent national youth policy to address the challenges faced by young people. At a national level in Australia, the impact of these changes for disadvantaged young adults, in particular, has yet to filter back to influence government policy and funding priorities which again means that not-for-profit (NFP) and community groups invariably respond to the pressing needs on the ground, often from a crisis-driven position. The other

two tiers of government, comprising the State and Territory governments and local government (i.e. councils), make clear distinctions between regional and metropolitan areas when it comes to funding youth-related programs and deliver a localised response of mainly early intervention and time-limited programs for young people, respectively. The Australian Youth Affairs Coalition (AYAC) has been Australia's national non-government youth affairs peak body for almost 30 years and represents young people aged 12–25 years and the sector that supports them. Under the Federal Liberal Government in 2014, the coalition lost government funding. In February 2015, the AYAC website ran an article challenging the findings of a report that was issued to remodel welfare payments to young people and highlighted that "[a]t present there is no formal mechanism for the government to engage with young people, since the government ceased funding to the Australian Youth Forum (AYF) and the Australian Youth Affairs Coalition" (AYAC, 2015).

In 2016, Australia still lacks a dedicated Minister for Youth, a national youth policy and an effective communication platform for youth issues between the three tiers of government. Commonly, Victorian State Government programs focus on the developmental needs of young people aged up to 17 years, with an emphasis on services underpinned by early intervention and protective approaches.[31] There is no ongoing commitment for the provision of government-funded services for young people over 18 years, unless they are involved in the criminal justice system or are linked into local councils' early intervention and recreational programs. It is often the case that not-for-profit (NFP) community organisations operating within the youth services sector provide services and programs to young people aged between 12 and 25 years who require more intensive support, for example, in the areas of out-of-home care, mental health, employment, housing, and alcohol and other drugs.

In the context of this evaluation, the term 'community justice intervention services' refers to the services provided mainly by the not-for-profit (NFP) sector, with a specific focus on the issues that pose risks for the criminality of young adults who present with manifold needs. Multiple factors influence and affect the transition to adulthood for young people: it should follow that contemporary service interventions and treatments would be tailored to address these needs. In many respects, the services system is sufficiently broad to respond but, without cohesion across the sector, it fails to effectively hit its intended target. The result is a complex and fragmented services system that young adults are expected to navigate.

[31] See State Government Victoria (DHHS), 2013: Youth Support Services up to 17 years and Adolescent Support Services 12–17 years).

Many youth services organisations in contemporary Australia still tend to be single issue-driven. For the most part, they are focused on specific elements of a young person's well-being, for example, mental health, minimisation of harmful substance use, finding and stabilising housing, linking to education, and providing training and employment pathways. The MacArthur Research Network (2005) states that services misalignment arises from conflicting service missions, varied funding sources and the age at which the young person can no longer access services. The network recommends:

> ... collaboration and coordination ... strengthen existing services and develop new ones to meet the special developmental needs of vulnerable youth at this stage of life, and better integrate services with those from more mainstream systems (MacArthur Research Network, 2005, cited in Berlin et al., 2010:17).

In the late 1990s, the Victorian and Federal governments commissioned a raft of reports researching youth 'at risk' (see Dwyer, Harwood and Tyler, 1998; Robinson, Chen and Killen, 1998; Ward et al., 1998; King, 1998, Stokes, 2000; Bradshaw (ed.), 2001; Brown, Di Nardo, Lehman and Campbell, 2001; James, St Leger and Ward, 2001). This research concluded that the current level of youth services was not well-coordinated, nor universally accessible, and contradictory objectives and short and uncertain funding lifespans meant that it was not able to adequately respond to young people at risk. The result was an uncoordinated service response to young people. As stated by Edwards (2003), "... rather than a single service encompassing multiple needs, different services chip away at different parts of the problem and don't join up to maximise their impact" (Edwards, 2003:7).

The Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth (LSAY) highlights the importance of stability factors, such as community resources and long-term nurtured networks for young people. However, it is acknowledged that such efforts are futile, in the absence of encouraging and trusting relationships to engage young people to take up the availability and opportunity of these resources. Wierenga (2009) uses the term "human bridges" to describe the facilitation of linking young people to these resources by youth, social and community workers, citing a number of known barriers such as service availability, entitlement, cost, referral process, confidentiality and stigma that young people would find difficult to overcome by themselves (AYAC, 2013:17). For a multitude of reasons, generic multi-agency youth services have long been challenged when it comes to working together in a cohesive way. Some of the primary barriers to effective interagency collaboration and partnership formation have been, and continue to be: competitive and inadequate funding; services operating within different disciplinary contexts and with different perceived priorities; the lack of widespread and meaningful youth services coordination underpinned by a clear youth policy; age cut-offs

that do not align between services, thus rendering young people ineligible for services they may need; inadequate training of staff in youth services on "young-adult developmental issues"; and varying demographic boundary restrictions (Danziger and Ratner, 2010:209). Consequently, in the State of Victoria, as in other jurisdictions in Australia and around the world, young adults frequently fall through the cracks between single issue-focused services, such as housing, drug and alcohol, or mental health services. Furthermore, services commonly focus on different levels of need, such as prevention, early intervention and tertiary services, which results in service restrictions that serve to exclude young adults who are often already socially excluded. This is problematic, given that social and youth services are often the last frontier of assistance for vulnerable and disadvantaged young adults to access opportunities that could improve their life transitions and their social capital.

Furthermore, it is well documented that the dramatic change in response from children's services to adult services, with vulnerable young people in their late teens and early 20s left to navigate the systems by themselves, often results in them falling through the cracks between services when they are most in need of them (Osgood et al., 2010:214). To the wider world, young people are perceived to be fully functioning adults and expected to fend for themselves at arbitrary cut-off points for adulthood, at 18 or 21 years of age, with the resultant effect that:

> ... young people age out of more supportive and inclusive systems designed for children to either no services or services with less support designed for adults. Many of these systems still function as if youth become independent adults overnight, and they are at odds with the longer period of semi-autonomy that characterizes young adulthood today (Berlin et al., 2010:15).

This fragmented service response compounds the already challenging experience for disadvantaged young adults who are trying to progress to adulthood and who are depending on service support to help them make healthy and useful choices for their futures. Some writers highlight the vulnerability of certain groups over others, particularly young adults involved in the statutory sector in youth justice or in out-of-home care, the homeless or those exiting prison, all of whom are considered to be at much higher risk in the transition to adulthood (see Berlin et al., 2010:9). The plight of young adults, particularly those with complex and multiple needs, in relation to inadequate service responses is increasingly well known, for instance, in the T2A Alliance's *Young Adult Manifesto* (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009b:3). Young adults with barriers, such as low educational attainment, no work experience, suffering mental ill-health or embroiled in heavy drug and alcohol use, have these barriers compounded by the inconsistencies between systems that have been established to help them with certain elements of their lives. Osgood et al. (2010) emphasise

the barriers posed by services themselves as young people undergo their transition towards adulthood:

> When they move across that arbitrary line and become adults, the systems that have been trying to meet their needs are no longer available ... And when they are eligible for new services, adult-focused agencies rarely offer programs that address their specific developmental needs and rarely offer specialized training for staff toward this end (Osgood et al., 2010:214).

This neglect in relation to giving attention to young adults' needs, which is not peculiar to Australia, has led some writers to describe the experience of young adults as being "lost in transition" (see Losel et al., 2012). As a consequence, young adults aged between 18 and 25 years, although classified in most sectors as 'youth', have rarely received the same level of consideration and investment in either research or programs designed to address their specific needs, and even less so within the criminal justice system in Australia.

3.4.1 Crime, law and justice interventions

In a recent US study, Pope et al. (2016) state that all interviewees, in acknowledging the 'too much, too late' approach to people involved in the criminal justice system,

> … stressed that the interventions for people with early criminal justice involvement and mental illness need to occur prior to incarceration to address their myriad needs. Rather than perpetuating a system that rewards late-stage intervention as opposed to prevention, and rather than providing high-quality interventions to people only once they become hard to serve, interviewees said that the system needs to make a fundamental shift to front-end, early interventions (Pope et al., 2016:10).

Crime is one of many expressions of deprivation, disadvantage and despair by young adults. In addition, for young adults who commit offences, a number of complex and multiple challenges need to be navigated as they make their way towards adulthood. Often these young adults have been excluded from school due to behavioural issues or have experienced disrupted living circumstances through repeatedly moving house throughout their childhood, creating a barrier to full engagement and participation in education. In addition, parents or carers may have been distracted by their own personal disadvantage and, consequently, have not been able or willing to encourage their children to commit to school and to learn the value of education for employment prospects in young adulthood. As a result, many young adults have found it difficult to secure stable, full-time and reliable work. The literature also points to many young adults within the criminal justice system who are suffering from mental ill-health, manifesting maladaptive or at-risk behaviours, or heavy alcohol or other substance use which, while not entrenched due to their young age, require much more intensive support than early intervention services are able to provide within their

framework of practice.[32] Being able to understand what prevents young adults from engaging in behaviours that lead to criminal activity precipitates an understanding of what protects them against it. Young adults are naturally influenced by the people around them when they are able to draw on secure and stable environments for protection and safety. However, the absence of positive role models, stable family environments, healthy friendship groups and respectful relationships can often result in antisocial behaviour leading to criminal activity (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). Crime is an intrinsic and serious societal issue that cannot be viewed in isolation from other major social, health, economic and cultural concerns. Often single issues such as homelessness or mental health tend to dominate the political agenda as isolated concerns; however, the evidence makes it abundantly clear that the many needs presented by disadvantaged young adults are interlinked and, in order to be addressed effectively, need to be treated as inseparable. The key factors associated with offending are clearly documented.[33] Many relate to poverty; poor education and employment prospects; poor, unaffordable and inaccessible housing and ubiquitous homelessness; excessive risk-taking behaviour; unhealthy and destructive habits such as heavy drug and alcohol use; normalcy of violence; high stress and distress levels within family and romantic relationships; dangerous driving; and high-risk sexual behaviour (Karamanli, 2011). Many of these matters, however, do not become relevant to a person's development and independent functioning until they have to take responsibility for managing them and, while children and younger people are not expected to do so, this is an expectation of young adults.

Where income is difficult to secure by legal means, within disadvantaged communities, young adults who are 'resourceful' can often turn to illegal activities to make a living and survive. For some, to a point, this is considered a valid income stream not only bolstering welfare income but also providing a social network, as indicated by the following quote:

> In neighbourhoods/communities with high levels of deprivation, illegal income sources such as drug dealing and selling stolen mobile telephones, often supplement or replace legitimate ones. One of the major reasons cited by young people who join gangs is that they see gangs as alternative reference groups, and see no life outside the gang. The gang provides social recognition and status which other areas of their lives, such as schooling, legitimate income, job status or relationships, do not (Karamanli, 2011:8).

[32] See T2A Alliance's *Young Adult Manifesto* [Helyar-Cardwell, 2009b:3]).

[33] See Sampson and Laub, 2000; Barry, 2006; Gluckman, 2011.

In this context, Felson (1994) argues that most crime is 'ordinary', occurring in everyday life activities, and, for that reason, it should be addressed within the person's local community context rather than in the overwhelming and expensive criminal justice system. Particular emphasis is placed on how crime reduction, through purely 'tough on crime' and 'law and order' strategies with the ultimate sanction being prison, is often counterproductive to the positive development opportunities necessary to enable young adults, in particular, to get their lives on track (Mulvey et al., 2004). Nowhere, it seems, is the inconsistent treatment of young adults more apparent than in criminal justice practice as practitioners continue to grapple with the tension between welfare and justice. In a similar form to other Westernised jurisdictions, the Australian criminal justice system slides back and forth across the justice (a risk)/welfare (at-risk) continuum. Richards (2011), however, notes that "... juvenile justice systems are, on the whole, more welfare-oriented than adult criminal justice systems (Edwards, 2010:5).

Many young people involved in criminal activity are never detected; many who have been arrested are diverted entirely from the system at the point of police apprehension; and many are cautioned and that warning is sufficient to deter them from committing further offences. For many other young people, they are propelled into the criminal justice system and face the disposals available to the courts from a sentencing menu. In some courts, this is supplemented by creative and innovative interventions that have worthwhile, minimal or no long-term effect on the young person or on their attitude towards risk-taking behaviour thus leading to recidivism. Continuing on this path, they face more serious sanctions that the courts have at their disposal to deal with persistent offenders which, ultimately for many, culminates in a prison sentence. Once a young person reaches the chronological age of 18 years, they are treated as adults within the criminal justice system and, consequently, face the less rehabilitative and more punitive sentencing disposals available to courts. Osgood et al. (2010) outline the dilemma in the US which is equally applicable within an Australian context, when young adults move from the juvenile system to the adult system "... which views children as dependent and malleable and takes rehabilitation as at least its nominal goal, to the adult system, where the explicit goal is punishment" (Osgood et al., 2010).

Dame Anne Owers, the inaugural Chair of the Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance, qualifies the dilemma faced by young people approaching adulthood, alluding to the inherent problem in trying to define a process of development and growth against an arbitrary cut-off point in a young person's life when she states that "[b]lowing out the candles on an 18th birthday cake does not magically transform anyone into a fully functioning and mature adult

– even without the life disadvantages many young people in criminal justice have experienced (Prior et al., 2011:2). Much of the literature differentiating the traits between juvenile offenders (defined as those below 18 years) from adults (those over 18 years) could, in the context of this evaluation, be equally applicable to young adults aged between 18 and 25 years. Issues such as impulsivity and inhibition control; ongoing changes in brain development; emerging mental health problems such as anxiety and depression; thrill seeking; and engaging in riskier and experimental behaviour with illicit substances and unsafe sex do not suddenly stop at the age of 18 years. Young adults, due to their chronological age, are also legally allowed to drink alcohol and drive a vehicle which, when combined with their experimental and inexperienced personalities, can and does create potentially catastrophic consequences.

In the UK, the Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance is a diverse coalition of 14 leading health, youth and criminal justice organisations that has been initiated and supported by the Barrow Cadbury Trust. The evaluation of the T2A Alliance's three pilot programs has started to build a body of evidence to strengthen the notion that young adults aged between 18 and 24 years require specific and tailored responses by criminal justice and community services to achieve a more coherent response to their "combined vulnerabilities" and treatment of their needs in relation to the prevention of reoffending. This is based on the claim that young adults have a unique set of developmental and transitional concerns that set them apart from children, younger youth and adults and that their transition to adulthood should be viewed as a distinct stage in life with a range of features that distinguish it from other aging processes along the lifespan. Furthermore, it is argued that this is a fundamental period for humans interacting with their social surroundings to lay the foundations that dictate the progress and success of their adult life which is played out in the choices they make; the relationships and friendships they create; the formulation, nurturing and protection of their own families; the education in which they engage; and the work that they do.

In New Zealand, in closer proximity to Australia, a slow shift appears to be occurring with an emphasis on the need to construct policy tailored to the specific needs of young adults. In 2009, the New Zealand Prime Minister John Key commissioned a report from his Chief Science Advisor, Sir Peter Gluckman, into the barriers and challenges faced by young people during adolescence. The composite report was released in May 2011 and provides a crystallised overview into the issues affecting young people in New Zealand as they make the transition from adolescence to adulthood. The content of the report has been compiled from international literature and research articles, indicating that the issues adversely

affecting young people are global and peculiar to the transition from adolescence to adulthood, and not culturally-specific to New Zealand, hence indicating shared concerns that might inspire scalable responses in similar jurisdictions elsewhere.

In the USA, a growing body of scholarly literature argues that prevailing interventions or 'first-generation' interventions have not achieved their goals because they are based on the faulty premise that serious mental illness has a causal relationship with people's involvement in the criminal justice system, and that mental health treatment would therefore resolve the issue. This approach fails to take into account evidence that untreated symptoms generally do not explain criminal justice involvement, nor does it square with evidence that connecting people to mental health treatment often fails to prevent further involvement (Pope et al., 2016). A growing approach taken by scholars and researchers is that effective 'second-generation' interventions cannot be limited to those with mental illness if the strongest predictors of recidivism (such as homelessness and criminal history) appear in people with and without mental illness. The second-generation interventions need to be guided by a person–place framework that accounts for individual factors including mental illness, addictions and trauma, and established risks for criminal behaviour including such traits as an antisocial personality, as well as all environmental factors such as social and environmental disadvantage. Research undertaken by the Vera Institute of Justice in the USA suggests that little analysis has been undertaken on designing interventions intersecting with the criminal justice system and behavioural health systems that both decrease recidivism and expand life opportunities for participants. In fact, little analysis has been undertaken within a recovery orientation framework. As this report states:

> Rather than perpetuating a system that rewards late-stage intervention as opposed to prevention, and rather than providing high-quality interventions to people only once they become hard to serve … the system needs to make a fundamental shift to front-end, early interventions … The driving idea is a simple one: to invest in people early on to avert or halt a trajectory with the criminal justice system ... treatment must be reconfigured to include not only therapeutic intervention, but also strategies to address people's material needs and the place-level factors that affect their lives and communities: homelessness, unemployment, high levels of violence, and other forms of social and economic disadvantage … (Pope et al., 2016:10).

This is consistent with the approach taken by the YCLP in which young adults received early intervention that addressed their practical issues such as a job, house, car and relationships to enable the therapeutic interventions to be maximised.

3.4.2 Crime and young adults in Victoria

Commonly across Westernised jurisdictions, young people up to the age of 18 years are dealt with under a separate system for juveniles or minors, with an emphasis on rehabilitation and education, where incarceration is, in principle, a sanction only to be used in extreme circumstances. The youth justice system is legislated to benefit children and young people's restorative and rehabilitative needs: at its foundation, the system takes a welfare approach. In Australia, all young people aged below 17 years are classified as children (Ericson and Vinson, 2010) and are protected by legislation in favour of their developmental needs, giving attention to their vulnerabilities and lack of maturity, in order to move them away from further involvement with the police and the criminal justice system. Young people aged 18 years and above, an arbitrary cut-off point used to indicate 'adulthood', are dealt with under the same legislation as adults, for example, in the Magistrates' Court of Victoria. The law consists of a menu of disposals that embed the assumption that the young person has matured into adulthood and is able to understand and take responsibility for the consequences of their behaviour. The principle of just deserts, the need to protect the public and ensure retribution for young people's offending behaviour are obvious in the high remand figures, stringent bail conditions and punitive sentencing disposals to which they are subjected. This delineation results in the contrasted treatment of young people as they move from the youth justice system into the adult system and, for many young people who 'graduate', they are ill-prepared for the impact.

Unique, however, to Victoria, is the 'dual track system' used in certain circumstances for 'vulnerable' young adults, aged between 18 and 21 years, to serve a custodial sentence in a youth detention facility rather than an adult prison. It has been stated that this provision is grounded in Victoria's "... explicit acceptance of the idea of therapeutic jurisprudence ..." (King, Bamford and Sarre, 2008). This decision is based on the magistrate's assessment of the young adult's vulnerability and maturity, the measure of which, aside from intuition and commonsense, is arbitrary and subjective. In other words, it is not applied equally to all vulnerable young adults who are facing prison and, as a result, many of those serving a prison sentence and most on a period of remand are still being held with much older and seasoned criminals. This can have detrimental consequences for many young adults, particularly those experiencing prison for the first time and perhaps trying to "brave it" to cope, thus appearing to be not as vulnerable as they really are (Devitt et al., 2009:3). Even if certain individuals are provided with relative protection under the dual track system, the Youth Parole Board has the power to transfer the individual to an adult prison in any case. Therefore, while the theory has merit and the process may be valid in court, whether, in its

operationalisation, the dual track system is offering refuge for vulnerable young prisoners, particularly in the current political climate, is questionable.

The response to crime and young adults in Victoria is also influenced by changing policies on law and order. The pendulum swings from justice and 'tough on crime' approaches, to alternatives to prison and welfare interventions. Not-for-profit (NFP) organisations are at the behest of these political shifts and electoral cycles and are urged to adapt their work accordingly. Currently trending in other similar jurisdictions is the move towards a greater understanding of the need to extend justice through rehabilitation for young people on the cusp of adulthood. The literature points to a greater understanding of young adult transitions, characterised as arduous and challenging, and accentuated sharply and profoundly for those involved in the criminal justice system (Owers, 2009). Pruin (2007) suggests that the criminal justice system in its dealings with young adults should exercise:

> ... an integrative approach (that) will better promote the development of an individual personal identity as well as the attainment of a degree of stability, which will in turn result in desistance from the sort of episodic criminal behaviour that is typical of young people (Pruin (2007) quoted in Losel et al., 2012:19).

In Australia, each state has a slightly different approach to how young people are dealt with when they are apprehended by the police for breaking the law. Depending on the seriousness of the offence, they may be reprimanded at any point of the justice system from warning to formal caution, to being charged and diverted, or to being charged and dealt with in court facing a variety of disposals available to the courts. The lag times between apprehension and sentencing are costly and time consuming, with the outcome involving any number of statutory and/or community interventions in an attempt to help the young person desist from further offending and involvement in the justice system.

In Australia, alternative community service solutions to bolster or complement statutory services, primarily the corrections system, have not been pursued for young adults with any real vigour. Furthermore, funding rounds targeting crime prevention and early intervention for young adults have been piecemeal. Whilst Australian States and Territories have had primary responsibility for criminal justice issues since the time of Federation and before, the Commonwealth has assumed greater involvement and responsibility for broader crime law enforcement initiatives in recent decades. Many such initiatives have been funded through the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department (AGD) under the *Proceeds of Crime Act 2002* (POCA). On the whole, funding is limited and the criteria change from year to year. Innovative programs that may have been constructed from this type of funding are short-lived due to funding constraints and the preference for new governments to support

innovation in the guise of pilot programs, rather than sustaining what may already be effective approaches for solving problems faced by young adults. External to the criminal justice system, programs have been constructed to respond to the growing levels of unemployment and issues such as housing, mental ill-health and substance abuse, which typically underpin criminal behaviour for young adults (Osgood et al., 2010). Although not specifically designed to do so, these programs, inadvertently, can address some but not all of the root causes of offending for young adults. Clearly, a more strategic and comprehensive response is necessary to create cohesion across service responses. The absence of research into programs that offer beneficial outcomes from interventions has also failed to provide the Magistrates' Court of Victoria with viable alternatives to the way that young adults are currently being processed at the point of pre-sentence. The literature suggests that if adequate and viable referral points were available and easily accessible for the courts, they would use them (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). This would significantly reduce the costs to the community by redirecting young adults out of the criminal justice system through encouraging the uptake of opportunities that could reduce the causes of offending behaviour.

The Sentencing Advisory Council (SAC) in Victoria is an independent statutory body that was created in 2004 for criminal justice advocacy, with the aim of bridging the gap between the courts, community and government by advising on and highlighting issues around sentencing. The SAC carries out research that provides statistical information to advise the Victorian Government Attorney-General on sentencing matters while educating the broader community on sentencing matters and processes (Sentencing Advisory Council (SAC), 2013). However, young people, once they turn 18, are classified with the broader adult population and the SAC tends to not hold specific information on them. The Victoria Police manage a data collection system called the Law Enforcement Assistance Program (LEAP) and, understandably, only police personnel can view this system due to strict confidentiality criteria. Each individual Magistrates' Court holds its own data; however, this is not integrated with the Children's Court, County Court or any other Magistrates' Court in Victoria. If a young person commits an offence in another state or territory, the information is not accessible in Victoria. Unlike New South Wales (NSW), Victoria still lacks a centralised repository for data collection on young adults involved in the criminal justice system: viewed and treated as adults, they are therefore absorbed into the adult crime statistics. This frustrates the quest to determine the levels of need which is necessary to underpin a compelling argument that young adults' circumstances should be uniquely managed, as they are both vulnerable within and disadvantaged by the contemporary criminal justice system. However, some

localised attempts are being made by visionary and resourceful magistrates and court personnel to redress the balance.

3.4.3 YCLP and therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ)

The magistrates in court are responsible for administering and dispensing law within local communities. They have control over people's lives within the court process and have the power to remove people's liberty when required, through the ultimate sanction of imprisonment. They are well positioned to enforce and reinforce acceptable behaviours and social norms and they are able to implement sanctions for unacceptable behaviours, in an attempt to deter antisocial and criminal activity, in order to protect and safeguard communities. Within the YCLP, magistrates have full power over the young adult's case and they can decide whether the young adult is suitable, or should be given the opportunity, to attend the program. From a magistrate's perspective, the youth services system, which comprises a range of not-for-profit (NFP) organisations, can often be viewed as a maze of apparently unnavigable services and programs that, due to short-term funding arrangements, appear to come and go. In this respect, the YCLP assists the magistrates to mobilise the tenets of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ), a legal theory that enables a concert of inter-disciplines to provide a comprehensive response to and enhancement of well-being for people involved with the law (Birgden, 2002). It has been said that the relative open-mindedness of the Magistrates' Courts in parts of Victoria, including the Sunshine Magistrates' Court, is due to the emergence of the values of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) and its capacity to provide a bio-psycho-social-cultural-philosophical-justice lens through which to address contemporary legal problems in the criminal justice system (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). The notion of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) was coined in 1987 by David B. Wexler, a Research Professor of Law and one of the leading scholars in that field. Wexler, along with another prominent thinker on the topic, Bill Winick, produced a seminal work on the concept that states that: "... therapeutic jurisprudence is a perspective that regards the law as a social force that produces behaviors and consequences" (Wexler and Winick, 1996:1).

The *Solution-Focused Judging Bench Book* compiled by Michael S. King (2009), a Professor in Law at Monash University, Melbourne, is based on the tenets of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) that promote participants having and being able to make choices, while supporting their internal commitment to change for the better. Therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) is expressed as "... the promotion of change in the context of a broad concept of rehabilitation, one that

is more than the absence of offending, but also the ability to live a constructive, happy and law-abiding life in the community" (King, 2009).

A report produced on the Tasmanian Court Mandated Diversion Program investigates the role of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) and highlights that "[t]he realisation is that recidivism, where caused by underlying physical, psychological, social or economic circumstances, is better and probably more economically dealt with by effective social intervention than by harsher sentences" (Moore, 2012:13-14).

Three of the operational components of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) that made the YCLP function well were: firstly, the deferral of sentencing to provide the opportunity to engage the young adults in the YCLP so they could demonstrate to the magistrates when they returned to court that they were able to participate and control elements of their lives that would assist in preventing further offending; secondly, the acknowledgement and confidence from the courts that the young adults could potentially be engaged in a diverse range of specialist services that could produce outcomes required by them and by the courts; and thirdly, the involvement of a range of multidisciplinary professionals, with the courts having the knowledge and confidence that, as a group of players, they could operate collaboratively in the best interests of the young adults by incorporating their specialities into the court process. While flexibility on the part of the magistrates is demonstrated through therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ), the ultimate sanction of authority and power is imprisonment which is instant in its effect of social control. However, in the experience of the YCLP evaluation, this sanction was not given lightly due to the courts' open-mindedness regarding how the magistrates saw their role as having a positive impact on the lives of young adults. The concept of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) was therefore essential in making the YCLP work from a court perspective. This application of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) is also visible through the introduction of the Court Integrated Services Program (CISP) in 2006 which is a comprehensive bail support model that responds to the needs of defendants aged 18 years and above and was established to provide support and services to reduce reoffending (Magistrates' Court of Victoria, 2010). This program has been able to demonstrate the value of this type of targeted provision in its cost savings within the criminal justice system and has estimated that, for every dollar spent on CISP, a saving of $1.70 has been made. In addition, it is able to boast a recidivism rate of 39.5% compared to that of a control group of 49.5% (Ericson and Vinson, 2010:12).

Another important strategy utilised by the magistrates to provide additional control while young adults are in the community rather than in prison is through the judicial monitoring

provision, where defendants can be called back to court to check on their compliance and progress. A review of CISP in the first two years of the pilot phase highlighted that: "... 77% of cases referred to CISP were subject to judicial monitoring. However, there was a decline in judicial monitoring, possibly because magistrates developed 'greater confidence' in CISP case management, or possibly to reduce workloads" (Ross, 2009).

However, the review also highlighted some shortcomings of CISP which centred on the paucity of external specialised residential programs providing services for drug and alcohol treatment, mental health services, and affordable and accessible housing stock (Ross, 2009). In relation to this, Ross (2009) notes that there is a lack of available data on young adults aged between 18 and 25 years who seek bail in Victoria and emphasised that there is a severe lack of targeted service provision for this age group that would ensure their "equitable treatment" for bail support. Ross (2009) states that "[t]he situation is one that requires that CISP's services be complemented by a strong community-based service with experience of the field and capable of bringing into play an additional network of community services and skills" (Ross, 2009:71).

3.4.4 Punishment and incarceration

While the ultimate sanction for a young adult is imprisonment, including incapacitation through remand or being sentenced to prison, more subtle daily sanctions could be used and reinforced by services in the community. Applying sanctions is understood to be the means by which a moral code or social norm is enforced, either positively in the form of rewards or negatively by means of punishment. Sanctions may also be formal, such as legal penalties, or informal, such as ostracism (Jary and Jary, 2000). The ABS (2004) states that:

> … the operation of social sanctions is an all-pervasive factor in social relations, and they are normally applied if the norms or values of the group or community are disobeyed or ignored. Negative sanctions are applied to those who act without regard to a set of generally agreed upon societal 'rules'. Positive sanctions may be applied to those who observe these rules, or exceed them (ABS, 2004:45).

According to writers Pretty and Ward (2001), the sanctions that accompany certain norms and rules are generally agreed upon and imposed, which implies that those who disregard the social norms and moral code of the group may expect to be reprimanded. The compliant group will tend to express disapproval of behaviours that are considered antisocial, or outside of the group norms, or to indicate the approval of behaviours that are viewed as desirable. It is said that sanctions generally place the interests of the collective above those of the individual (Pretty and Ward, 2001:101).

Prison is the ultimate sanction available to the courts and Mulvey et al. (2004) question its value as well as conjecturing what the alternatives might look like to get better outcomes for young people in the following statement:

> Do sanctions and interventions change the attitudes, social capital, and human capital of adolescents who receive them? If they do, is this change related to more positive functioning in different areas of life? Are there ways that the court can be using sanctions more effectively with certain types of adolescents to promote the desistance process? (Mulvey et al., 2004:230).

Mulvey et al. (2004) assert that these questions in relation to sanctions and interventions can be best answered through rigorous research with the ability to improve the work done and the type and level of resources allocated to young people in terms of desistance from criminal activity.

The ABS (2004) outlines that the use of social sanctioning plays a significant role in social relations and is applied when the generally agreed upon societal 'rules', norms of conduct, values and moral codes of a group or community have been ignored or disobeyed (ABS, 2004). Clearly the commission of offences and other forms of risky and antisocial behaviour carried out by young adults within communities falls within this definition. Positive sanctions, however, are also used to acknowledge and award conformity and compliance in the form of acceptance within groups and the broader community. Pretty and Ward (2001) state that the societal rules and norms of conduct are generally agreed upon (albeit tacitly) and that flouting these rules and norms usually comes with the expectation of reprimand. Given that the norms of conduct, values and societal rules are taught in a child's early years at home and in school, those who have faced fragmentation in both may be less likely to have had these behavioural expectations positively reinforced.

The magistrates in Sunshine and Werribee attempt to deal with each young adult who presents before them based on individual merit and circumstances surrounding the offence. This can lead to a diverse range of sentencing outcomes for young adults in which the welfare triggers of their offending behaviour often remain unaddressed. Conversely, there is no accurate way of determining the extent to which magistrates use remand for 'welfare' purposes although, anecdotally, it is known that this occurs. There would, however, be value in knowing its extent. In some instances, the offences for which young adults are remanded may not warrant a prison sentence. However, remand is perceived to provide the 'opportunity' for a young adult to sober up, and to provide a guarantee, if the young adult is homeless, that they will return to court on their next appearance, particularly if they have a history of program non-compliance. In one example, the Brosnan Centre is a facility

managed by the Jesuit Social Services (JSS) in Melbourne to provide prison post-release services to young adults. Keily (2010) states that the service is often asked whether a bail bed can be offered, implying that the young person will be remanded to prison on the grounds that they lack stable housing and are perhaps at risk of not showing up for court or complying with other bail conditions. She states that staff estimate that they receive up to 18 requests per month, which is not insignificant, and implies that remand is utilised for covert welfare reasons where containment and control appear to be "in the best interests of the young person" when, conversely, it could be argued that they are in the best interests of the courts. Ericson and Vinson (2010) argue that:

> It is broadly recognised by police, social workers, magistrates and others that remand is increasingly being used to accommodate Victorians with health and social problems associated with engagement in crime, including mental health problems, alcohol and drug addictions and homelessness (Ericson and Vinson, 2010:11).

However, while the magistrates may perceive this as being in the best interests of the court process and that it protects the young adult from the adversity of their circumstances, it can have devastating consequences upon release. Schonteich (2008) states that remand to custody can often result in loss of accommodation and employment and can have detrimental effects on the young adults' families, their intimate relationships and, in many cases, their young children. In addition, it has been argued that remandees are more likely to be found guilty compared to those who are granted bail, due to the impression they make in court and through not having had the opportunity to prove that they can comply with bail conditions (Brignell, 2002:19). One of the major challenges is a lack of alternative accommodation facilities, such as the bail hostels in the UK, to which young adults can be released. As a result, current 'tough on crime' policies in Victoria, and recent reports on overcrowding within the prison system have meant that bail or crisis accommodation needs to be sought as an alternative to makeshift prisons, such as the identification of redundant aged care facilities for overspill purposes (*The Age*, 4 January 2014). Although writing in relation to juvenile offenders, but equally applicable to many young adults, Cauffman et al. (2004), in an article that reviews how existing research informs the process of desistance from crime, state that:

> ... predictions of when juvenile offenders will desist from crime, and what mix of sanctions and interventions will hasten that process, are needed. Juvenile courts need to know which adolescents are good bets and what to reasonably expect from adolescents, families, and the service providers working with them (Cauffman et al., 2004:214).

Research shows that, in the case of prison (either through remand or sentence), the young adult's antisocial pathway is galvanised and the antisocial bonds that have been formed

continue to strengthen. Even more so, if at liberty, the young adults at least are able to make alternative choices relating to how and with whom they spend their time, as they are not in a captive environment that suspends their capacity to introduce pro-social behaviours that could realistically be tested by them (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996:19). Catalano and Hawkins (1996) outline the gaps in existing research, related to their findings, and echo the views of several other writers when they emphasise that more research is needed relating to offending patterns and the psycho-social causes and triggers that precipitate offending, for example, lack of employment, family history, rural living, the lack of helping services and illegal substance abuse, etc. However, to date, relatively little is known.

When a young adult is sent to prison either on remand or to serve a period of incarceration, the experience for them is instant punishment and deprivation of liberty. They are not informed that being sent to prison is for any other reason except possibly for the protection of the community and the 'benefits' (if any) of prison for them are certainly not articulated in court. In some circumstances, it is said that they are used as an example to deter others, but there is little evidence of this cause and effect for other young adults. There is still little evidence of what works or how to improve policy and practice towards effective preventative interventions concerning young adult crime, and the research that has been undertaken does not seem to be commensurate with the level of ongoing investment to expand the prison system as a strategy to respond to recidivism.[34] It is unclear whether this is due to the Victorian and Australian governments lacking accurate, current and convincing evidence on how to effectively reduce crime committed by young adults in order to prevent them from ending up in prison. What is clear, however, is the abundance of evidence indicating that prison is not only futile but, in fact, detrimental, particularly for low-level offences which have as their root causes welfare issues. Prison continues to be the preferred policy response at the Victorian and Australian government level as evidenced by the following fact:

> The cost of new prison infrastructure and expansion of prisons to accommodate an increasing prison population within Victoria is in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The 2013–2014 Victorian State Budget committed an extra $131.5 million on top of the $819 million prison funding announced last year to extending the prison system. Despite these budget commitments, it is predicted that Victoria's prison system will still fall 1,400 beds short of the required capacity by 2016 (Sentencing Advisory Council (SAC), cited by Youthlaw, 2013).

Prison statistics, as highlighted by Youthlaw (2013), indicate that of a Victorian prison population of 5,332 inmates, 13.2% were between the ages of 18 and 25 years (700 inmates) with a re-incarceration rate of 35%. The Victorian prison population has increased

[34] See Ravenhall Prison Project: EOI Briefing Mental Health Services, 2013.

by 44% since 2000 even though much of the evidence indicates that prison often fails to have a deterrent effect on prisoners and that it is often harmful on a number of levels, not only for the prisoner but also for their families on the outside. This is particularly the case if they are detained on very short sentences or remanded for short periods without receiving a prison sentence. A significant correlation has been found between key elements of disadvantage such as low-income families, incomplete schooling and offending behaviour (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). Conversely, there are significant benefits in keeping a young adult out of prison aside from the obvious cost savings made across the prison estate. As an alternative to being sent to prison, place-based intervention and treatment programs in the community that address the underlying causes of offending behaviour provide the opportunity to reduce social exclusion and isolation; repair and rebuild damaged relationships; help find stable housing and employment; and promote better outcomes in health through the provision of pathways out of drug use and abuse and early mental health intervention and treatment. While the ultimate sanction for a young adult is prison, including incapacitation through remand to prison, more subtle daily sanctions are available. These are used and reinforced by the criminal justice system and, to some extent, can also assist the case managers in the YCLP in the levels of compliance by the young adults in the program. Pretty and Ward (2001) state that when group norms and moral codes are ignored, consequences follow:

> Sanctions are enforced by a group or community to demonstrate disapproval of behaviours considered anti-social, or outside of group norms, or to demonstrate approval of behaviours viewed as desirable. Sanctions generally place the interests of the collective above those of the individual (Pretty and Ward, 2001:101).

As illustrated in the evidence, young adults are aware of the impact of these consequences and this may be one of the reasons enabling them to recognise, in the fullness of time, the negative aspects rather than the perceived gains from criminal activity. Furthermore, as they strengthen their relationships and become clearer about what and who is important to them, as well as forming significant romantic relationships, having children of their own and acquiring material goods, they add greater value to their lives, and thus the greater they find the risk of losing it all (Barry, 2006).

Statistics show that, globally, young adults are the cohort most over-represented in the prison population (Devitt et al., 2009). Research indicates that many young adults within prison also have a range of undetected or neglected mental ill-health and substance abuse problems. Many also have learning disabilities and behavioural issues that create problems in trying to adjust to the prison system (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). While many young adults

involved in the criminal justice system may have supportive adults in their lives, those who do not face greater risk of isolation and exclusion (Barry, 2006). In addition, young adults whose families have fallen apart, as a result of abuse and neglect, are even less likely to have close family ties as they move towards adulthood, having opted to leave their families behind or having been left behind. As a result, young adults may battle issues of low self-esteem, drug and alcohol addictions, early mental health problems such as depression and anxiety, and social isolation due to an inability to create and maintain healthy and respectful relationships (Schwartz, 2006). Those who are particularly vulnerable are the young adults who are not serious offenders, but who have started to take risks with their health and behaviour as a result of not taking control of their lives. Many young adults, not previously involved with the youth justice or corrections system, have little knowledge of the fact that they are now being treated as adults and find that they are facing penalties that have the purpose of punishment, in order to protect the public and themselves.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the review of the literature that has informed this evaluation. It included findings from the documents-related research and discussed the key terms and definitions in relation to this evaluation.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the chosen methodology for the evaluation and highlights how the findings and conclusions have been reached through the use of a valid design framework, reliable data collection methods and appropriate data analysis. Wall, Ferrazzi and Schryer's (1998) definition below was used as a broad guide in the evaluation of the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP), highlighting that:

> An evaluation is a purposeful, systematic, and careful collection and analysis of information used for the purpose of documenting the effectiveness and impact of programs, establishing accountability and identifying areas needing change and improvement (Wall et al., 1998:1).

As previously stated, the evaluation comprised two components: the first was the focus on the overall performance of the YCLP as a crime prevention program based on its rationale, theory and structure in meeting its original objectives; and the second was whether the program's impacts and effects on the young adults increased linking social capital in order to prevent incarceration. This evaluation utilised a mixed-methods approach, applying both quantitative and qualitative methods and, on this basis, was able to reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the program, highlighting what worked and what failed to work, which exposed both the intended and unintended consequences of the program.

4.2 Epistemology and ontology: justification for the paradigm and methodology

This evaluation study was concerned with the nature and construction of reality and truth as they related to the lives of young adults and is, therefore, underpinned by the epistemological position of social constructivism. According to Creswell and Miller (2000), constructivism, also known as the interpretive position, gained popularity between 1970 and 1987 when sensitivity to the 'place' and 'situation' of those within a field of naturalistic inquiry needed to be understood in terms of their context and perspectives on their own realities. The constructivist position acknowledges plurality and interpretive exploration and analyses and explains validity using:

> ... labels distinct from quantitative approaches, such as trustworthiness (i.e., credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability), and authenticity (i.e., fairness, enlarges personal constructions, leads to improved understanding of constructions of others, stimulates action, and empowers action) (Creswell and Miller, 2000:125-126).

Gergen (1994) distinguishes between two types of constructivist positions. The first position is psychological in nature, pertaining to how humans cognitively understand and interpret

their own worlds through the stimuli around them and consequently adapt their behaviour to the surrounding world. This interpretivist paradigm is located where:

> Human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them … The meaning of such things is derived from, and arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows … These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the thing he encounters (Blumer, 1969:2).

Social constructivism, therefore, concerns itself with what and how people learn as a result of their social interactions and relationships with other people. Epistemologically, constructivism asserts that reality is constructed by individuals through the interpretation and meaning they attach to the social world around them (Appleton and King, 2002; Young and Colin, 2004; Andrew, 2012) and that these fluid and ever-changing social events are read within a historical, social, cultural, economic, legal and political context (Bjarnason and Sigurdardottir, 2003:1). Charmaz (2006) states that "... those who take a constructivist approach aim to show the complexities of particular worlds, views, and actions" (Charmaz, 2006:132).

The second constructivist position is referred to as social constructionism: it concerns itself with the construction of meaning within social contexts and how we construct our own and others' identities and our own actions and the actions of those around us within given social contexts (Bjarnason and Sigurdardottir, 2003:4). Social constructionism has its origins in sociology and can be defined as the social interactions and relationships between people and the artifacts that are created as a result of those interactions (e.g. love, trust, belief, social capital). Constructivist methodology is, therefore, concerned with uncovering social processes and, specific to this evaluation, unveiling the integral social relationships and networks that form and influence the young adults' lived experience and the context of their lives (Crooks, 2001). This fits well with the current study's exploration of the relevance of social capital in enabling and strengthening networks and relationships to help advance the daily lives and futures of young adults. Moreover, it provides a theoretical perspective that assumes people create their social reality through individual and collective actions which is wholly consistent with the tenets of social capital theory.

The distinction between the interpretivist and the constructionist paradigms is subtle and, as a result, the terms 'social constructionism' and 'social constructivism' are often used interchangeably in the literature (Charmaz, 2006). I reference the work of Braun and Clarke (2006) and Charmaz (1994, 1995, 2000) as the primary influences on the constructivist position I have taken and also in relation to the preferred and most relevant qualitative

analytical method within this evaluation study, namely, the application of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis has been selected for its ability to deal with the intricacies of the social interactions that take place between the young adults and the case managers within this evaluation. Furthermore, it is the fundamental process required for dealing with large chunks of text in qualitative research (Charmaz, 2006) and is, therefore, appropriately optimised for analysing the rich data emanating from the interactions between the case managers and the young adults. A number of methodological approaches are driven by thematic analysis: one of interest that touches on this evaluation is grounded theory and its many variations. It has been argued that these variations exist on a "methodological spiral and reflect their epistemological underpinnings" (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006:2). Mills et al. (2006) state that "[c]onstructivist grounded theory is positioned at the latter end of this methodological spiral, actively repositioning the researcher as the author of a reconstruction of experience and meaning" (Mills et al., 2006:2).

The work of Charmaz (2006) draws on the constructivist version of grounded theory and her summary of this position is relevant for the current study and the application of thematic analysis; however, it should be noted that Charmaz takes thematic analysis one step beyond description to build a substantive theory in her grounded theory work. It is at this point that the methodology for this study diverges as this evaluation does not seek to construct a new theory. Instead, the methodology seeks to clearly describe what is going on in the lives of the young adults and, specifically, as they intersect with the criminal justice system and the YCLP, in order to enhance their social capital and, in turn, avoid incarceration. Charmaz states that the research process that she takes is fluid, interactive and open-ended and that the research problem informs the initial methodological decision making for the collection of data. She clearly acknowledges that researchers are part of what they study and are not separate from it: as a researcher, I concur with this position (Charmaz, 2006:178). A relativist ontological position, such as that taken by Charmaz (2006), is in contrast to the existence of an objective reality favoured by the more 'traditionalist grounded theorists'[35] and their claims that concepts "... such as rationality, truth, reality, right, good, or norms must be understood as relative to a specific conceptual scheme, theoretical framework, paradigm, form of life, society, or culture …" (Bernstein, 1983:8).

The stance taken within this evaluation study is congruent with that of Charmaz, whereby subjective interrelationships are used as the lens through which to deduce the thematic codes, memos and categories to crystallise the analyses. As occurs in daily life itself, from

[35] See Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Bernstein, 1983.

a constructionist perspective, this research recognises a “co-construction of meaning” between the research participants and the researcher (Hayes and Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997; Charmaz, 2006). Glaser (1978), one of the forefathers of traditional grounded theory, imagines the researcher as a “blank slate”, without predisposition, enabling them to be wholly sensitive to the emerging data (Glaser, 1978:3). However, other writers claim that this is simplistic, as a researcher’s interest in the topic, in part, will be motivated by that which is lurking within the data. The constructivist grounded theorist understands the process as the “unveiling” of a separate entity called data (Mills et al., 2006). Another significant divergence is the role that the literature plays in traditional grounded theory and other types of research methods, such as constructivist grounded theory and thematic analysis. The traditional position would guard against review of the literature relating to the study topic for fear of contamination, whereas other thematic analysis, including constructivist grounded theory, would suggest that engaging with the literature allows the researcher to add another ‘voice’ to the theoretical reconstruction of the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, cited in Mills et al., 2006:4-5). On this point, Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that our theoretical sensitivity is strengthened when we “... stimulate our thinking about properties or dimensions that we can then use to examine the data in front of us” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:45, cited in Mills et al., 2006:4-5).

While traditional grounded theorists guard against tarnishing the process with preconceived notions and theories, constructivist grounded theorists suggest that critiquing the literature relating to the substantive grounded theory adds depth and breadth to the data (Charmaz, 2006). Consistent with the latter approach, a comprehensive scrutiny of the literature was carried out in the current study to further conceptualise and inform the key components of the thematic analysis. It was also used as the vehicle with which to extrapolate ideas from the qualitative data in order to integrate them with, and also to inform, the quantitative data variables. Writers Braun and Clarke (2006) encourage the researcher to think about the content and prevalence of data present in the patterns and themes. They posit that there are no fixed rules, but rather that the researcher interprets and discerns through close and intimate engagement with the data and with those that hold most weight as a relevant theme. This judgment is not about the quantity of instances across the data, but their currency in relation to the line of inquiry and how it relates specifically to the research question. In addition, Braun and Clarke (2006) distinguish between themes that are semantic (explicit level) and latent (interpretative level) using a “blob of jelly” analogy to distinguish between the two analytic approaches as follows:

> If we imagine our data three-dimensionally as an uneven blob of jelly, the semantic approach would seek to describe the surface of the jelly, its form and meaning, while the latent approach would seek to identify the features that gave it that particular form and meaning. Thus for latent thematic analysis, the development of the themes themselves involves interpretative work, and the analysis that is produced is not just description, but is already theorised (Braun and Clarke, 2006:13).

In the current evaluation study, where meaning and experience were socially constructed, themes were identified and theorising was carried out at both an explicit and a latent interpretive level, intending to go beyond the written word to unveil the underlying meaning in the data and to relate it to the previous literature on the subject of social capital and young adulthood. Each individual theme required a detailed analysis to be carried out on its merits, with analysis also undertaken on how individual themes related to each other and how they related to the overall study and the primary research question, with these analyses strengthened through the process of triangulation (Braun and Clarke, 2006:22).

4.3 YCLP evaluation model, design and framework

This section outlines the evaluation design used to arrive at conclusions about the YCLP outcomes and the type of information that needed to be retrieved by the type of analysis to which this information was subjected. It is suggested that certain types of programs connect better with particular evaluation models due to the distinctive patterns of outcomes that each type of program is expected to achieve (Funnell and Lenne, 1990). Although there are many different types of evaluation designs, two types of program evaluations dominate the literature: formative and summative. Formative evaluations take place as programs are being implemented and enable modifications and improvements to be made to program elements as the program is delivered. Summative evaluations, on the other hand, are conducted when a program is well established or completed: this type can be further divided into impact and outcome evaluations. The current evaluation is guided by the latter type and, therefore, provides a summative outcomes-based evaluation of one program examining the changes over a specific period of time in a range of outcome areas. The combination of the summative outcomes-based evaluation provides a comprehensive immersion in the mechanisms and components that are responsible for constructing the necessary information relating to the young adults. It assumes more widely that a detailed and intimate view of the YCLP is required to understand its operation and accomplishments in order for judgments to be made about its efficacy (Australian Gov. website retrieved May 2014). Furthermore, an evaluation of this nature at best aims to provide an understanding of the complexity of the YCLP and a participant-oriented portrayal of the experiences of the young adults, case managers and others affected by, and affecting, the dynamics of the YCLP.

The characteristics of the summative impact/outcome evaluation can be further dissected into an illuminative/responsive approach from the case managers' perspectives. The evaluation also incorporates a professional review by asking the magistrates about their perceptions of the program benefits and shortcomings in order to enhance program appropriateness and efficacy.

4.4 Theory-driven evaluation

The theory-driven evaluation model, detailed in Chapter One, sets out the program inputs and outputs; program context; case management processes; how the program was delivered; who delivered it; the delivery content; the timelines; and the outcomes in relation to overall program performance and specific results for the young adults involved. This model was used as a framework within which to explore and investigate the program's efficacy in producing the benefits that it was claimed would be achieved at the time the YCLP was being designed. Chen (1990) states that understanding the theory underpinning a particular social intervention is essential for identifying the important program elements that should be used to focus an evaluation study. He states that two general questions, a 'why' question and a 'how' question, are posed by the conceptual framework. A number of writers agree that there are significant advantages in employing theory-driven approaches for evaluative work. For example, Rogers (2000) outlines the merits of the approach in the following statement:

> ... at their best, theory-driven evaluations can be analytically and empirically powerful and lead to better evaluation questions, better evaluation answers, and better programs ... [and they] ... can lead to better information about a program that is important for replication or for improvement, which is unlikely to be produced by other types of program evaluation (Rogers (2000) quoted in Coryn et al., 2011:203).

Chen (1990) states that theory-driven evaluation consists of five core principles: first, theory formulation; second, theory-guided question formulation; third, theory-guided evaluation design, planning and execution; fourth, theory-guided construct measurement; and fifth, causal description and causal explanation. Coryn et al. (2011) state that Chen's first four core principles can be viewed as evaluation processes, whereas the fifth core principle can be seen as an evaluation outcome (Coryn et al., 2011:204). This broad guide offered by Chen (1990, 2005) was used to construct the program evaluation model for the YCLP, in conjunction with guidance provided by the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department, as discussed in Chapter Three, to create a blended evaluation model best suited to examining the concepts within the study.

In constructing the theory-driven evaluation model, the first step was to identify the major program outcomes that needed to be examined. The second step, often considered to be the most important in an outcomes-based evaluation, was to outline the observable measures or indicators used to suggest that the outcomes were being achieved with the young adults. The program theory was formulated through a mix of existing theories of linking social capital, desistance from reoffending and youth transitions. It therefore provided a 'tailored theory-driven evaluation', justified by only being able to utilise certain aspects of each theory, as existing explanations and definitions held limited application to the lives of young adults. The evaluation questions (main and focal) were then constructed around the program theory. This enabled coding, based on meaning interpreted from sections of text taken from the various data sources, so everything could be related back to the evaluation questions. The data were coded using both fixed and open coding methods and the process constructs relevant to the program theory, such as case management process, court process, linking social capital process, desistance from offending process, distance travelled (progress made), were measured. Also measured were the outcome constructs, such as new stocks of linking social capital (beneficial services accessed), based on practical and tangible indicators or markers of adulthood and the length of time of the non-reoffending period. The contextual constructs, such as improvements in living circumstances and broader beneficial and productive network relationships, were also measured.

However, a number of complications can be involved in, and criticisms can be directed at, carrying out a theory-driven evaluation. The first concerns 'post hoc' theory formulation after the YCLP was implemented which may give rise to a conflict of interest or researcher bias in the process of theory evaluation. This is particularly the case when theory-based program evaluators are evaluating the program theory, often developed or partially developed by themselves, and are therefore doubtful of the overall merits of using this method, with this stated as "... doing it right is usually not feasible and failed or misrepresented attempts can be highly counterproductive" (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 2007:187, cited in Coryn et al., 2011:206).

Weiss (1997), however, asserts that theory-driven evaluation is both "plausible and cogent" and agrees that, while not without its challenges, having the evaluator and program developer as one and the same person is not such a conflict, stating that:

> ... across many cases, what is sometimes referred to as theory-driven evaluation are social scientists, rather than practicing evaluators, engaged in testing theoretical propositions and hypotheses derived from their own disciplinary traditions of inquiry as potential solutions to a particular social problem (Weiss, 1997:45).

The second criticism levelled against theory-driven evaluations is that they fail to provide sufficient information on whether goals or objectives have been achieved which would provide the necessary information for improving programs (Scriven, 1994). Chen (1994), however, counters this criticism by highlighting the equal importance of knowing how the process towards goals and objectives worked by stating that:

> ... if a black box evaluation shows a new drug to be capable of curing a disease without providing information on the underlying mechanisms of that cure, physicians will have difficulty prescribing the new drug because the conditions under which the drug will work and the likelihood of negative side effects will not be known (Chen, 1994:18).

However, this is a non-issue for this evaluation as the concurrent focus was precisely on the range of outcomes for the young adults on the program. A report issued by the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2010), also in defence of theory-driven evaluations, states that:

> Every evaluation that asserts that certain results flow from program activities is based on a model, whether implicit or explicit. With no underlying theory of how the program causes the observed results, the evaluator would be working in the dark and would not be able to credibly attribute these results to the program (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2010:1).

4.5 Mixed-methods approach: data sources, data collection, methods, measurements and instruments

As previously stated, this evaluation required a mixed-methods approach that was developed and aligned to the program theory-driven model, literature review and evaluation plan. The mixed-methods approach is particularly suited to evaluation research, thus making it appropriate for this study. It is described by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) as the “third methodological movement” emerging during the 1980s with the quantitative approach being the first movement and the qualitative approach being the second movement (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003:697). Mertens (2012) espouses the merits of a mixed-methods approach for social justice purposes, stating that:

> The intersection of mixed methods and social justice has implications for the role of the researcher ... The recognition that realities are constructed and shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, and racial/ethnic values indicates that power and privilege are important determinants of which reality will be privileged in a research context. Methodological inferences based on the underlying assumptions of the transformative paradigm reveal the potential strength of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. A qualitative dimension is needed to gather community perspectives at each stage of the research process, while a quantitative dimension provides the opportunity to demonstrate outcomes that have credibility for community members and scholars. Transformative mixed methodologies provide a mechanism for addressing the complexities of research in culturally complex settings that can provide a basis for social change (Mertens, 2012:587).

The mixed-methods approach has been said to have a number of benefits and strengths over using just one particular method, as it provides the researcher with the opportunity to acquire variation in data collection which, it is claimed, results in greater validity through being able to approach and answer the research question from a range of angles (Bulsara, 2014:4). It is argued that gaps in the inquiry process are reduced, due to being able to use a broader methodology that can provide the optimal level of information required. Largely, the process involves "[i]ntegrating quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in a single study or a program of enquiry" (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann and Hanson, 2003:1).

A number of benefits can be found in using the mixed-methods approach as it embeds permission to consider multiple paradigms and employ multiple methods, as opposed to adhering to those typically associated with only quantitative or qualitative research. Writers refer to the practical side of a mixed-methods approach, with this emphasised by Creswell (2006) as:

> ... individuals tend to solve problems using both numbers and words, they combine inductive and deductive thinking, and they (e.g., therapists) employ skills in observing people as well as recording behavior. It is natural, then, for individuals to employ mixed methods research as the preferred mode of understanding the world (Creswell, 2006:10).

The key to executing a mixed-methods approach is not simply in having a mix of methods, but in the process of mixing and blending within the process itself. Writers refer to three ways in which this can occur:

> ... merging or converging the two datasets by actually bringing them together, connecting the two datasets by having one build on the other, or embedding one dataset within the other so that one type of data provides a supportive role for the other dataset. ... In short, it is not enough to simply collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data; they need to be "mixed" in some way so that together they form a more complete picture of the problem than they do when standing alone (Creswell, 2006:7).

The two distinct types of mixed-methods design involve either a concurrent or a sequential approach. This study uses a concurrent mixed-methods design known as triangulation (a triangulative model) in which both quantitative and qualitative data were simultaneously collected with the findings converged and integrated during both the collection and analysis phases, in order to better understand the problem and answer the focal questions. It is said that triangulation is an "... attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint" (Cohen and Manion, 1994:19). The following section details the mixed methods used within this research.

4.6 Quantitative data

The quantitative data were collected through a range of methods and from various sources (as outlined below) and were entered into a data information system. This information included demographic and biographical data on the young adults as well as variables constructed from the qualitative data within the case notes, court reports and evaluation surveys. Some data content was constructed by the case managers while other content was provided by the young adults themselves, reporting on their progress at the end of the program. Therefore, the data were a mix of hard objective data and softer subjective data. An electronic case management recording and filing system was constructed through MS Excel at the commencement of the YCLP to hold qualitative data, such as case note records, that the three case managers used to capture the progress of the young adults on the program. In addition, a 'front-sheet' was constructed to extrapolate profile data on each of the young adults for quantitative statistical purposes, with this subsequently imported into SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) to enable it to be sufficiently categorised and analysed to answer the focal research questions (Creswell, 2006:6). The evaluation employed a quantitative framework through SPSS to foreground how each of the young adults (n=60) started out on the program based on the information available from the initial assessments. Progress and change indicators were constructed to demonstrate changes in the young adults as a result of their engagement in the community justice interventions, with their evaluations and case notes used to inform the construction of these indicators.

In total, 65 variables were constructed including current and post-program profiling which enabled a comparative analysis to be carried out for 'distance travelled', with this term meaning the observed social processes and experiences of the young adults that changed and adapted over time. Most of the data were descriptive and involved statistical tabulations so that both the quantitative and qualitative data could be presented in a concise format.

4.7 Qualitative data

Researchers have advised that if quantitative data are not going to prove fruitful or sufficient in answering the research question, then it is prudent to employ primary data collection. The following view reinforces this point: "... measurement is a crucial methodological concern in evaluation. If reliable data cannot be obtained from a secondary source, primary data collection becomes necessary" (Cook and Campbell, 1979:21; Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:21).

Qualitative research is described by Tellez (2011) as being able to make:

> ... sense of the social meanings we attach to phenomena by offering a form of inquiry for documenting and analyzing relationships, patterns of interaction, networks and critical events. It also allows the social scientist to recognize and document the particular symbols, histories, and temporal and spatial contexts that inform and inspire beliefs and practices, as well as the possibilities and evidence for change (Tellez, 2011:1).

In the current evaluation research, the qualitative data allowed process questions to be addressed and captured changes and developments over time in the often complex relationships involving the young adults, both their relationships externally with family, friends and others and internally with the case managers and other service providers. This information was used to foreground how the young adults and case managers developed insights and responses to actions, behaviour and attitudes relating to the causes of offending behaviour and the broader domains of need. The qualitative data were collected in two distinct, but complementary and, at times, overlapping stages, informing and being informed by one another.

The initial investigative stage involved gathering information, both through a search of the literature and also through collecting data within the case management engagement and assessment processes, to obtain a comprehensive insight into the current life circumstances of the young adults. This later constituted the secondary data that were analysed to expose emerging themes, patterns and concepts from the original theoretical considerations.

This evaluation research involved three sets of key informants with each set requiring specific methods of data collection to be able to elicit the specific information most relevant to address the research questions. These sets of informants were the young adults, the YCLP case managers and the magistrates. Meaningful secondary data sets from the police and courts were difficult to obtain and reliance predominantly on self-reports of offending behaviour from the young adults proved sufficient. The qualitative methods employed at the initial stage included a file review and a document and content analysis as outlined below. The file review involved reviewing the various documents and case notes for the sample of 60 young adults involved in the study. The data under review included information on the young adults' life histories; current circumstances; program participation; post-program evaluation; the case managers' analysis and interpretation of the young adults' needs; the planning approaches employed to address those needs; and third-party feedback records of the young adults' progress to inform the 'before and after' program analysis. The records also included demographic and biographical data, such as age, sex, ethnic origin, family and relationships; and technical data, such as when they commenced and exited the program and when they went to court; and also outlined their efforts to reach milestones, such as getting a job, securing stable accommodation, getting their driving test and a car,

having a steady romantic relationship and having children. The file review was an important process for gauging what documents were going to produce the most appropriate data to answer the research questions. In addition, it provided the opportunity to select the sample of the 60 young adults who had completed the program, including their 12-month follow-up interviews to check for reoffending. The review was helped by the fact that information on the young adults was stored in a password-protected centralised electronic system in a shared folder that was only accessible to authorised staff; therefore, data were relatively well organised and easy to retrieve.[36]

The second investigative stage involved primary data collection methods, informed by areas of interest and relevance that necessitated a more in-depth focus on the case managers and magistrates. The questionnaires administered to the magistrates and case managers contained open-ended and closed-ended questions to provide a rich source of qualitative data. Included were in-depth accounts of the impact and benefits of the community justice interventions, as a result of the beneficial core relationships between the young adults and the case managers, to highlight sources, processes and outcomes of linking social capital. 'Distance travelled' analysis within and between cases (initial/baseline, interim, final, follow-up) highlighted the 'before and after' program effects for the young adults. Follow-up telephone surveys indicated the progress of the young adults and provided a record of self-reported changes in behaviour and circumstances post-program.

In this evaluation, the qualitative data are presented as detailed descriptions through direct quotations and, in conjunction with the statistical quantitative data, provide a holistic presentation of the YCLP from four main perspectives: the young adults, the case managers, the magistrates and the researcher's interpretation of these three perspectives.

[36] Also noted as good practice by the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:67.

4.8 Treatment and classification of the data

In order to protect privacy and maintain confidentiality, all data were de-identified by deleting the young adults' names from the research database. When each young adult commenced the program and consented to participating in the research, they were assigned a personal identification code for this purpose that was used throughout the research process. The case managers' and magistrates' information was also de-identified so their privacy could be protected. In addition, the data were classified by distinguishing between quantitative (numerical observations) and qualitative (categorical observations) data. The data were further classified into subjective data which, in the case of the questionnaires to the case managers and magistrates, involved personal feelings, opinions, attitudes and perceptions and objective data which pertained to the young adult's participation and cooperation and were presented as facts without personal judgment within the reports to court (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:60).

4.9 Sampling procedure

To establish the sample from which to collect the data, a probability, rather than a non-probability, sampling technique was employed. More specifically, a form of random sampling, known as a systematic sampling technique, was used. The full sampling frame was 300 young adults who had engaged in the program and from the full frame, 60 young adults were selected for the evaluation study. Commonly known as an integer, the number three (3) was chosen which corresponded to the first sample subject, followed then by every fifth young adult in the full sample frame of 300 until a total of 60 had been achieved. In order for this to work, all units were randomly ordered and checked for duplicate or missing numbers in the sample. This method was chosen for its straightforward application and efficiency and, as it was a process that appeared to be more precise than simple random sampling, it offered the technique a greater degree of process and accuracy (Bellhouse, 2005). Some risks in employing the systematic random sampling technique were acknowledged and mitigated. It has been suggested that the selection process may coincide with a 'hidden periodic trait' within the group which might compromise the representativeness of the sample or the sampling procedure. Moreover, if not carried out properly, the sample may not have been representative of the population and may have yielded unreliable conclusions (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:22). All information prepared on the young adults was collected together in hard copy and electronic (soft) copy for the analysis phase.

The use of a randomised control trial (RCT) was considered which would comprise a similar group of young adults not referred by the magistrates to the program, but who had committed similar offences and shared similar demographic and biographical circumstances. This became prohibitive for the current evaluation due to ethical challenges relating to magistrates having to filter out those cases in the court setting, resulting in dilemmas connected with equity and parity for program participation. However, if the ethical complexities could be overcome, this approach has great potential for future research in determining whether young adults' ability to desist from reoffending is directly attributable to the program interventions alone, or whether other external factors are at play. This study therefore utilises a 'reflexive comparison group design' where the comparison group is simply the intervention group, post-participation in the program. While this type of design has been viewed as having weaknesses, particularly relating to its internal validity, it is nonetheless an evaluation design that is frequently used, due to its flexibility and practicality. Moreover, it is said that if sufficient control can be achieved over external factors, the design can produce valid evidence of its efficacy (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:46-47).

4.10 Data sources and collection tools

As previously outlined, data were collected and analysed from three primary data sources: the young adults, the case managers and the magistrates. The following five data collection tools were employed to provide the best opportunity for extracting the most relevant and appropriate data from these sources that would sufficiently answer the primary and focal research questions. These sources were

- the psycho-social assessments administered by the case managers on the young adults at the start of their program.
- the case management records created by the case managers (specifically recorded through MS Excel).
- all court correspondence including pre-sentence reports, and progress and update reports.
- the self-administered questionnaires issued during the research process to the three case managers; and
- the self-administered questionnaires issued to the eight magistrates.

These data collection tools are explained in the following section.

4.10.1 Psycho-social assessment as a data collection tool

The psycho-social assessment was the initial tool used to elicit a broad range of biographical information from the young adult and was, effectively, a detailed semi-structured interview schedule that contained open-ended questions which enabled the young adult to take control and talk freely (see Appendix One). A range of probing questions was embedded in the assessment, thus allowing an in-depth exploration of the young adult's experiences and their interpretation of these experiences which enabled the drawing out of sensitive information (Johnson, 2000). This provided the first opportunity to build rapport between the case manager and the young adult and, on the basis of the information collected, was used to diagnose the issues that needed to be addressed. It was a resource in the case management process that case managers drew upon to frame future counselling sessions leading to action and activity. Onyx and Bullen (2001) note that face-to-face contact is perhaps the most satisfying form of social contact, recognising its particular importance in the fostering of social capital between people. They state that while electronic networks are important in maintaining connections, people need "real, human, personal interaction for social capital to develop" (Onyx and Bullen, 2001, cited in Billett 2011:67).

The psycho-social assessment was the entry point to the YCLP and involved the initial engagement and issue identification phase. At this point, the young adult was provided with clear boundaries, and an opportunity to think about their options, to discuss them openly and candidly, and then to reach their decisions about how they intended to change. The young adults also provided consent for the case managers to share this information with other professionals, allowing the exchange of information between referral services and ensuring open lines of communication during the case management process, so they did not have to repeat their story each time they engaged with a new practitioner. The psycho-social information was built upon within the case records to construct a full and ongoing overview of the young adults' lives. The tool was constructed in a way that helped to unravel the cause and effect of the criminogenic problem. In addition, it assisted in providing information about where to secure and deploy resources from the co-located youth services model at the Visy Cares Hub and highlighted the other external services with which the young adults needed to engage. Most of the young adults faced a range of disadvantages that had manifested in complex and interconnecting needs that no single service could address, but that needed to be coordinated to ensure that concomitant attention was given to each young adult by a range of services. As certain issues are already known to compound current disadvantages for young adults, these were explored chronologically in the psycho-social assessment as follows:

Profile and demographic information collected information across a range of areas such as age, gender, ethnic origin, postcode, welfare and health status, visa and citizenship.

Family history and current personal relationships explored past and present circumstances relating to family (fixed and formed).

Housing circumstances established the young adult's current accommodation status and needs (dependent and independent).

Criminal activity highlighted prior involvement with the criminal justice system along with the types and circumstances of previous offences. It also allowed the case manager to explore the current criminal matter and to elicit the parameters of the offending incident which, in turn, provided both information on the causes of the offence and a preliminary scope for intervention.

Education (attended and attained) revealed the young adult's educational history and whether and why this had been disrupted.

Employment looked at previous employment, current opportunities and career aspirations.

Alcohol and other drugs (AOD) asked the young adult about previous and current use of alcohol and other substances, including prescribed drug use and probed into whether this was proving problematic for them.

Physical health provided information on historical and current physical and sexual health concerns, including disabilities that the young adult might have.

Mental health provided information on diagnosed, undiagnosed and self-perceptions and concerns regarding the young adult's mental health needs, including questions on self-harm and suicide.

Recreation (destructive and risky or constructive) indicated activities that the young adult was willingly participating in that may or may not be pro-social or beneficial for their well-being.

Involvement with other services (statutory and voluntary) indicated other services that had been and/or were currently involved in the lives of the young adult and provided an understanding of what was or was not currently working and what needed to be added to meet their comprehensive needs.

These domains reflected the baseline efforts made by the young adults to achieve the markers of adulthood as outlined in the literature, where relationships were instrumental in

promoting linking social capital. The rich material in the psycho-social assessments provided the starting point or 'pole position' for each of the young adults. This was then built upon in subsequent counselling sessions between the young adult and the case manager to obtain a full understanding of the causes of their offending behaviour and how they needed to be addressed. This also meant that the categories could be constructed on the elements required to assess and analyse their progress towards the markers of adulthood, their social contexts and lived experience, while also providing the opportunity to reject variables or indicators used in previous research that had little or no relevance to the young adult's biographical experience.

The psycho-social assessments took considerable time (each one taking between 45 and 90 minutes) and provided a full picture of the young adult and also provided an opportunity to build rapport and trust between the young adult and the case manager at the program outset. For this reason, the psycho-social assessment was viewed as an introduction to a short intensive journey between the young adult and the case manager and was used to unravel and address the issues that emerged. However, on a few occasions, very little information was collected at this point of the process as the young adult did not feel comfortable discussing sensitive personal information: on these occasions, the case manager documented that the young adult did not fully trust the process or did not understand what was being asked of them (Haigh, 2007). The psycho-social tool was not specifically designed to measure the risk of further offending; however, the case managers were sufficiently skilled and experienced in this work and were able to make a risk assessment based on the available information. The case managers also had the understanding that, within this initial contact, probing for information should not be forced and that when accepted in the YCLP, the young adult would have more time to build sufficient trust to be able to expand on the details. For this reason, the assessment process was guided by the young adult at the pace with which they felt comfortable. The final evaluation interview at the end of the program provided information for the final court reports for sentencing, together with the 'after' component of the 'distance travelled' analysis.

4.10.2 Case management records

The case managers had been trained to pay careful attention to recording highly sensitive information so it would be accurate, factual, clear and consistent, ensuring that all young adults' experience of the case management process was equitable and maximising their opportunity to provide a rounded and balanced self-portrayal. Records and reports were held in both electronic (soft) copy and hard copy, guided by a case management policy that had been constructed at the point of program implementation. The information contained in these documents related to observations, conversations, assessments, interviews, interventions, reviews and incidents in relation to the young adults that were recorded over a period of up to six months by the case managers. Also documented were interactions and conversations between the case managers and other practitioners and stakeholders, such as court staff, magistrates, legal representatives, frontline staff of community justice service providers and organisational managers, as well as with the young adult's family members, when appropriate.

4.10.3 Court correspondence

The documents prepared by the case managers for the purpose of updating the courts on the young adult's progress in the YCLP proved a helpful source of information at the analysis stage. These included the progress and update reports submitted to the courts throughout the young adult's participation in the program, typically for judicial monitoring purposes; the letters of acceptance into the program from the case managers to the magistrates, outlining the preliminary areas of need; and the pre-sentence (final) reports to the court on the young adults, outlining, while in the YCLP, their cooperation and progress (or otherwise, citing reasons for a lack thereof).

4.10.4 Self-administered questionnaire to the case managers

A self-administered questionnaire was issued to the three youth access and justice workers who were the case managers for the young adults on the program (see Appendix Two). The questionnaire comprised both open-ended and closed-ended questions and addressed a range of topics relating to their professional practice; style of engagement, interaction and interventions with the young adults; features and processes of the YCLP; and broader definitional and opinion-related questions in relation to the young adults and social capital. In addition, the information generated by the case managers that formed and informed the case management records, including all court reports, case notes and program evaluations, were thematically analysed.

4.10.5 Self-administered questionnaire to the magistrates

A self-administered questionnaire containing both open-ended and closed-ended questions (see Appendix Three) was issued to eight magistrates with six completed and returned in handwritten format.

4.11 Ethics

In order to reduce the potential for researcher bias, this evaluation study was guided by the Australasian Evaluation Society's *Guidelines for the Ethical Conduct of Evaluations*, through the following six principles:

- Adopting an inclusive, responsive, collaborative and flexible approach.
- Respecting the rights, privacy and sensitivity of those affected by or taking part in the evaluation.
- Respecting the confidentiality of participants in all documents and reports, unless participants agreed otherwise.
- Using open, ethical and transparent methods, with the consent of all participants.
- Encouraging participants to see the evaluation as a learning process and to critically and openly reflect on their experiences.
- Feeding back learnings and results from the evaluation to participants for validation, shared understanding and information (Lennie, 2007:9-10).

The potential for researcher bias needed to be overcome at the outset and would need to be considered in any future similar research. In particular, this related to the same person designing and managing, and then evaluating the YCLP on its performance and efficacy. The potential for any conflict that would raise issues relating to objectivity with, and detachment from, the data, as a result of this dual role, was addressed by reducing researcher conflict, gaining the appropriate consent, acknowledging and managing inequality, and providing for replicability, as explained in the following section:

Reducing researcher conflict: Initially, this evaluation was to be conducted as an action research study where the researcher would interview the young adults directly. The Human Research Ethics Committee at Victoria University advised that the potential conflict in relation to data manipulation and bias was too great. The committee noted the risk to objectivity in the research process, particularly when it involved the supervision of the case managers, which may have influenced the decisions made about the young adults. On this basis, the research design was modified to be executed as an evaluation looking at retrospective information rather than current activity. This modification would significantly reduce subjectivity and would afford the impartiality required to be an 'outsider' looking into the program processes and the work that had already been carried out by the case managers and the response by the magistrates, with the researcher an objective observer

and analyst. This had implications for the research design, in which the original intention was to analyse the primary data that had been collected directly from the young adults in the semi-structured/open-ended interviews, with this changed to analysing secondary data in documents and records on the young adults collected by the case managers. These data were supplemented through primary data collected from the case managers and the magistrates in self-administered questionnaires.

In addition, it was suggested that there was potential for researcher bias when analysing the data, as objectivity was required and, if the same person had the dual responsibility for managing and evaluating a program, the ability to be detached from the data would be compromised. One writer used the term “policing themselves” during the evaluation process, indicating that it would impact upon the data if the roles were not compartmentalised, carefully monitored and reflected upon (Denscombe, 2007:301). It was therefore intentional that the data relating to the young adults were collected and constructed by the case managers alone and not directly by the manager/researcher as part of an ethnographic research study. This ethical dilemma was subjected to thorough scrutiny and a protracted approval process by the Human Research Ethics Committee when at the point of seeking ethics approval for the research study. This dilemma also influenced the management of the YCLP going forward as the case managers controlled and managed the young adult cases within the program framework and case management process that had been constructed at the initial stages of designing the program. The case managers received regular supervision and advice relating to their work with the young adults from an external supervisor, who was employed specifically to ensure objectivity, and also through secondary case consultation with specialist service representatives. As a result, the roles of manager/researcher were compartmentalised into largely administrative functions.

Gaining the appropriate consent: Prior to their involvement in the YCLP, the young adults were given a letter outlining the purpose of the research and were asked whether they were willing to participate in the study. Participation in the research was voluntary and, while no inducements were offered, they were provided with a consent form containing information regarding their voluntary participation in the evaluation; an outline of how their data would be treated; their freedom to decline; and their right to see the final published report once it had been completed. Each participant was allocated an identification code to protect their identity and all information was de-identified for the purposes of the evaluation. The rights of the young adults to privacy, dignity and non-exploitation were therefore upheld.

Acknowledging and managing inequality: Consistent with the definition of linking social capital where relationships are characterised by power differentials, this was a point that also had to be considered in the collection and analysis of the data. These power differentials included differences in age, professional versus non-professional status, referral by judicial tribunal and possible belief that participation may please the YCLP case managers who may be perceived as having a special relationship with the magistrates, police and other community services. The researcher was mindful of these conditions when evaluating the data. Also acknowledged were the vulnerability of the young adult participants; their potential levels of anxiety and trepidation about the court process and the punitive consequences of their behaviour; the highly sensitive nature of the personal information collected; the highest level of attention paid to the confidentiality and security of data; and the need to minimise unnecessary intrusion by the research process on the young adults. These issues were mitigated by working within a respectful, mutually acceptable and transparent ethical framework. Moreover, as with other evaluations of this nature, when designing the research, care was taken to ensure that it was ethical and non-exploitative and did not further stigmatise or label the young adults involved.

Providing for replicability: The collection, analysis and presentation of evaluation information and data should be done in such a way that other researchers, conducting the same evaluation and using the same basic assumptions, would reach similar conclusions (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001). Great care was taken to ensure complete transparency in the evaluation process so it could be replicated.

4.12 Mixed methods in data analysis

Agar (1996) declares that researchers need to be able to explain and present their propositions and theories in a transparent and sensible way so they can be understood and believed. He states that: "... we need a way to argue what we know based on the process by which we came to know it" (Agar, 1996:13).

In order to do this, a mixed-methods approach was also employed in the analysis stage of the evaluation. It has been said that mixed methods can be very labour intensive particularly when there is a vast amount of data. However, despite a mixed-methods approach having a number of drawbacks, it was the preferred analytical approach for this evaluation study as it provided greater breadth of perspective and dimension around certain issues and topics, helping to define and unravel nebulous concepts: if only one approach had been taken, this would have been limited, with the risk of ending up with a one-dimensional analysis.

The mixed methods utilised in this study are outlined in the following sections.

4.12.1 Quantitative data analysis

The data on the 60 young adults were extrapolated into 65 variables which were input into the SPSS software so the 'distance travelled' could be analysed.

Table 4.1: Variables (65) for analysis

PROFILE	OFFENDING	HEALTH/AOD	OCCUPATION/ FINANCES	RELATIONSHIPS/ HOUSING
Young adult ID	Offend while on YCLP	AOD improvement	Prior employment/ income	Has dependants
Age at referral	Offend after YCLP	Physical health	Material aid as can't make ends meet	Family relationships after YCLP
Ethnic origin/identity	Other offences outstanding	Registered disability	Post-income/ employment	Romantic partner
Australian citizen	Motives/reasons for offending	Cares for dependant	Employment change	Parental unit
ID assistance required	Outstanding warrants	Smokes tobacco	Driving licence (prior to YCLP)	Parents' employment
Driving licence (post-YCLP)	Prison/remand	Emotional health	Engaged in education after YCLP	Family relationships
Completed YCLP	Current offence type (most serious)	Health Care Card	Previous number of secondary schools	Ex-DHHS out-of-home care
Sex/gender	Domestic violence	Mental health risk/ injury	Preferred career	Previous housing
Postcode/ municipality	Court outcome/ disposal	Alcohol use	Pre-service involvement	Current housing
Psycho-social assessment	Fines and other debt	Drug and substance use	Frequency of appointments	Time at current housing
Highest previous court disposal	Previous convictions	Suicide risk	Total services engaged with on YCLP	Friends/peers
Hobbies/pastimes	Family in prison	Help with mental health on YCLP	Education level and qualifications	End circumstances according to client
Emergency contact	Fines resolution	Gambling		
Final report completed	Assessment made in police cells			

The 65 variables were input into SPSS to track the young adult's participation and progress while on the YCLP. It was a time-consuming process to construct the variables, as information had to be extrapolated from the initial psycho-social assessment in order to provide the young adult's baseline position, in the broad domains of health, offending,

housing, employment and relationships. The young adult's 'progress categories' were built from the case notes, final court reports and the evaluation surveys at the young adult's completion of the YCLP to determine where they had ended up.

4.12.2 Qualitative thematic analysis

The qualitative research in this evaluation involved analysing textual material on the program from a range of sources, collected and shaped by the case managers. Commonly known as extant texts, this material is material which:

> ... the researcher had no hand in shaping. Researchers treat extant texts as data to address their research questions although these texts were produced for other-often very different purposes. Archival data such as letters from a historical figure or era are a major source of extant texts. We may use elicited and extant texts as either primary or supplementary sources of data (Charmaz, 2006:35).

As the case managers and not the researcher had shaped the text and content relating to the young adults, this helped to safeguard against data manipulation, thereby further reducing potential researcher conflict and tension. However, one of the limitations was that these texts were not entirely objective facts, but rather subjective interpretations of what the young adults understood to be true according to the case manager. These texts were also embedded within the social, economic, cultural, political and situational context in which the YCLP and the young adults existed (Prior, 2003). Despite this limitation, the content nonetheless revealed a comprehensive overview of the relational dynamics and processes between different players participating in the program.

After initially intending to use NVivo software to store and organise the rich data, it was felt that, given the information had already been collected and recorded in MS Excel, this software was sufficient as a repository to hold and organise the information. All data were of interest as they pertained to the lives of the young adult, how they articulated their issues, how the case manager interpreted those issues and how agreement was reached between the young adult and the case manager on how the young adult would need to act upon those issues. As the data were being analysed in preparation for their export to SPSS, particular attention was paid to the activities and social processes occurring throughout the data. This was optimised by using gerunds (action words ending in 'ing') (Glaser, 1998; Charmaz, 2006) as they kept the data dynamic and foregrounded the key relationship between the case managers and the young adults as vehicles for change. This enabled a greater depth of engagement in the rich data while, at the same time, being cautious to not be over-zealous in order to remain true to the interpretation of the data and to ensure that the themes where not coloured by the researcher's notions of how the interpreted data should evolve. This

required methodical and continual re-engagement with the original data to ensure analytic integrity.

When using a mixed-methods approach, thematic analysis is one of the most favoured and appropriate techniques for the qualitative component, enabling the researcher to engage with, and immerse themselves in, the data in order to identify recurrent patterns and themes (Gleeson, 2003:2). The technique is less often explicitly referred to as 'thematic analysis'; however, it is a common method within qualitative research. Braun and Clarke (2006) maintain that thematic analysis should be considered as a method in its own right, rather than as a technique that presides in or is subsumed by other methods, for example, the grounded theory method (Braun and Clarke, 2006:4).

In order to start the thematic analysis process, the data were read and re-read to create basic codes, during which patterns and themes emerged through key words and phrases that helped to frame the analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:8). It is said that a theme encapsulates something significant in the data, with Braun and Clarke (2006) adding that "[a] theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun and Clarke, 2006:82).

The themes were essentially constructs that were deduced or emerged from the data, where clusters of codes were similar or compatible in meaning. Charmaz (2006) poses a range of helpful questions for the researcher to consider during textual analysis that proved useful for this evaluation and assisted in mitigating any potential problems that might have arisen during the analysis stage (see Figure 4.3).

What are the parameters of the information?
On what and whose facts does this information rest?
What does the information mean to various participants or actors in the scene?
What does the information leave out?
Who has access to the facts, records or sources of the information?
Who is the intended audience for the information?
Who benefits from shaping and or interpreting this information in a particular way?
How, if at all, does the information affect actions?
How was the text produced? By whom?
What is the ostensible purpose of the text?
Might the text serve other unstated or assumed purposes? Which ones?
How does the text represent what its author(s) assumed to exist?
Which meanings are embedded within it?
How do those meanings reflect a particular social, historical and perhaps organisational context?
What is the structure of the text?
How does its structure shape what is said?
Which categories can you discern in its structure?
What can you glean from these categories?
Do the categories change in sequential texts over time? How so?

Figure 4.1: Questions used to guide the thematic analysis

Note: Questions suggested by Charmaz (2006) that were used to guide the thematic analysis process (Charmaz, 2006:38-39). Being cognisant of these questions enabled the commonly used techniques in thematic analysis to be achieved. Figure 4.3 shows how this process commenced manually and then led to clustering these codes to produce more meaningful categories and then themes.

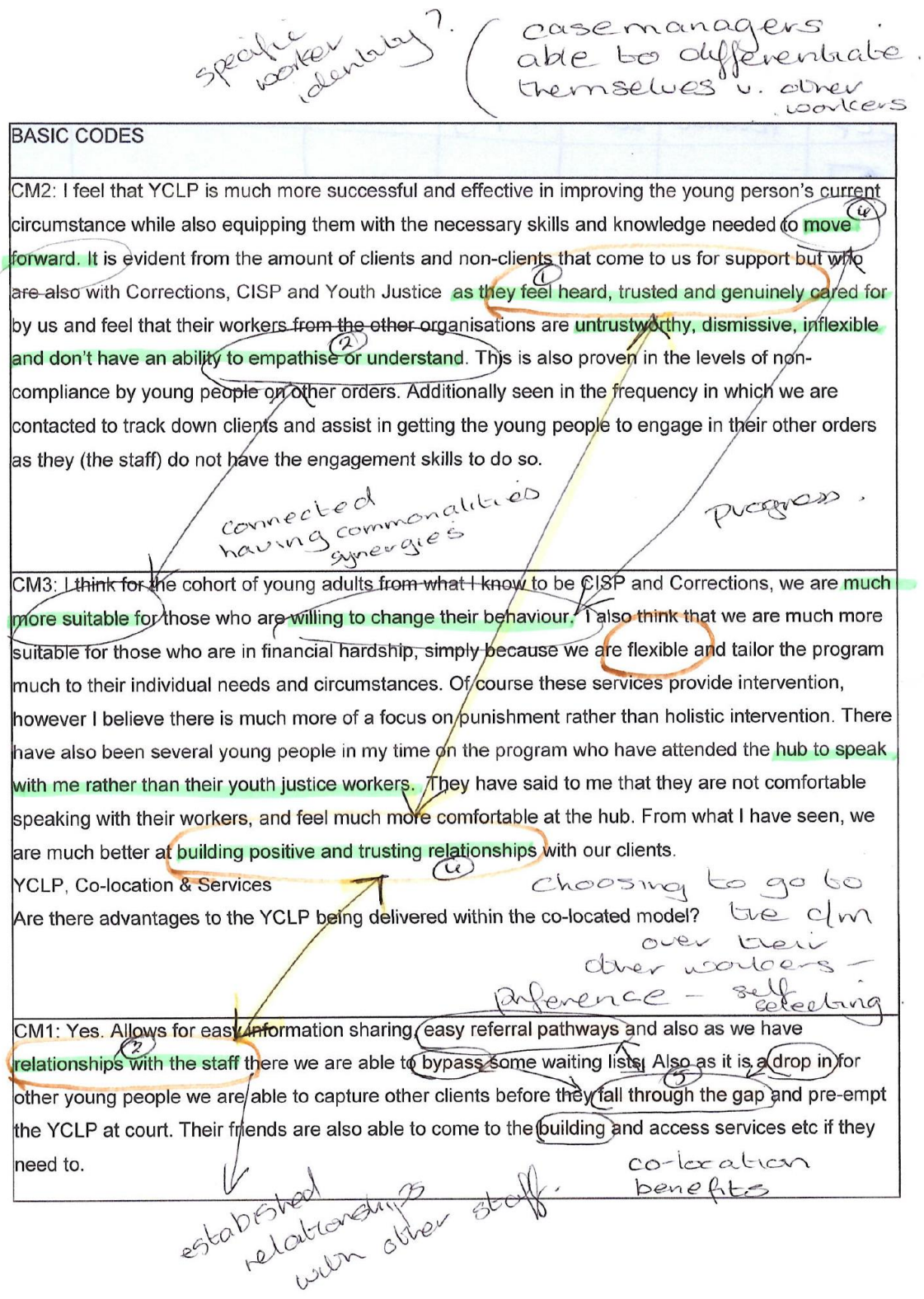


Figure 4.2: Coding

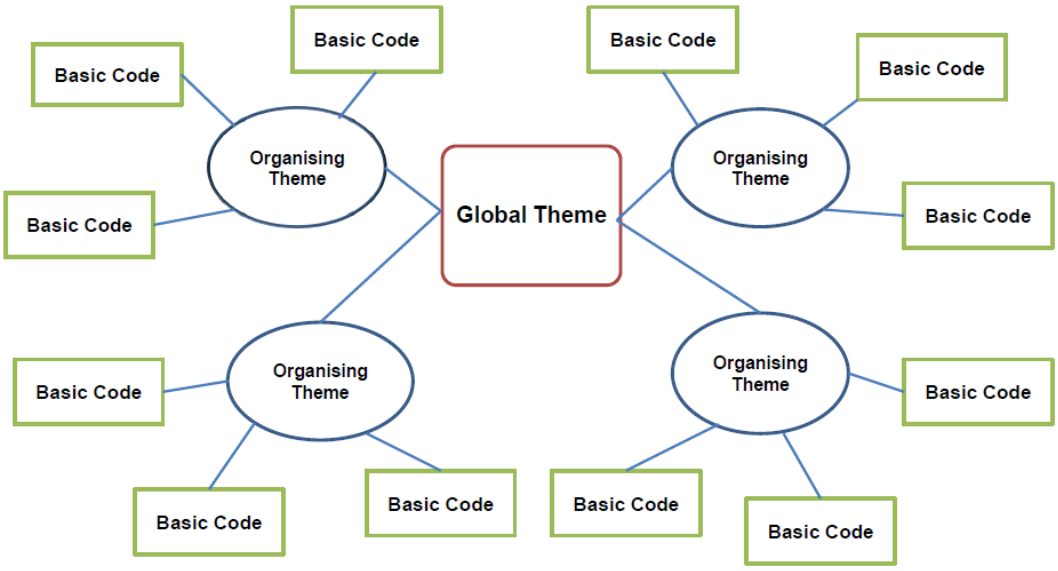


Figure 4.3: Structure of thematic networks to form clusters

Note: The basic codes where clustered into organising themes which were then categorised into global themes. This was a lengthy process

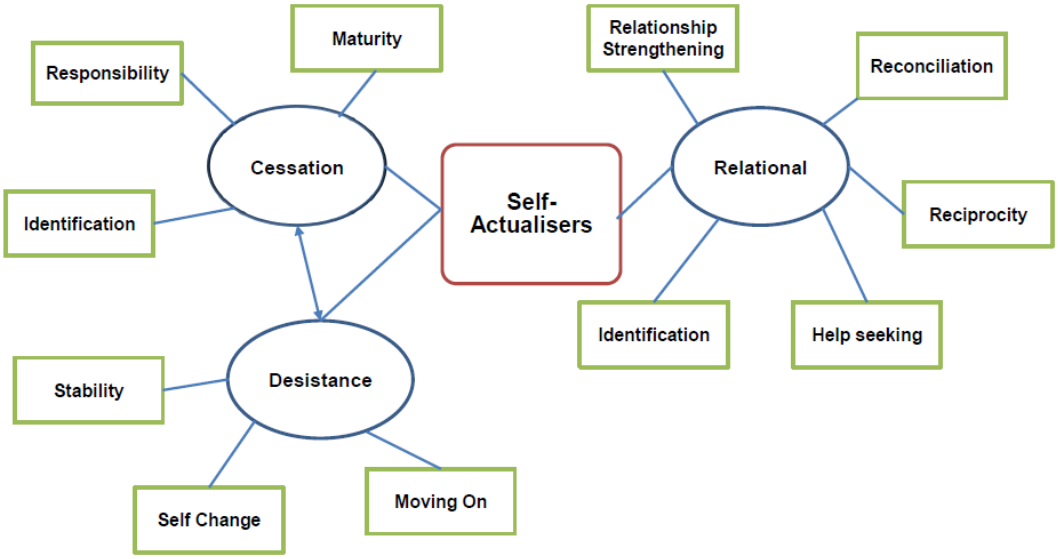


Figure 4.4: Cluster formation

The process of open coding developed the broad basic codes from the data and was completed when core categories had emerged. Themes connected the concepts within the codes and created relationships between the categories, thus enabling the primary themes to be constructed. Using a constant comparative method with the codes and categories constructed from the data enabled a description of the themes and patterns that arose from the data (Mills et al., 2006:3). While this inductive approach assisted in identifying themes and patterns from the data, the evaluation also used a deductive approach which entailed searching for themes and patterns in the data, with these then measured against a range of predetermined goals outlined in the theory-driven model (Konstantinos, 2003). In addition, to make sense of the data, the primary research question, instead of being viewed as a hypothesis, provided the conceptual baseline that enabled the interpretation of the data: it was therefore expected that the constructed themes would clearly represent meaning for this line of inquiry. Both techniques were used in this evaluation which could therefore be referred to as taking an abductive approach (Charmaz, 2006).

In terms of taking a qualitative interpretive approach through thematic analysis, the aim was to understand and describe the YCLP implementation and the impact the program had on the young adults. Furthermore, given that qualitative approaches are able to gather data in an 'open-ended fashion' and within natural settings, this suited the interaction and engagement between the young adults and the case managers, as this type of relationship necessitated the construction of linking social capital (Konstantinos, 2003). Writers Braun and Clarke (2006) describe a six-step method to guide the qualitative analysis of the data, as outlined in Table 4.2 below, which was used as a guide for the YCLP evaluation.

Table 4.2: Six-step method (Braun and Clarke, 2006)

Six Steps	Process
Step 1	Familiarising and immersing oneself with the data to get a good sense of their form and content by reading and re-reading “in an active way” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:87).
Step 2	Generating initial codes from the data which, according to Clarke and Braun (2013), is a process of highlighting elements of the data that relate directly to the research question. Given also that this research was a theory-driven evaluation, the data were approached (and therefore coded) on the pre-existing notions and assumptions of what the researcher expected to encounter in accordance with the model.
Step 3	Searching for themes by clustering the codes that were previously generated into categories. The way that clustering is undertaken occurs with a significant or larger code being encircled with spokes drawn from the code to create relationships with other neighbouring codes to form configurations of clusters that produce an image of how the codes fit together (Charmaz, 2006:88).
Step 4	Reviewing the themes to determine representativeness: What does this theme mean? What are the assumptions underpinning it? What are the implications of this theme? What conditions are likely to have given rise to it? Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)? What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic? (Braun and Clarke, 2006:24).
Step 5	Defining and labelling the themed categories which entail refining the final themes by cross-checking them with preliminary themes and ensuring that they both support and align with each other.
Step 6	Linking the themes to the existing literature and producing the report which involves weaving the themes together and reinforcing them with data extracts.

Note: The six-step process, as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006:79), was used to assist in structuring the themed categories that emerged from the qualitative data.

The rich data were coded manually to get a sense of the activity and emotional engagement and connection that were generated within the relationship between the case manager and the young adult. After coding, these initial chunks or segments of data were then clustered into categories. It was useful to reference the work of Speilberger at al. (2009) to determine the four components that related to the self, the other, the program and the community, with each split into inhibitors, motivational drivers and self-actualisers to cluster the codes. The analytical process involved continually creating memos to interpret and analyse the data and to build categories that would eventuate in the elucidation of the research question (Charmaz, 2006). As recommended in the literature, I generated a methodological journal (or code book) that described the data variables, outlining each with a title, description,

format, how it was collected, the group to which it related, and where it could be accessed for future reference: this provided a comprehensive catalogue for the research study.

4.12.3 Triangulation

Triangulation was used to enrich the analyses of the data on the young adults, providing a useful approach for unveiling multiple perspectives relating to the YCLP processes and outcomes. It is described as:

> ... not just about validation but about deepening and widening one's understanding. It can be used to produce innovation in conceptual framing. It can lead to multi-perspective meta-interpretations. [Triangulation is an] attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint (Cohen and Manion, 2000:2).

Central to the idea of triangulation is combining different research techniques that are able to balance, strengthen and validate each other. In the case of the current evaluation, these research techniques include: quantitative versus qualitative; secondary versus primary data; subjective and objective data; face-to-face (case managers and young adults) versus remote (self-administered questionnaires with the magistrates); and self-reported data (young adults in their evaluations) versus facilitated data (case management process) (Kennedy, 2009:3).

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter provided the methodological context for the evaluation. It is followed in Chapter Five by the data analysis that led to the research findings and an ensuing discussion of those findings.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analyses and discusses the research findings obtained from the data sources outlined in Chapter Four and in the Appendices One to Three, attached at the end of the thesis. The following primary research question framed the overall evaluation study:

> *What is the efficacy of community justice intervention services (provided through the Youth, Community and Law Program) to increase social capital and reduce incarceration for young adults?*

The following four focal questions underpinned the first four parts of the analysis, in order to answer the overall research question above:

> Q1. *Did the YCLP meet its overall objectives?*
>
> Q2. *What strategies and interventions were employed by the case managers towards the generation of linking social capital in order to assist the young adults to effect change?*
>
> Q3. *Did the sources of linking social capital afforded to young adults decrease incarceration and if so, how?*
>
> Q4. *What were the role and perceptions of the magistrates towards the YCLP?*

This chapter is divided into five parts as follows:

Part 1: Overall success of the YCLP**:** Q1. *Did the YCLP meet its overall objectives?* The first part provides an analysis of the overall success of the YCLP in meeting the 12 original program objectives to deliver interventions that prevent further offending by young adults. The findings also outlined changes to the program over time and highlighted the intended and unintended consequences of the program.

Part 2: Case managers**:** Q2. *What strategies and interventions were employed by the case managers towards the generation of linking social capital in order to assist the young adults to affect change?* The second part provides the findings on the investigation of the efficacy of the YCLP from the perspective of the case managers who completed a self-administered questionnaire together with creating the original case management documents. This part

highlights the systemic barriers to engaged change for young adults; the enablers and attitudes of the case managers; the nature and level of interventions; the technical, operational and philosophical impediments to change, as perceived by the case managers; and the positive aspects that promoted best practice in the way the criminal justice system and community justice intervention services worked together to produce benefits for the young adults. Linking social capital is the process of 'getting in', as opposed to 'getting by' and 'getting on', as this is the initial barrier that many disadvantaged young adults face when they are trying to access services and systems. The case manager played an instrumental facilitation role in enabling the young adult to access 'linking social capital' opportunities by removing the bureaucratic barriers to easy referral pathways.

Part 3: Young adults**:** *Q3. Did the sources of linking social capital afforded to young adults decrease incarceration and, if so, how?* The third part analyses the efficacy of the interventions in increasing linking social capital for young adults, in order to prevent incarceration. By analysing the 65 variables constructed from information on the young adults, the researcher was able to get a sense of the progress in key areas of their lives that, if and when improved, could reduce the need for offending behaviour.

Part 4: Magistrates**:** *Q4. What were the role and perceptions of the magistrates towards the YCLP?* The fourth part presents the findings on the investigation of the efficacy of the YCLP from the perspective of the magistrates who completed a self-administered questionnaire. This section highlights the broader expectations and assumptions within the court process, including those that relate to therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ), and the perceptions of the benefits of the program to the courts and for the young adults from the magistrates' perspectives.

Part 5: Triangulation**:** The fifth and final part, through the technique of triangulation, integrates and cross-checks the findings of the previous four parts of the chapter, to synthesise and summarise the results to find out whether the same messages came out in support of each data set and to highlight any conflicting messages in the data.

5.2 Part 1: Overall success of the YCLP

In order to achieve an understanding of the underlying mechanisms and causal processes by which the overall outcomes of the YCLP were achieved, I was guided by the following lines of inquiry:

- To what degree have the program objectives been met?

- Should the program continue to be implemented, or be implemented in other settings, and, if so, are any modifications required?

Q1. *Did the YCLP meet its overall objectives?*

The following 12 original objectives, as outlined in Chapter Two, were individually explored to answer this question:

1. Construct, refine and implement a range of community justice intervention services and programs for the YCLP, to modify young adults' circumstances and behaviour

Initially, the Visy Cares Hub was established as a co-located hub of early intervention services that could respond broadly to all young people aged 12–25 years. However, in practice, many of the services, prior to the introduction of the YCLP in 2009, tended to focus on young people aged below 18 years, which resulted in little targeted service provision for the older youth aged 18–25 years. This had much to do with the early intervention services that were initially selected to be involved in the co-located model: as this gap presented itself and more young adults were being sent from the Magistrates' Court to the centre, more relevant, targeted and specialist services were introduced to respond to the emerging unmet needs of this cohort. As a result, since the development of the YCLP, a turnover and an expansion have occurred in the service offering for young people at the Visy Cares Hub and, currently, the service mix has been selected to focus on the complex and specialist needs of young adults, particularly those involved in the criminal justice system.

While there are over 20 not-for-profit (NFP) services operating from the Visy Cares Hub, the primary internal services required by the young adults on the YCLP included:

- Mental health services (Headspace, Orygen Youth Health and Break Thru)
- Melbourne City Mission: alternative education (16–25 years)
- YouthNow: employment pathways/BizE Centre (training)
- Centre for Multicultural Youth: new arrivals and emerging communities' support
- Homeless Youth Dual Diagnosis Initiative (HYDDI): housing, mental health and alcohol and other drugs/substances (AOD) support
- Youth Support and Advocacy Service: drug and alcohol services, detox and rehabilitation facilities
- Western Justice (Youth): law advice and pro bono legal representation
- Community West Inc.: child access centre and education

- Brimbank City Council: recreation/early intervention
- Jesuit Social Services (JSS): emerging communities' support
- C-Collective: young entrepreneurs' program
- Charis Mentoring: mentoring program for Pasifika young people (from Pacific islands)
- Centrelink: welfare allowance
- Big Brothers Big Sisters: young person's mentoring program
- Samoan Community Leadership Network: community cultural development
- Material aid: clothes, food, travel tickets, etc.
- The Youth Junction Incorporated (TYJinc.): youth programs and facilities (drop-in internet café, Young Dads' Program, Learners to Earners Driving Program, PARTY [Prevent Alcohol and Risk-Related Trauma in Youth] program, Intake and Referral Program, Better Outcomes Program [sport]).

Figure 5.1 indicates how the youth services at the Visy Cares Hub operate along a continuum. The collection of services for the older age group is shown to be primarily at the tertiary end of need which is where the YCLP was located.

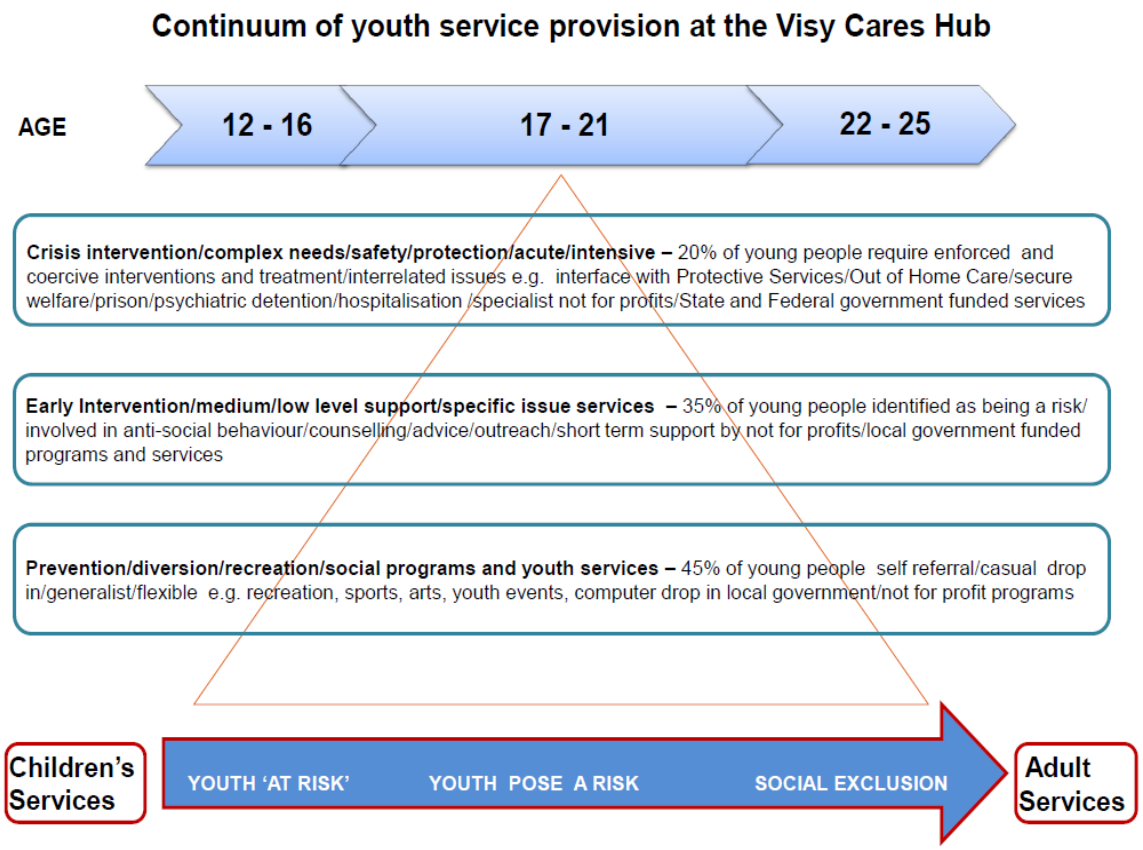


Figure 5.1: Continuum of youth service provision at the Visy Cares Hub

Note: This diagram broadly indicates where many of the YCLP young adults were able to access services. However, all young adults are entitled to access services at any point of the continuum.

Initially, some trepidation was expressed by the other youth services in the co-located model that feared they could be too heavily drawn into the coercive side of the criminal justice process which, for most, went against the voluntary nature of their not-for-profit (NFP) organisation and mission. Some of the reasons cited by youth organisations before the program commenced indicated reluctance, if not resistance, to participate in the delivery of the program as they:

- did not want to be asked to go to court to give evidence against young adults that could cause them harm;
- could not release information about the young adults as it was confidential (even if it was going to benefit the young adult and even if they had provided their consent for the exchange to take place);
- did not work with young adults in the 18–25 year age bracket;

- indicated that the young adults did not fit into their funding criteria or geographical boundaries; and
- did not work with young adults involved in the criminal justice system.

However, it was explained that the YCLP would act as a buffer to safeguard the services from the concerns highlighted by them, and would do this by carrying out the initial assessment and making the appropriate referrals so they did not have to interface with the court. Consequently, the services began to develop trust in the process and became more willing to participate. The outcome was that the case managers would act as the broker between the services and the courts and would keep the courts informed of the young adult's progress with the various services in which they were involved. Of assistance in negotiations with services was being able to stipulate that the YCLP was not an enforceable or coercive program, that the young adult's engagement would be voluntary and that they had consented to the exchange of information between services if this exchange was going to be beneficial to them. The following quotation by one of the case managers indicated the benefits of service co-location for the YCLP, in terms of information exchange and generating further referrals into the program for those young adults who required targeted interventions:

> It allows for easy information sharing, easy referral pathways and also as we have relationships with the staff there, we are able to bypass some waiting lists. Also, as it is a 'drop-in' for other young people, we are able to capture other clients before they fall through the gap and pre-empt the YCLP at court. Their friends are also able to come to the building and access services, etc. if they need to (CM.1).

Alongside the internal services, the case managers also accessed and built relationships with a range of external services, in particular, those connected with housing. A youth housing program delivered by the Salvation Army had previously been co-located as a tenant provider, between 2008 and 2012, but had to vacate the Visy Cares Hub due to funding cuts. Their new main office was located a five-minute walk from the Visy Cares Hub and, with good relationships already formed with the staff, this meant that services were still easily accessible. Table 5.1 below indicates the number of services accessed simultaneously by the young adults while on the program with a high percentage (21.7%, 13/60) of young adults accessing six or more services simultaneously, indicating the interconnectedness of the issues faced by that cohort.

Table 5.1: Number of services engaged with when on YCLP

Number of services engaged with when on YCLP	Frequency	Valid percent
YCLP only	1	1.7
1 additional service	1	1.7
2 services	5	8.3
3 services	15	25
4 services	18	30
5 services	7	11.7
6 or more services	13	21.7
Total	60	100

Note: Data outlined on services above have been extrapolated from SPSS.

Typically, a young adult would engage in four or more services simultaneously (63.4%, 38/60). The court reports indicated how multiple services were accessed by the young adults, providing a clear picture to the magistrates about the interconnectedness of the issues and how the program was sufficiently comprehensive to address them in order to produce combined benefits. As stated by one of the magistrates: "[i]t assists me by ensuring an all-encompassing net [is] placed around a young offender to ensure that he/she is supported and has all the necessary services to change behaviour and to flourish" (Mag.5).

2. Offer the Magistrates' Courts a clear and straightforward referral point for young adults aged between 18 and 25 years to receive preventative intervention services

One of the highlighted reasons that prompted the initiation of the YCLP was the frustration of the local magistrates and court personnel with the inaccessibility of appropriate and timely referral points, with this due to a number of factors, namely:

- the magistrates did not have the time to find out the most appropriate services to which to refer young adults;
- from previous experience, the magistrates understood that there was no guarantee, if they made a referral, that it would be followed up by the service or that the young adult would be encouraged or even expected to engage;
- in their experience, the magistrates had found services reluctant to accept court referrals directly; they found the services difficult for the young adults to engage with in a timely way as many services claimed to have waiting lists.

The YCLP solved these challenges by accepting court referrals through an easy referral process that enabled an efficient and effective intake, assessment and response for the magistrates. The value of this is portrayed in the following quotation from one of the

magistrates: “[t]here is very little about for our young people to be able to consider during a bail application or deferral of sentence and the services offered here are of great assistance and at times, comfort” (Mag.1).

Another magistrate highlighted the value of the program’s ability to simultaneously meet the young adults’ needs, before they returned to court: “I can’t think of any [other program] that would fulfil the requirement I have of YCLP. Other programs are by design, one-dimensional and don’t take such a holistic approach” (Mag.4).

One of the case managers highlighted the importance of their relationship with the magistrates in terms of encouraging referrals to the program:

> Some new magistrates are often harsher than the ones who left. Those who left also referred to YCLP out of habit and knew and trusted us. These magistrates need to build trust and rapport with us and us with them. If this does not happen, then they place less faith in the program due to the need to build up relationships (CM.1).

All six magistrates were positive about the nature and perceived effects of the program. They understood that, at least, the interventions available through the YCLP were relevant and timely and, at best, the YCLP played a role in the reduction of reoffending by the young adults who participated in the program. One of the case managers also articulated the benefits for the courts in the following quotation:

> It works because we are one of the best holistic services available for young people, because we are not only useful for young people, but also the courts and lawyers involved. Our flexibility means that clients who fall between the gaps for mental health and drug and alcohol services still have somewhere they can go to for support (CM.1).

In addition, this highlighted that if a specialist service could not immediately accept a referral, the young adult remained engaged with their case manager to address other issues while they were waiting on that specific intervention. It appeared, therefore, that the program achieved this objective of effectively offering the Magistrates’ Court unfettered access to a group of specialised services that they would otherwise find time consuming and difficult to access.

3. Increase young adults’ social capital/development through a range of appropriate and timely interventions, at the earliest opportunity, to prevent further involvement in the criminal justice system

A working definition of linking social capital was constructed for the purposes of this evaluation to explore the dynamics and features of the relationship between the case managers and the young adults and to focus the analysis. It stated that:

> Linking social capital is stimulated through the productive nature of the young adult and case manager relationship, in order to produce beneficial outcomes that encourage pro-social lifestyles.

This definition embodied the elements of "substance, sources and effects" of social capital that were able to be explored through the vehicle of the case management process (Adler and Kwon, 2000) and by using this definition, a number of outcomes relating to the notion of linking social capital were revealed. In order to generate linking social capital, certain social enablers and structures had to be put in place, as well as assisting the young adults to develop the necessary attitude, motivation and confidence for linking social capital. This was a two-way relationship in which the young adults had to commit to discharging their obligations as agreed between the case managers and themselves in order to keep their promises and to assume their responsibilities while on the program (Hogan and Owen, 2000). One of the case managers highlighted their expectations for the young adults:

> Their responsibilities are to uptake services which they have identified they want to access or that have been suggested by their worker and they have agreed to access: to comply with the program especially if it is a condition of bail; to keep in regular contact with their worker if they are unable to attend or have issues with keeping to scheduled appointments; to be respectful of their worker, the building and other services that they access (CM.2).

An action plan operated as a 'contract' between the case managers and the young adults about the cooperation and attitude expected to make their participation in the program work. This was underpinned by the notion that the young adults would be likely to learn and earn linking social capital through the trusting and helpful relationship with their case managers and the other services introduced into the therapeutic program. This, in turn, would have the potential to reduce constraints and improve opportunities to build young adults' assets to find work and housing and to strengthen relationships, while building protection against the drivers for offending, even if they had not had the opportunity to participate in positive social capital processes earlier in life. The assumption expressed by one of the magistrates was that "[s]ocially disadvantaged young people have no social capital. YCLP puts a 'net' around them to support and change behaviour unlike any other sentencing disposition available to this court" (Mag.5).

One case manager outlined how the case management processes work and how social capital manifests as a result:

> It increases social capital and aims to address areas which may be related to offending behaviour. If adequately addressed, then the client will have less motivations to offend. It is also a holistic approach, so instead of only addressing offending, we also focus on all other aspects of the client's life as these may be indirect features of their offending, or it may also just improve their quality of life. Relationships we build with young people also provide motivators for reducing offending behaviour, through their expressed guilt and shame

> caused by their offences and how we assist them to work through this. There is much counselling on the causes of behaviour and it is client-directed which asks them in determining the approach that should be taken to reduce their risk of reoffending (CM.1).

The work of the case manager was shown to be multidimensional and holistic. Given that there was an acceptance that issues for young adults were interrelated, the case management role was to operate as the connector and link between services, to ensure that they were accessible and available for young adults, as well as working in concert to address the interrelated issues. As one of the case managers indicated:

> Within the co-located model, clients do not need to tell their story over and over again; case managers can do that work with the client's consent. Multiple appointments can occur in the same building; this is much more convenient for clients. Staff are familiar with each other and it is easy to follow up on clients in both informal and formal environments. It is easier to arrange care team meetings with staff across the hall who are involved with the same client (CM.3).

The case managers helped build relationships between the service providers and the young adults, and the young adults, in turn, were able to learn, through role modelling, how to do this for themselves. As a result, they could broaden and strengthen their own beneficial networks not only in relation to the services they accessed, but also more broadly with the staff and young people with whom they created relationships at the Visy Cares Hub. The following quotation indicates how the construction of linking social capital took place:

> It assists with access and attendance to services that clients require as most interventions are covered by a service that is located in the hub. It also allows the young people to increase their service knowledge and is appealing to them as they don't have to travel to numerous destinations. Also, workers are always kept in the loop as case conferences are easy to facilitate or even having an informal discussion/update on a client as you see the other workers involved in the hallway and you have a chat. Having other services with other skills sets and knowledge also enables workers [to have the opportunity of secondary consults as all have specific focuses of provision. It could be delivered outside of a co-located model; however, there would be much more stress based on the client [having] to navigate their way to and into external services as there would be no luxury of not having to travel and having their worker with them in most initial appointments; this, in turn, bolsters their attendance, engagement and outcomes (CM.2).

In addition, the following quotation indicates how the case managers closely supervised and monitored the young adults, by making it a priority to keep informed about the young adults' ongoing progress so they could continually update their case records:

> This would happen almost on a daily basis informally in terms of checking in with where a client is at or whether anything further needs to be done for a client. This is also done not intentionally; when you see the other worker involved in the building, your automatic response is to discuss the client in common in terms of progress, presentations, engagements, attendance, etc. In terms of a formal case conference, this depends on the complexity of a client and the amount of worker/services involved (CM.2).

The young adults were given the opportunity to attain the markers of adulthood through interventions that increased linking social capital opportunities. These opportunities built resources for the young adults through connectedness and feeling listened to and valued by introducing them to pro-social organisations and institutions; encouraging commitment to civic and social engagement and participation; by role modelling conflict resolution and helping them to plan for future skills; and through developing a sense of personal responsibility and confidence in their personal efficacy (Eccles and Gootman, 2002). This is exemplified in the following statement:

> The YCLP provides young adults with an opportunity to have someone who will help them stabilise their lives and assist in navigating the services system in order to do so. Their compliance does not only depend on whether they are ready to address their issues; they may be well intentioned, but there may be other things at play e.g. mental health, disability, homelessness or entrenched substance use. It can be very complex because the conflict often lies within themselves and, even though they know what they want and need, they are unable to see how they can get it in their current circumstances. We have to encourage them in the right direction (CM.2).

While there was a basic chronology of tasks relating to the case management process within the YCLP, the actual activity of engaging with the young adult was iterative and non-linear and the early stages of information gathering continued to inform current interaction, based on the individual needs of the young adults. This is articulated by one of the case managers whereby:

> This entire process is like a feedback loop where we often go back to the planning stage if issues or new information arises. Case noting is important through the whole process to ensure you remember your last appointments and you can fall back on it for recall, for the court process, or if something goes wrong (CM.1).

The young adults often required services from multiple welfare agencies and effective service coordination that integrated service delivery between the services was necessary to ensure that they were able to access the services they needed. This was done very effectively through the case management approach, as having one case manager take the lead in actively monitoring the young adult's journey through the program, while mobilising resources and holding other services to account, ensured better coordination, communication and cohesion across the case activity. The importance of being able to generate linking social capital between youth services and to promote inclusion and reduce isolation, as protective factors for the broader community, were also highlighted in the following statements:

> It is obvious to say the broader community benefit from lower crime rate, decreasing recidivism and stable young people in the community; often this is due to the intervention of YCLP (Mag.1).

> There is significant community benefit by having greater social inclusion of these young people with less offending in the community; increased self-esteem and a positive contribution by these young offenders when they turn their lives around (Mag.5).

4. Construct a system for analysing and reporting outcome data

Initially, an MS Excel database was constructed to capture the demographic biographical and case management data. In addition, electronic folders were set up, one for each young adult participant in the YCLP, which held all scanned copies of court reports and other types of correspondence relating to their cases. At first, this system worked well, as there was only one case manager and a small number of young adult cases. However, as the program gained momentum with a sharp increase in referrals and an increase in funding which provided the capacity to employ three case managers, this system started to pose challenges as highlighted in the following quotation:

> The data collection and management system on an Excel program has proven to be a challenge and frustrated workers as they have found it difficult to be as efficient as they would like in terms of keeping case notes up to date. This would ensure that all administration is recorded in the same way and on time as everyone would be able to access the database at the same time to record case notes. It would also assist with data collection as most databases have a way to automatically record general statistics. Also, as we are dealing with sensitive information, there needs to be a decreased risk that none of this information would be lost—which is what has occurred as we are only using a Microsoft Office program (CM.2).

Despite the number of concerns highlighted by the case managers, they managed to overcome the flaws and deficits of the system to produce a robust and comprehensive level of data. While an effective case management system could not be purchased during the program, the flaws and frustrations highlighted by the case managers will be useful for informing the construction of an effective and tailor-made data collection system for the YCLP for future use.

5. Collect client outcome data, measuring 'before and after' effects of intervention, soft and hard outcomes, and 'distance travelled' in order to gauge the impact for the cohort involved

Data were collected for a number for purposes and on several levels and stored in the MS Excel spreadsheet and also in individual de-identified electronic and hard copy files. However, problems were experienced with collating data and when new specific data were required to highlight issues affecting the overall population of young adults, or to carry out presentations to the magistrates, it was often difficult to obtain full and precise data. Furthermore, as specific information was requested, new categories had to be created with searches for data needing to be conducted in the case management documents so these data could be input to produce a meaningful and accurate representation. This was an onerous and difficult process that would have been enormously assisted by having an effective and efficient data collection system at the outset and also by being clear about the nature and level of data that needed to be collected and for what purpose.

When the evaluation commenced, several months were needed to clean the data to ensure that all missing data were current and had been included in the input to the data collection system and that any duplications were rectified to ensure that the data could be easily analysed.

6. Analyse the client outcome data results to establish how effective the program is and take a close look at the cohort's engagement and participation in the actions and activities provided under the program

The analysis of data is dealt with through this evaluation. The rich and detailed data in relation to the case management process had to be 'cleaned' and organised in the data collection system before work could commence. This entailed going through all 60 case files and locating missing data that were required for the 65 variables that had to be entered into SPSS. In addition, 304 basic codes, constructed from the questionnaires completed by the magistrates and case managers, were used for the intensive thematic analysis. The 304 basic codes were then clustered into three overarching themes that collated the impact on the young adults' ability to transition into adulthood and upon which the interventions of the case managers, to generate linking social capital in order to prevent a prison term, were underpinned. Due to some overlapping, not all codes fitted neatly into the clusters which proved beneficial as a binding agent between the themes. The three principal themes that emerged were motivational drivers, inhibitors and self-actualisers, which are explained in detail below:

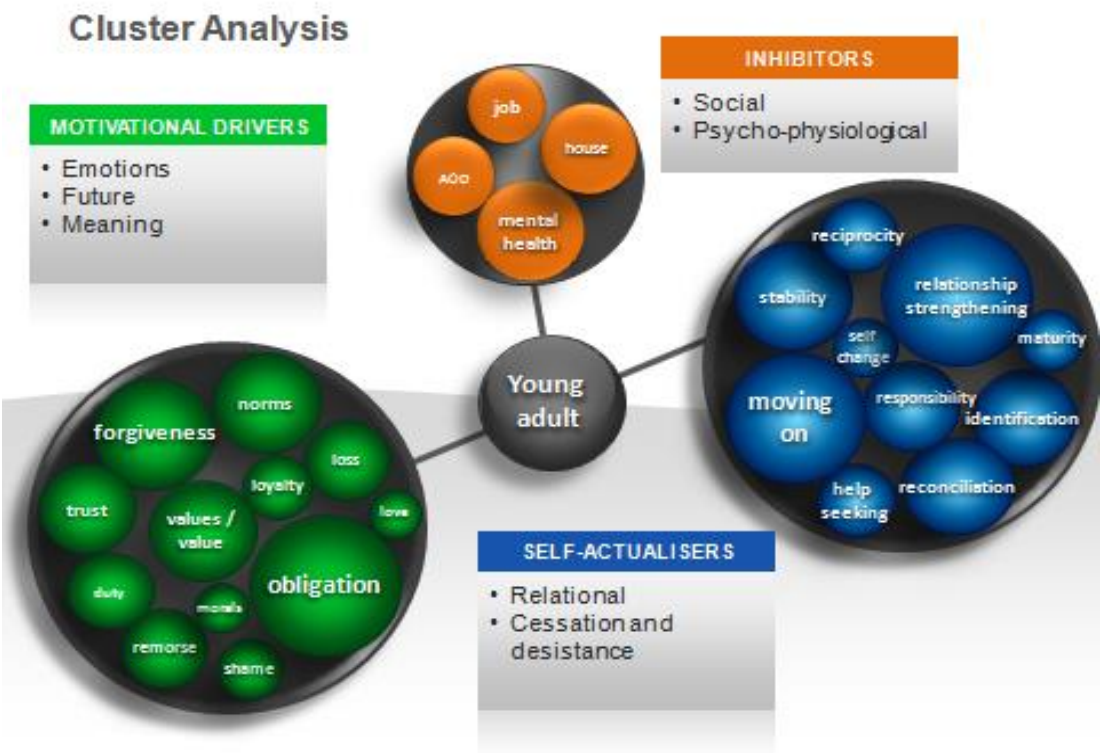


Figure 5.2: Cluster analysis of the major categories and themes

Note: The clustering process was achieved through careful analysis of the qualitative data provided in the self-administered questionnaires from the magistrates and case managers and from the detailed case management documents on the young adults.
AOD=alcohol and other drugs/substances

While it is accepted that these themes related directly to the young adults in the evaluation, a parallel emerged in the case managers' experience of working with the young adults which came out clearly in the analysis of their questionnaires and will be explored further in this chapter. The themes in the cluster analysis were as follows:

Motivational drivers (emotions, future and meaning) were found to incorporate forgiveness, norms, loyalty, loss, love, value/s, trust, duty, remorse, shame, morals and obligation. These drivers related to the premise that the components of social capital that include social networks, sociability, trust, reciprocity, resource acquisition and norms, insofar as they can be role modelled within an intensive case manager and client relationship, had the ability to restore potential and create aspiration for a better, if not a good, adult life (Ward, 2002). The case managers were flexible and sufficiently detached to recognise and reassure the young adults that change would not be immediate and that finding remedies to practical barriers did not necessarily bring about lasting change so other psychological factors would be explored (Trotter, 1999). The case managers placed expectations and conditions on the

young adults and applied a standard of acceptable behaviour in order for the young adults to optimise the benefits of the interventions. This was highlighted in the following quote from one of the case managers:

> A young person is expected to be open and honest in appointments; expected to want to seek help; expected to have a say in their case management process and expected to attend appointments with us and other services; to the best of their abilities; expected to TRY and reduce [the] risk of reoffending and use the support offered. Although these are expectations of the client, there are many situations where a client is not necessarily able to live up to these expectations, and I suppose the openness and honesty is an important component of understanding their abilities (CM.1).

The case managers carried out several processes with the young adults to increase their motivation and change while on the program as follows:

- Determined and addressed the root causes that led to the young adults' risk-taking behaviour in order to promote positive behavioural change. This was done through the information collected in the psycho-social assessments. Also used were a range of worksheets and motivational interviewing techniques that elicited information on reasons surrounding the offence(s) and sought methods and strategies for the young adult to employ that resulted in attitudinal and behavioural change.

- Encouraged the young adult to take responsibility and to be accountable for breaking the law and provided legal information and advice on the consequences, obligations, procedures and rights surrounding their behaviour to provide the young adults with a better understanding of their actions and the effects this had on the people around them.

- Equipped the young adults with opportunities that led to resilience and independence, by linking them with education, training, employment, material aid, housing, substance and alcohol use, and mental health services through a number of established and reliable referral points.

- Linked the young adults to specialist practitioners who offered opportunities to the young adults to develop emotionally, mentally and physically so they could contribute as active, productive and law-abiding citizens.

- Combated the distress (and the effects of the distress) caused by poverty and social exclusion that had contributed to the young adults' involvement in criminal activity, through the provision of practical interventions, treatment, advice, information and support on matters relating to their health, personal and social education, well-being

and welfare, thus enabling them to engage in helpful services to which they may not otherwise have had access.

One case manager highlighted the details of how they encouraged initial engagement with the young adults so they could progress to a stage where they would be able to start linking the young adults to the other necessary services. She stated that:

> Firstly, I let the clients tell me what they like. I don't pull them up that much as I let them feel like they can speak to me about anything. This builds rapport. I ask the client what THEY want out of this, and state what the court wants and what I think they may need after their assessments. We choose two goals—one of mine/court's and one of theirs to work on together. This gives them agency and allows them to understand that I am there to help them, not court. I use a lot of humour also. After having built up that relationship, I will pull them up more heavily on inconsistencies, etc. (CM.1).

Trust was clearly central to the young adult's relationship with their case manager. This was highlighted as the foundation from which the relationship was formed, maintained and strengthened and it was stated that, in order for linking social capital to take place and to be maximised by the young adults, trust had to be reciprocated by them. It was revealed by the case managers that an important part of the young adult's ability to create and maintain trust was the requirement for open lines of communication, and safe and confidential spaces. These elements lent themselves well to trust building with the young adult able to feel comfortable and uninterrupted and able to be listened to and to listen; to make decisions and take ownership for them; and to negotiate and navigate the opportunities available through the program (Billett, 2012:87). It was agreed that distractions and having to move due to other people being around would not create an environment compatible with trust building. One of the case managers expressed what trust building with the young adults entailed. She stated that:

> Trust is built over time and by demonstrating mutual respect and understanding assists in establishing this. Also by providing the support and continuity of care demonstrates to the client that they can rely and confide in their worker: as you have shown them through all of this, you are for them and have their interests at the forefront of your mind. Their trust is what enables meaningful engagement and allows them to get the most out of the program as they are open and willing to receive advice, feedback and support (CM.2).

Simpson (2005) implies that, just as young adults are learning that there is no singular "right" way to approach problems, their case managers must grapple with there being no one "right" way to help them. By using a strengths-based philosophy, the case managers concentrated on the positive and protective factors and strengths that came from the individual young adults' personal skills, interests, motivation, attributes and social networks. More specifically, the case managers explored the relationships between the young adults and their family members and romantic partners; their ability to actively seek employment; their motivation

for offence-focused counselling; their level of program attendance to enable engagement in interventions; their ability to take responsibility to control their own positive outcomes; and their overall ability to genuinely and authentically commit to change. Furthermore, the young adults were assisted to identify the risk factors or causes that increased the likelihood of their reoffending, in order to reduce those risks. Those risks were often presented as drug and alcohol abuse, mental ill-health, behavioural problems with anger management, unstable housing circumstances and unemployment. One of the case managers articulated the details of how they mastered the technique of relating to the young adult, in order to engender their trust:

> In order to build trust, I imitate their way of speaking (not in a derogatory way, but more their style to help them relate to me). I acknowledge their comments and then try to guide them to a different way of thinking (i.e.—don't say "no" straight away or "yes but")—active listening; reflective listening. I ask about their experiences and their culture, trying to find something meaningful to them. Asking about culture is very important and valuable with some cultures (especially Burmese) because it makes them feel like you are interested in them completely. If a client does not trust their worker, how will they follow through with interventions or be open and honest about their experiences? I also try to build a rapport very early on when I meet a young person. Because there is no point in suggesting anything if a client doesn't trust and respect you. Equally, I think is the client's input in their program; they will not benefit if they don't agree with the process or if they are just told what to do (CM.1).

This case manager, in the process of reflecting on their practice in relation to trust building, echoed a similar view to Billett (2011) who states that:

> Trust is what smooths out human relations, allowing people to take part in agreements, share resources and rely upon one another. In short, trust is one of the most important components of social capital, being not only a precursor to a successful network, but also an important by-product of networking (Billett, 2011:51).

The evidence indicated that the case manager's initial engagement with the young adult was to engender trust: once trust was gained, they were able to facilitate the young adult becoming both a 'consumer' and a producer of linking social capital by accessing a range of community resources through targeted interventions. The young adult's relationship with their case manager was shown to be not only based on trust, but also on reciprocity and belief that the situation presented between the young adult and the case manager could generate positive and sustainable outcomes for the young adult.

Self-actualisers (relational, cessation and desistance) indicated processes that the young adults became involved in that required pro-activity and development. These processes included self-change; moving on; taking responsibility; mastering stability; developing maturity; reconciliation that entailed reciprocity and relationship strengthening; identification of issues; and help seeking. The concept of self-actualisation dates back to 1962 when

Maslow developed the hierarchy of needs which is still very relevant in the work carried out today with clients in human services. McLeod (2007) re-defines this insofar as:

> The growth of self-actualization (Maslow, 1962) refers to the need for personal growth and discovery that is present throughout a person's life. For Maslow, a person is always "becoming" and never remains static in these terms. In self-actualization, a person comes to find a meaning to life that is important to them (McLeod, 2007:1).

A significant part of the case manager's role was highlighted as being to encourage self-actualisation and agency with the young adults through the case management process where:

> The young people did change and develop throughout their engagement with me and, whilst some negative habits re-emerged during that process, I re-engaged and re-encouraged them to get back on the right path that they had agreed to take (CM.3).

Inhibitors (social and psycho-physiological) included alcohol and other drug addictions, mental ill-health and lacking basic material goods such as sufficient food, clothes, bedding and household goods, a house, a job and often a car. Many of the items highlighted by the young adults as being important to them aligned mainly with what are commonly considered to be the tangible markers of adulthood: a car, a house, a job and a family of their own. Many young adults were achieving a family of their own (33.3%, 20/60) but were not able to secure the means to adequately provide for them. When the young adults were asked the 'aspirational' question in the psycho-social assessment of where they see themselves in five years' time, 88.3% (53/60) responded that they see themselves having their own house, a job and a car. As Barry points out, young adults focus on the "achievement of individual aspirations towards generally available mainstream goals …" (Barry, 2006:16).

Also highlighted by the young adults was a range of competencies, values and areas that required change if they were to be enabled to attain those aspirations. They included the need to act responsibly, and to grow up and stay away from detrimental influences (negative peers, drugs, alcohol, certain specific family members and friends, and particular geographical areas). Many of the young adults could understand and articulate the triggers for their offending and were working out how to implement strategies to reduce troublesome interactions and outcomes. According to the historical biographies of the young adults within the psycho-social assessments and final court reports, complicated and intertwined processes had been at play that created the complex and multiple issues they experienced when growing up in areas of social and economic disadvantage and deprivation. In a similar form to the "classic risk conditions" including high unemployment, inadequate and lack of affordable housing and blatant income inequality highlighted by the OECD (1998:36), these

structural deficits across the region had negatively impacted on the young adults as they tried to become independent. It is cited in the literature that one of the common impediments to social integration into the community is a lack of community resources, services, activities and events in which to participate and to feel part of. These deficits resulted in many young adults finding it difficult to feel a sense of belonging and connection to the community in which they lived with this highlighted in the 'motives for offending' variable for which 15% cited 'the area they lived in' as a trigger for the commission of their offences.

While the domains of need explored in the psycho-social assessment that enabled a young adult to progress and develop into adulthood were closely aligned with the broad markers of adulthood, they were not indicators of social capital per se, but were arguably determinants or inhibitors of social capital. Factors or variables, such as age, sex, family, friendship and romantic relationships, community influences and the broader socio-economic environment, impacted on the strength of these determinants or inhibitors. Acknowledging that these practical components were interrelated and associated provided the potential to develop the bio-psycho-social-cultural-economic environment in which young adults could mobilise linking social capital in order to create sustainable benefits that prevented further offending.

7. Increase the use of preventative intervention services by the courts and limit the need for the incarceration of young adults

To achieve the objective of increasing the use of preventative intervention services by the courts, a number of tasks had to be completed. The courts needed to have a clear understanding of the program processes and what the program could realistically achieve and in what period. The case managers had an ongoing task of encouraging the courts to make referrals to the program: this had a multiplying effect with the magistrates encouraged by the positive program results expressed by the young adults in court and within their pre-sentence reports. In turn, the magistrates referred greater numbers of young adults to the YCLP, having been convinced by positive past results. Regular presentations were delivered to the magistrates by the case managers which also assisted in clarifying program processes. These presentations encouraged greater numbers of referrals, along with ensuring that the magistrates had easy access to the referral forms so they could make the actual referral in the first instance. This meant building a good relationship with the court personnel who assisted the magistrates in court with the administrative aspect of the referral process.

8. Investigate the cost-effectiveness of the community justice intervention services versus the cost to the community of the court process and incarceration

The Victorian prison population has increased by 44% since 2000 (currently 700 of those detained are between the ages of 18 and 25 years. There is much evidence to indicate that prison frequently fails to have a deterrent effect on prisoners. Evidence also indicates that it is often harmful on a number of levels, not only for the prisoner, but also for their families on the outside, particularly if the young adults are detained on very short sentences or remanded for short periods without receiving a prison sentence. In addition, it has been shown that there is a significant correlation between key elements of disadvantage such as low-income families, incomplete schooling and offending behaviour (Ericson and Vinson, 2010). There are significant benefits in keeping a young adult out of prison. Place-based intervention and treatment programs in the community provide the opportunity to repair and rebuild damaged relationships, find stable housing, and be involved in programs that create pathways out of drug use/abuse and early mental health intervention and treatment. Through the prevention of further offending and incarceration, a number of costs can be avoided including those for the government (police, courts, health, welfare and unemployment), the not-for-profit (NFP) sector, the taxpayer, the victim (families, pain and suffering, time off work) and the young adult. Furthermore, other costs, both tangible and intangible, include stolen and damaged goods and higher insurance costs due to rising crime rates and communities that are perceived to be 'risky'.

A key component of the YCLP involved linking young adults to services that could assist with the goal of preventing prison by providing a range of community justice interventions. It was assumed that this approach was likely to provide a broad range of benefits for the young adults on the YCLP, for the government (in terms of reduced strain on acute services) and for the community. The YCLP was found to cost an estimated $321,830 per year to operate, including employment of three case managers who provided support for between 125 and 150 young adults per year, at an average cost of $2,360 per young adult per year, compared to an estimated $98,000 to incarcerate a young adult for one year. By avoiding an initial sentence of imprisonment (including exposure to the influences of adult prisoners), the majority (74%) of young adults on the YCLP avoided entering a cycle of imprisonment and re-imprisonment, which currently sees 52.7% of Victorian prisoners under 25 years of age return to prison within two years of release.

It is evident from the high numbers referred to the YCLP that there are unmet needs and problems facing young adults in Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region. This is seen in

the stream of new young adults who are reaching their late teens and early 20s and who have often had no previous involvement in the criminal justice system. Clearly a new response is needed to deter young adults from late onset offending and reoffending lifestyles. However, securing funding for community organisations wishing to support young adults outside of the formal justice system continues to be a challenge. This makes it important for programs to carry out a comprehensive cost–benefit analysis to reinforce the valuable investment that can be made by redirecting young adults away from incarceration and its vastly expensive costs to society. Redirecting monies spent on prisons to community-based initiatives such as the YCLP therefore makes sense. The Smart Justice website states that justice reinvestment is:

> ... a new approach in tackling the causes of crime and provides a viable option as our prison expansion costs become unsustainable. It re-directs money spent on prisons to community-based initiatives which aim to address the underlying causes of crime, promising to cut crime and save money (Smart Justice, 2014: webpage download 2016).

9. Obtain stakeholders' views on the benefits of the program and methods for improvement

The stakeholders involved in the evaluation comprised the young adults on the YCLP, the case managers and the magistrates. If time had prevailed, exploration could have been undertaken of the views of a number of other stakeholders, such as the young adults' friends and family, legal defence and prosecution professionals and the broad range of internal and external services, including not-for-profit (NFP) and corporate organisations, and government services such as DHHS, Centrelink, immigration authorities, the police and the prisons, with this offering an opportunity for further research. As outlined by the magistrates, the YCLP offered a number of benefits. Due to its voluntary nature, the courts could easily integrate the program into court-mandated sanctions, such as a good behaviour bond, so the young adult could continue to receive support and gradually detach from being dependent on the program to becoming able to independently manage and sustain their life adjustments.

10. Inform policy and secure further funds to sustain and replicate the program

The YCLP provides a unique program for young adult offenders aged 18–25 years within Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region and, it seems, also from further afield. For this cohort, a policy and service delivery vacuum exists between governments and within the not-for-profit (NFP) sector: the YCLP provides an early evidence base that underpinning multidisciplinary service delivery is best practice for this cohort for a number of reasons, as indicated throughout this evaluation. Coupled with the economic benefits, this would suggest that the provision of funding to enable expansion of the program to key high-need local government areas, with similar demographics, could provide an opportunity to provide pro-social alternatives to criminal activity and prison, and commence the process of articulating this through policy for the treatment of young adults, at least at a local level.

11. Communicate how the research contributes to the broader goals of preventing young adults' involvement in criminal activity

With regard to the high economic and social costs of incarceration, pre-sentence programs can help to break the cycle of offending by addressing the underlying causes of crime and addiction before a young adult becomes embroiled in the criminal justice system. Collectively, such therapeutic social interventions are considered to be more effective and economically viable than punitive responses such as incarceration. This is confirmed in James McGuire's paper "What works in reducing criminality" in which it was demonstrated that interventions delivered in a community setting are more effective than those delivered in prisons or detention centres (McGuire, 2000; Trotter, 2007). Furthermore, the literature review undertaken by Shelley Turner and Chris Trotter (Turner and Trotter, 2010) highlights the evidence that a specialist model of case management is beneficial for addressing complex and ongoing needs of clients. Case managers within this model have specialist skills and training for a particular context and work with specific clients such as those at high risk of recidivism. The current research confirms that the YCLP design and delivery are totally aligned to current research findings for best practice in working with adult offenders aged 18–24 years.

12. Inform future similar models of intervention

The unique value propositions of the YCLP that are able to inform future similar models of intervention are as follows:

- It is a targeted specifically at 18–25 year olds, a group with higher than average rates of reoffending and re-imprisonment. During the last two years, the number of young people in Victoria's prison system has increased by 16%, to more than 750, costing the government an estimated $91 million per annum.

- It is embedded in a co-located multi-youth services model (20 internal not-for-profit [NFP] services which include health, education, employment, drug and alcohol services, housing, mentoring, family case management, new arrival support and recreation programs). This enables straightforward referrals based on immediate service assessment, intake and response thereby increasing accessibility and engagement. Established professional relationships across the range of services increase the likelihood of young adults effectively engaging in a more positive and meaningful manner to address the factors contributing to their offending. In discussing justice models of intervention similar to that of the YCLP, Pope et al. (2016) highlight that:

> … new models are sensitive to social context and to the myriad factors that may overlap with mental illness, but are also closely linked to the characteristics of socially disadvantaged communities. They thus share the perspective of a social determinants model—a focus on the circumstances in which people are born, grow up, live, work, and age, that is more focused on inequality than illness in affecting health (Pope et al., 2016:6).

- It is a well-established, reputable and place-based program that is physically located in close proximity to the Sunshine Magistrates' Court, facilitating a streamlined referral and communication pathway with the court and police services;

- It is located close to a major transport hub, enabling easy access to the Visy Cares Hub from any municipality in the Western Metropolitan Region of Melbourne;

- It provides a systemic response to alleviate the ever-increasing blockage at the front end of the justice system through advocacy and practical supports and interventions within a social justice framework that complements rather than competes with existing public sector and not-for-profit (NFP) programming, structures and processes;

- It provides an alternative community justice solution to disengaged young adults' experience of repetitive remand and imprisonment through greater use and mobilisation of youth-specific resources that target the root causes of offending for young adults; and

- It provides a real opportunity to respond to the 'call for action' from community organisations to do more to prevent young adults' overall involvement in the criminal justice system, with this appealing to a number of other communities with similar disadvantages to the community in Sunshine, where young adults are overly represented within the criminal justice system. Based on an examination of the SEIFA data of the most disadvantaged suburbs and overlaid with Crime Statistics Agency (CSA) data on offences committed by young offenders by postcode, coupled with the likely profile of young adult offenders aged 18–25 years, it is evident that the YCLP should be expanded to include the high-priority areas of Melbourne, Frankston, Dandenong and Broadmeadows local government areas. Having a program such as the YCLP would enable the coordination of interventions by examining place-level risk factors across environment and social factors, offering greater potential to reduce recidivism and, more importantly, enabling the young adult to engage meaningfully in their community and social context. As an opportunity to prevent further contact with the criminal justice system, expansion of the YCLP makes sense.

However, expansion would have to consider and make provision for the following:

What the 'hub and spoke' model would look like within these local communities and identification of the primary stakeholders who would be optimising interagency response and collaboration;

How it would be financed and sustained; and

Scoping current youth service providers to determine the gap in current service delivery to enable the effective 'wrapping of appropriate and timely services' around the young adult.

All of the above aspects are achievable in an up-scaled model, provided that funding is made available.

5.2.1 Conclusion on 12 YCLP objectives

Having addressed the 12 objectives of the YCLP, the evidence indicates that, while there were changes to the program over time, the broad foundational objectives were fulfilled. The following section outlines the six major aspects that changed within the YCLP over the implementation period:

***Increased confidence and credibility*:** The implementation of the YCLP took considerable time and depended, in part, on the expectations placed on the program by the external stakeholders, particularly the magistrates. As a consequence, some of the original referral criteria changed as did the profile of the young adult participants on the program. Initially, the program was established for those who had committed low-level offences and had minimal offending behaviour with this later broadened to include young adults who had committed more serious offences and who presented with multiple and much more complex welfare issues than were originally anticipated. These changes occurred in response to:

- an increase in the magistrates' confidence that the program processes were reliable;
- the reports that, in providing high-quality and vital information from a pre-sentence perspective, were informative and helpful for the sentencing process;
- attendance by the case managers at all sentencing appearances which made it easy for the magistrates to obtain clarity about the report content as well as additional verbal information if required; and
- the ability to maximise the young adults' access to a structured program that could deliver the anticipated outcomes, with the magistrates lacking alternative referral pathways for young adults at the point of pre-sentence.

Furthermore, the case managers acquired increased confidence in managing more complex young adults presenting with multiple problems and issues. This overall broadening of the YCLP led to a number of unintended aspects that included:

- the need to increase the number of case managers from two to three as additional funding became available, in response to growing demand through the magistrates' increased confidence in the program's benefits;
- staffing remaining constant over the duration of the program which was instrumental in reinforcing the stability and reliability of the program for the courts; and
- the increased number of magistrates and courts making referrals. The YCLP was established for the Sunshine and Werribee Magistrates' Courts. However, the reputation of its benefits spread to other courts, including Melbourne Magistrates' Court, the County Court and Broadmeadows Magistrates' Court, as a result of the same defence lawyers presenting in the different courts and the rotation of magistrates after their three-year term.

Over time, impacts on referrals created fluctuations in the number of young adult participants in the program. While caseloads did not fall below 15 per case manager at any time, there were periods when the three case managers were holding up to and in excess of 30 cases. These referral fluctuations were due to the magistrates' awareness of the program and this required ongoing presentations and constant reminders that the program existed. The following factors contributed to the fluctuations:

Forced attrition of magistrates: the magistrates typically served three-year tenures at a specific Magistrates' Court and were then rotated to work at another court, which resulted in a loss of support and knowledge about the YCLP;

Natural attrition of magistrates: some magistrates retired or resigned;

Inclination of magistrates: not all magistrates had empathy for or understanding about the specific needs of young adults, with these magistrates tending to use sentencing disposals intended only for adults that were unhelpful (fines) and punitive (community corrections orders [CCOs]);

Court processes: some magistrates did not want to adjourn or defer cases or did not want to 'part hear' cases (where another magistrate would complete the case at a later date) and would instead deal with the matter there and then;

Client choice: the young adult preferred to have their case dealt with swiftly and requested to proceed to sentencing (often in the absence of legal representation) without knowing about or being able to take the opportunity of participating in the program;

Client not adequately informed or represented: in the current climate of reduced legal aid funding, the young adult did not have the court process explained to them and was not encouraged to (or could not afford to) have legal representation and therefore missed out on the opportunity of being referred to the YCLP; and

Defence lawyers' lack of awareness: some duty lawyers and new defence lawyers were not aware of the YCLP and may not have encouraged the magistrates to consider the YCLP in their pre-sentence representations for young adults.

***Increased complexity of presenting issues*:** The young adults presented with issues of greater than expected complexity and demonstrable vulnerability in terms of mental ill-health, entrenched substance addictions and behavioural problems. This often meant that the case managers had to extend their support and relationship building to include the young adult's family members, romantic partner and children as they would be instrumental in reinforcing structures that had been put in place for the young adult outside of the program interventions.

***Increased severity and quantity of presenting offences*:** While the program was initially established for young adults who had committed low-level offences, as previously stated, this subsequently changed and more young adults were referred with very serious offences of violence, dangerous driving, robbery and drug offences, as well as lengthy offending histories, with this not originally intended nor anticipated.

***Efficiencies created*:** A number of efficiencies were created for the Magistrates' Court in terms of processing the young adults' cases:

1. Cases were 'stood down' (part-heard in the morning and held over to the afternoon to be finalised) to enable the young adults to undergo a psycho-social assessment.
2. Defence lawyers and barristers often pre-empted a referral to the program by requesting a psycho-social assessment to be carried out ahead of the young adult's court appearance.
3. Young adults on the YCLP recommended to their friends that they recommend the program to their lawyers as it had helped them in the court process.
4. Case managers developed stronger and more reliable relationships with representatives from the broad range of both internal and external services that needed to be accessed for/by the young adults. This created efficiencies in referral processes, improved the case management process, opened up lines of communication between workers, and created stronger and more reliable relationships between services and greater levels of support between workers. In addition, regular secondary consultation meetings were set up, particularly in relation to mental health and drug and alcohol services rather than making time-consuming paper-based referrals that may have proved inappropriate. Overall, this mechanism reduced bureaucracy, but it also encouraged face-to-face contact that created higher levels of trust, reciprocity and openness between individual workers and, therefore, between services. It was evident that 'organisational capital' was being generated through these ongoing interactions.
5. Over time, young adults with similar cases or profiles were referred to the YCLP and the case managers' familiarity with these similarities created efficiencies and savings in time and money. The magistrates came to know the case managers through regular presentations, court appearances and work lunches thus improving and strengthening relationships with the YCLP staff and enabling the magistrates to see the services and facility to which they were referring the young adults.

Assessments in police cells for young adults on remand: Another significant shift in practice emerged due to the pressure and overcrowding in police cells where young adults were held when arrested and remanded. The case managers were requested to carry out psycho-social assessments in prison cells before the magistrates would consider bail and, even though the Court Integrated Services Program (CISP) could carry out this role, the YCLP was the preferred referral point specifically for young adults. This strengthened the relationship with the local police and provided a positive foundation for the work between the case manager and the young adults who were relieved that they had been released. The experience of being locked up for even a short period, particularly for first-time offenders, was sufficient enough to encourage them to comply with the YCLP, as they then had an indication of what they could be facing if they refused. The psycho-social assessment was adjusted to incorporate these changes, to discard redundant information and to refine other information as greater familiarity with the needs of the young adults informed higher levels of complex practice. A few of the magistrates emphasised the importance of carrying out the YCLP psycho-social assessments in the police cells for the following reasons: "[It e]nables the court to have [a] better overview of young people quicker, thus providing a sound basis for bail when none previously existed" (Mag.4) and "[t]his is a fabulous initiative" (Mag.5).

Changes to court processes that affected the YCLP: The introduction of judicial monitoring by the magistrates into the YCLP process (usually reserved for CISP cases) to give them a higher level of control over the progress made by the young adults generated additional work for the case managers, as they were expected to provide more interim and update reports to the courts. However, therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ), in this respect, revealed itself as a meaningful asset to the YCLP and indicated that the program was being integrated into the court process, with a greater level of accountability. Furthermore, the YCLP interventions were listed as a condition of bail, and if the young adult failed to attend, they were effectively in breach of their bail conditions. This apparent coercive measure undertaken by the magistrates was to increase compliance with and attendance at the YCLP, but was in conflict with the voluntary and choice aspect of the program. A trend began to emerge among the magistrates who were unconvinced that a community corrections order (CCO) would provide the same benefits and outcomes for young adults as the YCLP, with this leading to the program being listed as a condition on court orders. Changes in legislation had restricted the magistrates' sentencing options and they attempted to tie the benefits of the pre-sentence program into continuing in the sentenced order, with this highlighted in the following views of the case managers:

> The changes in the Sentencing Act in regard to the abolishment of suspended sentences have affected the program in that magistrates are now moving straight into sentenc[ing] without a deferral period as the outcome is inevitable (dependent on the seriousness of their offending) as they have limited room to move on the sentencing scale—either [community] corrections order or prison and, increasingly, magistrates are combining both as part of the disposition e.g., short terms of imprisonment followed by a [community corrections order] CCO upon exit from prison with the YCLP as a condition when they exit (CM.2).

> Due to CCOs being the only real sentencing disposition left, a large number of YCLP clients are being sentenced to CCOs and, increasingly, it is also a condition of their CCO that they continue to engage with the YCLP as part of their order. This is not only confusing for the young person but it is also a strain on resources when the client still requires a high level of support which is not offered through [Community] Corrections and the relationship is already established between the young person and the case manager. [Community] Corrections comes from a different framework which impacts [on] their ability to engage the young person and more often the young person will breach their order due to non-attendance or compliance issues for a range of reasons which [Community] Corrections does not understand. [Community] Corrections also relies heavily on the relationship already built between the young person and case manager in instances where they are trying to locate the young person, reminding [them] of appointments and [giving] encouragement to comply with the conditions of the order. It is frustrating as [Community] Corrections need to look at the way they conduct [Community] corrections orders when dealing with 18–25 year olds and whether it should be tailored and more age-specific (CM.3).

These changes impacted on the case managers and added to their workload as they were often expected to carry out the therapeutic work for which Community Correctional Services (Community Corrections or CCS) received funding but which they were unable to do as their caseloads were reportedly too high (50–70 per worker). The case manager's quotation below provides an insight into this dilemma:

> The magistrates often ask us to continue the work we have done with a client who has been placed on [Community] Corrections. In many cases, they are overly reliant on this and [Community] Corrections do not have to do their own work because we do it for them, as we have a better relationship with the young adults (CM.1).

These changes also impacted on the magistrates in their treatment of young adults. In relation to Victorian Legal Aid funding cuts, the magistrates expressed the following:

> [the impact was] [e]normous: Legal Aid apply strict criteria to (non-)representation. Young adults see this as another rejection and see they have very few options and there are more unrepresented young people facing the courts (Mag.1).

> Probably less young people are now legally represented, so something like YCLP is even more important (Mag.4).

> Often young people are left to appear in court on their own (Mag.5).

Moreover, changes in sentencing legislation restricted the sentencing disposals that magistrates had available for young adults, as expressed in the following statements:

> Removing the ability to suspend a term of imprisonment will have enormous impact on the young. It supposes a term of imprisonment wholly suspended will be replaced by a

community corrections order that presupposes they are able to undertake such an order (physically and/or mentally); otherwise the options are very limited (Mag.1).

Changes, such as mandatory programs with requirements to pay large sums of money or licences will be suspended/disqualified indefinitely, are a serious problem (Mag.5).

5.3 Part 2: Young adults

The second part of this chapter analyses the efficacy of the interventions in being able to increase linking social capital for young adults, in order to prevent incarceration. The introduction provides an overview of the profile data (demographics/characteristics) of the sample of 60 young adult participants in the study:

Sex: In terms of the sex of the young adults, most (86.7%, 52/60) were males and only 13.3% (8/60) were females. Having more males than females in the sample was not by design and indicates, in line with other studies, that young adults who commit offences at this age tend to be predominantly male.

Ethnic origin/identity: Indicative of the cultural diversity for which Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region is renowned, the sample reflected the broader population of young people and families. Although the African population is relatively new (in the last 10–15 years), they are heavily represented in the YCLP statistics, relative to the more established communities of Australian (Anglo and Euro) and Pasifika (Pacific islanders) in the region.

Table 5.2: Ethnic origin/cultural identity

Ethnic origin/cultural identity	Frequency	Valid percent
Australian (Anglo and Euro)	36	59
African	12	21.3
Pasifika	7	11.7
Asian/Indian	4	6.3
ATSI	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Note: The cultural identity of the young adults broadly represented the diverse youth population in Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region. ATSI=Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

Age at time of referral: The age distribution was consistent with other research studies, in particular, those that relate to the current societal shifts impacting on the age–crime curve which indicate that offending rates increase when aged in the early 20s and begin to decline in the mid-20s as is shown in Table 5.3 below. There was no obvious explanation for peak offending within the cohort at ages 21 years (23.3%, 14/60) and 23 years (25%, 15/60), although this finding highlights an opportunity for future research.

Table 5.3: Age at time of referral

Age at time of referral	Frequency	Valid percent
18 years	5	8.3
19 years	7	11.7
20 years	5	8.3
21 years	14	23.3
22 years	4	6.7
23 years	15	25
24 years	5	8.3
25 years	5	8.3
Total	60	100

Note: Data extrapolated from SPSS indicate that 21–23 years was the peak offending age of the cohort.

Geographical area: The young adults who participated in the YCLP lived within Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region. The YCLP is located in the City of Brimbank with 40% (24/60) of the young adults coming from that municipality, closely followed by the municipalities of Melton with 23.3% (14/60) and Hobsons Bay and Wyndham which were equally represented with 11.7% (7/60).

Offence types (the most serious)*:* Violent offences (25%, 15/60) and offences of dishonesty (25%, 15/60) featured most prolifically, constituting half of all offence types recorded. Traffic offences were also high at 15% (9/60), followed by illicit drug offences (13.3%, 8/60) and, not surprisingly given the high levels of violence in Melbourne's West, breaches of intervention orders (IVOs) by young adults were at 10% (6/60), where the original offence had been an act or acts of violence. Of these original acts of violence, the data indicated that all were committed against a family member or a romantic partner, indicating fractured relationships for at least 10% of the sample group.

Table 5.4: Offence types

Offence types	Frequency	Valid percent
Breach of intervention order (IVO)	6	10
Property damage and environmental pollution	3	5
Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences	9	15
Acts intending to cause injury/dangerous acts	15	25
Robbery, extortion, fraud, theft, deception and related offences	15	25
Unlawful entry with intent/burglary, break and enter	4	6.7
Illicit drug offences	8	13.3
Total	60	100

Note: Young adults facing matters related to sexual offences were not eligible to participate in the program.

Motives for offending: When the offences above were overlaid with the expressed motives for committing them, it was noteworthy that, for 23.3% (14/60) of the young adults, using illicit drugs was the key driver for offending, followed by anger management issues at 20% (12/60) and not having any money at 15% (9/60).

Table 5.5: Motives for offending

Motives for offending	Frequency	Valid percent
Friends/peers	6	10
Mental health	1	1.7
Gang	1	1.7
Area I live in	1	1.7
Drugs	14	23.3
Boredom	5	8.3
Anger	12	20
No money	9	15
Have to drive	5	8.3
Alcohol	6	10
Total	60	100

Note: Data were extrapolated from the self-reported motives for offending in the original psycho-social assessment and were input as a variable on SPSS, outlining the triggers and causes of offending for the young adults.

Table 5.6: Highest previous court disposal

Highest previous court disposal	Frequency	Valid percent
Prison	20	33.3
Fine	16	26.7
Community work	6	10
Youth justice	4	6.7
Diversion	1	1.7
Corrections	2	3.3
None	11	18.3
Total	60	100

Highest previous court disposal: In terms of the young adults' highest previous court disposal, the data showed that only 1.7% (1/60) of the 33.3% (20/60) who indicated 'prison' had received a prison ***sentence***, thus indicating that 31.6% (19/60) had been remanded to prison on offences for which they did not receive an eventual prison sentence. This figure also included those young adults who had served a period on remand for the current offences that had brought them to the program. Why they had been remanded was not exactly clear. However, if the offence was serious enough to attract a prison sentence then, on the grounds of protecting the community, remand is what would have been expected. This may also strengthen the evidence that the YCLP interventions assisted in preventing prison from being the eventual outcome for 31.3% of the young adults. The magistrates often stated, at the point of sentencing in court that, had it not been for the YCLP and the effort made by the young adult as a result of the interventions, they would have been sent to prison. One magistrate stated that:

> Six months ago, I would have been certain that if you continued to lead the life you were leading, you would have ended up in prison. However, this is a program that makes a difference in the lives of people which no other program does ... (Mag.1).

The direct correlation of this across cases has not been measured it but would be another interesting area for further research.

Table 5.7: Court outcome/disposal

Court outcome/disposal	Frequency	Valid percent
Referral accepted but did not comply	11	18.3
Prison	1	1.7
Community corrections order	9	15
Good behaviour bond without conviction	23	38.3
Suspended sentence	10	16.7
Remand to prison	2	3.3
Youth justice	2	3.3
Acute mental health intervention – no YCLP	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Note: The court outcomes demonstrated a high level of low-tariff sentencing disposals in response to quite serious offences, indicating the credit given for effort made by the young adults to create positive change and avoid further offending.

Court outcome/disposal: The data indicate that only one young adult (1.7%, 1/60) received a prison sentence even though they had participated in the program. The high percentage (38.3%, 23/60) of young adults who received a good behaviour bond was particularly significant. This indicated the magistrates' willingness to give them credit for their positive progress, but also enabled them to continue to engage in the YCLP to complete their interventions and treatment.

Typical needs: At the point of the young adult undertaking the psycho-social assessment, the YCLP staff recorded their needs. On average, seven domains of need were identified for each young adult, with the most common needs relating to employment, education, unpaid fines, substance misuse, mental health and physical health. The information collected by the program staff provided evidence of the underlying causes of offending for many of the young adults in the program: it was also used to inform the mix of services selected for provision to each young adult. The remaining 18.3% (11/60) of young adults were accepted in the YCLP and, while this indicated an intention to undertake interventions, they were non-compliant (i.e. they did not complete the entire program).

The case managers took each case on its individual merits which was consistent with the widely held belief that you cannot separate a young adult's history from their adolescent experience. For example, Gleuck and Gleuck (1940) suggest using a life-course perspective to interpret the reasons behind young people's criminality. However, Barry (2006) implies that this may not be wholly sufficient in explaining the differences between different young

people and the types of offences they commit in young adulthood, as outlined in the following statement:

> … the literature on [the] onset of offending focuses on self control, social control and opportunities that meet young people's opportunities for personal identity and social development. However, such theories tend not to relate offending to the socio-legal position of many disadvantaged young people in the transition to adulthood, nor can they readily explain differences between ethnicity, gender, class and age and variations in rates and types of offending over time (Barry, 2006:18).

It appears then that each case is unique and the processes at play are very different for each young adult. Barry (2006) states that "[o]ffending could be seen during this period as a means, however misguided, of achieving economic, social or personal means" (Barry, 2006:19).

However, while this may explain offences of dishonesty, it does not explain offences of violence, or breaches of statutory orders and interventions. Some other offences indicated feeling pressure or a desire to be socially accepted and to fit in with their peers. This was highlighted in the motive category where 10% (6/60) cited the reason for offending was the influence of their friends. It may also indicate that, due to their young years and lack of maturity, young adults are less willing to take responsibility for their actions and, therefore, apportion blame to their friends.

Several elements or features to potentially help the young adults achieve success emerged from the findings. Those young adults showing the greatest gains had demonstrated a desire and willingness to change for the better (71.7%, 43/60). It seemed that the time was right for them and they were ready to accept the help that was being offered and, as a result, they were receptive and responsive. All YCLP participants had pleaded guilty which, in itself, may have indicated a level of ownership and responsibility for their behaviour. The data showed that, at the point of the psycho-social assessment, this was often (56.7%, 34/60) accompanied by remorse and shame due to reflecting on what they had done. In terms of the other young adults, 25% (15/60) said they felt no remorse, 10% (6/60) claimed not to feel anything and 8.3% (5/60) stated that they felt some remorse.

The young adults were expected by both the magistrates and the case managers to be open to change and, although they were not a homogeneous group with the same levels of development, ability, inclination and motivation to change, they could equally be encouraged to enact change within their individual circumstances. Furthermore, the traditional markers or indicators of adulthood used for the purpose of the analysis of the data on the young adults were sufficiently broad to include all young adults. These were defined as *family*

creation and formation (cohabitation, marriage, children); *education and employment leading to socio-economic progress* (housing, regular income, owning a car); *physical and mental health* (psycho-social-bio measures of adjustment for adulthood, including the reduction of risk or increase in pro-social behaviour); and *identity formation* (Arnett, 2000; Mahaffy, 2003). The analysis on the young adults' progress explored the 'distance travelled' from program commencement to the end of a 12-month follow-up period. The highlights included the following:

- Compliance levels with case managers and subsequent service interventions;
- Recidivism rates while on the program and after they exited the program;
- Number and level of community justice intervention services with which the young adults engaged;
- Overall employment rates (unemployed versus active pathway/secured job);
- Housing (homelessness [including instability]) versus active pathway/or securing stable housing;
- Driving (no licence versus obtaining licence);
- Relationships in terms of whether they improved over time with family, romantic partners, friends and/or offspring; and
- Health (including alcohol and other drugs/substances [AOD] – detox and mental health).

These highlights are explained in more detail below:

- **Compliance levels with case managers and subsequent service interventions**

The ongoing effort by the case managers to encourage compliance levels was manifested in the process of linking social capital. When asked to define social capital, the case managers highlighted links to social institutions and the people connected with those institutions and the links achieved through addressing domains in the young adult's life that enabled them to protect themselves against risk. One of the case managers stated that social capital was:

> the term used to describe a person's links to various social institutions, such as community, family, friends, employment; used as a measure of a young person's success or detriment in a community; can be defined as pro-social/protective or antisocial (CM.1).

This broad understanding of social capital by the case managers has much in common with the basic attributes of linking social capital. It has been recognised that support services can play an important role in assisting young adults to navigate structural barriers in order to reduce further marginalisation and exclusion as they move towards adulthood (OECD

1998:24) and that, in essence, this constitutes linking social capital. As stated in the following:

> Social capital itself consists of social networks and connections – 'contacts and group memberships which, through the accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities, provide actual or potential support and access to valued resources'. It also includes sociability, the disposition and skill to sustain and use those networks (Bourdieu 1993:143).

However, even though linking social capital had been mobilised by the case managers, this did not mean that the young adults utilised those resources. Foley and Edwards (1999) state that social capital may not be mobilised when people lack the knowledge of how to make it useful for themselves, adding that an inability to function within "normative structures" where social capital can be fostered may result in social exclusion (Foley and Edwards, 1999).

A significant part of the case managers' role was to engender trust and rapport as an initial step in the case management process. Upon gaining trust and rapport, the case manager could facilitate a young adult becoming both a consumer and a producer of social capital through being able to access a range of community resources. During the period of intensive case management, the young adult engaged with the case manager approximately 20–30 times across the life of the program in addition to engaging with a range of other practitioners. During this period, they were also required to return to court, often at short notice, for judicial monitoring purposes. A high level of commitment was demanded from the young adult: if they were unable to make an appointment, they had to alert their case manager and set up an alternative time to meet. Although not surprising given the often chaotic lives led by many young adults involved in the criminal justice system, some of the young adults on the YCLP had a problem with non-compliance (11.7%, 7/60). One of the case managers cited some of the reasons for a young adult's non-compliance:

> They have difficulty getting to appointments. Some clients are fearful of public transport; they hate public transport, or can't afford public transport—and are not allowed to or cannot drive. Often if they can drive, they do not have access to a car. These young people will not come in. Some find the distance too far and just don't come in. Some struggle with the motivation. Disinterest in the program. Some people do not feel they need support and choose not to come. Drug use. Many drop off the radar for a period of time due to chaotic substance use and cannot attend or are unable to attend. Lack of motivation. Some want to come on the program and attend but just do not come in. Reasons are unknown for some—there are a number of non-compliers who we just cannot get hold of or speak to and [who] do not come in. I suspect mental health or substance use (CM.1).

This quotation clearly indicated the diversity of need and complexity within the young adult cohort, particularly given that they presented with a number of concerns at the same time. Any of those interrelated challenges could have affected the young adult's ability to attend

appointments and it was, therefore, difficult to isolate one challenge at any given time. It was also the case that the young adult may have initially attended the program but, due to an erupting crisis, such as homelessness or relationship and family problems, they became unable to attend and so were deemed non-compliant at the end of the program.

Non-compliance on the YCLP was considered to be symptomatic of the general life experience of many of the young adults and their inability to conform and adhere to social norms. It could be argued that crime is a clear manifestation of non-compliance and of the flouting of societal rules and norms. Non-compliance was due to a number of reasons including:

- simply not wanting to engage as they did not fear or care about the court outcome, or failed to see how the program could benefit them, or were familiar with the criminal justice system and just did not want to attend;
- being uncontactable due to not owning a mobile phone or having lost it, they were not able to replace it, or they had replaced it and failed to give the case manager their new number;
- living in unstable housing and, therefore, being transient which, for many young adults, was a high stressor. This prevented the case managers from being able to contact them by letter and was additionally complicated if they did not have a phone; and
- not having anyone they could put down as an emergency contact due to severely fractured family relationships and friendships (if there was no other way of contacting them, the case managers had sought consent to contact their emergency contact). Some of the young adults would use their current partner's phone number and, as relationships for the young adults were frequently short-lived or unstable, contact was often not possible.

However, a high percentage (88.3%, 53/60) complied with the YCLP and even though they faced some of these structural challenges, such as unstable housing and loss of their phone, they made an ongoing effort to 'drop in' regularly, or had been provided with a regular time and date each week which encouraged routine and compliance. This highlighted that some young adults, who were exposed to the same environment or who experienced similar psychological characteristics, responded differently to the program and the interventions that were available to them. Moderate stress and apprehension may have played a positive part in compliance levels for some of the young adults, and the knowledge that they were going

to be sentenced at the end of their program may have been a motivator towards positive change. One case manager provided insight into promoting compliance which required:

> Openness and understanding – the case manager has to be open to a client's beliefs and ideals, being aware that even if this does not sit with their own personal values, they need to understand that this does not necessarily mean the client is wrong. Understanding that a client has their own truth. Although the facts may not work out, the client may legitimately believe that this is what/why this happened. Also understanding that if a client has never learnt otherwise, then, of course, they are going to act how they feel is best. Flexible and able to work under pressure and work with crises as they appear. Patience. Workers need to be emotionally stable and strong – able to withstand transference and handle rejection and frustration and setbacks and you also need to be organised (CM.1).

Once the young adults were successfully engaged in the regular counselling sessions with the case managers, linking them with the other services was much more straightforward. The young adults attended appointments with the other necessary services and then reported back to the case manager on their progress. One magistrate highlighted the benefits of the multi-agency approach in the following quotation, describing the YCLP as:

> … a program that is 'one stop shopping!' [The] YCLP completes a full assessment and makes referrals to Headspace, D&A [drug and alcohol] counselling; YSAS [Youth Support + Advocacy Service]; training, education, addresses isolation and community dislocation. It also has young staff who are able to relate to young people (Mag.5).

Communication, coordination and collaboration between services were enhanced through the case management framework. This was unlikely to be as cohesive, efficient and effective without one key person controlling and managing the young adult's case and attending to their best interests, with the primary goal of assisting them to avoid further offending behaviour. As one magistrate stated: "[t]here is case management and therapeutic engagement by [the] case manager with the young person, and a sense of reinforcing their self-worth through achieving better connections to help themselves in their communities" (Mag.4).

In addition, the case managers viewed stability within the magistracy to be of utmost importance in the sustainability of the program: they referred to the need for the magistrates to build trust and rapport with them and vice versa, which is the same expectation they had between themselves and the young adults.

- **Recidivism rates while on the program and after they exited the program**

In all, 53 of the 60 (88.3%) young adults complied with the YCLP and, of that total, only 5.6% (3/53) committed further offences while on the program. This highlighted the high level of the non-reoffending rate at 95% while on the program. In terms of young adults committing offences after program completion, up to the 12-month follow-up checks, the statistics are shown on the following table:

Table 5.8: Offending rate after program

Offending rate after program	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	4	6.7
Yes	10	16.7
No	46	76.7
Total	60	100

These figures indicated a non-reoffending rate of 76.7% (46/60), with 16.7% (10/60) known to have committed further offences in the 12-month follow-up period. It is uncertain what those offences were and how they were dealt with in the Magistrates' Courts, which again would be an opportunity for further research.

- **Community justice intervention services with which the young adults engaged**

Table 5.9: Number of services engaged with when on YCLP

Number of services engaged with when on YCLP	Frequency	Valid percent
YCLP only	1	1.7
1 additional service	1	1.7
2 services	5	8.3
3 services	15	25
4 services	18	30
5 services	7	11.7
6 or more services	13	21.7
Total	60	100

The main services previously accessed were alcohol and other drugs' support at 25% (15/60) followed by mental health at 23.3% (14/60) and then housing at 16.7% (10/60), with this information being consistent with the three primary referral points to services and areas of concern for the young adults while attending the program. The difference highlighted was that, prior to being on the YCLP, the young adult only accessed one of these services at a time, whereas on the program, many would access all three simultaneously. In the absence

of the program, the young adults could have accessed the services in a voluntary capacity at the Visy Cares Hub through the normal intake and referral processes provided by the individual services.

The Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth (LSAY) refers to this process as "network transactions" as described in the following statement:

> *Network transactions*: these are the interactions that occur within networks and between organisations and include: the provision of financial or emotional support; the sharing of knowledge, information and introductions; negotiation; and dealing with conflict. Also included in network transactions are the sanctions applied when accepted social behaviours have been ignored ... Linking social capital is described as the 'vertical' relationships with those in authority whose aim is accessing financial resources or power (Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth [LSAY], :3).

However, 8.3% (5/60) stated that they had never previously received services of any kind and indicated reasons why, such as: they felt they did not require them; did not know they existed; were not aware that the services were free of charge; or the services were too far out of the area in which they lived. Many of the young adults had never been to the Visy Cares Hub before (80%, 48/60), and did not know that it provided a range of youth services that could assist them. However, given that many of the young adults came from neighbouring municipalities, it would be unlikely, unless they were obliged to, that they would voluntarily travel to another municipality to receive services. The Magistrates' Courts in Sunshine and Werribee provide a catchment for six populous municipalities, and the Visy Cares Hub is in close proximity (a five-minute walk) from the Sunshine Magistrates' Court (the second busiest court in the State of Victoria). It can be deduced that the assistance received or the benefits gained from the YCLP interventions were made possible due to the referrals made (or opportunities created) by the magistrates or prompted by the young adults' legal representatives.

Table 5.10: Frequency of appointments with case manager

Frequency of appointments with case manager	Frequency	Valid percent
Daily	3	5
Twice weekly	9	15
Weekly	46	76.7
Fortnightly	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Table 5.10 indicates the frequency of those appointments attended by the young adults with their case managers: while the majority (76.7%, 46/60) had weekly appointments, they also

had appointments to attend with other service interventions and treatments. What was considered to be quite a high percentage (3%, 5/60) of the young adults who had complex needs and were homeless presented daily to receive material aid, such as food and travel vouchers and to use the computers and telephone to contact family or other services with which they were engaged.

- **Employment, income and social capital (unemployed versus active pathway/secured job)**

The following two tables indicate the young adults' prior (current at the time of the initial assessment) and post-program employment status. Over half (53.4%, 32/60) of the young adults were employed at the time of the offence or had secured employment between committing the offence and being referred to the program. A high proportion (8.3% 5/60) of young adults on the program had absolutely no legal income, including no Centrelink benefits. According to the data, all of these young adults were committing offences of dishonesty and were also drawing daily on material aid donations available through the YCLP, as would be expected. A proportion of the young adults had no income at all, with this being due to having no entitlement to claim benefits, for instance, if this was not allowed by their visa, or if they were so transient that they had not been able to arrange their Youth Allowance or Newstart entitlements through Centrelink.

Table 5.11: Prior YCLP employment/income

Prior YCLP employment/income	Frequency	Valid percent
Unemployed	23	38.3
No income	5	8.3
Employed	32	53.3
Total	60	100

Table 5.12 below indicates that, after the YCLP completion, those who previously had no income were engaged in either an occupation that entitled them to an income or they had been assisted to successfully process their claim for welfare benefits.

Table 5.12: Post-YCLP employment/income

Post-YCLP employment/income	Frequency	Valid percent
Unemployed	17	28.3
Employed	38	63.3
Apprenticeship	2	3.3
Study	3	5
No income	0	0
Total	60	100

Finding a job and securing a regular and reasonable income would appear to be a priority for most, if not all, young people as they transition to adulthood. The literature highlights a number of ensuing benefits from being gainfully employed in terms of having a positive self-identity, increased pride and confidence, and a sense of being in control and in charge of your personal circumstances (Billett, 2012:86). Employment is also purported to create social and economic independence for young adults, enabling them to take on the role of provider for their own partners and children. As stated by Pettit, Erath, Lansford, Dodge and Bates (2011): "... income may function as assets and create opportunities, respectively, that promote the development of social capital and positive life adjustment outcomes (e.g., education, mental health, behavioral adjustment)" (Pettit et al., 2011:2).

Those young adults engaged in meaningful occupations indicated that having a job gave them confidence and helped them in their relationships with other people, as they could pay their way. This is evidenced by 53.3% (32/60) of the young adults who had a job and also by those who stated that they were keen to find a job. Many of the young adults who were employed at the time they committed their offences feared losing their jobs as a result of their offending, with job retention cited as a motivating factor to getting their lives back on track. However, it was an ongoing challenge for the case managers, despite their recognition of the young adult's potential, to develop this area of linking social capital as having a criminal conviction, almost regardless of the nature of the offence, is a real barrier to employment. The YMCA highlights that young adults who secured employment post-release from prison had lower rates of reoffending, but that those who had a criminal record had diminished prospects of finding employment. YMCA Victoria estimates that 57% of young people with a criminal record are unable to find work (YMCA, 2011:1). Many of the young adults on the YCLP were assisted by gaining employment from a family member or a family friend who perhaps had a higher level of tolerance for or acceptance of the circumstances, in contrast to an employer to whom they were not known personally. One case manager highlighted that the challenges faced by unemployed young adults were:

> Socio-economic disadvantage seems to be entrenched and intergenerational. This can be a difficult cycle to break as there are constant barriers. I think this is a big challenge faced by young people that they spend their whole life with the same people in the same little pocket in the West and that they struggle to see a life outside of it and some don't always have the ability to foresee that their future is what they make it, not what they have been born into. If they do have big dreams and goals, they also need the encouragement to foster this drive which they don't always get or have access to; and they also have limited opportunities to build on this, as there is not much out there for young people in the West that showcases their incredible potential and skill sets (CM.2).

The literature references social capital for adults as often being directly related to their employment status which, for many young adults, is still in the process of coming to fruition. The concept of linking social capital in terms of the relationships that can broker employment opportunities for young adults, whether through family or friendship relationships, or through employment providers, is highly important. The correlation between unemployment and purposeless activity, in this case, drug use, is not uncommon for young adults and, similarly, some of the young adults in the YCLP indicated a similar response to the despair experienced through unemployment. Billett (2012) highlights, in relation to social capital and unemployment, how disenfranchised young people can become if they do not have a job, making it one of the main barriers to progress to adulthood. She states that:

> In the bigger picture the effects of unemployment upon exclusion are operational across the whole fabric of society; socially (nowhere to go, no one to know), economically (no financial independence, restricted mobility, and lack of access to public facilities), and culturally (youth are always bad – youth without money are irredeemable). These preliminary, often prejudiced forms of exclusion can and do lead to serious transgressions – property damage, criminal offences, drug misuse, teenage pregnancy, all further fracturing societal bonds (Billett, 2012:136-137).

A number of the young adults in the YCLP were eager to find work, but were unclear how to navigate their personal barriers to be able to secure employment. Many of these young adults (23.3%, 14/60) stated that that they would not have offended if they had had a job, with this evidenced by their admissions of having offended through boredom, lack of constructive activity, or for economic reasons as they did not have money. However, despite these challenges, the case managers contributed to a 10% reduction in unemployment, from 38.3% to 28.3%, for the young adults on the YCLP, and reduced the percentage of young adults with no income from 8.3% to 0%, by enabling them to access benefits through apprenticeships or study.

Education and social capital

It is acknowledged that education has a number of benefits that assist in building a young person's capacity towards independence and employment. It would be typical for a young person to have a stable secondary school education attained through one school placement. However, 98.3% (59/60) of the young adults on the YCLP had attended two or more schools throughout their secondary education, and 15% (9/60) had attended four or more schools, indicating disruption and instability during school life.

Table 5.13: Number of secondary schools attended

Number of secondary schools attended	Frequency	Valid percent
1	1	1.7
2	35	58.3
3	15	25
4	5	8.3
5	4	6.7
Total	60	100

This may partly explain why many of the young adults (63.4%, 38/60) had exited school, either by choice or coercion, before achieving Year 12 or its equivalent, as shown in Table 5.14 below.

Table 5.14: Highest education level and qualifications

Highest education level and qualifications	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	1	1.7
Year 8	11	18.4
Year 9	2	3.3
Year 10	15	25
Year 11	8	13.3
Year 12 or higher	19	31.8
No – but is keen to study	2	3.2
Currently studying	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Instability and a low rate of school retention may have been attributable to the environment in which the young adults grew up. A report issued by the OECD provides the World Health Organization's view on social capital and education, as follows: "[y]oung people living in places that lack social capital tend to perform poorly in school and have a greater probability of dropping out altogether" (OECD, 1998:36).

However, all 60 young adults answered the question on aspirations in the psycho-social assessments and all had thought about what they wanted to achieve for their future. Contrary to the perception of disadvantaged young adults not wanting to work, all 60 stated that they were willing to work. The young adult participants cited a range of reasons for not having completed Year 12, including their parent/s moving around and, therefore, moving them out of schools, and misdemeanours leading to instant expulsion with no back-up plan to relocate them to a new school. Of the young adults, a small percentage (3.2%, 2/60) were willing to consider study options; however, for most, their priority was to find paid work. Despite being early school leavers, some of the young adults self-remedied their educational circumstances by taking up opportunities, such as certificates and short courses through their job services provider, to try to become more employable. One young adult, who had previously been in prison, had also completed some certificates in construction, first aid, and health and safety.

- **Housing (homelessness [including instability]) versus active pathway/or securing stable housing**

Housing for young adults in Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region has become an enormous barrier in recent years, as affordable and accessible housing, particularly for single young people, has been impacted by gentrification. Often young people with nowhere to go and in crisis were forced to rely on substandard rooming and boarding houses or short-term stays in motels paid for by a housing service, or they had to resort to sleeping in caravan parks, refuges, tents and, sometimes, in their cars. One of the case managers highlighted that:

> Homelessness is the most significant [issue] because without housing we can't do anything. Getting clients to appointments for housing can be difficult if they have substance use issues or mental health issues. Therefore they present as very difficult too. Getting longer-term accommodation is very difficult without ID—which doesn't affect the client's well-being, but without ID it is difficult to get support (CM.1).

Table 5.15: Current housing circumstances

Current housing circumstances	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown issue	2	3.3
Homeless	8	13.3
Seeking alternative housing	4	6.7
Tense housing situation with birth family	6	10
(Unstable housing) couch surfing	5	8.3
Stable housing with birth family	22	36.7
Stable housing with partner	3	5
Stable housing with partner and their family	1	1.7
Other stable housing	9	15
Total	60	100

In terms of current housing circumstances, as recorded in the psycho-social assessments, Table 5.15 above outlines a high level of homelessness at 13.3% (8/60) with 36.7% (22/60) experiencing stability with their birth family. Many young adults during this transitional period were exploring options that would move them out of the family home and, to varying degrees, towards independence and securing stable housing.

Table 5.16: Housing post-YCLP

Housing post-YCLP	Frequency	Valid percent
No help required	26	43.3
Homeless and still unable to find accommodation	2	3.3
Homeless and found house	1	1.7
Insecure accommodation and found secure accommodation	4	6.7
Unstable housing but application under way	12	20
Unknown	1	1.7
Unstable but moving back with birth family	2	3.3
Lives with birth family but ready to move out	10	16.7
Prison	1	1.7
Moved in with partner and their family	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Safe and stable housing was found to be instrumental in providing the young adults with a platform from which to acquire other important resources. The psycho-social assessments carried out with the young adults highlighted that 13.3% (8/60) were homeless, compared to 3.3% (2/60) at the end of the program, indicating a reduction of 10% (6/60). However, 40% (24/60), including those who were ‘roofless’, fell into the other two defining categories of homelessness, stating that they were living in unstable and precarious housing environments, including ‘couch surfing’ and staying at refuges and caravan parks. One

young adult (1.7%, 1/60) wanted to move out of the family home, but as they could not afford to move out to live independently which was their preference, they had moved in with their partner and their partner's family. For many, this appeared to work well; however, in one instance, a young adult reported overcrowding and that he, along with his partner and their baby, had to sleep on a mattress on the kitchen floor. A number of young adults (10%, 6/60) stated that they felt unsafe living at home or that there were tensions at home as their offence was directly related to a violent incident that took place there. The main explanations provided by the young adults included family breakdown, as a result of divorce, and a consequent drop in income leading to diminished household income that usually impacted on their mother who struggled to make ends meet.

In addition, homelessness occurred as a result of the lack of stable housing due to the paucity of social or commission housing in an area that was also benefiting from increased property prices in Melbourne which, as previously stated, made it difficult, if not impossible, for young adults to access the private rental market as an alternative. The data also indicated that a young adult's housing circumstances mattered in terms of the supports available to them. Many of the young adults (16.7%, 10/60) were aiming to move out of their current accommodation and were eager to become independent from their parents. Some of the young adults acknowledged that since they had moved away from their parents their relationship with them had improved. In one case, a young adult secured a full-time job and highlighted an improved relationship with his father since moving out of his father's house into independent living. He stated that his relationship with his mother had also improved as she was now able to visit him more, as previously she would not go to her ex-husband's house. Moreover, as a result of the loan of his father's car which increased his mobility, this meant the young adult could also visit his mother more often. As a result of becoming financially independent, this young adult was therefore able to strengthen relationships with both his parents.

Table 5.17: Out-of-home care (Dept. of Health and Human Services)

Out-of-home care (Dept. of Health and Human Services)	Frequency	Valid percent
Yes – Residential Care	8	13.3
Adopted	1	1.7
No	51	85
Total	60	100

Note: While the majority (85%, 51/60) had not had any involvement with the Department of Health and Human Services as children, a substantial 13.3% (8/60) had, often citing fractured relationships with their birth parents in the initial assessment.

Relationships in terms of whether they improved over time with family, romantic partners, friends and/or offspring

It has been suggested by Stone, Gray and Hughes (2003) that interaction with others is important in providing individuals with identity, social roles and social support mechanisms. The case managers' role was to enable relationships by bringing a range of resources through linking social capital, such as people's knowledge, skills and abilities; their economic resources; and their status and influence (Billett, 2011:67). It emerged in the data that difficult or non-existent relationships posed significant challenges for the young adults' ability to adjust and function adequately in their daily lives. As one case manager highlighted, this may have increased risk behaviours due to an absence of protective supports:

> If you looked at the majority of young adults, relationships would be the biggest challenge for them, whether that be family, friends, intimate relationships, children and support networks. If supported, loved and not judged by at least one person, they have a safety net that they can turn to if things don't work out. If they have this, they are more likely to take positive risks, make change and move out of their comfort zone as they are not alone (CM.2).

Table 5.18: Family relationships

Family relationships	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	1	1.7
Good relationship with both parents	10	16.7
Tense relationship with both parents	15	25
Good relationship with mother – bad with dad	15	25
Good relationship with dad – bad with mum	3	5
Average relationship with both parents	9	15
Bad with mum and doesn't know dad	1	1.7
Not in contact with either parent	1	1.7
OK with mum – doesn't speak to dad	1	1.7
Good relationship with mother	3	5
Good relationship with father	1	1.7
Total	60	100

One case manager emphasised the importance of young adults having a supportive family:

> A supportive family unit provides a sense of belonging for young people. This helps to create a sense of confidence in a young person's life at the onset. They are already empowered and have increased opportunities. Those who have been raised within the close family unit do not experience the same risks as others do and generally require minimum welfare support. The majority of young people who we work with come from broken families and have chaotic relationships with both friends and family (CM.3).

Family relationships were shown to vary widely across the cohort, with many of the young adults citing tensions within the home and experiencing pressure to move out. Some of the young adults highlighted their parents' separation or divorce in their childhood, leading to a

broken family unit and fractured relationships, when they were growing up, with their parents and their parents' new partners. The young males often had tense relationships with their natural father and their step-father, adding that they were not able to be controlled by their mother. Furthermore, many of the violent offences that the young males committed were due to family conflict leading to violence between a parent and a young adult, particularly between father and son, or step-father and step-son. When the issue was raised as to whether they felt safe at home, many of the young adults still residing with their families said they did not feel safe. This was substantiated by the number of intervention orders (IVOs) that had been taken out against family members within the home and subsequently breached, indicating that the violence continued to threaten the relationship. However, not all of the young adults' home lives were negative, and many pointed to having a stable and 'normal' family home life.

Other young adults had formed significant external relationships where they were able to leave their family home and live with their romantic partner or friend. In some of these cases, the young adults cited overcrowding; however, it was noted that this relative discomfort and inconvenience were preferable to living with their birth family. Other young adults highlighted strengthened family relationships after moving out of the family home. The young adults who had a strong relationship with their family (16.7%, 10/60) highlighted their own sense of shame and disappointment and their fear of letting their family down, as a result of their offending, which often became a driver for desisting from criminal activity.

Table 5.19: Parental unit

Parental unit	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	1	1.7
Parents married	14	23.3
One parent still overseas and OK relationship with other parent	3	5
Parents divorced	37	61.7
Mother deceased	1	1.7
Father deceased	2	3.3
Parents still married/together but living apart	1	1.7
Both parents live overseas	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Bassani (2008) notes that the family group is a young person's "primary group" and generally, that the school is their "secondary group", alongside sporting clubs, and volunteer and peer groups. However, as young people grow older, the secondary groups identified by Bassani are replaced by other competing groups, such as workplaces, the creation of their

own families and, as is often the case with many disadvantaged young adults, the organisations that provide resources and services to help them (Bassani, 2008:731). It was clear that, to an extent, the case manager relationship with the young adults compensated for the absent relationships elsewhere in their lives.

Table 5.20: Immediate family relationships after YCLP

Immediate family relationships after YCLP	Frequency	Valid percent
Unchanged	51	85
Better with dad	4	6.7
Better with both mum and dad	3	5
Unknown	2	3.3
Total	60	100

This information was drawn from the self-report data collected from the young adult during their evaluation and for the purposes of their pre-sentence report for court. Notably, 11.7% (7/60) felt that their relationships had improved with their parents, due to positive changes they had made in their personal lives perhaps indicating a correlation between parents being more tolerant or accepting when their young adult children demonstrated making an effort to improve their life circumstances.

Table 5.21: Emergency contact

Emergency contact	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	1	1.7
Mother	1	1.7
Father	24	40
Partner	7	11.9
Sibling	9	15
Other family	4	6.4
Other – non-family	4	6.4
Grandfather	7	11.9
Grandmother	1	1.7
Nobody	2	3.3
Total	60	100

The data highlighted that only 1.7% (1/60) of young adults nominated their mother as their emergency contact, compared to 40% (24/60) who nominated their father. It is unclear whether this indicated a stronger relationship overall with their father. A relatively high percentage (11.9%, 7/60) provided their partner's number as, in many cases, the partner had a phone and the young adult on the program did not.

- **Young adults as carers**

It is worth noting that 35% (21/60) of the young adults had the responsibility of caring for dependants, and that 31.7% (19/60) cared for their own child, their partner's child, or that their partner was expecting their child at the time of the psycho-social assessment. The following table outlines the young adults' responsibilities as carers:

Table 5.22: Caring for a dependant

Caring for a dependant	Frequency	Valid percent
Cares for child or pregnant	19	31.7
No dependant	39	65
Cares for parent/grandparent	1	1.7
Cares for sibling	1	1.7
Total	60	100

As revealed in the biographical information provided by the young adults, some (2%, 2/60) had been subjected to parenting that was distressing and draining for them, through having to care for a parent with an entrenched drug addiction; a parent with mental ill-health; a parent who had been inconsistent, neglectful or abusive during the young adult's childhood; and/or a parent who, as a result of their own unhealthy 'youth-hood', required extensive in-home care from their young adult child. Addressing relationships of this complexity required, firstly, careful assessments by the care managers and, secondly, the provision of appropriate interventions provided by skilled specialist practitioners. A small percentage (3.4%, 2/60) of the young adults on the YCLP were informal carers who had to make compromises in their own daily lives to care for a family member because their parent was unable, or incapable, of sorting out alternative care arrangements. This responsibility fell back on the young adult.

Table 5.23: Dependent children

Dependent children	Frequency	Valid percent
None	39	65
Partner is pregnant	5	8.3
1 child	13	21.7
2 children	3	5
Total	60	100

The evidence highlighted that 35% (21/60) of the young adults had children, or were expecting children. This additional responsibility for the young adults as they transitioned towards adulthood, often without the means or maturity to adequately support their children or, in many cases, to even have access to their children, was highlighted as a great frustration in addition to them trying to get their personal lives on track.

Table 5.24: Friends/peers

Friends/peers	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	1	1.7
No friends	5	8.3
Friends who are a bad influence	14	23.3
Good friends	9	15
Mix of good and bad friends	26	43.3
One good/close friend	5	8.3
Total	60	100

Platonic friendships and stable romantic relationships were a significant feature of the young adults' social networks. Peer relationships are said to provide benefits that contribute to increased levels of trust, a sense of belonging and access to other potential friendships (Billett, 2011:60). However, it is noted that younger people tend to have peer groups that, in some cases, due to them being at an impressionable age, may become antisocial. At this point, young people have choices as to whether they participate or withdraw. The data indicated that many of the young adults were becoming more discerning about who they befriended and for what benefit or, conversely, who they 'un-friended' as they perceived them to be detrimental in their lives. When speaking to the young adults in the evaluation study, a significant proportion (10%, 6/60) had recently withdrawn from peer groups for that reason, as they had envisaged the poor returns and risks of continuing with those friendships. The increasing ability of the young adults to foresee the potential negative consequences in relationships emerged as an important revelation in assisting them to desist from further offending. When working with the young adults who were involved in negative or destructive 'peer-ships', part of the case manager's role was to help the young adult reach a point where they acknowledged that letting go of antisocial bonds and creating or strengthening pro-social bonds were much more beneficial in the long term.

- **Alcohol and other drugs/substances (AOD) use**

Table 5.25: Alcohol and other drugs/substances (AOD) use

Alcohol and other drugs/ substances use	Frequency	Valid percent
No alcohol or drug use	12	20
Uses alcohol and drugs and deals	14	23.3
Alcohol and poly-drug use	7	11.7
Uses alcohol and drugs	27	45
Total	60	100

As shown in Table 5.25, most (80%, 48/60) of the young adults were using alcohol and other drugs/substances at the point of the initial psycho-social assessment. Due to their relatively young years, many of the young adults who used illicit and prescribed substances and alcohol were not yet entrenched users. They were therefore willing to address this area of their lives, providing the potential to have a positive impact on other areas that had been unachievable, such as getting a job and maintaining healthy personal relationships. However, harm minimisation techniques for substance abuse are questionable in crime prevention, as these techniques have tended to only introduce methods to cope with ingrained AOD use and its ramifications on behaviour, rather than attempting to eradicate harmful and sometimes life-threatening behaviour (Simpson, 2005). It was difficult to engage with the young adults who presented as daily users of the drug 'ice' (methamphetamine): this operated as a major barrier to their daily functioning and their ability to motivate themselves to stabilise their lives while on the program. As one case manager illustrated in the following comment:

> Many clients are coming on to the program addicted to methamphetamine. In my experience, this has been the most difficult addiction to treat as there are no pharmacotherapy options that I am aware of and the majority of the time they are in an environment where friends, families and partners are also using. It is also not uncommon for the client to be dealing the drug and owe debts. This makes it very difficult to reduce use or have the motivation to seek support as they are surrounded by the drug. I have one client who admits he is unable to get up out of bed without smoking 'ice' as he has no motivation or energy. The drug leads to crime, people are up for days, and causes them to lose inhibitions, become violent and thieve to support the habit. Additionally, people feel 'powerful' and almost invisible and start to push the envelope on taking risks. Family violence-related crimes on my caseload have been a result of violent behaviour on 'ice'. It is a huge problem; it is very easy to get however expensive. Many clients who are addicted to 'ice' are also gambling as there is nothing to do when they are up for days, simply adding to the increase in crime rates because of financial hardship (CM.3).

A significant percentage (28.3%, 17/60) of the young adults who, at the point of the psycho-social assessment, were deemed in need of receiving interventions for high-level AOD use, were offered support but chose not to accept it. This was a choice afforded to the young

adults on the YCLP which meant that the case managers, while continuing to encourage change as the young adults progressed, had to negotiate change with often substance-affected clients. However, 33.3% (20/60) of the young adults actively addressed their high use and, in the final evaluation, the pre-sentence report to court indicated a marked reduction, if not abstinence, having engaged in treatment through detox, rehabilitation and counselling. Only 3.3% (2/60) claimed that, despite interventions, they had not experienced a change in their circumstances.

Table 5.26: Improvement in use of alcohol and other drugs/substances (AOD)

AOD improvement	Frequency	Valid percent
Unchanged	2	3.3
No help required	21	35
Reduction in alcohol	5	8.3
Reduction in drugs	6	10
Offered but refused	17	28.3
Reduction in alcohol and drugs	9	15
Total	60	100

The evidence indicated obvious improvements in the proportion (33%, 20/60) of the young adults who reduced and controlled their use of alcohol and other substances. However, a higher percentage (28.3%, 17/60) were offered interventions to assist them to address their substance use issue, which they had highlighted as being a concern, but refused to accept the assistance

- **Health and social capital (including mental health)**

A young adult's general health, mental presence (mindfulness) and stability are determinants of social capital and can influence the type and quality of relationships they have and whether these relationships are beneficial or destructive. Social links and bonds are required for young adults to form attachments to others in a meaningful way, to develop a sense of belonging, to feel and be loved and to be able to reciprocate love. It is widely reported that good mental health affects relationships: the case managers assisted the young adults to be discerning in their relationships, to understand the intrinsic health value of their relationships and to be able to maintain those interpersonal ties and romantic relationships that provided support in their daily lives. According to writers Siahpush and Singh (1999), good health and well-being are a precursor to effective social integration into the community. Connecting this notion to the current study, the young adults who were seen to have stable mental health were more likely to have the confidence to build and maintain

close ties and healthy friendships and, as a result, to feel a greater sense of belonging. If highlighted as an issue in the psycho-social assessment, the young adults' mental health was considered a priority. As one case manager stated:

> Generally it is my first port of call for mental health to be attended to. We try to have regular meetings to help streamline the referral process into mental health responses as young people can often feel a stigma attached to this and can resist it (CM.1).

Two case managers indicated how the team maximised the expertise of mental health practitioners through secondary consultations to ensure that appropriate referrals were being made to avoid unnecessary time wasting:

> Secondary consultations with program access clinicians are conducted every three weeks, and sometimes more urgently if required, where we present new clients that may need mental health support, and follow up on clients who have [accessed] or are accessing Headspace. I also access the sexual health nurse and doctors for other health needs including direct care and further referrals (CM.2).

> Secondary consult meetings every three weeks with mental health nurse and intake staff member. Telephone referrals for clients to access psychologist, psychiatrist or GP [general practitioner], and making referrals to sexual health nurse (CM.3).

Table 5.27: Mental health risk/injury

Mental health risk/injury	Frequency	Valid percent
1-Depressed	11	18.3
2-Anxious	15	25
3-Extreme anger	13	21.7
4-Paranoid	2	3.3
5-No risk	9	15
6-Bipolar	7	11.7
7-Schizophrenic	2	3.3
8-Grief	1	1.7
Total	60	100

It is also known that stable mental health and social integration correlate with lower suicide rates which is critically important for young adults as their age group is the one most likely to struggle with a range of socio-economic-health issues (Siahpush and Singh, 1999; ABS, 2004:89). Young people, with experience of disadvantage and vulnerability, often lack the supportive structures necessary in young adulthood for their nurturing and healthy development. Consequently, the pressures of transitioning from adolescence to adulthood can, in some cases, be too difficult to face (Collings and Beautrais, 2005): the literature indicates that the group aged between 16 and 25 years and males, in particular, were vulnerable. In 1997, suicide was the leading cause of death due to injury in Australia, ahead of motor vehicle accidents and murder, and it was estimated that an average of two young

people in Victoria died by suicide every week (Victorian Task Force, 1997). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2013) website states that the suicide rate is a widely used indicator of social cohesion (or the lack thereof) and that, in basic terms, these preventable deaths indicate that people may be lacking supportive relationships necessary to prevent social isolation. The statistics also show that young adult males (20–24 years) are more likely to commit suicide than their female counterparts. Young adult males in this older age group are twice as likely to commit suicide as young adult males in the younger age group between 15 and 19 years. This could point to pressures in trying to become an independent adult and lacking the resources and supportive structures to feel confident enough to do it (Barry, 2006).

Table 5.28: Suicide risk

Suicide risk	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	1	1.7
Yes – committed suicide	1	1.7
No	37	61.7
Self-harm	2	3.3
Previous suicide attempt	12	20
Has had suicidal thoughts	7	11.7
Total	60	100

One young adult on the YCLP died as a result of accidental or intentional suicide and a high percentage (35%, 21/60) admitted to committing self-harm or contemplating suicide at extremely low periods in their lives. This sense of hopelessness and helplessness is a theme that emerged often in the analysis. It related to the emotional element of the motivational drivers for the young adults that included a combination of shame, loss, obligation, forgiveness and love that they were driven to reconcile in order to move forward on a better pathway.

- **Culture and social capital**

While the literature focuses largely on the economic barriers impacting on the transition to adulthood, some writers highlight that young adults, depending on their socio-economic position, will have different experiences and that their supports, both economic and social, will vary across different cohorts, creating different levels of vulnerability and disadvantage. One writer qualifies this, stating that "... class, race, and immigrant status shape very different patterns in young adulthood" (Barry 2006:13).

The YCLP case managers shared this perception, highlighting the additional challenges this can generate. As one case manager highlighted:

> Culture places different emphasis on young adults and their expectations. Generally speaking, Islander and African cultures, I would say a strong/important domain is some sort of link to family. However, in many cases, this is not possible – so then for a successful transition, I would almost state pro-social peer groups. I would also say that is very important for young Anglos; however, this culture is more focused on the individual and so employment/education can be a more important domain. This is a very difficult question as each person is different and many domains can be equally important (CM.1).

This response indicated that the areas of need were the same for the young adults and that the ways to address these needs were difficult to access, but that young adults from different cultures might find them even more difficult to access. Another case manager outlined below the need for cultural sensitivity when engaging with young adults who are culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD). She stated that:

> Those from Sudanese backgrounds are more likely to come from refugee backgrounds which needs to be accounted for when discussing education and other things about their history and mental health. Certain cultures have different body language (i.e. Polynesian cultures and eye contact) and therefore we need to be more sensitive of this. Understanding their different values and beliefs is important to being able to address their needs effectively. And many who come from different cultures are trying to balance two different cultures and their expectations and this is something discussed in many appointments (CM.2).

Another case manager indicated the creativity involved in assisting the young adults from diverse cultural backgrounds with the onus being on them, the workers, to learn as much as they could about the young adults' personal experience, so they could target and maximise their intervention accordingly. As the case manager highlighted:

> We aim to put in place interventions that all young adults would like for their lives. After every psycho-social assessment, culture only requires keeping an open mind, learning from the client about their culture, being creative as a case manager and thinking 'outside the box' of service delivery and digging deep and exploring the community and what it has to offer. Case managers need to be able to provide all young adults 'choice': it will not work when we try to 'fit' a client into the culture of mainstream services. For example, a recent client of mine is a Vietnamese Buddhist and it is evident that he is quite depressed and struggles with anxiety as highlighted in the assessment. However, he explained that he has never seen a doctor and doesn't believe in mental health support. He is coming for his first appointment next week and I plan to inquire much more about his religion and culture with the aim of identifying how to get him out of his isolation that would be appropriate for him (CM.3).

Another case manager emphasised this sentiment, stating that:

> We case managers try our hardest to understand different cultures and try to work according to their beliefs. We try our hardest and we have places we can access easily for support should we need them. Also personally, if I don't understand a culture, I will ask the client to educate me and we Google things together thus building rapport and my own education. In saying that, we are all white females – this can be difficult for some cultures to access us as there are cultures that are not to speak to females. This can make it difficult for some people

to feel comfortable with our service. Also, no matter how hard we try, there will also be some sorts of difficulties with trying to be completely culturally appropriate – for example, the use of translators, etc. I don't think this necessarily makes us insensitive; however, I just feel this is a potential cultural barrier (CM.1).

- **Driving (no licence versus obtaining licence)**

Being able to drive a vehicle enables a young adult to be independent. Furthermore, as it is a legal privilege afforded to adults, it provides a visible marker of adult status with an expectation of a sufficient level of responsibility and maturity to be able to maintain that privilege.

Table 5.29: Driving as a result of YCLP

Driving as a result of YCLP	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	2	3.3
No licence	31	51.7
Got learner's and car	2	3.3
Got learner's	6	10
Got full licence	7	11.7
Got full licence and car	1	1.7
Licence suspended	11	18.3
Total	60	100

The YCLP assisted 18.3% (11/60) of the young adults to obtain their learner's permit or full driver's licence while on the program, which afforded the young adults greater independence and mobility to expand their employment options and support their partners and families. This was achieved through a driving program established by The Youth Junction Inc. (TYJinc.) and was based on the aspirational question in the psycho-social assessment that highlighted 'getting a car' as an important desire for most of the young adults.

- **Debt and material aid**

Given the challenge facing the young adults to secure stable employment and, therefore, being without sufficient income to afford the upkeep of a car often meant that, if they had a car, they flouted the laws related to registration and licensing. When this was coupled with the high likelihood of being detected for road traffic offences that often attracted fines with these, in turn, often ignored and therefore accumulating, meant that some of the young adults faced considerable debts.

Table 5.30: Fines and other debts

Fines and other debts	Frequency	Valid percent

Yes but unknown $	14	23.3
None	12	20
In excess of $35,000	1	1.7
Yes: Between $1 and $1,000	4	6.7
Yes: Between $1,001 and $2,000	7	11.7
Yes: Between $2,001 and $4,000	8	13.3
Yes: Between $4,001 and $8,000	3	5
Yes: Between $8,001 and $10,000	3	5
Yes: Between $10,001 and $20,000	3	5
Yes: Between $20,001 and $35,000	5	8.3
Total	60	100

A high percentage (80%, 48/60) of the young adults had fines that had to be dealt with: one young adult (1.7%, 1/60) had amassed fines in excess of $35,000 as he had continued to move around, and ignored or failed to receive related correspondence. The average young adult (13.3%, 8/60) owed between $2,000 and $4,000. Almost one-quarter (23.3%, 14/60) of the young adults had amassed fines but did not know to what extent. This appeared to be indicative of the low level of priority they placed on eradicating their personal debts, or alternatively, to not having the means to do so. One case manager had discussed with a young adult how he intended to address the issue of his fines totalling $30,000 as he did not have an income with which to pay them off. He suggested that he would do a ‘few months in prison’ just to get rid of them. When the case manager took him to the legal organisation connected to the YCLP, he was advised that he could go on a payment plan. The case manager reported in the case notes that the young adult’s demeanour completely changed: he was clearly relieved that there was an alternative solution to this problem that had been developing over a long period of time which had created a burden to which he could not find a solution. After that session, the case manager said that, in subsequent sessions with her, it was evident that he had created a clearance that allowed him to address other issues such as actively looking for employment.

Table 5.31: Fines/debt resolution

Fines/debt resolution	Frequency	Valid percent
Unknown	10	16.7
Debt advice and community work	7	11.7
Debt assistance and payment plan	22	36.7
No	12	20
Special circumstances relief	3	5
Doesn't apply	6	10
Total	60	100

This area of need was considered a priority and was immediately addressed by the case managers with the young adults. This is supported by the evidence which indicated that, of the 80% (48/60) of young adults affected by debt, 53.4% (32/60) were assisted to address and alleviate their problem.

Table 5.32: Material aid as inability to make ends meet

Material aid as inability to make ends meet	Frequency	Valid percent
Material aid provided daily	5	8.3
Unknown	2	3.3
Not required	24	40
Material aid provided weekly	29	48.3
Total	60	100

In looking at the need for material assistance due to not being able to support themselves and facing what could only be considered as living in poverty, many (56.6%, 34/60) of the young adults struggled to buy basic food and household items for themselves. This was evident through the ongoing demand for these basic items that were donated to the YCLP on a weekly basis. Many (48.3%, 29/60) of the young adults were accessing material aid items on a weekly basis, which included food parcels, travel passes and toiletries.

Table 5.33: Hobbies/pastimes

Hobbies/pastimes	Frequency	Valid percent
Gym	6	10
Dancing	1	1.7
Graffiti	1	1.7
Basketball	1	1.7
Fishing	1	1.7
Driving	4	6.7
Music	5	8.3
None	35	58.3
Motorbikes	2	3.3
Boxing	1	1.7
Soccer	1	1.7
Rugby	2	3.3
Total	60	100

As indicated in Table 5.33 above, over half (58.3%, 35/60) of the young adults stated that they did not have a hobby or pastime. The remaining 41% (25/60) were engaged in a diverse range of interests, typical of youth recreational activities.

- **Individualised and unique needs**

The evidence indicated that the markers of adulthood typically desired and required by the young adults for independence included living independently; forming stable intimate relationships; addressing mental health concerns; and ceasing excessive drug and alcohol use while creating or strengthening relationships and networks to mobilise the necessary resources for their advantage and advancement. These were negotiated on an individualised basis with the case managers highlighting that the individualised needs presented by the young adults required different formations of linking social capital across services and within the case management process itself. As one case manager highlighted:

> Although this is a smallish age bracket, there are huge differences between each client and their situation and their maturity. Each client is so fundamentally different that even if you can use some indicators to make potential assumptions and plans for some clients, they are still so different that you can only prepare so much. The type of role you play with each is also different for each client and this is something you learn just by speaking to the client and spending time with them. With some clients, you can see the obvious transition from young adult to adult and with others you wonder if this will ever occur—or if they are stuck due to substance use or mental health. Even at the ages 18 and 25, clients can be very similar or very different. I often find that if I forget a client's age, I cannot guess their age based on their presentation as each client presents so differently (CM.1).

This was echoed by another case manager who stated that:

> Every person is an individual, yet they want the same things for their future. For many, I think it is the time when they want to change their behaviour and become more mature. Do they know better? Case managers need to be creative and open-minded in order not to fall into the trap of targeting mainstream services for every client. Case managing 18–25 years old is not just about matching this client with services; it's about digging to see what this individual person is passionate about, what is meaningful to them, and what they have experienced that has led them to this behaviour. It's about making sure those basic human needs are met before someone can become motivated to explore the next stage of their life (CM.3).

As with the recent study into client and worker relationships carried out by Barker and Thomson (2014), evidence in the current evaluation study indicated an 'individualised' response from the case manager to the young adults and that part of this process entailed having and building a sense of hope towards, and for, the young adults. The case managers were aware of what the young adults were hopeful about and their anticipated benefits of the program. The case manager and the young adult broadly hoped for the same outcomes. One case manager stated: "[h]opefully a better court outcome, expecting/hoping for a job, someone who is in a better place following completion and is able to continue on without needing such intensive support" (CM.1).

Another case manager articulated a similar outcome, stating that:

> Ideally every case manager hopes that the young person becomes a stable, healthy, law-abiding person by the end of the program, but it's a process. I think it's important for the case manager, the courts, families and lawyers to keep in mind that everyone moves at their own pace and, although everyone wants it to go exactly as planned, when it's someone's life, it doesn't always occur as planned (CM.3).

- **Self-efficacy and young adults**

Relevant also to social capital is a young adult's sense of efficacy defined by the ABS (2004) as individuals having the capacity to "... produce desired outcomes by their own actions ... also relates to self reliance, initiative, and the degree of influence believed to be held, as well as the ability to draw upon additional resources as required" (ABS, 2004:26).

Butcher, Arbisi et al. (2003) observe that a weak sense of efficacy can lead to not only non-participation and social isolation, but may also result in flouting social norms which can lead to antisocial and criminal activity (Butcher, Arbisi et al., 2003:33). Falk (2000) indicates that self-efficacy results from a belief that positive change, by using the power and resources available through networks, is possible (ABS, 2004:34). Closely related to this are self-confidence, self-esteem and the desire and motivation to take control of life circumstances, to be able to take opportunities that effect positive change and to achieve life goals. The

concept of self-efficacy is closely related to optimising the benefits of linking social capital, as pointed out by Falk (2000) who states that:

> ... when the individual realises that 'I can do something'. The sense of self-efficacy that this engenders should not be under-estimated, since the resulting self-confidence is an enabler of learning to manage change at a personal level. And learning to manage change involves interacting with society and learning how the networks, norms and trust work in the sense of power and resources. In other words, at one end of the self-efficacy continuum there is the individual's battles to come to grips with their own identities, skills and knowledge in a bewilderingly complex society ... (Falk, 2000:3).

It was within this strengths-based space that the case managers guided, counselled and encouraged the young adults to enact positive change and improvements through assisting them to make sense of themselves, their environments, the people who matter within those environments and their future prospects. The helping relationship between the case manager and the young adult provided interventions for the young adult to be connected to networks that were going to benefit them and spur them on to attain what they believed to be important for their future security and stability. Many of the young adults outlined their daily lived experience as often filled with crises and compounded by drug and alcohol abuse and other risky and destructive behaviours. As the program progressed, many reported shifts in the deficits or distressing aspects of their lives and talked about developing increased confidence, competence and control in what they were trying to achieve. It was upon these strengths and motivators and stimulators for change that positive practical elements were factored into their lives. As one young adult stated in his final program evaluation:

> The program made me realise things more … just I realised how much yous can help … I found it a big boost, for all the support you gave me to keep going on. There were times I couldn't be bothered and was too busy, or it got really, really hard and I felt like giving up ... I knew I couldn't give up … I didn't want to disappoint you either, you were helping me, you helped me with a few things by talking to me, getting things off my chest, helping me to get my life in order (Young Adult 2).

The case managers addressed the moral aspect of the young adults' lives, the need to protect themselves against self-harm and self-deprecation, in order to prevent them sliding back into old behaviours and feeling as if they were regressing. Self-efficacy, in this respect, was, according to one of the case managers, viewed as a sense of: "I say 'yes you can do this' and I do this through encouraging motivation, punctuality, negotiation, interaction, understanding, listening, critically querying and questioning, asking 'why' and applying consequential thinking, so that change could take place" (CM.3).

As a result, the young adult could change the way they thought and felt about themselves and the case manager and vice versa, which indicated reciprocity, negotiation and 'symbiotism', based on the notion that "… if you do this for me, I will do this for you". CM.1

Table 5.34: End circumstances according to young adult

End circumstances according to young adult	Frequency	Valid percent
Improved circumstances	48	80
Deteriorated circumstances	3	5
Circumstances stayed the same	9	15
Total	60	100

These data was collected from the final evaluation, prior to the young adults' sentencing in court, with 80% (48/60) self-reporting that they had improved their circumstances while on the YCLP, 15% (9/60) stating that their circumstances remained unchanged, and 5% (3/60) stating that their circumstances had deteriorated.

5.4 Part 3: Case managers

Simply put, the role of the case manager was exactly as the title implies, to manage the entire case for the young adult, which entailed coordinating and following up on other parties, keeping lines of communication open, attending meetings and essentially being the source of information and primary advocate for the young adult. It has been suggested that, more recently:

> ... there is an evolving model of 'case management' which gives greater attention to the concepts of social connectedness, social capital and community development. These new models are founded on 'strengths-based', 'relationship-based' and 'place-based' approaches (Moore, 2009:9).

The YCLP was founded in 2008 and, as the above quotation indicates, the program was intended to be strengths-based, relationship-based and place-based, and to be underpinned by motivational techniques to encourage engagement and change. The case managers had been trained in motivational interviewing techniques and as writers McNeill and Weaver (2010) state:

> ... the techniques and methods associated with motivational interviewing (MI) are likely to be useful, particularly in exploring and developing cognitive dissonance (where short term behaviours are out of kilter with long term goals), and in assessing readiness for change. MI is also helpful in its stress on the relational qualities of motivation; i.e. locating motivation as something that emerges in and from relationships rather than as a simple attribute of the individual (McNeill and Weaver, 2010:8).

This strengths-based and relationships-based approach was taken by the case managers to encourage flexibility and responsivity with the young adults and would set the scene for future engagements. The case manager's role was to work through the young adult's goals; through counselling sessions, to assist the young adult to look at the causes and consequences of their offending; and to guide the young adult into unravelling the connections and linkages that would highlight the positive change stimulants and could assist them towards a pro-social lifestyle.

- **Case managers mobilising linking social capital for young adults**

Interpersonal skills, such as the ability to establish rapport, especially with humour and humility, were highlighted as important for the engagement process with the young adults (Opie, 2004). This referred to the relational aspect between the young adults and the case managers and outlined below are the critical elements of that engagement process, according to the themes in the data:

1. Relationship/network building: Evidence indicated that one of the vital aspects of the case manager's role was to assist the young adults to build their resources and their assets and to identify the salient people in their immediate personal networks who would bolster and support them when they were living their normal day-to-day lives outside of the program. This entailed looking at impediments or barriers that needed to be removed in certain areas and, initially and together, clearing those blockages in very practical ways. The co-located model, in which the YCLP is embedded, enabled the case manager to initiate connections and linkages with other helping professionals with relative ease. As a result, the young adults were able to avail themselves of the skills, competence and knowledge of the case managers to broaden and strengthen their networks and build their linking social capital. The young adults enhanced this process, albeit unintentionally, by assisting the case managers to build depth and breadth within their own professional networks, that not only enabled them to work more efficiently and effectively on a day-to-day basis, but also increased potential linkages for other young adults coming through the program. This initial engagement and trust-building opportunity was maximised by the case manager and this was the foundation from which the relationship developed. The young adults were trying to build and manage their basic capacities, personal relationships, houses, jobs and, often, their own children.

Billett (2011) uses the terms "getting on" and "getting ahead" in reference to bonding and bridging social capital, respectively. Building on the process-driven side of social capital, the

term “getting in” can also be used to describe linking social capital. This signifies negotiating, navigating and overcoming the initial hurdle or barrier that many disadvantaged young adults face when they are trying to access relevant social and human systems and services. The case manager played an instrumental facilitation role in removing bureaucratic barriers for the young adults to promote and enable access to service responses. The evidence indicated that this was best achieved at a relational level between two individual workers from the relevant organisations who had built trusting relationships themselves and who were able to rely on each other to obtain the necessary response and intervention to assist the young adult. The two parties had a common goal which focused on creating change by advancing and improving certain elements of the young adult’s life which would positively influence or reduce risks in relation to further offending. During the YCLP, the case managers engaged with a broad number and range of stakeholders who, in concert, had the ability to provide a web of necessary social structures upon which the young adults could draw.

Social scaffolding and structures in the context of the YCLP related to the helpful social relations, networks and ‘capital’ that the young adults had, or created, with people: material, social, biological and economic supports that enabled them not only to get by, but to get ahead and transition successfully into adulthood and full independence (Barry, 2006). As the young adults interacted with their case managers, relationships were created which combined to build networks comprising people who could contribute a range of resources, such as their knowledge, skills and abilities, their economic resources, their status and influence and who could also bring the resources of their friends and families. However, in order to generate social capital, certain conditions and social enablers needed to be in place. Trust needed to be created by both parties and there needed to be a willingness from the young adults to make positive changes. It was therefore dependent on a two-way (reciprocal) relationship in which role clarification, responsibilities and boundary setting were mutually agreed, where the young adult was required to commit to actively participating and discharging their obligations while on the program, as well as the case managers needing to provide clear instruction and support (Hogan and Owen, 2000). There was both a written and tacit ‘contract’ between the case manager and the young adult and these elements formed the understanding upon which the relationship was based. The case managers provided emotional support, reliability and dependability as was evident in their responses in their questionnaires. Through being assisted to respond in less harmful ways to situations and circumstances that confronted them, the young adults were able to become motivated and confident in their ability to deal with complex personal challenges. The case managers

articulated their role as listening, advising and being able to inspire confidence and hope in the young adult (ABS, 2004:85). The case managers deployed a range of positive reinforcing messages, such as encouragement to persevere, while also allowing the young adults adequate time to adjust to the expectations of the YCLP by letting them fall away for a short period and then persuading them to come back in a way that was free from judgment and rejection. As one young adult indicated, “she’s always there, never puts me down” (Young Adult 3).

2. Role modelling and instilling norms and values: Several themes were expressed clearly in the data including the case managers’ ability to model pro-social behaviour and instil the norms, boundaries, ethics and values of the broader community, while also providing emotional support “... that may provide them the opportunity to exit a powerless situation, back into the mainstream” (ABS, 2004:82). The ABS outlines what constitutes the creation of network qualities which the case managers helped to promote, including:

> … the norms and values that may exist within networks, and serve to enhance the functioning of networks. These include but are not limited to, trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and acceptance of diversity. These norms and values are essential to healthy functioning of networks because they encourage people to act cooperatively, and effectively provide rules and sanctions to govern people’s behaviour (ABS, 2004:26).

The case managers were viewed by the young adults as someone who could help them and evidence suggested that the young adults were influenced by the positive modelling role carried out by the case managers. For example, a few of the young adults were curious about what qualifications the case managers needed to do their jobs, with some desiring to become a youth worker or a psychologist so they could help people in similar situations to themselves. This highlighted the case manager’s role as a mentor, or leader, who had the ability to encourage empathy through their interactions. Therefore, an opportunity was provided to reinforce societal expectations around employment barriers created through having a criminal record. Societal norms and ethical behaviour were outlined with this important in promoting openness and candid discussions on what was acceptable, thus strengthening the trust and respect within the helping relationship (ABS 2004:82). Role modelling by the case managers with the young adults on the YCLP was akin to the mentoring role that Billett (2011) speaks of in the findings of her study into young people and social capital. The two parties had a common goal which was to create change by advancing and improving certain elements of the young adult’s life that would positively influence them or reduce the risks of further offending. The case managers viewed their role as being far-reaching and having a significant impact on the lives of the young adults with whom they worked. They viewed themselves as positive role models who were capable of

helping other young adults, like themselves, to turn their lives around. They indicated confidence in the knowledge that they could effectively assist the young adults to navigate what they knew to be a “complex social system” (CM.1) of services, and indicated awareness of the importance of having “a professional to advocate for their needs and rights” (CM.2).

It was recognised that different relationships serve different social purposes and the case manager/young adult relationship served the purpose of enabling and empowering the young adult to conform and contribute legally, socially, healthily and productively. By using a strengths-based approach, the case managers concentrated on the positive and protective factors and strengths, when the young adults genuinely and authentically committed to change, that came from each young adult’s personal skills, interests, motivation and attributes; their networks, specifically their family members and romantic relationships; their ability to actively seek employment; their motivation for offence-focused counselling; their program attendance to engage in interventions; and their ability to take responsibility to control the positive outcomes that were achieved. The young adults were assisted to identify the risk factors or causes that increased the likelihood of their reoffending, in order to reduce those risks.

Some young adults may not have wanted to engage in some or any of the services on offer as they may not have fully understood what they entailed and were apprehensive about the impact of being associated with those services. The case managers had the skills to allay those anxieties, and to engage the young adults in understanding the benefits of the interventions, in the short term, for their court hearing and, in the long term, for their life chances. The case manager, through intensive supervision with the young adult, cultivated a supportive and trusting relationship to compensate for their lack of support elsewhere. A genuine interest in the young adults’ lives and welfare was an important prerequisite for the role of case manager with this proving necessary for fruitful and meaningful engagement, while being realistic about what could be achieved in a short space of time. The young case managers in the YCLP were found to operate contemporaneously within the program context, keeping it current and relevant, in order to reflect the needs and broker the challenges that young adults are faced with today, as the case managers also understood them from their own perspective.

3. Relationship qualities: The relationship between the case manager and the young adult needed to provide stability and reliability, albeit for the short term. One of the primary indicators of social capital is trust building, which is often preceded by ‘building rapport’.

Rapport needed to be built very quickly and this enabled the emergence of trust that had a positive, reinforcing and circular effect back to the established rapport. The three case managers all stated that this process was a necessary precursor to a trusting and open relationship. The case managers were able to articulate the process of trust building, and it was evident that they had reflected on their approach to intervening in the lives of the young adults, and the ensuing benefits that could realistically be derived from this interaction.

4. Adaptability: The young adults were expected to be open to change and, although they were not a homogeneous group with the same levels of development capacity, ability, and inclination and motivation to change, they could equally be encouraged to enact change, within their individual circumstances. Similar barriers were shared by many of the young adults but the ways in which these were interpreted and navigated were shown to be very different for each individual, and it was the case managers' skills that enabled them to connect with the level of each individual young adult. The young adults were shown to be provided with clear boundaries, the space to think about their options, encouragement to discuss these options openly and candidly, and then the opportunity to reach their decisions about how they intended to change. Each case manager was flexible and sufficiently detached to recognise that change was not immediate and that finding remedies to practical barriers did not necessarily bring about lasting change, and therefore kept an open mind about relapses into old behaviours and habits (Trotter, 1999). However, certain elements could be achieved by the young adult, even in a very short space of time, towards relationship building for beneficial outcomes. These were the immediate program outcomes and were essentially practical in nature. From a relational perspective, it appeared to be beneficial that the case managers were of a similar age to the young adults with whom they worked. In itself, this added to the potential strength of the relationship in terms of shared empathy building and their joint perspective and knowledge of life. Trotter (1999) states that: "... [w]orkers are also influenced by accumulated life experience, sometimes referred to as practice wisdom" (Trotter, 1999:6).

This practice wisdom was not brought on by years in terms of life experience: on the contrary, it was derived from the case managers being very in tune with what is current and topical in contemporary Australian society. This perception of 'youth' as being helpful seemed to resonate with the magistrates, with one stating that: "[the] YCLP works very well, probably because of the talented young staff who are able to communicate and get the message of the importance of changing behaviour and making better choices" (Mag.5).

When discussing the clarification of roles, Trotter (1999) states that the case manager straddles:

> ... the dual role of the worker as helper and social controller, the aims and purpose of the intervention from both client and worker perspectives, as well as issues relating to confidentiality. In short, [the] clarifying role is about the question: 'what are we here for?' (Trotter 1999:18).

One of the case managers articulated the fullness of their role insofar as: "[c]ase managers must be prepared to play a variety of roles ranging from CM (case manager), friend, mother, sister, counsellor, alarm clock, teacher, taxi, nag!" (CM.1).

5. Social transitions and transactions: In discussing the transition of young adults to adulthood, some writers refer to the twofold challenge of how they construct their personal identities and their private biographies, and how they interrelate and integrate their sense of self within their social relationships and social environment (Leccardi and Ruspini, 2006:76). In relation to peer friendships, young people begin to detach from certain social groupings that seem to become less important as they move towards adulthood (OECD 1998:36-37). When working with young adults who could be involved in negative or destructive 'peer-ships', part of the case manager's role was to help the young adult reach a point where they acknowledged that the creation or strengthening of pro-social bonds was much more beneficial in the long term. During the psycho-social assessment, 23.3% (14/60) of young adults acknowledged their negative peer influences and highlighted that they had withdrawn, or were in the process of withdrawing, from those influences.

6. Social 'inter-space': The sources of social capital are found in relationships and networks that offer value between people. These relationships needed to have meaning for the young adult. Even social capital generated through negative influences has meaning for the person at that time. The ABS (2004) highlights the benefits inherent in helping relationships as:

> Potential resources brought by participants to a relationship are their personal skills and abilities, their economic resources, resources associated with their jobs, status, and with the other groups to which they are connected, and, by extension, the networks and resources of their families, friends and colleagues. Social capital exists in the relationships between participants. Sharing of information/introductions/advocacy/painting someone in a good light and saying positive things about them (ABS 2004:67).

Networks like this are important when helping young adults to find jobs, especially those who have been unable to do so themselves through a lack of knowledge, or lack of inspiration and aspiration, and particularly if they are from families characterised by intergenerational unemployment, lacking motivation or confidence or, in some cases, the

absence of a sense of deserving (Stone et al., 2003). Linking social capital occurs between people and requires the space and time for people to engage with each other and to develop the nebulous, but important, elements that have enormous value but invisible substance, such as trust. It is said that trust can be thick for close relationships (bonding) and generalised for loose or brief, but nonetheless, helpful relationships (bridging). When a young adult trusts that the case manager is working in their best interests to link them to larger societal and potentially lifelong resources to keep them from getting into further trouble, this is social capital in motion. The case managers played a clear role in assisting the young adults to understand the concepts, pressures and expectations of what was going on in their lives. By balancing reality with optimism and being adept at helping the young adults to identify and solve complex problems, they provided a safe and trusting environment for the young adults to test out new and more productive ways of thinking (Trotter, 1999).

The key to change was having the right case manager to build trust, and to listen and sound out the young adult as they processed what they had to do and how they were going to get there. This entailed engaging in meaningful, respectful and trustworthy dialogue and building strong rapport between the case manager and the young adult. The case manager's role was to guide the young adult in the right direction, by initially taking a 'sherpa approach' and then supporting and positively reinforcing the achievements made and the turning points reached by the young adult along the way. However, the young adult was responsible for steering and driving the process, with the case manager there to keep things on track, in accordance with the individualised program plan. Change for most of the young adults was incremental and often involved slippage into old behaviour and thought processes. The case manager needed to be able to model sophisticated thinking and provide consistent messages that reinforced trust and acceptable norms, while maintaining a positive and hopeful attitude. In this respect, the case managers were role models, vital for the cues that the young adults needed to absorb. Offence-focused counselling between the case manager and the young adult entailed looking closely at the offence. By dissecting and analysing the events leading up to the incident(s), the case manager gauged the young adult's attitude towards the offence and deciphered how they had made sense of it, while simultaneously checking for remorse, denial or disregard. The case manager needed to very quickly establish the level of risk of offending and whether it was immediate. If so, this needed to be averted by carefully stressing the probability of remand to prison, serious injury and, in some cases, death. Simpson (2005) states that some researchers use the analogy of "scaffolding" to indicate the type of support required for young adults as they reconstruct their lives and, as with a completed building, the scaffolding is eventually removed, enabling the young adult

to proceed with renewed confidence, strength and reinforcement. Many of the young adults presented with low self-esteem, no feeling of self-worth and feeling ashamed on a number of levels, not least of which was feeling a sense of failure and guilt after having broken the law and being considered as a 'criminal' by their family and friends, as well as not feeling in control of their circumstances.

7. Co-explorers: Certain practical interventions were put in place to improve the young adults' social competence to prevent them from reoffending. Sustainable compliance with these new structures, with added improvements and opportunities for the young adult to modify and strengthen these structures, increased their social capital and, as a result, reduced their need or inclination to offend. One case manager highlighted the importance of their own relationships with certain individual workers from other organisations, from which they needed to access supports and interventions for the young adult, as being instrumental in alleviating these blockages. This again illustrates, when responding to this cohort, how flexibility becomes an effective strategy. The case manager stated that the barrier:

> ... was eased when [name of worker removed] was around as he would occasionally bend the rules and offer to meet the young person first to gauge where they are at as he knew that sometimes these young people sound worse on paper than they are in person; however, this is no longer an option for us as the secondary consults we have now are with staff who are a lot more rigid and cautious, but also less skilled in working with this cohort of clients (CM.2).

The barriers to accessing services not only affected the young adults but, in some cases, the same barriers also frustrated the intake and referral process for the case managers. Reasons cited for these barriers were: strict criteria; incorrectly assessing the clients; not following up with the young adult after a referral had been made; mislaying referrals that had been made; and long waiting lists, which appeared to be a typical part of the process of accessing specialist services. One of the case managers stated, in relation to mental health services, that:

> Mental health services are the most difficult to access for our clients as the majority don't fit the early intervention focus of Headspace and they feel our clients have too much risk that will affect their engagement and treatment e.g. substance use, tendency to carry weapons, anger management. However, they are then not acute enough to be eligible for tertiary services either. I feel this is a huge gap for young people who may be suffering mental health issues and that can also be difficult in engaging or don't feel comfortable accessing mainstream services as both Orygen and Headspace are very strict on their criteria (CM.2).

Another case manager outlined how her own confidence and, it could be said, her linking social capital developed as she explored the services that could provide benefits for the young adults, while also enabling her to advocate for them. She stated that:

> Working in a co-located building on this program has enabled me to be quite confident in accessing appropriate and beneficial services for 18–25 year olds. I have had many experiences working with a variety of different professionals in the legal system, health care professionals, educational and employment services and also developed a very helpful list of professionals who I am able to contact directly for support. I have gained confidence in being able to advocate for a client in front of a magistrate. I feel more confident in my report writing abilities and feel that I have also come a long way in my understanding of the criminal justice system. Working with a variety of complex needs clients, including those with complex mental health issues, addiction, refugees. It has given me a much broader understanding of issues faced by young adults today in the West and also has highlighted many gaps in service delivery (CM.3).

8. Co-producers: Co-producing results achieved through working together and understanding the interconnectedness of services and their value and benefit to each other was a prominent feature of the young adult and case manager relationship. In this respect, the case manager and the young adult, together, could be viewed as 'co-producers' who changed the circumstances and narrative of the young adult's life. The case manager, through intensive interaction with the young adult, was able to cultivate a supportive and trusting relationship, was able to assist the young adult to understand the concepts, pressures and expectations of adulthood, and could discuss realistic pathways by which these could be attained by the young adult. The case manager and young adult relationship was important for skills development through which the young adult learned to develop a sense of 'can do', to articulate and communicate their concerns, to set personal goals and to build trust and confidence to complete tasks (ABS 2004:82). The evidence showed that those young adults (81.6%, 49/60) who were more willing to commit to the YCLP, by taking responsibility for attending appointments, being on time and doing what they had agreed to do between the sessions, were much less likely to reoffend, with their capacity to create positive change also increased As one of the case managers stated:

> The YCLP provides a place where a young person can go regarding any issues they may be facing and to get advice from a person near their own age. Great advice regarding life changes and regarding the legal system. Someone to support them through the legal system. Someone to help them reduce their chances of getting into further trouble and to support them to reduce the punitive consequences of their offences, someone to talk to, someone to guide them into adulthood (CM.1).

The case managers did not discount the efforts made by the young adults towards their change process before, during and after the program, and they acknowledged that a combination of factors could be at play in the young adults' motivation for change. However, from the information provided by the young adults themselves, it could be seen that several issues inhibited change, such as the lack of close family, friendship and broader human supports and the lack of personal knowledge for how to implement the change that would be most beneficial for them, while facing personal barriers ranging from lack of confidence

to more serious mental ill-health issues, homelessness, ongoing unemployment, alcohol and other substance use issues. However, as one writer reports, the case management process capitalises on the evidence that offending declines in the transition to adulthood as the young adult takes on greater responsibility, reforms their social identity, tires of self-destructive behaviours and aspires to achieve normative and pro-social elements that grant security and stability in important aspects of their lives (Barry, 2006). It may be the case for many of the young adults in the YCLP that they would desist from offending in time, and that the program would accelerate or expedite this process. This, of course, is very difficult, if not impossible, to measure. The only indication would be at the point when a young adult admits to needing to change and, through the case management process, understands what it is they need to change and then having the belief that they can change and, finally, making that change.

The case managers' support entailed their ongoing encouragement to the young adults to stick with the program, allowing them to fall away for a short period and persuading them to come back without rejection or judgment. This was a necessary form of support that precipitated action and perseverance (ABS 2004:85). Essentially, the therapeutic relationship meant that the counselling sessions were, at times, emotional for both parties, as human interaction was at its core and the issues being grappled with were difficult and real. Both the young adult and the case manager were affected by what was going on in the young adult's life. However, it was necessary that the case manager remained in control of the process as they needed to be positively reinforcing and encouraging, while also being disapproving of unacceptable and damaging behaviour. The case manager was in control of establishing rapport (e.g. with a sense of humour, moving into and out of light and serious issues) so the young adult did not leave the session feeling they had been chastised, reprimanded or exposed. The case manager needed to explain and help the young adult to understand their issues, helping them to look for techniques that they had not previously tried or with which they had previously been frustrated. They needed to look at new angles and techniques that the young adult could use to approach situations without imposing their own belief systems on the young adult. Writers Barker and Thomson (2014) challenge the notion of reciprocity within a client and worker relationship, but indicate the potential visceral depth inherent in a helping professional relationship. They state that:

> It would be unethical for helping professionals to expect their service users to reciprocate. However, this research shows that it is the human connection and not the impersonal characteristics of the economic contract that are most valued and facilitate positive service experiences. Despite power differences and the apparent lack of reciprocity, there is a human interaction or sharing of human qualities that is paramount—an intangible exchange.

> In this process it is almost like the power difference and the apparent lack of reciprocity is not recognised as such (Barker and Thomson, 2014:141).

9. Intensive intervention: There is debate as to whether much can be done in the short term, not only for young adults, but for any client group with a range of complex needs. However, the lack of evidence of well-evaluated short-term intensive intervention programs to refute that position makes it difficult to demonstrate that young adults can implement change and turn their lives around in a short space of time. One of the young adults had experienced a number of traumatic events throughout his life which manifested in heavy drug abuse and high-risk behaviour. This culminated in a very serious offence which, as stated by the magistrate, warranted a custodial sentence. However, as the following exchange illustrates, in the right circumstances, quick change can happen:

> Young Adult: "I've been attending the program for four months and it has turned my life around".
> Reporter: "That quickly?"
> Young Adult: "Yeah that quickly, I have a job, a house, and I am drug-free" (ABC Victoria Statewide Report, July 2013).

This analysis provides evidence supporting the claim that young adults' lives in transition, coupled with appropriate interventions that are relevant and timely (i.e. the timing is right for the young adult and they are willing to adapt to change), together with the strength of the case manager and young adult relationship, comprising trust, hope, candidness and the ability to change within an intensive framework, can and do capitalise on the young adult's openness and willingness to change. This process is bolstered by the strengthening of external relationships to ensure that positive change can be sustained and developed which, in turn, provides continued hope and help for the young adult as they face the expectations and increased responsibilities of adulthood. The creation of optimism and a sense of hope for their future can happen very quickly with some young adults when given the opportunity and the necessary encouragement.

Some of the young adults required more intensive case management support than others due to their complex circumstances, particularly those who had high drug use (daily, morning use) and where drug use intersected with mental ill-health issues. This required a great deal of flexibility on the case managers' part as many of these young adults did not show up for their scheduled appointments and, instead, dropped in when they could. One of the case managers highlighted the importance of this approach, stating that: "[i]t's flexible, we get successful outcomes and its better for young people and better for [the] community" (CM.3).

However, this flexibility was not always available within the other service interventions: this was an additional challenge that had to be overcome by the case managers to ensure that the young adults were able to benefit from the support they required.

5.5 Part 4: Magistrates

A questionnaire (see Appendix Three) was administered to eight magistrates and six were completed and returned in handwritten format. The seventh magistrate was unable to complete the questionnaire due to time constraints; however, he responded by email that he understood the importance and value of the YCLP and hoped it would continue. All responses from the magistrates were positive regarding the nature and positive effects of the program and provided evidence that they understood how the YCLP interventions could improve the lives of the young adults presenting in court.

Positive relationships between the magistrates and the case managers were shown to be important in maintaining referrals from the magistrates to the program. One of the case managers, in relation to magistrates now relocated to other courts who had previously supported the program, described the impact on the program, as follows:

> This affected us heavily this year as a large number of magistrates that were supporters of the program left and it was reflected in the numbers of referrals we received. However, it did highlight the importance of regular presentations to any new magistrates that came to the courts we service. Additionally, with the changeover in magistrates, there is also the issue of appropriate referrals both in terms of the cohort of young people they refer and the way in which they make referrals (CM.2).

Another case manager expressed the view that the magistrates needed to be continually made aware of the existence and benefits of the YCLP in order to encourage referrals. She stated that:

> If the courts are not well informed about the YCLP and outcomes for young people, I have no doubt that they will not refer to the program. I think it is also crucial to do these presentations when magistrates who are familiar with the program are able to back up the positive outcomes for young people in their courtroom, for magistrates who are new to that courthouse (CM.3).

The magistrates had a good understanding of the co-location of a diverse group of targeted youth services and deemed this to be important in terms of the positive impact it had on the young adults. When asked whether the YCLP could be adequately delivered without the co-located arrangement of services, five of the six magistrates stated emphatically that it could not and that:

> **...** this arrangement needs to continue to achieve the best outcomes (Mag.4).

and that:

> The whole benefit of having co-location is to address the young person's needs in a holistic way (Mag.5).

and, furthermore, that:

> Young offenders often require a number of different services and typically if they are not co-located, they simply do not attend the services (Mag.5).

The magistrates, therefore, had a clear understanding about the interconnectedness of issues presented by the young adults and how they needed to be addressed simultaneously, in order for interventions to have an impact. One magistrate emphasised the importance of having a range of services with which the young adults could be linked, by stating that:

> ... many young people not coping need to be "walked through" many aspects of life—seldom only one aspect. Each different service contributes to the ultimate goal of being self-sufficient (Mag.1).

Another magistrate, in relation to social capital and the benefit of co-located services, stated that co-located services were:

> ... very effective. Socially disadvantaged young people have no social capital. [The] YCLP puts a 'net' around them to support them and changes their behaviour unlike any other sentencing disposition available to the court. It's a program that is 'one stop shopping'. [The] YCLP completes a full assessment and makes referrals to Headspace; D&A [drug and alcohol] counselling; YSAS [Youth Support + Advocacy Service]; training, education, addresses isolation and community dislocation. It also has young staff who are able to relate to young people (Mag.5).

When asked whether the YCLP was achieving its objective of providing a straightforward referral process to a diverse range of services for young adults to assist in crime prevention, the responses from the magistrates were positive and emphatic:

> Yes (Mag.3).
>
> Absolutely! (Mag.4)
>
> Absolutely (Mag.5).

It could, therefore, be argued that the magistrates benefited from having a straightforward referral point, where they had confidence that the young adult's welfare needs were being addressed in the interim period, while awaiting their next court date. This prevented the need for stringent bail conditions or excessive control in the form of remand to prison. The magistrates also had the perception that the case managers were skilful in working with young adults with complex needs, as stated by the following magistrate:

> I am generally satisfied with the level and effectiveness of services and supports provided to young people in the program. In my view, the program plays a significant role in assisting the court to arrange relevant services for young people, and any reduction (much less the cessation) of the services offered by the program would adversely affect not only the operation of the court, but also the ability of magistrates to achieve outcomes that are just and that benefit the community (Mag.6).

When questioned as to why the program was important, two magistrates stated the following reasons:

> Proximity to court, and proximity to each of the services (Mag.3).

> Close by for accused persons to attend and it really is a one stop shop for all of [an] accused person's potential needs (Mag.4).

The fact that the YCLP was only a five-minute walk from the Magistrates' Court meant that cases could be adjourned for a few hours, while the young adult walked over to the centre to be assessed. They could then re-present to court with a letter of suitability that enabled them to be placed on the program, but also provided the magistrate with an overview of the type and number of services with which the young adult would be linked. This original list of services reappeared in the pre-sentence report at the end of the program to indicate to the magistrate the level and frequency of participation in these services and the outcomes. One magistrate viewed the YCLP as:

> … a 'referral gateway' to specialist youth services totally lacking (pre-this) in this multicultural area (Mag.1).

while another stated that:

> It was established as the court has limited dispositions available to it under current sentencing powers. This is particularly the case with the 18–25 year old age group (Mag.5).

When asked how magistrates decide who is eligible, one magistrate stated:

> Those without suitable supports. Parents may be from [a] different culture and it creates conflict, young people need to feel they fit in and often require a suitable mentor (Mag.1).

with another expressing the view that it is a:

> Contribution of factors, lack of care, personal circumstances where every 18–25[-year-old] would benefit from having a 'net' of services and assessment to assist behavioural change (Mag.5).

In terms of the referral process to the YCLP, one of the magistrates highlighted that:

> Every case [is] decided on its merits. I have no set criteria that make the determination (Mag.4).

When asked who the magistrates perceived to be unsuitable for the program, one stated:

> That's difficult, but serious offending history which will lead to extensive incarceration. Serious sex offenders with [a] history of grooming and/or manipulation (Mag.1).

Another view expressed was those with:

> A clear unwillingness to work towards addressing the relevant issue (Mag.2).

while another magistrate added:

> Can't immediately think of any other than lack of desire to participate or inability to participate due to med/mental health concerns (Mag.4).

When queried as to what 'type' of young adult would most benefit, the responses were:

> Little to no history. Or history which is more nuisance than criminal. Someone who needs support and needs to be understood and their personal circumstances recognised. In my view, there is no 'type' other than someone who wants help and [who is] in the court and will benefit from that help before it determines [the] ultimate sentence (Mag.4).

> Only matters I would not refer would be a young offender who is to receive a term of imprisonment. Young people all benefit, does not matter whether they have [a] serious criminal history—this program changes young people (Mag.5).

From their responses in the questionnaire, it was evident that the magistrates had a sense of what social capital meant in relation to young adults. When asked whether the YCLP is effective in building social capital, the responses were:

> Not sure, but the 'feedback' is that it is successful and seems to be at the core of the 'success' stories (Mag.1).

> I'm not sure—this is too large a question (Mag.2).

> Very, very effective indeed! (Mag.4)

> Socially disadvantaged young people have no social capital. [The] YCLP puts a 'net' around them to support and change behaviour unlike any other sentencing disposition available to this court (Mag.5).

When the magistrates were asked their views on how effective the YCLP was in terms of preventing reoffending, they stated the following:

> Not sure of statistics but the 'prevention' of further offending should extend to the nature of offending and from what I have seen … the 'prevention' is very successful (Mag.1).

> Very, very effective indeed! (Mag.4)

> I have not seen enough of this to make an assessment on this (Mag.2).

> Very effective. Often young offenders have serious prior criminal history yet this program manages to change their prior behaviour (Mag.5).

When the magistrates were asked what they thought of young adults undergoing a unique transitional process, they stated:

> I can't go beyond the research—clearly a very important time in brain development, often totally out of line with 'adult' responsibility at age 18 years (Mag.1).
>
> This perspective is an accurate statement of most accepted human development theories. It is a stage of life (particularly for young men) when a definitive period of what it means to be a man is experienced (Mag.2).
>
> I am in general agreement and that is why for them a program like this can be so very effective (Mag.4).

When the magistrates were asked what they considered the most challenging elements of an 18–25-year-old's transition to adulthood in Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region, they stated:

> Self-worth, part of family, acceptance as part of community and positive future outlook (Mag.1).
>
> Male identity (Mag.2)
>
> Drugs; peer pressure; social disadvantage; often poor education and lack of training; poor role models, family violence (Mag.5).
>
> Lack of employment … use in this cohort, sense of abandonment and isolation, particularly in some cultural communities (Mag.4).

When the magistrates were asked what they perceived to be the merits of the YCLP from the court's perspective, they stated:

> Reliable, openness to court, openness to clients, enormous support for clients (Mag.1).
>
> Effective sentencing option, supervised by the court (Mag.3).
>
> Case management and therapeutic engagement by case manager with young person, sense of reinforcing their self-worth through achieving better connections to help themselves in their communities (Mag.4).

When asked how the YCLP assists them in their role as magistrates, they stated:

> Very helpful, there is very little about for our young people to be able to consider during a bail application or deferral of sentence; the services offered here are of great assistance and at times, comfort (Mag.1).
>
> It provides an active resource; it provides many resources for sentencing (Mag.3).
>
> It provides great assistance because I obtain a report from [the] case manager that provides a full overview of the young person's engagement (Mag.4).

> Assists me by ensuring all-encompassing net placed around a young offender to ensure that he/she is supported and has all the necessary services to change behaviour and to flourish (Mag.5).

When the magistrates were asked about alternative youth service pathways if the YCLP did not exist, they replied:

> There are very few; much of it is disjointed and/or offence-specific, e.g., driving matters (Mag.1).

> I can't think of any that would fulfil the requirement I have of [the] YCLP. Other programs are, by design, one-dimensional and don't take such a holistic approach (Mag.4).

> Very "hit and miss"! 18–25-year-old group does not really have other service referral pathways. They present with distinct challenges (Mag.5).

When the magistrates were asked if they thought that the YCLP worked well as a pre-sentence program, all responses were very positive:

> Yes, [it] can be used to show the young person's ability and willingness to engage and to reform [their] lifestyle (Mag.1).

> [It] informs [the] accused person of issues relevant to offending and consequences of further offending (Mag.3).

> Yes, because it informs the court that these young people can help themselves and take better responsibility for their actions and future behaviour (Mag.4).

> Yes, very well. [It] gives young offenders an opportunity to demonstrate commitment. The program is the application of therapeutic jurisprudence (Mag.5).

The magistrates were asked if they thought the YCLP would work well as a sentencing option:

> No—it should be part of the pre-sentencing process—as its impact will be relevant to the sentencing criteria (Mag.2).

> I prefer it as a pre-sentence option. If I could make it a condition of another order as a sentence, I would expect to be advised that it had been complied with to allow [the] accused to successfully complete the sentence (Mag.4).

> Works very well. It works well—often offenders with serious criminal history never return to the courts. It breaks the cycle of offending (Mag.5).

While it was suspected that credit was given by the magistrates, with this demonstrated by reduced sanctions received at the point of sentence, concrete evidence was not available that the benefits of the YCLP had influenced the sentencing outcome for the young adults. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to investigate the impact of the YCLP on sentencing decisions and disposals for the young adults, much anecdotal evidence suggested that the increase in the magistrates' awareness of the specific needs presented

by the young adults resulted in a more favourable outcome in court. This is certainly a potential research area worth further exploration.

When asked to identify the most difficult or frustrating part of their role with this cohort of young adults, the magistrates responded as follows:

> Young people often need immediate support; upon release on bail, an appointment 2–3 days in the future is not of assistance if someone is withdrawing for days. I would like to see, in cases where no suitable family is available, that support would be available, even for a very short time, upon release (Mag.1).

> General lack of motivation, lack of responsibility, remorse for offending. Inability to appreciate how serious some offences are (Mag.4).

> This young cohort think nothing will touch them. [The] YCLP works very well, probably because of the talented young staff who are able to communicate and get the message [across] of the importance of changing behaviour and making better choices (Mag.5).

The magistrates were then asked to indicate the most satisfying part of their role with this cohort of young adults, and responded with the following comments:

> When they achieve outcomes that give them self-motivation and a sense of achievement, that is, they successfully complete [the] YCLP! Having said this, I have had some young people who haven't completed the program but also have benefited from the connections made (Mag.4).

> Most satisfying is seeing young people succeed. Even with often a slow start (as you would expect) managing to pull themselves out of the cycle of crime despite social disadvantage (Mag.5).

When asked about the Court Integrated Services Program (CISP), one magistrate stated that:

> CISP has some benefit but not the comprehensive assessment and intensive follow-up in the way [the] YCLP does (Mag.5).

The case managers also expressed their views on CISP in the following statements:

> They take our clients! Pick and choose the ones they want and don't want, often leaving us with either very chaotic clients or ones with less needs (CM.1).

> As CISP are a statutory service, magistrates can feel that the client would be more suited to them as they are located within the courts and believe that this will influence their compliance. However, I think, when working with [an] 18–25-year-old, this negatively impacts [on] the client's engagement levels with CISP as they feel they cannot trust the worker as they work for, and are a part of, the courts. CISP is a better program for adults. Magistrates are also aware of the resources and brokerage that CISP have for their clients which hugely impacts [on] the outcomes they are able to get for their clients. Around 12 months ago, it was evident, through receiving community referrals that CISP send to YCLP, [that CISP] also acknowledge the struggle they have with engaging offenders within the 18–25-year-old age bracket. More recently, we have also had matters where they have been assessed for both [the] YCLP and CISP and have eventually been placed on CISP,

> however, have not engaged and so the magistrate then refers to [the] YCLP and the young person has engaged (CM.2).
>
> It is immeasurable! And continuing to increase with fewer services available and fewer supports for young people (Mag.1).
>
> Offers a process for therapeutic jurisprudence sentencing options (Mag.3).
>
> Increase in these types of young adults appearing for more serious offences (Mag.4).
>
> All the more important to have such a comprehensive "one stop" process to assist their cases (Mag.5).

When asked whether the pre-sentence reports from the YCLP had been useful in the sentencing process, the following responses were made by the magistrates:

> I have found them very useful, a gradual insight into a young person who often [is] unable to express it themselves (Mag.1).
>
> Yes—in explaining behaviour and screening options (Mag.3).
>
> Very. Set[s] out what the young offender has achieved, what is planned—what the issues are for this young person. Gives a magistrate an opportunity to deal with the young offender by addressing "core" issues leading to the offending (Mag.5).

The magistrates responded as follows when asked if the YCLP should continue:

> YES! For all the reasons already expressed in this questionnaire (Mag.1).
>
> It is helpful in achieving better sentencing outcomes. It enables young people to increase their maturity in the community and decrease the likelihood of reoffending (Mag.4).
>
> Absolutely. Without the program, the court has gaol [prison], corrections or fines. An adjourned undertaking requires programs, etc. that ha[ve] the confidence of magistrates (Mag.5).

When asked if and how the broader community benefits from the YCLP, the magistrates shared their thoughts as follows:

> It is obvious to say the broader community benefit[s] from [a] lower crime rate, decreasing recidivism and stable young people in the community; often this is due to intervention of [the] YCLP (Mag.1).
>
> Yes, the community benefit[s] by less harm and greater social inclusion of these young people with less offending in the community. Increased self-esteem and a positive contribution by these young offenders when they turn their lives around (Mag.5).

The magistrates were also asked their thoughts on how they would refine the program:

> Not sure. Probably have it run for longer and have more return back to court over that period (Mag.4).
>
> I would not refine it. It has demonstrated over the years that it works (Mag.5).

When asked whether three months was long enough for the young adults to be on the YCLP, the magistrates replied with the following comments:

> Difficult to know an optimum length of time as it is such a case-by-case decision. However, I feel three months seems to be a sensible period (Mag.1).
>
> Increase up to 12 months (Mag.3.)
>
> I would probably like 3–6 months as an option because the more complex the client, the longer the time that is really needed for clear gains to be made (Mag.4).
>
> Over the years, there has been a flexible approach. If a young offender has taken time to change behaviour or address behavioural change, a longer period than three months can be arranged (Mag.5).

When asked how they would rate the success of the YCLP on a scale from 1–5 (with '5' being the highest score), the magistrates' responses were positive:

> 5—very successful. Many young offenders have been sentenced in the Children's and then in the Magistrates' Court—each time escalating behaviour but no-one has addressed the 'core' problems until now (Mag.5).
>
> Please keep it! (Mag.4)
>
> Fabulous program and not sure what the magistrates would do without it (Mag.5).

5.6 Part 5: Triangulation

This section draws together the findings of the evaluation and highlights the connections between the emergent themes. Several dominant themes inherent in the data connected all four data sets, with these able to be differentiated as being either from relational aspects or from technical aspects, as outlined below:

5.6.1 Relational aspects

1. Trust between all parties: Trust emerged often in the data and was raised by all parties, at different times, as being a vital aspect of the working relationships and a critical foundation for generating confidence between the individual players that helped them to reach their outcomes. The magistrates developed trust with the case managers and had trust in the role played by them to assist the young adults to address the issues that precipitated them into offending behaviour. With pre-sentence reports demonstrating positive outcomes, this trust and confidence were further reinforced. The young adults had to be able to trust that the case managers would help them: the case managers were clear that trust building was one of the key elements that had to initially take place before they could engage and build rapport with the young people. On this basis, it can be said that trust was reciprocal.

2. Youthfulness of workers: A general agreement expressed by all parties was that the youthfulness of the case managers engendered empathy and an ability to relate and understand the young adults on the YCLP in order to help them to achieve the outcomes they required. This was highlighted by the magistrates in relation to the case managers. The case managers viewed this as being one of the assets in the relationship between them and the young adult, while the young adults highlighted this as a quality that made them feel that the case managers, due to being of a similar age, were able to empathise with them.

5.6.2 Technical aspects

1. Co-location of services: All parties in the evaluation study viewed the structure of the YCLP as being a necessary prerequisite for program compliance by the young adults. With most of the services co-located, this meant that the case managers had confidence in the young adult's ability to access the interventions and treatment they required. This could then be highlighted back to the court which, in turn, gained greater confidence in the co-located aspect of The Youth Junction Incorporated (TYJinc.) to successfully deliver the program.

2. Proximity of the centre and therefore the YCLP to the courts: It was highlighted by all parties that the geographical location of the program was crucial to the young adults being able to comply with the program's expectations. The fact that the program was based within a five-minute walk from the courts gave the magistrates confidence that the young adult would get there.

5.7 Unintended program effects

A number of frustrations highlighted by the case managers were present in the process of the YCLP delivery and created a number of unintended program effects. With changes occurring due to legal aid funding cuts to the program, many young adults were unable to obtain the representation they required. As a result, they may not have heard about the program or about the opportunity of being referred or, alternatively, may have received harsher sentences due to not being able to articulate the mitigating circumstances of their offending. Many of the lawyers had carried out a quasi-social element in their role in the absence of social and therapeutic program links and, therefore, were relieved when the case managers were able to focus on these elements on their behalf. As one case manager stated:

> Victorian Legal Aid funding cuts have had a significant impact on the program especially in terms of referrals as there is no one there suggesting/reminding the magistrate of the program—it is reliant on the program being in the forefront of the magistrates' minds at all times. It has also placed pressure on case managers in terms of supporting the more

> vulnerable clients at court if they are ineligible for representation. This also influences their sentencing outcome as the young person is not able to recommend a sentencing disposition and there is no give/take when discussing the appropriate penalty which would normally occur between lawyer and magistrate (CM2).

The program was also found to assist defence lawyers in their work, as one case manager pointed out:

> The program provides another option for lawyers to suggest to magistrates and assists in lawyers gaining a greater understanding of their client which, in turn, creates a better argument for them to put forward to the magistrate in the hope of a much more lenient sentence. The lawyers find the program helpful when in bail/custody situations as their application for bail runs [more] smooth[ly] if there is an appropriate support plan that can be detailed to the magistrate and they also receive intervention updates and final reports, so most of the work providing a history of the client is done for them (CM.2).

One of the case managers spoke of the social aspect of the YCLP and its inadvertent ability to provide a social network environment for the young adults. However, this could not always be guaranteed to be pro-social in nature. She stated that:

> Young people often meet other young people here, which can mean that they are able to network and extend their antisocial circles—for example, we have had two young people meet and one becomes the other young person's dealer. Young people can become attached to their case managers and have a romantic interest. Young people sometimes get a sense of entitlement for support and expect magical outcomes. Young people may become overly reliant on support. We can struggle with transference especially when it comes to behaviour and opinion[s] of police. Offending and substance use can become normalised in our day-to-day life by our exposure at work on a daily basis. We can also become attached to our clients (CM.1).

> Leading young people to the gaps of service provision. When there is no arrangement for continued support beyond the program for young adults with ongoing welfare issues that were identified while they were on the program. Imprisonment (CM.3).

5.8 Areas identified for improvements to the YCLP

In their questionnaires, the case managers highlighted a number of areas that offered potential areas for improvement to aspects of the program. These are as follows:

Brokerage funding: This was viewed as being an essential addition to resourcing the interventions and support offered to those on the YCLP as it would relieve economic barriers to the full benefits of the program, while also increasing a young adult's capacity to comply with the program's expectations. One of the case managers expressed this view in the following statement:

> This is a necessary service that needs to be provided when providing a case management program. All the necessary items that clients require in order to receive money cost money and they generally do not have any income or anyone to assist them in paying for this, i.e., birth certificates, visa reprints, licences, etc. Also, transport tickets are essential for both attendance with [the] YCLP and with other services; this also reduces the risk of receiving further infringements that again is a hindrance to their progress (CM.2).

***Outreach capacity*:** One of the barriers to engagement highlighted by the case managers was their inability, due to lack of resources, to conduct outreach with complex young adults who were unable to come to the Visy Cares Hub for a number of reasons. It was felt that having the ability to go to them, rather than expecting them to come to the case managers, would improve their compliance with the program's expectations. As one case manager stated:

> We appear to be getting increasingly complex clients, some [of whom] are so heavily involved in substance use or some [are] homeless that this would be very useful to be able to access clients. This allows for clients who for a number of reasons find it difficult to attend appointments. This would increase our compliance levels and outcomes as they would still be receiving the necessary services they require (CM.1).

Improved physical spaces: The case managers highlighted several frustrations relating to spaces that could be improved in terms of the confidential work that they had to do with the young adults: they felt that this would improve their engagement levels and the young adult's ability to talk more freely. They expressed the view that having to operate within an open-plan office presented problems, at times, in relation to privacy and confidentiality and, while there were benefits to sharing a space in terms of building the team's capacity, those benefits served to disadvantage the face-to-face work that had to be carried out with the young adults.

***Improved case management system*:** One major frustration highlighted by all three case managers was the data information system that posed several challenges when they

collected and recorded information on their cases. The following statement articulated this issue:

> The data collection and management system on an Excel program has proven to be a challenge and [has] frustrated workers as they have found it difficult to be as efficient as they would like in terms of keeping case notes up to date. This would ensure that all administration is recorded in the same way and on time as everyone would be able to access the database at the same time to record case notes. It would also assist with data collection as most databases have a way to automatically record general statistics. Also, as we are dealing with sensitive information, there needs to be decreased risk that none of it would get lost (CM.1).

Using an MS Excel spreadsheet was found to be less than ideal when three case managers had intensive caseloads and were required to accurately record the interactions between themselves and the young adults and other services.

More resources: staff, training and funding: The YCLP also received an unmanageably high number of court referrals at certain periods, with this resulting in a reduction in young adult contact due to the case managers not finding the time to actively pursue the young adults in relation to their compliance. The levels of complexity and crisis led to critical incidents with which the case managers, at times, felt ill-equipped to assist the young adult, but they had to do so as other specialist services were refusing to engage with these young adults, deeming them to be too high risk for their levels of intervention. Consideration was given to the number of cases assigned to each case manager by looking at the responsibilities involved in the interventions. The case manager was required, within a brief space of time, to carry out the psycho-social assessment, often at short notice, in police cells, after cases had been 'stood down' in court or during short adjournments. During that time, the case manager had to engage with the young adult and begin to build rapport and trust, as well as working up and agreeing on an action plan, after having determined the risk factors and causes of offending behaviour. During the period of the intensive program intervention, a young adult was seen on average 33 times across a three-month period by the case manager and other practitioners, during which time the case managers were requested, often at short notice, to compile progress reports for judicial monitoring purposes. At the end of the program and a few days before the young adult was due to return to court for sentencing, a final comprehensive pre-sentence report was prepared, after ascertaining factual and correct information from the services with which the young adult had engaged, as well as carrying out a final evaluation with the young adult. One case manager highlighted the pressure placed on them to manage their workload in the following statement:

> As the complexity of the client group has changed, it becomes difficult to manage our caseloads, as the needs of each client [are] higher and require an increased level of support;

> this would also enable better outcomes as you have more time and ability to assist the client effectively. This would also assist in the administration of the program being completed in a timely manner as you would have the time to be able to record appropriately (CM.2).

As the YCLP grew, resources became stretched and the complexity of needs of the young adults referred to the program also increased. This put pressure on the case managers who clearly needed additional support so they could provide the optimum level of intensive intervention required for the program to be effective.

***More tailored programs and services*:** While the case managers were able to access formal specialist services, a growing need was also identified for other types of programs that could be used to bolster engagement and participation on the program. One of the case managers highlighted additional services that could support their work with the young adults including:

> Mental health with shorter waiting lists. Forensic mental health services. Family counselling service. Early childhood services (i.e. Healthy Minds, Healthy Babies). Crisis accommodation and affordable housing services. Finance programs and sheriff for fines. Learner['s permit and driver's] licence education program. Anger management program. Nurse. Gym. Dual diagnosis. Pre-apprenticeship services. Criminal lawyers. Young parents' programs and support. Family violence abuse counsellors. Drop-in counselling service. Hospitality training for YP to get RSF A day program that clients could engage in that would also allow them increased structure and stability. A kitchen and store cupboard they could access to cook and eat while there and possibly take food home if they need to. A phone booth that they could use to make phone calls especially ones that may have a long wait time. Anger management that is youth-specific whether it be 1:1 or group. AA [Alcoholics Anonymous] and NA [Narcotics Anonymous] meetings also youth-specific. Independent living skills program (CM.1).

One of the other case managers voiced their frustration at not being able to access appropriate referral points for services as follows: "[s]ometimes we struggle to find certain programs which fit into our client base—this is pretty far-fetched, but more ideas like [a] soccer program or anger management, camps, etc. This will not capture all of our clients, but could aid a few more" (CM.2).

These identified areas are vital considerations for improving the efficacy of the YCLP going forward, particularly as they affect the areas of communication, accountability and the ability to engage the young adults at an optimum service level.

***Replication of the YCLP*:** The YCLP targeted young adults aged between 18 and 25 years who faced either being placed on remand, or who were likely to be remanded, by the Magistrates' Court for offences they had committed. Other than the YCLP, there were no existing intensive case management program(s) in Sunshine/Werribee offering an alternative to remand for young adults. As the YCLP developed, knowledge of the program

and its benefits spread to other Magistrates' Courts which started to make referrals for young adults to the program. This proved challenging for the case managers as the young adults had to travel greater distances to receive support and often found it too difficult to attend appointments. This meant that compliance levels were adversely affected. The case managers agreed that expanding the program to other areas to improve accessibility would be a good idea. The following statement suggested "[e]xpanding into Broadmeadows and Melbourne Magistrates' Courts. This is because they also deal with many clients in the West" (CM.3).

To achieve the economic and social benefits of replication of the YCLP in other locations, investment would be required in three key areas, namely, core, capital and capacity, as highlighted by the evidence:

- Core: Recurrent funding for staffing and other ongoing costs associated with program delivery.
- Capital: One-off funding to design, build and construct a building to effectively accommodate the range of services specific to young adults who present with a co-morbidity of issues.
- Capacity: Provision of some 'brokerage' funding to enhance the skill acquisition of young adults and to provide other specialised programs that target sub-groups of the YCLP population of young adults.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

I started my analytic journey with a research question that asked about the efficacy of community justice interventions to enhance social capital and prevent incarceration for young adults. It was, therefore, expected that the themes constructed from the data would clearly represent meaning for this line of inquiry. The aim of the study was to gain an intimate understanding of how young adults engage with the ideas and practices known as linking social capital, using qualitative inquiry with the young adults, the case managers and the magistrates, with quantitative and qualitative analysis of the primary and secondary data produced by the three sets of subjects. The evaluation was underpinned by two strong motivations: firstly, to find out the interventions and strategies required to engage young adults in building their resilience against the factors that led to their offending behaviour. This was achieved through focusing on the primary domains of presenting need that had been explored through the initial psycho-social assessment and the ensuing case management process in which the young adults were involved. Not only were the presenting issues revealed, but over the 3–6-month period of the interventions, other underlying barriers to progress were also addressed.

The second motivation was to determine whether the effects of the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP), based in Sunshine, Melbourne, Victoria, contributed to the prevention of crime by young adults. The evidence from the young adults, the case managers and the magistrates, who were the primary stakeholders, indicated that the YCLP processes addressed a combination of complex issues confronting the young adults. To assist them to avoid further offending, they were linked with service interventions that produced beneficial outcomes, in a holistic and coordinated way. More broadly, however, the evidence supported nuanced relationships between all stakeholders that highlighted cooperation, collaboration, respect and trust, and being able to agree on and achieve the outcomes required through the vehicles of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ), linking social capital and case management techniques, and thus to contribute to the prevention of incarceration for young adults involved in the criminal justice system.

6.2 Highlights of the overall program success

The role of, and rationale for, the YCLP was that the program was developed within the context of the early intervention and crime prevention spectrum, at the point of pre-sentence within the criminal justice system. The YCLP proposed offering a straightforward and

immediate ‘gateway’ through which magistrates could refer young adults to undergo a comprehensive assessment that determined the range of their needs and, therefore, the interventions and treatments required to prevent further offending. The program was premised on the notion that preventative justice interventions at the front end of the justice system (pre-sentence, alternative to remand, deferred sentence) offered young adults a number of positive, personal, compensatory and restorative benefits that provided pro-social alternatives, through the process of linking social capital. The benefits of the YCLP were also shown to provide economic and social benefits to the Western Metropolitan Region, with potential for this to be up-scaled to a statewide level across Victoria.

Two evaluation foci ran in parallel throughout this research and both required concurrent and equal attention. The first focus was the overall performance of the YCLP as a crime prevention program based on its rationale, theory and structure, in meeting its original objectives. The second focus was whether the program interventions positively impacted on the young adults to increase linking social capital, in order to prevent incarceration. This study has provided a summative outcomes-based evaluation of one program that examined changes for a young adult in a range of outcome areas over a specific period of time. An evaluation of this nature was found to provide an understanding of the complexity of the YCLP, as well as a participant-oriented portrayal of the experiences of the young adults, the case managers and the magistrates connected with the program.

The theory-driven evaluation model, detailed in Chapter One, set out the program inputs and outputs; the program context; the case management processes; how the program was delivered; who delivered it; the delivery content; the timelines; and the outcomes in relation to overall program performance and specific results for the young adults involved. This model was used as a framework within which to explore and investigate the YCLP’s efficacy in producing the benefits that it claimed it would achieve when the program was being designed. Writers who support a theory-driven evaluation claim that this approach is both “plausible and cogent” (Weiss, 1997). However, others state that theory-driven evaluations fail to provide sufficient information on whether goals or objectives have been achieved, with this compensated for in the current evaluation through additional mixed methods that provided the information necessary for improving the program (Scriven, 1994).

I preferred a constructivist position in relation to the analytical method within this evaluation study, namely, the application of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was selected for its ability to deal with the intricacies of the social interactions that took place between the young adults and the case managers. It was also the fundamental process needed for dealing with

the large chunks of text in qualitative research (Charmaz, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2006; Braun and Clarke, 2006). With this stance, I was able to focus specifically on the subjective interrelationships between the case managers and the young adults with these used as the lens through which to induce the thematic codes, memos and categories to crystallise the analyses. In addition, a comprehensive scrutiny of the literature was carried out to further conceptualise and inform the key components of the thematic analysis and was used as the vehicle to extrapolate ideas from the qualitative data, in order to integrate them with the quantitative data variables. Writers posit that there are no fixed rules regarding the nature of a "relevant theme" in thematic analysis, as the researcher interprets and discerns, through close and intimate engagement with the data, those data that hold most weight (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In this sense, the themes emerged, not through frequency of occurrence, but rather in their currency in relation to the line of inquiry and how it related specifically to the primary research question. The following four focal questions ensured that the primary research question was addressed in the most effective way possible:

Q1. *Did the YCLP meet its overall objectives?*

Q2. *What strategies and interventions were employed by the case managers towards the generation of linking social capital in order to assist the young adults to effect change?*

Q3. Did the sources of linking social capital afforded to young adults decrease incarceration and, if so, how?

Q4. What were the role and perceptions of the magistrates towards the YCLP?

Five main conclusions were reached in the evaluation, as follows:

1. The YCLP was found to build and strengthen therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) for the courts and linking social capital opportunities for the young adults, with resultant beneficial outcomes, through the intervention of timely and appropriate youth services, within a co-located youth services place-based environment;

2. There was a range of intrinsic elements to the case manager and young adult therapeutic relationship that highlighted the factors for optimum engagement and empathy to generate positive outcomes and benefits for the young adults;

3. Young adults transitioning towards adulthood are responsive and receptive to positive change opportunities, even within a short space of time;

4. The program refinements highlighted in the evaluation are surmountable and achievable

and have the potential to further improve the efficacy of the program; and

5. The YCLP has scalable properties and potential for other similar jurisdictions to replicate this model that aims to build linking social capital and prevent incarceration for young adults.

These conclusions are detailed in the following section:

1. The YCLP was found to build and strengthen therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) for the courts and linking social capital opportunities for young adults, with resultant beneficial outcomes, through the intervention of timely and appropriate youth services, within a co-located youth services place-based environment.

This evaluation study investigated the efficacy of the YCLP initiative in order to strengthen the evidence that a straightforward referral and intake gateway for the Magistrates' Court of Victoria (MCV) could provide a diverse range of community justice interventions, to prevent young adults from further offending and consequent incarceration. In addition, this process assisted in clarifying definitions and aligning them with the treatment of young adults within the criminal justice system, by promoting the YCLP model as a useful vehicle for increasing opportunities for young adults and by providing an alternative and more therapeutic decision-making process to what was currently available to the courts. However, challenges were found in the inconsistent and confusing definitions in relation to young adults, such as: youth and maturity, the markers of adulthood, criminal and antisocial activity, linking social capital, and the role of statutory and community justice interventions in their lives.

The YCLP helped to clarify the contextual experience of young adults, who are considered as youth within the youth and community sector, but who are treated as adults within the criminal justice system. The evaluation provided the opportunity to examine how linking social capital (through services that respond to the primary domains of relationships, health [particularly mental health], housing, employment, AOD and legal support), in relation to young adults, was generated and fostered through the case management process within the YCLP, in order to prevent further offending. This process provided a greater depth of understanding of the key social relationships and networks required to produce resources that offered potential protection against risk factors for crime. In addition, it revealed the importance of the program through information collected from the primary stakeholders, namely, the young adults, the magistrates and the case managers. The conclusion drawn from the above points was that the YCLP was well positioned to respond to the needs of the courts, due to its proximity at the Visy Cares Hub and, therefore, its convenience for the young adults referred by the courts, in simultaneously gaining access to a range of necessary responses, within an intensive, place-based program.

One of the primary aims of the study was to produce an effective evaluation of one program, using the theoretical constructs of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) (Winick and Wexler, 2006) and linking social capital (Claridge, 2004). The evidence that emerged from the data supported both of these theoretical constructs as was often manifested through the relationships between the magistrates, the case managers and the young adults. Therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ), with its intention of minimising the negative, anti-therapeutic effects of the law on the young adults' psychological well-being, was seen to use the law's authority to effect positive behavioural change. This was evident in the practice of the magistrates within the court setting, whereby referrals of young adults were made as an alternative to remand to prison. Furthermore, it was evident when the young adults returned to court, where the magistrates encouraged the case managers and the young adults to express the benefits of the program, prior to the young adult being sentenced.

Within this evaluation, the broad concept of linking social capital was contextually defined as:

> Linking social capital is stimulated through the productive nature of the young adult and case manager relationship, in order to produce beneficial outcomes that encourage pro-social lifestyles.

Clarifying this context enabled the concept to be utilised as a mechanism to build the young adults' networks and capacity through the YCLP case management process. The process of linking social capital was evident in the case manager and young adult relationship whereby young adults were connected to services, with the case managers ensuring these connections, in order to achieve beneficial outcomes as a result of the interventions and treatment received. The young adults on the YCLP may have had other types of social capital, as outlined in the literature review, for example, bonding and bridging. However, this evaluation related specifically to linking social capital with the evidence indicating that this was facilitated by the case managers and embraced by the young adults while on the program. Linking social capital was built through connecting young adults to the necessary services that provided interventions to ameliorate the causes and triggers for offending behaviour, thus reducing the offending behaviour itself. In addition, the case managers highlighted that access to the services was based primarily on having an established relationship with the service providers. The evidence indicated that a simple referral to services alone did not automatically generate or increase linking social capital, but instead required the young adult to actively engage in those services in order to benefit from them. Therefore, while the case managers were shown to enable access to the ***sources*** of linking social capital, they also demonstrated how they mobilised the ***effects*** of linking social capital,

by ensuring that the young adults were attending their appointments and benefiting from them. This was measured through feedback from the young adults and also from the individual practitioners themselves. The indicators that linking social capital was mobilised and had been enhanced were demonstrated in the young adult's initiative and motivation to willingly participate in interventions.

The YCLP case manager developed jointly with the young adult a tailored individualised and goal-oriented plan, with meaningful and practical options set through self-defined goals, meaning that they were more likely to be completed as the young adults themselves had been involved in their development. This approach enabled the young adults to increase self-responsibility as goals were achieved, thereby realising that they were the 'co-producers of linking social capital' through services and supports, rather than solely 'consumers' of those services. The data indicated that, as the constructive therapeutic environment was developed between the case manager and the young adult, the young adult developed awareness and understanding of their own strengths and capabilities and of their own capacity to mobilise linking social capital, and an increased awareness of the interconnectedness of useful services that they could continue to access even when the program had been completed. Several other conclusions can be drawn in relation to the above points:

- linking social capital relating to the young adults changed as their circumstances changed throughout the YCLP and, therefore, appears to be circumstantial and context-dependent, as is evidenced by the movement into and out of different services at different times;

- the "substance, sources and effects" (Adler and Kwon, 2000) of linking social capital can change and can therefore be enhanced, even in the short term, as a young adult's circumstances change. This is evidenced in the young adult's ability to continue to desist from offending behaviour across a 12-month follow-up period, as a result of engaging in pro-social activities such as maintaining stable housing and employment, abstinence or control of substances, and continuance of prescribed medication to stabilise mental health;

- linking social capital has the potential to create networks that produce resources and 'assets' resulting from one case management/social (net)working relationship, that is beneficial and focused on creating and mobilising other helpful relationships and resources located within a community justice intervention context. Capital,

insofar as it is aligned with power (Barry, 2006) requires “sources” of social capital to foster social capital “resources” that can be capitalised upon with this being the primary aim of the case manager’s relationship with the young adult;

- positive linking social capital, as opposed to perverse or antisocial capital, was shown to be fostered through the intensive case management/social (net)working relationship (space between people) that had the sole purpose of creating positive economic (material), social and psychological scaffolding in the lives of the young adults;

- the young adults on the YCLP, as they strived to attain the “markers of adulthood” (Arnett, 2010) through legitimate means, were expected to conform to the norms, mores and values of Australian society (i.e. being given a ‘fair go’ and the chance and opportunity to reach and attain the ‘Australian dream’, insofar as that consists of a house (with a backyard), a job, a car and a loving family). These markers were closely connected to the community justice service interventions provided through the process of linking social capital within the case management process;

- the young adults appeared to strive towards an adult persona and positive identity (pro-social and pro-legal) which is considered ‘normal’, but many found it challenging to foster pro-social capital when lacking adequate and appropriate resources and supports. The evidence showed that they were willing to draw on the support of the case management relationship as an substitute;

- trust and reciprocity in the form of mutual expectation, that is, ‘if you do this for me, I will do this for you’, could be fostered quickly within a helping case management framework. These were the essential ingredients that generated linking social capital and from which flowed a number of personal benefits and social goods, including information and advocacy leading to cooperation, action, positive behavioural change, resourcefulness and productivity, to build personal and social assets that had the potential to prevent further offending behaviour leading to incarceration.

2. There was a range of intrinsic elements to the case manager and young adult therapeutic relationship that highlighted the factors for optimum engagement and empathy to generate positive outcomes and benefits for the young adults.

The YCLP was delivered within a strengths-based ‘rehabilitation’ approach which brought together principles for effective restorative and correctional intervention, by helping the

young adults develop and implement meaningful life goals that were incompatible with current and future offending. This was achieved by the YCLP case manager working in 'partnership' with the young adult to develop the outcomes the young adult wanted, desired and needed, to help them desist from further offending. Most of the young adults presented with a co-morbidity of issues and part of the success of the YCLP was its access to the co-location of 20 youth-specific not-for-profit (NFP) services 'under the one roof' that enabled the young adults to effectively and efficiently engage with the multiplicity of youth service providers suited to their individual needs. The young adult only had to share their story 'once', thereby achieving an integrated care and support approach, assisted by the close proximity of services, as well as by close monitoring by the case managers which encouraged intensive engagement in the therapeutic process.

It is therefore likely, but cannot be stated with complete certainty, that the combined contribution of service interventions, through the case management process, had an overall impact on the young adults desisting from further offending. Moreover, this evaluation produces evidence that the YCLP is the most likely explanation for the observed outcomes relating to the coordination of and connection to service interventions for the young adults. It highlights that there is little evidence to suggest that a young adult being sent by the courts to receive interventions outside of the YCLP could successfully self-navigate and receive the same efficient and effective service responses that were created by the intensive and coordinated case management relationship provided by the program. Intrinsic to this process was the nature and effectiveness of the individual case manager and their ability to detect, access and mobilise multiple resources for the benefit of the young adult.

The ability to attribute the cessation of offending to the YCLP alone was highlighted as a challenge due to a number of alternative likely explanations. From this perspective, in the absence of the YCLP, the young adults may have improved, worsened or stayed the same. It is, therefore, difficult to attribute the young adults' positive changes to the YCLP interventions alone, with this being consistent with other evaluation studies, as spelt out in the following comment:

> While it may be that the program is necessary for the result to occur, the program alone may not be sufficient. That is, the result may also depend on other factors, without which the result will not occur. Under such circumstances, the result will not occur without the program, but will not necessarily occur when the program is present. Here, all that can be inferred is that with the program *and* with the required factors in place, the result will occur (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001:16).

It is said that the ability to infer that a program caused a certain result will depend, in practice, on the degree to which the evaluation is able to reject plausible alternative explanations, often referred to as "threats to the validity of the causal inference …" These plausible alternative or rival explanations have been addressed in Chapter One and include:

- *Young adults would have grown out of crime anyway*
- *Young adults may have generated linking social capital without participating in the YCLP*
- *Magistrates may have used an alternative disposal to the YCLP that could have contributed to the young adults taking stock and doing something positive about their circumstances*
- *Often, a program is only one of many influences on an outcome.*

As much as possible, these risks were mitigated through the evaluation design in which assumptions were explored, logical arguments were provided, and robust and careful analysis was carried out. While the rival explanations could not be rejected outright, all attempts were made to account for them.

3. Young adults transitioning towards adulthood are responsive and receptive to positive change opportunities, even within a short space of time.

The exploration of the literature highlighted the complexity in defining the concept of 'young adulthood', both broadly, as young adults transition towards adulthood, and also as it relates to young adults specifically within the criminal justice system. However, previous research by scholars over the past 25 years in this field of interest (see Laub and Sampson, 2003; Losel et al., 2012; Berlin et al., 2010; Gluckman, 2011; Mulvey et al., 2004; Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2005) has provided great insight into this complexity and provides a platform to increase our understanding of the challenges and the necessary supports and buffers required for young adults to make successful transitions. Furthermore, researchers, together with practitioners, politicians and policy makers, are gradually working towards a better understanding of the contributing factors that lead to risk-taking and criminal behaviour for this age group, particularly within the context of contemporary Westernised society. The findings of the current research add further insight into the challenges of trying to negotiate these complexities within one program for young adults. This evaluation, while acknowledging the limitations of only exploring a small aspect of this field, can nonetheless provide additional nuances to this existing body of work. These insights relate to how we determined the risks, triggers and causes in order to prevent or modify them in an attempt

to promote desistance and reduce risk and recidivism and, therefore, the need for incarceration for young adults on one program, over a short period of time (i.e. up to six months' intervention and 12-month follow-up checks for recidivism).

In terms of the young adults, the evaluation indicated that many of them, rather than being "life-course-persistent" offenders, were embroiled in "adolescence-limited antisocial pathways" as highlighted by Moffitt and Caspi (2001). Furthermore, the evaluation demonstrated that interventions and supportive frameworks can encourage this group to desist from offending, even in a short space of time, while also acknowledging the likely external and internal factors that enable them to "grow out of crime", in any case (Sturrock, 2012:5). Writers refer to the "turning points" in the life course (Boeck, 2011:3) that can influence young people's pathways into and out of crime, and the YCLP interventions in the primary domains of need were shown to create these pathways for many of the young adults, by enabling them to anchor themselves to pro-social, compliant and law-abiding lifestyles (Steinberg and Cauffman, 1996; Barry, 2006).

4. The program refinements highlighted in the evaluation are surmountable and achievable and have the potential to further improve the efficacy of the program.

These program refinements included:

- Obtaining ***brokerage funding*** to relieve economic barriers, such as the cost of travel passes, food, interview and work clothes, and small subsidies for educational courses and towards driving lessons. These areas of need could be designed into individual programs and funding could be sourced from philanthropic and local government community grants, using evidence from this research to demonstrate the need.

- Provision of ***outreach capacity*** to young adults who lacked the means to travel from distant parts of the Western Metropolitan Region to access place-based supports and for those young adults where mental ill-health posed a barrier to travel and their comfort in public spaces. This is achievable with additional case managers managing lower caseloads thus freeing up more time for outreach, with increased funding needed to be able to employ additional case managers.

- The need for ***improved physical spaces*** to enhance confidentiality for one-on-one work with the young adults which is very achievable as a larger office space can be converted into multiple offices at the Visy Cares Hub for that purpose.

- An ***improved case management system*** has been made possible with additional funding to the YCLP from the Victorian State Government to improve data collection and case note recording.

- The need for ***more resources: staff, training and funding*** has been secured with funding for a further two years to alleviate resourcing issues.

- The need for ***more tailored programs and services*** relates in part to the first improvement request concerning brokerage funds. However, more structural deficits relating to housing, employment and 'tough on crime' laws remain challenging in the current climate.

- The potential for ***replication of the YCLP*** is possible as there is growing interest in the need to provide better alternatives to the growing number of young people in the prison system and on remand in Victoria.

5. The YCLP has scalable properties and potential for other similar jurisdictions to replicate this model that aims to build linking social capital and prevent incarceration for young adults.

The YCLP was established in 2008 in response to a gap in youth services provision and, therefore, aimed to provide a local solution to a local problem, that of addressing young adult offending, where previously the response in the community had been piecemeal and inadequate. There did not appear to have been a similar preventative pre-sentence program delivered either in Australia or anywhere else; therefore, the model was innovative and untested, thus providing the opportunity to pilot and evaluate a new approach to community justice interventions. While pilot programs had been delivered elsewhere for young adults aged between 16 and 24 years, these programs had a slightly different focus and were tailored to operate within different communities and countries (Helyar-Cardwell, 2009a; Berlin et al., 2010). As a result, there was a paucity of research into pre-sentence programming designed specifically for young adults. The YCLP has attempted to respond to this gap by developing a program model and approach that can provide an evidence base for interventions that may be beneficial for other similar jurisdictions.

6.3 Potential areas for future research

Several areas and possibilities for further research emerged as a result of the evaluation. These included:

- *Exploring the effects of the program on the impact of sentencing outcomes for young adults*: While it was suspected that credit was given to the young adults, with this demonstrated in the reduced sanctions received at the point of sentence, there was no concrete evidence that the benefits of the YCLP had influenced the sentencing outcome for the young adults. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to investigate the impact of the YCLP on sentencing decisions and disposals for young adults, much anecdotal evidence suggested that the increase in the magistrates' awareness of the specific needs presented by the young adults had resulted in a more favourable outcome in court. This is certainly a potential research area worth exploring and could possibly involve looking at the court outcomes of a control group of young adults who had not participated in the program.

- *Introducing a control group*: One of the key limitations was that the evaluation only looked at one program, namely, the YCLP and only at 'one group' of participants from pre-program to post-program. The 'comparison group' was therefore implicit, as it was simply the treatment group before being exposed to the program. This is referred to as a 'reflexive comparison' group' and the lack of an explicit comparison group means that most of the threats to internal validity may be present.

- *Extending the follow-up period:* The evaluation involved follow-up checks (at intervals of three months) for up to 12 months after the young adults completed the program. This could be extended through further research by tracking the young adults for a period of 24 or 36 months to strengthen the longer-term reduction in the recidivism rates of young people. Added to this is the potential to cross-check the follow-up data with the Victoria Police data collection system to validate the self-report data from the young adults.

- *Exploring the rival explanations further*: The exploration of rival explanations may present an opportunity for further research to decipher the extent to which programs such as the YCLP contribute to cessation or desistance from further offending. Writers guard against the notion that social capital is the "magic bullet" to address risky behaviour so this area remains largely under-researched, particularly as it relates to young people (Billett, 2011).

6.4 Conclusion

This evaluation has shown that the YCLP is providing a unique program for young adult offenders aged 18–25 years within Melbourne's Western Metropolitan Region and, it seems,

also further afield. There is a policy and service delivery vacuum for this cohort between governments and within the not-for-profit (NFP) sector. The YCLP provides an evidence base that multidisciplinary service delivery is best practice for this cohort, for several reasons indicated throughout the evaluation. This, coupled with the economic benefits, would suggest that the provision of funding to enable the program's expansion to key high-need local government areas with similar demographics could provide an opportunity to construct pro-social alternatives to criminal activity and prison, and commence the process of articulating this through policy for the treatment of young adults, at least at a local level.

This evaluation also adds to the literature by demonstrating how the concept of linking social capital has utility in explaining how young adults access a range of beneficial services that can assist in building their capacity and capability, in order to reduce the risks of further offending behaviour.

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. (1997) On the concept of the turning point. Comparative Social Research, 16, 85-105.

Adler, P. S. and Kwon, S.-W. (2000) Social capital: The good, the bad, and the ugly. In: E. Lesser (ed.) Knowledge and social capital: Foundations and applications (pp. 89-115). Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Agar, M. (1996). The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2004) Indicators of integration: Final report. Home Office Development and Practice Report 28. London: Home Office.

AIHW (2010) Young people and children in social housing. AIHW bulletin no. 85. Cat. No. AUS 134. Canberra: AIHW. Viewed 9 September 2016

Alexander, K., Entwistle, D., and Olsen, L. (2014) The long shadow, family background, disadvantaged urban youth, and the transition to adulthood. American Sociological Association.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., and Wormith, J. S. (2011) The risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model: Does adding the good lives model contribute to effective crime prevention? Criminal Justice and Behavior, 38, 735-755.

Appleton, J.V. & King, L. (2002). Journeying from the philosophical contemplation of constructivism to the methodological pragmatics of heath services research. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 40, 641-648.

Armstrong, D. (2004) A risky business? Research, policy, governmentality and youth offending. Youth Justice, 4(2), 100-116.

Arnett, J. (2000) Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. American Psychologist, 55(5), 469-480.

Arnett, J. J. (2006) The case for emerging adulthood in Europe: A response to Brutmer. Journal of Youth Studies, 9, 111-123.

Arnett, J, J. (2010) Adolescence and emerging adulthood: A cultural approach. Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 31(2), 109-124.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2004) Measuring social capital: An Australian framework and indicators. Information Paper. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth of Australia.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2009) Exploring measures of low social capital. Research Paper. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth of Australia. Available at: <www.abs.gov.au>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2012) Australian demographic statistics, March 2012. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth of Australia. Available at: <www.abs.gov.au>.

Australian Government Attorney-General's Department (AGD) (2012) Program specification.

Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth (ARACY) (2012) A national plan for child and youth wellbeing: A review of the literature. KPMG.

Barker, J. and Thomson, L. (2014) Helpful relationships with service users: Linking social capital. Australian Social Work, 68(1), 130-145. Canberra, ACT, Australia: Institute of Child Protection Studies, Australian Catholic University.

Barrow Cadbury Trust (2005) Lost in transition: A report of the Barrow Cadbury Commission on young adults and the criminal justice system.

Barry, M. (2001) Youth policy and social inclusion: Critical debates with young people. London: Save the Children/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Barry, M. (2001) Challenging transitions: Young people's views and experiences of growing up. London: Save the Children/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Barry, M. (2006) Youth offending in transition: The search for social recognition.

Bassani, C. (2007) Five dimensions of social capital theory as they pertain to youth. Journal of Youth Studies, 10(1), 1-34.

Bassani, C. (2008) Social capital and disparities in Canadian youth's mathematics achievement. Canadian Journal of Education 31(3), 727-760.

Becker G (1993) The economic way of looking at behavior. Journal of Political Economy, 101(3), 385-409.

Berlin, G., Furstenberg, F. F., and Waters, M. C. (2010) Transition to adulthood (Vol. 20, No. 1). Princeton-Brookings: The Future of Children.

Berns, G. S. (2009) My immature brain made me do it? Should the "adolescent brain" be a mitigating factor when sentencing juveniles? plus2sd.

Billett. P. (2011) Youth social capital: Getting on and getting ahead in life. Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Media and Communications, School of Social Sciences, University of Wollongong. Available at: <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/3533>.

Billett, P. (2012) Indicators of youth social capital: The case for not using adult indicators in the measurement of youth social capital. Youth Studies Australia, 31(2).

Birgden, A. (2002) Therapeutic jurisprudence and "good lives": A rehabilitation framework for corrections. Australian Psychologist, 37(3), 180-186.

Bjarnason, T. & Sigurdardottir, T.J. (2003) Psychological distress during unemployment and beyond: social support and material deprivation among youth in six northern European countries Social Science & Medicine Volume 56, Issue 5, March 2003, Pages 973–985

Blumer, H. (1969) Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Boeck, T. G (2011) Young people and social capital: An exploration. Doctor of Philosophy thesis, DeMontford University, UK.

Boeck, T. and Fleming, J. (2011) The role of social capital and resources in resilience to risk. In: H. Kemshall and B. Wilkinson (eds.) Good practice in assessing risk: Current knowledge, issues and approaches (pp. 48-65). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Boeck, T., Fleming, J., and Kemshall, H. (2006) The context of risk decisions: Does social capital make a difference? Qualitative Social Research, 7(1), art 17.

Bond, S. (2010) Integrated service delivery for young people: A literature review. Brotherhood of St Laurence. viewed 08 September 2016. <http://apo.org.au/node/22686>.

Bottoms, A. E. and Shapland, J. (2010) Steps toward desistance among male young adult recidivists. In: S. Farrall, M. Hough, S. Maruna and R. Sparks (eds.) (2011) Escape routes: Contemporary perspectives on life after punishment. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J. (ed.) Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education, New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992) An invitation to reflexive sociology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourn, D. and Brown, K. (2011) Young people and international development. Research Paper No. 2. Development Education Research Centre.

Bradshaw, J. (ed.). (2001) Poverty: The outcomes for children. London: Family Policy Studies Centre, Department of Social Security.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3(2), 77-101.

Brechman-Toussaint, M. and Kogler, E. (2010) Review of international and national integrated service models for young people in the pre-adolescent and adolescent years: Benefits, barriers and enablers. Paddington, NSW: Benevolent Society.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza (1998). Brown kids in white suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital. Housing Policy Debate, 9(1), 177-221.

Brignell. G. (2002) Bail: An examination of contemporary issues. Sentencing Trends and Issues No. 24. Judicial Commission of New South Wales. <http://www.judcom.nsw.gov.au/publications/st>.

Brimbank City Council (2008) Brimbank Youth Policy and Action Plan 2008-2013 (BYPAP), State Government, Victoria viewed 16/8/09 <http://www.brimbank.vic.gov.au>

Brown, T. A., Di Nardo, P. A., Lehman, C. L., and Campbell, L. A. (2001). Reliability of DSM-IV anxiety and mood disorders: Implications for the classification of emotional disorders. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 110, 49-58.

Butcher, J. N., Arbisi, P. A., Atlis, M. M., and McNulty, J. L. (2003) The construct validity of the Lees-Haley Fake-Bad Scale (FBS): Does this scale measure somatic malingering and feigned emotional distress? Archives of Clinical Neuropsychology, 18, 473-485.

Butcher, J., Howard, P., Labone, E., Bailey, M., Smith, S., McFadden, M., McMeniman, M. M., Malone, and K., Martinez, K. (2003) Teacher education, community service learning and student efficacy for community engagement. Taylor & Francis Group.

Carcach, C. and Leverett, S. (1999) Recidivism among juvenile offenders: An analysis of times to reappearance in court. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Carillo, F. J., Yigitanlar, T., Garcia, B., and Lonnqvist, A. (2014) Knowledge and the city: Concepts, applications and trends of knowledge-based urban development. Routledge Studies in Human Geography, 52. Routledge, London

Catalano, R. and Hawkins, D. (1996) A theory of antisocial behavior. In: J. D. Hawkins (ed.) Delinquency and crime: Current theories, New York: Cambridge.

Cauffman, E., Piquero, A., Broidy, L., Espelage, D. and Mazerolle, P. (2004) Heterogeneity in the association between social-emotional adjustment profiles and deviant behavior

among male and female serious juvenile offenders. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 48, 235-252.

Cauffman, E. and Steinberg, L. (2000) (Im)maturity of judgment in adolescence: Why adolescents may be less culpable than adults. Behavioral Sciences and the Law.

Cernkovich, S. and Giordano, P. C. (2001) Stability and change in anti-social behaviour: The transition from adolescence to early adulthood. Criminology, 39(2), 371-410.

Charmaz, K. (1994) Discovering chronic illness: Using grounded theory. In: B. Glaser (ed.) More grounded theory methodology: A reader (pp. 65-93). Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Charmaz, K. (1995). Grounded theory. In: J. Smith, R. Harré, and L. Langenhove (eds.) Rethinking methods in psychology (pp. 27-65). London: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In: N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.) Handbook of qualitative research. 2nd ed. (pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2006) Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis. SAGE Publications: London.

Chief Probation Officers of California (CPOC) (2007) Adult services plan: Serving 18–25 year-olds – Best practices (draft).

Claridge, T. (2004) Designing social capital sensitive participation methodologies. Discussion Papers in University of Queensland, Australia. Available from: http://www. socialcapitalresearch. com/wpcontent/uploads/2013/01/Social-Capital-and-Participation-Theories. pdf [Accessed 18 December 2014] (2004).

Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2013) Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. The Psychologist, 26(2), 120-123.

Clingenpeel, G. and Henggeler, S. (2002) Development and psychopathology (Vol. 14) (pp. 695-671). Cambridge University Press, Family Services Research Center, Medical University of South Carolina.

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) Research methods in education (4th ed.). London: Routledge.

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (2000) Research methods in education (5th ed.). (p. 254). London: Routledge.

Cohen, S. (1980) Footprints in the sand: A further report on criminology and the sociology of deviance in Britain. In: M. Fitzgerald, G. McLennan, and J. Pawson (eds.) Crime and society: Readings in history and theory (p. 240). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cohen, S. (1991) Visions of social control: Crime, punishment and classification. Wiley, 8 Jan. 1991

Cohen, S. (2002) Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers (3rd ed.). Oxford: Martin Robertson. (First published in 1972).

Coleman, J. (1986) Social theory, social research, and a theory of action. The American Journal of Sociology, 91(6), 1309-1335.

Coleman, J. (1988) Social capital in the creation of human capital. The American Journal of Sociology, 94, 95-120.

Coleman, J. (1990) Foundations of social theory. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Coleman, J. S (1994) Foundations of social theory. Harvard University Press, Angus and Robertson.

Collings, S. and Beautrais, A. (2005) Suicide prevention in New Zealand: A contemporary perspective. Wellington: New Zealand Ministry of Health.

Cook, T. D. and Campbell, D. T. (1979) Quasi-experimentation: Design and analysis for field settings. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally.

Coryn, C. L. S., Noakes, L. A., Westine, C. D., and Schroter, D. C., (2011) A systematic review of theory-driven evaluation practice from 1990 to 2009. American Journal of Evaluation.

Creswell, J. W. (2006) Conducting mixed methods research. CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. and Miller, D. L. (2000) Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. Theory into Practice, 39(3), 124-130.

Creswell, J. W., Plano Clark, V. L., Gutmann, M. L., and Hanson, W. E. (2003). Advanced mixed methods research designs. In: A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie (eds.) Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research (pp. 209-240). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crooks, D.L. (2001). The importance of symbolic interaction in grounded theory research on women's health. Health Care for Women International. 22 (1-2), 11-27.

Cunneen, C. and White R. (2002) Juvenile justice: Youth and crime in Australia. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Danziger, S. and Ratner, D. (2010) Labor market outcomes and the transition to adulthood. Available at: <www.futureofchildren.org>.

DeFilippis, J. (2001) The myth of social capital in community development. Housing Policy Debate, 12(4), 781-806.

Dekker, P. and Uslaner, E. (2001) Social capital and participation in everyday life. London: Routledge.

Denscombe, M. (2007) The good research guide: for small scale social research projects. McGraw-Hill Education.

Denzin, N. K. (1978): The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In: N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) The Sage handbook of qualitative research (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Devitt, K., Knighton, L. and Lowe, K. (2009) Young adults today: Key data on 16-25 year olds, transitions, disadvantage and crime. London:

Dorling, D., Garside, R., and Kerrison, M. (2011) Young adults in transition: the local picture in national context**.** www.crimeandjustice.org.uk

Dwyer, P., Harwood, A., and Tyler, D. (1998) Life patterns, choices, careers: 1991-1998. Melbourne: Youth Research Centre.

Eccles, J. and Gootman, J. A., (2002) Community programs to promote youth development. Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences Board on Children, Youth, and Families.

Edgar, D. (1999) Promoting the positive: Developing a rationale for an ideal service system for families. Melbourne: Centre for Workplace Culture Change, RMIT.

Edwards, L. (2003), What do service users think? In: Complex needs: Research with service users. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Edwards R. W. (2004) Measuring social capital: An Australian framework and indicators. Information Paper. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth of Australia.

Edwards, R., Franklin, J. and Holland J. (2003) Families and social capital: Exploring the issues. London: South Bank University.

English, B. J., Cummings, R. and Straton, R. G (2002) Choosing an evaluation model for community crime prevention programs. Crime Prevention Studies, 14, 119-169.

Ericson, M. and Vinson, T. (2010) Young people on remand in Victoria: Guilty yet to be determined - Balancing individual and community interests. Richmond, Melbourne, Australia: Jesuit Social Services (JSS).

Fagan. J. A. (1990) Treatment and reintegration of violent juvenile offenders: Experimental results. Justice Quarterly, 7, 233-263.

Falk, I. (2000) Human capital and social capital: What's the difference? Adult Learning Commentary, 28(18 October).

Falk, I. and Harrison, L. (1998) Community learning and social capital: 'Just having a little chat'. Journal of Vocational Education and Training, 50(4), 609-627.

Farrall, S. (2002) Rethinking what works with offenders: Probation, social context and desistance from crime. Cullompton, Devon: Willan Press.

Farrall, S. Hough, M., Maruna, S. and Sparks, R. (eds.) (2011) Escape routes: Contemporary perspectives on life after punishment. London: Routledge.

Farrington, D. P. (1986) Age and crime. In: M. Tonry and N. Morris (eds.) Crime and justice: An annual review of research (Vol. 7) (pp. 189-250). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Farrington, D. P. (1992) Explaining the beginning, progress, and ending of antisocial behavior from birth to adulthood. In: J. McCord (ed.) Facts, frameworks and forecasts: Advances in criminological theory (Vol. 3) (pp. 253-286). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Farrington, D. P. (1996) The development of offending and antisocial behavior from childhood to adulthood**.** Readings in Contemporary Criminological Theory*.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Farrington, D. P. (1998) Predictors, causes and correlates of male youth violence Crime and Justice, 24, 421-465.

Farrington, D. P. (2000) Explaining and preventing crime: the globalization of knowledge – American Society of Criminology 1999 presidential address. Criminology, 38(1), 1–24.

Farrington, D. P. (2001) Key results from the first forty years of the Cambridge study of delinquent development. In: Taking stock of delinquency: An overview of findings from contemporary longitudinal studies. Part of the series Longitudinal Research in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Series (pp. 137-183). New York, NY: Kluwer/Plenum.

Farrington, D. P. (2006) Origins of violent behavior over the life span. In: The Cambridge handbook of violent behavior and aggression. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farrington, D. P. (2007) Childhood risk factors and risk-focussed prevention. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan, and R. Reiner (eds.) The Oxford handbook of criminology (4th ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Farrington, D., Ohlin, L., and Wilson, J. Q. (1986) Understanding and controlling crime. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Felson, M (1994) Crime and everyday life: Insights and implications for society. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Foley, M. W. and Edwards, B. (1999) Is it time to disinvest in social capital? Journal of Public Policy, 19(2), 199-231.

Forbes, A. and Wainwright, S. P. (2001) On the methodological, theoretical and philosophical context of health inequality research: A critique. Social Science and Medicine.

Furstenberg, F. and Hughes, M. 1995 Social capital and successful development among at-risk youth. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 57(3), 580-592.

Garside, R. (2009) Risky people or risky societies? Rethinking interventions for young adults in transition. Transition to Adulthood, No. 1. London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.

Gauntlett, E., Hugman, R., Kenyon, P., and Logan, P. (2000) A meta-analysis of the impact of community based prevention and early intervention. Canberra: Department of Family and Community Services.

Gergen, K.J. (1994) Realities and relationships. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Glaser, B. G. (1998) Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions. Available at <http://www.groundedtheory.com/soc13.html>. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glass, D. (2014) Investigation into the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners in Victoria. Victorian Ombudsman's Report to the Victorian Government.

Gleeson, J. (2003) Psychological treatment in pre- and early psychosis. Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry, 31, 229-245.

Gleuck, S. and Gleuck, E. (1940) Juvenile delinquents grown up. Commonwealth Fund.

Gleuck, S. and Gleuck, E. (1974) Of delinquency and crime. Springfield, ILl: Charles C. Thomas.

Gluckman, P. (2011) Improving the transition: Reducing social and psychological morbidity during adolescence. A Report from the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor. Commonwealth of Australia.

Goldson, B. and Muncie, J. (2006) Youth crime and justice. Pine Forge Press.

Greeson, J. (2009) Natural mentor relationships among young adults with foster care experience: Pathways to emerging adulthood outcomes. Journal of Public Child Welfare.

Gulati, R. (1998) Alliances and networks. Strategic Management Journal, 19(4), 293-317.

Haigh, Y. (2007) Why they desist? Understanding the life worlds of young people involved in crime. Centre for Social and Community Research, Murdoch University.

Hardiman, P. S., Jones, S., McAdam, S., Hallworth, S., and Allain, A. (2004) Youth and exclusion in disadvantaged urban areas: Addressing the causes of violence. Trends in Social Cohesion No. 8. Social Cohesion Development Division, Council of Europe Publishing.

Harrell. A. (1996) Evaluating programs for vulnerable children and youth. LAC Human & Social Development Group Paper Series No. 3. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Harrington, R. and Bailey, S. (2005) Mental health needs and effectiveness of prison for young offenders in custody and in the community. London: Youth Justice Board (YJB).

Hart, K. (2008) Legal Services Board Program (LSB) funding application for the YCLP.

Hawkins, J. D., Catalano, R. F. and Associates (1992) Communities that care: Action for drug abuse prevention. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hawkins, J. D. and Catalano, R. F. (2005) Investing in your community's youth: An introduction to the communities that care system. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Helyar-Cardwell, V. (2009a) A new start: Young adults in the criminal justice system. Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance. London: Barrow Cadbury Trust. Available at <www.t2a.org.uk/support_us>.

Helyar-Cardwell, V. (2009b) Young adult manifesto. Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance. London: Barrow Cadbury Trust.

Hillman, K. and Marks, G. (2002) Becoming an adult: Leaving home, relationships and home ownership among Australian youth. Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER).

Hogan, D. P. and Astone, N. M (1986) The transition to adulthood. American Review of Sociology, 12, 109-130.

Hogan, D. and Owen, D. (2000) Social capital, active citizenship and political equality in Australia. In: I. Winter (ed.) Social capital and public policy in Australia. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies.

James, P., St Leger P., and Ward, K. (2001) Making connections: The evaluation of the Victorian Full Schools Program. Melbourne, Victoria: Department of Employment Education and Training.

Jary, D. and Jary, J. (2000) Collins dictionary of sociology. Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers.

Jessor, R. and Jessor, S. L. (1977) Problem behavior and psychological development: A longitudinal study of youth. New York: Academic Press.

Johnson, J. (2000) The aspirations of people with a disability within an inclusive Victorian community: Summary report. Melbourne: Disability Services Victoria.

Karamanli, M. (2011) The activities of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2010-2011, Report to the Social, Health and Family Affairs Committee, Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe.

Kemshall, H., Boeck, T., and Fleming, J. 2009 Risk and moving on. British Journal of Community Justice, 7(2), 39.

Kennedy, P. (2009) How to combine multiple research options: Practical triangulation. BetterEval:World

Kiely, M. (2011) The question of bail and remand: Does the lack of stable accommodation, family support, income support and other factors describe the remand population of 17-24 year old males in Melbourne?

King, M. (2002) Geraldton alternative sentencing regime: Applying therapeutic and holistic jurisprudence in the bush. Criminal Law Journal, 26, 260, 270.

King, M. S. (2003) Applying therapeutic jurisprudence in regional areas – The Western Australian experience. Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law, 10(2).

King, M. S. (2009) Solution-focused Judging Bench Book. Melbourne, Victoria: Australasian Institute of Judicial Administration Incorporated.

King, S., Bamford, D., and Sarre, R. (2008) The remand strategy: Assessing outcomes. Current Issues in Criminal Justice, 19(3), 327-344.

Knoke, D. (1999) Groups, interests, and US public policy. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management.

Konstantinos, A. (2003) Program evaluation methodologies: A comparative assessment. Discussion Paper Series 9(17): 387-404.

Laub, J. H. and Sampson, R. J. (1993). Turning points in the life course: Why change matters to the study of crime. Criminology, 31, 301-325.

Laub, J. H. and Sampson, R. J. (2001) Understanding Desistance from Crime. The University of Chicago.

Laub, J. and Sampson, R. (2003) Shared beginnings, divergent lives: Delinquent boys to age 70. Chapters 6-10. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Layder, D. (1993). New strategies in social research: An introduction and guide. Wiley.

Leccardi, C. and Ruspini, E. (2006) A new youth? Young people, generations and family life. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing.

Lee, C. G., Cheeseman, F., Rottman, D., Swaner, R., Lambson, S., Rempel, M. and Curtis, R. (2013) A community court grows in Brooklyn: A comprehensive evaluation of the Red Hook Community Justice Center. Williamburg, VA: National Center for State Courts.

Lennie, J. (2007) Challenges and strategies for the sustainability and viability of non-profit multi-tenant service centres: A literature review. Report prepared for the Department of Communities, Queensland Government.

Lesser, E. L. (ed.) (2000) Knowledge and social capital. Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Lin, N. (2001a) Social capital: A theory of social structure and action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lin, N. (2001b) Building a network theory of social capital. In: N. Lin, K. Cook, and R. Burt (eds.) Social capital: Theory and research (pp. 3-29). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Loeber, R. and LeBlanc, M. (1990) Towards a developmental criminology. In M. Tonry and N. Morris (eds.) Crime and justice: A review of research (Vol. 12) (pp. 375-473). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth (LSAY) (1998) Well-being among young Australians: Effects of work and home life for four youth in transition cohorts. Research Report. Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER).

Losel, F., Bottoms, A., and Farrington, D. (2012) Young Adult Offenders Lost in Transition? Routledge.

MacArthur Research Network on Transitions to Adulthood and Public Policy (2005) Adolescence and the transition to adulthood: rethinking public policy for a new century.

Mahaffy, K. A. (2003) Gender, race, class and the transition to adulthood: A critical review of the literature. In L. E. Bass (ed.) Sociological studies of children and youth (Vol. 9) (pp. 15-47). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

McGuire, J. (2000) What works in reducing criminality. Paper presented at the Conference Reducing Criminality: Partnerships and Best Practice, convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology, in association with the WA Ministry of Justice, Department of Local Government, Western Australian Police Service and Safer WA, Perth, 31 July-1 August.

McLeod, S. A. (2007) Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Retrieved from <http://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html>.

McNeill, F. and Weaver, B. (2010) Changing lives? Desistance research and offender management. Glasgow: Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research. Available at: <http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/documents/Report%202010%2003%20-%20Changing%20Lives.pdf>.

Mertens, D. (2012) Transformative mixed methods: Addressing inequities. American Behavioral Scientist, 56(6), 802-813.

Mills, J., Bonner, A., & Francis, K. (2006). The development of constructivist grounded theory. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5(1), Article 3. Retrieved [date] from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_1/html/mills.htm

Miller, W. R. and Rollnick, S. (2002) Motivational interviewing: Preparing people for change. (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Moffitt, T. E. (1993) 'Life-course-persistent' and 'adolescence-limited' antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. Psychological Review, 100, 674-701.

Moffitt, T. E. 1997 Neuropsychology, antisocial behavior, and neighborhood context. In: J. McCord (ed.) Violence and childhood in the inner city (pp. 116-170). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Moffitt, T. E and Caspi, A. (2001) Childhood predictors differentiate life-course-persistent and adolescent-limited anti-social pathways among males and females. Development and Psychopathology, 13, 355-375.

Moore, E. (2009) Case management for community practice. Oxford University Press.

Moore, L. (2012) Measures of success: Capturing the impact of drug courts.

Morrow. V. (2001) Using qualitative methods to elicit young people's perspectives on their environments: Some ideas for community health initiatives. Health Education Research, 16(3), 255-268.

Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L., Fagan, J., Cauffman, E., Piquero, A. R., Chassin, L., Knight, G. P., Brame, R., Schubert, C. A., Hecker, T., and Losoya, S. H. (2004) Theory and research on desistance from anti-social activity among adolescent serious offenders. Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 2(3), 213-236. Sage Publications. doi: 10.1177/1541204004265864

Murray, J. and Farrington, D. P. (2008) The effects of parental imprisonment on children. In: M. Tonry (ed.) Crime and justice: A Review of research (Vol. 37) (pp 133-206). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Nahapiet, J. and Ghoshal, S. (1998) Social capital, intellectual capital, and the organizational advantage, Academy of Management Review, 23(2), 242–266.

NERA Consulting (2015) Cost Benefit Analysis for The Youth Junction Incorporated.

Onyx, J. and Bullen, P. (2001a) The different faces of social capital in NSW, Australia. In: P. Dekker and E. M. Uslaner (eds.) Social capital and participation in everyday life (pp. 88-111). London: Routledge.

Onyx, J., and Bullen, P. (2001b) Measuring social capital in five communities. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 36(1), 23-42. ·

Opie, C. (2004) Doing educational research. Sage Publications.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (1998) Towards an employment-centred social policy. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2004) Economic surveys: Australia. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Osgood, D. W., Foster, E. M. and Courtney, M. E. (2010) Vulnerable populations and the transition to adulthood. Transition to Adulthood (Vol. 20, No. 1).

Owen, J. M. (1993) Program evaluation: Forms and approaches. St Leonards, Australia: Allen and Unwin.

Petersen, R. D. (2002) Understanding ethnic violence, fear, hatred, and resistance in twentieth-century Eastern Europe. Part of Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics.

Pettit, G., Erath, S., Lansford, J., Dodge, K., and Bates, J. (2011) Dimensions of social capital and life adjustment in the transition to early childhood. Int J Behav Dev. 2011 Nov; 35(6): 482–489.

Piquero, A. R. and T. Brezina. (2001) Testing Moffitt's account of adolescence-limited delinquency. Criminology, 39, 353-370.

Piquero, A. R., Farrington D. P., and A. Blumstein, A. (2003) The criminal career paradigm. In: M. Tonry (ed.) Crime and justice: A review of research (Vol. 30) (pp. 359-506). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Pope, L. G., Hopper, K., Davis, C., and Cloud, D. (2016) First-episode incarceration creating a recovery-informed framework for integrated mental health and criminal justice responses. Vera Institute of Justice.

Portes, A. (1998) Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. Annual Review of Sociology, (24), 1-24.

Prior, D., Farrow, K., Hughes, N., Kelly, G., Manders, G., White, S., and Wilkinson, B. (2011) Maturity, young adults and criminal justice: A literature review. Birmingham: Institute of Applied Social Studies, School of Social Policy, University of Birmingham. Commissioned by the Barrow Cadbury Trust for the Transition to Adulthood Alliance.

Putnam, R. (1993) Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton.

Putnam, R. (2000) Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. (2001) Social capital: Measurement and consequences. Isuma, 2(1), 41-51.

Ravenhall Prison Project: EOI Briefing Mental Health Services (2013) Invitation for Expressions of Interest briefing: Health & Forensic Secondary Mental Health Services 13 June 2013.

Richards, K. (2011) What makes juvenile offenders different from adult offenders. Australian Institute of Criminology – Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice (No. 409), February.

Riots, Communities and Victims Panel (2012) After the riots: The final report. London: Riots, Communities and Victims Panel.

Robinson, T. N., Chen, H. L. and Killen, J. D. (1998) Television and music video exposure and risk of adolescent alcohol use. Pediatrics, 102(5), E54.

Rogers, N. (2005) Bridging the gap: Enhancing comorbidity services for young people, Parity, 18(8), 10-11.

Ross, A. (2009) Disengagement from education among 14-16 year olds. National Centre for Social Research. DCSF. Available at: http://publications.dcsf.gov.uk/eOrderingDownload/DCSF-RR178.pdf [accessed 27 February 2010]

Rubin, J., Rabinovich, L., Hallsworth, M. and Nason, E. (2006) Interventions to reduce anti-social behavior and crime: A review of effectiveness and costs prepared for the National Audit Office. RAND Corporation, Europe.

Schaefer-McDaniel, N. J. (2004) Conceptualizing social capital among young people: Toward a new theory. Children, Youth and Environments 14(1), 140-150.

Schmid, A. (2000) Sources of social capital. Staff Paper No. 00-07. East Lansing, MI: Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University.

Schönteich, M. (2008) The scale and consequences of pretrial detention around the world. Justice Initiatives, Spring, 11-43.

Schwartz, A. N. (2006) The deleterious effects of child abuse. https://www.mentalhelp.net/blogs/the-deleterious-effects-of-child-abuse/

Scott, E. and Grisso, T. (1997) The evolution of adolescence: A developmental perspective on juvenile justice reform. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 88(1), 137-189.

Scriven, M. (1994) The fine line between evaluation and explanation. American Journal of Evaluation, 15(1), 75-77.

Semo, R. and Karmel, T. (2011) Social capital and youth transitions: Do young people's networks improve their participation in education and training? National Centre for vocational Education Research Occasional Paper

Sentencing Advisory Council (SAC) (2011), Does imprisonment deter? A review of the evidence. Melbourne: Sentencing Advisory Council.

Sentencing Advisory Council (SAC) (2012) - Sentencing children and young people in Victoria. Melbourne: Sentencing Advisory Council.

Sentencing Advisory Council (SAC) (2014) Community correction order monitoring report February 2014. Melbourne: Sentencing Advisory Council.

Settersten Jr, R. A. and Ray, B. (2010) What's going on with young people today? The long and twisting path to adulthood. Transition to Adulthood (Vol. 20, No. 1) (pp. 19-41). <www.futureofchildren.org>.

Shanahan, P., Wilkins, M., and Hurt, N. (2002) A study of attitudes and behaviours of drinkers at risk: Research Report. Australia. Publications Production Unit (Public Affairs, Parliamentary and Access Branch) Commonwealth Department of Health and Ageing

Shulman, E. P., Steinberg, L., and Piquero, A. R. (2014) A mistaken account of the age–crime curve: Response to Males and Brown (2013). Journal of Adolescent Research, 29(1), 25-34. doi: 10.1177/0743558413493005.

Siahpush, M. and Singh, G. K. (1999). Social integration and mortality in Australia. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, 23(6), 571-577.

Siegel, L. J. and McCormick, C. (2006) Criminology in Canada: Theories, patterns, and typologies (3rd ed.). Toronto: Thompson.

Simpson, R. L. (2005). Evidence-based practices and students with autism spectrum disorders. Focus on Autism and Other Developmental Disabilities, 20, 140-149.

Smith. D., and McVie, S. (2003) Theory and method in the Edinburgh study of youth transitions and crime. British Journal of Criminology, 43(1), 169-195. doi: 10.1093/bjc/43.1.169

Steinberg, L. and Cauffman, E. (1996) Maturity of judgment in adolescence: Psychosocial factors in adolescent decision making. Law and Human Behavior, 20(3), 249-272

Stokes, H. (2000) A report for the Victorian full service schools program: Out of education, successful learning publications. Victoria, Melbourne: Department of Education, Employment and Training (DEET).

Stone, W. (2001) Measuring social capital: Towards a theoretically informed measurement framework for researching social capital in family and community life. Research Paper No. 24. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies.

Stone, W., Gray, M., and Hughes, J., (2003) Social capital at work: How family, friends and civic ties relate to labour market outcomes. Commonwealth of Australia, Australian Institute of Family Studies.

Sturrock, R. (2012) Supporting transitions: A summative evaluation of the transition to adulthood pilots. Catch 22 Research Report.

Success Works (2000) Needs based analysis for a co-located youth centre for Brimbank. Success Works publications.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (2003) The past and future of mixed methods research: From data triangulation to mixed model designs. In A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie (eds.) Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research (pp. 671-701). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie C. (eds.) (2003) Handbook on mixed methods in the behavioral and social sciences. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tate, D. C., Reppucci, N. D., and Mulvey, E. P. (1995) Violent juvenile delinquents: Treatment effectiveness and implications for future action. American Psychologist, 50, 777-781.

Tellez, K. (2011) Qualitative research methods. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Teruya, C. and Hser, Y. (2010) Turning points in the life course: Current findings and future directions in drug use research. Current drug abuse reviews. 2010;3(3):189-195.

Tilley, N. (2001) Evaluation and evidence-led crime reduction policy and practice. In: R. Matthews and J. Pitts (eds.) (2001) Crime, disorder and community safety. London: Routledge.

Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2001) Program evaluation methods: Measurement and attribution of program results. Review, Practices and Studies. Government Review and Quality Services. Available at <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/eval/pubs/method/dwn.htm> as at 10 April 2002.

Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2009) Policy on evaluation. <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?id=12309>.

Trochim, W. (2014) Research methods knowledge base. <www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/>

Trotter, C. (1999) Working with involuntary clients: A guide to practice. Sage Publications.

Trotter, C. (2006) Working with involuntary clients: A guide to practice. Allen and Unwin.

Turner, S. and Trotter, C. (2010) Case management with women offenders: Literature review. Monash University Criminal Justice Research Consortium.

Uzzi, B. (1999) Embeddedness and the making of financial capital: How social relations and networks benefit firms seeking financing. American Sociological Review, 64, 481-505.

Victorian Task Force (1997) Suicide prevention report executive summary. Melbourne, Vic: [Suicide Prevention Task Force]

Vinum, C. and Nissen, M. (2006) Street level society. Social interventions into young people's drug taking in Copenhagen. Critical Social Work, 7(2).

Wall, E., Ferrazzi, C. and Schryer, F. (1998), Getting the goods on social capital. Rural Sociology, 63(2), 300-322.

Ward, T. (2002) Good lives and the rehabilitation of offenders: Promises and problems. Aggression and Violent Behaviour, 7(5), 513-528.

Ward, T. (2002) The management of risk and the design of good lives. Australian Psychologist, 37(3), 172-179.

Ward, T. and Stewart, C. A., (2003) The treatment of sex offenders: Risk management and good lives. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 34.

Weil, M., Karls, J. M., and Associates (1985) Case management in human service practice: A systematic approach to mobilizing resources for clients (Jossey Bass Social and Behavioral Science Series) Jossey-Bass.

Weiss, C. H. (1997) Theory-based evaluation: Past, present and future. Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Weller, S. (2006) Situating (young) teenagers in geographies of children and youth. Children's geographies, 2006 - Taylor & Francis.

Weller, S. and Bruegel, I. (2009) Children's "place" in the development of neighbourhood social capital. Urban Studies, 46(3), 629-643.

Wexler, D. B. and Winick, B. J. (1996) Law in a therapeutic key: Recent developments in therapeutic jurisprudence (p. xvii). Wexler, Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

White, R. and Cunneen, C. (2006) Social class, youth crime and justice. In: B. Goldson and J. Muncie (eds.) Youth crime and justice (pp. 17-29). London: Sage.

Wierenga, A. (2009) Young people making a life. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Winick, B. J. and Wexler, D. B. (2006) The use of therapeutic jurisprudence in law school clinical education: Transforming the criminal law clinic. Clinical Law Review, 13, 605–632.

Woolcock, M. (1998). Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework. Theory and Society, 27(2), 151-208.

Woolcock, M. (2000) Managing risk and opportunity in developing countries: The role of social capital. In: G. Ranis (ed.) The dimensions of development (pp. 197-212). Yale: Center for International and Area Studies.

Woolcock, M. and Narayan, D. (2000) Social capital: Implications for development theory, research and policy. Chapter cited in: The World Bank Research Observer, 15(2), 222-249.

Wyn, J. and White, R. (1997) Rethinking youth. Allen and Unwin.

Young, R & Collin, A. (2004). Introduction: constructivism and social constructionism in the career field. Journal of Vocational Behaviour 64(3), 373-388.

YouthLaw (2013) It's smarter to invest in diversion than in prisons. <youthlaw.asn.au/2013/05/>

Zaretzky, K. and Flatau, P. (2013) The cost of homelessness and the net benefit of homelessness programs: A national study. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI), University of Western Australia.

Zill, Z. (2012) Dimensions of the global youth revolt. International Socialist Review (online) (81).

ELECTRONIC REFERENCES

http://www.aihw.gov.au/publication-detail/?id=6442472429. Authoritative information and statistics to promote better health and wellbeing

http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2033.0.55.001main+features accessed 2014

http://www.magistratescourt.vic.gov.au/legislation/sentencing-act-1991

http://www.uk.sagepub.com/stout/02-Muncie-YCJ-Ch%2002.pdf 2002 Rob White and Chris Cunneen

http://www.leadwest.com.au/news/

http://www.princeton.edu/futureofchildren/publications/docs/20_01_FullJournal.pdf

http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/aug/18/prison-population-record-uk-riots accessed 12/01/2013

http://apo.org.au/research/lifetime-and-intergenerational-experiences-homelessness-australia Paul Flatau 2013

http://www.transitions2adulthood.com/ Owers 2012

http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/intreval.php Copyright ©2006, William M.K. https://www.ombudsman.vic.gov.au/getattachment/5188692a-35b6-411f-907e-3e7704f45e17

(http://hrweb.mit.edu/worklife/youngadult/brain.html) - Source: Measuring Wellbeing:

http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Social-Capital-and-Participation-Theories.pdf (Claridge 2004) sourced 20/04/2014

http://citation.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/0/8/3/0/pages108302/p108302-3.php downloaded 22/04/2014

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qlcyCROXYZ8 ABC Victoria Statewide Report, July 2013

https://www.crimestatistics.vic.gov.au/ Crime Statistics Agency (CSA) (2016) Report Crime Statistics Victoria.

www.independent.co.uk/.../london-riots-2011-reasons-solutions-government-response/ Independent (The) (2011) UK.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: YCLP Psycho-Social Assessment Form

The Youth, Community and Law Program

Psycho-Social Assessment Form

PERSONAL DETAILS

Family name: Given name(s):

Aliases/Nicknames: Gender: Male □ Female □ Other □

Date of birth: Age: 24

Do you identify as: Aboriginal? □ Torres Strait Islander? □ None □

Country of birth: Cultural background:

Citizenship/Visa class/type: Year of arrival into Australia:

Religion:

Home Address:

Postal Address (If different):

Daytime telephone: Mobile:

Income Type: No Currently hold photo ID? Yes □ No □

Centrelink number: Medicare number:

Emergency Contact Name: Don't know

Relationship to you: Mobile:

Address (if different from above):

Do you consent for this person to be contacted if we cannot contact you? Yes □ No □

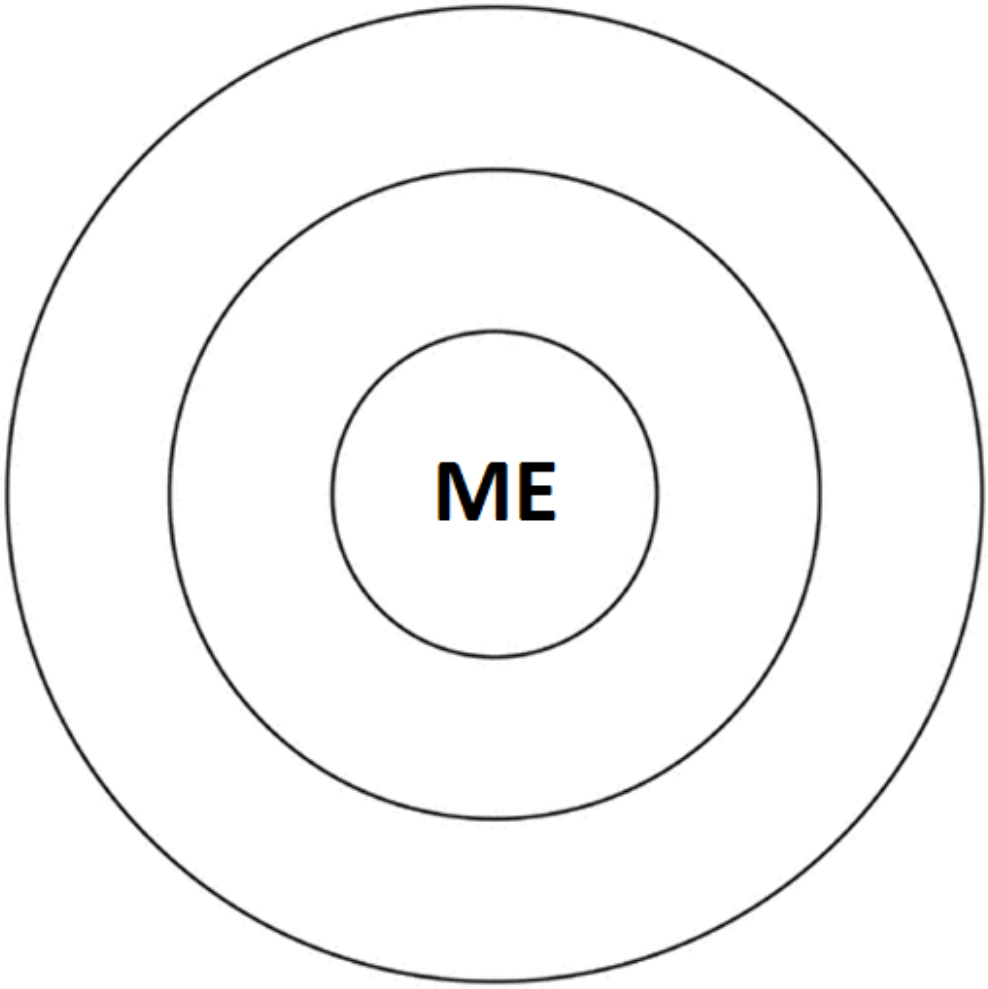
Does this person know about court? Yes □ No □

OFFENDING

- Tell me about the offence you have been sent here for (what/when/where/why/how/who)?
- Do you have any previous convictions?
- Have you done time? If so, where?
- Is there anything that might come up later as a charge? Any outstanding warrants?
- Have you ever had an intervention order taken out against you? Or have you ever taken one out against someone? Details?
- Do you have any unpaid fines? How much and what for? Are you currently paying them off?
- What do you think needs to happen to stop you from getting into any more trouble?

FAMILY/RELATIONSHIPS

- Tell me a bit about your parents (still together, separated, passed away? When did this occur? Probing: Are you closer to one parent/Why? What do your parents do for a living?
- Do you have any siblings (ages, relationship, relatedness, natural, step, half, adopted)?
- Other significant family support? (Aunts, Uncles, Grandparents)
- Are you a carer? For who?
- Do you have a partner? How long for?
- Do you have any children? Who is caring for them?
- Has anybody in your family or friends' group been in trouble with the police?
- Describe your friends' group
- If these circles represent you, who would you put in your inner circle? Who sits on the outer circle? Who do you think supports you the most and will help you when you need it?



- Who do you go to when you need someone to talk to? Probing: Why did you choose this person?

ACCOMMODATION

- Who are you currently living with? Do you pay rent?
- Do you feel safe and comfortable at home?
- How long have you been at this place?
- Have you been in out-of-home care?

- Describe how your accommodation has changed over the past 5-10 years

DATE	ACCOMMODATION TYPE	WITH WHO	REASON FOR LEAVING

- Have you submitted an Office of Housing application? Yes □ No □
- Have you been assisted by a housing service? Who?

TRANSPORT

- What licence type do you hold? None □ Learner's □ Red Ps □ Green Ps □ Full □
- Have you ever been disqualified or suspended from driving? Explain
- How do you get around (own car/public transport/someone to give you a lift)?
- Do you have a Myki card? Yes □ No □

EDUCATION

- What was the last school you attended?
- How often did you change schools?
- What level did you complete at school? Why?
- How good is your reading/writing?

- Since leaving school have you completed any courses or certificates?
- Are you currently studying? Would you like to?

EMPLOYMENT

- Are you currently working? Where?
- Are you looking for work? Yes ☐ No ☐
- Have you held a job before?
- Is there anything that makes it harder for you to find work?
- What would your ideal job be?
- JSA provider (if receiving Centrelink):

HEALTH

Physical Health

- Would you consider yourself physically healthy?

  Why/why not? What about your health would you like to change/improve?
- Do you have any ongoing medical concerns or allergies?
- Have you been prescribed any regular medication? For what?
- When was your last doctor's appointment? Reason?
- When was your last sexual health check-up?
- Do you have a regular doctor?

Drugs and Alcohol

SUBSTANCE USE HISTORY	AGE AT FIRST USE	AGE OF REGULAR USE	PRIOR HISTORY OF USE (Past heavy use, past dependence, past detox/abstinence)	ROUTE OF USE (Oral, inject, etc.)	AVERAGE DAILY USE/ reasons for use (Quantity per day in past four weeks, cost, no. of injections, binge use, etc.)	DAYS USED IN PAST WEEK	DAYS USED IN PAST FOUR WEEKS	LAST USE
Tobacco products								
Alcoholic beverages								
Cannabis (inc. synthetic cannabis, etc.)								
Amphetamine type stimulants (speed, meth, ice, diet pills, ecstasy, etc.)								
Cocaine								
Inhalants (nitrous, glue, petrol, paint thinner, etc.)								
Sedatives or sleeping pills (benzos, xanax, valium, serapax, rohypnol, etc.)								
Hallucinogens (LSD, acid, mushrooms, PCP, Special K, etc.)								
Opioids (heroin, codeine, methadone, oxycodone, morphine, etc.)								
Other (GHB, etc.)								
INJECTING								

- Have you ever overdosed on drugs or had to go to hospital for taking too much drugs or alcohol?

- Do you want assistance for drugs and/or alcohol use? Yes ☐ No ☐
- Do you gamble (How often? Amount?)

Emotional and Mental Health

- If you were to rate your emotional and mental health on a scale of 1-10 (10 being very happy), where would you be?
- What can be done to lift your rating one point? What makes you happy/and what makes you unhappy?
- Has there ever been a moment when you were as low as a 1 or a 2?
- Have you ever had a mental health diagnosis or a mental health care plan carried out? When/why/what/with who?
- Have you ever become sad, scared or anxious and don't know why?
- Have you ever seriously considered suicide? Yes ☐ No ☐
- Have you ever acted on these thoughts? (time, method, reason)
- Have you ever deliberately harmed or injured yourself – like cutting or burning or putting yourself in unsafe situations?

○Have you ever experienced any of the following?

	No – not at all	Yes, slightly	Sometimes	Frequently
I see or hear things that other people cannot see or hear				
I sometimes can't tell what is real or not				
Sometimes when I speak people say I don't make sense				
I sometimes feel that people can read my mind, or something is controlling my thoughts				
I sometimes believe people are out to cause me harm				
I sometimes feel that I have no emotions				
Some of what I have experienced above can be explained by drug or alcohol use				

○Do you get angry easily or have a quick temper?

○Do you ever feel helpless or that you had no control over your life?

○ **SUPPORT AGENCIES**

○Have you ever received support from any services before? Explain.

○ **HOBBIES AND FUTURE**

○What do you do in your spare time? With who?

○What would you like to be doing in your spare time?

○What would you like your life to look like in five years' time?

○What areas do you think you need help or support with?

○From what we have just talked about, this is what we think

Youth, Community & Law Program (YCLP)

Release of Information Agreement and Research Consent

I _____ understand that the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) is a program for people aged 18-25 years old who have been referred by the Magistrates Court. I understand from the YCLP worker that participation on the program is very important and I am aware that it may be useful and to my benefit for my worker to contact other professionals or persons to provide assistance to me. I know that these are people such as my doctor, case manager, drug and alcohol counsellor, housing organisations, my legal representative or a family member who are either currently or previously involved with me. I give my permission for the YCLP staff to exchange and release my information with the individuals and organisations discussed.

My information is confidential; however, I have been made aware that there may be situations in which my YCLP worker may need to disclose information to another service including if ordered to do so by a court of law, or if my YCLP worker strongly believes I might seriously harm myself or others.

Victoria University and Legal Services Board Research Consent

I understand that the Youth, Community & Law Program (YCLP) helps young adults like me to make improvements in my life. Therefore I agree to my information being used for research purposes and I am aware that no identifying characteristics will be mentioned.

Police Research

I also consent to the researchers viewing my criminal record held by Victoria Police.

I agree to participate in the research, and I am over 18 years of age and understand what I have just read.

Signed (Client) _____ Date _____

This authority remains valid from the date of signing (as above), for 7 years.

Signed (YCLP) _____ Date _____

Appendix Two: Case Managers' Questionnaire

Case Managers' Questionnaire

Youth, Community and Law Program evaluation

Date questionnaire completed:

Name:

Qualification:

How long have you been at TYJinc.?

How long have you been a Youth Access and Justice Case Manager on the YCLP?

Preliminary facts:

- How many individual cases have you case managed on the YCLP (counting from those who have attended AT LEAST one appointment following assessment)?
- How many of those have successfully completed the program?
- Are there any successful program completers who you have not submitted a full report for? Why did this occur?

Broad issues:

- How do you define 'social capital'?
- How do you define 'young adults'?
- How do you define 'incarceration'?
- What do you think is the purpose of this evaluation?

Youth, Community and Law Program (general)

- What do you perceive to be the overarching goal of the YCLP?
- Why do you think the YCLP was established?
- What are the referral/intake criteria for the YCLP?
- What do you understand to be the Magistrates' referral criteria/selection for a young adult to attend the YCLP?

- What 18-25 year olds do you deem to be most suitable for the YCLP?
- What 18-25 year olds would you deem to be unsuitable for the YCLP?
- What significant changes have taken place in the YCLP since you have been working on this program?
- What do you perceive to be the merits/benefits of the YCLP?
    - For young adults
    - For the Courts
    - For defence lawyers
- What do you anticipate are the main YCLP program outcomes/consequences
    - For the young adults?
    - For the case managers?
    - For the Magistrates?
    - For defence lawyers
- What impact do you think the following external factors have had on the program:
    - Changes in legal aid funding in terms of defence lawyers' behaviour including legal aid lawyers
    - Criminal Lawyers moving out of the building
    - Change in Magistrates (3-year terms)
    - Corrections
    - CISP
    - Doing assessments in the cells
    - Ice
- Do you think the YCLP prevents young adults from further reoffending and how and why?
- Do you think the broader community benefits from the YCLP and how and why?
- Do you think this program benefits government or policy holders? How/Why
- If you were to refine elements of the YCLP, which ones would you change and how and why would you do it?
- Do you think the 3-month program is long enough? If not, why not? What do you think the optimum length should be and why?

- Have the pre-sentence reports been useful in the sentencing process? How?
- Do you think the YCLP is culturally sensitive and if so, how?
- What are the young adult's rights on the YCLP? How do you protect those rights?
- What are the young adult's responsibilities on the YCLP?
- Do you think the YCLP works well as a pre-sentence program and, if so, why?
- Do you think it would work well as a sentencing option, and why?
- Do you think it is achieving what it set out to achieve?
- Do you think the YCLP should continue and why?
- How would you rate the YCLP to other programs such as CISP, Corrections, Youth Justice? What are the differences that influence your decision?

YCLP, Co-location & Services

- Are there advantages to the YCLP being delivered within the co-located model?
- Could it adequately be delivered without the co-located arrangement of services?
- Are there any negative consequences of working in the co-located model?
- Please explain in detail how you access and utilize the resources of each of the following services to better the outcomes for the young adults you case manage:
    - Headspace
    - YouthNow
    - Orygen Youth Health
    - Brimbank Youth Services
    - Sunshine Youth Legal Centre
    - Centre for Multicultural Youth
    - Melbourne City Mission
    - Centrelink
    - Sheriff

- YSAS
- Odyssey House
- Community West

How often would you have a case meeting/secondary consultation with other staff regarding your young person:

- With staff within the hub?
- With external services?

- Of the services located within the co-located model, have there been situations where you have had difficulty accessing these services or have any of these services not provided the service required?
- Are there any services/service types you feel would be beneficial to the YCLP if they were co-located within the building?
- Do you tend to use the external services more than the internal services? If so, why do you think that is?
    - List the primary external services you use and for what reason.
- What youth services do you engage with most regularly and why? Please list and explain.
- How effective are you in tracking the services received by young adults? How do you collect and record information relating to other service intervention/treatment?

Young adult profiling/characteristics/needs

- What is the primary presenting offence for young adults?
- Have the clients become more complex? Since when and how?
- Do you agree that young people aged between 18-25 years are undergoing unique transitional processes?
- What do you think the most important domain or area of social capital/adult marker is to help build for a young adult to make a successful transition and why?
- What do you perceive to be the most challenging elements of an 18-25 year old's transition to adulthood in the Western Region?
- Detail the strategies you use to engage young adults.
- What are the primary methods of contact with the young adults?
- How often would you feel you need to be working with clients' families (parents, partners, etc.) and what are these situations?

- What 'type' of young adults are most likely to maximise the benefits of the program?
- What do you perceive to be the unintended consequences of the YCLP? For young adults? For case managers?
- What is the average number of appointments YOU would have with a compliant client across a 3-month period?
- What criteria do you use in determining how frequently you should see a client on the program? Please provide details.
- What do you find are the most significant barriers in a client?
- What are the most complex barriers that you have worked with?
- What are your methods of securing employment/education for clients?
- What have been the 5 main barriers to non-compliance that you are aware of? Please list and explain why.
- What have you learnt about young adults aged between 18- 25 years?
- Do you think there are commonalities between all young adults of this age group?
    - If so, what are they?
    - If not, why not?
- What is the most difficult situation you have had to deal with in relation to a young adult on the YCLP? Are there any situations you feel you were unable to cope with?
- Does culture affect how you work with a client?
- Does gender change your method of working with clients?
- Which of the following occurs most frequently? Please elaborate under each item.

    Young adults not contacting services to which they have been referred?

    Young adults not being accepted to services that you refer them to?

    Young adults not participating in services when they have been accepted?

- What percentage of ex-clients return for service support after they have left the YCLP?

Case manager attributes/skills

- What do you consider to be the most important attributes of an effective case manager, and why?
- What do you perceive to be the most difficult/frustrating part of your role as a case manager?
- What is the most satisfying part of your role as a case manager?
- Do you think you are being adequately supervised? If not, what do you think is lacking/could be improved?
- How has working in the YCLP program contributed to your development as a case manager?
- Has there been difficulty in keeping up with your case notes? Why?
- What are the main issues with the data collection system and how could it be improved?
- What is the difficulty with the shared office space?
- What are the benefits of the shared office space?
- What are the benefits of an independent office space when it comes to client case management?
- What is the difficulty with the independent office space?
- How beneficial is it to work closely as part of a team? Why?
- List the chronological components of the case management process as you understand them.
- What do you perceive to be the most important part of the case management process? Why?
- Do you think you have the adequate resources required to do your job? If not, what realistically could be improved upon?
- What do you understand to be the most important element of the pre-sentence report?
- How do you build trust with the young adults?
- Do you think trust building is an important part of the engagement process?
- What are the stresses of being a case manager? How do you deal with the stresses of the role of case manager?
- What is your greatest success story during your work on the YCLP?
- Do you do your own follow-up calls with your ex-clients?
- Do you do client evaluations with all of your clients who you have case managed on the YCLP?

- What ongoing training/professional development do you think would be beneficial for case managers on the YCLP?

Thank you!

Appendix Three: Magistrates' Questionnaire

YOUTH, COMMUNITY AND LAW PROGRAM
Sunshine and Werribee Magistrates' Questionnaire

Name:_____ **Date:**_____

Please type in detailed responses to the following questions:

1	How **long** have you been a Magistrate at the Sunshine/Werribee Court?	
2	The Visy Cares Hub is a co-located youth service with **15 different youth-specific** services, ranging from substance use to Centrelink. Do you find there are **advantages** to the YCLP being delivered within this co-located model? If so, why?	
3	Do you think the YCLP could adequately be delivered **without the co-located arrangement** of services? If so, how?	
4	What do you **know** about the Youth, Community and Law Program (YCLP) and why do you think it was established?	
5	How do you **decide** in Court which 18-25 year old is suitable for the YCLP?	
6	What criteria or factors related to an 18-25 year old would you deem to be **unsuitable** for the YCLP?	
7	What **'type'** of young adult is most likely to benefit from the YCLP?	
8	**Social capital** is defined as the networks of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society, enabling that society to function effectively. How **effective** do you think the YCLP program is in **building social capital** for young adults?	
9	How effective do you think the YCLP is in terms **of preventing further reoffending** by young adults?	
10	Some researchers state that 18-25 year olds undergo a **unique transitional process** related to brain development and changing social expectations. What do you think about this perspective and how do you think this affects their behaviour?	
11	What do you perceive to be the **most challenging elements** of an 18-25 year old's **transition** to adulthood in Melbourne's Western Region?	
12	What do you perceive to be the **merits** of the YCLP from the Courts' perspective?	

13	How does the YCLP **assist you** in your role as Magistrate in terms of service interventions for young adults?	
14	What other youth services referral pathways **would you use** in the absence of the YCLP?	
15	Do you think the YCLP works well as a **pre-sentence program** and, if so, why?	
16	Do you think the YCLP would work well as a **sentencing option** and why/why not?	
17	What do you perceive to be the most **difficult/frustrating** part of your role as Magistrate with this cohort?	
18	What is the most **satisfying** part of your role as Magistrate with this cohort?	
19	The YCLP was established for the Courts to have a **straightforward referral process** to a diverse range of services for young adults to assist in crime prevention. Do you think it is **achieving those objectives**?	
20	What **impact** do you think the **following factors** have had on your dealings with young adults in the Magistrates' Court over the last few years?	
20a	Changes in **Legal Aid funding** and young adults	
20b	Changes in **sentencing legislation** and young adults	
20c	**Corrections** and young adults	
20d	**CISP** and young adults	
20e	Carrying out YCLP **psycho-social assessments** in the **police cells**	
20f	**Increasingly complex** young adults coming through the Courts?	
21	Have the **pre-sentence reports** from the YCLP been useful in the sentencing process? How?	
22	Do you think the program should **continue?** Why/Why not?	
23	Do you think the **broader community benefits** from the YCLP? If so, how and why?	
24	If you were to **refine elements** of the YCLP, which ones would you change, how and why would you do it?	
25	The YCLP was developed to provide case management support across **a three-month period**. Do you think this is **long enough**? If not, why not? What do you think the **optimum length** should be and why?	
26	How successful on a scale from 1-5 do you think the YCLP has been in **preventing further offending behaviour**?	
27	How successful on a scale from 1-5 do you think the YCLP has been in **preventing incarceration?**	
28	Do you have any **additional comments** you would like to add?	

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION AND SUPPORT FOR THE YOUTH, COMMUNITY AND LAW PROGRAM. IT IS VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.