

**Research Report**

**Encouraging signs: A qualitative evaluation of Review and Congratulate Panels in the Wrexham Youth Justice Team**

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# Encouraging Signs: A Qualitative Evaluation of Review and Congratulate Panels in the Wrexham Youth Justice Team

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## Executive Summary

Community disposals incorporate both punitive and rehabilitative elements in order to punish, deter and rehabilitate. Failure to comply with them has serious implications for young people and for the credibility of the youth justice system in both the short and longer term. This report draws on a small qualitative study of a local initiative to promote compliance by young people in receipt of community orders. Drawing on the accounts of a sample of Youth Justice practitioners, Magistrates young people and parents it explores a 'Review and Congratulate' (referred throughout the report at RACP) process initiated by the Wrexham Youth Justice Service (YJS). Key findings of the study were:

- RACP were convened specifically to offer praise for compliant behaviour or to motivate young people towards further compliance
- Professional respondents held differing views about eligibility for RACP. Whilst some considered that small acts of compliance rendered a young person eligible for a RACP, others deemed more holistic compliance necessary.
- RACP were understood to be useful in promoting community penalties and the work of the Youth Justice Service to magistrates.
- The primary focus of a RACP involved praising a young person. Praising was understood as a self-evidently good thing. Young people contributing to this study experienced praise positively
- Negative interactions with others were understood to underpin some offending behaviour and instances of poor compliance. Conversely praise, acting as a form of reward for compliant behaviour, was understood as reinforcing repetition of compliant behaviours
- The involvement of Magistrates in RACP was considered to be a positive which served to render them more human in the eyes of young people.
- RACPs were assessed by case managers as informing and strengthening the rehabilitative alliance between themselves, young people and their parents.
- RACP helped young people and parents construct the youth justice system and service as supportive as opposed to punitive.
- The contribution of magistrates was described integral to the RACP in respondent accounts.
- Some respondents considered that RACPs worked better when the magistrate who had sentenced the young person at court was able to attend.

- RACP were deemed to be most effective when participants were prepared for sessions by having knowledge of the needs and circumstances of young person involved.
- Reflective letters were assessed positively and regarded as trophies by some young people and parents.
- Professional respondents suggested RACPs were successful, useful or worked in terms of rewarding and motivating compliance. RACPs were generally considered a good idea and a useful additional practice approach.
- RACP seemed responsive to some of the prescriptions for practice within academic literature which bears on the issue of promoting compliance.

## **Introduction to the Study**

Considerable diversity once characterised practice in probation and youth justice settings. Presently, however, greater uniformity obtains which is imposed from the top down by the need for practice to be evidence based on large scale quantitative research. Bottom up innovations may arise in local probation and youth justice practice. However, most innovations seem likely to peter out either because they do not attract sufficient attention and are therefore not widely taken up or, alternatively, evidence for their effectiveness is not gathered or is dismissed. This presents as an unfortunate likelihood because some potentially very promising innovations could be missed and some well-meaning but unsuccessful ones may be unnecessarily repeated.

Here we address those issues and aim to describe and then present a small scale qualitative evaluation of an innovation called Review and Congratulate Panels (RACP) in Wrexham YJS. We hope that knowledge of the innovation will prompt consideration of its potential transferability to other youth justice contexts. Moreover, that the findings of our evaluation will highlight the merits of the innovation and promote positive outcomes for young people. Qualitative research is associated with some limitations. However, it is not unusual for interventions that become widely adopted to have had humble beginnings and to have first shown some promise in smaller scale local evaluations.

As our analysis of the initiative was informed by the literature base concerning compliance and desistance, we begin with a consideration of this literature.

## **Literature Review**

Many of those on community orders in the youth justice system will have engaged in behaviours which were problematic despite the likelihood that negative consequences would follow. In that context it is arguably ironic that such young people find themselves subject to community penalties and required, under the threat of breach, to do things (such as keeping appointments with YJS workers and participating in activities) that they might not freely chose to do. Perhaps unsurprising many young people fail to comply with their orders. According to data for 2011/12, 2,571 young people were sentenced for breaching a statutory order and 16% of them received a custodial sentence as a result of that breach. Indeed, so called 'back door sentencing' for breach of a statutory order was the fourth most prevalent reason for a custodial sentence in 2011/12.<sup>1</sup> This has ramifications for young people in that it has implications for the development of skills necessary for them to turn away from crime in the future. Reputational risks also obtain to the YJS in terms of how non-compliance or breach may be interpreted by magistrates and undermine overall confidence in community sentences (Hart, 2011). Imprisonment attendant to noncompliance may go some way to securing the legitimacy of community sentences in the eyes of policy makers and the public. That said, it is more likely to promote reoffending rather than compliance by the individual concerned. This is because community sentences are more effective in reducing reoffending than short-term prison sentences (Bales and Piquero, 2012). Attending appointments and supervision is the

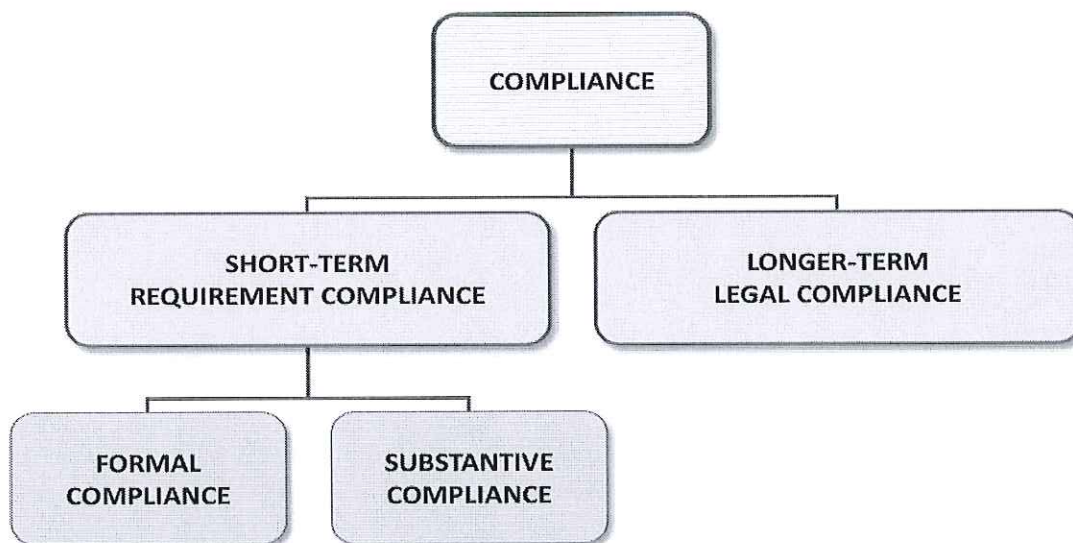
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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmjust/339/33906.htm>

foundation for work to reduce reoffending yet young people may be inclined to fail to attend scheduled appointments and engage with supervisors. While ignoring noncompliance may undermine confidence in the youth justice system, breach may lead to negative consequences for young people. Therefore, promoting compliance with community orders is a necessary component to an effective youth offending system which reduces reoffending and commands judicial and public confidence.

As Canton (2007) points out, compliance is more complex than is often imagined and may be associated with observing the legal expectations of a court order or, more broadly, with the larger aims of an order-rehabilitation. Bottoms (2001) similarly distinguishes between short term compliance which is manifested as young people keep appointments and long term compliance which is manifest as young people desist from offending. Robinson and McNeil (2008), however, propose a further distinction in the short term between formal and substantive compliance. For these authors the former term captures behaviour which is quantifiable and technically meets the requirements of an order (attending appointments) whilst the latter is more qualitative and attitudinal and reflects a commitment to the aims of any order e.g. reducing drug use.

## Dimensions of compliance (Robinson & McNeill 2008)

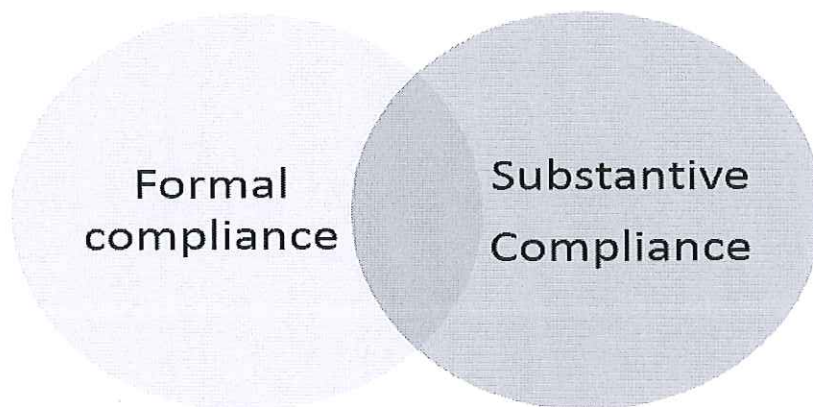


It is possible for a young person to be formally compliant with a court order, without showing substantive compliance by actually engaging with it in a meaningful way. Conversely, another young person may possess the requisite demeanour for substantive engagement but lack the means e.g. time management skills, to be formally compliant (Braithwaite, 2003).



The full complexity of defining compliance may be better appreciated with reference to a YJS which supervises young people some of whom will attend on time, some of whom will arrive late and some of whom will fail to attend any supervision sessions with their Case Manager (CM). Following this, the young people may engage wholeheartedly, minimally or not at all in supervision sessions. Finally they may go on to offend in a more or less serious manner or not at all thereafter. Between the 'ideal types' defined by the young person who attends every supervision session on time, engages wholeheartedly in that session and never reoffends, and a young person who fails to attend supervision sessions, does not engage when present and reoffends more seriously thereafter, myriad combinations and possibilities exist across the quantitative and qualitative dimensions in terms of defining compliance.

Figure: Dimensions of Compliance (from Robinson and McNeil 2008)



Robinson (2013) suggests compliance is an elastic construct applied to describe the behaviour or attitude of some people at some times but not others and different times. Levels of short and long term compliance are known to vary over the years, to differ according to area and between officers, highlighting how the spirit of enforcement and localized rehabilitative practice, as well as socio-economic context is likely to be important for defining and assessing compliance (Bateman, 2011).

Individuals comply for different reasons and Bottoms (2001), describes four types of compliancy. These are: constraint, instrumental/prudential, habit/routine and normative compliancy. Compliancy by constraint implies that the individual is disabled from non-compliance through, for example, tagging or imprisonment. Instrumental/prudential compliance is driven by self-interested calculation because the reward/loss calculus is perceived as a deterrent. Compliance by habit /routine is usually based on tradition - that is to say regularised unthinking patterns of non-offending. Finally normative compliance is associated with interpersonal contact and relationships (Farrell, 2002a; Hughes, 2011; McNeill et al., 2005; Maruna, 2001). According to McCulloch normative theories of compliance are

concerned with personal morality and how assessments of what is right and wrong are formed and influenced.

As Bottoms (2001) argues, these mechanisms may be manipulated to promote compliance. Before discussing this, however, it is apposite to acknowledge the scale of the challenge involved in manufacturing compliance. Promoting compliance, and in particular with treatment, has been extensively researched in the field of medicine. There, despite the existence of therapies that are often voluntarily sought, frequently non-invasive, and sometimes guaranteed to be effective, estimates of non-compliance with treatment (failure to attend appointments and/or adhere to a treatment regime) range between 30% and 60% (Janz and Becker 2009), even though repercussions for non-compliance could be highly injurious. Given that young people arriving at Youth Offending Offices are attending involuntarily, subjected to invasive personal questioning about their behaviour and may frequently interpret their engagement as punitive, it is perhaps only to be expected that promoting compliance would be even more of a challenge in such settings.

Be that as it may, compliance may be promoted through constraint. However, as Tyler (2013) indicates, constraint does not induce deference or voluntary co-operation and so in many cases its effects tend not to be lasting. Whilst tagging, for example, may have its short term uses, imprisoning young people for long periods is increasingly dis-preferred because of poor results in securing longer term compliance with the law and reducing reoffending. While, however, it has been argued that deterrence has subjective importance for young people (Von Hirsch et al., 1999), many young offenders have already shown themselves to be relatively immune to the reinforcement contingencies of their behaviour. Moreover, the subjective power of the threat of prison or harsher penalties usually fluctuates and may be associated with resentment and increased non-compliance over time (Bottoms, 2001). Habit based compliance- where compliance occurs unthinkingly is often hardest to generate because it is attendant on socialisation over longer periods of time. Conversely, normative compliance may be promoted through interpersonal contact and relationships between young people and pro-social others (Farrell, 2002a; Hughes, 2011; McNeill et al., 2005; Maruna, 2001). Here, it has been noted that short and long term compliance may arise from accepting the morality of others as one's own and having strong stakes in conformity as a function of ties to pro-social individuals and communities (Sherman, 1992). Strong relationships, according to Bottoms, encourage identification and also behoves of social consequences arising from non-conformity in the loss of standing in the eyes of a respected other. As McCulloch (2013) notes normative compliance derives from 'internalised obligations'.

Normative compliance is understood as important in the desistance literature which, it may be argued, focuses on short and long term compliance with the law. Weaver and McNeill (2011) differentiate between primary desistance (which means any lull or crime-free gap in the course of a criminal career) and secondary desistance (which is defined as the movement from the behaviour of non-offending to the assumption of a role or identity of a non-offender or 'changed person'). Maruna (2001) identifies that conformity to the law, or desistance is a function of maturational reform but also developing social bonds and changes in internal narratives. Social bonds theories posit that ties to significant others can explain short and longer term changes in criminal behaviour across the life course. Where these bonds exist, they create a stake in conformity and compliance

but where they are absent; people have less to lose from noncompliance. Social bonds such as relationships, employment and marriage, provide offenders with a reason to “go straight” (Cherry, 2005, p.147). The desistance literature also foregrounds the likely impact of subjective changes in the person’s sense of self and identity on compliant behaviour. Here it is understood that desistance results from personal change whereby the offender “develops a coherent, pro-social identity for themselves” (Maruna, 2001, p.7).

The importance of relationships with professionals in compliance, and specifically engagement is worth emphasising. A substantial body of work has explored the factors associated with successful outcomes in therapeutic encounters (e.g. by Hubble, Duncan and Miller 2005), which moves attention from ‘medium of therapy’ to the therapeutic relationship. Hubble et al (2005) explored the impact of four domains on engagement with and improvement during therapeutic encounters. Therapeutic techniques were seen to account for 15% of the variance between successful and less successful approaches and client expectancy of change (hope, placebo effects) on a further 15%. However, factors related to the therapeutic relationship accounted for 30% of the variance and extra-therapeutic change factors (such as the presence /absence of social support) a massive 40%. This gives salience to practices which focus on the casework relationship and actions which develop the client’s immediate social networks. Given the focus at present on the promise of cognitive behavioural interventions, it has been argued that there is an over-reliance ‘on the 15 per cent to ‘solve the problem’ (Veysey et al 2009: 3). Conversely a growing body of literature suggests that a flexible, respectful, participatory relationship with a worker supervisor can motivate individual to change and promote desistance (Healy 2010).

Studies of staff behaviours that underpin strong therapeutic alliances or high levels of engagement from service users have been undertaken. The culture of supervision matters so that in some studies it has been found that supervision wherein control is emphasised is less effective in promoting compliance where support is emphasised (Petersilia and 1993). Appleton (2010) reports that high levels of engagement from service users is associated with staff who were respectful, non-judgmental, trustworthy, reliable, flexible, honest, supportive and encouraging. Staff who were late, rushed tasks, seemed uncaring, mistrustful and focussed only on the bureaucracy of ‘processing or managing’ cases were less liked. In general an inclusive style was preferred and an approach whereby the person’s own goals and aspirations were respected. In a similar vein, Rex (1999)<sup>2</sup> argues:

Engagement seemed to be generated by the commitment, both personal and professional, shown by workers (Rex, 1999: 371)

Moreover change was thereafter promoted by

the sense of obligation which probation officers’ support and encouragement seem to generate (p.378)

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<sup>2</sup> Rex, S. (1999) ‘Desistance from Offending: Experiences of Probation’, *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(4): 366-383.

In a similar vein, McNeil (2004) suggests that if an offender feels that their Offender Manager is interested, empathetic and respectful and believes in their capability to change, they will be more likely to desist from crime.

The procedural justice literature is also useful in understanding processes of normative compliance and the development of some social bonds. It is most notably associated with Tyler (1990) who initially derived the concept from panel studies that explored evaluations of encounters with police and court officials in the USA. In 2010 Jackson et al. applied these insights to explore compliance in prisons. The authors noted that in all prisons, prisoners outnumber staff and so they can only be safe, respectful and purposeful places when prisoners are compliant with the staff and the regime. The authors suggested compliance arose from perceptions of legitimacy-the perception that the prison and prison officials had the right to dictate or demand certain forms of behaviour. The authors suggested that perceptions of legitimacy arose as a function of "the fairness with which prisoners feel they are treated" (2010, p.4). Regarding this, Crawford and Hucklesby (2013, p.2) suggest "Experiencing the law and legal authorities as legitimate has positive implications for compliance".

Combining the insights from desistance theory, research on normative compliance and legitimacy to the youth justice setting it may be argued as follows:

- Practitioners should work with young people to build their social capital by creating or repairing "relationships within families, communities and the state" (McNeill et al., 2012, p.10).
- Practices which promote interpersonal identification between young people and staff in the youth offending system will enhance the perceived legitimacy of authority and motivate compliance and desistance.

In relation to short term compliance with orders, a review of YJS Inspectorate reports indicates that up until 2011 it was normative for such compliance to be understood as a concern only for the casework relationship. Young people were encouraged by their case managers to comply with orders and received warnings for non-compliance before breach was enforced. Following on from the Green Paper of December 2010 - Breaking the Cycle: Effective Punishment, Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Offenders - the Youth Justice Board (YJB) consulted with Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) about establishing additional systems to promote compliance<sup>3</sup>. The Government promised in 2011 to "establish compliance panels to ensure young people comply with their sentences". In April 2012 the YJB launched a breach toolkit and a compliance framework to support YOTs Teams in reducing the number of young people ending up in custody for breaching statutory orders. Comprising Case Managers, YOT managers, relevant others and the young person themselves, Youth Justice Services were then encouraged to operationalise compliance panels. Such panels are

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<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Justice, Breaking the Cycle: Government Response, Cm 8070, June 2011 Back

convened when compliance is poor to ensure that all efforts are being made to support young people's attendance at, and engagement with the YJS.

In April 2012, the Wrexham Youth Justice Team implemented monthly 'Review and Congratulate' (RAC) Panels as a partnership venture with local Magistrates. RACP were designed by the team to provide an entirely positive experience for the young people subject to community orders. The rationale for its development was a perception within the team that some young people's motivation to attend appointments and remain offence-free waned, particularly between six and nine months of an order being underway. RACP were intended to pre-empt this and provide a fillip to maintain good progress. The idea for RACPs was informed by 'Rules of engagement: Changing the Heart of Youth Justice' (The Centre for Social Justice 2012) which highlighted the need to meaningfully celebrate progress and provide motivation to sustain short and long term compliance.

Each RACP is chaired by an YJS Operational Manager, and attended by the young person, their parent/carer, the Case Manager, and a Magistrate from the Youth Bench. The Case Manager informs the meeting of the positive aspects of the young person's work and engagement, outlining any achievements made. The young person is given a chance to respond to this, and express how it has felt to be on their order so far. At this point, family members or carers are invited to contribute positive observations about the young person, and comment on what they have heard. The Magistrate then emphasises the serious nature of a court order, but highlights the positive comments they have heard about that young person's progress. After the meeting, the Operational Manager writes a 'reflective letter' to the young person which draws together all the positive comments so the young person has a record of them.

The RACPs is a strengths-based intervention, something Sin and Lyubomirsky (2009) define as "aimed at cultivating positive feelings, positive behaviours, or positive cognitions" (p. 467). In contrast to Compliance Panels, the focus in RACP is not on problems or failures and how they may be addressed, but on success and good progress. At the point of writing, 36 young people had been referred to attend (with 25 attending) a RACP at the YJS since April 2012. The most recent inspection of Wrexham YJS by HMI Probation commented "The Review and Congratulate Panel was an excellent way of affirming progress and encouraging improved behaviours to continue" (HMIP p.27)

## Methodology

The study reported here drew on the voices of individuals involved in RACP-YJS Case Managers, Magistrates, parents and young people in order to identify their perceptions of RACP. The main aims of the study were:

1. To explore perceptions about RACP –whether they are needed, working well and how they can they be improved.
2. To explore perceptions about whether RACP are effective and having an impact on compliance and/or offending behaviour.
3. To explore and understand the processes through which RACP bring about any change.
4. To explore whether RACP are responsive to prescriptions about good practice.

## Study Design

A qualitative study design was used, which prioritised the voices of those involved in RACP. Data collection was informed by the literature base concerning compliance and desistance.

Ethical approval for the study was granted by Glyndŵr Research Ethics Committee (GREC). The study adhered to required ethical research practice (as set out by the British Sociological Association) and observed the principles of informed voluntary consent, anonymity and confidentiality. Participants were given information about the study and signed consent was obtained before the interviews. Participants were empowered to be able to decline being interviewed at any stage without incurring negative consequences.

The evaluation involved children as participants. Under the Children Act (1989) a child is defined as any person under 18. Although we knew of no unique ethical issues in this research, certain issues tend to arise with greater force or in unusual ways. While it is stipulated that no research participant should be exposed to harm which outweighs a chance of benefit (Kennedy & Grubb 2000), qualitative research, as undertaken here, is typically designated low risk of harm. Young people were advised against being too specific when discussing details of any individual offences they might have knowledge of or been involved in.

The Research team observed the requirements of the Welsh Language Scheme. Respondents were given the opportunity to be interviewed in the Welsh language albeit as it turned out no participant availed themselves of this opportunity.

Eligible Magistrates, parents and young people were contacted by the members of the YJS team and invited to participate. In all cases participation was entirely voluntary. A £10 cinema voucher was given to young people in recognition of their participation, although it should be noted that these were given at the end of the interview and so participants were not aware that they would receive anything for taking part. Interviews, which were held in the YJS Office, were audio recorded with participant consent.

Qualitative research normally continues until 'theme saturation' is achieved and little by way of new information is derived from further interviews with service user and provider respondents. At this point there will be consistencies within, and possibly between those accounts. Guest et al. (2006) amongst others have suggested that in well targeted qualitative research, theme saturation can be achieved by as few as twelve interviews. This study comprised semi-structured interviews with Case Managers (n=7) Magistrates (n=3) Young people (n=3) and Parents (n=2).

Following transcription of all audio recordings, and familiarisation with the data, a thematic analysis, informed by the literature base concerning compliance and desistance was undertaken. Data were stored and managed using NVivo 10 (qualitative data analysis software package). In the following sections of the report, verbatim extracts from the interviews are presented to evidence emergent themes.

## Study Findings

A number of themes, relevant to the issue of how respondents perceived the RACP, were identified in the data. These are presented below with extracts from the interviews. Respondent data extracts are followed by the identifier and a number. Case Manager Data extracts are preceded by CM and a number between 1 and 7. Magistrates' data are preceded by M and a number between 1 and 3. Young people's data extracts are preceded by YP and a number between 1 and 3. Finally parent's data extracts are preceded by P and the number 1 or 2. These identifiers have been used to maintain participant anonymity.

### Purpose: Reward and Motivation

Respondents we spoke to identified that there were different purposes a RACP could serve. For some respondents a RACP could be useful in congratulating young people for progress already made and thereby reaffirming praise that might have already been given, for example, during supervision sessions with Case Managers. Thus panels were understood as having a 'just desserts' function- rewarding a young person with something positive (recognition or praise) at the end of their involvement with the YJS and for the progress and commitment they had shown to their community orders:

*I wanted him to have the recognition, he didn't stay with us very long and we revoked his order early on the grounds of good progress but before we did that we took him to the Review and Congratulate so the Magistrate could speak to him and he could feel like he had achieved really (CM5)*

*When we started working together something clicked and she did really well and it was the first order she'd completed without a breach, so we sent her to panel to hear some positive stuff (CM2)*

*He's completed all his reparation and everything else in his plan- he's got it done so that's why I put him forward...he hasn't put a front wrong....he has done so well (CM2)*

*He was very highly motivated to turn himself around and do something with his life so the Review and Congratulate was just a reinforcement (CM3)*

*The panel made him happy but he'd already had this turn around before he went to it (P2)*

In other instances, Case Managers understood that RACP could be useful, not just in rewarding and providing praise for good progress at the end of orders, but in motivating young people who might be struggling with compliance. Indeed some Case Managers identified that such a motivational aim



should underpin all referrals to RACP because otherwise RACPs were largely symbolic in function-providing praise for those who were doing well and therefore not be in need of motivation:

*She had a horrendous history of breaching, really poor attachments, and she had failed dismally with ISS and so quite controversially I'd asked the courts to re-sentence her without ISS... she responded well to that so very quickly.... I wanted her to have that reinforcement that she was able to achieve compliance and stuff so we brought her and that worked for her (CM3)*

*If anything from my perspective as a Case Manager it's those type of young people that probably don't get an awful lot of positives or re-enforcement from school or anything that it makes a massive difference to because it's easy to put the compliant ones through, the kids with very low level offending who are lightly convicted, it's the more prolific ones who are almost entrenched in that type of behaviour that we want to kind of look at (CM2)*

Respondents identified other purposes for a RACP. One was to promote the work of the YJS to Magistrates and thereby the potential advantages of community over custodial orders:

*I encourage members of the youth panel to go to the youth justice services and YJS as you need to know where you're sending them, you've got to know what they're doing (M2)*

*I think it gives Magistrates a different view of us an agency I guess ... for them to sit with us and listen to the work that we're doing it's a different arena for that and it gives them a better view so next time we're in court and we say we want this young person to do the Freedom programme they think "(name) did that and he did really well'- and the plan is that the Magistrates that come to these will feedback to the other magistrates and say "do you remember you sentenced this young man he's done really' well that sort of thing (CM1)*

## **Eligibility: Formal v Substantive**

Mapping onto the previous dichotomy and the definitional possibilities attendant on constructing compliance, Case Managers and Magistrates highlighted different perceptions about eligibility for RACP. In some accounts eligibility for a RACP was associated with 'substantive' compliance whereas in others it was by 'formal compliance'.

To illustrate this point, in the following extract a respondent accounts for their relatively low level of referrals to a RACP:

*I don't tend to have the cases who get to go there -the one this week is the first one I put forward for it, I had one previously who offended the week of the panel so I couldn't in good faith put him in front of the panel (CM1)*

The respondent refers to an individual who has demonstrated sufficient compliant behaviour to be referred to a RACP. CM1 suggests, however, that putting this young person in front of a panel would have been an act of bad faith. This is because he reoffended during the week of the panel. Though the young person referenced may have exhibited formal compliant behaviour or actions, a RACP is assessed as inappropriate by this respondent.

In the following extract CM4 also focusses on substantive compliance

*For me it has to be a genuine thing that the young person has turned something around ... just rocking up for your sessions every week not necessarily....if they've done something in particular I'd acknowledge you've made a real effort to do that even if you haven't attended anything else you've done that...ones I've brought have overall done really well they haven't breached, they haven't re-offended they've complied well in sessions, they've done particularly well really (CM4)*

CM4 constructs eligibility for a RACP fairly tightly around the young person's general attitudinal change. Conversely other respondents defined compliance with reference to specific behaviours or actions that amount to formal compliance. Accordingly they could imagine a young person being referred to a RACP for relatively lower level compliant behaviour and in the face of some other non-compliance.

*You can usually find some sort of redeeming feature some of these children are starting from such a long way back down the track even if its managing to turn up on time three weeks on the trot and they've never turned up on time before then that's got to be good .....Acknowledge that yes they have been making some form of improvement however small it is (M3)*

*Panels work most effectively with young people who haven't been engaging but then there's a change in them and so then you're doing the panel to congratulate them on their change (CM6)*

Case Managers who considered that only acts of substantive compliance warranted nomination for a RACP understood that they could choose to refer young people for a RACP when they had demonstrated 'formal compliant behaviour'. A concern to preserve the 'special' nature of being nominated for a RACP, however, seemed to underpin practices that supported referrals only for substantive compliance:

*I don't put my kids on left right and centre we get emails every months .....so I have probably only put three or four...otherwise it'll lose its value (CM5)*

Notwithstanding a concern to preserve the special/selective nature of being nominated to attend a RACP, most case managers understood a potential existed for more referrals to be made:

*I think what I would change is I'd consider taking smaller successes -this one has completed a whole programme -I'd maybe consider he's attended for a month and not missed, that sort of thing. I'd widen my scope just to get them involved ...where on the grand scheme of things in a two year order its nothing but actually that's a massive success for someone who's gone from being chaotic to stick to something for that amount of time (CM1)*

## **How RACP work: Reward**

Professional respondents gave accounts of the mechanisms by which RACP might promote short or long term compliance. Professional respondents understood that in the case of many young people they worked with, praise and positive feedback could have been in relatively short supply during their lives:

*I think it's generally good for people to hear good words being said about them when they probably don't hear that many good words because the people we're dealing with aren't the high achievers at school, there's all sorts of multiple issues going on in their lives which are difficult to deal with (M3)*

*I think it's important to acknowledge the success and that they've done well because obviously for a lot of our young people it doesn't happen all that often (CM4)*

In this context, the giving of praise was presented as a self-evidently 'good' thing– at the very least having an impact on young people's self-esteem:

*(Name) was sat beside him so I couldn't see his face but (name) could see his face and he was smiling, she could see him react when the Magistrate said something positive or I said something positive and she said it was sweet because he was trying to hide the fact he was smiling...everyone was able to speak openly everything was positive there were no negatives and you could see (names) shoulders lifting up (CM1)*

*I remember one little boy I had the most tremendous smile off him when I told him how well he'd done and I thought that's what you want to achieve-encouragement-becomes if we're all encouraged we all do better we all blossom (M2)*

In some accounts 'giving praise' was described as having significant effects on young people:

*I introduced him to that forum ... he came out and he said that's the first time I've actually answered people when people have talked to me because I've never had the confidence. Because his strategy if he felt uncomfortable was to kick off and be aggressive so because it was positive and they were asking him about things*

*he knew he was starting to make progress with ... it was really enlightening for him (CM3)*

*It's really good for them to hear from professionals that they think they have done well; sometimes just having a bit of praise gives that young person incentive to keep trying (CM5)*

Young people also identified directly that a RACP had a positive impact on their wellbeing and self-esteem:

*They asked me about everything I've done, they said obviously I'm doing good because I haven't been on the police records for six or seven months now and I used to be on them every day, and I'm in college now and everything, and keeping me on the straight and narrow and everything... it makes you feel better when you think about it, you hear people praise you and get sorted ...instead of bad .... ...so obviously it makes you feel better..... (YP1)*

Notwithstanding these comments, however, interestingly, few respondents elaborated on how or why 'praise' might be motivational. By implication, however, the understanding that seemed to prevail was that negative interactions with others could underpin offending and subsequent poor compliance:

*I don't know what their lives have involved prior to the commission of an offence ...they may have lived many years with constant negatives in their lives (M1)*

*Of course many of them haven't been praised, rewarded, thanked for doing well encouraged and that's all positive in a young person's life ... some children have not had praise and if you're always told off it damages your self-confidence, self-esteem if no one is there to love you encourage you cajole you teach you right from wrong you've got no foundation (M2)*

Conversely, praise was understood as a reward and behaviour that was rewarded was, in turn, considered more likely to be repeated. Case Managers and young people referred to the positive feelings the latter experienced from being praised and how praise worked to commit young people to compliance:

*It can be used to boost confidence, a reminder to stay on track...at the end of the day if they can remember how well they did then hopefully that memory can prevent them from getting into trouble (CM2)*

*It's important for the young person to feel appreciated, to know that those in positions of authority recognise the work they have done this alone, this small*

*amount, it gives the young person a boost, which ultimately will keep them engaged with the service, well that's the hope (CM6)*

*To give you like more of a boost to keep you out of trouble, they're praising you and obviously praise is better than being told off and being in trouble ... I think they help, it gives you a confidence boost and helps in every way... (YP1)*

*It makes you feel appreciated and you realise that you'd rather be congratulated and people full of praise about you than not at all, and it makes you realise "Oh yeah I'd rather be good and do that" than be off the rails and get no recognition at all (YP2)*

As an adjunct to this, panels were seen as potentially effective by dint of the fact praise giving could be modelled to parents who might struggle to provide positive comments:

*It is a negative parent who very much uses our interactions as an opportunity to tell me what he's done wrong... very critical in front of him...but she got to hear the praise and she could hear it because she wasn't talking ... by the end of it she looked proud and I think that was a massive achievement (CM5)*

*So there's benefits for everyone but the main one I think is for the families, because hopefully the positivity will continue at home. It can bring the family unit together because when young people are committing offences it can be a massive strain for the family (CM7)*

Praise was positively evaluated. However, some practitioners and young people expressed a degree of discomfort with RACPs suggesting 'praise giving' might be less embedded in routine youth justice practice:

*It was borderline cheesy but I think that worked in that respect because it was motivational and because (name) openly said "this is going to be cheesy and you might wince at it but it is for a reason and it's because we want to say positive things and the way to do that unfortunately it can be a bit uncomfortable for everyone sat around" because it's not a usual way of ... the praising and the reflecting back and the repeating of things (CM1)*

*It felt good but it was embarrassing at the same time because everyone was praising me and I don't like it, I don't know where to look (YP2)*

Whilst discomfort with praise may be understandable in light of the backgrounds some of the young people were described as having, it is likely that praise giving would have been rendered less noteworthy had it been more of a routine feature of young people's contacts with the YJS:

*It was different....cos it was praising me, like thanking me, it was weird...yeah but I feel nervous when I'm praised (YP3)*

*One boy certainly didn't like praise...I said "you've done well" and he said "no I haven't" he was defiant of praise in a way because he was so unused to it (M2)*

The following respondent suggests the strengths based approach adopted in the panels may not be reflected in all dealings between the YJS and young people:

*I'm not aware that when we do the induction we talk about "this is the expectation from us on you, this is what happens if you don't do it" and obviously that's usually a negative outcome. We don't tell them in the induction process that there are positives in terms of "you can have your order revoked early for good progress" or "there are these forums where we recognise the achievements or the progress you've made". We're setting our stall out, we start off and I think about when I've looked and kind of reflecting on that process from the offset, we're setting our stall out very much about control (CM3)*

## **How RACP work: Bonds**

A number of respondents referred to RACPs as empowering young people to give voice to their priorities and concerns, and this being useful in terms of informing the supervision process and strengthening the therapeutic alliance with young people and their parents:

*It's really good because it gives them an opportunity to say I wish (name) worked in this way, in a safe environment, and we take that on board. It's their chance...they're asked about how they feel, what they feel went well, did they agree with what we say their strengths are, what would they change, is there anything we could do differently... one of them did he didn't stop talking he'd change everything, he knows better than anybody so he loved that ... (CM3)*

A mechanism through which RACPs were deemed to be effective was in helping YJS workers forge positive relationships with parents and engage them in the change process:

*Although we work to engage with parents- we do home visits and stuff -very often ...its very much they don't have contact unless we contact them letting them hear how their kid's doing. It's making them take some responsibility -we want you there as a parent because you need to see the work that we're doing and listen to what your child has to say about the progress he's making- because quite often they're only getting the negative they're getting the police ringing them up saying your kid's in custody and they're getting a letter saying you're going to court, they're getting me ringing them up saying you've got to come to a panel because your kid's being prosecuted (CM3)*

Moving on, giving praise was presented as motivational by professional respondents in terms of creating expectancies about future behaviour in the eyes of people who have a bearing on the young

person's life. Praise was described as creating obligations towards those at the Review and Congratulate panels:

*...and on occasions where the young person does re-offend I think the fact that they've been through the Review and Congratulate makes the offence even more of a disappointment for them so that in itself is another sort of motivator isn't it ...and I have had one who came back before the court to the same Magistrate who did the Review and Congratulate and there was disappointment from both sides (CM4)*

In the following extract a Magistrate voices what they imagine a young person would think subsequent to attending a panel:

*They're all starting from a particular position and it doesn't matter how long they've got to go on the order and if this will make the difference between keeping them on the order or thinking 'I can't be bothered nobody's even thinking I'm making an effort' (M3)*

Here, this respondent places themselves in the position of a young person who has not attended a panel and who understands thereby that his progress is of no concern to anyone. Implied by the account is that a young person who has attended panel would experience the opposite perception—that people are concerned and have some investment in his or her progress.

## **How RACP work: Legitimacy**

The task of supervising and managing young people subject to community supervision has traditionally fallen to YJS workers, with sentencers having a very limited role once an order has been made. For Case Managers and young people, however, having a Magistrate present at a RACP was noteworthy. Professional respondents referred to the distance that normally obtains between Magistrates and young people in court and how the relationships established in that setting tend towards more formality. RACP panels, however, were described as more informal, humanising and legitimising Magistrates in the eyes of young people:

*it breaks down the barrier, seeing a magistrate sat on a couch rather than behind the big desk in court, they can see they're just a person like you it breaks the barrier (CM6)*

I think it breaks down barriers with professionals in that by sitting in a room with them they see that people like Magistrates are just as normal as anyone else; maybe then they're not seen as, just being out to get them so to speak (CM7)

*Initially there's a little bit of a barrier there when they realise the Magistrate might be the person who has sentenced the youngster and that's happened to me on three occasions and they look a bit what are you doing here but once it's explained it's all really convivial (M1)*

*It was the magistrate who sentenced me... if felt a bit awkward like...but it went alright...I felt a bit nervous....at first I didn't want to come...he was sitting where I was .... I just looked at him and I thought "this is mad"...I didn't think he'd be here...he just thanked me and all that ... and shook my hand. I didn't think that was coming like... it made me feel better...it was different, I went in front of the Magistrate for a bad reason but this time it was for a good reason... when I went in court ....I don't like em...but when I saw him down here and he was actually a nice bloke. (YP3)*

*When I got told one was going to be there I was a bit like 50/50 about it but once I got in there he was nice and polite with me and he was saying "oh yeah we're proud of you for this" and "we haven't had anyone that's progressed this much since being here" and all stuff like that and that it was a pleasure for him to revoke my thing early....and I thought "oh they are nice when you be good" (YP2)*

Receiving positive feedback from Magistrates was considered by young people and Case Managers to be significant:

*The magistrate had their time to speak and that was a bit of an eye opener for the boy and his Dad- having a Magistrate sat in the room with them having a conversation (CM1)*

*The only time they see the magistrates, they're getting told off as well, so the young people get pleasure out of that, the Magistrate asks questions and the young people are able to answer them. It's not the negative experience it was in court (CM4)*

*What works really well with the panel is the feedback from the magistrate, although young people might not admit it I don't think you can underestimate the power of that information coming from that particular person, especially (CM6)*

*It's a court person, they're the ones who send you down and obviously if they're telling you you're keeping out of trouble it's even better than just the YOT people telling you... cos he's somebody who's in the court and knows all the trouble and that and sends you away (YP1)*

Related to this point, Case Managers considered RACP helped young people and parents to reconstruct the youth justice system as helpful as opposed to punitive. Previously reference has been made to the way RACP could humanise magistrates. Linked to this point, RACP were perceived as humanising the YJS:



*It got mum on board with us as well. She saw us very much as a punitive kind of enforcer and didn't recognise the risk her son posed so it helped us to build some bridges with her – it was quite a good tool to do that work (CM3)*

*It's an opportunity for them to understand what we do here with their children because we're one of those agencies that people don't want to engage with. There's connotations that it's punishment and it's all bad and the way I've done the panels is to show the work they've done and I think parents are surprised that it's positive work, it's good...it's nice to be able to show this was the starting point this is what we tried to do and little Johnny's done all this and it wasn't a sort of finger wagging you're a bad person because I think this is a perception a lot of parents have of us .....I think if parents are on board with you that's half the battle if the parents value what we're doing they say you've got to go to YJS whereas if they see us as this sticky beak type agency that's critical of them and their children... .....they think we're the police or the courts and that's not our role and as much as you can say to parents at the beginning of the order this isn't about punishing people this is about stopping you getting into the situation again that's just words but if they see what the young person has done it's reinforcing well actually she said that (CM4)*

*He really liked it... I think he thought it was a really good process and it humanises the young person -they're not just here as offenders there's recognition of "and now you're going to school every day that is brill' they're not necessarily on an education requirement as part of their order but we value it and we tell them we value it... I think the Magistrates are very interested in holistic stuff especially about schooling and so it's not just about their court order and that's great ... he gave me good feedback afterwards and was beaming from ear to ear really (CM5)*

## **Effective Practice**

Respondents identified a number of necessary features for RACP to operate effectively. Preparing panel members for sessions was highlighted as important and this involved having knowledge of the needs of the individual young person

*We know that (name) as chair will prompt if she needs more from someone and she checks up beforehand if there are any communications difficulties she needs to be aware of so you'd tailor it to that individual (CM1)*

*I think it's just whether the young person wants to be there or not, but if the team around them gets them ready then that helps the panel to run smoother (CM2)*

*For me it's about making sure that the participants know, if there's certain behaviours for that young person, if they're nervous and they laugh or they're loud or whatever, you make sure they know they're not undermining the process... sometimes that's the first very formal meeting they've had other than court which is positive rather than punitive in the court arena when they're getting sentenced (CM3)*

The young people we spoke to were positive about panels but one respondent suggested they had not been well prepared for A RACP:

*I thought it was a normal meeting but then there was them people there and it was just congratulating me and I didn't know and everything... I felt like intimidated ... because obviously there was a court person and I didn't know what they were there for (YP1)*

Following the prescribed structure for the meeting was deemed important by professional respondents and for the roles and contributions to the panel to be clearly defined for purposes of this context. Here, perceived risks were that the formal relationship that typically characterised interactions in a courtroom might be replicated unless the designated format of the panel was followed:

*It's more formal than that, (name of Manager) would chair it, then the Case Manager would speak and outline what's been going on. They're pretty frank about what's been good and what's been bad that's good to hear, then the parents or carer, then it's down to the Magistrate and I think that's good because you're in more of a reflective position rather than trying to control the situation because in the court it's the Magistrate who's issuing instructions basically ....so at the end you've got the Magistrate then saying "ok that's good" or "can you try harder with that?" and I think the format is quite good actually (M3)*

*The way the Magistrate's communicate with the young person, it's important to get that bit right, but then they're used to engaging with them in court. It's a balance that they don't talk down to them or make them feel silly that's probably the risk they're not at the same level and as a magistrate it's probably easier to stay with the power imbalance in the court ...from my experience it's always been right (CM4)*

*They all run to the same pattern but the Magistrate's job is coming in at the end and doing a summary, not losing sight of what they are there for, it's the fact that an offence has occurred and a sentence has been passed, but ultimately to congratulate that person and it's not always at the end they can be brought in half way or at some point with a view to revocation (M1)*

Whilst logistical difficulties often prevented such arrangements from being made, a number of respondents considered that RACPs worked to best effect for a number of panel members when the Magistrate who had sentenced the young person at court was able to attend that person's panel:

*Sometimes it's the same chair, not always, when it's the same person who was on the bench it is nice for them to say "I'm doing well", it is positive (CM4)*

*I think it's good if you've been the sentencing magistrate... I think as a Magistrate you need to know what's going on with the sentence. From a sentencing point of view it closes the loop and it's really important to know what happens to them when they've gone out of the door (M2)*

However, a differing view was also presented regarding whether it should be the sentencing magistrate for a young person who takes part in their RACP:

*Mum was wary of the process ...how did it effect this order and stuff... she's had negative experiences of services historically and she was a bit wary ... I get that -if it was my kid I'd be very wary, is it going to affect them? If they don't present very well perhaps does that mean the next time that young person is in court the Magistrate is going to take a view? Mixed views on that I think. I think in some circumstances it can be positive in so far as it helps the young person can see the Magistrate is able to see the progress they're making but certainly in that particular instance I wasn't convinced that it was necessarily a good thing (CM3)*

As indicated earlier, after a RACP has been conducted, a reflective letter is sent out to young people documenting the content of the meeting and continuing in the vein of using positive language and praise. Some case managers, parents and young people especially recalled and valued this follow up:

*She liked the letter, and I saw her couple of months later just in town and that was the thing that she brought up. They like certificates, they like evidence of what they've done and I think the letter is the biggest one of all. It comes from managers so that makes it really important and it's recognition of what they've achieved. I think the letters are an important part of it (CM2)*

*I read it a few times. It made me wish I had gone to the panel to hear it in person but it's still good to have it (P1)*

*It wasn't just left at the meeting, which makes you feel even better again when you get it...I kept it (the letter) (YP2)*

*He thanked me and everything....he wrote me a big letter as well (YP3)*

*They gave me a letter thing and I gave it to my mum and she said "you did good like haven't you really"...and I was happy with it (YP1)*

## Efficacy

Professional respondents were wary of making claims in relation to the efficacy of using RACP beyond commenting that their experiences were overwhelmingly positive. Most understood that desisting from crime was likely to be a medium to long term project for many young people and a function of maturation and the long wave effects of a number of social, community and youth justice related variables:

*I don't know if it does reduce reoffending. I'd like to think it does but young people make their own decisions at the end of the day and if they can remember how well they did then hopefully that memory can prevent them from getting into trouble. With my young person – she hasn't reoffended but I don't think that was down to the panel I think something just clicked for her (CM6)*

Most professional respondents gave accounts of panels they were involved with as having been successful, useful and/or they worked in terms of rewarding and motivating formal compliance-attendance at appointments. RACPs were generally considered a good idea and a useful additional practice approach to use to promote such compliance:

*Everybody's different aren't they? Some people respond to sticks and some to carrots, so if you're one of the ones who likes a bit of a pat on the back for whatever reason then what's the harm in doing that (M3)*

*I think it's a very useful tool, it wasn't there before, it is there now, a lot of youth work has gone right down I'm convinced this is due to the youth justice service in being proactive preventing them coming to court (M2)*

*I think that's a far too bold a statement to make. I think in individual cases they can make a massive difference to compliance and behaviour and motivation to want to work and address that behaviour (CM3)*

The young people we spoke to were also positive about the panels they attended:

*I stayed out of trouble.....it did make you think twice yeah (YP3)*

*I was keeping out of trouble anyway but it kept me going... I don't need to get into trouble really, I want to get a job and just want to get my life sorted ... I think they help... they should have them definitely (YP1)*

## Summary and Conclusions

Respondents gave differing accounts of the purpose of RACPs. Whilst for some they represented an opportunity to give young people their 'just desserts' and to reward them for compliance, for others RACP were understood more as a mechanism for promoting motivation. Accounts of the effectiveness of RACP relied primarily on insights from the behavioural school of thought wherein actions which are rewarded are deemed most likely to be repeated. Recognition or praise was foregrounded as a reward young people would wish to receive. Such an understanding dovetails with a new movement within criminology referred to as 'positive criminology'. Positive criminology argues that positive experiences have a healing effect and

...they promote a more holistic view, which acknowledges that thriving and disengagement from distress, addiction, mental illness, crime, or deviance might be fostered more effectively by enhancing positive emotions and experiences, rather than focusing on reducing negative attributes (Ronel and Segev 2014, p. 1390)

Whilst for some respondents, acts of formal compliance could merit a referral to RACP, for others only substantive acts of compliance conferred eligibility for RACP. A concern amongst some respondents was that referring young people to a RACP for acts of formal compliance would undermine the special nature of being nominated. Whilst it is possible for RACP to be used to reward both formal and substantive compliance, rewarding formal compliance is more problematic than substantive compliance. Firstly, as Farrell (2002b) highlights, acts of formal compliance may conceal a defiant demeanour. Second it is problematic because it excludes from receiving rewards, those who genuinely want to change but encounter difficulties in doing so, for example, lack of time management skills. Third, rewarding formal compliance may reinforce general understanding of community orders as a superficial exercise (mainly involving turning up for meetings and signing in). Fourth, rewarding formal compliance may undermine the legitimacy of the disposal for offenders (who may find themselves being praised for something they felt under compulsion to do simply to avoid negative outcomes).

The aims of the RACPs are to promote formal and substantive compliance. Whilst the primary mechanism through which Case Managers understand this will occur is through offering reward in the form of praise, this evaluation suggests additional mechanisms are operationalised –those related to repairing or creating social bonds and enhanced perceptions of judicial legitimacy. Professional respondents suggested that RACPs help develop alliances between themselves, the young person and their family. The involvement of Magistrates at RACP was understood to help promote an appreciation of the youth justice system as not being wholly punitive or focussed on priorities that were adversarial to those of the young person. Sentencers have become more actively involved in the management of community sentences over the last two decades, for example in problem solving courts (drug courts, domestic abuse courts) and through reviews of progress of offenders on some statutory orders for example Drug Treatment and Testing Orders in Probation. The more assertive role played by sentencers has been associated with enhanced perceptions of procedural justice and, as a consequence, heightened judicial legitimacy (Gottfredson et al 2007,

Mclvor, 2009). Enhanced judicial involvement in young people's lives is, however, potentially problematic. The doubling-up of effort may be wasteful and the information magistrates become party to may go on to underpin bias and favouritism in subsequent court appearances (Mclvor 2010). The involvement of Magistrates in RACPs also, arguably, unhelpfully expands state surveillance and involvement in young people's lives. Best practice in terms of judicial involvement in RACP was associated with a number of elements. It was associated with preparing professional respondents by supplying them with sufficient information about the young person beforehand and managing the contribution to be made by magistrates. Equally with preparing the young person for the panel and explaining who was in attendance and how the meeting would proceed. Some respondents considered the contribution of the magistrate was optimised when he or she was the same magistrate as sentenced the young person concerned to a community order in the first place. Research into magistrates' involvement in drug courts suggests better outcomes are associated with such longer term involvement of a single magistrate in community supervision of an offender (Mclvor 2003). In an evaluation of the Salford Community Justice 'drug court' initiative in 2007 it was suggested

The continuity of magistrates should create a greater sense of personal accountability on the part of the offender, leading to improved compliance with sentence requirements (Mclvor p.7)

Whilst the issue of whether RACP work to promote compliance and longer term desistance from crime remains unanswered by this study, individuals involved in and subject to RACP evaluated their experiences positively. Attendant on participation at a RACP, case managers' bore witness to, and young people narrated experiences of positive outcomes in terms of wellbeing and renewed orientation towards compliance at least in the short term.

As indicated above, RACP are responsive to some of the prescriptions for practice in the academic literature which bears on the issue of compliance. Although McNeill and Weaver comment (2010, p.9) that "one of the 'problems' with desistance research is that it is not readily translated into straightforward prescriptions for practice", within the burgeoning literature base on desistance there exist additional broad and specific prescriptions for practice to promote compliance and desistance to which the RACP seems responsive. Firstly, because desistance is associated with ageing and thereby maturation, it has been identified that productive in terms of promoting desistance are those things that hasten maturation –for example: being independent, having responsibilities, and being around individuals who expect and reward mature behaviour. The RACP seeks to reward compliant behaviour and engage others in that process, modelling praise giving to parents, some of whom may then go on to offer more praise in the future for good behaviour. Secondly since persistence in crime is associated with hopelessness and desistance is associated with a sense of agency/power and positivity about the future, the desistance literature supports practices which promote agency/power and positive thinking. The RACP is entirely positive and future orientated in its focus. The young person in attendance is praised for their own efforts in respect of compliance. Thirdly, practices which emphasises only deficits and which foreground offending behaviours are discouraged in the desistance literature. A focus only on 'problems' or 'deficits' is understood to cement a criminal self-identity and so, interventions that focus on strengths and the 'new' emerging (non-offending) person are preferred. RACP are not offence focussed and constitute the young

person in attendance as compliant. Fourthly because a new identity can only be forged over time, the involvement of significant others around the 'offender' in envisioning and thereafter cementing an alternative identity for them is emphasised within the desistance literature. Here the involvement of parents in a RACP is relevant and noteworthy. Finally ceremonies wherein the new self is publically proclaimed are positioned as meaningful in the desistance literature by dint of creating obligations to live up to the proclaimed new identity. The RACP is in many respects a ceremony and one that concluded with a symbol of achievement in the form of a reflective letter.

RACPs promote compliance as one part of a broader effort to develop young people's social capital, social bonds, social inclusion and integration. The findings of this study suggest that the use of RACP is a useful tool in promoting compliance and is an example of good practice. The preceding observations suggest that the use of RACP could be usefully developed. The team may also give consideration to further research into the impact of RACP on indicators of formal and substantive compliance.

## **Bibliography**

Available on request