

Youth Justice Geographies and
Convicted Young People's Mobilities

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Abstract

Currently, there is a gap in knowledge about the context of convicted young people's youth justice journey making and its treatment. Youth justice orders can break down as a result of absence, with sentence escalation and even custody becoming possible, if problems remain unresolved. Youth justice attendance can be as low as fifty per cent, with over twenty per cent of orders breaking down in some locations. Yet a lack of statistical detail makes it impossible to establish the extent of the problem. Low income households are over-represented in the youth justice population, and such groups can have limited access to transport while experiencing difficulties accessing essential local services. Subsequently, convicted young people's youth justice journey making and treatment needs to be better understood in order to ensure responses remain proportionate, as per existing agreements.

This thesis borrows ideas from the new mobilities paradigm, transposing them into a youth justice context, while remembering well cemented connections with social policy. Two mixed methods case studies will examine convicted young people's youth justice journey making and treatment in locations where neighbourhood deprivation and youth justice order breakdown rates were at some of the highest in the country. Accessible visual research tools facilitated communication with young people and practitioners about youth justice journey making and absence management, to develop more fluid understandings of convicted young people's youth justice journey making, and its treatment. The malleability and interconnectedness of journey making, attendance management and service delivery allows this research to make recommendations for national policy, local youth justice systems and individual practice. Importantly, the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities as an unintended consequence of youth justice treatment, suggests the need for mobilities to have an elevated status in the delivery of social policies through youth justice services.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father Michael Brooks,
who unfortunately left the conversation before it had finished,
but remains a source of inspiration for all there is to do.

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Author's Declaration

This thesis is the author's own work and has not been under consideration for examination elsewhere. Sole dissemination arising from this research includes:

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2016), *How a practice-based acceleration in youth justice mobilities can limit the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities*, British Society of Criminology Annual Conference, July 2016

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2016), *Using visual methods to assert the importance of service access in policy and practice focused research*, Less Talk More (Inter)Action Workshop, University of York, June 2016

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2016), *Accessing youth justice services: A research summary on some of the problems and solutions* research-based practitioner leaflet disseminated through the Youth Justice Board, July 2016

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2016), *The importance of youth justice journey problems and absence: Research submission to the Taylor Review of the Youth Justice System* accepted by the Youth Justice Board in June 2016.

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2016), *The closing gap between education and youth justice*, Comment piece for the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, March 2016

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Brooks-Wilson, S., (2014), *Could co-produced knowledge of youth justice geographies add rigour to existing absence management strategies?* Paper presented at the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG) Annual Conference, Imperial College, London, August 2014.

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2014), *Does the dominant policy discourse of youth justice absenteeism as 'non-compliance' account for journey making inequalities in England and Wales?* Paper presented at the British Sociological Association Annual Conference, University of Leeds, April 2014.

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2014), *Should 'transport circumstance' be classified as a key youth justice risk factor?* Paper presented at the Howard League for Penal Reform Conference Re-imagining Youth Justice, The Kings Fund, London, April 2014

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2013), [Why punish convicted young people for their absence when they can't get there?](#) Blog for No Offence updated 13/12/13.

Brooks-Wilson, S., (2012), *Accessing and engaging with youth justice services: a socio-spatial exploration*, paper presented at the Social Policy Association Annual Conference, University of York, July 2012.

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

This initial chapter will contextualise this thesis by describing its aims and approaches, while providing some clarifications. A broad outline of the research purpose will place this work within the context of existing research and policy, while identifying areas where new empirical data would add to knowledge. Methods considered appropriate for the gathering new empirical data will then be outlined, with a rationale provided. Each of the main key concepts will be established, before an outline of each chapter is provided. The contribution of each chapter towards the overall purpose of this research will be described, before a clarification of terminology is provided.

1.1. Thesis objectives

The procedures, structures, ideologies and aims of institutions can be described as their geographies (Manion and Flowerdew 1982), with the ways that people navigate these entities described in terms of their mobilities (Urry 2007). Youth justice mobilities are somewhat compulsory because convicted young people have a mandatory obligation to attend, engage and complete their orders (YJB 2009, 2010c), with YOT Practitioners obliged to support order completion (YJB 2009, 2010e). Yet youth justice geographies and convicted young people's mobilities are much more complicated than this. When young people do not meet mandatory attendance expectations they can be considered *non-compliant*. This means YOT Practitioners can return young people to court, with the most severe outcome being sentence escalation and custody (SGC 2009). For convicted young people who are *not* meeting expected order requirements this is not such a remote possibility, with custodial sentences given for 16 per cent of the orders that broke down in 2007/08 (Hart 2010). Yet pledges that have been made to protect the welfare of those yet to reach adulthood describe the need for youth justice engagement to be fair, respectful and proportionate to any offence, while also recognising any support requirements (Unicef UK 2006, United Nations 1985, Thomas 2008, YJB 2010c). Furthermore, a commitment to Article 19.1 of the Beijing Rules also means that: *'the placement of a juvenile in an institution shall always be a disposition of last resort and for the minimum necessary period'* (United Nations 1985). Subsequently, this research will attempt to understand whether our obligations towards the welfare of those yet to reach adulthood are being met or not, through the current treatment of absence in youth justice.

Currently a gap in knowledge relates to the context of convicted young people's youth justice absence and its treatment, and the problem described above suggests an urgent need for review. What is known, is that as many as 20 per cent of orders break down in some localities (YJB 2015), and that absence is a significant problem for some appointments (IYO/CJJI 2006). What isn't known, is the proportion of orders that break down or young people that enter custody, as a consequence of absence. Because absence is considered to be non-serious non-compliance, little is also known about what happens in the preliminary, informal stages when absenteeism first arises. Furthermore, there is little evidence of strategic discussions with young youth justice journey experts about how their experiences have helped to refine absence management policies. Subsequently, this thesis will address the gap in knowledge in relation to convicted young people's youth justice mobilities and their treatment, while also encompassing a range of views and experiences - including those of young people.

This thesis will respond to the identified gap in knowledge using a more fluid explanatory approach. In the last ten years, a *mobilities turn* has emerged in the social sciences, with dynamic understandings of society argued as having significant explanatory potential (Urry 2007, Cresswell 2006a). This *new mobilities paradigm* has yet to properly permeate social policy and in particular, its delivery within a justice-based context. Yet mobile perspectives can be argued as integral for optimal service delivery because:

'Issues of movement, of too little movement for some or too much for others or of the wrong sort at the wrong time, are it seems central to many people's lives and the operations of many small and large public, private and non-governmental organisations' (Urry 2007: 6).

The breadth and depth of the mobilities literature puts forward a compelling case for its inclusion in discussions about youth justice service access and engagement. The fact that social inequalities come under scrutiny within the mobilities literature is also important, because convicted young people's youth justice journey making can then be properly examined in this context. Cresswell (2010a) describes six ways in which journey making and social inequalities connect. This research will attempt to understand youth justice journeys using this framework, and then contribute to knowledge by suggesting two additional mobile contexts in which convicted young people's social inequalities are being (re)produced. In particular, the intergenerational transmission of (im)mobility and mobility communications will both be areas highlighted as problematic in terms of the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities as a consequence of their youth justice journey making. All eight factors are important, because they can impact whether young people actually arrive at youth justice services. Consequently, this thesis will argue that

social policy-based discussions need to give more consideration to the possibility that well targeted and refined policies are becoming completely obsolete, in the absence of the people that need them. More fluid and dynamic conceptualisations of institutions and the ways in which they are navigated will be suggested as one way of furthering knowledge, and improving policy design and service delivery.

1.2. Main research arguments

This research will draw together existing policy and theory to embed new empirical data within a contemporary context of youth justice and mobilities, and address a remaining gap in knowledge. To summarise, this thesis will be underpinned by the following main arguments:

- Current notions of *need* in youth justice policy and practice can be challenged. New empirical data will be used to argue that convicted young people's *mobility needs* should also be addressed. This is because journey difficulties have the potential to result in absence, potentially compromising overarching youth justice aims to support order engagement and completion (YJB 2009, YJB 2010c)
- The geography of local youth justice services will be suggested as necessarily complex as a range of needs within the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (which from this point will be described as RFPP) need to be met (Burnett and Appleton 2004). Questions will be raised about whether the meeting of this clearly defined set of needs results in added pressure for other non-RFPP needs (such as journey making) with the volume and complexity of journeys increasing.
- In the context of potential journey making difficulties, current responses to young people's absence will be questioned as lacking adequate detail. Little is known about the proportion of formal breach proceedings that arise from absence, and the extent to which absence is a problem (although a variety of reports indicate a problem). Are informal activities taking place in practice that suggest the youth justice mobility problem as even more widespread, or do absence rates represent a small proportion of official breach figures?
- Current responses to young people's absence will be questioned as disproportionately harsh. Because sentences can escalate as a consequence of breach, those on more serious community sentences with mobility problems may be at risk of custody. In the context of this research, such an outcome raises questions about how well obligations to children and young people are being observed (United Nations 1985, Unicef UK 2006, Thomas 2008, YJB 2010c).

To respond to these points, peculiarities in the movements of convicted young people will be considered, alongside youth justice services responses. This thesis will be especially concerned with institutional responses to the wrong sorts of movement, when absence takes place. Subsequently, the three specific questions that this research will address are:

- 1) Is a politics of youth justice mobility evident, with the (re)production of young people's social inequalities taking place as a result of adverse journey making circumstances?
- 2) Does youth justice journey making represent an unmet need and an unrecognised youth justice risk factor?
- 3) Does the local youth justice landscape exacerbate young people's journey pressures, thus amplifying the politics of youth justice mobility?

1.3. Methods used

In order to address these questions, a mixed methods case study will be used. Two areas will be selected based on the probability that the problem of absence-based breach will be found. Investigations will focus on areas with a high prevalence of youth justice orders being breached, and high levels of neighbourhood deprivation. This is because such areas are more likely to feature youth justice order breakdown and a lack of adequate transport. A mixed methods case study approach is deemed appropriate because it facilitates the examination of a clearly defined entity from multiple positions. An exploratory approach is considered appropriate because of the topic under consideration being underexplored. As such, qualitative research methods will be used in order to contextualise convicted young people's youth justice journey making and its treatment. Methods will include semi-structured interviews and focus groups that incorporate maps and visual icons. In focusing on youth justice journeys and practice responses, convicted young people and YOT Practitioners will be the main research respondents, with other staff including YOT Managers and staff connected with the delivery of education, reparation and court support. The inclusion of young research respondents with potential comprehension and communication difficulties makes the use of accessible visual methods important in terms of its inclusive, communicative potential. Finally, data analysis will be structured around themes in existing research and policy documentation, while also allowing for new themes to emerge.

1.4. Broader research relevance

At the start of this research, a coalition government had recently been formed, with the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats beginning to deal with the global economic crisis that had taken hold, through the introduction of austerity measures (Murie 2012). At the point of research project completion, the public service landscape has transformed. Economic austerity measures have now really taken hold and in the last few months, £9 million in-year funding reductions for local Youth Offending Teams (which from this point will be referred to as YOTs) have prompted a wide scale service delivery review (YJB 2015b). Large funding reductions in other allied services such as health, education, employment, social services and housing are also likely to have an impact on the cohesiveness of service delivery, as services are restructured and provision is streamlined (Yates 2012). To compound these problems, employment has become more precarious and out of work benefits harder to access (Grover 2015). Informal support for young people has become too difficult to justify through its soft measures, and has been almost entirely replaced by targeted interventions, where identifiable. Changes in youth justice that are beginning to materialise include the shift towards diversion and its impact on a shrinking youth justice population, with growing numbers of young people walking away from the justice system without a conviction. Such measures are welcomed in the context of limiting young people's contact with justice agencies for petty offences. However, in the context of this thesis, YOTs are committed to brokering access with other agencies in order to support convicted young people's unmet needs. Subsequently, this research will inadvertently make a critical assessment of this transforming youth justice landscape, and whether an unintended (mobile) consequence of diversion could be the (re)production of convicted (or diverted) young people's social inequalities.

1.5. Definitions

1.5.1. Hierarchies of mobility

The term *hierarchies of mobility* (Cresswell 2010a) distinguishes how the nature of mobilities connects with people in different social positions. In particular, the term is used to highlight inequalities in mobility, and how for example, those experiencing multiple or complex needs might have less access to adequate, comfortable, fast transport than their wealthy and internationally mobile counterparts.

1.5.2. Institutional geography

Institutional geography has been described as an area that has significant explanatory potential, but one that remains relatively neglected in terms of its use. Institutional geography provides an opportunity to develop multi-faceted understandings of institutions, encompassing rules, procedures, internal structures, managerial ideologies, institutional ideologies and institutional goals (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). Institutional geography will be used in this research to understand distinctions in the ways that different youth justice services operate.

1.5.3. Mobility systems

In the context of this thesis, mobility is not just a bus or car journey. It is an interdependent system of features that together facilitate journey making. This could include a range of features such as the bus timetable, bus, road, bus stop, bus station, and website. Contemporary mobility systems are characterised by the interdependent fragments that come together within the journey. These features are connected by *systematic links* within an *assemblage* (Urry 2007, Cresswell 2012).

1.5.4. Politics of mobility

The *politics of mobility* is a specific framework that has been developed by Tim Cresswell (2010a), and will be used to examine convicted young people's youth justice journey making in this thesis. Cresswell asserts that social inequalities can be (re)produced through power differentials in the hierarchy of mobilities. Movement is examined in six different ways, including its motive force (rationale for movement), velocity (or speed), route, rhythm (or repeated movement and stillness in time and space), experience, and friction (or stopping). Groups with more power are described as having favourable outcomes in the six areas compared with their less powerful counterparts who can have their adverse social positions cemented through mobilities that have a limited hierarchical status.

1.5.5. The new mobilities paradigm

This research will make a contribution to knowledge by transposing the *new mobilities paradigm* into a youth justice context. In recent years a mobilities turn has been described as taking place in the social sciences. Instead of examining society through a structured and static framework (such as through gender or ethnicity), the new mobilities paradigm chooses to foreground societal understandings as fluid and dynamic, with people, objects and communications all constantly on

the move (Urry 2007). This research will support the argument that this recent approach has added explanatory potential when attempting to understand society and its features.

1.5.6. The (re)production of social inequalities

In this research, mobilities will be described as being produced *by* social conditions and productive *of* social conditions (Cresswell 2010a). For example, this means that someone experiencing adverse social circumstances (such as poverty) may also experience adverse mobilities (such as long walked journeys in hostile weather conditions). Conversely, mobilities have also been described as socially productive, because for example, difficult mobile circumstances (such as personal safety threats while journey making in the absence of adequate transport) can influence the social context of people's lives (such as adverse health). When mobilities are described as socially (re)productive, this means that someone's adverse social position is cemented through their adverse mobilities. For example, the person who experiences health problems because of personal safety threats experienced while journey making may find it more difficult to retain employment, thus reinforcing their position in both social and mobile domains as they remain on a low income and without adequate transport.

1.6. Outline of chapters

When responding to the gap in knowledge about convicted young people's youth justice access and treatment, this thesis will need to initially establish a number of points. Firstly, it is important to establish the identities and features of convicted young people, using existing research and policy documentation. Chapter Two aims to establish convicted young people's youth justice-defined needs as static, structured and limited. Broad, fluid and dynamic understandings will instead be argued as in need of further consideration, because of their explanatory potential in the context of convicted young people's mobilities.

Chapter Three will broaden the scope of this thesis, suggesting how broad and fluid understandings need to be extended to local youth justice operations and not just to the young people that inhabit them, by considering accessibility. The potential that escalating punishments are being delivered to convicted young people with constrained mobilities when they fail to arrive at complex, fragmented local youth justice services will heighten the need for more contextualised understandings of the *treatment* of convicted young people's movements to be developed, within this thesis.

Chapter Four will provide a robust theoretical framework through which young people's mobility and its treatment can be further investigated. A *mobilities turn* in the social sciences will be described as leading to the reconsideration of static and structured interpretations of society, raising important questions about the explanatory potential of a more mobile youth justice. Cresswell's (2010a) six point *politics of mobility* framework will provide the potential to understand how different social positions can become cemented through associated mobile opportunities or constraints. This will raise questions about whether convicted young people's youth justice accessibility problems can be associated with a broader set of problems, such as through the detrimental effects of breach proceedings as a consequence of the *wrong sorts* of movements.

Chapter Five will explain how this research was approached, with two mixed method case studies undertaken in order to respond to the three main research questions. Limited mobilities and relatively low rates of youth justice order completion will be described as more likely to be found in the chosen case study areas, thus allowing youth justice accessibility problems to be examined in more detail. Descriptions of the approach, collection and analysis of new empirical data will be connected back to the research questions in order to develop understandings about the peculiarities of convicted young people's youth justice mobilities, and how they impact youth justice accessibility.

Chapter Six will present new empirical data that describes institutional responses to convicted young people in a mobilities context. In particular, responses to the wrong sorts of mobility (appointment absence) and the overarching treatment of young people (and its lack of mobile context) will be considered using this new empirical data. In making connections between young people's static, youth justice-defined needs and these important new and fluid needs, the comprehensiveness of existing youth justice responses will be questioned, thus heightening the relevance of alternative, fluid understandings.

Chapter Seven will present new empirical data that responds to the gap in knowledge associated with the peculiarities of convicted young people's mobilities. As tentatively inferred through data pieced together in Chapter Two, this chapter will confirm how convicted young people *can* experience mobile difficulties that result in appointment absence. When travelling without institutional support, convicted young people will be revealed as having few choices about their slow, risky, long, expensive and indirect youth justice journey making. Such findings will begin to allow questions to be addressed about whether some young people's adverse social positions are becoming cemented through their youth justice mobilities, with unmet needs and entrenched youth justice engagement resulting from institutional responses to these impeded mobilities.

Chapter Eight will present new empirical evidence to develop understandings of the youth justice landscape that convicted young people are currently required to flow in and out of, at particular times and locations. This new empirical data will describe how complex and fragmented institutional geographies (initially outlined in policy, in Chapter Three) are evident in the context of young people's mobilities and their treatment. Varied absence management flexibilities within different services delivering youth justice appointments will be described, raising implications about the inequitable treatment of young people's constrained mobilities, across different services. Youth justice staff will become apparent as very strategically involved in young people's youth justice mobilities, again suggesting how fluid and dynamic understandings of youth justice have added explanatory potential.

Chapter Nine will respond to the three original research questions using the new empirical data, before the main themes are drawn out of the research findings. Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility framework will then be used to assess whether in some cases, convicted young people's social inequalities are being (re)produced through their youth justice journey making, when different problems give rise to the wrong sorts of mobilities. Building on Cresswell's framework, this research will consider whether any other areas are important in terms of the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities, within a youth justice context.

Finally, Chapter Ten will draw together how this research has made a contribution to knowledge, while considering its broader relevance. In particular, the research findings will provide the foundations for recommendations to national policy, local youth justice systems and frontline practice. The dynamic nature of service delivery, journey making and attendance will assert the need for more fluid understandings of youth justice attendance and essential local service access to be developed. Final reflections will be made about the ongoing obligations towards those yet to reach adulthood, and the need to acknowledge, nuance and protect the different ways in which such important commitments are to be kept.

1.7. Clarification of terminology

1.7.1. Accessibility

The term accessibility will be used to describe the level of ease with which youth justice services are accessed. In the context of this thesis, accessibility may vary for different young people according to factors such as their capabilities and resourcing. Accessibility distinctions will also be considered in the context of different youth justice services.

1.7.2. Breach

The term *breach* will be used in this thesis to refer to the breakdown of a youth justice order. Formal breach will describe when a young person faces formal proceedings and is returned to court (for absence this is described in policy as the third instance YJB 2009, 2010c). The terms *informal breach* or *informal warning* will be used to refer to the informal settlement of the first two instances when order requirements are not adhered to.

1.7.3. Convicted young people

A variety of terms are used when describing young people who are engaging with youth justice services. A term popular in policy documentation and beyond is that of the *young offender* (YJB 2016). In the context of this thesis, this term is deemed to be insufficient and will not be used. The interpretation of young people's identities through such a narrow label fails to acknowledge the diversity and richness within young lives. Furthermore, that young people could become an *offender* through one minor illicit act or a series of highly problematic behaviours remains undistinguished, again suggesting the inadequacy of this term. Importantly, such terminology is often used when referring to those with proven convictions, so does not acknowledge the high volume of illicit behaviours that remain unacknowledged by the youth justice system when undetected, unreported, acquitted or informally settled. This thesis will describe such a group as *convicted young people*. Importantly, this term has an inherent critical dimension as it identifies young people according to their institutional treatment. It does not assume that all illicit behaviours result in youth justice engagement and conversely, it acknowledges that youth justice engagement can result from a wrongful conviction or admission of guilt.

1.7.4. Deprivation

Deprivation is described as relating to the outcomes of adverse circumstances. Townsend (1975) describes deprivation as being subject to different interpretations, but how in relative terms that it can lead individuals to experience some sort of adversity as a consequence of having less than others. In the context of this thesis *neighbourhood deprivation* will also be discussed, because the case study selection process relies on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD).

1.7.5. Hard to reach

Some groups have been identified as particularly difficult to access in research, in order to gauge views about particular topics and as such, have been termed *hard to reach*. Examples of groups

considered hard to reach include those experiencing social disadvantage, limited literacy, or those reluctant to acknowledge their status, or engage with those not sharing their status (Benoit 2005).

1.7.6. Inequalities

Townsend (1975) describes how the interconnectedness of deprivation and inequalities can provide a view of social standards:

‘There is a point at which the individual’s or the family’s participation in the ordinary activities, customs and pleasures of the community is likely to fall off more sharply than the reduction of income [and how as a consequence] he may be malnourished, inadequately housed, disadvantaged in schooling, unable to use public services like buses and trains, and restricted to impoverished sectors of the social services [and if] affected by a number of these factors, he may not be put in touch with health and welfare services at necessary times [...] and become deprived and perhaps liable to exploitation even if not deprived beforehand’ (Townsend 1975: 209-210).

When individuals, families and communities have unequal access to resourcing and social integration, this is described as giving rise to deprivation.

1.7.7. Multiple and complex needs

The term *multiple or complex needs* will mainly be used when discussing the variety of areas in young people’s lives that are in need of additional support. People with multiple or complex needs are disproportionately represented in the youth justice system, and are described as experiencing:

‘Several problems at the same time, such as mental ill health, homelessness, drug and alcohol misuse, offending, and family breakdown [having] ineffective contact with services designed to deal with one problem at a time [and] often trapped living chaotic lives’ (Clinks 2016).

In the context of this thesis, such a term will usually refer to the range of needs that are met by youth justice services, such as those relating to housing, substance use, mental ill health, education and employment. At certain points, limited access to transport will also be included in discussions about unmet needs.

1.7.8. Young people

In order to support the flow of writing, those undertaking mandatory orders with YOTs in this research will be described as *young people*. Definitions of childhood and youth are acknowledged as varied in different contexts, with the point (often age rather than capability) at which the transition from being a child to a young person takes place open to diverse interpretations. For example, the United Nations refer to those under the age of 18 as *children* (Unicef 2014) whereas in England and Wales, *young people* are usually described at a variety of points in late childhood, such as between the ages of 16 and 18 (HSA 2015) or from age 14 to 18 (Citizens Advice 2015). Use of the term *young person* throughout this thesis should not detract from the child-like and adult dependant status of participants in this research and in youth justice services more broadly.

1.7.9. Youth justice order

Throughout this thesis, the term *order* or *youth justice order* will be used to refer to the mandatory youth justice agreement that has been made between young people and their local youth offending teams for a specific duration and frequency, involving mandatory attendance with different youth justices.

1.7.10. Youth justice services

In this research, the term *youth justice services* will be used to refer to the services that operate locally as part of a young person's youth justice order. These services could be designed for convicted young people (such as with local youth offending teams or reparation), usually accessed by young people (such as with child and adolescent mental health services), or accessed by any member of the local population in need of the service (such as with employment services). For ease, the term youth justice services will mean whatever the service origin, young people have access as part of their orders, or because their YOT Practitioner has identified a need either through assessment or at the young person's request.

Chapter Two: Broadening Notions of Convicted Young People's Needs Beyond Those Defined in Youth Justice

Introduction

Before examining convicted young people's youth justice journey making and its treatment later in this thesis, it is important to establish an overview of contemporary youth justice engagement including who is involved, the sorts of expectations that are currently in place, and whether service engagement and order completion are prioritised. Establishing how convicted young people are defined within the youth justice system is important because existing understandings can be described as somewhat structured and lacking fluidity. The first half of this chapter describes the constructed understandings of young people in the youth justice system and how they structure the subsequent treatment of needs through the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm (which from this point on will be described as RFPP). This chapter will then raise questions about the need to respond to a broader set of needs in a service delivery context, raising the importance of convenient and reliable transport.

The second half of this chapter will draw together a variety of existing research on essential local service access and journey making, in order to strengthen the case for further investigations into convicted young people's youth justice journey making. The construction of a narrower set of needs within youth justice policy guidance will become increasingly apparent as unhelpful in the context of order completion, as four important factors become established:

- Youth justice services have a commitment to support order completion
- Convicted young people disproportionately experience multiple and complex needs
- Young people with multiple and complex needs experience barriers accessing essential local services
- Young people with no transport are more likely to be known to the police

By the end of this chapter convicted young people's needs will become apparent as narrowly constructed within the youth justice service, with serious questions raised about the need to develop broader and more fluid understandings. This will become apparent as especially important in the context of order delivery, if service aims to support service engagement and order completion are to be met.

1. Youth justice order completion

The following section will describe features of the youth justice population including age, area of residence, personal circumstances and context within the home, school and community. The provision of support to encourage young people's youth justice engagement and order completion will be described as important, alongside well documented aims to respond to the needs and risks that connect with offending behaviours. In particular, the identification of a broader set of needs will raise questions about the comprehensiveness of existing youth justice evaluations, and whether young people's service engagement and order completion is adequately supported.

1.1. Contemporary youth justice engagement

1.1.1. Responding to service engagement as well as offending behaviours

The Youth Justice System of England and Wales was created in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (HM Government 1998) when the administration and delivery of responses to young people's offending behaviours were devolved to local authority based Youth Offending Teams (which from this point on will be referred to as YOTs). Since then, children and young people aged 10 to 17 residing in England and Wales, have been able to access one of 158 local Youth Offending Teams, as a consequence of either committing a criminal offence or being at risk of doing so (HM Government 1998). For the majority of young people engaging with youth justice services, contact takes place from the point of conviction for a specified period until the order becomes complete, with appointment attendance and engagement mandatory requirements. During this period of engagement, a range of activities are structured around young people's individual needs and risks, and also the frequency and severity of their offending (SGC 2009, YJB 2010f).

Importantly, Drake et al (2014) refer to Harvey's (2011) work on human complexity and social context, describing how a deficit of both in contemporary criminal justice policy and practice heightens the need for greater understanding. It is suggested how: *'both are more than anywhere manifested and experienced in the personal interaction between young person and practitioner. Both are products of other independent contextual conditions. And it is these conditions and the interaction that they produce that are the palpable gap in understanding...'* (Drake et al 2014: 35-6). Such a suggestion heightens the need for: *'other independent contextual conditions'* (Drake et al 2014: 36) to be investigated, within the context of practitioners and young people.

Importantly for this thesis, core youth justice aims include a reduction in the severity and volume of young people's offending, and risk of harm to young people or others (Thomas 2008), with three main service objectives described as:

- The prevention of offending by children and young people so that fewer are criminalised
- To ensure that, when young people do offend, the manner and degree of intervention are proportionate to their welfare needs and/or their risk of re-offending or causing harm
- To ensure that all children dealt within the youth justice system, no matter what they have done, are treated equally and with respect (Thomas 2008: 383)

These three points underline how it is important to be mindful of young people's needs and circumstances when supporting service engagement, as well as addressing offending behaviours. Crucially, it is also important to minimise youth justice interventions because of the lifelong adverse outcomes that can be produced (Bateman 2011). Yet to achieve these aims it has been described as essential to: *'understand how young people experience youth justice and access alternative futures (or fail to do so) [meaning] a stronger evidence base is needed'* (Drake et al 2014: 23). Importantly, this is described as encompassing young people's own views and experiences as well as the views of those providing advocacy, such as front line youth justice practitioners. Youth justice services maintain a commitment to supporting young people's order engagement and completion with youth justice policy guidance describing how: *'all efforts [should be] made to support children and young people in complying with their order'* (YJB 2009: 43), while taking into account: *'a young person's welfare and the provision of support to meet their welfare needs, their circumstances, overall compliance and whether they seem committed to completing the order'* (YJB 2010e: 13). Subsequently, existing obligations to effectively support the successful completion of mandatory youth justice orders, and can be asserted as important.

1.2. Convicted young people's needs

Young people's needs are important to consider when examining the youth justice system. This is not just because of collective responsibilities towards children and young people (DCSF 2008, UN 1985, 1990a, 1990b, Unicef UK 2006), but also because youth justice administration and delivery has been shaped around these factors (Home Office 1997, HM Government 1998, Muncie 2006, Pitts 2001, Wincup 2013). Youth justice services are able to tailor activities to young people's needs through a detailed evaluation at the system entry point (YJB 2006a, 2006b), however, this has the potential to result in a predisposition to consider convicted young people's needs in the context of their problematic behaviours. Identifying the construction of young people's needs within the youth justice system is important as some areas are inevitably emphasised whereas others remain under-identified (Case 2006). Nonetheless, the breadth and depth of responses to convicted young people's needs assert the position of youth justice operations as an essential local service.

1.2.1. Framing convicted young people's needs in the risk factor prevention paradigm

Much discussion and debate has related to the adverse needs and circumstances of convicted young people, and the ways in which policy and practice can be nuanced in order to form an appropriate response (Home Office 1997, Goldson and Muncie 2006, Jones 2001b, Case 2006). In 2005, the Youth Justice Board of England and Wales published two documents from the Centre for Criminology at the University of Oxford, with a primary focus on the factors that could promote or impede offending behaviours (YJB 2005a, 2005b). These *risk* and *protective* factors have been significant in shaping the delivery of youth justice services, and responses to young people. The extent to which this literature has influenced the shape of youth justice services is apparent with the RFPP referring to the current period of *actuarial* youth justice where the assessment and treatment of offending risks is emphasised (Haines and Case 2008).

The Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development has been described as instrumental in influencing the RFPP (Farrington et al 2006, Drake et al 2014) and has become increasingly important in shaping institutional responses to young people, as: '*social problems are reframed as crime problems and crime control strategies are increasingly deployed to manage intractable social ills*' (Kemshall 2008: 22, emphasis in original). Subsequently, the paradigm has cemented the need for a cohesive and broad response to young people's adverse needs and circumstances through local youth justice services. However the breadth of response required to offending risk factors and associated youth justice evaluations [see Figure 2a and 2b] raises questions about the complexity of contemporary youth justice as it becomes necessary to include a breadth of services relating to areas such as health, education, employment and housing.

In recent years there has been an increase in the use of assessments in youth justice (Baker 2005). When young people enter the youth justice system their needs and risks are assessed, and a suitable practice response is formulated. The initial *Asset* assessment [see Figure 2b] is based on the factors outlined in Figure 2a, with personal adversity as well as that in the family, school and community all apparent. Importantly, this provides evidence of how policy-based risk factors translate into practice, with the identification of young people's needs being shaped around a connection with offending behaviours. Baker (2005) describes how practitioner judgement is important when engaging with the *Asset* assessment to provide a '*rounded picture of a young person*' (Baker 2005: 113) and limit its use as a checklist. However, such an approach can only relate to the *Asset* topic areas, raising questions about the extent to which this rounded view is bounded by the framework, meaning broader areas (such as journey making) remain omitted. At service entry point, young people are also invited to undertake the self-assessment *What do YOU think?* (YJB 2006b). Within this, young people's views and experiences again connect with youth justice

risk factors, with the range of topic areas including: the family and home; school, college and work; lifestyle and home area; smoking, drink and drugs; health; thinking and behaviour; crime and the future.

Despite the Asset evaluation being described as providing the opportunity to address *'issues which young people themselves have identified as important'* (Baker 2005: 113), existing research describes young people's identification of their own disadvantage as very limited, raising questions about assessment delivery, and the prevalence of young people's adversity beyond that which is self-reported (Eadie and Canton 2002, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005, Drake et al 2014). Importantly, such recognition has also been connected with young people's limited recognition of their capacity to meet order requirements and the problems that might impede order completion, suggesting a misalignment between young people's reported and actual order completion capacities as: *'The young person can say they understand when they haven't got a clue... they are frightened and not listening'* (Hart 2010: 26). Despite the breadth of offending risk factors that inform Asset and What do YOU think?, broader issues that sit outside of the RFPP framework, have been acknowledged as problematic, with it being suggested that:

'All young people are at risk of problem outcomes due to their relative powerlessness in society; exemplified by the adult presumption/prescription of salient risks and the subsequent imposition of responses underpinned by these factors' (Case 2006: 171).

This point can be considered in the context of a broader set of needs, encompassing service accessibility. For example, the Asset neighbourhood evaluation asks one question about whether the neighbourhood is located in an: *'isolated location [or has a] lack of accessible transport'* (YJB 2006a: 10), and in relation to positive community factors, an optional open dialogue box has been provided for information on: *'any other positive factors that can be identified (e.g. stable accommodation, good transport links)'* (YJB 2006a: 22). This establishes that the youth justice board have identified service accessibility as a factor in need of some consideration when evaluating young people's needs and circumstances. Nevertheless, this area continues to be significantly underemphasised in youth justice, meaning problems are likely to remain underemphasised.

Figure 2a. Young people's offending risk factors (YJB 2005a: 7-12)

Family

Poor parental supervision and discipline; conflict; history of criminal activity; parental attitudes that condone anti-social and criminal behaviour; low income; poor housing

School

Low achievement; aggressive behaviour (including bullying); lack of commitment/truancy); school disorganisation

Community

Disadvantaged neighbourhood; disorganisation and neglect; availability of drugs; high population turnover; lack of neighbourhood attachment

Personal

Hyperactivity and impulsivity; low intelligence and cognitive impairment; alienation/lack of social commitment; offending and drug misuse considered acceptable; early involvement in crime and drug misuse; peers involved in crime and drug misuse

Figure 2b. Youth justice Asset evaluation areas (YJB 2006a, YJB 2010a)

Offending behaviour; Living arrangements; Family and personal relationships; Education, Training and employment; Neighbourhood; Lifestyle; Substance use; Physical health; Emotional and mental health; Perception of self and others; Thinking and behaviour; Attitudes to offending; Motivation to change; Positive factors; Indicators of vulnerability; Indicators of serious harm to others

1.2.2. A non-youth justice service perspective on convicted young people's needs

Other research demonstrates how convicted young people have a broader set of needs that are not necessarily weighted in the same way as those constructed in the youth justice service (Hart 2010, 2011, Blades et al 2011, Willow 2015, Prison Reform Trust 2015). Research on young people who don't complete their court order or who enter custody can be distinguished from the risk factors in Table 2a. For example, *domestic violence* and *being looked after* are not specified within the Youth Justice Board risk factors, but in other research, are described as being prevalent in populations of

young people who breach or enter custody (Willow 2015, Prison Reform Trust 2015, Blades et al 2011, Beyond Youth Custody 2016).

Needs found with those who breach a youth justice order	Unstable living situation; disrupted educational provision; contact with children’s social services; domestic violence; history of abuse or neglect; parent with substance misuse or mental health problem; current or recent experience of the care system (Hart 2011: 45)
Needs found in the youth custody population	Chaotic lives; mental health issues; learning difficulties; special educational needs; poor cognitive abilities; speech and language needs being ‘looked after’ by the local authority; parenting; parental drug addiction and domestic violence (Blades et al 2011, Willow 2015, Prison Reform Trust 2015, Beyond Youth Custody 2016)

Table 2a. Broader understandings of convicted young people’s needs

In the context of youth justice obligations to successfully support young people’s engagement and order completion, questions can be raised about the impact of constructed needs on service delivery. For example, learning disabilities are described as an offending *risk* factor, but also have the potential to shape *service delivery obligations* as it is important to ensure that young people understand mandatory youth justice service commitments. Subsequently, when thinking about young people’s needs in a youth justice context, it is also essential to also think about how needs can impact order engagement and completion, especially if young people are agreeing to order conditions that they don’t understand (Hart 2010).

1.2.3. Prevalence of needs for young people without transport

As young people’s service engagement and completion is a priority area for youth justice services, the issue of transport and journey making becomes important, with problems in either area having the potential to lead to absence. The connection between convicted young people and transport problems can be made by examining Table 2b. In particular, it is possible to see how eight per cent young people aged 11-15 without private transport will have been in contact with the police, compared with just three per cent of the general population (Oroyemi 2009). Subsequently, this data makes a connection between young people in contact with police, and young people without private transport. This data also corresponds with other research where the connection between economic deprivation and mobility constraints has been made, thus heightening the importance of youth justice journey making even further (Houston and Tilley 2015, Lucas et al 2001).

Outcome for those aged 11-15 years	Prevalence in families without private transport (%)	All children (%)
No sporting activities in the last week	5	5
Parent thinks child has smoked/used drugs/drunk alcohol in last year	11	5
Long term limiting mental illness or disability	1	1
Long term limiting physical illness or disability	17	14
Worries about being robbed/mugged	22	15
Has run away from home	10	7
Has been bullied in last 12 months	24	15
Feels unhappy about life	3	3
Well below average in English and Maths	2	1
Police has contacted parent about child	8	3
Has not had friends round/visited friends in last 7 days	17	23
Suspended/excluded from school	11	4
Does not use internet and/or email	25	11

Table 2b. Outcomes for those aged 11-15 without private transport (Oroyemi 2009: 47).

Based on their status as either one of adult dependence or in transition from adult dependency, young people without access to private car transport are more likely to be living in a household without a family car. Table 2c describes resourcing, participation and quality of life outcomes for deprived families with no transport. It is possible to see that some of the youth justice risk factors are present, with limited income and housing quality described. This data also further broadens understandings on the adverse needs and circumstances that convicted young people may be experiencing, including a lack of internet access at home, family debt, maternal mental health problems, and overcrowded accommodation. For deprived families without a car, an average of five indicators of disadvantage can be found. In particular, resourcing and participation are the most problematic for this group, with negligible savings, low income, debts, parental worklessness and internet inaccessibility all impacting over a third of families.

For young people without transport, a variety of adverse needs can be considered as having the potential to impact youth justice engagement. Similar to the youth justice risk factors that have been previously discussed [see Section 1.2.1 in this chapter], young people without a car are more likely to have educational achievements below expectations, use drugs and be experiencing a physical illness or disability. Young people in this position are also more likely to have personal safety concerns, and to have been bullied in the last twelve months. In all, nine out of the 13 adverse outcomes described on Table 2b are higher for young people without access to their own

transport, suggesting that young people residing in households without a car can face heightened difficulties.

Family disadvantage		Families in cluster (%)	Rank
Resources	No savings/saving less than £100	81	2
	Equivalised income BHC below 60% contemporary median	47	5
	No access to a car	90	1
	Has debts	38	6
	Does not have a current or savings account	22	8
	Deprived or a number of material items/activities	4	15
Participation	Cannot afford to host a meal or have a night out once a month	10	12
	Parents do not use internet at home	49	4
	No parent in work	58	3
	Mother lacks contact with family/friends	12	11
	No parent with any qualifications (academic/vocational)	24	7
Quality of life	Overcrowded accommodation	16	10
	Mother has long term illness/disability that limits daily activities	5	15
	Mother never speaks to neighbours face to face	9	13
	Property in poor/very poor state of repair	17	9
	Mother drinks more than 14 alcohol units per week	6	14
	Father has long term disability/illness that limits daily activities	5	15
	Mother has mental health problem/depression	1	17

Table 2c. Outcomes for deprived families with no transport (Oroyemi 2009: 25).

Aside from the fact that young people without transport are more likely to be known to the police, Tables 2b and 2c make connections between convicted young people and young people with journey making difficulties, as many of the same issues can be found in these groups. This means that as well as connecting transport problems with convicted young people, understandings of convicted young people's needs can also be considered as more complex than constructed within youth justice services.

2. Young people's access to services and transport

The following section will argue how convicted young people's needs are broader than those that have been discussed. Poorly identified needs in youth justice will become apparent as crucial for the accessing of essential local services, yet current policy commitments will be argued as falling short. Subsequently, the following section will connect convicted young people with existing

knowledge on transport problems, and illustrate how those without adequate transport can have a breadth of needs that extend beyond those constructed in youth justice.

2.1. The accessing of services

It has now been established that convicted young people are likely to have a broader set of needs than those identified within the youth justice system, with experiences of domestic violence, being looked after, a lack of internet access at home, family debt, maternal mental health problems, and overcrowded accommodation all described in other research (Hart 2011, Blades et al 2011, Willow 2015, Prison Reform Trust 2015, Beyond Youth Custody 2016). Importantly for this thesis, a connection has been made between convicted young people and a lack of adequate transport, as young people without a car are more likely to be known to the police (Oroyemi 2009). Furthermore, convicted young people are more likely to be experiencing adverse needs and circumstances (including material deprivation) which makes car ownership less likely. The remainder of this chapter will consider how such circumstances can impede journey making and the accessing of essential local services (Church et al 2000, Houston 2005, DfT 2012, Gordon et al 2000, Lucas et al 2001, Zwerts et al 2009), with youth justice services sitting in this service category. In particular, access to different types of transport will be considered as posing particular challenges in terms of journey making capacities, and the need to inhabit risky public spaces where personal safety threats can become heightened.

2.1.1. Essential local services

Essential local services have been described as performing functions that are important for engagement in everyday life and longer term social inclusion, including learning, healthcare, food shopping and leisure (SEU 2003). Existing research and policy on essential local services connects broadly with local populations while being centred on adults (SEU 2003, Lucas et al 2001, Church et al 2000). Services that are essential for young people - such as schools or youth justice services - are not included in this list, and local populations can also have nuanced needs, leaving a gap in knowledge relating to some niche groups and services. This means that local youth justice services can be argued as providing an essential service for convicted young people because they meet a wide range of needs [see Section 1.2.1 in this chapter], following the qualifying criteria of a conviction (YJB 2005a, 2005b, YJB 2006a, 2006b). Local youth justice services connect with a variety of essential needs such as employment, education and training, health, life skills through youth justice risk factors, service entry point evaluations, and the subsequent shape of local practice [see Section 1.2.1 in this chapter].

Other research has identified access to services as important for young people's social inclusion (Gordon et al 2000), although youth justice accessibility is not considered in this context. Usefully, young people's services are distinguished from those of adults in a review of *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain* (Gordon et al 2000), with young people's accessing of youth clubs, after school clubs, school transport, play facilities and school meals described. However, this research again presents a gap in knowledge as the sample of young people is representative of the general population, meaning that niche groups and services are not included, such as those connected with youth justice. This research also raises further questions about how access to essential local youth justice services can have an impact on convicted young people's social inclusion.

2.1.2. Mobility exclusion as a consequence of adverse needs and circumstances

Research on transport and accessibility raises questions about the capacity for those experiencing adverse needs and circumstances - such as convicted young people - to engage in the regular and predictable accessing of essential local services. Research into transport exclusion in London (Church et al 2000) has revealed six dimensions of *mobility exclusion* [see Table 2d], complementing other research that connects poverty with the limited quality and availability of public transport (Sanchez 2008, Gordon et al 2000). Interpreting these six dimensions of mobility exclusion in the context of this research raises questions about convicted young people's capacity to access essential local youth justice services. In particular, it becomes important to consider whether convicted young people have adequate transport for the distances that it is necessary to travel, and whether local services are positioned in an accessible way for young people. It also becomes important to understand whether a new set of mobility impediments are acknowledged within local youth justice services (such as physical or learning disabilities, or limited literacy levels). Affordability, adequate travelling time and the impact of surveillance also become important to consider as they also indicate whether convicted young people might be experiencing mobility exclusion in a youth justice context.

Exclusion	Key factors
Geographical	Natural geographic features and a lack of transportation infrastructure to overcome them
Exclusion from facilities	Lack of proximate goods and services, retail and public facilities
Physical	Characteristics of individuals who are physically or mentally unable to use the transportation system (e.g. people with physical and mental impairments, small children, people who do not speak or read the language on signs and schedules)
Time-based	Inability to organise commitments to allow time for travel (e.g. caregivers, single parents)
Economic	Lack of income to pay for transportation and lack of connectedness to networks that provides information about employment
Space	Exclusion of stigmatised groups from public spaces by surveillance and regulation. However, space exclusion may enable travel for those fearful of places occupied by stigmatised groups

Table 2d. Types of exclusion from mobility (Church et al 2000 cited in Jocoy and Del Casino Jr 2010: 1948)

2.1.3. When the home is disconnected from essential local places

Research on how the home setting can become disconnected from local essential locations raises further questions about the compulsory youth justice engagement of convicted young people with multiple and complex needs. *Spatial mismatch* (Kain 2004) considers mobility problems at a neighbourhood level, rather than focusing on the adverse needs and circumstances of individuals. As youth justice risk factors and evaluations connect convicted young people with neighbourhood deprivation (YJB 2006a, 2006b), spatial mismatch is useful to consider. Spatial mismatch connects structural problems in the housing market with transport and longer term employment trends. The geographical relocation of employment settings and inflexibility of housing render transport crucial in forging a connection between the two settings for some people, while also important for resolving longer term, local structural problems. Subsequently, spatial mismatch asserts the importance of fluid and less tangible factors such as journey making, when considering entrenched local structural problems that can impede social inclusion and equality (Kain 2004).

Poverty, social exclusion, and problems with the delivery of local services have also been connected with neighbourhoods and transport in British literature through spatial entrapment: *'in the 1970s, the issue of spatial mismatch in British urban areas appeared in the guise of entrapment hypothesis'* (Houston 2005: 409). City centre employment deconcentration is described as having a disproportionate impact on social housing tenants who remain *trapped* in city centre locations (Houston 2005). Contrasting with spatial mismatch, spatial entrapment theory is concerned with all of those residing in particular locations, not just specific social groups.

Some criticisms have suggested that individual skills - such as those relating to employability - are overlooked by spatial mismatch and spatial entrapment theories. Nonetheless, those investigating transport barriers to employment have more recently given these theories a resurgence (Jocoy and Del Casino Jr 2010). In the context of this thesis, spatial mismatch and spatial entrapment add an important neighbourhood dimension to this discussion, arguing for the explanatory potential of less tangible and fluid explanations while raising questions about local youth justice accessibility being a neighbourhood problem.

2.1.4. Neighbourhoods, territoriality and mobile inequalities

For young people living in deprived neighbourhoods, learning to navigate locality areas and make the transition to independent travel for the first time can be problematic. Populations of boys aged 13-17 living in deprived areas are well represented in the youth justice population, and also more likely to experience territoriality and 'area effects' (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). Territoriality is described as: *'a social system through which control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others'* (Kintrea et al 2004: 4). 'Area effects' can be understood as resulting from highly integrated neighbourhood engagement and relative isolation from the broader local area, with impeded life chances a likely outcome (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). Young people experiencing territoriality can also have a lack of travel confidence and reluctance to move beyond the neighbourhood due to a variety of factors including fear of conflict and violence (Kintrea et al 2011), thus giving rise to very localised cultures: *'there is evidence that territoriality can be damaging in circumstances where fear dissuades young people from travelling beyond their own areas'* (Kintrea et al 2008: 14). Importantly, detrimental outcomes that can arise from living in deprived neighbourhoods have also been described as being intergenerationally transmitted because of the very localised, entrenched norms that can be passed on (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004).

Resonating with territoriality and area effects, MacDonald et al (2005) consider the impact of neighbourhoods on young people in the context of youth transitions and social capital. The networks that underpin life in deprived neighbourhoods are described as providing immobility incentives - something that resonates with Kintrea et al's (2008) notions of neighbourhood deprivation and constrained mobility. Interestingly, Putnam's (2000) social capital is connected with both territoriality and 'area effects', as inward looking 'bonding capital' is described as limiting the impact of adverse circumstances, whereas a relative absence of weak and widely dispersed networks is described as compounding opportunity limitations (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). In particular, the development of intra-neighbourhood 'bonding' social capital as a

means for 'getting by' are described as resulting in the forfeiting of 'bridging' social capital beyond the neighbourhood where broader and more tenuous network connections provide new opportunities. A tendency to gravitate towards bonding capital is described as having the effect of limiting the breadth of young people's engagement with their local areas more broadly, beyond the neighbourhood and associated opportunities. Such limitations have also been connected with transitions to adulthood, as: *'there is a clear risk that access to employment and further education opportunities are restricted if fear inhibits travel beyond the immediate home neighbourhood'* (Kintrea et al 2011 :63-4).

Neighbourhood is briefly considered in youth justice assessments through risk and protective factors (YJB 2005a), but the potential for neighbourhoods to have severely limiting effects needs further consideration because questions have been asked about whether: *'people from deprived areas [are] held back because of where they live, or because of their individual characteristics such as their lack of education, skills and experience'* (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004: 439). Such questions suggest the neighbourhood as being socially (re)productive (Cahill 2000, Cresswell 2010a), because service access problems can subsequently arise, meaning young people's needs have the potential to remain unmet (Kintrea et al 2011). Factors associated with the neighbourhood such as: *'peripheral locations and transport possibilities'* (Kintrea et al 2011: 55) have also been connected with the disadvantages that young people can experience as a consequence of where they live.

These points raise questions about the impact of neighbourhood on youth justice attendance, whether young people living in deprived neighbourhoods are equally well placed to complete their youth justice orders, and the need for mobility provision. Such ideas are important because Kintrea et al (2008) make the connection between territoriality and heightened criminalisation (resulting from inter-neighbourhood violence for example). Such a point allows further questions to be raised about the different ways that territoriality can be connected with criminalisation, and whether such issues can heighten the chance of criminalisation through young people's youth justice absence and sentence escalation.

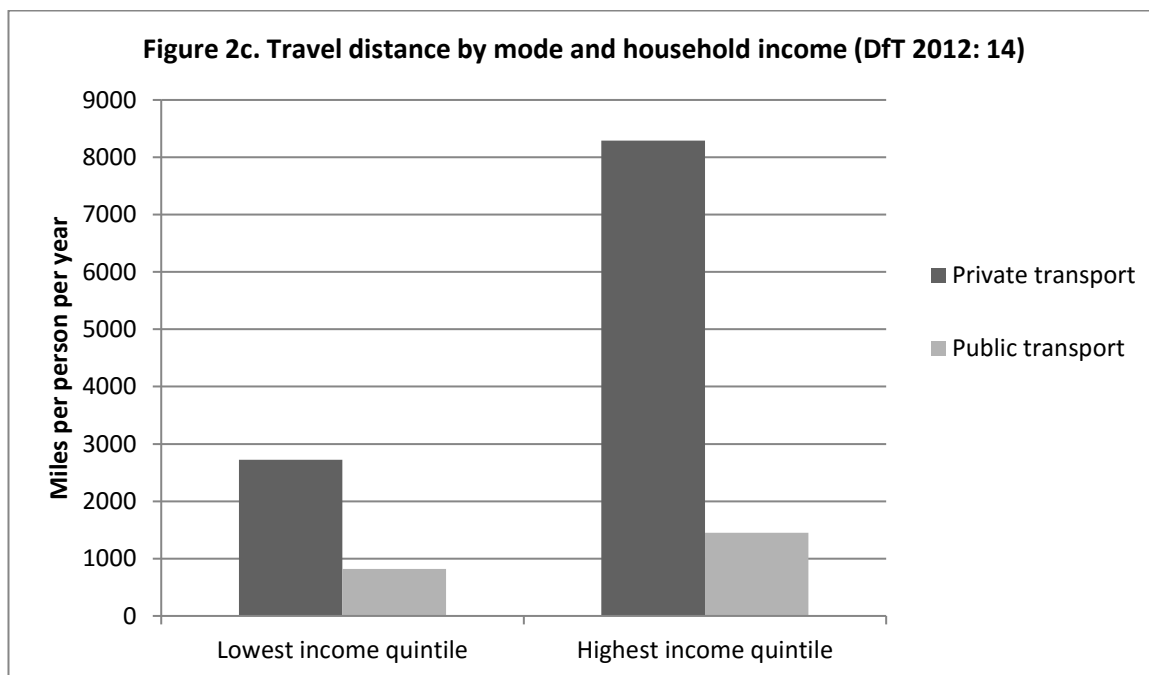
3.1. The impact of adverse needs and circumstances on journey making

3.1.1. Journey making mode and distance

Existing research on journey making is important for this research, because as well as revealing how young people are not equally well placed to navigate locality settings (Cahill 2000), it also makes the connection between transport and income, thus raising questions about convicted young people's access to transport of adequate speed, reliability and affordability. For young people with

adverse circumstances such as having a low income, journey making problems can become compounded, making it relevant to consider in this research. Private car travel has been described as a reliable and convenient way of navigating local spaces, with its ownership steadily increasing over time (Baslington 2009, DfT 2012). Car ownership rates for higher and lower income groups in 2011 contrasted significantly, with 49 per cent of the lowest income quintile not having access to private transport, compared with just nine per cent of the highest quintile (DfT 2012). This means that those residing in low income households are less likely to have access to convenient, reliable transport. For young people, this problem can become compounded as a reliance on adult journey facilitators (such as car drivers) or independent journey making tools (such as bus fares or bicycles) makes this age group increasingly vulnerable to transport exclusion (DfT 2006, 2012).

The positioning of essential local services in contemporary society means that private transport has become an increasing necessity and is extensively used, at 89 per cent of all trips in 2011 (Lucas et al 2001, DfT 2012, Baslington 2009). However, when considering different income groups transport usage differs considerably - something that is important for this research based on the likelihood of convicted young people residing in a low income household [see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.1]. Figure 2c describes how the highest and lowest income quintiles use private transport (such as cars and vans) and public transport (such as buses and rail, DfT 2012). The highest income group can be seen to travel greater distances using private transport than the lower income group, where a greater proportion of distances are undertaken using public transport. In terms of distance travelled, the lower income group did not venture as far as the higher income group overall. This data strengthens the need to investigate whether convicted young people are less *able* to engage in convenient, reliable journey making, and thus less capable of accessing local youth justice services.



Low income households are over-represented within the youth justice population [see Section 1.2.1 in this chapter], and lower income groups have been identified as having less access to reliable, convenient transport (Lucas et al 2001), thus impeding access to essential local services. The coverage and affordability of transport is an important factor to consider when examining its use. In particular, young people’s inability to access local health, education and leisure services as a result of perceived transport inadequacy, unavailability or unaffordability has been explored (Levitas et al 2007, Gordon et al 2000). In the *Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain* (Gordon et al 2000), local transport use was described as sometimes difficult to access, with respondents describing fifteen per cent of bus services and ten per cent of train services as unavailable for use. These figures are suggested by the authors as being likely underestimates, meaning that bus and train travel could be even less available, suitable or affordable than described. This review of research has made a connection between transport adversity and young people residing in low income households, yet Gordon et al’s (2000) survey relates to all age groups. Subsequently, it is possible that convicted young people find local public transport even less accessible than is described in this research.

3.1.2 Connecting transport with the need to use public space

Existing research describes the impact of income on journey making, with lower income groups having less access to convenient and reliable public transport (Oroyemi 2009, DfT 2012). Such differences can impact the extent to which journey makers need to inhabit hostile public places, thus raising questions about how some journey modes can heighten personal safety risks (Karsten

2005, Spilsbury 2005, Sharkey and Shields 2008). Such a point is important for this thesis, as it raises questions about whether convicted young people could face heightened personal safety risks as a consequence of the ways in which youth justice services are accessed. Young people's use of public space can vary according to historical and cultural factors, with stranger danger and road safety concerns described as transforming inside spaces (like the home and structured leisure activities) into domains of the young (Karsten 2005). For young people in higher income households, insulation from public dangers is described through a rise in door-to-door private car transport, giving rise to a *backseat generation* (Karsten 2005). For these young people, public spatial engagement is largely limited to the back seat window of a car, contrasting with young people residing in low income households who are described as having fewer choices about the spaces that they inhabit, because of:

- Less access to private transport (Lucas et al 2001, DfT 2012)
- Higher engagement with 'active' travel modes such as walking or cycling (Spilsbury 2005)
- An earlier transition to independent travel (Zwerts et al 2009)

3.1.3. Personal safety risks in public spaces

The heightened personal safety risks that can be found public spaces suggest that those without a family car may face increased journey making difficulties. This raises questions about whether convicted young people could be in such a position when undertaking youth justice journey making. Public spaces have been described as inherently adversarial, based on the meeting of contrasting groups, views and backgrounds, making them: '*of conflict, of political tussle, of social relations stripped to their barest essentials*' (Mitchell 2000 :136). Wider social changes over time - including the geographical structure of local services and an increased use of car transport - has resulted in public spaces being described as increasingly becoming: '*places of last resort*' (Worpole and Greenhalgh 1996: 20) as they are increasingly populated by marginalised groups, with higher levels of public disorder and increased signs of adversity (such as street sleeping and graffiti).

Notions of young people's *home range* and *street literacy* illuminate these discussions on journey making even further. Young people have been described as particularly high users of public space (Childress 2004), and for those living in less affluent households with less access to a family car, (Karsten 2005) alternative ways of travelling increasingly place young people in local public spaces (such as when walking to the bus stop, or cycling along the road). Research with young people residing in violent neighbourhoods has revealed how gender, age and neighbourhood deprivation can all impact the distance from home that young people are prepared to travel. In particular, older

young males residing in violent neighbourhoods, were found to have a home range in excess of both age-based expectations and their affluent young male counterparts. Contrastingly, young females were found to have a home range that was lower than expected for their age, and were also less likely to navigate their local area alone so were increasingly subject to misconceptions of girl gang membership (Spilsbury 2005). This research suggests a gender difference in young people's journey making, with young females potentially encountering more barriers as a consequence of their shorter journey distances. Young people with adverse needs and circumstances have been described as *abject citizens*, and found to be more likely to inhabit marginal, risky spaces (such as disused industrial sites) as a consequence of their hostile treatment when inhabiting public spaces (Sharkey and Shields 2008). These points raise questions about the nature of public spaces that it may be necessary for young people to access, and whether those without a family car encounter increased hostility and personal safety risks as they navigate marginal and risky public areas.

Young people's educational outcomes have been associated with an adeptness to navigate locality areas, with less educationally engaged young people found to have a greater experience and autonomy, resulting in higher levels of *street literacy* (Cahill 2000). For other young people, journey making to mandatory institutions such as school has been described as involving an avoidance of personal safety threats through: '*a carefully constructed strategic exercise that [involves] avoiding certain streets*' (Kintrea et al 2008: 34, Cahill 2000). In terms of timings, evenings and weekends have been described as a common time for territoriality-based conflict to be experienced by those navigating locality areas beyond the neighbourhood (Kintrea et al 2008, 2011). Other research has found that institutional engagement can improve young people's experiences of regular, time-based journey making (Weller 2012), with young people who are not regularly engaging with institutions having less experience. Such a point raises questions about the impact of educational disengagement on mobility, with confidence becoming heightened and experiences of punctual, regular institutional arrival becoming limited. Such research is relevant to this thesis as convicted young people have been described as more likely to be experiencing educational adversity and disengagement [see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.1], with questions also becoming important about how comfortable convicted young people are when travelling to youth justice services, how far they are used to travelling from home, and how experienced they are in engaging with institutions in a regular and timely way.

3.1.4. Young people's journey making views

Existing research asserts the importance of asking young people about their journey making views and experiences when developing understandings, because adult views and experiences can differ,

and the contemporary paradigm of childhood takes young voices seriously (in favour of older ones that speak on their behalf, Murray 2015, Murray and Mand 2013, James and Prout 1990). The body of literature on *Children's Geographies* that has grown over the last fifteen years takes such a perspective on young people's mobility. Subsequently, micro and meso level understandings of the way children and young people navigate their surroundings have been developed in areas such as leisure, education, rights, poverty and crime (Matthews and Limb 1999, Matthews 2003, Karsten 2005, Woolley 2006, Sharkey and Shields 2008, Abebe 2009). Distinctive, inclusive research methods are found in abundance in these investigations, with visual and participatory methods popular (Cahill 2007, Dennis et al 2009). Children's geographies are also described as post-disciplinary (Pain 2010), meaning that a breadth of disciplinary perspectives have become fused together in order to build distinctive knowledge about young people's mobilities.

The inaugural edition of the *Children's Geographies* journal uses seven propositions to assert the distinctiveness of young journey makers and their journeys. Different perspectives, perceptions, experiences, travel distances, fears, place feelings, decision making processes and notions of democratic responsibility are all described as important (Matthew and Limb 1999). These propositions assert the importance of convicted young people's views in discussions about the accessing of youth justice services. Such a point is important because popular opinion does not always favour the democratic rights of those who have committed social harm (Short 2010). However, the policy nuancing that could arise from the inclusion of a broader set of views and experiences - as described in the seven propositions - makes convicted young people's views important to include.

The distinctiveness of young journey makers' experiences and views asserts the need to include their voices in discussions about service access (Baslington 2009). This is illustrated in Table 2e where school journey preferences for different modes of transport are described. School pupils aged 9-11 years old consider less convenient and reliable modes favourably based on the socialising opportunities available. Different modes were found to be favoured or disliked for different reasons, with the *cost* and *reliability* of bus services adversely viewed, whereas the *experience* of private car travel was most unpopular. This raises questions about the burden of cost for young journey makers, as car transport is usually more expensive for adults, but potentially not for the children who are being provided with a lift (DfT 2012). It is again important to note how convenience and reliability are not described as a priority for young journey makers, with other factors such as enjoyment and comfort being more of a priority. This raises questions about convicted young people's perceptions of their own journey making, about the factors that are prioritised when accessing youth justice services, and the importance of including their

distinctive young views.

Table 2e. Perceptions and attitudes of transport for those aged 9-11 (Baslington 2009: 311-313).

Mode	Positive Response	Negative Response
Walk	Healthy; fun; socialising with peers	Leg hurts; tiredness; safety
Train	Speed; facilities; views; enjoy tunnels	Crashes; poor facilities (chewing gum on seats); noise; poor service; noisy people; speed.
Bicycle	Personal gratification; healthy; better than other modes; fashion 'cool'; eco-friendly; family occasion; socialise with peers; versatile	Breaking down; getting leg ache; getting muddy
Car	Being able to listen to radio or CDs; sticking head out of the window	Poor facilities (hot, stuffy); petrol smell; cramped; car sickness
Bus	Facilities; views; eco-friendly; independence; fun; cheaper; socialising	Poor facilities (litter, crowding, bumpy, smelly, poor seats); safety and crashes; poor service; other people; expensive; drivers

3.1.5. Young people's journey making rights

The legitimacy of including young people's views in discussions about youth justice accessibility can be considered contentious, based on the social harm that young people have undertaken (Short 2010). However, international agreements assert young people's rights to have their views included, such as through the *United Nations Convention of the Rights of a Child* (Unicef UK 2006). As well as having a right to have journey making views heard, convicted young people also have a right to mobility. In contemporary Western neo-liberal societies such as the United Kingdom, the *right to mobility* has been described as one of five dominant discourses and is associated with: '*responsibility, freedom, autonomy, independence, choice, rights and duties*' (Doughty and Murray 2014: 6). This has led to a position where some expectations have developed in relation to mobility:

'Unrestricted mobility is considered a fundamental right of the contemporary Western citizen and obstructions to mobility networks are seen as an affront on liberty and freedom of citizens. (Doughty and Murray 2014: 6).

However, such rights are not equally realised, as convenient and reliable modes of transport (such as the car) are more closely associated with mobility rights because they offer an opportunity to: '*represent and provide a means to practice this right*' (Doughty and Murray 2014: 6). This means

that groups with lower car access - such as convicted young people - are potentially less *capable* of practicing their mobility rights. In the US there has been a long term trend for legal rulings in favour of mobility rights, such as through the challenging of policies that contest a lack of state benefit entitlement in the event of dwelling relocation (Cresswell 2006b). However, the connections between mobility rights and citizenship have complicated things further. This is because mobility rights have become bound up with notions of citizenship, so when the citizenship rights of some groups are contested, mobility rights can also become compromised (Jocoy and Del Casino Jr 2010). Consequently, it can become acceptable for groups with adverse needs and circumstances to have fewer mobility rights, such as with homeless populations where negligible access to essential local services has become legitimised. In the context of this thesis, this point is important as despite young people's right to have their journey making views included in discussions that can inform knowledge, policy or practice, there may be limited broader recognition of convicted young people's mobility rights, as a consequence of their circumstances.

Conclusion

It has been necessary in this chapter to establish the nature of convicted young people's needs as constructed within a youth justice context. A broader set of mobility needs became apparent as potentially being an issue for convicted young people, but poorly recognised in youth justice policy. This chapter established service engagement and order completion to be policy priorities in youth justice, yet broader, fluid factors sitting outside of the core youth justice framework raised questions about under explored ways in which these objectives could become impeded. As such, the need to conduct research about convicted young people's youth justice journey making *with* convicted young people became apparent as important. Importantly, this chapter has established youth justice services as *essential local services* for convicted young people, thus raising the importance of developing understandings about youth justice journey making and service accessibility. This thesis will now go on to explore the local delivery of youth justice services in the context of convicted young people's *broader needs* and in doing so, raise further questions about youth justice journey making obligations and complexities, and how well they are acknowledged in youth justice policy guidance.

Chapter Three: Flexible Youth Justice Administration within a Complex and Fragmented Structure

Introduction

Before attempting to understand how youth justice services respond to convicted young people's journey making and accessibility needs, it is important to establish the nature of local youth justice operations. An important disjuncture will become apparent when examining the flexible administration of youth justice within a fragmented and static institutional structure, in terms of potential operational constraints. The need to meet a wealth of clearly identified needs within the RFPP will be described as necessitating complex local youth justice structures, where a significant volume of institutions (each with their own rules, procedures and structures) become important for the delivery of youth justice. Such diversity will raise questions about the capacity to fuse these varied institutional fragments into a consistent, centrally administered youth justice system, while also highlighting how the post-1998 configuration of youth justice is just the latest increment. Convicted young people's needs will be described more broadly as sitting *within* (such as with education) and *outside* (such as with journey making) the RFPP, with either having the potential to impact youth justice service delivery. Consequently, this chapter will focus on the following areas:

- The breadth of the RFPP resulting the flexible administration of youth justice
- The breadth of the RFPP necessitating a broad and fragmented institutional structure
- The heightening of non-RFPP (journey) needs through the broad and fragmented institutional structure
- Polarised responses to young people's needs (punishment or support) based on their positioning in or outside of the RFPP
- The potential for youth justice obligations to support order engagement and completion becoming compromised
- The potential for the RFPP aims not to be met as broader unmet (journey) needs hinder the delivery of practice

Importantly, this chapter will describe a crucial moment in youth justice order delivery to be when young people do not meet requirements and experience formal breach proceedings. A lack of statistical data will raise questions about the need for more information on the ways in which youth justice orders break down - particularly because journey needs are poorly recognised in youth justice policy, and the youth justice population are more likely to have transport and service access

problems. As such, this chapter and its predecessor together present the policy problems that are in need of further investigation, with the growing need to understand whether young people with transport problems are being punished for their absence from highly complex institutional structures that are designed to respond to a very specific set of unmet needs.

1. Relevance of institutional geography to youth justice delivery

1.1. Institutional geography: Locations, policies and practices

Although institutions have been described as an almost: *'absent presence'* (Valentine 2001: 141) within geographical investigations and discussions, their relevance to this research can be attested, with: *'virtually no aspect of contemporary geography [remaining unaffected] to some degree by public policy'* (Coppock 1974 cited in Manion and Flowerdew 1982: 12). Institutional geography seeks to explain intended and unintended institutional outcomes through features such as:

- Rules
- Procedures
- Internal structures
- Managerial ideologies
- Institutional ideologies
- Institutional goals (Manion and Flowerdew 1982).

A policy-relevant approach to geography has been connected with the strategies that institutions employ in meeting overarching aims and objectives, the impact of institutional structures, and the unintended consequences that can arise when meeting key policy aims (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). The overarching aims of the youth justice system have been described as:

- The prevention of offending by children and young people so that fewer are criminalised
- To ensure that, when young people do offend, the manner and degree of intervention are proportionate to their welfare needs and/or their risk of re-offending or causing harm
- To ensure that all children dealt within the youth justice system, no matter what they have done, are treated equally and with respect (Thomas 2008: 383)

Within the contemporary youth justice system of England and Wales, it is through the RFPP that these core aims intend to be met. The following section will consider institutional geography within

the context of overarching youth justice aims, in order to examine the operationalisation of the RFPP, along with its intended and unintended consequences.

Further explanatory potential can be found through two main threads of institutional geography. When examining institutional policies and practices, geography *in* institutions is appropriate to consider. Geography *in* institutions provides the potential to examine policies and practices, such as informal support and consequences that connect with timekeeping and travel support. This makes it possible to examine: *'the internal layout of these spaces [...] the ways in which they are designed with the intention of achieving social control over the occupants'* (Valentine 2001: 141). The responses of those engaging with institutions can also be considered as: *'social interactions, performances and differences'* (Parr 2000: 226) can all be played out as 'norms' or 'transgressions'. Contrastingly, the overarching physical positioning of practice spaces can be examined through the geography *of* institutions, where it becomes possible to examine: *'geographical patterns of social and spatial separation'* (Valentine 2001: 141). In terms of young people's absence and its treatment, geography *in* institutions makes it possible to consider the management procedures, whereas geography *of* institutions has explanatory potential when examining the physical positioning of local YOT operations, and any unintended outcomes that may result.

1.1.1 Practitioner Discretion

A key aim of this thesis is to examine the multi-faceted institutional geographies that operate within a local youth justice context, and the different ways that entrenched institutional norms and the rigidity of practice sites can impact absence and its treatment. At an individual practice level, an acknowledgement of how discretion is embedded within these geographies remains important. Developing ideas from Lipsky's (1980) street-level bureaucracy, Hupe and Hill (2007) describe how discussions that focus on the 'top' or the 'street' are dated and don't reflect multiple, non-vertical accountabilities. Instead, front line worker decision making is described as being situated in a:

'Multi-dimensional institutional system. A policy system involves: 'a nested sequence of decisions - about structure, financing and about the management of outputs - for which different actors may be accountable, perhaps in different ways'' (Hill 2005: 277-8 cited in Hupe and Hill 2007).

Such a point makes the connection with institutional geographies by suggesting how discretion can be subject to an abundance of multi-faceted institutional features. In a youth justice order

management context such factors have the potential to be even more varied based on the number of organisations involved in service delivery.

Eadie and Canton (2002) describe how movement between four different practice/accountability positions can result from an acceptance or resistance to discretion limitations through: *'the formal roles and structures of the organisation [and] by how this is mediated within the occupational culture'* (Eadie and Canton 2002: 18). A key practice priority is described as: *'to balance [young people's personal, cultural, and structural inequalities] against each individual's responsibility for compliance with the rules in order to make informed and accountable decisions'* (Eadie and Canton 2002: 18). According to Eadie and Canton's (2002) model, high accountability and discretion can be found in Quadrant A, with a reflective practitioner approach described as supporting the delivery of best practice. Low accountability and high discretion in Quadrant B is described as *'the bad old days'* where assumptions of practitioner integrity and diligence are described as being coupled with insufficient monitoring. Low accountability and discretion in Quadrant C is described as the *'worst of all worlds'* and an unintended outcome of inadequate management systems, and finally, Quadrant D with high accountability and low discretion is described as an environment of constrained practice, involving the: *'endors[ing] the rules uncritically, unable or unwilling to acknowledge the unequal opportunities that young offenders experience at personal, cultural and structural levels. This will lead to injustice as well as ineffective work'* (Eadie and Canton 2002: :18).

Accountability and discretion in youth justice (Eadie and Canton 2002) can also be considered in the context of practice developments over time. Relevant to this research is the identification of a punitive turn in youth justice, with an increased focus on unmet order requirements and punishment in recent years. Bateman (2011) suggest that such trends can be attributed to lowered discretion and an increasing need to adhere closely with National Standards. This has been described as resulting in higher levels of order enforcement in recent years. In the 1990s, children's circumstances were considered to be an important part of breach proceedings (Bateman 2011, Eadie and Canton 2002). Yet after the millennium, deviation from breach guidance has been described as exceptional, resulting in its heightened use, and a greater likelihood of youth custody in the event of order requirements not being met (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010). Importantly, Drake et al (2014) also point to a deficit of young people's youth justice views and experiences in such discussions, heightening the need to:

'Give greater power and voice to young people in research and policy development processes [because] young people's subjective experiences of youth justice offer a way of

understanding young people as subjects within changing youth justice processes, rather than objects of study' (Drake et al 2014: 23).

Although these points are important in raising broader contextual questions, discretionary practice is beyond the main focus of this research, with attention instead directed towards the varied and complex institutional geographies (Manion and Flowerdew 1982) within which practitioner decisions are made. As such this research also provides a broader context within which practitioner discretion can be understood. Crucially for this thesis, Drake et al (2014) justify the inclusion of practitioner voices when establishing young people's accounts of youth justice because: '*young people's perspectives are sometimes difficult to interpret without corresponding assessments of the practitioners who can gloss their comments - albeit with a critical eye*' (Drake et al 2014: 23). Such a point justifies the use of YOT Practitioner views and experiences in this research, not to scrutinise discretionary decision making and the enacting of breach proceedings, but to give accounts of institutional flexibilities and constraints in the context of institutional geography (in policies, procedures and with the physical locating of practice), and to provide an account of young people's journey making and service access problems.

2. Youth justice administration as geography *in* institutions

The following section will describe how young people's youth justice engagement intensity, duration and complexity can relate to the seriousness or frequency of their offending behaviours, alongside any assessed needs and risks. Importantly for this thesis, if the conditions of an order are not met while engaging with youth justice services, the relationship between convicted young people and youth justice services can become fractured, as young people with lower needs, risks, offending volume or seriousness escalate through the system and become more intensively engaged. Subsequently, detail will be provided on the way order intensity connects with these other factors, raising questions about a proportionate youth justice response to disengagement, and whether underemphasised non-RFPP needs like journey making have the potential to exacerbate youth justice disengagement.

2.1. Institutional rules, procedures and ideologies

Geography *in* institutions provides an opportunity to examine policies and practices, and how they are internally arranged in order to achieve institutional aims. The following section will consider

the internal structure of youth justice administration. In particular, the operationalisation of young people's varied needs and risks along with their offending seriousness and frequency will legitimise the sorting of young people into different institutional places, where youth justice intensity, duration and complexity can vary.

2.1.1. An overarching administration of local institutional fragments

The contemporary Youth Justice System of England and Wales has been widely described as *created* through the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 which has been termed: '*year zero*' (Jones 2001a: 15), although long term incremental policy change contests such a perspective [see Section 3.1.2 in this chapter]. The Act was introduced during a period of managerialism, where a widespread introduction of service measurement and quasi-marketisation was taking place in public services (Wincup 2013, Zedner 2004). Within this paradigm, an argued over-emphasis on measurement has raised questions about the ideological underpinnings, with: '*managerialism [having] a kind of ideological neutrality that 'lacks any higher purpose' than its own technocratic objectives*' (Fergusson 2007: 183). Consequently, the *administration* of youth justice can be suggested as a priority for contemporary youth justice services. The Act aimed to fuse together the wide range of deinstitutionalised youth justice fragments into a cohesive, local service, mostly delivered at a local authority level, with notable changes particularly relating to:

- The creation of a dedicated Youth Court
- The creation of the Youth Justice Board with responsibilities of youth justice policy making and YOT performance management
- The creation of YOTs to deliver and manage youth justice services locally
- An emphasis on the local community management of convicted young people
- Changes in youth custodial settings (HM Government 1998)

Youth Offending Teams can be described as local youth justice operational cores in terms of delivery and administration, providing a central point from which a range of local youth justice services are coordinated: '*to give more strategic direction, set standards and measure performance*' (Home Office 1997). Managerialism can be argued as allowing YOT Practitioners and Managers to exercise heightened control over the policy process, with the paradigm described as: '*a contentless tool-box which takes its ideological orders from above, or from those who have their hands on the tools*' (Fergusson 2007: 183). The need for an overarching administrative structure becomes apparent when considering levels of institutional variance in the fragmented delivery of youth justice prior to the Act. Administrative boundaries provide one example of how multi-agency service alignment

could be difficult, with Local Police Authorities and the National Probation Service operating in 42 Policing Areas, compared with the delivery of healthcare through 148 Primary Care Trusts (ONS 2013).

From the perspective of institutional geography, this means that the Act has attempted to shoe horn a range of organisations - each with distinctive rules, procedures, ideologies and goals, and many with an existing involvement in youth justice - into a cohesive and measurable new institutional structure (Manion and Flowerdew 1982, HM Government 1998, Jones 2001b). Increased youth justice cohesiveness can be argued as important in order to meet the broad overarching youth justice aims of preventing offending, ensuring a proportionate, respectful response that accounts for individual needs, risk of harm or reoffending (Thomas 2008). However, the capacity for a range of local institutional fragments to be moulded into a cohesive new overarching administrative relationship can be called into question as:

'The courts, the Crown Prosecution Service, the police, and youth justice teams of social services departments, for example, all collect data on the operation of the system and the processing and outcomes for individual young offenders, but even when ostensibly gathering the same data, their results rarely agree' (Jones 2001b: 363)

Furthermore, questions can also be raised about the need for young people to adopt different identities as they move around different local youth justice service fragments where different institutional priorities are enacted:

'Not only is mobility regulated within these institutions, but also regulated is the order in which the population moves from one institution to another (from family, to school, to corporation). These enclosures, thus, shelter the interned populations from the disciplinary logics of other institutions until he/she leaves and enters another (e.g. prisoners not monitored simultaneously by the factory foreman and prison guard)' (Martinez 2011: 203).

Subsequently, attempts to introduce cohesive policies and practices through the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (and its administrative overhauling of youth justice) can be described as highly ambitious.

2.1.1. Varied intensity and complexity of different youth justice sentences

Youth justice sentences can be described as varied in terms of engagement intensity, duration and complexity. Table 3a describes the different orders that can be undertaken by young people, after sentencing at the youth court, with the exception of the pre-court disposals which are delivered at the police station with no further action required in terms of a criminal justice response (MoJ 2011a). Pre-court measures are the least serious outcome, followed by sentences in the community, with sentences to custody forming the most serious outcome. Sentencing outcomes are determined by offending seriousness and frequency, with an intensity of either meaning that a more serious sentence could result (SGC 2009). In the context of deinstitutionalised sentences within the community, this means that more serious sentences can have heightened duration, intensity and complexity [see Table 3b and 3c]. For example, a young person with a less serious referral order may be required to engage with youth justice services from 3-12 months (MoJ/YJB 2012) whereas the more serious Youth Rehabilitation Order (or YRO) could last for up to three years with contacts for up to 25 hours per week through the inclusion of an ISS condition (YJB 2010e).

Although the introduction of National Standards in 1991 is described as being underpinned by the need for a consistent and coherent youth justice service, a shift in the relationship between central administration and local delivery has been noted, with an increasingly prescriptive approach to order management growing as the treatment of young people became more punitive during the 1990s (Bateman 2011). Importantly for this thesis, higher levels of mandatory youth justice contact have been associated with breach caused by absence because:

‘a high risk child might attend more than 90 per cent of his or her compulsory contacts [in the first three months of their order] but still trigger breach under national standards. Inevitably children who generate higher Asset scores tend to be those whose circumstances are such that they will find compliance more challenging and are at particular risk of being returned to court in any event’ (Bateman 2011a, Bateman 2011b: 122-3).

The fact that a second sentencing opportunity can result from a young person’s disengagement with youth justice services [see Section 2.2 in this chapter], over and above the initial offence (SGC 2009) makes order management and young people’s adherence capabilities crucial to explore in more detail.

Variety of outcome	Type of order
Pre-court disposals	Reprimand Final warning
Other measures	Local Child Curfew Gang Injunctions Youth Restorative Disposal (pilot) Youth Conditional Caution (pilot)
Sentences in the community	Youth Rehabilitation Order (YRO) Referral Order Reparation Order Fine Conditional Discharge Absolute Discharge Drinking Banning Order
Sentences to custody	Detention and Training Order Section 90/91 Section 226/228

Table 3a. Youth justice sentencing outcomes (MoJ 2011a)

Intervention level	Child/young person profile	Function	Typical case management approach	Possible sentence requirement/ component (not exclusive)
Standard	Low likelihood of reoffending; Low risk of serious harm	Enabling compliance and repairing harm	Organising interventions to meet basic requirements of order; engaging parents in intervention/supporting young person; monitoring compliance; enforcement	Reparation; unpaid work; supervision; attendance centre
Enhanced	Medium likelihood of reoffending; Medium risk of serious harm	Enabling compliance repairing harm and enabling help/ change	Brokering access to external interventions; coordinating interventions with specialists in YOT; providing supervision; engaging parents in interventions/supporting young person; providing motivation to encourage compliance; proactively addressing reasons for non-compliance; enforcement	Supervision; reparation; requirement/ component on behavioural change (such as drug treatment, offending behaviour or education)
Intensive	High likelihood of reoffending; High or very high risk of serious harm	Enabling compliance repairing harm, enabling help/ change, and ensuring control	Extensive; help/change function; additional controls, restrictions and monitoring	Supervision; reparation; requirement/ component on behavioural change (such as drug treatment, offending behaviour or education); requirement/ component to restrict movement (such as curfew or electronic monitoring)

Table 3b. The Scaled Approach (YJB 2010f: 7,11)

Intervention level	Minimum number of contacts per month for first three months of order	Minimum number of contacts per month for remainder of order
Standard	2	1
Enhanced	4	2
Intensive	12	4

Table 3c. Supervision contact levels (YJB 2010f: 12).

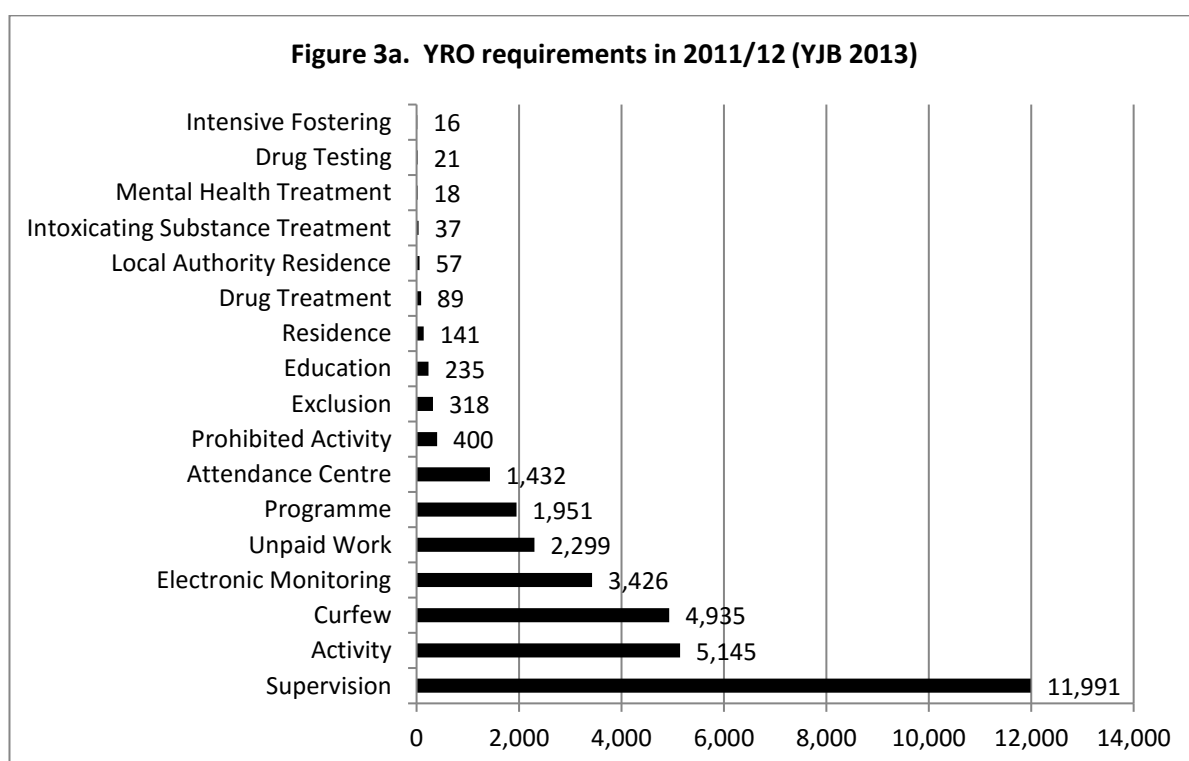
2.1.2. Varied intensity and flexibility within a youth justice order

The initial Asset assessment of needs and risks provides the opportunity to individualise an order, meaning that young people on the same order can experience different levels of contact intensity. The introduction of the Scaled Approach (YJB 2010f) means that young people on a Referral Order, YRO or community component of a Detention and Training Order (or DTO) can be responded to in a standard, enhanced or intensive way, depending on the likelihood of reoffending or harm [see Table 3b]. Should a wide range of risks or needs be identified, *intensive* treatment of a young person would then be warranted. Importantly for this thesis, this would be likely to involve young people's engagement with a wider range of institutions, with YOT Practitioners attempting to: '*broker access to external interventions*' (YJB 2010f: 11), thus heightening the requirement for adequate transportation and journey making skills.

The connection between young people's needs and risks, order intensity and breach has been established, with: '*lower Asset scores [...] associated with successful completion*' (Grandi and Adler 2015: 11). This suggests that young people may not just have limited order adherence capabilities as a result of their needs, but can also experience progressively difficult service engagement because of order intensity of requirements. Youth justice contact intensity can also change during the life of an order, as with Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (or ISS), where intensive youth justice contact frequency is initially coupled with strict control measures (such as a curfew). As orders progress, tapering is expected because young people's risks become addressed and potentially reduced [see Table 3c]. Importantly for this thesis, a reduction in order intensity is likely to reduce youth justice accessibility demands, and convicted young people's need for adequate transport and journey making skills.

The relatively recent YRO illustrates the level of flexibility that is possible within youth justice orders, with 17 different options ensuring responsiveness to particular needs and circumstances [see Figure 3a]. Out of 17,395 YROs in 2010/11, a total of 32,511 mandatory conditions were given, with control measures particularly popular as *electronic monitoring*, *curfews* and *supervision* were included in many orders, something that the *scaled approach* risk assessment [see Table 3b]

emphasises alongside reoffending (YJB 2010f). However, a gap in knowledge remains in connection with the lack of policy detail on the institutional geographies that operationalise this highly varied youth justice administration. This is despite the obligation for local YOTs to support young people's order engagement and completion (YJB 2009), and the likelihood of convicted young people having limited transport access (Oroyemi 2009). Instead, increasingly complex institutional structures are considered to be a feature of *service strength* as they represent *service breadth* alluding to the successful delivery of a comprehensive and holistic service (Home Office 1997). Subsequently, for those on the most intensive community orders, consideration of the impact of control measures on YOT accessibility and engagement is worthy of further investigation. This is because of the potential for young people with limited access to transport, to be engaging with increasingly complex institutional structures while also being restricted in terms of the places that they are able to inhabit.



2.2. Not adhering to youth justice expectations

The following section will describe the contingency procedures that become activated when a young person does not adhere to the institutional rules that govern their youth justice order. The context and extent of these procedures will be described, along with the dominant policy discourse that almost exclusively describes such circumstances as *non-compliance* on the part of young

people, despite evidence in these two policy chapters beginning to suggest alternative explanations. Importantly, a lack of data will establish gaps of knowledge in connection with the circumstances of breach, raising questions about the extent to which unmet journey making needs (that sit outside youth justice constructed notions of need) can lead to absence and punishment.

2.2.1. Breach and its causes

Breach of a statutory order can be understood as the breaking of an agreement (Cambridge University Press 2011), or action or inaction in connection with: '*a duty imposed on some person or body by a statute*' (Martin and Law 2006: 62). Within youth justice policy guidance, breach is described as a lack of *compliance* with mandatory order requirements (MoJ 2011b), as a result of young people's lack of motivation (YJB 2010). The term *compliance* raises questions about intent and responsibility, so for this thesis investigation into the circumstances of order breakdown, the terminology *unmet order requirements* is preferred. Breach can be distinguished from the other types of offences in four ways:

- Who or what the offence is against
- Causes of breach
- Breach procedures
- Outcomes of breach

The offence *breach of a statutory order* can take place in the context of a young person's youth justice engagement, and usually results from agreed expectations not being met (YJB 2010d). Although breach is a criminal offence, the behaviours that give rise to breach are not necessarily criminal, as for example, existing research describes absence as a common cause of breach (Grandi and Adler 2015). However, other research describes how young people are not being equally well placed to attend services and thus meet youth justice order requirements. In particular, the strong neighbourhood territorialisation of boys aged 13-17 is described as having a detrimental impact, with: '*one of the main challenges noted by project managers and workers - getting young people 'in the door' in the first place*' (Kintrea et al 2008: 44). Other research connects service engagement with deprivation, describing how residing in a deprived neighbourhood can mean: '*people are isolated here from better services*' (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004: 44). This raises questions about attendance capabilities and whether young people are equally well placed to meet requirements.

Youth justice inspection reports describe causes of breach as including non-attendance for mandatory appointments, curfew non-observance or an association with prohibited people or places (CJJI 2008, YJB 2010d, JIYOTEW 2005). However, repeated references to attendance and

absence in policy documentation and YOT inspection reports suggest it to be a significant problem when attempting to meet overarching youth justice objectives of order engagement and completion (CJJI 2008, YJB 2010d, JIYOTEW 2005). Current policy guidance does not make explicit connections with the circumstances in young people's lives that can give rise to breach, with YJB annual data not providing any context in this respect. This absence of information provides added justification for this thesis investigation as the scale of punishment that responds to breach [see the following section] warrants a rigorous investigation into the causes of breach. In particular, it is important to consider whether the conditions that give rise to breach are supported or exacerbated by youth justice geographies, and whether punishment is justifiable, or is able to resolve the conditions of breach.

2.2.2. Contingency procedures and breach outcomes

Peripheral institutional places have been described as important in the delivery of services, with the enactment of power being found: '*specifically at borders and liminal points where the state's presence is prominent*' (Löwenheim and Gazit 2009: 145). Such an idea can be related to the institutional disengagement of convicted young people and the heightened displays of institutional power that ensue, with policy guidance describing two main responses. For *less serious* breaches, two *informal* warnings can be given with a third occasion resulting in *formal* proceedings. Informal proceedings are administered by YOTs and can result in a verbal or written warning, or a home visit (YJB 2009). For breaching behaviours considered to be *serious*, *formal* proceedings can be initiated on the first instance (YJB 2010c). With formal proceedings, young people are returned to court and following an evaluation of the context of the breach, can be given one of three outcomes:

- Order continuation
- The imposition of additional order conditions
- Resentencing/sentence escalation (SGC 2009)

Mandatory guidelines relating to the escalation and sentencing of young people at the formal breach trigger point are described in the *Power of Criminal Courts (Sentencing) Act 2000* for those on the full range of community-based orders with extensive guidance on breach proceedings and informal warning timescales also available for use in practice (HM Government 2000, YJB 2010d). Breach proceedings can vary for different court orders with those convicted of a first time petty offence unlikely to be incarcerated when they breach (YJB 2010d). However, in terms of outcome severity, custody may be the next step for those on more serious community offences, making it a possible breach outcome (Hart 2011). Furthermore, those repeatedly engaged in formal breach

proceedings can expect to be treated more harshly, raising questions about the conditions that give rise to breach (SGC 2009). The *scaled approach* policy guidance describes how practitioners are able to exercise their discretion with breach, evaluating on a case by case basis whether: *'the failure to attend was reasonable by ascertaining the stated reasons for the failure to attend and then applying their professional judgement'* (YJB 2010b: 16). Practitioners are also expected to take five other factors into account when making an evaluation about the appropriateness of formal or informal breach proceedings:

- The overall level of contact required
- Overall compliance with the order and its requirements
- The maturity of the young person
- *Asset and Asset - Risk of Serious Harm* assessments
- Any other relevant factors, such as whether there are chaotic circumstances in the young person's life (YJB 2010f: 17).

Practitioner discretion can then be established as endorsed in youth justice policy guidance with respect to breach. However, this guidance also reveals how the youth justice system *structures* these responses, with some groups more likely to receive harsher outcomes than others (such as those with greater maturity or fewer chaotic circumstances). Yet existing research challenges the appropriateness of a punitive response when young people don't meet the requirements of their orders because:

'Young people who are returned to court [for breach] should be offered a number of opportunities and support to comply. If this extra support is not enough to improve their compliance, it is likely that the issues causing the non-compliance are deep rooted and it is understandable that one court appearance is unlikely to resolve the compliance issues' (Grandi and Adler 2015: 18).

In the context of this research, such criticism raises questions about the capacity for the current system to respond to young people's potential service access problems, and whether an intensified engagement with youth justice services (as a consequence of sentence escalation) can exacerbate rather than resolve some of the causes of breach.

Figure 3b. Percentage of all proven juvenile offences in England and Wales (2011/12)

1. Violence Against the Person (20.0%)
2. Theft and Handling Stolen Goods (19.2%)
3. Criminal Damage (10.4%)
4. Public Order (8.2%)
5. Drugs (7.6%)
6. Motoring Offences (6.5%)
7. **Breach of Statutory Order (5.1%)**
8. Robbery (4.4%)
9. Domestic Burglary (3.5%)
10. Other (3%)
11. Non Domestic Burglary (2.5%)
12. Vehicle Theft / Unauthorised Taking (2.3%)
13. Breach of Bail (1.9%)
14. Sexual Offences (1.4%)
15. Racially Aggravated (1.0%)
16. Fraud and Forgery (0.9%)
17. Breach of Conditional Discharge (0.8%)
18. Arson (0.6%)
19. Death or Injury by Dangerous Driving (0.0%)

(YJB/MoJ 2013)

2.2.3. Extent of formal breach proceedings

Youth Justice Board statistical data is able to provide some detail on the extent of breach, but further gaps in knowledge remain. Informal breach warnings administered at local YOTs are not included in annual statistics (MoJ 2012a), meaning that the extent to which problems impede youth justice engagement and order completion are likely to be far more extensive than officially recorded in breach data. This issue of under-recording is well established in criminal justice with respect to crime occurrences (Coleman and Moynihan 1996). Breach offences are included with other offences in annual youth justice statistical data and are calculated at a national level in the context of all other offences [see Figure 3b and Table 3d].

As a proportion of all offences, Table 3d supports Hart's (2010) account of breach offences gradually increasing as a proportion of all offences in recent years. Such a trend may be unsurprising when considering an increased focus on order management (Bateman 2011) coupled with the 'punitive turn' in youth justice since the early 1990s and the treatment of young people becoming increasingly severe. Bateman notes how prior to National Standards: *'breach cases were rare'*

(Bateman 2011: 121), in clear contrast with reporting year 2009/10 where 12,544 breach offences were recorded [see Table 3d]. Such a point is important because it is indicative of a changing culture towards order compliance, and how: *'practice has become less tolerant in the face of a harsher environment towards children in conflict with the law'* (Bateman 2011: 115), with early advice to *'count to three slowly'* (Bateman 2011: 123) eventually giving way to expectations about consistent adherence to standards of practice.

Such points raise questions about the need to develop better understandings of order expectations, the circumstances within which convicted young people are engaging with youth justice services, and the level of YOT support that is being provided in order to support young people's engagement and order completion. Although existing research into breach is very limited, one recent study described how: *'it was also confirmed that missed appointments and [electronically monitored curfew] breaches are the most common reasons for breach'* (Grandi and Adler 2015: 18). Using the most recently available data for administrative year 2009/10 it is possible to see how the total number of proven offences was 198,449 with formal proceedings that have resulted in *breach of a statutory order* being proven 12,544 times. To arrive at the figure of 6.32 per cent, the Youth Justice Board have divided the breach figure by the total number of offences, and then multiplied it by 100, arriving at a figure of 6.321019506271133 which has then been rounded to 6.32.

Year	Breach ranking (all listed proven offences)	Percentage of offences	Breach occurrences	Total offences
2009/10	7 (19)	6.32	12,544	198,449
2008/09	6 (19)	6.49	15,877	244,583
2007/08	n/a	6.04	16,620	275,343
2006/07	n/a	5.39	15,910	295,129
2005/06	n/a	5.13	15,484	301,860
2004/05	n/a	4.66	13,378	287,013
2003/04	n/a	3.88	11,175	287,883
2002/03	n/a	3.08	8,256	268,480
2001/02	n/a	4.17	10,933	261,889

Table 3d. Breach in the context of all proven offences from 2001/02 - 2009/10 (YJB/MoJ 2013).

2.2.4. Discourses of order non-adherence and breach

Dominant policy discourses (or dominant perspectives in policy guidance) are important to consider when examining youth justice absence and its treatment, because they can reveal underlying institutional ideologies (Fergusson 2007, McAlister and Carr 2014). In a youth justice context, dominant discourses have been described as confusing and contradictory, with young people in need of punishment *and* help, or isolation from the community *as well as* reintegration (Goldson

and Muncie 2006, Fergusson 2007, McAlister and Carr 2014). With respect to youth justice breach, the discourse is very narrow, with young people's *non-compliance* (YJB 2010d), associated with a *lack of motivation* [see Table 3b]. Furthermore, an association has been made between breach and higher levels of offending (Grandi and Adler 2015) raising questions about whether the dominant discourse of the prolific offender has muddied notions of those repeatedly failing to comply with order requirements.

Despite the dominant discourse of young people as non-compliant, the impact of multiple and complex needs on order completion capabilities is not always considered, meaning assumptions can be made about young people's everyday competencies: *'During his assessment [after breaching] he was asked if he was able to tell the time. He replied no, he could not. He had never had a watch and had never been able to tell the time, but no-one had asked when the curfew was set'* (Care Services Improvement Partnership 2007: 6 cited in Hart 2010: 26). Although order management guidance in the National Standards for Youth Justice Services has described young people's circumstances and characteristics as being in need of consideration when breaching (Bateman 2011), there is currently limited data on the extent to which young people's unmet (and non-RFPP) journey making *needs* can contribute towards absence and breach, heightening the need for further research.

Young people have been described as not equally well placed to complete youth justice orders (Hart 2010, Bateman 2011, Grandi and Adler 2015), with existing research making the connection between multiple and complex needs, order completion capacity and young people who have: *'particular difficulty in compliance because of chaotic lifestyles, learning difficulties or just impulsivity and rebelliousness that are associated with normal adolescence. Even where adults think they have explained what is expected'* (Hart 2010: 26). In particular, the breaching population includes young people with special needs, disabilities and those who are looked after (Hart 2010). Other factors that have been associated with young people's order compliance capabilities include using alcohol and drugs, limited levels of family support and conflict (Grandi and Adler 2015).

MacDonald et al (2005) describe the importance of acknowledging young people's non-linear transitions from one place to another, such as from education to employment. Such ideas are important to acknowledge in the context of youth justice because of the: *'unpredictability, backwards steps and false starts'* (Du Bois-Reymond 1998 and EGRIS 2001 cited in MacDonald et al 2005: 874) that can be normalised in young people's lives. Such complex transitions are connected with normalised instability and an absence of linear progress for young people and their families, through:

'Government schemes that rarely led to lasting employment; unfinished and/or low-level educational courses; low/no skill, low paid, insecure employment; and recurrent period of unemployment. Individuals transited between these labour market statuses with little sense of forward motion towards more secure, rewarding employment' (MacDonald et al 2005: 881).

These complex and non-linear transitions where incompleteness has become normalised raises questions about rigid and linear expectations of young people's passage through youth justice, and whether the cultural normality of complexity and incompleteness can impact perceptions of youth justice expectations. Furthermore, the difficulties that young people can experience when attempting to meet their everyday commitments are in need of further scrutiny. Subsequently, further research into youth justice journey making and absence-based breach can be suggested as crucial in order to broaden the prevailing discourse of non-compliant, breaching young people to one where circumstances are increasingly considered.

3. Geography of youth justice institutions as refined yet rigid

The following section describes the contemporary youth justice institutional structure as being attributed to accident *and* design. Path dependency will be suggested as extraneous factors have influenced a sequence of incremental changes over the long term. This will raise questions about the capacity for institutional structures to be well aligned with contemporary institutional aims, with rigid structural constraints becoming apparent. A broader trend for institutions to be absorbed and dispersed within locality settings has resulted in an institutional paradigm within which youth justice services are bound to operate. So despite the evidence suggesting that the RFPP has significantly shaped the delivery of contemporary youth justice services, rigid institutional constraints and broad institutional trends will be described as significantly constraining the operationalisation of the RFPP.

3.1. Context to the current youth justice system

The following section will examine how the institutional features of contemporary youth justice have been influenced by incremental changes that connect with extraneous economic, social or political factors. A broad and widespread trend for deinstitutionalisation will be described as placing an emphasis on community-based institutions, with the current RFPP justifying the

continued involvement of a wealth of non-justice based agencies. This will raise questions about institutional malleability and in particular, the capacity for youth justice services to promote service engagement, order completion and the meeting of young people's needs under the operationally fragmented RFPP.

3.1.1. The deinstitutionalised permeation of locality settings

Institutions can be understood as structures with distinctive procedures, structures and ideologies that respond to particular needs or social problems (Philo and Parr 2000, Del Casino Jr et al 2000). The structure of an institution has the capacity to promote or impede the success with which institutional aims and objectives can be met (Foucault 1977). Prior to the creation of the Youth Justice Service (HM Government 1998), significant changes took place within Western institutional structures, with procedural and physical institutional attributes becoming impacted. Until the 1980s, many institutions were highly segmented from wider society, and could be termed as *total*, because engagement would take place for entire, successive days, such as with prisons or psychiatric hospitals (Valentine 2001), described as: *'demarcated spaces to which a large number of socially dependent populations have been more or less forcefully 'exiled''* (Philo and Parr 2000: 513). During the 1980s a widespread deinstitutionalisation in the West transformed the procedures, structures and ideologies of many of these segmented institutional settings. Now, a wide range of newly transformed *partial* institutions have had their practices and sites absorbed and dispersed within locality settings (Valentine 2001, Philo and Parr 2000).

These new structures have been described as having the potential to promote social integration and limit institutional segregation, yet unintended consequences have been described as including the production of concentrated, specialised, and potentially stigmatising, local practice sites (Philo and Parr 2000). This point raises important questions about whether deinstitutionalised settings remain difficult to access and engage with. Furthermore, notions of deinstitutionalised, *partial* institutions as discreet institutional pockets have been challenged, with a symbiotic relationship instead suggested within a locality context as: *'management controls [extend] beyond the organisation: as a component of a network of information and communication technologies that target the individual throughout the open environment instantly, continuously and with heightened accurately'* (Martinez 2011: 201). This suggests how the locality spaces that surround partial institutions are important for service delivery.

Youth justice services epitomise the deinstitutionalised paradigm, with their locally embedded connections to other institutions forming a complex organisational network that has been described as an: *'expanding infrastructure of crime prevention and community safety'* (Garland

2001: 16) Although the introduction of post-conviction intermediate treatment (or community outcomes) took place in the 1960s, increased incremental emphases have been placed within the community thereafter, with Table 3e on recent sentencing outcomes revealing community-based youth justice as the most popular youth justice outcome. The RFPP has also made it necessary to maintain connections between partial institutions [see Section 3.1.3 in this chapter] cementing contemporary youth justice as primarily deinstitutionalised. Importantly for this thesis, an abundance of community-based institutional interconnections increases the demand for convicted young people’s journey making, thus heightening the importance of this investigation into youth justice journey making capabilities and their treatment.

Year	Informal	Community	Custody
2009/10	21,132	52,772	4,657
2008/09	22,241	59,127	5,450
2007/08	24,670	64,865	5,793
2006/07	25,727	62,819	6,037
2005/06	28,823	61,575	6,141
2004/05	31,489	57,025	6,109
2003/04	32,840	55,405	6,288
2002/03	29,980	56,346	7,110
2001/02	43,763	43,622	7,485

Table 3e. Sentencing outcomes from 2001-02 to 2009-10 (YJB/MoJ 2013)

3.1.2. Incremental institutional development

Incremental institutional change can be understood as something that is purposefully undertaken, while also being subject to wider social, political and economic forces in the long term. Over the last 200 years, youth justice has gradually become distinct from the adult criminal justice system, with features such as court processes, custodial settings, community outcomes and the welfare of young people undergoing change and becoming more child-centric.

Institutions and their features can be described as path dependent because they can grow in a cyclical manner, with new developments cementing their institutional foundations, thus presenting significant barriers to radical institutional change (Pierson 2004: 21). This means it is important to consider institutional histories when attempting to develop understandings of youth justice, rather than only considering a snapshot in time (Pierson 2004). Path dependent returns can arise when building on existing policies rather than undertaking a radical and resource intensive institutional redirection. When new institutional developments take place, they can initially be *unpredictable*,

but as choices become cemented within institutional policies and processes, *inflexibility* increases and it becomes harder to change to a different path. Irrespective of whether the initial institutional development choices were by accident or design, they eventually become entrenched when travelling further down a particular path. This is likely to provide institutional certainty, with future institutional directions also likely to be impacted. Eventually, an increased likelihood of institutional inefficiency can arise due to the exclusion of other (more efficient) alternative institutional choices (Arthur 1994 cited in Pierson 2004: 18). In a youth justice context, it is possible to consider how the broad spectrum of local services can be anchored to their histories, thus raising questions about the malleability and effectiveness of local service reconfiguration, following the introduction of Youth Offending Teams (HM Government 1998).

The effects of incremental system change over longer periods of time can be seen when considering how young people were historically treated. For example, in the early to mid-1800s, children were formally reprimanded in the adult system for activities such as: *'picking fruit hanging over the walls of orchards and market gardens [and] not being able to give a good account of themselves'* (Magarey 2002: 116-117). During this period, children's illicit behaviours were evaluated in an adult court setting with transportation or periods spent in an adult prison commonplace (Magarey 2002, May 2002). The most recent, significant incremental change within the state's response to young people's illicit behaviours was through the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Although the Act has been regarded as being: *'year zero'* (Jones 2001a: 15) for the Youth Justice System, longer term legislative changes make it possible to now see the range of well established, path dependent youth justice facets were actually being nuanced once more, with a significant proportion of existing services being retained under a new umbrella.

Examples of extraneous influences on incremental developments, suggest that youth justice policy and practice is subject to factors beyond its control. Changes to youth justice proposed in the 1969 Children and Young Person's Act such as raising the age of criminal responsibility were never implemented, something that has been attributed to a change in Government from Labour to Conservative in 1970 (Newburn 2007). More recently, accusations of a criminalisation of social policy have been directed towards New Labour's broad focus of being: *'tough on crime, tough on causes of crime'* (Blair cited in Pitts 2001: 19) with areas such as education and housing becoming impacted (Wincup 2013) as multi-agency inclusionary measures became delivered through justice agencies (Muncie 2006).

3.1.3. Breadth of youth justice institutional structures

The path dependent nature of youth justice services means that some activities that were embedded within young people's post-conviction services prior to 1998, have remained important. With a mandatory commitment to the staffing and financing of local YOTs, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 describes the need for five core functions to be undertaken by:

- Officer of a local probation board
- Social worker of a local authority social services department
- Police officer
- Person nominated by a primary care trust or a health authority any part of whose area lies within the local authority's area
- Person nominated by the chief education officer appointed by the local authority under section 532 of the Education Act 1996 (HM Government 1998, Part III, Section 39).

So in terms of the practice sites that young people might need to access, mandatory youth justice engagement could require visits to YOT offices and the police station, as well as non-justice institutions connected with health, social care, and education. Along with the retention of existing post-conviction youth services, the involvement of new organisations also took place as YOTs became mandated to: *'include such other persons as the local authority thinks appropriate'* (HM Government 1998, Part III, Section 39: 6). Subsequently voluntary and for profit sectors have also become increasingly involved in the delivery of key post-conviction services. Subsequently, the delivery of youth justice orders can be suggested as complex and fragmented, with a wide range of sectors, organisations and actors all involved. Factors that determined agency involvement at the time of YOT inception already suggests the presence of institutional constraints when operationalising overarching youth justice service aims, with local practice design needing to be shaped around:

- The delivery of existing services
- Fitting YOT plans in with those from partner agencies
- The receipt of voluntary funding from partner agencies (Burnett and Appleton 2004).

These three points raise concerns about institutional malleability and a lack of responsiveness to RFPF aims. These points also raise questions about the rationale behind multi-agency involvement, as youth justice services are obliged to prioritise order engagement and completion alongside the addressing of needs and risks (YJB 2009), meaning that the accessibility of complex and rigid institutional structures inadvertently becomes a youth justice obligation. The breadth of organisations in Figure 3c and 3d suggests a reliance on non-YOT organisations for youth justice

delivery, raising further questions about the extent to which external institutional geographies (including operational aims and funding structures) can influence the treatment of convicted young people.

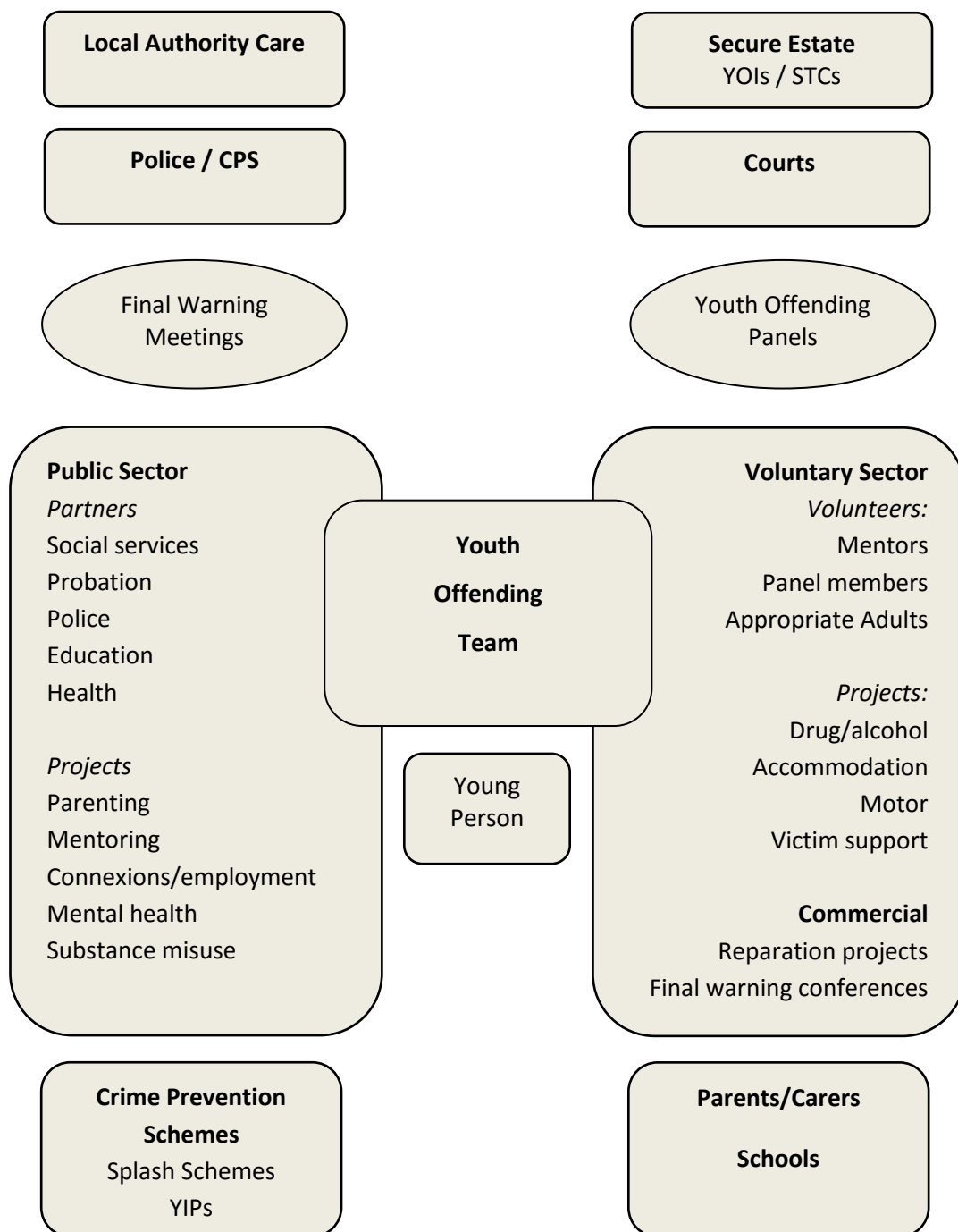
Figure 3c. Vignette to illustrate how a variety of institutions can be involved in the delivery of youth justice, in accordance with young people's needs

Following a domestic incident in his home, fourteen year old Ryan was arrested by the police and taken to the local *police station* where he was held in a cell until a *solicitor* could be present to provide legal advice. As Ryan's parent was the complainant, and there is an obligation to have an adult present during police interviews, a *volunteer Appropriate Adult* was called out by the police custody desk. When the appropriate adult and solicitor were present, the police interview took place and afterwards Ryan was released on bail to his grandparents' home. Ryan attended *youth court* as he had pleaded not guilty to this first potential offence. Ryan was found guilty and sentenced by a *Magistrate* to a Referral Order.

Upon making his initial visit to his local *YOT office*, Ryan's YOT Practitioner conducted an initial Asset assessment of risk and harm, and established that Ryan's offence could be connected with substance misuse and a potentially undiagnosed mental health issue. During Ryan's Referral Order, he was expected to engage in community reparation by undertaking activities with a *locally-based charity*. He attended a *community panel* periodically, where *community volunteers* reviewed his order progress. With respect to his additional needs, Ryan engaged with a *substance misuse worker* from a local charity, seconded to the YOT office, and visited the local *Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service* for further assessment, where a diagnosis of ADHD was made and further follow up contacts took place. During his *weekly YOT-based appointments*, Ryan obtained support in connection with anger management and independent thinking skills in the context of a peer group situation. Ryan's educational re-engagement was organised by his YOT worker, and a partial timetable at the local *PRU* was established. Ryan's problems at home could not be resolved so Ryan had *three foster placements* before eventually finding a longer term placement, with the support of *social services*.

Vignette to illustrate Burnett and Appleton 2004 in the context of Figures 2a, 2b, and Table 2a [see Chapter 2].

Figure 3d. Elements in a local youth justice system (Burnett and Appleton 2004)



Conclusion

Together, these two initial chapters have problematised a number of policy-based issues for further consideration in this thesis. Firstly, convicted young people were described as likely to be disproportionately experiencing adverse circumstances in multiple areas both within and beyond the RFPP, including social exclusion and transport problems. Local essential service access was described as having the potential to become impeded by such adversity, with an inability to read bus timetables or pay for public transport intrinsically linked to social exclusion, and the impeded navigation of locality settings. For young people without transport, police contact was also found to be more likely, strengthening the potential for a connection between convicted young people and journey making problems. Subsequently, investigations in this thesis should now be directed towards establishing whether convicted young people have a *journey making problem*. The RFPP requires a comprehensive response to convicted young people, but means that complex, rigid and fragmented youth justice institutional geographies are necessary. Importantly, youth justice appointments are mandatory, with repeated absence providing one reason for breach proceedings and sentence escalation, thus increasing the potential for heightened adverse circumstances in the long term through protracted social exclusion. These points direct a second line of enquiry in this thesis towards the *treatment* of young people's non-RFPP based journey needs, by youth justice services.

Youth justice policy guidance stipulates a number of commitments, including the prevention of offending through a proportionate, respectful response that accounts for needs and risks of harm and reoffending (Thomas 2008). The RFPP provides a broader context through which these aims are met, with actuarial justice resulting in *risk* assessments and the treatment of factors associated with the *risk* of offending. However, youth justice services also have an obligation to support order engagement and completion (YJB 2010c) meaning factors that *risk* impeding service engagement and order completion more broadly are also important within a youth justice context. Subsequently, this thesis should also be concerned with whether *unmet journey making needs* present a *risk* to youth justice aims, and whether youth offending teams are able to observe their supportive obligations towards young people through the lens of service accessibility and journey support.

Chapter Four: Towards a Politics of Youth Justice Mobility

Introduction

This thesis has now put the case forward that convicted young people's youth justice mobilities and institutional responses need to be examined in more detail. This is because of the connections between convicted young people's multiple and complex needs, and their mobility problems. Mandatory institutional requirements to attend appointments have added a further layer of complexity that is also worthy of further investigation, with policy guidance describing absenteeism as warranting both *responsiveness* and *high consequences*. The following chapter will attempt to draw these fragments together into a new narrative of fluidity and dynamicism. Instead of understanding these issues through conventional structured and place-based understandings, the new mobilities paradigm will instead be described as having added explanatory potential, and worthy of applying to the topic under consideration in this thesis.

The need to consider mobilities when attempting to develop understandings of convicted young people's youth justice journey making can be asserted through the suggestion of: '*mobility as a basic condition in the social*' (Kesselring 2006: 270 cited in Jensen 2011: 256). In recent years this has been widely realised, as a *mobilities turn* has taken place within the social sciences (Cresswell 2006a, Urry 2007). The first part of this chapter will describe this *new mobilities paradigm* in terms of its theoretical development, contemporary relevance, and main features. The paradigm's theoretical and empirical breadth will be described as allowing society to be considered from a variety of disciplinary standpoints, with John Urry most widely connected in a sociological context and Tim Cresswell from a geographical standpoint. This wealth of mobility investigations have in common: '*a critique of thinking of the world as organized through fixity - of things firmly in place. They are critiques of what Liisa Malkki has called a sedentarist metaphysics*' (Cresswell 2006a: 738). Such breadth also provides the possibility for ideas from the new mobilities paradigm to be transposed into new societal contexts, such as the youth justice system. Subsequently, the second part of this chapter will provide a bridge between these two areas, drawing on existing literature and research to raise questions about a youth justice mobility problem for convicted young people.

In the second section of this chapter, Cresswell's *politics of mobility* will be used to raise a new set of questions about youth justice journey making, distinguishing a framework through which the empirical work in this thesis will be later interpreted. Cresswell adds important rigour to the new mobilities paradigm through his critical approach - or *critical geosophy* - which is described as becoming enacted by: '*an understanding of the ways in which ideas about fixity and flow provide a profound under current to thinking*' (Cresswell 2006a: 737). Although Urry is acknowledged earlier

in the chapter as making a crucial and significant contribution to the new mobilities paradigm, the inclusion of Cresswell in this chapter serves an important purpose. Cresswell identifies a problem with the new mobilities paradigm as being how: *'it has sometimes tended to overstate the case for a wonderful new world of mobility'* (Cresswell 2006a: 738). As a result, his work adds a critical edge to this new ontological standpoint as:

'I consider the 'mobility turn' in the social sciences and introduce the cautionary note of a 'politics of mobility' which serves to pull apart the occasionally over-enthusiastic celebration of all things mobile' (Cresswell 2006a: 737).

This critical edge is of significant value, as through Cresswell it becomes possible to reveal layers of understanding about social inequalities and the rationale for mobilities. Such potential is crucial for this investigation into convicted young people's youth justice mobilities, and the potential for social inequalities to be (re)produced through youth justice journey making. Importantly, youth justice attendance and its management have not been examined through a mobilities lens, meaning that the fusion of these two areas provides a contribution to knowledge.

1. The new mobilities paradigm

The new mobilities paradigm has signalled a change in the production of knowledge within the social sciences (Cresswell 2006a, Urry 2007). The following section will provide a background context to the paradigm, before explaining what the shift has to offer in terms of explanatory potential. Finally, this section will relate the new mobilities paradigm to social institutions, drawing recent theoretical developments together with local youth justice services, to cement these two areas together and develop new knowledge on youth justice mobilities.

1.1. Background context

1.1.1. Theoretical developments

Until recently, explorations into mobility have been narrowly defined and found in very specific disciplinary places. Authors associated with early ideas on mobility are described as including Simmel, Park and Burgess, Deluze, Lefebvre and Goffman (see Urry 2007 and Cresswell 2006a, 2010a for further discussion on these authors). More recently, Virilio's work on dromology has explored the science of speed (Armitage 2000, Bartram 2004), Bauman's (2000) ideas on liquid

modernity describe how: '*change is **the only** permanence, and uncertainty is **the only** certainty*' (Baumann 2012: viii, emphasis in original), and Thrift's (2004) notions of movement-space describe how fluid forces can influence cultural and social life. Some disciplines have also forged connections with movement or the spaces that movements inhabit, such as within studies of transport and geography (Lucas 2006, Lucas et al 2009 Cresswell 2010a). However, until recently, societal fluidity has remained a secondary concern, with long term notions of a *sedentary metaphysics* prevailing, through an emphasis on structure and place (Cresswell 2010a).

Within the last ten years, a new perspective has been gaining momentum within the social sciences. This revised ontological and epistemological standpoint has been described as the *mobilities turn* (Urry 2007), or more significantly as the *new mobilities paradigm* (Urry 2007). The new mobilities paradigm can be summarised as foregrounding all things fluid and mobile within social life, providing new explanatory potential to understandings that were otherwise static and structured. More traditional views of mobility can be understood as: '*the movement of entities from an origin to a destination along a specific trajectory that can be described in terms of space and time*' (Kaufmann et al 2004: 746). Contrastingly, the new mobilities paradigm has been described as post-disciplinary, with knowledge developing in a wide range of disciplines including: '*cultural studies, feminism, geography, migration studies, politics, social sciences, sociology, transport and tourism studies*' (Urry 2007: 6). Subsequently, new opportunities to develop broader and more holistic understandings of contemporary society have emerged, with the movement of objects, communications and people from micro to macro levels all included (Urry 2007, Cresswell 2010a).

1.1.2. Urry and the social sciences as a-mobile

John Urry has been widely identified as one of the key authors at the forefront of the new mobilities paradigm, providing a catalyst for a significant body of mobilities literature (for example see Aday 2006, Cresswell 2006a, 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2014, Cresswell and Martin 2012, Jensen 2011, Jocoy and Del Casino Jr 2010, Kaufmann et al 2004, Merriman et al 2008, Shaw and Hesse 2010, Thrift 2004). In Urry's (2007) seminal volume *Mobilities*, the broad, fluid explanatory potential of the new mobilities paradigm is championed, and contrasted with a previously static and structured societal context. In particular, Urry identifies the following factors as giving prominence to the new paradigm:

1. A neglect of movement and communications and their personal/cultural significance in people's lives.
2. A lack of acknowledgement about how movement is economically, politically and socially organised

3. An under emphasis on these forms of movement within aspects of social life and critically important institutions, such as employment, education or family life.
4. An under emphasis on how these patterns of movement structure social institutions and influence changes in social institutions in conventional institutional analysis
5. A social science focus on interactions rather than the physical/material infrastructures that underlie economic/political/social patterns.
6. A need to acknowledge how physical/material infrastructures interact with social structures such as class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, age in order to arrange diverse mobilities including enforced fixity and coerced movement (Urry 2007: 19).

The impact of the paradigm is dependent on interpretations of the social sciences both before and after its arrival, with some remaining critical of Urry's (2007) notions of the social sciences as a-mobile [Cresswell 2010a see Section 2.1.2 in this chapter]. Furthermore, an abundance of contemporary social scientists still undertake legitimate *static* investigations, despite it seeming like: '*all the world is on the move*' (Urry 2007: 3). So although there is a consensus on the broader explanatory potential of the new mobilities paradigm, its exact extent remains disputed [for example, see Section 2.1.2 of this chapter].

1.1.3. Contemporary mobility systems

Urry (2007) has extensively discussed mobility systems, distinguishing how they are socially and historically situated. Pre-industrial systems are described as including walking and horse riding, industrial systems including steam ships and sewage systems. From the mid-nineteenth century industrialisation period onwards, Urry describes mobilisation as significant and systematic, thus widely permeating society. In the twentieth century, a further shift towards diverse, interdependent and overlapping systems can be found, with: '*individual journeys or pieces of communication depend upon multiple systems, all needing to function and interface effectively with each other*' (Urry 2007: 14). Subsequently, diverse mobile systems that are in need of coordination in the twentieth century include cars, telephones, flights, trains, urban travel systems, mobile phones and networked computers (Urry 2007: 13). Urry describes mobilities systems not only in terms of the journey, but also including the timetable, station interchange, address, ticketing system, websites and bridges. This broadens the scope of this thesis into convicted young people's youth justice mobilities, drawing in a wider range of areas as important for consideration. In the context of this research, such ideas raise questions about how well youth justice mobilities systems coordinate and connect, and what their component parts are, with cars, telephones, computers

and urban travel systems all potentially included. The nature of these components is important in the context of this research as a lack of reliability could result in a breakdown of systematic links, and potentially result in absenteeism.

Any one journey has the potential to encompass a range of connected journeys and their associated functions, and can be grouped and coordinated through linkages of varying predictability and quality. These groups of mobilities systems are described as *assemblages*, with connections provided by their *systematic links*. These interconnected component parts have been described as important, but with the potential to break down, thus jeopardising the assemblage either temporarily or permanently. Cresswell (2012) provides an example of how mobilities systems can be compromised by a breakdown in systematic links. Relating assemblages and systematic links to the Icelandic volcano eruption of 2010, he describes how:

'The systemic links between ash, planes, logistics and geopolitics which are productive of this particular failure in a system which is never closed or knowable - a system that produces its own turbulence and threat' (Cresswell 2012: 649).

Systematic links are important for convicted young people engaging with youth justice services as a breakdown in one area - such as a ticketing system or timetable - could result in a breakdown of the entire mobility system. In a youth justice context, this suggests that such problems could result in a young person being absent from a compulsory youth justice appointment. Subsequently, the *predictability* that mobilities systems provide is important, as it facilitates organisation and planning within society. This heightens the importance of mobilities systems awareness as: *'systems permit predictable and relatively risk-free repetition of the movement in question. Systems enable repetition'* (Urry 2007: 13). These ideas raise new questions about what a youth justice mobilities system assemblage might be like in terms of its component parts and connections. This is especially important as individual engagement with component parts of mobilities systems assemblages can be socially situated - such as whether those on lower incomes have access to computerised ticketing systems. This suggests how assemblages - like mobilities systems - are also socially produced, raising important questions about the equitability of youth justice service access.

1.1.4. Institutional mobility

Institutions are an inherent part of social life, providing key functions and services within society, such as the provision of social structure (such as through families) or by meeting key needs (such as with education, health or social care). The impact of mobilities on institutions has been described

by Urry (2007) as being largely overlooked, but with the potential to add explanatory potential to understandings of *critically important social institutions*. In particular it is described how:

'These patterns of movement structure how these social institutions and activities develop and change - something often missed in conventional institutional analysis' (Urry 2007: 19).

Corresponding with notions of the social sciences as a-mobile, institutions have been widely viewed as static and rigid structures with clearly demarcated boundaries (Foucault 1977, Mills 2003). Recently these notions have been challenged with ideas relating to mobility to, from and within institutions all receiving growing attention (Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015, Moran 2015, Hook 2007). This recent attention has been welcomed as few authors have attempted to understand institutional geographies - or the spaces and practices that operate within and between institutional settings (Flowerdew 1982, Philo and Parr 2000). The breadth of the new mobilities paradigm makes it well equipped to explore institutions in a more fluid context. The importance of doing so is demonstrated when considering the institutional impact of potential mismatches between mobility needs and deeds, arising from social inequalities within different groups who inhabit social institutions:

'Issues of movement, of too little movement for some or too much for others or the wrong sort at the wrong time, are it seems central to many people's lives and to the operations of many small and large public, private and non-governmental organisations' (Urry 2007: 6).

In Martin's (2013) study of prisoners' transitions into the community, institutional boundaries blur and extend beyond the built institutional setting. Reconceptualising notions of institutional boundaries, Martin instead argues for a: *'carceral continuum of graded intensity* [operating throughout the transition from] *confinement to freedom'* (Martin 2013: 505). Notions of 'freedom' and 'constraint' as explored in Shamma's (2014) study of open prisons, support notions of further institutional boundary blurring in time and space, within a *carceral continuum*. Describing the unintended consequence of freedom, Shamma describes how: *'even exceptional degrees of liberty are never unproblematic and can be directly cost inducing to the inmate [...] freedom within constraint is itself the source of experienced pain [...] the 'deprivation' of liberty and autonomy is a fount of suffering, in open prisons, it is the provision of freedom that causes frustration'* (Shamma 2014: 109). Such an assertion challenges notions of physical fixity and flux, with *perceived* notions of confinement enduring beyond their *physical* presence in time and space, thus raising the importance of mobilities perceptions in a youth justice context in this thesis. Subsequently, this

thesis will provide a much needed exploration of *institutional mobility* within the context of the critically important social institutions that make up local youth justice services. Significantly, differences between institutional mobility expectations and capacities are now becoming increasingly apparent as important to consider in greater detail.

2. The politics of mobility

2.1. Cresswell's relevance

Alongside John Urry [see Section 1.1.2 in this chapter], Tim Cresswell (see Cresswell 2006a, 2006b, 2010, 2010b, 2012, 2014, Cresswell and Martin 2012, Cresswell and Merriman 2011) is also widely described as being at the forefront of the new mobilities paradigm (for example, see Aday 2006, Doughty and Murray 2014, Jensen 2011, Jocoy and Del Casino Jr 2010, Manderscheid et al 2014, Philo 2014, Shaw and Hesse 2010, Sheller and Urry 2007, Urry 2002). However, Urry and Cresswell can be distinguished on a number of levels. Urry has a sociological perspective whereas Cresswell's is geographical. This means that Urry's standpoint prior to the paradigm is one of stasis and structure, contrasting with Cresswell's where a wealth of movement is described as already being apparent. Both authors advocate the broad and deep explanatory possibilities that the paradigm has to offer, but where Urry wholeheartedly embraces this breadth, Cresswell's critical edge - or *critical geosophy* - remains. Although Urry considers social difference, it is through developments in Cresswell's work that rigorous, critical understandings of mobilities and social difference can be developed. In particular, the potential to transpose Cresswell's six point framework onto different social problems heightens its relevance for this thesis and the delivery of social policies through essential local services. Subsequently, Cresswell's prioritisation power and social inequality makes it possible to develop understandings of youth justice mobilities as socially produced, socially productive, and socially (re)productive.

2.1.1. Disciplinary standpoint

Addressing the first difference between Urry and Cresswell, an important distinction can be made in relation to disciplinary standpoint. Rather than emphasising the *arrival* of this revolutionary paradigm within a context of stasis and structure, Cresswell (2006) uses existing geographical knowledge on movement to attest the explanatory *breadth* of the new mobilities paradigm. Cresswell's analysis of this existing knowledge strengthens the critical potential of his work. For a discipline so embroiled in movement, Cresswell (2006) comments on how an absence of meaningful

movement - or mobilities - is notable. Making a distinction between *movement* and *mobility*, movement is likened to notions of *location*, and mobilities with *place*. Cresswell clarifies this difference further, describing how movement simply involves positivist, and abstract discussions of displacement: *'the act of moving between locations'* (Cresswell 2006a: 2). Contrastingly, mobilities are described as being saturated with meanings and laden with power, while also being produced, embodied, practiced, experienced and ideologically represented. Furthermore, interconnections between these dimensions of mobility have the potential to develop understandings even further, as:

'The ways we move are intimately connected to meanings given to mobilities through representation. Similarly, representations of mobility are based on ways in which mobility is practiced and embodied' (Cresswell 2006a: 4).

So when attempting to understand youth justice journey making in this thesis, it is meaning laden mobilities and not the abstract, positivist notions of movement that are under consideration.

2.1.2. Critical mobilities

Addressing the second difference between Urry and Cresswell on *critical* mobilities, Cresswell describes the importance of taking a critical approach both within mobilities studies. Whereas, in Urry's eager consideration of fluidity, it is the possibilities of the paradigm that emphasise:

'Different ways of thinking through the character of economic, social and political relationships. Such a turn is spreading through the social sciences, mobilising analyses that have been historically static, fixed, concerned with predominantly a-spatial 'social structures'' (Urry 2007: 6).

Contrastingly, Cresswell expresses: *'a cautionary note [...] which serves to pull apart the occasionally over-enthusiastic celebration of all things mobile'* (Cresswell 2006a: 737), suggesting instead how critical mobilities have the potential to challenge the discourses of dominant voices such as the government and media. Critical mobilities also seek to: *'provide critical perspectives on the constitution of society through an approach that foregrounds these mobilities'* (Söderström et al 2013 cited in Cresswell 2014: 713), so the adoption of this alternative lens for examining society already has an inherently critical potential.

Cresswell explores the possibilities of critical mobilities as a means for challenging the static status quo, problematising issues arising from the ruling elite, while also being critical of the paradigm itself (Cresswell 2010a). Yet although Cresswell (2010a) contests notions of a former a-mobility in the social sciences, he still champions what the new mobilities paradigm has to offer, focusing on how the mutually permeating social and mobile dimensions can produce important knowledge on social inequalities. So despite Cresswell and Urry's contrasting standpoints, a consensus on explanatory potential of the new mobilities paradigm is evident.

2.1.3. Power and inequalities

The third area identified as important when justifying the explanatory potential of Cresswell's work is that of power. Notions of power permeate Cresswell's discussions as his six point mobilities framework repeatedly illustrates the differences between social groups with more or less power:

'By politics I mean social relations that involve the production and distribution of power. By politics of mobility I mean the ways in which mobilities are both productive of such social relations and produced by them' (Cresswell 2010a: 21).

Power imbalances in society can be reflected in the social production of mobilities, and the ways that mobilities are socially (re)productive. This is based on the potential for groups with more power to be strategically involved in the production of mobilities systems, and for groups with less power to have their adverse positions (re)produced by mobilities systems, as: *'mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship'* (Skeggs 2003: 49). Subsequently, notions of power and inequalities are highly relevant to this research and the broader societal context, as groups of convicted young people can be considered as having less power, based on their increased experience of multiple and complex needs.

A further justification for considering power and mobilities results from its existing under emphasis, with the prioritisation of autonomy, possibilities and freedom in mobilities research resulting in an: *'undertheorisation of mobility and power'* (Moran 2015: 71). As power can further broaden understandings through its transposition into a multitude of mobilities contexts, its importance is becoming recognised, meaning that: *'power is among the key issues at the core of the emerging field of mobilities studies [leaving a] still very open question of the role of power in mobility'* (Jensen 2011: 255). This makes the *production* of mobility important for this thesis as:

'An emphasis on the production of mobilities forces us to consider how particular modes of mobility are enabled, given license, encouraged and facilitated while others are, conversely, forbidden, regulated, policed and prevented' (Cresswell 2006a: 735).

Subsequently, the consideration of power in a mobilities context is important for this research as such an approach contains the possibility of better understandings about how youth justice mobilities are produced.

2.2. Cresswell's six point *politics of mobility* model

In the context of this thesis, part of Cresswell's appeal relates to the explanatory potential that the *politics of mobility* framework provides, as it can be transposed into different contexts in order to develop broader understandings of how mobilities and society connect. Cresswell's focus on social inequalities also means that knowledge on the social production of mobilities (and for this thesis, on the social production of youth justice mobilities) can be developed, while also considering how mobilities (or for this thesis, youth justice mobilities) can be socially productive and reproductive. Consequently, the following section will summarise Cresswell's (2010a) six point *politics of mobility* framework. As one of the main aims of this thesis is to understand how young people access local youth justice services, Cresswell's areas of motive force (or journey rationale), velocity (or speed), rhythm (or repetition of stillness and movement in time and space), route, experience and friction (or stopping of journey movement) are all expected to have some explanatory significance.

Cresswell starts by questioning the rationale - or *motive force* - for movement. In addressing power and inequalities, Bauman's notions of *'the tourist and the vagabond'* (Baumann 1998 cited in Cresswell 2010a: 22), describe how affluent *tourist* members of society can choose when, where and how far to move, with distances usually being comparatively greater. In contrast, the *vagabond* is described as being more likely to be mobile through enforcement or coercion rather than choice, with distances often much shorter - such as when being evicted from illicit spaces.

The second of Cresswell's questions addresses the speed - or *velocity* - of movement. This is described as varied according to power through *hierarchies of mobility* as: *'being able to get somewhere quickly is increasingly associated with exclusivity'* (Cresswell 2010a: 23). Cresswell illustrates differences in speed by comparing highly mobile business travellers with less mobile groups of poverty stricken immigrants. Cresswell considers the impact of social status on speed within particular static settings. Using an example of the leisurely boss and the production line worker, Cresswell described how speed can also be imposed upon those with less power and social status by those who have more.

Cresswell's third question relates to mobile *rhythms* and how power differentials in society can raise different implications for varying levels of rhythmic scrutiny. When considering the rhythm of mobility, Cresswell draws on Lefebvre's (2004) *rhythmanalysis*, and its phenomenological (or perceived and experienced) notions of: '*repeated moments of movement and rest*' (Cresswell 2010a: 23). Cresswell draws on Lefebvre's notions of rhythm as: '*part of the production of everyday life*' (Cresswell 2010a: 24), but also highlights how in turn, this can give rise to surveillance and social ordering as *curious rhythms* can become detected and interrogated.

Cresswell's fourth consideration is that of *route*. Movement is described as moving: '*along routes and conduits often provided by conduits in space. It does not happen evenly over a continuous space like spilt water flowing over a table top*' (Cresswell 2010a: 24). As such, mobility routes can be understood as path dependent with conduits in space carved out over time. Cresswell discusses Graham and Marvin's (2001) notions of a *tunnelling* effect and how different aspects of urban infrastructures become connected to each other, and to areas considered to be of value. Returning to Cresswell's overarching theme of power, these tunnelling effects raise questions about less valued areas, and how they are defined and accessed. Cresswell describes the disconnection of *less valued* places when routes become entrenched and streamlined in terms of the *valued* places that they service. Yet such tunnelling effects bypass areas perceived to be of less value, contributing towards 'slowness' for those connected with them, such as through the home. These notions of tunnelling raise questions about mobile capabilities, and whether less economically integrated neighbourhoods are equally able to access and navigate local mobility systems.

The fifth dimension of mobility considered by Cresswell is that of *experience*. Cresswell again draws on the theme of power to describe how mobilities can be experienced as anything from hard work to luxury, by different people using the same mode of travel at the same time. Cresswell contrasts luxurious first class airline travel with those at the back who: '*are cramped, uncomfortable, oxygen starved, and standing in line for the toilet. And then there might be the body, frozen and suffocated in the undercarriage well waiting to drop out in a suburb of a global city*' (Cresswell 2010a: 25). Cresswell then reflects on how mobilities discourses can transform in meaning over time, with Ingold's (2004) interpretations of walking as an activity of drudgery confined to: '*the poor, the criminal, the young*' (Cresswell 2010a: 25) becoming transformed into: '*an experience of virtue [and] an end in itself*' (Cresswell 2010a: 25) by romantic poets such as Wordsworth and Coleridge.

The final, sixth dimension that Cresswell considers in the context of mobility is that of *friction*. Cresswell asks about the nature of friction in the context of mobility, highlighting how this extends beyond definitions of distance and speed, as commonly understood within the earth sciences. Instead, Cresswell highlights how friction has become highly varied in a context where: '*connectivity has become the most relevant variable in assessing accessibility*' (Cresswell 2010a: 26). Cresswell

then draws on Graham and Marvin (2001) to describe how traditional notions of friction within boundary areas (such as that of a clearly demarcated territory) are now being supplemented by local points of friction including: 'security, access control, gates, walls, CCTV' (Graham and Marvin 2001: 206). Cresswell (2010a) also connects rhythm with friction, describing how friction can be found within a journey for people with *suspicious rhythms*, using the killing of London Underground traveller Jean-Charles de Menezes to illustrate how a perceived suspicious rhythm resulted in significant friction within a journey. The remainder of this chapter will now critically explore each of Cresswell's six politics of mobility factors in more detail, while beginning to raise questions about youth justice mobilities in a context of power and inequalities.

2.2.1. Motive force: Why do convicted young people move?

Motive force has been described by Cresswell (2010a) as the rationale for movement. Power has been connected with motive force as those in a more powerful social position have been described as having a greater choice over when to move and when not to move [see the previous section]. Location and distance are connected with motive force as powerful elite groups are more likely to travel longer distances to further destinations. Subsequently, motive force has explanatory potential in allowing the impact of social inequalities on youth justice journey making to be revealed. Motive force has an immediate explanatory relevance to youth justice mobilities based on the compulsory nature of appointments [see Chapter 3, Section 2.2.1]. Within the population of convicted young people in England and Wales, social disadvantage is significant, with limited literacy, mental ill health, poverty, and adverse family circumstances all abundant [see Figure 2a and 2b in Chapter 2]. A recent study on jobseekers' mobilities raises important questions about the motive force of those experiencing social disadvantage (Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015), and its consideration in the context of convicted young people's mobilities.

The high and varied levels of need within the youth justice population mean that local youth justice operations comprise of many different services operating at a range of sites by a variety of sectors such as health, education and housing [see Figure 3d in Chapter 3]. Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend (2015) describe how mobilities expectations and treatments can vary in different institutional settings, producing different notions of *suitability*. For job seekers, mobility expectations were measured in time and distance, and in the short and long term (Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015). Job acceptance was expected within a three hour public transport journey (the Netherlands), a daily maximum of eleven hours away from home (Slovenia), or to locations within 50km (Italy). In the long term, some institutions also expected home relocation to take place (Germany and Sweden). These differences in institutional mobility expectations demonstrate the *production* of varied notions of a *suitable* job offer. This raises new questions

about youth justice mobilities and motive force. In particular, notions of youth justice service *suitability* become important to unpack in the context of acceptable accessibility and whether these notions again differ within different areas of youth justice services.

Within this discussion about motive force, *activation* can also be considered as important. Replacing former notions of social security entitlement (as associated with the introduction of the welfare state in the post war period), those engaging with contemporary services can be considered as expecting a more reciprocal agreement, with lower service expectations and the understanding that service receipt should be exchanged for active service engagement and compliance (Mayerhofer and Behrend 2014). In Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend's (2015) job seeking mobilities study, intent and capacity are problematised, with institutions attempting to promote mobilities through reward, punishment and an enhancement of capabilities. Described as *carrot* and *stick* (or punishment and incentive) approaches, job seeking practitioners were described as showing a preference for the carrot, with the stick found to compromise positive and effective practice-based relationships. Examples of the stick included: *'the threat of withdrawal of benefits in the case of non-compliance'* (Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015: 329), whereas the carrot included incentives such as travel bursaries. However, evidence of the stick being used suggests that institutional mobilities can be coerced. Moran's (2015) recent work on carceral geographies cements the existence of coerced mobilities. Carceral geographies have been described as underexplored and important because they give:

'A perspective on, and empirical examples of, forced, coerced, punitive, disciplined or governmental mobility [while also providing] scope to pursue this line of enquiry in greater depth' (Moran 2015: 71).

A range of issues has been connected with coerced mobility including overcrowding, the spread of disease and abuse, suggesting the need to investigate a wider set of problems within this context. Connecting with Doughty and Murray's (2014) discussions on dominant transport mobility discourses, Moran's carceral and coerced mobilities suggest the need to include the views of those experiencing everyday and mundane mobilities, which so far remain somewhat overlooked in a youth justice context. Subsequently, further questions can be raised about youth justice mobilities and motive force in terms of notions of acceptable mobility, and whether incentives and punishments are being used.

2.2.2. Velocity: How fast do convicted young people move?

Velocity - or speed - is described by Cresswell (2010a) as becoming varied in the context of social position, with elite groups being able to move faster, while also being able to impose speed on those with less power [see Section 2.2 in this chapter]. Cresswell (2010a) describes mobility as being *at the heart* of social relations between categories such as gender, ethnicity and class. Even within one journey, different social groups are described as having the potential to experience speed in different ways. For example, children travelling with adults may experience journeys as being relatively longer and faster - possibly based on the context of their own size or relative mobilities distances. This raises further questions for convicted young people's youth justice mobilities in the context of velocity, and how journey making speed is perceived.

Velocity is described in discussions about dominant discourses of mobility and transport, with Doughty and Murray (2014) highlighting a preoccupation with speedy connectivity and its perceived potential to bring abundant prosperity. However, the dominant discourse of sustainable mobility provides a caveat in the relationship between speed and exclusivity. In particular, this discourse suggests how slowness can be connected with exclusivity as some opt for slower, sustainable travelling modes (such as walking or cycling) over faster, less sustainable choices (such as car travel). What distinguishes slowness in a sustainability context is *choice*, as more powerful groups can *decide* whether to travel quickly (causing more environmental harm) or slowly (and more sustainably).

Different mobility systems have been described as operating at different speeds, with socially disadvantaged groups having less access to faster systems (Cresswell 2010a). An abundance of convicted young people live in low income households [see Figure 2a in Chapter 2], and low income households have been described as having lower levels of car ownership [see Table 2c in Chapter 2]. Previous discussions on transport and accessibility [see Table 2d in Chapter 2] have described access to essential local services as becoming impeded without the use of a car, and research on job seekers has also acknowledged that those without a car have a mobility disadvantage (Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015). Subsequently, more questions can be raised for youth justice mobilities in connection with velocity and whether convenient car travel is readily available for youth justice journey making.

The need to ask convicted young people about their access to mobility systems of varying velocity is further heightened when considering both children's geographies [see Chapter 2, Section 3.1.4] and dominant discourses of mobility [see Section 2.2.5 in this chapter]. Both describe how the mundane and everyday experience of mobilities is often overlooked, instead calling for more direct conversations with those undertaking journeys. When considering the burden of cost for different mobility systems this becomes more important. This is because when young people undertake

independent travel using public transport a financial transaction is likely in order to complete the journey. Contrastingly, family car transport is less likely to rely on a young person engaging in a financial transaction. This raises additional questions in connection with young people's youth justice mobilities and velocity. In particular, it becomes important to consider where the burden of cost lies when convicted young people use different mobilities systems in order to access local youth justice services.

2.2.3. Rhythm: In what rhythm do convicted young people move?

In the context of the new mobilities paradigm, mobilities rhythms have been described as patterns of repeated movement in time and space that are interspersed with rest (Cresswell 2010a, see Section 2.2 in this chapter). The surveillance of rhythms has been described as inherent in contemporary mobilities systems, meaning behavioural regulation and disembodied traces of movement have become connected to highly mobile and rhythmic, contemporary lives:

'We can go wherever we want to go but only because Big Brother got there first and knows (if the systems have not crashed) where we are choosing to go, with whom we are going, where we have been and where we are likely to go next' (Urry 2007: 16).

The gathering of these disembodied traces of mobility through mobilities surveillance has given rise to the notion of curious rhythms. Curious or suspicious rhythms can be understood as the detection and interrogation of populations based on their mobilities rhythms (Cresswell 2010a). Further examinations of rhythm are useful when attempting to contextualise local youth justice mobilities as community based orders are highly individualised, with the potential to include a wide range of partner agencies in their delivery [see Figure 3d in Chapter 3]. This raises questions about the nature of youth justice mobilities rhythms and their timings, positioning and repetition. For example, young people engaged on more serious community-based youth justice outcomes can have up to 25 hours of contact time per week, with a tailored service meaning that the nature of these hours (and their place of delivery) can significantly vary [see Chapter 3 for further discussion]. As convicted young people on higher end community orders have been found to have higher and more complex needs [see Table 2a in Chapter 2], questions can be asked about whether more serious community-based youth justice outcomes have more complex rhythms. Subsequently, Cresswell's notions of rhythm raise some new questions in a youth justice mobilities context. In particular, it becomes important to consider whether there is any evidence of curious youth justice rhythms, what their impact might be, and whether youth justice rhythmic complexity varies for different types of youth justice orders.

2.2.4. Route: What route do convicted young people take?

Route has been described as directing mobilities down well trodden, path dependent tunnels, with places that are perceived to be of less value, eventually bypassed (such as deprived neighbourhoods), and more economically integrated neighbourhoods instead favoured (Cresswell 2010a). Mobility routes have been described as socially and historically situated, with Manderscheid et al (2014) describing how: *'people's mobility practices [are] embedded in their spatial, cultural, economical, social and personal context'* (Manderscheid et al 2014: 606). The youth justice population have already been established as having multiple and complex needs, raising a further question about youth justice mobilities and routes. In particular it becomes important to establish whether convicted young people reside in deprived neighbourhoods, and whether tunnelling effects (Graham and Marvin 2001) have impeded their mobilities. Subsequently, mobilities routes are important for this youth justice focused thesis as they raise questions about whether neighbourhood barriers to mobility systems, could impede access to youth justice services. These notions of neighbourhood impediments also connect with the earlier neighbourhood questions about spatial mismatch and spatial entrapment [see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.3], where neighbourhood-based social disadvantage and mobility impediments are brought together.

In other research, mobilities potential and capabilities have been drawn together with individual mobilities and mobilities systems to develop holistic notions of *motility*. Motility provides the potential to examine connections between social and spatial mobility, describing how mobility systems can facilitate and constrain mobility in ways that are not necessarily equal:

'Vincent Kaufmann bridges the gap between what he terms spatial mobility and social mobility. Motility captures the potential movement and its dependence on individual and collective capacities, and backed by a 'mobility capital', motility integrates a mastery of complex mobilities and mobility systems' (Kaufmann et al 2004 cited in Jensen 2011: 256).

Subsequently, notions of motility highlight how mobilities routes can also be inherently socially situated. Kaufmann et al (2004: 750) describe a detailed, three point account of motility, comprising of:

- *Access to mobility*: Comprises of *options* (transport equipment choices) and *conditions* (location specific accessibility, logistics, spatial distribution of population and infrastructure)
- *Mobility competence*: Comprises of *physical ability* (ability to move within given constraints), *acquired skill* (rules and regulations such as licenses, permits or specialist

knowledge) and *organisational skill* (planning and synchronisation of information, abilities and skills)

- *Appropriation of mobility*: Agents select particular options using their perception, interpretation and action. Shaped by needs, plans, aspirations, while connecting with strategies, motives, values, habits (Kaufmann et al 2004: 750).

In other research, *mobilities homework* has been described as one way of enhancing the limited mobile capabilities of marginalised populations (Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015). This has been described as involving an encouragement to focus on the future, develop deeper situational understandings, and study bus schedules, so that: *'the unemployed learn to map the places that are within reach by public transport and prepare themselves for mobility'* (Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015: 338). Such ideas challenge notions of broader structural immobility problems (Manderscheid et al 2014, Houston 2005, Jocoy and Del Casino Jr 2010 and Kaufmann et al 2004), by describing how they can be overcome through individual agency. However, use of homework as a resolution can also be suggested as *problematizing some populations* (in this case the unemployed), rather than considering whether it is actually the *mobilities systems* that are in need of improvement. Such research raises questions about whether convicted young people undertake mobilities learning, and whether any immobility issues are associated with mobilities systems or the convicted young people themselves. Subsequently, further questions can be raised for youth justice mobilities in the context of route. In particular it becomes important to consider whether there are any neighbourhood barriers to young people's appropriation of mobility, and whether local youth justice services enhance these mobilities through learning.

2.2.5. Experience: How do convicted young people feel?

The fourth area of Cresswell's (2010a) six point mobility framework relates to the connections between different mobilities experiences and power [see Section 2.2 in this chapter]. Experience is an important part of Cresswell's framework for this thesis and more broadly, because the mobilities experiences of marginalised groups (including convicted young people) remain somewhat overlooked. Despite their omnipotence, power laden social interactions have been described as being well hidden in research, making it important to study *hidden transcripts* of informal, hidden and supplementary discussions and actions, that indirectly connect with the exchange of power (Scott 1990 cited in Mills 2003: 41). Mills discussed covert non-compliance and overt compliance, describing how seemingly outward impressions of compliance can become coupled with hidden transcripts that attempt to readdress power imbalances through gossip and

theft (Mills 2003: 41). Subsequently, in the context of dominant mobilities discourses - or public performances - a better understanding of mobilities complexities can be revealed through the everyday, embodied account of mobile lives, or the hidden mobilities transcripts (Mills 2003: 41). Such a point is important for this research as it raises questions about whether young people can enact covert hidden transcripts in response to difficult youth justice mobilities.

Although relatively recent bodies of research - such as children's geographies - have aimed to address the limited knowledge on young people's views and experiences of their own journey making [see Chapter 2, Section 3.1.4], more established discussions about journey making prioritise other perspectives. Doughty and Murray (2014) identify five dominant discourses in transport mobility, suggesting how there is an emphasis on areas such as mobility engineering, the economic implications of speed, and sustainability. Dominant discourses influence policy and practice as they produce broadly accepted - and sometimes little questioned - understandings through which strategic decision making can take place (Fergusson 2007, McAlister and Carr 2014). Subsequently, an under emphasis of mobilities experience in transport mobility discourses reveals the limited power of journey makers in the production of mobilities systems. For some groups such as those considered *hard to reach*, this lack of voice could be exacerbated, meaning that views and experiences struggle to filter through into policies associated with transport and journey making. Subsequently, further questions can be raised for this research about whether the distinctive views and experiences of convicted young people are considered in strategic discussions when local mobilities systems are designed. Such a point is particularly important for this research when considering how adverse mobilities experiences can be associated with less powerful members of society (Cresswell 2010a).

Although Cresswell's six point politics of mobility framework considers different mobilities dimensions, these areas do not operate in a discrete way so should not just be considered in isolation. Such a point is important when considering mobilities experiences within institutional settings, and how power can impact motive force. A variety of authors have used mobilities to challenge notions of institutions as static and with clearly demarcated boundaries (Peters and Turner 2015, Martin 2013, Moran 2015). Instead, locally embedded nodes of operational distinctiveness have been emphasised as having blurred boundaries. This blurring has arisen in a range of ways such as through the *experience* of coerced mobilities by institutional users beyond institutional boundaries (Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015) with behavioural conditioning prolonging the *experience* of criminal justice confinement (Shammas 2014). Others have emphasised the transformational nature of boundary spaces, with groups such as prison visitors *experiencing* a liminal *no man's land*, between institutional and non-institutional settings (Moran 2015, Comfort 2003).

Discussions about the abundance of journeys that take place within institutional settings can illuminate notions of fluid institutional experiences. Moran's (2015) account of Russian prisoner transportation experiences provide a powerful example of the coerced institutional journey as a fluid component part of the institution. Some of the adverse mobilities experiences that permeate prisoners' institutional mobilities are described as including poor health and hygiene, feelings of uncertainty, overcrowding, inadequate basic facilities, intimidating direct surveillance and restricted access to outside space. It is important to consider the experience of institutional mobilities in a criminal justice context, as engagement can be compulsory, resulting in a motive force that is highly driven by the institution and not those engaged in the mobilities experience. As youth justice appointments - and subsequently journeys - are compulsory, questions can be raised about the how *coerced institutional mobilities* are experienced by convicted young people and in particular, whether *heightened mobilities adversity* is experienced as a result of the compulsory nature of these appointments.

The final consideration for mobilities experience is that of contemporary public space, with an abundance of literature suggesting how such areas have become increasingly difficult to negotiate. This is based on a range of factors including a rise of private car transport residualising areas that were once commonly encompassed within local mobilities (Karsten 2005), instead transforming them into: '*places of last resort*' (Worpole and Greenhalgh 1996: 20). Others attest that the very nature of public space as: '*a space of conflict, of political tussle, of social relations stripped to their barest essentials*' (Mitchell 2000: 136). Mobile riskiness has been identified within the five dominant discourses of transport mobility, and is associated with *populations experiencing adversity*, and who are often unsettled and at heightened risk such as young people, travellers, and the homeless (Doughty and Murray 2014).

2.2.6. Friction: When or how do convicted young people stop?

Finally, friction is described by Cresswell (2010a) as bypassing traditional international locales such as passport control, instead being found on different scales including locality settings such as through CCTV and access gates or walls [see Section 2.2 in this chapter]. Notions of friction are important for this research as heightened and enforced stillness can be found in the mobilities of marginalised groups, presenting difficulties when local areas are navigated. This begins to raise questions about convicted young people and the friction they may experience when accessing local youth justice services.

Cresswell's critical approach to mobilities challenges traditional, dichotomous views of static structured life and fluid journey making, instead placing friction within mobility. In the second of

Cresswell's (2012) three papers on key themes in mobilities research, notions of: *'waiting, stillness, and stuckness'* (Cresswell 2012: 645) are explored in greater detail. Rather than signalling a re-emphasis on structured, place-based enquiry, stillness is described as representing: *'an insistence that those of us interested in mobility include an awareness of stillness as part of our enquiry'* (Cresswell 2012: 648). Cresswell draws on Martin's (2011) work on *enforced stillness*, and how the nature of stillness within mobility can vary for different groups. In particular, less powerful migrant groups, confined within the capsulated stillness of refrigerated trucks, are contrasted with elite business lounge users. This comparison makes it possible to consider power and inequalities by drawing on Cresswell's earlier work on the politics of mobility, and the contrasting ways in which factors such as motive force, route or experience can materialise.

Although borders are traditionally associated with friction, such as through international immigration controls, Cresswell (2012) describes how notions of the border have changed and can now be found within a local context. When considering friction, Cresswell emphasises the importance of borders. Transcending traditional boundaries such as the nation state, Cresswell draws on the work of Rumford (2010) to substantiate: *'this issue of borders popping up in a multitude of local sites throughout our lives'* (Cresswell 2012: 650). Cresswell also uses van Houtum's work to make connections with power and inequalities, describing how: *'borders are one way of filtering acceptable mobilities and threatening ones - of deciding which travellers are trusted'* (Cresswell 2012: 650). Such mobility barriers are more present for less powerful groups who find themselves under increased scrutiny in contemporary society. Subsequently, it becomes important to identify the presence and nature of local borders in a youth justice journey making context.

Recent research on institutional geographies has revealed the extent to which fluidity permeates what were previously considered as rigid and clearly demarcated operational sites. Motive force can connect with this context, as Moran identifies the nature of local institutions as containing: *'apparent fixity and forced mobility'* (2015: 75). Prevailing notions of static institutional confinement have also been contested through the mobilities lens, with: *'the paradoxical nature of incarcerated experience as individuals oscillate between moments of fixity and motion as they are transported to/from carceral environments'* (Peters and Turner 2015: 1). This suggests that it is possible for institutions to constrain mobile subjects, raising questions about constraint and movement in locality settings for convicted young people who are engaging with youth justice services.

Conclusion

This chapter has cemented a variety of connections between youth justice journey making and existing research and theory. In doing so, the research questions in this thesis can now be embedded in policy and theory while also being directed towards a gap in knowledge, thus informing the collection of new empirical data [see Chapters 6 to 8] and its interpretation [see Chapters 9 and 10]. The questions that this chapter has raised can be drawn into two of the main themes in this thesis: How do convicted young people move in connection with their youth justice obligations and what is their treatment in connection with this movement. The first set of questions about whether convicted young people have adequate transport can be connected with time, affordability, journey making distance, cost, journey making skills, and the mobility impediments that arise from multiple or complex needs. The second set of questions about the treatment of youth justice mobilities includes the need to know whether youth justice services are positioned in accessible places and whether mobilities treatment is consistent between different youth justice services (such as through timekeeping and notions of accessibility). It is now important to know more about the formal and informal rewarding and punishment of youth justice journey making and attendance, and whether young people's mobilities are enhanced through the provision of support. Finally, it has become important to establish the nature of mobilities rhythms, and whether convicted young people with more complex needs have more complicated youth justice rhythms, thus making their accessing of services more difficult.

The new mobilities paradigm offers a wealth of explanatory possibilities, yet it is through more critical ideas that notions of youth justice mobilities can be developed. Cresswell's rigorous politics of mobility framework makes it possible to examine how mobile inequalities can arise from existing social inequalities, and can impact youth justice journey making in six different ways. In particular, the rationale for movement and its velocity, rhythm, route, experience and the nature of its eventual ending have now all become available for further examination.

The remainder of this thesis will be concerned with the gathering, presentation and interpretation of new empirical data, in order to answer these important questions about youth justice mobility and its treatment. In doing so, connections will be made between Cresswell's framework and the broader questions in this chapter. For example, when thinking about Cresswell's notions of motive force (or rationale for movement), it will be possible to consider the punishment, rewarding and supporting of convicted young people's youth justice mobilities. Furthermore, when considering Cresswell's notions of velocity, route or experience, the relevance of young people's journey making distance, economic situation and journey making skills will also become apparent.

Chapter Five: Research Methods

Introduction

So far, this thesis has established the potential for convicted young people's journey making to be problematic in a youth justice context. In particular, important questions have been raised about the potential for convicted young people to experience journey making problems (Oroyemi et al 2009, Church et al 2000, Cresswell 2010a) and then be treated punitively if absent, despite youth justice obligations to support order engagement and completion while accounting for needs (YJB 2009). Having established the direction of enquiry in this thesis, this fifth chapter will now describe the research approach that was considered to be appropriate. Philosophical underpinnings will justify the use of an exploratory, interpretivist approach in this under-researched area, before a mixed methods case study design is described as appropriate in the context of the three main research questions. The rationale and approach to place-based case selection will be described, with areas featuring high order breakdown and inadequate access to transport considered to be important. The recruitment of YOT Practitioners and convicted young people to participate in the research will be described as important in the context of this investigation into youth justice journeys and the treatment of the *wrong sort* of movement (absence). Data collection will then be discussed, with the volume and variety of research participants described alongside the overcoming of particular research barriers. Importantly, this chapter will close by considering how particular ethical issues were acknowledged and resolved, including those relating to researcher standpoint, research safety, and the omission of some groups from the research process. Throughout, justifications will be made for the decisions that were taken in this research, when discussing the: '*three major ingredients of social research*' (Gilbert 2001: 15) - research theory, methods design and data collection.

1. Methodology

1.1. Research questions

When discussing approaches to research, it is important to make connections between the overarching research aims, concepts, indicators and data sources [see Table 5a]. In order to support a rigorous approach in this research, connections between the research questions and eventual data sources are associated with the policies and theories that have been discussed [see Chapters 2, 3 and 4]. These connections are important in order to ensure that this new empirical data on

convicted young people's youth justice mobilities and their treatment, is properly grounded in existing data, while addressing their gaps. Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility framework is important as it has been described as providing the opportunity to evaluate the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities through youth justice journey making [see Chapter 4, Section 2, and main research question 1 in Table 5a]. Youth justice policy recognises an established set of needs, addressing them through the delivery of local youth justice services [see Chapters 2 and 3]. This research aims to establish whether an even broader set of more mobile needs remain unmet, and represent a risk in the context of overarching youth justice commitments to support order engagement and completion [see main research question 2]. It has also become important to consider the incrementally developed youth justice landscape, with a static and fragmented local service raising implications for convicted young people as journey making inequalities have the potential to become exacerbated by an increased burden on journey making [see main research question 3]. The sub-research questions [see Table 5a, Column 2] provide more detail and research guidance on what needs to be discovered, in order to address the three overarching questions. The legitimacy of these questions is then demonstrated through their explicit connection with theoretical and policy-based concepts [see Table 5a, Column 3]. The type of knowledge that is needed to answer the questions is then specified [see Table 5a, Column 4], before finally describing where the data can be found [see Table 5a, Column 5].

To provide an example, question two asks whether there is a politics of youth justice mobility and whether convicted young people's inequalities are (re)produced through their journey making. Questions 2a and 2b direct this question further by pinpointing that it is necessary to examine practitioners' responses to absence, and the implementation of breach policy. These questions are connected back to the *associated concepts* that were found in the theoretical and policy-based discussions earlier in this thesis, where the existence of breach was suggested through youth justice statistics, the connection of absence through youth justice policy documentation, and the prevalence of absence through youth justice inspection reports. The *data indicators* in this research that would then be able to establish whether there is a problem, includes breach rates, absence rates and the youth justice practice experiences of young people and practitioners. Finally, connecting with the design of this research, it becomes apparent that qualitative interviews and focus groups with practitioners and young people would be appropriate *data sources* for this information.

1) Research question	2) Sub questions	3) Associated concept	4) Data indicators	5) Data source
1) Is a politics of youth justice mobilities evident, with the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities evident though their adverse youth justice journey making?	a) Do young people's circumstances needs impact their accessing of local youth justice services?	Politics of mobility suggests presence of inequalities; convicted young people have higher and more complex needs	Breach rates, deprivation rates, experiences of young people and practitioners	Index of Multiple Deprivation; Youth Justice Board annual workload data; Qualitative interviews with young people and practitioners
	b) What mobility systems do young people have access to?			
2) Does youth justice journey making represent an unmet need and an unrecognised youth justice risk factor?	a) Do practitioners account for young people's journey making difficulties when responding to absence?	Young people breach their orders; absence is a cause of breach; absence is indicated to be a problem in youth justice services	Breach rates, absence rates, experiences of young people and practitioners	Qualitative interviews with young people and practitioners
	b) Is there any flexibility in the implementation of breach proceedings?			
3) Does the fragmented local youth justice service landscape exacerbate young people's journey pressures, amplifying the politics of youth justice mobility?	a) Are journeys different?	Different services have their own operational policies and priorities; services are situated in different places;	Experiences of young people and practitioners	Qualitative interviews with young people and practitioners
	b) Is absence treatment different?			
	c) Do breach thresholds differ?			

Table 5a. Research concept indicator links (Rose 1984)

1.2. Philosophical standpoint

1.2.1. Ontology and epistemology

So far, this thesis has started to suggest that a youth justice journey making problem might exist, but that a lack of detail makes it important to undertake further investigations in order to develop

better understandings. In doing so, ontology and epistemology are important to consider as they allow an examination of: *'propositions about what reality is [ontology]; ways of establishing what can be accepted as real [epistemology]; strategies for validating our claims about reality; techniques for collecting data'* (Hart 1998: 51). For example, quantitative knowledge has been described as deductive in nature, with theory testing arriving at the eventual objective proof of social facts. Contrastingly, this qualitative research study is interpretivist and will aim to: *'grasp the meaning of social action'* (Bryman 2004: 13, Clough and Nutbrown 2007) as a constructed force, while facilitating: *'an approach to the study of the social world which seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied'* (Bryman 1988: 46). Subsequently, the human action of youth justice practitioners and young people will be emphasised as important in shaping the social occurrence. In the context of this research, this principle will guide data collection on convicted young people's youth justice journey making, its treatment and the potential for social inequalities to be (re)produced. So this research takes an alternative perspective to youth justice statistical facts by contextualising youth justice mobilities through the lens of human agency and its impact.

1.2.2. Research participants that are *hard to reach*

Some groups are described as *hard to reach* in research because gauging the views of such groups can involve added complications or difficulties. Characteristics of hard to reach groups have been described as including those experiencing social disadvantage, with limited literacy, or those reluctant to acknowledge their status or engage with those not sharing it through their *outsider* status (Benoit et al 2005). Well refined government policies require modification over time as society changes, with obligations in place to undertake consultations with a broad range of policy stakeholder groups, in order to glean as wide a range of views as is possible. The majority of government departments are required to adhere to the *Code of Practice on Consultation*, where superior policy nuancing is described as benefitting from broader consultations, meaning that: *'consultation exercises should be designed to be accessible to, and clearly targeted at, those people the exercise is intended to reach'* (HM Government 2008b: 4). Furthermore, it is described how: *'when consultation exercises need to reach a diverse audience, several approaches may be required'* (HM Government 2008b: 10).

Criticism has been levelled at government policy consultations for employing passive processes that rely on respondents being aware of consultation documents, meaning that both computer and consultation literacy is needed. As such, consultation responses have been noted for having an under-emphasis on: *'hard to reach groups such as people from ethnic minorities or where English is not the first language, people with disabilities, and other commonly excluded groups'* (CA 2010). An

accessible and inclusive approach is also important in this research because groups experiencing disadvantage - including young people - can be described as having a limited identification and expression of their own disadvantage (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, Hart 2010, Eadie and Canton 2002). In youth justice, a deficit of young peoples' voices in connection with their system engagement, coupled with the difficulties that can be found when attempting to understand their views justified the need to include practitioner voices when attempting to develop broader understandings of young people's youth justice practice engagement (Drake et al 2014). For this research, this point is important to distinguish as it justifies the inclusion of practitioner voices in an advocacy context, rather than as practice-based research subjects with their own working approaches being under scrutiny. Subsequently, this research will include diverse and creative methods that do not rely on any sort of literacy - computing, consultative or more conventional, education-based notions of reading ability. In doing so, it is hoped that a broader discussion with under-represented voices can take place, thus illuminating the context of convicted young people's youth justice journey making, and its treatment, in more detail.

1.2.3. Visual participatory methods

In this research, a visual participatory approach was considered to be most important. This is because previous research undertaken by the author with other hard to reach groups found research communications to be supported by such an approach (Wilson and Snell 2010, Brooks-Wilson and Snell 2012). Furthermore, a much broader range of studies have also used visual participatory research when attempting to find out more about children's geographies [see Chapter 2, Section 3.1.4] and also when attempting to understand school journeys from a transport perspective (for example see Mackett et al 2007, Barker 2003, Zwerts et al 2009, Mitchell et al 2007, Sissions-Joshi et al 1999). Visual methods can connect with the different ways that society is inhabited and navigated (Emmison 2004) with image elicitation having the potential to act as a catalyst for journey memories and meanings (Banks 2001). Coupled with images, participatory methods such as mapping exercises have the potential to act as a memory prompt to facilitate communication based on journeys that have been undertaken (Jones 2008). Subsequently, visual participatory methods will be used to undertake this research with convicted young people considered to be *hard to reach* about their youth justice mobilities and treatment. A visual methods pilot with young people considered to be *hard to reach* at the start of this study refined the visual methods that were chosen for use in the two main case studies (Brooks-Wilson 2016), meaning that drawing and photographs were discounted, but that icons and maps were selected. Morrow (2008) describes how notions of childhood have changed over time, and how this can connect with the philosophical underpinnings of research. Conceptualisations of the developing and adult child

respectively connect with research approaches that experiment and observe, or use adult centric modes of enquiry. Notions of the social child can be considered as best fitting in with this research because such an approach accepts children as competent and distinctive from adults. As a consequence, research approaches are described as broad and creative, with visual and imaginative approaches (like storytelling) both suitable and commonplace. Subsequently, these previous studies, coupled with notions of the social child support the choice of visual participatory research methods in this research.

1.2.4. Policy-based research

One final consideration in the context of research standpoint is that of policy-based research [see Figure 5a]. Policy-based research has been described as distinguishable from that which is theoretically based because it is inherently political and focuses less on explanation and cause, instead producing knowledge for action (Hakim 1987 cited in Bechhofer and Paterson 2000: 125). This policy-based research will identify and then critically evaluate absence-based breach before eventually making recommendations about how this new knowledge can inform youth justice policy and practice. Policy research can challenge assumptions and dominant discourses by drawing together a range of strategic voices (Holland and Blackburn 1998), or by being overtly critical through an examination of end-user experiences (Lucas et al 2009). This research will attempt to do both of these things by drawing together the views and experiences of youth justice managers, practitioners, and young people in order to examine any practice based assumptions that are associated with absence-based breach, and the problems that young people can experience as a result. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the design and operationalisation of this interpretivist, policy-based research, in order to plug a gap in knowledge on the context and treatment of absence within the youth justice system, and how this has the potential to (re)produce convicted young people's social inequalities.

Figure 5a. Five features of policy research

- Differences of principle: policy research aims to produce knowledge for action, whereas theoretical research produces knowledge for understanding.
- Contingent differences: that is, differences which, as a matter of fact, tend to distinguish policy research from theoretical research.
- The role of explanation and cause: these matter less in policy research than in theoretical research.
- The types of findings which the two sorts of research produce
- The inescapably political character of policy research
-

(Hakim 1987: 3 cited in Bechhofer and Paterson 2000: 125).

2. Research design

2.1. Planning the research

The following section will describe why a mixed methods-place based case study approach was considered to be suitable, how each of the two locations were chosen along with some of their key characteristics, and how a pilot study helped refine the approach used in the main research.

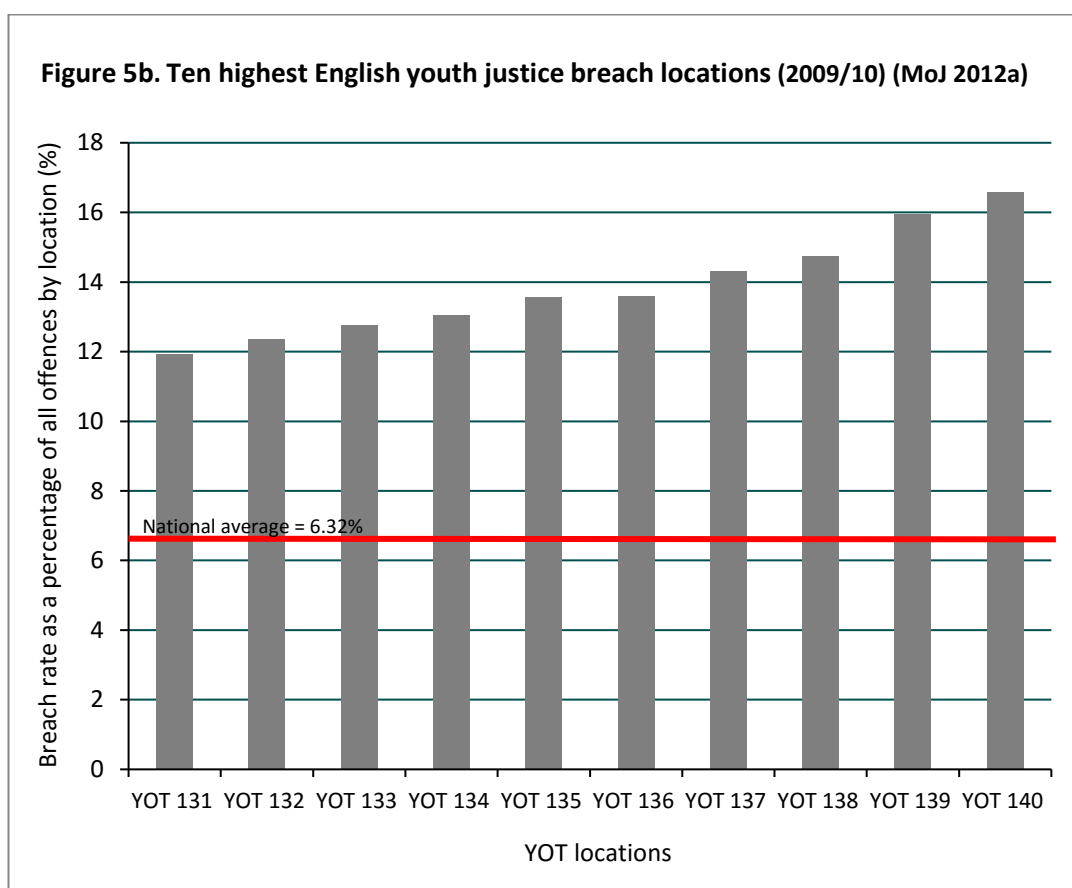
2.1.1. Using a place-based, mixed method case study approach

Mixed method case studies have been described as useful as they make it possible to examine a particular problem from multiple angles and with breadth and rigour, allowing: *'highly focussed studies of particular groups or narrowly defined issues'* (Hakim 2000: 80). This strengthens the rationale for a mixed methods case study approach being used in the case of this research. When planning this research into convicted young peoples' youth justice mobilities and their treatment, it became apparent that existing statistical data would be crucial in providing guidance towards where the policy problem could be located. Despite the influences of statistical data being described as opaque (ONS 2008), such material can be crucial in the early stages of qualitative research design. Subsequently, existing statistical data directed the research towards case studies where both youth justice breach and neighbourhood deprivation were high (DCLG 2011, MoJ 2012a), increasing the chance of finding the problem under scrutiny. As high breach rates were an absolute priority for this research [see the data indicators for research questions 1 and 2 in Table

5a], and deprivation also needed to be high, it was decided to undertake a primary stratification of case selection through breach rates, with secondary stratification through deprivation data.

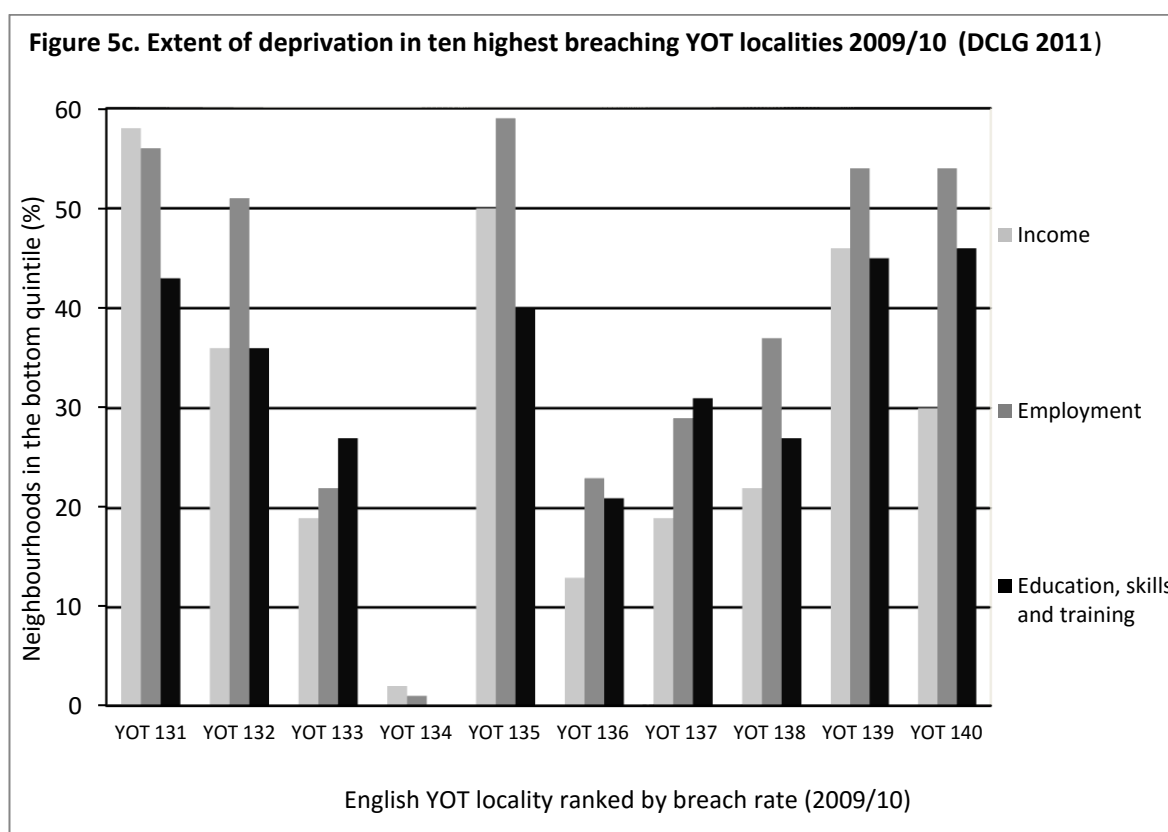
2.1.2. Selection of case study sites

Existing Youth Justice Board statistics on breach are reported at a local YOT level, making it possible to calculate and rank breach statistics according to clearly defined geographical areas. This process initially involved applying to the Youth Justice Board for YOT level data on *proven offences*, as it had not been made publicly available for 2009/10. Then for each out of 140 YOTs in England, the **total breach offences** figure was divided by the **total offences** figure, and then multiplied by 100. A short list of the ten highest YOT breach rates in England for 2009/10 was then made, before beginning case stratification and selection. Figure 5b shows how despite a national average breach rate of 6.32 per cent, the YOTs with the ten highest breach rates were much greater with over 16 per cent of orders reaching formal breach proceedings in the highest location.



The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) provides data on deprivation levels in different domains such as health, housing and education (DCLG 2008, ONS 2010), for specific geographical areas.

Conveniently for this research, youth justice and IMD data are both produced at the same reporting level so can be considered together. Because particular areas of adversity have been associated with convicted young people [see Chapter 2, Section 1.2.1], it was decided that deprivation would be examined in the ten shortlisted YOT locations, in the context of income, employment, and also education, skills and training [see Figure 5c, also see Appendix 1 for more context]. This made it possible to locate which of the ten locations were in the bottom quintile for the deprivation, in England during 2010. Out of the ten highest breaching YOT locations, five locations contained exceptionally high levels of deprivation, with at least one of the three areas of deprivation being in the bottom quintile for deprivation in half of all local neighbourhoods [see Figure 5c]. At this point in the case selection process, one location was discounted for further examination as deprivation wasn't prevalent, limiting the likelihood of the policy problem under examination being found there.



After identifying nine possible research locations [see Figure 5b], seven youth offending teams (locations 133 to 140 excluding location 134) were telephoned and then sent a follow up email in order to engage in further discussions about the research rationale, and fieldwork feasibility.

Although some promising discussions initially took place in a few locations, it was locations 139 and 140 that responded most positively, with further discussions and meetings then taking place. Subject to a Criminal Records Bureau check, research access was granted in both of these locations. These locations fitted in with the research objectives as their breach rates were the two highest in England for 2009/10 at 15.95 per cent of all offences in location 139, and 16.58 per cent in location 140. Furthermore, half of the neighbourhoods in each location were in the bottom deprivation quintile for employment, and over 40 per cent of the neighbourhoods were in the bottom quintile for education, skills and training deprivation. The inclusion of these locations in this research was important as it became more hopeful that the policy problem of absence-based breach in the context of young people's absence difficulties would be found [see the data indicators for research questions 1 and 2 in Table 5a].

2.1.3. Description of case study sites and youth justice populations

Having selected the two cases, it became important to establish a more detailed understanding of the two locality areas and their youth justice populations. Initially the decision was made to anonymise the two case study locations, in order to protect the identity of research participants - some of whom would have otherwise be easy to identify. Both case study locations were post-industrial towns, one previously permeated with coal mines and the other with cotton mills. For this reason, the names Mining Town and Mill Town were considered to be appropriate, to anonymise the settings while alluding to the economic and social history of each location.

Before examining deprivation and youth justice engagement in more detail, other factors relating to each locality should be considered. Table 5b extends understandings of the locality context in terms of worklessness, ethnicity, population size, and the rural/urban mix. It is possible to see that the proportion of children residing in workless households is above the national average of 16.5 per cent in both Mining Town and Mill Town, with Mining Town the highest at 23 per cent (ONS 2011). The proportion of the population described as 'White British' is below the national average in Mill Town, and above in Mining Town (during the most recently available 2001 census). In Mill Town, the proportion of 10-17 year olds in the local population is around two per cent above the national average at 12.57 per cent, contrasting with Mining Town where the number of 10 to 17 year olds was close to the national average. Using Defra's Local Authority Urban/Rural Classifications, both locations were identified as 'Other Urban' based on them being: *'districts with less than 26 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns'* (Defra 2009). In terms of the urban/rural mix, Mining Town was significantly more rural at 20 per cent, compared with Mill Town at just 5 per cent.

Table 5b. Local context of Mining Town and Mill Town

	England	Mill Town	Mining Town
Region within which case study was located	n/a	North West	Yorkshire and Humber
^a Workless households within which children resided in 2010, thousands (%) (ONS 2011)	1,606 (16.5)	6 (19.7)	9 (23)
Population described as White British (%) (ONS 2001)	86.99	76.11	98.12
Population aged 10-17, total (%) (ONS 2001)	5,084,080 (10)	17,279 (13)	22,789 (10)
Land classified as rural (%) (Defra 2009)	n/a	5	20
Land classified as urban (%) (Defra 2009)	n/a	95	80

Returning to deprivation in more detail, it is possible to see high overall prevalence in Mining Town and Mill Town with Table 5c indicating high levels of deprivation in relation to income and education. Of particular significance is the level of employment deprivation with over half of the neighbourhoods in each locality being in the bottom quintile. Health deprivation is also particularly evident in Mill Town with 62 per cent of neighbourhoods being placed in the bottom quintile. Existing research connects deprivation with criminal engagement (Cusworth et al 2009, Oroyemi et al 2009, YJB 2005a, 2005b), and deprivation with mobility exclusion so in the case of this research, such data is crucial when developing understandings on deprivation, youth justice and mobility exclusion.

	Mill Town	Mining Town
Neighbourhoods are the fifth most deprived in the country, number in each case study (% of case study neighbourhoods)	47 (52)	49 (33)
Income deprivation, number (%)	42 (46)	44 (30)
Employment deprivation, number (%)	49 (54)	80 (54)
Education, skills and training deprivation, number (%)	41 (45)	68 (46)
Proximity to local services, number (%)	12 (13)	14 (10)
Crime, number (%)	91 (24)	25 (17)
Living environment, number (%)	42 (46)	8 (5)
Health, number (%)	56 (62)	51 (35)

Table 5c. Neighbourhoods classified as the fifth most deprived in England in seven different areas of deprivation during 2010 (DCLG 2011)

Although deprivation (ONS 2001) and breach rates (MoJ 2012a) were high in Mining Town and Mill Town, Table 5d [also see Appendix 2 for more context] illustrates how Mining Town has a larger youth justice population with less severe court outcomes, as around ten per cent more children receive informal and tier two outcomes. In Mill Town, the proportion of children entering custody was above the national average at five percent, compared with just two per cent in Mining Town. Such data raises questions about levels of variance in mandatory journey making demands, when undertaking a youth justice order.

	England and Wales	Mill Town	Mining Town
Breach rate (%)* (2009/10)	6	16	17
Youth justice population size* (2009/10)	155,857	288	632
Pre-court outcome population (%)* (2009/10)	41	28	40
Tier 1 population (%)* (2009/10)	37	39	40
Tier 2 population (%)* (2009/10)	19	29	18
Tier 3 population (%)* (2009/10)	3	5	2

Table 5d. Youth justice population in Mining Town and Mill Town in 2009/10 (MoJ 2012a)

It was possible to establish a difference in local transport planning strategies in Mining Town and Mill Town. A number of local and regional obligations exist in connection with transport planning, with six Integrated Transport Authorities (ITAs) operating in six non-London based metropolitan areas of Greater Manchester, Merseyside, the West Midlands, West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and Tyne and Wear (DfT 2012). These ITAs have an obligation to: *'strengthen governance arrangements in metropolitan counties and to facilitate transport planning and delivery'* (DfT 2009: 9) with the further obligation to maintain a local transport plan, in accordance with the Transport Act 2000 and Local Transport Act 2008 (HM Government 2000b, 2008, DfT 2012). These five year plans are designed in consultation with transport users and any other relevant groups such as those with particular mobility requirements. A number of obligations are set out for the six regional ITAs, with funding dependent on the demonstration of the capacity to: *'support economic growth; reduce carbon emissions; promote equality of opportunity; contribute to better safety, security and health; and improve quality of life and a health natural environment'* (DfT 2009: 12-14). Such obligations contrast with those undertaken at a local authority level with Local Area Agreements (LAAs) directing local level transport policies, based on an evaluation of local need (DfT 2012). In terms of this research, Mining Town had an ITA in operation and Mill Town had an LAA.

2.1.4. Research design refinement through a pilot study

A pilot study was undertaken prior to the main research in order to support the refinement of tools and strategies. This initially proved to be useful in terms of:

- Allowing an exploration of epistemological differences (or different types of knowledge) arising from different visual research approaches
- Checking the clarity and appropriateness of different visual methods

To address these points, a focus group was arranged with five *hard to reach* young people, who were experiencing multiple and complex needs that were unidentified to the researcher. Following informed consent being obtained [see Appendix 4], and information sheets provided and explained [see Appendix 5], young people were asked to think about a journey into town. The methods that were tested included a map, icons, drawing and photographs. In terms of the findings, photographs were immediately discounted because it was difficult to isolate a single message within a snapshot of such detail, with young people becoming distracted and confused. This was useful logistically and in terms of resourcing, as it meant that the production of visual tools within the two case study locations prior to the start of the research was not subsequently needed. With respect to drawing, young people were able to recite a lot of detail about particular events that had taken place on their journeys, with one young person recounting an abundance of detail about the people and places that were connected with an occasion of sickness on the bus. However, young people generally reported feeling uncomfortable with this approach, enjoying it the least as they felt their drawing skills were being evaluated.

Visual icons were received favourably, with young people quickly and enthusiastically understanding the intended meanings. The simplicity of this approach gave it clarity, meaning that young people were confident to engage in discussions, with the cards successfully acting as a catalyst. This approach produced knowledge that favoured the comparing and contrasting of the different icon-based ranking cards, so was also appropriate for the main research aims and became included. The final method under review was maps, which were also found to be effective, and were received very favourably. Despite one young person expressing apprehension about their map reading skills, once examining the journey to town, excited engagement ensued, with routes quickly located and help enthusiastically sought for places unfound. The nature of knowledge produced was one of a narrative, with key features and events described such as the river, bridge, car park and shop that a drink was purchased from. This sort of narrative knowledge also complemented the icons where the production of a more critical knowledge on different modes and destinations was produced. Subsequently, this pilot focus group supported the refinement of the visual methods that were used, with icons and maps eventually chosen.

Then it became important to check some other details before proceeding with the main study, so a focus group of 15 YOT Practitioners, and an interview with a YOT manager subsequently took place in order to:

- Provisionally gauge whether there was an absence-based breach problem
- Check youth justice locations and functions for comprehensiveness

An interview initially took place with the YOT Manager. During this interview absence-based breach was described as a problem at the pilot location, with an abundance of activities aiming to counteract its prevalence and impact. It became apparent that practitioners could use different strategies to minimise absence, and were flexible with the times and locations of appointments. Absence-based breach also became apparent as a complicated problem, with young people's own circumstances exacerbating its likelihood. For example, if a young person attending a group session was in conflict with other young people in attendance, absence was described as being more likely. This research discussion was valuable in providing preliminary feedback about the problem under investigation, meaning that no major deviation from the original research plan would be required. Next, a focus group was conducted with 15 YOT Practitioners. The purpose of this pilot discussion was to establish a range of practice settings, contexts and barriers in order to refine the visual research tools for the main case studies. 34 different settings were found to be in use for youth justice practice providing an important initial indication of the priority that youth justice accessibility has for YOT Practitioners, and the complexity with which practice is delivered.

2.2. Data collection

The following section will describe the settings and research tools, before describing how the appropriateness of interviews and focus groups was decided. Limitations of the research design will also be acknowledged. This stage of the research process connects with the data source column in Table 5a, where connections are made between the research questions and data collection.

2.2.1. Research setting

It was decided that a youth justice setting would be most feasible place to conduct this research. Existing research does support the accessing of young people to discuss their mobilities through the institutions that they frequent (Barker 2008), legitimising YOT-based access. However, the lack of neutrality of such a location is also acknowledged as potentially impacting the research findings. Subsequently, efforts were made to minimise this, such as through the YOT Practitioner leaving the

room during research discussions with young people, with the caveat that young people would be in control of this decision. Neutral community facilities were considered as an alternative but discounted for logistical reasons. In terms of the options that were available, the YOT office was well known to young people so seemed to be the most feasible site. It was decided that interview rooms would be used in Mining Town, and a meeting space in Mill Town. In both locations, the rooms had been legitimately appropriated by young people (Woolley 2006) with wall decorations and recreational activities promoting a relaxed and informal atmosphere. At the start of each interview and focus group, verbal comprehension checks took place, and informed consent was obtained [see Appendices 5 and 6] as well as information sheets for participants to keep [see Appendices 8 to 10].

2.2.2. Research tools

As multiple and complex needs are prevalent in populations of convicted young people - making them hard to reach in research - an accessible and engaging approach was considered to be most appropriate. Subsequently, it was decided that an icon-based ranking exercise could be engaging, relaxing and accessible to young people with limited literacy levels (Benoit et al 2005, Bragg 2007, Becker and Bryman 2004). As the researcher had previous experience of using visual methods to support complex policy-based discussions with *hard to reach* groups (Wilson and Snell 2010, Brooks-Wilson and Snell 2012), this approach was also considered favourable in terms of its delivery. Four categories of icons represented [see Appendices 13 and 14]:

- Journey making modes (such as walking, public transport, private car transport)
- Journey barriers (such as long distances, conflict)
- Youth justice services (such as education, employment)
- Youth justice locations (such as court, the police station, youth custody)

Young people were invited to identify these visual tools before interacting with them to guide a discussion about youth justice journey making experiences. A semi-structured interview topic guide [see Appendix 10] was designed for use alongside the cards, providing some research structure while also giving participants the space to respond to open and probing questions about the matters they considered to be most pertinent (Bragg 2007). For youth justice practitioners, a semi-structured topic guide was also used [see Appendix 9], and the icon cards were translated into text. This is because different social groups engage with research in different ways (Morrow 2008), and it was anticipated that increased literacy levels coupled with a heightened capacity to participate, would limit the need for highly accessible, engaging visual tools. In contemporary

research, policy and practice, young people's capacity to participate in discussions about their own lives is recognised as important (James and Prout 1990, James 2010, Prout and James 1990, Jenks 2004, Kraftl, Horton and Tucker 2012). Subsequently, practitioners were encouraged to focus on their own practice experiences rather than to speak for, or speculate about young people's intentions or circumstances.

2.2.3. Appropriateness of interviews and focus groups

Interviews and focus groups were decided to be appropriate for this research based on participant characteristics, the need for confidentiality and the nature of the discussion that was taking place. For practitioners, individual qualitative interviews were considered to be appropriate as they would provide the opportunity to:

- Explore practice problems in confidence
- Allow nuanced practice views and approaches to be more easily distinguished
- Uncover issues particular to discrete areas of local youth justice services

The feasibility of practitioner focus groups in the main study was limited as each youth justice team was small, meaning a significant proportion would have been removed from practice. For young people, it was anticipated that interviews and focus groups would take place. In terms of benefits to the two approaches, interviews promote confidentiality and the gathering of nuanced views and experiences, whereas focus groups can promote a relaxed research atmosphere, while providing the possibility for richer data to arise from the dialogue between participants (Bragg 2007, Wilson and Snell 2010, Benoit et al 2005). As young people on more serious orders would be more likely to have entrenched needs and a heightened youth justice engagement, it was decided that interviews would be attempted with young people on more serious orders and focus groups with those on less serious orders. This was with the caveat that young people's needs could override this plan with for example, an interview probably being deemed more appropriate for young person on a less serious order with higher needs or youth justice peer conflict.

2.2.4. Limitations of the research design

The lack of policy detail on absence-based breach, and lack of data on its occurrence meant that this research would have an inherently exploratory approach. As a result, a key feature of this research is to establish absence-based breach, as well as its context and treatment. This means that the research design does not allow the production of data that is generalisable to the wider

population of convicted young people. The selection of cases was not representative to the wider population of YOT Offices in England and Wales, but was based on where the problem of absence-based breach was likely to be coupled with a lack of adequate transport. In terms of the sampling strategy at a YOT level, attempts were made to glean the views and experiences of a variety of practitioners and young people, so for example, the research did not reflect one order, gender or age. However, representative sampling was again not undertaken, as there was a need to convenience sample young people through YOT Practitioner gatekeepers which meant a reliance on existing practice relationships and contacts. As both cases in this research shared rates of high breach and high deprivation, together they strengthened the pool of emerging data into youth justice access difficulties and subsequent treatment. However, future research may benefit from the inclusion of highly contrasting cases, for example in terms of physical geography, transport infrastructure, deprivation levels or breach rates. Such an approach is beyond the scope of this research but could provide the opportunity to understand the differences in areas such as young people's circumstances or practice approaches.

3. Data collection and analysis

3.1. Data collection

The collection of data in this research largely followed the research plan, with an initial pilot taking place during the autumn of 2011. The main data collection period was from July 2012 until October 2012, starting in Mining Town before moving on to Mill Town, and with some overlap. Where there were difficulties accessing young people, deviation took place as additional practice locations beyond the YOT Office were accessed. This process was less predictable and easy to plan as the number of people it became essential to involve in its organisation increased, and practice constraints meant that they weren't always readily available. It had been hoped that young people would engage more broadly in the production of photographs of their journey making in order to illustrate some of the problems. However, logistics meant that this was possible with just one group of young people. Figure 5d describes the four stages of data collection that took place in this research, three of which will be discussed in more detail in the following section, having already established the case selection process [see Section 2.1.2 in this chapter].

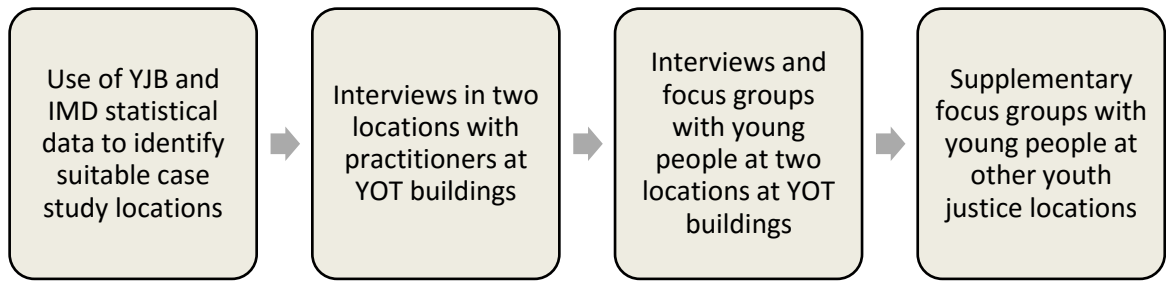


Figure 5d. Research design

3.1.1. Organisational gatekeepers

In both locations, gatekeepers facilitated the accessing of practitioners and young people, with research participation being based on availability and willingness to become involved (Bryman 2004). In Mining Town, the YOT Manager liaised with YOT Practitioners regarding their own inclusion in the research, while encouraging each of the interviewed practitioners to liaise with young people on their caseload about their inclusion. The YOT Manager made periodic progress checks, initiating extra contact with YOT Practitioners if research scheduling progress hadn't been made. In Mill Town the strategy was less clearly planned, with the YOT Manager agreeing to particular days on which the initial research would take place, with YOT Practitioner interviews based on their availability during the visits. A tier two YOT Practitioner acted as a gatekeeper for the young people, making initial telephone contact to discuss their participation during afternoon sessions in a YOT building that was in close proximity to the main YOT office. Overall, the approach used in Mining Town was more successful in terms of securing research contact, with a greater volume of visits to Mill Town unexpectedly resulting in no research activity. When expected research contact didn't transpire the reasons were found to be more serious than for the few research absences at Mining Town, with young people's absence in Mill Town relating to serious issues such as hospitalisation and attempted suicide. Table 5e [also see Appendix 13 for further detail] describes the number of practitioners and young people that were accessed in each location, within the interviews and focus groups that took place.

3.1.2. Practitioner interviews

The inclusion of practitioner advocacy interviews in this research was important in the context of young people's youth justice accessibility problems, due to the communication problems that can arise when young people are attempting to articulate their neglected views and experiences of youth justice research (Drake et al 2014), and because of the potential for young people to have a limited recognition of their own disadvantage (Eadie and Canton 2002, Hart 2010, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005). Subsequently, this research includes practitioner interviews

about young people's journey making because: *'young people's perspectives are sometimes difficult to interpret without corresponding assessments of the practitioners who can gloss their comments - albeit with a critical eye'* (Drake et al 2014: 23). This means that the focus of practitioners in this research was to expand on young people's views and experiences of their journey making and its treatment in different institutional contexts. Although discretionary judgements should be acknowledged as part of practitioners' treatment of young people's absence, it is the treatment within different institutional fragments that remains the key focus of this research and not the individual practitioner-young person relationship. As the practitioner interviews in Mining Town were planned in advance with the YOT manager, their scheduling and delivery was very straight forward. The organisational gatekeeper liaised with practitioners about their availability and booked the interviews times so researcher negotiation was not needed. Because the interviews with practitioners in Mill Town were not scheduled in advance, but were instead based on practitioners' availability and willingness at that time, interviews were conducted around other commitments so had highly varied duration and were sometimes fragmented, meaning the level of detail in each discussion was quite different. Although most Practitioners were willing to be interviewed, imminent commitments meant that in some cases, the interview focus became impeded.

3.1.3. Interviews and focus groups with young people

When undertaking interviews and focus groups with young people, interview absence impeded the research process in both case study locations, but especially in Mill Town. On a number of occasions, both case study locations were travelled to, before finding out that a young person wouldn't be in attendance either by prior notification or their eventual absence. Access difficulties were greater in Mill Town, with the reasons for absence reflecting greater levels of adversity, and with Mill Town being the only of the two where case study visits resulted in no research being conducted. In both locations, opportunities to meet with young people at the YOT office became exhausted, so further research opportunities were discussed with practitioners, before proceeding in other youth justice locations.

Undertaking new research in alternative locations is acknowledged as potentially impacting the quality of data, but the need for additional interviews was greater. This was especially the case in Mill Town, where access to young people was particularly difficult based on the high levels of multiple and complex needs, and high levels of absence [see Figures 5b and 5c]. In both case study locations, the young people accessed at these additional youth justice locations had more significant or complex needs, and were on more serious community orders. In Mining Town this involved going to a mandatory Friday morning ISS session, which was informally delivered in a rural

youth club setting three times before the research concluded. In Mill Town additional research contact became possible at an Attendance Centre, where focus groups and interviews were conducted with young people. In Mill Town, fieldwork came to an end after visiting the Attendance Centre four times. Researcher safety needed to be assessed after experiencing two occasions of verbally aggressive and threatening behaviour. Advice was sought at a Thesis Advisory Panel meeting which coincided with these Attendance Centre visits, and it was decided that on balance, enough research data had been gathered, so fieldwork could be concluded.

	Total	Pilot	Mining Town	Mill Town
Young people accessed	28	5	12	11
Practitioners accessed	33	17	12	4
Total number of focus groups	9	2	4	3
Total number of interviews	24	2	15	7

Table 5e. Summary of data collection

3.1.4. Visual methods effectiveness

In all of the interviews and focus groups, ranking cards were used alongside a local Ordnance Survey map with the main difference being that young people's cards displayed visual icons and for practitioners, text was used. The icons that were used in the interviews and focus groups did work as an effective conversational catalyst, providing an alternative focus to that of the unfamiliar questioning adult researcher (Becker and Bryman 2004, Wilson and Snell 2010, Bragg 2007). Previous research use of the icons using the same software had found that one less clear icon had provided an important catalyst for conversation, so the icon on *frightening journey* [see Appendix 12, icon 10] was introduced as a discussion point in order to support rapport-building. This worked effectively as young people were attracted this ambiguous image, finding it entertaining while questioning its meaning.

3.1.5. Young people's journey making photography

Existing research has found how young people's engagement with the subject of their discussion as *part* of the research process, has the potential to produce rich and robust data (Lolichen et al 2006). Subsequently, it was decided that a final research stage would involve the provision of photographic equipment to young people, so they could document parts of their youth justice journeys that were considered to be important in the context of the discussions. Heightened occularcentricity in

contemporary society supports such an approach as it has become more commonplace for young people to engage in visual communication, such as through social media and camera phones (Bragg 2007). This stage of the research only became possible in Mining Town, as access difficulties in Mill Town had limited the scope for further research activities. Subsequently, three visits were made to an ISS group that met in a rural community youth club each Friday morning.

During the first two visits, groups of two or three young people participated in focus groups. The research design had intended for young people on more serious orders to be interviewed rather than accessed through focus groups. However, the very informal setting and small focus groups limited risks associated with such an approach. During these visits, young people were consulted about the possibility of engaging in a photographic activity, and were enthusiastic as they were able to associate places from their focus group discussions. The availability of a mini bus also made such an activity feasible. During the third visit with this group all of the young people in the ISS group travelled in the minibus to their outlying villages, and then on to the town centre - where the majority of youth justice services were based. The young people discussed their experiences and took photographs throughout. The idea of a photographic exhibition in the foyer of a local authority building or the production of Christmas cards to raise money for Victim Support had been mooted with the YOT Manager, YOT Practitioners and young people, but in the end this was not something the young people wanted to pursue. It was also hoped that the young people would be willing to meet again to have a more detailed discussion about their photographs, but they were not interested in engaging with this, so research in Mining Town concluded with the photography session.

3.2. Data analysis

3.2.1. Verbal analysis

Each interview and focus group was recorded and transcribed. Coding of this written data was then undertaken using the qualitative data analysis (QDA) software ATLAS.ti. During the coding process, a list of main codes and sub-codes were produced, based on the content and themes of the research discussions with practitioners and young people [see Appendix 14]. Some of the codes were pre-determined based on the research aims, such as *transport used: private/public/active*. Other themes also emerged during the coding process such as *transport conflict adults* and *young people's confidence* (Silverman 1993). It was then possible to understand the range of issues by examining the contents of quotations within this methodically structured data. A tally of the frequencies was used for the identification of repeatedly problematic journeys and spaces, although it is acknowledged that wider inferences cannot be made from such data (Denscombe 2007).

3.2.2. Visual analysis

Visual material can be interpreted in a wide range of ways including: content analysis; visual anthropology; image-elicitation; semiotics and iconography; psychoanalytical image analysis; social semiotic visual analysis and within a cultural studies perspective (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001). It has been described how when analysing images, the viewing context (for example an exhibition or journal article) has the capacity to influence interpretation, with the presence or absence of text having a further interpretative impact. Similarly, the social context within which the image is produced and interpreted is likely to produce varied meanings (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001).

In the case of the mapping interviews and the journey toolkit exercise, image-elicitation acted as catalysts for verbal responses. Content analysis was undertaken in connection with the maps that young people discussed, to explain their journey making (Rose 2007: 65). The maps were inputted into ArcGIS (Asencio and Parker 2009) in order to analyse the journeys according to their YOT activity purpose. Finally, participant's photographs of their own spatial barriers were illustrated and selected to support the range of issues arising in the verbal interviews. As part of this process a final focus group took place with children to discuss their photos and further cement meanings, as described in Figure 5e. Importantly, Fitzgerald et al (2009) describe how children's participation can be impeded by a lack of feedback. Subsequently, participants will be given a summary of their input in plain English (PEC 2009) while being invited to disseminate their photographs through a range of channels. One YOT Manager has expressed his enthusiasm at the construction of greetings cards, providing the possibility of raising money for victim support, although its separation from this research project was clarified with the resulting work not forming part of this thesis.

Figure 5e. Processing visual research tools

- 1) Initial interview to gauge the capacity for the photographs to answer particular questions
- 2) Interviewees are given a camera or the researcher decided on the type of images to include, based on stage 1
- 3) Interviewees reflect on their photos (if appropriate)
- 4) Interview is conducted to discuss the photos in detail
- 5) Interview material and photographs are interpreted
- 6) Research dissemination takes place, commonly with the meanings that have arisen from the images being prioritised over the images themselves.

Rose 2007: 241-242

4. Ethical considerations

4.1.1. Ethical approval

Enhanced ethical clearance was required before accessing participants, based on their status as young people and potentially vulnerable. Informed consent forms were nuanced for ease of use, with 'opt in' boxes being included throughout. Some research processes were also modified with for example, the removal of incentives that could be considered coercive. Plain English was used in all communication (PEC 2009, Becker and Bryman 2004) and guidance from the SRA, BSA and NSPCC consulted (SRA 2003, BSA 2002, NSPCC 2007). A Criminal Records Bureau check was also undertaken with the certificate taken to every research session.

Participants were given the opportunity to leave the research session or retrospectively withdraw their contribution in every case, with every effort being made to ensure that this process was simple and accessible (Alderson and Morrow 2004). For those who had committed more serious offences, individual interviews were sometimes considered to be more suitable, providing young people with higher levels of confidentiality while increasing research safety and allowing for complex needs to be adequately supported (May 1997). For those who had committed less serious offences or had less complex needs, focus groups were more readily used where possible.

4.1.2. Research safety considerations

For each interview and focus group with young people, practitioners were either present or in close proximity outside of the room. In nearly every case, there were no safety concerns, with young people discussing their youth justice journey making and absence in a calm and considered way. In just one situation a young person displayed some hostile behaviour towards the researcher. After two unavoidable occasions of contact with this particular young person at the Attendance Centre that was used by Mill Town, the decision was taken to stop visiting this location, so research in Mill Town concluded at this point.

Some groups within the youth offending population are deliberately absent in this research, to minimise the potential for participant or researcher harm, while also accounting for the level of researcher experience and training (Heath et al 2009). Those with a propensity to behave in a volatile or violent way and those identified as experiencing mental ill health were not invited to participate, although the under-diagnosis of mental health issues in youth justice is recognised (Talbot 2010). Young people were not interviewed while in custody as their capacity to exercise autonomy would have been significantly limited. Although this had the potential to exclude some of those who are under-represented in research (Heath et al 2009) young people currently in receipt of the following court disposals did not take part:

- Section 90 - conviction for murder
- Section 91 - conviction where an adult could receive at least 14 years in custody
- Section 226 - extended sentence for certain violent or sexual offences
- Section 228 - detention for public protection (MoJ 2011a, 2011b)

As this research is concerned with convicted young people, those subject to youth justice interventions but without a conviction were not included. Similarly, those with a reprimand, final warning or on remand were not included (YJB 2012d). Although visual research methods can widen research participation (Rose 2007, Brooks-Wilson and Snell 2012), some groups such as those with limited vision would find it difficult to engage with the research process, although there was no attempt made to exclude blind or partially sighted convicted young people.

Conclusion

This methods chapter has provided a crucial connection between earlier discussions about youth justice absence and breach policy, and the new mobilities paradigm. Theoretical and policy-based discussions were drawn together into a set of specific questions about convicted young people's youth justice mobilities in a youth justice context, and their treatment. Limited existing context was described as heightening the need for more exploratory investigations, while the use of accessible communication tools was described as important in order to access a variety of perspectives, including convicted young people. Differences in gatekeeping approaches within the two case study locations impacted access to research participants, with Table 5e revealing how greater levels of research were made possible in Mining Town. The next three chapters of this thesis will describe the data that was collected using the approach described in this chapter.

Chapter Six: Youth Justice Responses to the Wrong Sort of Mobility

Introduction

So far, this thesis has argued for the importance of further investigations into the underexplored area of convicted young people's youth justice journey making and its treatment. The youth justice population has been established in research and youth justice policy guidance as having a greater prevalence of multiple or complex needs (YJB 2005a, 2005b, Hart 2011). However, it can be argued that a specific set of needs that does not include journey making strongly directs the content of orders (YJB 2006a, 2006b), with obligations to promote order engagement and completion remaining under-emphasised. However, the impact of convicted young people's youth justice journey making needs on youth justice attendance also needs to be properly assessed. This is because youth justice engagement remains a policy priority - if a young person is absent, they can neither engage nor complete their order (YJB 2009, 2010d).

The first part of this chapter will establish punishment as a response to absence, with youth justice policy guidance on breach proceedings being adhered to. However, young people's difficult circumstances will also be acknowledged, resulting in some inherent flexibilities and support in the management of youth justice attendance. Nonetheless, when attendance problems remain unresolved, unfavourable treatment will become apparent. Such findings will raise broader questions about the capacity for local youth justice services to resolve convicted young people's journey making problems. The second part of this chapter will focus on three areas of need in convicted young people's lives that can impact youth justice journey making and attendance. Young people's emotional needs, financial difficulties and engagement with education or employment will be described in a way that departs from existing youth justice policy and practice, where offending risk is emphasised. As connections are cemented between appointment attendance and these areas of need, the (re)production of social inequalities through youth justice absence will also become apparent. Questions will also be raised about whether Cresswell's (2010a) six point politics of mobility framework can be supplemented with the new considerations of *mobilities communications* - something that resonates with the new mobilities paradigm (Urry 2007). Convicted young people's dependant mobilities will then raise further questions about how the mobility resourcing and the circumstances of others can have also an impact.

1. Rationalising unpredictability when responding to absence

This first findings section will describe how youth justice practitioners respond to young people's absence through the use of formal and informal breach proceedings. Youth justice service attendance will be acknowledged as being difficult in some cases, although expectations of young people communicating difficulties and taking responsibility will become apparent. Varied levels of absence for different types of appointments will begin to raise questions about the need to understand the broader context of absence-based breach, while use of breach as an absence deterrent will be questioned as not necessarily effective, raising further questions about young people's attendance capabilities.

1.1.1. Responding to convicted young people's youth justice absence

Absence-based breach is poorly identified in youth justice policy, with a variety of guidance suggesting how young people should comply with their orders, and that absence is a way of compliance becoming jeopardised (YJB 2009, 2010d). The locating of this research in areas where both deprivation and breach and were high, has provided a good opportunity to substantiate the existence of absence-based breach while exploring its contexts and meanings. In this research, YOT Practitioners were found to follow breach proceedings (YJB 2009), with three non-serious instances of non-compliance described as triggering formal proceedings, and a return to court: *'I'd give them a verbal warning - an informal, first warning letter, final warning letter, breach'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). This process was also followed when young people were absent for non-YOT appointments:

Interviewer: *'But if [young people] just didn't turn up, didn't call or anything, then...'*

Practitioner: *'Then it's written warnings. The case worker will take on written warnings and that - then there'll be a final warning and the third missed appointment and they'll be getting set to breach them'* (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

Such findings suggest order management remains a priority in contemporary youth justice, with strict adherence to National Standards and punishment for order conduct leaving limited room for order completion to be prioritised (Bateman 2011, Eadie and Canton 2002). When discussing youth court order outcomes, practitioners in this research suggested how they usually retained a high level of control, even when things didn't go to plan. When the problems that triggered absenteeism remained unresolved, the management of order outcomes become transferred to the youth court or the community. This research found that practitioners relinquished their responsibilities at

different points for different types of orders. Increased rigidity was associated with those absent from more serious community-based outcomes, such as the Youth Rehabilitation Order (YRO): *'the third miss and it's always straight back to court - and it's the court who decide what happens'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4). This finding supports existing research where young people are described as not being equally well placed to complete their orders as a result of the orders that they are serving, with more intensive orders presenting adherence difficulties and higher levels of breakdown (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010). Contrastingly, when young people were serving less serious community-based outcomes, increased opportunities to explain absenteeism were found:

'First breach, if you like, first failure to stick to the contract, they get a letter. Second, they get a second warning letter. The third one we arrange another community panel, which is then labelled as a 'non-compliance' panel. And it's up to the panel members to decide whether we keep the young person on the order or whether we refer them back to court for resentencing, extension to their referral order or some other way' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4)

This finding again suggests how in order management and the punishment of non-adherence is prioritised in contemporary youth justice, despite its disconnection with young people's initial convictions (Bateman 2011, Eadie and Canton 2002). In this research, YOT Practitioners were found to resist relinquishing order responsibility to the courts and instead encouraged young people's attendance within everyday practice:

We've got quite a good relationship at court so they know when we say 'we don't know what else to do now, it's over to you', that we really have reached the end of the line. And we really don't do that often - it doesn't happen much at all (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9).

Yet existing research describes breach-based processes (such as court appearances) as being poorly positioned in terms of their capacity to resolve the underlying causes of breach, raising questions about how such responses can lack constructiveness (Grandi and Adler 2015). When returning young people to court, this research found YOTs to have some involvement in influencing court proceedings. In particular, the commitment to promote order engagement and completion was found when YOT Practitioners were able to explain young people's circumstances during breach outcome decisions (YJB 2009, 2010d):

'If they've never been in trouble before, they won't know anything at all about the court appearance - not even what the building looks like. If they've been a few times, then again, they won't know what to expect - what time they're going to be on or who'll be there, or you know, what the outcome might be. Whereas again with breach, it's already been discussed - they're told what we're asking for at court, and if they've got any input into the breach report that we prepare for court, you know, if they've anything to say, we'll put that into the report. So I suppose they're much more prepared for breach than they are for criminal matters' (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9)

However, this finding suggests YOT Practitioners input into court proceedings operates within a context of bounded discretion, as attempts to influence young people's court outcomes are constrained within broader institutional geographies, and in particular, the rigid contingency procedures that are enacted when orders break down (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010). Court proceedings were also found to mirror instance-based sentencing guidance (SGC 2009), with young people escalating through the system and becoming increasingly entrenched youth justice engagement for repeated absence - something that is currently implied rather than explicitly stated in policy documentation (YJB 2009, 2010d):

There tends to be a bit of a pattern - the first appearance for breach is, order to continue usually without any amendment. Second time round you usually see that the order gets changed in some way. And third time round it's either, the order's revoked and something else is done. So [...] it might be a new YRO, or the referral order stops and they get a YRO. It might be at that point that custody's considered. It's not always like that - it's not that linear, but that's the pattern you tend to follow. I would say there'd be a higher proportion of something being added to the order or something extended in the order than anything else. (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9)

Such findings suggest the high impact of sentencing guidelines on young people's order non-adherence outcomes, and how when coupled with an instance based breach system, progressively punitive treatment and eventually custody can result from repeated order non-adherence (Eadie and Canton 2002, SGC 2009). This finding also supports existing research where the resolving of order compliance problems is described as being beyond the scope of youth court (Grandi and Adler 2015). The findings in this research go even further by describing how the youth court can support or impede young people's order compliance capabilities in a mobilities context, through escalation into custody (and a removal of the need for independent journey making), or to more intensive

orders (with greater journey making requirements). Although this finding suggests how sentence escalation might not be the most common outcome for repeated absence, a connection is confirmed between order absence and custody, supporting existing research where absence is described as a common cause of breach (Grandi and Adler 2015) and custody as a common breach outcome for young people on particular orders, such as Intensive Supervision and Surveillance (Hart 2010). These findings also illustrate the commitment of youth justice practitioners to limit young people's entrenched youth justice engagement through absence-based breach, supporting policy guidance that emphasises order engagement and completion as a practice priority (YJB 2009, 2010d).

1.1.2. An acknowledgment of young people's attendance difficulties

Multiple and complex needs have been described as important when tackling young people's reoffending (YJB 2005a, 2005b). The connection between young people's needs and order adherence remains underemphasised in legislation and policy guidance (YJB 2009, 2010d), but existing research suggests a connection, with high Asset scores, family problems, chaotic lifestyles, learning difficulties, high needs, substance use, being looked after and engagement within prolific offending, all connected (Hart 2010, Grandi and Alder 2015). Importantly, order compliance difficulties have also been associated with *'impulsivity and rebelliousness that [is] associated with normal adolescence'* (Hart 2010: 25). Such a point raises questions about whether young people with multiple or complex needs actually experience compounded compliance difficulties in the absence of adult support, based on their circumstances as well as their developmental stage.

This research found appointment delivery to become complicated as a result of young people's long term and unforeseen needs, which were found to vary significantly in intensity and importance. This meant that a broad and comprehensive response to appointment scheduling was used, with rigid institutional procedures not found to be in operation in connection with the delivery of YOT appointments (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). Such a finding corresponds with the youth justice ideologies that prioritise the *engagement* of young people more broadly (YJB 2009, 2010d):

'If they have to go and see a social worker, or if they're made homeless, we take them to the social services area that they're in and obviously sit with them and then we may have to look at taking them to housing and financial [...] they're not really compulsory, the young person dictates when or where they have to go in those appointments [...] if someone's homeless, they're not going to miss a housing appointment' (Mining Town Staff tier 1b)

As well as providing a compliance barrier (Hart 2010, Grandi and Adler 2015), this research found young people's multiple and complex needs to also support youth justice attendance, with the meeting of perceived needs a useful engagement tool, meaning that: *'we can help them out with a lot of things. Some kids find that a motivating factor to come because they know they'll get some support with school maybe, or we can help them out getting into something that they're interested in'* (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9). Consequently, youth justice practitioners in this research described needs-based appointments in connection with young people who were facing greater order adherence problems, while also suggesting such appointments as having higher levels of attendance and engagement when compared with procedural or punishment-based appointments.

Despite dominant policy discourses of compliance (YJB 2009), this research found young people's unforeseen and extensive needs to be prioritised over youth justice attendance and engagement, suggesting the potential for deviation from order management guidelines and discretionary practice (Eadie and Canton 2002). Because young people are not equally well placed to meet youth justice order requirements as a consequence of their needs, such flexibility can be considered as very important when supporting order completion. The prioritising of young people's needs by practitioners was first apparent during the pilot study, when the YOT Manager described the need to balance needs with YOT appointment content, as a young person would be unlikely to actively engage in a planned consequential thinking session if they had just become homeless and hadn't eaten any food. Similar recognition was again found in the main study: *'We've got one family at the moment that's been evicted. So that's obviously impacting on their education and keeping appointments here as well'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). Subsequently, YOT Practitioner initiated changes in appointment content were found to help manage youth justice delivery in the context of young people's unforeseen and extensive needs. For example, constructive leisure activities were found to be prioritised as a catalyst for positive change and the opportunity to build a positive practitioner relationship, before dealing with other more difficult issues:

'I don't think you have to rush to do all your rehabilitation work, sometimes all at once so, you know yesterday, like I say, I put the work down that I'd planned and said: 'well come on then, we'll walk across'. So he appreciated it, whether he goes down or not in the future, don't know. But he knows where it is, so the barrier's been, been kind of took out for him really' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

These findings suggest how YOT Practitioners were able to limit the use of mandatory breach processes through the flexible delivery of youth justice appointment *content* that acknowledged young people's *circumstances*, and prioritised appointment *engagement*, supporting existing research where front loaded needs-based support was described as crucial (Eadie and Canton 2002). This was also found to encompass the building of a strong relationship between young people and practitioners - something both parties were found to consider as important.

1.1.3. Young people needing to justify their absence and take responsibility

Young people in this research were described by YOT Practitioners as needing to be *appointment attendance responsible*, resonating with the dominant policy discourse of compliance (YJB 2009, 2010d). This was despite the complex youth justice landscape, and acknowledgment that people experiencing deprivation can have limited recognition and communication of their difficulties (Eadie and Canton 2002, Hart 2010, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005, Drake et al 2014). Young people were also found to have the opportunity to provide reasonable justification for absence and timekeeping problems:

'So if a young person missed an appointment, I'd find out why. Then if it's acceptable, I'd rearrange the appointment for as soon as possible afterwards after the missed appointment - or I'd still arrange the next appointment but I'd give them a warning. Like a breached warning letter' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

This finding suggests how responses to young people's absence treatment can be *broad* and *subjective*, when contextual factors are taken into account. However, this research also found notions of attendance-based compliance as *narrow*, with young people described as being aware of their responsibilities, as if this would be enough to assure attendance:

'They don't have much of a choice, because unfortunately if they kind of do not attend appointments or refuse to attend appointments, then there'll be a consequence. The consequence being that they may be returned to court again. And young people are aware of that as well, really' (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2).

Yet other research suggests that young people's agreement to order conditions does not necessarily mean that they understand requirements or are capable of meeting them, with fear of entering the youth justice system described in other research as impeding clear and open communication (Hart 2010). This finding also suggests how mandatory, instance-based procedures

can override broader contextual explanations for absence in some cases resonating with dominant policy discourses of non-compliance (YJB 2009, 2010d). Such a finding causes particular concern for young people with higher levels of need and more chaotic lives, with discourses of appointment responsibility being described for non-YOT appointments, even when young people's circumstances were acknowledged as difficult: *'Sometimes there's no excuse. They're just not in the right place at the right time, in their chaotic lifestyles, to be attending reparation. But it's a statutory part of their order'* (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5). This finding demonstrates how despite a commitment to order completion, contemporary YOT Practitioner adherence to punitive order management procedures can also be found, despite young peoples' difficulties adhering mandatory order requirements (Bateman 2011, Grandi and Adler 2015, Hart 2010, Eadie and Canton 2002).

1.1.4. Breach as an effective deterrent?

This research found further discourses of young people as appointment responsible within YOT Practitioners' discussions of breach as a deterrent. Despite their limited capacity to resolve young people's order adherence problems (Hart 2010, Grandi and Adler 2015, Bateman 2011), frequent reminders of absence consequences were described in hopeful terms by YOT Practitioners as a way of encouraging young people to make the right attendance choices:

'You keep going on about how 'well it's got to increase then [sentence escalation] - you'll go back [to court] and you'll get more [serious sentence]. If you don't want to do this small amount [of time with the YOT] you definitely won't want to do more' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

This finding again highlights how some responses to young people's attendance problems can be narrow, with order conduct and delivery being prioritised over young people's circumstances (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010). Although YOT Practitioners adhered to breach policy guidance - having made their own judgements about absence legitimacy - greater levels of autonomy were also found to be exercised when absence was in the early in the life of an order:

'We've got a really low custody rate compared to our breach rate. It's quite high, because we like to return people quickly for that reminder and we find that engagement's better if we return young people quickly to court - have that first sort of reminder, quickly when they breach and then things seem to be better from then. But you obviously still get your persistent breachers who go on and on and on. And you sort of know, you know, there are

certain things that you see in young people, in the way they attend or the way they behave when they come to appointments or - you can gauge is it worth going back to court this time, or is it worth making that acceptable to try and take that barrier away. Do you know what I mean? You can see if they're going to take you up on your offer and what you're doing or not. But you still sort of, have to plug away at it' (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9).

This finding again suggests how YOT Practitioners could exercise their own judgements when deciding whether to use mandatory, formal breach proceedings and as such, were exercising bounded discretionary practices within the limitations of particular institutional geographies (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982). However, for young people who didn't respond to this deterrent, discourses of non-compliance again arose, with labelling as *persistent breachers* being recounted rather than young people's circumstances. However, returning young people to court was not always found to be effective, raising additional questions about young people's attendance capacities and intentions. Described as *serial breachers* or *serial non-compliers*, this research found some young people to experience absence-based breach more than others, resonating with existing research where a connection has been made between prolific offending and higher levels of breach (Grandi and Adler 2015). Discourses of being appointment responsible again were found when young people did not respond to the punitive treatment of their absence, suggesting the need for an alternative, needs-based response to absence-based breach. YOT Practitioners described how some young people escalated through the youth justice system from minor orders connected with minor offending, to serious community-based outcomes and even custody, as a result of their absence:

'We have some serial non-compliers who through their entire history, through the YOT, have absolutely dragged it out. They've only done one offence and they've ended up escalating - the boy I've got on Intensive Supervision now, is because he didn't do his Attendance Centre, and he was at the Attendance Centre because he didn't do his [Reparation Order]' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

During discussions about compliance, this research found an absence of references to young people's attendance *capabilities*. This finding suggests how when examining absence and its treatment, a range of practitioner views connect with different young people in a variety of contexts. This then raises further questions about the adequacy of the dominant, oversimplified policy discourse of non-compliance (YJB 2009, 2010d) when attempting to understand youth justice

absence. So despite rigid, instance-based breach guidelines being recognised by practitioners in this research, a flexible approach to absence was also found, suggesting a more interpretive approach to policy guidance (YJB 2009, 2010d), that accounts for the dynamic between young people's needs and their compulsory youth justice engagement.

2. Accounting for young people's needs to avoid absence-based breach

The following section will focus on three areas that were well discussed in this research, while also being described as having a high impact on youth justice absence. In particular, emotional needs will be described as impeding youth justice attendance, with YOT Practitioners responding through the provision of tapered support. Financial problems will be described as presenting journey making barriers, with costs difficult to prioritise. However, a range of YOT responses that aimed to control the expenditure of YOT journey payments - while also attempting to limit payment stigma - will be described. Finally, cultures of worklessness will be described as being connected to young people's youth justice engagement difficulties by YOT Practitioners, with attendance barriers becoming connected to the core RFPP framework (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a) through areas such as literacy. Discourses of worklessness will raise questions about how practice can be influenced by proportioning the blame on parents, with practitioner's perceptions of youth justice engagement difficulties connected to the transmission of entrenched and adverse family contexts. Such considerations are important to make within a youth justice context as they expand on the connection that has been made between deprivation and impeded mobility in a broader context (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005, Karsten 2005).

The nature of young people's needs in this research were found to be similar to those already reported in youth justice research and policy guidance with the exception of high neighbourhood population turnover and parental mental health problems (YJB 2005a, 2005b, Hart 2011, Blades et al 2011, Willow 2015, Prison Reform Trust 2015, Beyond Youth Custody 2016). In both case study areas, references to limited literacy, educational disengagement, unemployment and having a low income permeated the research discussions. However, in Mill Town, young people's needs were more extensive and complex, corresponding with deprivation index data (ONS 2001, 2011). Despite health and special educational needs not being widely discussed in the interviews and focus groups of this research, field work observations revealed significant levels in Mill Town, with young people having noticeable communication difficulties and a very limited vocabulary in many cases. Physical

signs of adverse experiences were also evident (such as scarring to the head and face area), and one young person who was interviewed had no teeth, significantly hampering their verbal communication. Mental health services were more widely discussed in Mill Town, though apparent in both populations. In some cases, these high needs impacted the research process, with absenteeism and participant withdrawal in Mill Town significantly higher and for more serious reasons, such as through hospitalisation and a suicide attempt. This research context and its difficulties resonate with existing research, where broad and entrenched needs are described as impeding mobility and appointments with services (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005, Karsten 2005).

2.1. Taking emotional needs into account

2.1.1. Impeded attendance capacity as a result of emotional needs

Convicted young people are recognised as having extensive yet poorly identified needs in the context of emotional well-being, with the impact of such problems being substantial (Hart 2011). This research reveals how such needs also impact youth justice attendance, raising questions about narrow notions of absent young people as non-compliant (MoJ 2011b). Subsequently, this research found convicted young people's emotional needs not just being met by different service fragments such as CAMHS, but also through the overarching delivery of youth justice services. In this research, emotional needs were described as something that would have the potential to impede attendance:

'I think some young people just aren't ready to - it's just too hard to come and talk about, really. Difficult subjects and what they've done, and yes, it's just too hard and then you add to it the weather, and an hour on the bus, and another adult telling you off, it's - I think it becomes impossible for them' (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9).

Such findings resonate with existing research where deprivation and a lack of mobility confidence connect with notions of social capital, where normalised *bonding capital* and neighbourhood-based social support can impede engagement with *bridging capital* and broader opportunities or experience beyond the neighbourhood (Kintrea et al 2008). Although YOT Practitioners acknowledged the impact of young people's emotional needs on order engagement, this research found that such recognition did not take place with all mandatory youth justice services, such as with mainstream educational engagement:

'Doesn't live with mum. Dad's an alcoholic. He's probably got a lot of stuff to get sorted before he even goes into school. And they're very much of the mind set: 'right you're here to learn - forget all your baggage'. You can't, as a young adolescent, going through, you know lots of development' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

This finding again highlights a contemporary youth justice emphasis on order management and the punishment of non-adherence, resonating with existing research (Bateman 2011, Grandi and Adler 2015, Eadie and Canton 2002, Hart 2010). This research also builds on such ideas by distinguishing how different institutional geographies have varied constraints with respect to compliance (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). Youth justice policy documentation does not specify the need to relocate appointments, but that proper efforts should be made to meet young people's needs and support order completion (YJB 2009, 2010d). However, this research found young people's lack of journey making confidence to be one such instance where appointment relocation would be warranted in order to support attendance. For a journey to the YOT office it was described how: *'it would be much worse, because if they'd to come to Mining Town every day, some of them just wouldn't handle that very well at all'* (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5). In this research, the context of young people's (im)mobility was found to be connected with their social exclusion as a consequence of regional post-industrialism, raising questions about the clustering of needs, as young people's confidence to leave their outlying villages became effected. Consequently, youth justice appointment feasibility was found to be encouraged through the locating of staff in these outlying villages, where the burden of youth justice journey making distances were the greatest:

'They're locally grounded. They don't come out of their own area very easily, you know. A trip to Mining Town is a big event to some of these people. Their postal address is [town in neighbouring area] as well. And they don't come out of these villages very easily, so fortunately I have a good team of supervisors in [outlying villages with high levels of deprivation...] we meet those young people outside the school [in their village]. Because that is a focal point of the community' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

These findings make clear connections with existing research on territoriality and area effects, where young people are described as rarely travelling beyond their neighbourhoods (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). These findings also make a connection between the RFPP (YJB 2005a, 2005b) and young people's attendance problems, as young people's emotional needs can be seen to inadvertently impact appointment attendance, engagement and thus order completion. Such a finding contrasts with the existing emphasis in youth justice policy guidance, where young

people's emotional needs are most strongly connected with offending behaviours (YJB 2006a). Subsequently, this research raises further questions about the breadth of the RFPP, and its legitimacy as the basis for a solution to young people's broader youth justice problems.

2.1.2. The tapering of journey support as young people's confidence increases

This research found lift provision to be one of the more intensive ways in which young people's emotional needs were supported, particularly when young people lacked confidence or knowledge: *'I would be trying my best to say: 'well, let's look at this, how are we going to get over this?', problem solve for them you know. So do they need a lift for the first kind of week or so?'* (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1). Subsequently, the start of an order was found to be an important point for intensive journey making assistance, in order to support convicted young people's emotional needs:

'What [Reparation Officers] usually do is for those living in Mill Town, they'll meet, they'll meet them and give them a lift over, obviously if they've got means to get there on their own steam and they want to, they can [...] if it's a young person attending his first reparation appointment, what tends to happen is obviously [Reparation Officer] will meet them, and will say: 'this is where you come to' you know like, so they know where it is, even if it is just round the corner, so they obviously depend on the skills of the young person, if they've never been there before they might not be able to get there, or they might not think to ask [...] so [Reparation Officers] will meet somebody perhaps for the first time' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This finding resonates with Cahill's (2000) discussions on young people's transitions to independent and competent journey making, and how youth justice services can play an active role. Although journey making support was initially intensive for young people needing higher levels of emotional support, there was an expectation of support tapering throughout the life of an order:

'The elasticity between any sort of tensions in the service has to be provided by the case worker - bad provision would expect the young person to be the thing that stretches and adapts to changes and good provision, I think, is the thing that initially expects the case manager to make that flexible engagement, and perhaps in a planned and controlled way, so the young person becomes more flexible and responsible as they improve their engagement and their general skills for managing. So it's a very long way round of saying if there's transport barrier to engagement, I would expect the case manager to go and see

the young person, not expect the young person to come and see the case manager' (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6).

This finding suggests journey making skills development to be an important, informal part of young people's YOT engagement, resonating with existing research on the journey making training of job seekers (Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015). This finding also suggests how practitioner support operates within a context of bounded discretion (Eadie and Canton 2002) as high levels of support give way to higher independent attendance expectations over time as support is tapered. One caveat to this tapering of support was with convicted young people's age, with more intensive support provided when those engaging with services were younger:

'Last time I worked with a ten year old was about kind of five years ago - I'm working with him again now. And obviously, the younger they are, the more that me or any of my colleagues would go out to see them, rather than expect them to come and see us. So again, I'd go out to see them at school, at their home, at the Sure Start Centres or community centres that's close by to them' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This finding suggests how an absence of detailed policy guidance on youth justice accessibility (YJB 2009, 2010d) meant that YOT Practitioners were able to exercise their autonomy in connection with the level of support intensity that they provided. Resonating with Cahill's (2000) notions of the transition from dependent to independent journey maker during the teenage years, these findings also acknowledge younger journey makers as in need of greater support, raising questions about the need for a nuanced approach to service access support in youth justice.

2.2. How financial problems impede youth justice attendance

2.2.1. A lack of money for youth justice journey making and absence notification

The association between young people's financial adversity and offending behaviours is well established in youth justice policy (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b), with existing research also making a connection between financial adversity and mobility or service access problems (Kintrea et al 2008, 2011 Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005). This research makes a connection between financial adversity and the *delivery* of youth justice services, with financial adversity impeding overarching youth justice engagement and order completion objectives (YJB

2009, 2010d). An abundance of explicit and implicit references to convicted young people's low income statuses were found to permeate these research discussions:

'She's got four kids, and she only gets about £80 a week [...] I give her £30 for my board so that knocks it up to £110. And our Becky gives her board, so that's another £30. So she gets about £140 a week like. But she only gets £80 a week from the post office for her sen and the babby' (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10).

In this research, absence notification was described as a factor that could mitigate breach proceedings: *'If it's: 'I've missed the bus!' and I think it's genuine: 'right, I'll make you an appointment for tomorrow then' [...] More often than not, if they attend that appointment, then their excuse starts to be genuine'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). Despite this connection between attendance and young people's integrity, young people's low incomes were found to impact their capacity to make absence notifications in the event of unforeseen circumstances, as described in a recalled discussion between a practitioner and young person: *'I can't afford it [...] I've got no money [...] we've not got a mobile or a landline, you know, what can I do?'* (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1). Such a finding suggests that convicted young people on low incomes could be at a greater risk of breach proceedings, based on their limited capacity to make notifications of absence or lateness, should unforeseen problems arise.

Importantly, this finding builds on Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility framework by suggesting how mobilities *communications* can also promote the (re)production of social inequalities. However, this research found that in the context of timekeeping problems, YOT Practitioners encouraged order engagement and completion as per policy guidance (YJB 2009, 2010d) - something with a potentially limited impact for the backseat generation (Karsten 2005):

'Sometimes is a barrier for a young person getting here on time, cos it's not just about getting here, it's about getting here on time. So I'll bend the ear of a young person to say: 'you know you're twenty minutes late, you're half an hour late', I very very rarely, I can't ever recall saying: 'right you've failed your appointment'. I might have done to be honest, if it's someone who's really really blatantly disregarding their court order. I'll say: 'no, you've come in here now, you know, you're twenty minutes late, I've told you time and time again'. So I think I have done it in the past, but, very very rarely. But you know we do get young people, especially the more chaotic young people, and they're twenty minutes late, half an hour late, you know. Some, sometimes I will have gone off to another appointment cos obviously you've got a stack of appointments sometimes. But if I've not, and I can see that young person, I'll see them. What's the point in me turning them away when they've made

the effort to get here? So I just have to bend their ear a bit' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1)

This finding suggests how flexible institutional procedures were again important in maintaining a focus on attendance and engagement, while also limiting the possibility of absence and breach, resonating with Manion and Flowerdew's (1982) institutional geographies. YOT Practitioners acknowledged how young people residing in low income households, experiencing absence notification difficulties, could also have problems undertaking youth justice journeys: *'that obviously has implications on the travel, cos if they're genuine, and they haven't got money, for a phone, then they haven't got money for the bus'* (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1). This suggests that young people residing in low income households could be at a greater risk of breach with lateness notification and the ability to make a youth justice journey both found to be impeded, again resonating with Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility, and the (re)production of social inequalities through youth justice journey making. One young person described how a lack of transport had resulted in a reliance on ad-hoc practitioner support in order to meet mandatory youth justice appointment commitments:

'I would have had to phone him [YOT Practitioner] up and say: 'I can't come in'. Because today, like, if he didn't pick me up, and said would you be able to get through [to the YOT office] I'd be able to say 'no', because I've got no money for the bus, and me granddad's away [provider of ad hoc lifts]. So I wouldn't have been able to make it if [YOT Practitioner] hadn't come' (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10).

Existing research has established a connection between convicted populations and how care leavers are over-represented and subject to adverse outcomes in youth justice (Grandi and Adler 2015, Blades et al 2011). However, in the case of this research, being a care leaver was actually found to support journey making, with additional resources becoming unlocked in order to promote skills independence, meaning that the local authority would:

'Make me get me own food and my own clothes. And they make me pay for my own journeys, but I get the pocket money. And they give me that and I can go and pay for myself on the bus' (Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2)

This finding suggests how again in some cases, adverse needs also have the capacity to support youth justice attendance. However, a wide variety of attendance problems were also reported in connection with young people's needs.

2.2.2. The controlled provision of journey making money

Recent research has described financial support as important when supporting the journey making of those with the skills and capacity to travel independently, thus limiting some of the mobility constraints associated with economic deprivation (Lucas et al 2009, Houston and Tilley 2015). In this research, the provision of monetary support was found to respond to the financial adversity that could give rise to youth justice absence. This took the form of bus tokens, fare reimbursement, financial incentives and wage payments. For young people who were found to be in need of transport to access youth justice services, and who were unable to pay, YOT Practitioners responded directly with the provision of bus tokens, recognising that such action would help facilitate youth justice attendance: *'if it's a financial issue, then we can offer bus tokens to young people as well, to get to appointments to make it easy for them. Because what we don't want is for them to say: 'well I can't get transport''* (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2). This research found bus tokens to be particularly important when services were in a fixed location or when practitioners were unable to visit the young person: *'If they've got a court appointment or they're seeing somebody, a member of staff who can't drive, and they have to come here, then what we'll do is kind of provide them with bus tokens'* (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2). These findings suggest how practitioner resourcing, skills and decision making are considered alongside young people's needs and capabilities when the provision of journey support is made (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982).

This research also found tighter financial controls to be more appropriate in some cases, as young people could lose tokens and in some cases, there was a lack of trust. In such circumstances, fare reimbursement was found to be useful: *'sometimes YOT can be alright because, if you pay for a day rider, you show them the ticket and they'll give you your money back what you've paid'* (Young Male 2 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). The need to provide some sort of structure to such payments was recognised as a way of controlling how they were spent, while also maintaining journey support: *'you need to be careful that you remove boundaries that you don't need to have, hence we pay bus fares unless we think children are trying to defraud us, which is also rare'* (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6). This approach was found with youth offending teams and in other settings such as alternative educational settings: *'what they'll do at PRUs [Pupil Referral Units] is, they give them the money, they reimburse them. Say someone goes with a ticket, they'll hand their ticket in and then they'll get their fare home'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

In some cases, the need to respond to young people's low income status in a non-stigmatising way was also found to be important. In such circumstances, youth justice journey making and appointment attendance became financially incentivised, with payments for YOT appointment attendance and participation provided:

'I do this on a regular basis, and we pay ten pounds and it isn't compulsory. They come in for the money and because 'we want your opinion and to consult you on different things'. And if I put a terrific amount of effort in, I can get fifteen or twenty people here. If I'm not there to ring and to keep on, and remind, then I can only have two. Today, this morning, I haven't done the round - however I did think three of them, four of them were compulsory to come here, because it was on the timetable. So I was hoping I was going to be - but still, a lot don't do compulsory appointments anyway. We try not to have to pay for them to come to YOT appointments [...] if we know that the home circumstances are poor and their parents would be financially struggling. Cos it's about, sometimes it's five pound odd for a return from Mill Town to [adjoining town]' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

The provision of financial support to facilitate youth justice engagement was not without its problems. The complex nature of some young people's lives meant that some practice-based assumptions were found to impede the delivery of payment, thus limiting the provision of financial support:

'I've been trying to get one boy a bank account [...] our training centre will only pay into a bank account. And they know how difficult it is. I know it's because kids are getting ripped off - coming out with money, getting it taken off them, but it's a constant problem. There's no ID, they're on different names than they were born with, the birth certificate has a different name, they were done by deed poll but no-one has the certificate [...] we haven't got a proper address, we haven't lived there for two years, we don't have any utility bills. You can imagine' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4)

These findings suggest that convicted young people who reside in low income households can experience heightened problems in terms of their ability to access youth justice services. This means that exclusion from mobility (Church et al 2000) and the (re)production of social inequalities through youth justice journey making can be argued (Cresswell 2010a), with such groups having a subsequent higher risk of breach proceedings from non-attendance. The range of financial support that was found in this research aimed to limit the (re)production of social inequalities. However

appointment communication problems associated with financial and educational adversity were found to be important, with the potential to develop Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility framework further.

2.3. How cultures of worklessness were perceived to impede youth justice attendance

2.3.1. Literacy problems and impeded appointment communications

The convicted young people that were involved in this research were not found to be successfully engaging in full time education with local mainstream schools. Instead, educational disengagement, part-time attendance (such as for two hours per day), and an engagement with alternative educational settings (such as a PRU) were found. The extent of young people's educational disengagement became apparent when one practitioner described how: *'a lot of my clients have either been excluded from school or they've gone through a fair access panel, which is like a managed moved process'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). Having an incomplete education is important in the context of this research because it has the potential to normalise incomplete engagement with compulsory local services (MacDonald et al 2005), raising questions about the interpretation of young people's compulsory youth justice order requirements.

This research found young people's limited literacy to be an outcome of their educational disengagement, presenting a comprehension barrier in connection with the communication of youth justice appointments: *'it's been an issue in court as well, where a young person's said you know, they've been taken back to court and they've said to us: 'well you've sent me these appointment letters, but I couldn't come to the appointment, because I can't kind of read English''* (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2). This research also found technical and jargonistic communications to be incomprehensible for some young people: *'there's a lot of court jargon which they don't understand so we've had that translated into plain English as well as in terms of the language the Magistrates use, we've kind of translated that into basic English - so young people know what they actually mean, really, kind of on a street level'* (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2). These findings support existing research by illustrating how unmet needs can give rise to the conditions for absence and breach (Grandi and Adler 2015), with appointment communication barriers exacerbated for young people who were educationally disengaged, or for whom English was a second language.

In examining convicted young people's journey making capabilities, is it important to consider the extent and impact of parental educational disadvantage. In this research, unresolved parental

educational needs were found to reinforce the need for broader support beyond the young people themselves in order to maintain an effective youth justice response:

'If a young person can't read, and sometimes the parents can't read, if you're sending letters out, then you might as well be sending out kind of, anything [...] so if I know a young person can't read, I'm reliant upon them remembering and me drilling home the message. I might give them an appointment slip you know, and say: 'well this, this is your appointment blah de blah de blah and that's just really a reminder' cos I know they might not be able to read the full content of it' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

These findings support other research where parental deprivation is suggested as inadvertently limiting young people's capabilities and normalising problematic service engagement (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). These findings demonstrate how adverse parental circumstances can also inadvertently impede convicted young people's institutional attendance capabilities, with literacy having a direct impact on YOT attendance, engagement and order completion. Such findings connect RFPP-based needs with youth justice attendance instead of just offending behaviours (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a). In particular, youth justice communications problems can be connected with heightened appointment attendance difficulties, and the punishment of young people, resonating with the punitive turn in youth justice (Bateman 2011, Eadie and Canton 2002, Hart 2010, Grandi and Adler 2015).

2.3.2. The lack of structure in young people's use of time

This research found that where possible, youth justice practice times became moulded around the time constraints in young people's lives in order to promote the connecting of young people with their appointments, even extending to lifestyle factors:

'I suppose everything's geared up towards adults being at work, nine 'til five. Where young people don't live a nine 'til five lifestyle [...] this is all geared up towards us and what works to us in terms of our time. I work from nine 'til five, and I wanna see young people. So it's geared up towards that isn't it, where it might well be that: 'well actually, seven o'clock's better for me'. You know, some young people, they'll stay awake all night, and they'll sleep all day, you know, doing whatever they do. You know that, that sometimes is a barrier for a young person getting here on time, cos it's not about getting here, it's about getting here on time' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This research found that when scheduling youth justice delivery times, other mandatory institutional commitments and socially inclusive activities were prioritised alongside other timekeeping constraints in order to facilitate appointments: *'My appointments, where I do offending behaviour and programmes, I try to make as amenable to a young person's time - not mainly morning - three thirty if they're in training. After five if they're at school, if they're in a job. So I think I am quite flexible'* (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4). In this research, transport constraints were also found to be taken into account when planning youth justice services, meaning that session times were shaped around appointment accessibility in some cases:

'It's okay on Saturdays, because we've got buses running from early morning. But on Sunday they don't run as early. Hence why on a Saturday morning we start at ten o'clock; on a Sunday morning we start at eleven. Obviously you need a bit more time to get here. There's not as many early morning buses. So that's a bit of geographical insider knowledge on buses' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

These findings suggest how a variety of factors are important, when deciding on youth justice appointment timings and how tensions can be found between different local operations and their coordination (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). However, this research found clear communication about time flexibility to be important for young people, with appointment arrangements sometimes confusing: *'I'm on a seven while seven curfew and at YOT - like sometimes it could be half six. I'll get out at quarter to six to get there for twenty past, then I'll have to walk from the bus station, and then when I get back, it'll be like half past eight when I get in or summat - and I'm supposed to be in at seven o'clock'* (Young Male 2 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). Such clarity is important based on the consequences of breach that can ensue. In this research, YOT Practitioners described how for some young people, a lack of parental motivation exacerbated their youth justice attendance problems:

'If the parents forget to advise the young people: 'it's time to get up and get to', that's what I mean. We get people saying: 'oh our Tommy's not coming - he's laid in!'. So you know: 'we forgot to wake him up!'' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

This finding feeds into discourses of the parenting deficit (Goldson and Jamieson 2002), with parents described as not helping themselves, while also transmitting their perceived fecklessness to their children. Although these findings are grounded in YOT Practitioners' experiences, they

present a narrow explanation of young people's youth justice absence, with problems in other areas like literacy and income also found to have a profound impact.

2.3.3. Long term unemployment as a barrier to young people's educational engagement

The connection between parental social exclusion and young people's propensity to offend has been well documented and discussed in youth justice policy (YJB 2005a, 2005b). In the context of this research, parental deprivation has also been connected with young people's mobility constraints, with local neighbourhood grounding becoming normalised (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). In this research, convicted young people residing in low income households were described by YOT Practitioners as being difficult to engage in employment support, based on cultural factors resulting from parental worklessness. This was found to be a particular issue for the outlying former mining villages in Mining Town where deprivation and long term unemployment was especially high:

I had a young lad on YISP, very bright, very able - neither parent worked because their benefits were all right. How could I get this young lad to think about aspiring to get into the culture of working, when its embedded in the parents that they don't have to, because the mine shut 20-odd years ago. 'Poor us!' That's how I see' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7)

This finding again feeds into dominant discourses of the parenting deficit (Goldson and Jamieson 2002), with parental attitudes evaluated as impeding young people's active and successful youth justice engagement. Yet limited acknowledgment is given to the intergenerational factors that limit young people's capacity to integrate into local services beyond their deprived neighbourhoods, such as territoriality and area effects (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, Kintrea et al 2008, 2011). Such discourses give rise to notions of young people as being unwilling to engage, as a consequence of the intergenerational transmission of problems. However, such perspectives fail to properly acknowledge and address some of the complexities in some young people's lives that can impact their youth justice attendance *capabilities*, such as the need for financial or emotional support [see Section 2.1 and 2.2 in this chapter]. In particular, this explanation also does not account for the (im)mobility of parents and young people as a consequence of their social exclusion which in this research arose from regional post-industrialism (Church et al 2000, Cresswell 2010a). Subsequently, this finding reinforces the importance of a broad response to young people, that encompasses how the *family* can impact youth justice delivery, raising questions about how Cresswell's politics of mobility can be built on again by considering the context of *journey making*

families rather than just the journey makers, especially in the case of transport dependent young people.

This research found YOT Practitioners to connect parental social exclusion with young people's impeded accessing of education, as part of their order. Discourses of the parenting deficit (Goldson and Jamieson 2002) were again apparent as reasons for young people's absence, with practitioners' experiences legitimising such interpretations. However, the extreme poverty and extensive needs that could be found in these neighbourhoods - which were some of the most deprived in the country - suggests how such explanations are inadequately narrow, and do not properly account for the reliance on 'bonding capital' as a survival mechanism (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004), nor the difficult contexts from which young people are expected to be actively engaged, punctual and mobile:

It's really hard to snap the young people out of it [...] I worked on YISP two year ago and I covered the [locality] area which was a heavy mining population [...] regardless of how much money has been thrown into that area, there's such a culture of worklessness that's come from themselves [...] I was sat in a garden with a parent and her son wouldn't go to school. Next door neighbour came round, f'ing and blinding in front of her four year old daughter [...] The boyfriend came round on crutches in a really bad temper: 'my f'ing giro's not come!' And I thought: 'you're living your life just waiting for the giro' [...] She said: 'the daft [person...] falls under a car coming out of the pub last week and breaks his f'ing leg'... I can't say that a lot of the worklessness in that area is down to the mine closing (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

These findings suggest how practitioner perceptions of family and neighbourhood-based cultural factors can impact young people's capacity to reach their potential (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004), thus influencing youth justice service attendance and its associated journey making. Such explanations also do not account for the extent to which worklessness can impede young people's perceived capacity to travel beyond the neighbourhood and engage with institutions in a regular and timely way (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). In this research, practitioners described how parents were also able to influence educationally disengaged young people during attempts to re-establish institutional engagement:

'They made it out to be everybody else's problem. Her son's behaviour were the schools problem. And then when I tried to talk about sanctions in place, they'd get him Modern Warfare III, and I said 'Well you shouldn't buy him that' I said, 'because he's been excluded this week. You wait til next week'. I saw him in school the week after - 'ha, got it that night

didn't I' its everybody else's responsibility and not theirs' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7)

This finding highlights how parental incentives were considered to be powerful in promoting or deterring young people's youth justice attendance, with a cohesive approach between parents and practitioners described as important. Despite the attitudes of parents and local communities being regarded by practitioners as impacting convicted young people's outcomes, this research revealed how the post-industrial economic landscape had a detrimental impact on the YOT's capacity to support young people's unmet needs. In particular, wider structural unemployment was found to impede the outcomes of youth justice based activities in relation to education and employment:

'Traditionally, you know, someone who has left school without any qualifications and GCSEs, but you know, had good all round skills, you know, could land themselves a training role, possibly an apprenticeship. But now, a lot of our young people are competing against people with A to C grades and a lot of boys have missed so much education, despite the fact that academically they are very bright but because they've not got the paper qualifications they don't get the opportunity' (Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3)

Although these findings suggest that young people's broader circumstances could impede their youth justice attendance, important questions can also be raised about the transmission of (im)mobility from parents to young people in some of the most deprived neighbourhoods in this research. Dominant discourses of the parenting deficit (Goldson and Jamieson 2002) could be found, with YOT Practitioners recounting how convicted young people were unable to be helped in some cases, as a result of their perceived poor parenting. However, such narrow explanations overlook the entrenched social exclusion in some young people's lives, and how highly deprived post-industrial rural villages can have a significant impact on young people's capacity to engage with local services. Subsequently, young people's significant emotional and financial attendance barriers instead suggest explanations of parental blame to be inadequate.

Conclusion

This first findings chapter challenged policy guidance that describes absence as a non-serious form of non-compliance, by establishing that absence-based breach is taking place, with custody as a potential outcome. Dominant policy discourses of breaching young people as *non-compliant* were

also challenged, with young people found to be accessing youth justice services within the context of their complicated and difficult lives. Such findings instead cemented initial connections that were made between social and mobile problems [see Chapter 2, Section 2]. This research found the practice-based acknowledgment of these contexts to be varied, with narrow expectations of young people realising their responsibilities found sitting alongside broader acknowledgments of young people's difficulties. When acknowledgment was broad, flexible institutional ideologies and procedures were found, resonating with Manion and Flowerdew's (1982) institutional geographies. However, in the context of serial non-compliers, adverse life circumstances were found to be the least acknowledged.

Existing youth justice policy connects young people's needs with their offending behaviours through the RFPP, thus informing treatment and any subsequent interpretations of offending desistance (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a). Yet these findings support existing research, which suggests young people's order compliance capabilities as being significantly impeded by adverse life circumstances (Hart 2010, Eadie and Canton 2002, Grandi and Adler 2015). Through these findings, the same RFPP-based factors - including poverty and educational adversity - have been established as influencing young people's capacity to *attend* youth justice services, and eventually complete their youth justice orders. This supports the link between the two areas of *needs* and *attendance* - areas that still remain somewhat disconnected in youth justice policy. Subsequently, the current treatment of young people's mobile difficulties can be questioned in terms of its appropriateness.

Important questions can also be raised about how under-acknowledged factors beyond the RFPP can significantly impact the effectiveness of youth justice delivery. In particular, the symbiotic relationship between RFPP factors (such as education, emotional needs and financial hardship) and non-RFPP factors (such as journey making) raises further questions about the limitations of the RFPP and its artificial compartmentalisation of a very specific selection of young people's needs - despite its perceived breadth. This chapter has benefitted from Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility as a tool to demonstrate how convicted young people's inequalities can be (re)produced through their youth justice journey making. Building on Cresswell's ideas, mobilities communications problems were also found in this research to have detrimental outcomes, with limited literacy impeding appointment communication and financial adversity impacting the capacity to communicate lateness. This suggests that Cresswell's (2010a) framework can be developed in the context of this research, to include a seventh factor of *mobilities communication*. This additional consideration for the politics of mobility is pertinent in the context of new mobilities paradigm, as communication is an area that the paradigm emphasises as important (Urry 2007). Finally, in the context of this research, *family mobility* can be raised as a second additional consideration for the politics of mobility, with the resources and circumstances of adult household

members directly impacting young people's velocity and experience. This was illustrated through the lack of mobility in workless households giving rise to young people's (im)mobility through a lack of transport provision and journey making confidence. The next chapter will undertake a more extensive exploration of convicted young people's youth justice journey making from young people's own perspectives.

Chapter Seven: Young People's Youth Justice Journey Making

Problems

Introduction

This second findings chapter particularly connects with one of the main research objectives by describing convicted young people's experiences of youth justice journey making, thus addressing a gap in knowledge. Importantly, a lack of access to private transport will be described as resulting in two main journey making distinctions, with different catchment sizes and journey distances in the two case studies resulting in the need for different youth justice mobility approaches. In particular, the convicted young people in Mining Town reported frequent bus use, whereas young people in Mill Town described often walking. However, each mode will be described as having its own issues, with the potential for journey completion and youth justice attendance to be impeded in different ways, but with both approaches giving rise to absence-based breach. Cost-based problems will particularly connect with discussions in the previous chapter [see Chapter 6, Section 2.2], with personal safety threats and journey distances also found to have an important impact on youth justice accessibility.

Such findings will underline the need for non RFPP-based journey needs to have greater acknowledgment in youth justice policy guidance (YJB 2006a, 2006b). In particular, the impact of 'area effects', territoriality, not being part of the highly mobile 'backseat generation' and making the transition to independent travel for the first time will also become apparent as being in need of greater recognition in terms of their limiting effects on young people's mobility (Kintrea et al 2008, Karsten 2005, MacDonald et al 2005, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, Cahill 2000). The personal risks that youth justice journeys present, coupled with the risk of ongoing unmet needs (through absence) or entrenched youth justice engagement (through sentence escalation) will raise further questions about the robustness of the RFPP as a comprehensive assessment of risk (YJB 2010a, Case 2006). This chapter will also expand upon the narrow, dominant discourse of absent young people as non-compliant, instead describing a wide range of journey making difficulties, and the significant efforts that convicted young people made in order to attend youth justice appointments.

1. Journey making costs

In this research, convicted young people were found to have high levels of cost awareness in connection with journey making. In particular, it was recognised that with different modes, the

burden of cost could vary, with the provision of private car transport by an adult mitigating its cost. Contrastingly, despite its overall lower cost, independently undertaken public transport journeys were found to be paid for by young people, presenting a significant expense in some cases. This research found the financial circumstances of families to be recognised as impacting access to costlier and more convenient journey modes: *'Some have it easy because they can get lifts places. Some have it hard because they have to catch buses and that. And some of the time they don't have enough money'* (Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2). This suggests that convicted young people in low income households have less access to expensive, convenient private car transport, resonating with Cresswell's (2010a) notions of limited velocity for groups experiencing greater social adversity.

1.1. Expensive car travel

1.1.1. Lack of access to expensive private car transport

Existing research fails to make explicit connections between convicted young people and access to convenient private car transport, but does suggest that convicted young people are more likely to reside in a low income household (YJB 2005a, 2005b) and that young people in deprived families with no transport are more likely to have come into contact with the police (Oroyemi et al 2009). Resonating with existing research (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, Kintrea et al 2008), this research makes an explicit connection between convicted young people, intergenerational immobility and a lack of access to private car transport as a consequence of the intergenerational transmission of economic deprivation:

'Ninety five per cent of parents don't drive [...] Lots of people struggle with unpaid work cos they've got to be there for quarter to nine [...] They get free bus fares but they can only use it after nine o'clock, so they've got to pay to get to unpaid work - we'll refund the tickets but someone's got to give them the money to start with' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3)

This finding suggests that convicted young people in this research were experiencing exclusion from mobility (Church et al 2000), with a reliance on prohibitively expensive public transport at particular times of the day. In some cases, the need for a convenient mode of transport was resolved through the involvement of extended family members, resonating with Atkinson and Kintrea's (2004) application of Putnam's (2000) social capital and 'getting by':

'I get my granddad to drop me off, like. So I've got transport and everything. But - I don't know. My granddad took me to court - my granddad's took me everywhere, like. To all these [youth justice services]' (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10).

These findings fit with existing research data which describes how despite becoming an increasing necessity, access to convenient private car transport for low income groups can remain limited, and can impede access to essential local services (DfT 2012, Lucas et al 2001). In the context of this research, young people described how local youth justice services would be more readily accessible: *'if I had my own car'* (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7), with comfort and convenience associated: *'I reckon the car's easiest, cos it's warm, comfier'* (Young Male 2 aged 15 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2). Young people were also found to favour private car transport because it was readily accessible and direct, rather than requiring a period of waiting and then an indirect journey route: *'you can just go straight through instead of going all the way round and waiting for a bus'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). These findings contrast with Baslington's (2009) research on children's journey making preferences and attitudes, as young people in this research were found to be in favour of private car transport when accessing mandatory youth justice services.

1.1.2. Alternative ways of accessing convenient car transport

The connection between journey making difficulties and illicit transport behaviours is important to acknowledge. This is because the problems that can arise during journey making can promote the (re)production of social inequalities (Cresswell 2010a). In this research, young people described how one solution to their limited mobility would be to: *'nick cars'* (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). Such a finding suggests the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities through youth justice journey making, as illicit behaviours arising from poor access to convenient and affordable journey modes have the potential to result in further convictions. Despite the high cost of private car transport, local factors meant that for convicted young people in Mill Town, private hire vehicles provided a convenient alternative to bus travel in some circumstances (such as adverse weather conditions), and at a similar cost:

'A lot of young people get a taxi: 'ooh I'll get me a taxi it's two or three fifty'. It's only two fifty because of the competition you know. You're talking about thirty or forty pence more than a bus but you get picked up at your doorstep and you get dropped off outside the office.'

You know, fifty pence more on a dark winter's night - you'd probably come in a taxi, wouldn't you, really? (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2).

This finding suggests that local competition in the provision of transport has the potential to provide convicted young people in low income households with ad hoc access to convenient private car transport, thus broadening journey options and the accessibility of local youth justice services. Contrastingly, for convicted young people in Mining Town, private car transport remained expensive, as longer journey distances resulted from the larger catchment area, with a journey into Mining Town being around eight miles long, and costing: *'twenty five quid'* (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). However, being a care leaver was found to increase the accessibility of convenient car transport as resourcing had been made available to support the transition into independent living, thus mitigating the prohibitively high costs: *'When I'm in Mining Town I see all my old taxi drivers and they're like: 'you still at [foster home]?''* (Young Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2). Such a finding contrasts with other youth justice research where looked after children are described as experiencing insurmountable problems in comparison with those residing with at least one biological parent (Grandi and Adler 2015).

In this research, convicted young people's youth justice engagement was found to change with a lack of access to transport, with one young person reflecting over whether police would support the meeting of his curfew requirements through the provision of a lift:

'Say, you're lost right down [12 miles away in the borough] and its ten to seven. I've got my tag on - I ring the police up and say: 'I've got to be home in ten minutes. Can you come and pick me up?' Do you think they would?' (Young Male 2 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2).

In other cases practitioners described how young people without transport would be deliberately absent from court appointments so that the police could provide a lift: *'sometimes young people see that oh, actually all that's happened is that the police have come and arrested me and driven me into town. So that's quite easy. So no big deal, I'll just do that anyway'* (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9). This suggests that young people's youth justice decision making could be impacted by mobility problems, and how social capital and 'getting by' can materialise (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004) in the context of youth justice access. Such findings also raise questions about young people's exclusion from mobility (Church et al 2000) and the (re)production of social

inequalities through young people's capacity to meet the journey requirements of their mandatory orders (Cresswell 2010a).

1.2. Concessionary travel

1.2.1. Use of concessionary travel schemes

In this research, young people were found to access local youth justice services: *'mostly by bus'* (Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3). For example, compared with the accessing of youth justice services through long walked journeys, young people described how: *'getting on a bus helps'* (Male aged 17 on a DTO, Mining Town Interview 14). However, such a mode was not without its problems, with long repeated journeys being difficult for some young people to endure: *'I hate buses, me [...] I have to go in every day. That's why I have to have a joint before I get on t'bus. So I can just mong out like that, and look out o'window'* (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). This research also found bus and train travel to be considered as expensive by young people in relation to their incomes, with it costing: *'£4 for a [day bus pass...] its £2.55 for the train'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). Consequently, young public transport users were found to be reliant on travel concessions in order to complete their youth justice journeys. Interestingly, convicted young people's overall transport use was found to increase when having access to concessions, raising questions about how journey making confidence and experiences could be supported through such schemes: *'before I did have my bus pass I used to just stay near enough in my area, or just go to school'* (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7). Young people's reliance on public transport varied between Mining Town and Mill Town, with more public transport needed for longer journeys in Mining Town. Although this research found YOT Practitioners to be highly focused on young people's accessing of youth justice services, limited awareness of concessionary schemes raised questions about YOT Practitioner's own street literacy (Cahill 2000) and its impact on young people's youth justice service access:

'It's like a plastic card [...] it will allow you kind of free access or subsidised access to kind of using sports facilities like swimming or badminton. [...] it's part of kind of a project that young people can use that [concessionary card] to get subsidised travel on local buses as well, which is good. I didn't know that. I only found out yesterday when I spoke to a young person' (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2).

This finding suggests how in Mill Town, transport concessions were very well integrated with other

services that could support young people's social inclusion. Service integration was also found in Mining Town but in different ways, although this was subject to change with some benefits having been recently withdrawn: *'you used to be able to use them in ice skating - for free. Ice skating and metro [when it was pointed out that the card could be used in the library] Yeah, but I don't read, so it's no good to me'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). Subsequently, concessionary schemes were found to be an important way of overcoming financial journey barriers.

1.2.2. Problems with concessionary card scheme use

Young people in this research described their everyday use of concessionary cards on the bus-based travel scheme as being fairly straight forward, suggesting that they provided an enhancement to young peoples' journey choices (Cresswell 2010a), thus potentially limiting the (re)production of social inequalities. This was especially important during the period when the transition to independent local travel was being made for the first time (Cahill 2000), with financial support important for those capable of navigating local transport services (Houston and Tilley 2015):

Interviewer: *'Do you pay for your travel?'*

Young person: *'No'*

Interviewer: *'How does that work?'*

Young person: *'I've got a [local concessionary scheme] card'*

Interviewer: *'What's that?'*

Young person: *'A card'*

Interviewer: *'And so how does it work, though?'*

Young person: *'I don't know – I just show it to the bus driver'*

Interviewer: *'And they let you...'*

Young person: *'...get on the bus'*

Interviewer: *'Okay, so you don't have to give any money?'*

Young person: *'No'*

Interviewer: *'Fair enough, okay. So you'd use your [local concessionary scheme] card and get on the bus to go to everything that you need to go to for your order?'*

Young person: *'Yeah'*

(Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 14).

This finding suggests that for young people on a high volume of mandatory contacts (such as twenty five hours per week), concessionary schemes could be well used and bring about significant savings. However, it was also described how: *'a lot of our young people [...] lose them'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). This view was supported by one young person who described their inadvertent loss of a concessionary card when engaging with youth justice services, and how this had a direct impact on subsequent use of local transport:

'I wish I still had a [concessionary] card to be honest with you [...] I'd always be getting on the bus. Oh yeah, I can remember what I did with my [concessionary] card, I used it to go to court with and I had it in the back pocket of my jeans and they searched me before I went into the cells and I still had it in my back pocket, so I shoved it in the cell bench' (Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13).

Use of concessionary cards also became problematic as damage could result in confiscation: *'they get defaced. Sometimes, if it's not looking - if it's crumpled up, they get them taken off them'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). This view was supported by young people with card quality deterioration resulting in removal: *'by the bus driver - just because it snapped'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). This research found that cards were also removed from young people as a result of their behaviour, and how this could directly impact mandatory youth justice order requirements:

'Some [Police Community Support Officers] are taking [free travel] cards off young people if they're causing anti-social behaviour in the station or on the buses, if they need that to get to their education provision they're not going to go to school' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7)

Importantly, this finding suggests how the management of transport concessionary schemes for

those making the transition to independent local travel (Cahill 2000) could have a direct impact on convicted young people's youth justice attendance. As a consequence, it can be suggested that young people residing in low income households who are reliant on public transport and only able to access it through concessionary schemes, are subject to a range of factors that could still impede their journey making and eventual youth justice attendance. Such a finding undermines dominant discourses of 'non-compliance' while again demonstrating the connection between youth justice journey making and the (re)production of social inequalities, as young people in such a position may be subject to breach consequences.

1.2.3. Costs associated with concessionary schemes

Despite concessionary travel schemes providing access to transport and subsequent mandatory youth justice appointments, in some cases there were other associated costs. When young people lost their cards, the replacements scheme in Mining Town was found to be prohibitively expensive, thus providing a significant barrier in terms of acquiring a new card. As one young person described: *'I've had eleven [concessionary cards] - five pounds each'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). The number of replacement cards that another young person described, gave an indication of the extent to which convicted young people were able to adequately manage their use of a card-based concessionary system:

'They're a fiver really, so some people just can't be arsed. A fiver's still not that much. You get it for free, the first one, and then they send you off. But a lot of people lose them [...] It doesn't sound much, like, to me, like, but it's still a lot of money innit?' (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1).

During the fieldwork period, a nominal charge was being introduced for all concessionary bus travel, resulting in free journeys becoming thirty pence. Although still significantly cheaper than the full fare, this charge was perceived to be prohibitively expensive for young people:

'I don't think you'll get a lot of people going on the bus if it's thirty pence with the [concessionary scheme] card [...] What from, straight from going from no money with a [concessionary scheme] card straight to thirty pence - I wouldn't do it anyway. I don't do it. I don't pay bus fares. I haven't got a bus pass - I don't pay bus fares. I walk - it's one pound seventy for me to get on the bus [...] I don't get no money at all' (Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13).

1.2.4. Concessionary scheme ineligibility

In this research, free and concessionary travel was widely reported as being available in particular circumstances, such as when in possession of a concessionary travel card. In Mill Town college students were entitled to free travel at any time of day, whereas young people aged sixteen and under in Mining Town were only able to access concessionary rates after nine o'clock in the morning. This made concessionary travel to early YOT appointments and some mandatory educational provision expensive: *'it's free travel. It's only between certain times'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). Although the concessionary card schemes were described as being easy to use, convicted young people's circumstances meant that in some cases they were ineligible, thus reducing access to mobility systems and heightening exclusion from mobility (Cresswell 2010a, Church et al 2000). For young people with more chaotic home lives, one difficulty was described in connection with the documentation that was initially needed to access the scheme: *'if they've got a passport or if they've got a birth certificate, they can get a [concessionary card] yeah'* (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5). One young person described how in Mining Town, being over the age of 16 had resulted in concessionary scheme ineligibility, and how such criteria were completely disconnected from financial circumstances and the need for support:

'Because if you can't get a job, like, you can go on the dole, can't you? But that's what I'm going to be doing. I'm going to be going on the dole until I find a job. And then see how it goes from there. But, I just hope that my mam gets on her feet, like, with her own money. Because £80 a week, with four kids' (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10).

Contrastingly, convicted young people over the age of sixteen in Mill Town were able to access concessionary schemes with the caveat that educational engagement was a key qualifying criteria: *'because I have a bus pass from college [and can travel for free] for the rest of the summer, until I need to redo it when I go back in September'* (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7). However, existing research suggests that convicted young people are more likely to be experiencing educational exclusion (YJB 2005a, 2005b), raising questions about how such qualifying criteria can impede youth justice attendance, and contribute towards the (re)production of social inequalities. The cost of joining a concessionary scheme in Mill Town was more expensive than in Mining Town, raising questions about whether those most in need of transport were able to access it: *'I think they pay ten pounds a term for a bus pass. And that lasts for three or four months'* (Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3). This raises questions about whether concessionary scheme joining costs can contribute towards convicted young people's exclusion from mobility as mobility routes remain limited (Cresswell 2010a, Church et al 2000). As a result of scheme

ineligibility, one way of gaining access to cheaper travel was described through the sharing of concessionary cards, although this was prohibited:

'Me and my little sister - we look alike, so she can use my [concessionary scheme] card. She covers up the name and she shows the picture. And they think it's her. So she gets on [the bus]' (Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2).

This finding suggests the potential for social inequalities to be (re)produced through youth justice journey making as convicted young people were found to engage in illicit behaviours in order to access transport, as a consequence of their adverse economic circumstances. For those unable to access concessionary schemes, this research found the weekly bus pass to provide another option. Although offering cheaper travel, questions can be raised about the capacity for convicted young people residing in very low income households to meet initial costs, especially when dependant on parental incomes:

'I think it's expensive, like. It is expensive. You get a day rider. It is cheaper for day-riders, but when you come back - I can't say it properly - when you buy a day rider, it costs four pounds. So you get there and back for four pounds. So it is an all right price. But some prices are like - you know, like you pay for the week. I think that's better than paying for separate days [...] I would buy the weekly one if I needed to go everywhere every day. So like, say, if I needed to be here all week, I'd just get one of them' (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10)

Yet for one young person, an increased income through employment meant that these bulk-purchase schemes provided a transport solution: *'me mam's hardly got no money. She doesn't get much money every week. So I just earn it me sen. I do gardening and everything - I make my own way'* (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10).

Despite the need for convenient, reliable and affordable transport in order to access fragmented and static youth justice services [see Chapter 3, Section 3], convicted young people in this research were found to have access to limited mobility systems as a result of transport costs and adverse family economic circumstances. As young people were engaging with mandatory orders, choosing not to make a journey was not an appealing choice as consequences could mean a failure to meet overarching youth justice aims, and the possibility of breach and sentence escalation (YJB 2009, 2010d). Young people had various ways of dealing with this situation with informal support from extended family providing a legitimate way of dealing with the higher transport demands of a

mandatory order, and the sharing of concessionary cards and stealing of cars representing ways in which convicted young people were able to gain illicit access to transport. This resulted in the potential for youth justice engagement to become heightened, with the adverse circumstances of youth justice journey making potentially contributing towards the (re)production of social inequalities.

2. Personal safety threats

Resonating with existing research on other young people living in deprived neighbourhoods (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004), the convicted young people in this research described anticipating and experiencing personal safety threats when accessing active, private and public travelling modes. Some less orthodox ways of resolving their adverse journey circumstances were found to be inherently risky, raising questions about the problems that some young people can experience as a result of their mandatory youth justice journey making. Young people were found to have formulated a range of responses to journey-based safety threats, with a varied ability to influence the route and contact with other people when using active and public modes. In some cases, a consequence of young people's journey making was heightened conflict, with adverse youth justice outcomes then becoming a possibility.

In Mill Town, young people's lack of transport was found to result in heightened personal safety threats, with cheap travel becoming available through regular hitching: *'I just walk me like that [gestures] hand out in the road and whoever pulls over is whoever pulls over'* (Young Male 2 aged 15 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2). However, this young person described being selective in terms of only entering cars that were driven by people he knew, unlike a young female who was willing to undertake longer journeys with unknown drivers while engaging in illicit activities: *'I asked a [man] for a ride home [from a large city 20 miles away] and he gave me a spliff on the way'* (Young Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2). However, in other cases, convicted young people employed a range of strategies to deal with the personal safety threats that arose.

2.1.1. Journey modification

Existing research describes young people's journey modification as important when attempting to avoid real and perceived personal safety threats (Kintrea et al 2008, 2011) also suggesting how such adversity can impede navigation (Cahill 2000). In this research, convicted young people described

being able to modify their journey routes in order to avoid personal safety threats. This was found to be highly effective for the reduction of personal safety risks when walking, and when risks were associated with particular places: *'If I were going this way, I'd avoid going that way [...] they're crazy over there. They're crazy, we're alright'* (Young Male 2 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). Such an approach was also found to be effective when attempting to avoid particular people: *'I'd definitely say that if there's people I'm avoiding, I tend to go like the back roads. And like, where I hang around I like hang around here. I hang around here and I live over there and like I mostly go the back ways like to my house'* (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7). Journey modification was also found to limit young people's exposure to offending behaviours, subsequently supporting order completion:

'Because a lot of my old friends from [Mill Town neighbourhood] live round there and I just can't be bothered seeing them anymore. So go, I'll avoid that bit or this bit here [...] quite a lot of them are turning basically into big drug heads, big bubble-heads [...] and then you get the ones what drink and then you have the ones that smoke weed, and then you have the ones that like take ecstasy, MDMA and all that' (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7).

This research found general safety concerns in association with some areas, irrespective of neighbourhood rivalries or conflicts with particular people, making journey modification important:

'One area you'll just be right, 'I can just walk'. See some kids on the streets like, you can just walk past them they're not going to do it, and some kids down another street, pull a knife [...] It's happened to my brother before. When he were walking home from [local neighbourhood] I won't walk down that area any more. Or that little bit of the area any more. When I get to about that part, I go along the main road near to there' (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7).

These findings suggest how route modification is an important strategy for convicted young people when avoiding personal safety threats during journey making. Although walked journeys were found to be easily modified, for some young people this was less possible. For example, bus users had limited opportunities to modify their routes between home and the bus stop, or between the bus station and youth justice services. As a result, heightened risks were found: *'you meet a few stupid people in town [...] drug addicts, if you like, in town. Yeah, a lot of drug addicts'* (Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13). Despite route modification being

found as effective, such an approach meant that the duration of journeys could become extended, raising the possibility of timekeeping problems.

2.1.2. An inability to modify journeys

Existing research has described how journey route and its modification can be important when young people are attempting to avoid personal safety risks (Cahill 2000, Kintrea et al 2008). This research found that despite a high awareness of neighbourhood-based conflict, convicted young people were sometimes unable to avoid travelling through risky areas. This was particularly the case with bus users from outlying villages in the Mining Town catchment area, who were found to engage with fixed journey routes that ran through rival neighbourhoods on the way to youth justice services. This reveals how social inequalities can be (re)produced (Cresswell 2010a), as some convicted young people experienced heightened personal safety risks based on their lack of journey route influence. When convicted young people experienced conflict with other young people on public transport, neighbourhood-based rivalries were described as a common cause:

'There's a fair few arseholes from [young person's village], right. Because where I live, even though I don't associate with people down [rival village...] I don't fall out with anybody really. But there's this sort of gay rivalry between them. They're just all idiots really, the young ones that think they wanna be bigger than what they are. Same down [rival village] - they're all idiots down [rival village]. So if you're getting on a bus and it comes through [young person's village] and back to [rival village] (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1).

In some cases, young people described how they didn't complete their journeys as a result of neighbourhood conflict encountered when engaging with fixed public transport routes that were positioned in rival neighbourhoods:

'No offence, I don't get on with these people up there. You know when you go on't bus, you go right, you see them all stood outside of t'shop and you go up here, you turn back round. But when there were loads of boys going to Mining Town, they're all flagging them [making an obscene hand gesture], so we went back up here on't bus, came back down and got off - and we all got off. There were loads of them [...] there was about twenty people right, thirty people on that road right, but they stay together - they stay in our road right. You try, you just jump 'em - you know what I mean. How bad's that? Wierdos' (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2)

These findings highlight how when using public transport to access youth justice services, some young people were found to have little choice but to follow particular routes. This was found to present unavoidable personal safety problems and the potential for inter-journey friction, resonating with Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility, and the (re)production of social inequalities through journey adversity.

2.1.3. An inability to avoid other transport users

In this research, young people living further from youth justice services required transport to support access. Young people capable of independent travel were found to engage in independent public transport use with pre-determined journey routes accessed. This meant that it was not always possible to modify journey routes in order to avoid personal safety threats (Cahill 2000, Kintrea et al 2008). In some cases, convicted young people reported feeling threatened when using public transport, with one young person recalling their behavioural modifications in order to limit adverse experiences:

'When I used to be at school, I used to be scared of getting on a bus, like, you know, with all the bigger ones. Because when I used to be in year seven and eight and all that, and the big 'uns used to be in year ten and eleven, like when I used to get on the bus, they just used to shove me about and everything. So, I just got round it. I just tell 'em if they start now, like' (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10).

When travelling to youth justice services, young people described how adults could also be intimidating: *'You look round just to see like, who it is and then they start: 'nganganganganga' and start mouthing at us [when asked what they might say] like: 'f-off, stop looking at me you little weirdo', and stuff like that* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). Other transport users with multiple or complex needs were also found to disrupt young people's journey making: *Occasionally you'll get some - or even older smack heads - druggies and that, they'll be on the bus, and maybe causing trouble like if they're smoking on the bus or summat, and t'bus driver's got to stop'* (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1). These findings challenge notions of absent young people as non-compliant (YJB 2009, 2010d) as in some cases, young people experienced significant personal safety threats that they were unable to avoid as a consequence of their mandatory youth justice journeys.

2.1.4. Responding with conflict and aggression

Existing research describes how young males of the same age and characteristics (such as deprivation) as the youth justice population can have a greater propensity to experience inter-neighbourhood conflict during the evenings and weekends (Kintrea et al 2008, 2011). This research builds on these ideas in the context of mandatory services, with young people found to experience conflict during weekdays. This was because of mandatory youth justice appointments placing young people beyond their neighbourhoods, while sometimes being routed through areas that they may have otherwise avoided. For some convicted young people in this research, the avoidance of personal safety threats was not described as being an option. Some young people described how their responses to personal safety threats were connected with their identities, with conflict avoidance having the potential to compromise their credibility: *'if you avoid it that means you're a pussy'* (Young Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2). Instead, heightened verbal aggression was used: *'I shouted [rival football team] - I did get jumped but I were pissed so I didn't care [...] if I'm pissed I don't give a fuck what I do'* (Young Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2). This finding highlights how verbal aggression has the potential to heighten personal safety risks for convicted young people undertaking youth justice journeys. With respect to journey based conflict, some convicted young people responded with physical aggression: *'I had a fight with a man in a van on this road down here'* (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). In terms of personal safety threats, the most adverse responses were found in connection with this response, with young people rationalising their actions as self-preservation as well as teaching the aggressor a lesson:

'I've been brought up in a good way and in a bad way. Obviously I've been brought up with respect. I respect elderly people, I respect adults, obviously. If they respect me I respect them back. Obviously I'm polite and all that. I've been brought up not to hit lasses - owt like that. Do you know what I mean? But then I've been brought up my father's way. Show me - give us your lip. Then you pop it. Obviously. You don't take no shit from no fucker - so I don't. These streets - not a nice place to be brought up, these ones' (Male aged 18 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 12).

In Mining Town young people described being reliant on bus station use for longer local journeys. However, the bus station was also locally well known as a place where young people socialised meaning that neighbourhood rivalries were found to be reproduced through the wide range of groups that met there:

'Obviously, he tried walking into the bus station and I said: 'you'd better get out here now before I leather you in the bus station'. He come outside, I said: 'right where's my money or the [games console]?' He said 'I haven't got any, and you're not getting any'. So he started mouthing. And I was stood there, and he's stood here like that, and he swings his hand round like that, I saw him grip his fist you know, to go and hit me, so as he swung his hand round like that obviously I wasn't going to let him throw his punch, got his hand like that and as soon as he got his hand to there I swung - I mean, I gave him a fucking crack. Broke nine bone in my hand doing it (Male aged 18 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 12)

In Mill Town where a higher proportion of the population were described as *non-white* (ONS 2001), convicted young people reported experiencing racism. Such treatment was found to result in heightened personal safety risks as young people responded to unreasonable comments while navigating public spaces:

'People used to be racist - people used to be racist towards me. In the town centre. It's because I was with a white girl innit? They tried saying bad stuff to me, it wasn't very nice. Obviously you take it three time and then you don't take it' (Young Person 1 on Detention and Training Order, Mill Town Focus Group 1)

Young people in this research described using physical aggression as a last resort, having initially attempted not to respond. However, coping strategies were found to change in the context of relentless racist abuse:

'You try to ignore it as much as you can but if people won't stop, you make them stop don't you? I'm exactly the same. I'm not Asian, I'm half caste Jamaican, I get people saying: 'go back home' – 'what you on about? I was born here!' I try and laugh at it most of the time, at how stupid they are. But after a while you've got to do something about it. You can't just stand there and let them take the piss out of you forever can you?' (Young Person 2 on Detention and Training Order, Mill Town Focus Group 1)

These findings demonstrate how physically aggressive responses to conflict have the potential to produce adverse outcomes in terms of young people's personal safety. Such findings again

resonate with Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility as young people's adverse journey making experiences were found to mirror the difficulties in their lives.

3. Journey distance

The following section describes how young people in this research encountered varied youth justice journey distances as a consequence of where they resided and the service that they were accessing. For example, one young person lived in the centre of Mining Town so undertook a short walk to access the YOT, whereas another young person residing in a rural, outlying village needed to travel to a neighbouring local authority area in order to engage with ID parade technology. The levels of transport support that were required in these two cases varied significantly, with the first having no requirement and the second being significant. With the additional consideration of transport availability, it is possible to see how complex convicted young people's youth justice journey making can be.

3.1.1. Limitations of active travel

This research found that when young people were accessing YOT appointments using active travelling modes, journey times could be much longer than with other modes: *'it fucking takes the piss going to the YOT, I have to walk about half an hour'* (Young Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2). Longer walked journeys meant that convicted young people were found to be unresponsive to youth justice services, and needed to plan in advance: *'no, only if I've been told to get there in short notice, like. They say, get here in half an hour. I say, I'm walking, can't you make it so and so, you know what I mean, because I'll be walking'* (Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13). Some young people did describe how they planned longer walked journeys in order to maintain a commitment to attend their appointment: *'I'd have to start off at nine if I had an appointment at one'* (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). In this research, compounded journey making problems were found to include the coupling of longer journey distances with personal safety threats, when using active travel. This made cycling less appealing in some cases, as congestion raised safety concerns about bicycle use. This was particularly found in Mining Town, where young people residing in the outlying villages needed to access busy roads that were used by freight vehicles, in order to travel to youth justice services: *'When you're going towards traffic on the side of the road it's daunting, you know, when you see a big lorry or when you're on a scooter even. 'Cause you don't know - when they're high up in the*

carriages - you don't know whether they can see you or not. So you've got to take extra caution' (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1). These findings resonate with Cresswell's (2010a) notions of impeded velocity for groups that are experiencing social adversity.

Although young people in this research described car transport favourably based on its comfort and convenience, preferences were also expressed for walked journeys based on the lack of constraints that were associated: *'I'll show you where I walk. I walk from [YOT Office] all the way to [distance of outlying village...] a good three and a half hours [...] it were a right laugh like, I had about three rolled joints'* (Young Male 3 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). Longer walked journeys were also found to be associated with the development of friendships: *'You talk about things. Talk about what you want to do, don't you? Like, make plans for the day. That's all we used to do, like, just go for a walk and plan our way back. See what we were going to do and all that'* (Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10). This research found that young people's positive journey making action could still result in youth justice absence. This was particularly found with distant youth justice services and the need to undertake longer journeys - as found in the large, rural catchment area of Mining Town. One practitioner described how young people's journey making choices would become extremely limited in such circumstances, irrespective of their journey making intentions:

'We've had one young person who used to cycle from [village six miles away] which is quite - about ten or fifteen minutes in a car. So that's quite a distance. But further out, like [outlying former mining village ten miles away] or out that kind of way - yeah, it would be too far to cycle' (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9).

These findings demonstrate how young people undertaking youth justice journeys can have a severely limited range of choices, with the need to undertake longer journeys without convenient private transport meaning lengthy journey times, a lack of responsiveness to appointments and in some cases, personal safety threats as a consequence of freight traffic on busy roads.

3.1.2. Being banned from transport and journey places

Existing research describes how young people can restrict and modify their local movements beyond their neighbourhoods in order to limit personal safety risks (Kintrea et al 2008, Cahill 2000). This research found connections between convicted young people's offending behaviours and their impeded journey making, with particular sets of circumstances heightening journey complications

and the risk of absence: *'bus driver said I weren't allowed on the bus again, because I threatened him'* (Young Male 1 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). When such transport limitations were found, young people were expected to modify their routes in order to complete their mandatory youth justice journeys:

'I've got one at the moment who, she committed an offence in a railway station [...] so she's not allowed in that particular station, but she's allowed on railways and she can get on the next stop [...] So the next one's only couple of miles away, so we just made it clear that there's obviously buses into [locality] as well' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3)

This finding raises questions about the heightened risk of absence-based breach when young people had been convicted of offences in connection with the transport infrastructure. This meant that young people who had recently made the transition to independent travel (Cahill 2000) were found to experience heightened journey demands and complexities, as a result of their orders. Such inter-journey friction resonates with Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility and the (re)production of social inequalities. For young people residing in the deprived, outlying villages of Mining Town, longer journey distances and a lack of car transport meant that there was a reliance on public transport. However, this meant that there was little choice but to get off the bus at the bus station. For some youth justice journeys this was problematic as some convicted young people were banned from entering:

Young Person: *There are only a few that get grief because they're not meant to be inside. Because they've been banned from the bus station for a bit.*

Interviewer: *Does that happen a lot? People getting banned?*

Young Person: *My ex got banned from there [name]. Went in and they were like: 'right - get out now' because he'd been banned. I were like: 'they didn't tell me they'd got banned from here - if I'd known you'd been banned from here we wouldn't have come in!'* (Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2)

With respect to walked youth justice journeys, being banned from specific areas was still found to be a problem, with one young person describing how they were not allowed to travel within a certain proximity of the place where an offence had taken place:

'Well, I got done for smacking a man in a pizza place. And I'm not allowed to go near his pizza shop and it's just down the road from me house. They says I'm not allowed to go 200 metres near the shop - but I live 50 metres away! I can't sum it up! [...] If I walk past I just go on the other side of the road, you know what I mean - that's the best I can do for 'em. If they want to come and lock me up, they're going to lock me up aren't they, but I just say, I were walking past, I weren't nowhere near the shop' (Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13).

This finding highlights how such bans could be confusing with young people unsure about whether they were breaching some order requirements in order to adhere to others. Young people in this research were also found to have gained illicit access to public transport through fare avoidance, making it an appealing transport choice: *'That's why I catch the train back [...] and I just never say nowt, me [...] pretend I'm ringing my dad, so they can't ask me'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). In this research, such practices were found to be known by youth justice practitioners, who were aware of young people's need to undertake longer journeys as part of their order, while also having a limited means to do so:

'Now, when they ring up and say they have no money to get on the bus, that's a very valid excuse. Because you can't get on a bus without the money. Some jump on the train and jump off it, but we don't tell them to do that. And I would always say, here's your money now, replacing what I've given you, and here are bus tokens for a return journey, and put it in an envelope with the date of your appointment on it' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

Subsequently, youth justice practitioners encouraged young people to engage in financial planning in order to manage their travel costs [see Chapter 6, Section 2.2.2]. Importantly, these findings suggest how convicted young people's orders can impede journey making, with an exclusion from transport collection points and journey routes presenting particular problems when accessing youth justice services.

3.1.3. The impact of unreliable transport

Existing research describes how most young people make the transition to independent local travel for the first time during their teenage years (Cahill 2000). Convicted young people in this research were found to experience heightened journey making unreliability when distances were longer,

making youth justice access increasingly difficult. This was particularly reported in connection with bus journeys in Mining Town, with significant waiting times and delays resonating with Cresswell's (2010a) notions of limited journey velocity for groups with adverse circumstances:

'Aye, it's just number one buses take t'mick. They should be every ten minutes, like, but normally, you'll be waiting and you'll see them going down, t'other side, but you can't get on 'em. You got to get on them going directly into town. So you'll see like three or four of them going down, and it'll take another half an hour and they'll all come back up at the same time' (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1).

This chapter has already established that the cost of transport can be a key determinant in its use. In this research, young people described how multiple journey making problems were beyond their control, with prohibitively high costs became coupled with unreliability:

'That is actually one of the worst things possible. That's the reason why I breached last time to be honest, because I just couldn't fucking get here. Sometimes I don't have money for the train, or something like that. Sometimes fucking, just five minutes late for the train and its gone, and then - bloody missed it' (Young Person 2, Mill Town Focus Group 3).

This finding highlights how friction does not just occur when a journey concludes (Cresswell 2010a), with some groups experiencing stillness within their journeys. This stillness was found to be a consequence of systematic links within mobile assemblages, and how they could lack predictability [see Chapter 4, Section 1.1.3]. Subsequently, punctual appointment attendance can become impeded and in the case of this research, the risk of absence-based breach can then heighten. Although this research has so far argued that transport can impact youth justice attendance, factors extraneous to transport were also found to be influential. In particular, unexpected road maintenance was described as presenting transport delays, thus potentially impacting convicted young people's abilities to meet appointment times:

'If someone wants to get there, they'll get there, although at the minute we've got major road works through [adjoining conurbation] as well, which is slowing people down by a good hour. It really is slowing people down. They've got road works on Mill Town road, here. And they've got road works - this bit here which is the back road - [interconnecting road] - this is closed for three weeks. You can get right over the tops and come in through this way - whichever way it comes in, but this is now queuing all the way back so you're talking a good forty five minutes on there' (Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3)

When road maintenance was longer term, young people were found to be able to plan their youth justice journeys accordingly in order to avoid lateness: *'There's a lot of traffic near ASDA - they're doing building works so that's been there for the last six months [...] you've got to make sure you set off in time, if you know what I mean'* (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1). Another extraneous factor impacting the reliability of transport and subsequently, young people's youth justice punctuality was found to be the weather: *'the weather is a big one [...] as you can imagine in the snow, attendance dropped. And that's not unusual for anything I suppose - when the snow was bad like it was'* (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9). Such conditions were found to have a varied impact as although some outlying villages in hilly areas of Mining Town became inaccessible, young people in other outlying villages experienced shortened journey times as a result of route modification. In terms of different youth justice services, some activities were found to be more weather dependant than others. For example, convicted young people engaging in weekend reparation were found to have their sessions cancelled after ten minutes in adverse weather conditions, meaning that it remained possible to experience absence-based breach, irrespective of the short session duration:

'What we do with the weather and young people turning up is, even if it's absolutely throwing it down - although we don't sort of go out of our way to tell young people, but if it's throwing it down and they turn up, we will keep them for ten minutes, ask them if there's anything they want to report back to the case worker, ask them if everything's all right' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5)

In the context of this research, such a finding suggests how weather can make some youth justice appointments less meaningful despite a remaining journey making burden. In another case, the compounded factors of cost and the weather were found to impact the reliability with which young people were able to engage with public transport:

'When you've got no money and it's pissing down, and you've got a YOT appointment, you're on your last warning and if you miss it then you're going to court. That's a bad one innit? That is a bad situation that - I was in that situation a few weeks ago' (Young Person 2 on Detention and Training Order, Mill Town Focus Group 1)

Although the importance of undertaking welfare checks with convicted young people cannot be underestimated, the mandatory requirement to undertake long journeys in adverse weather

conditions was found to be impeded by transport unreliability and the inability to undertake longer walked journeys. Such attendance demands in the context of these short appointments raises serious questions about the extent to which young people are held responsible for their attendance, and the limited extent to which youth justice journey making problems are acknowledged. In terms of compounded journey problems, practitioners in this research described how a lack of public transport reliability, coupled with longer journey distances could significantly impede the capacity to keep appointments:

'When the council went on strike when they stopped the petrol allowance, we caught the bus. So all the workers had to catch a bus. So I had to go Mining Town to [three different outlying former mining villages with high deprivation] so I could probably only get to see two young people in any given day. And I'd go out to [the first village], and I'd set off one morning at 9.30am and I didn't get back 'til about 6.30 pm. So I'd seen two young people, I went out for a 3 o'clock bus and it didn't turn up because it were on the [route to another place]. The next one - it were one an hour. And the next one didn't turn up' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

These findings suggest how in the context of youth justice journey making, unreliable public transport can be particularly problematic for those undertaking longer journeys without access to convenient private car transport, such as the young people residing in the deprived outlying former mining villages in Mining Town. The communication of timekeeping problems in unforeseen circumstances - such as poor weather - was described as mitigating the need for formal breach proceedings. Subsequently, such transport problems raise questions about how young people have the potential to experience a heightened risk of absence-based breach, thus suggesting the potential for the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities through adverse youth justice journey making (Church et al 2000, Cresswell 2010a).

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed a gap in knowledge by describing convicted young people's journey making experiences when accessing local youth justice services. A lack of access to private car transport was found to cause a range of problems for young people, with those in Mining Town less able to use active travelling modes and more likely to need public transport. For young people in Mill Town, active travelling modes - and in particular, walking - were more likely to be used. These

approaches presented particular problems within each case study location. The young people of Mining Town were found to be unable to avoid transport-based personal safety threats, and unable to use concessionary discount schemes that were designed to support their mobility. Contrastingly in Mill Town, young people were more likely to encounter street-based personal safety threats as a result of their youth justice journey making.

The findings in this chapter resonate strongly with the new mobilities paradigm and Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility, with young people found to have constrained journey making *choices* as a result of their adverse life circumstances. In particular, young people described having little choice about their journey making to mandatory youth justice appointments, and were unable to travel at *speed* due to the travelling options that were available, with walked journeys in Mining Town being especially slow. Youth justice journey *routes* were found to be indirect, with extended bus journeys visiting many local neighbourhoods, and personal safety threats making it necessary to incorporate longer diversions within some walked journeys. Interestingly, the journeys that young people described as *experiencing* most positively were the long walked journeys in Mining Town, with liberation from the adult gaze providing an opportunity to develop friendships. Otherwise, journey experiences were fraught with complexity and risk, as young people encountered conflict, and struggled to use the concessionary schemes that were designed to support their passage. Interestingly, when the young people in this research were attempting to access youth justice services, their experiences of *friction* were not just at the end of a journey, with an abundance of inter-journey friction apparent as young people experienced extended bus waiting times, unanticipated conflict and a disengagement with concessionary fare schemes. These findings all support an interpretation of youth justice journey making as (re)productive of convicted young people's social inequalities, as young people's youth justice journey difficulties heightened the possibility of adverse longer term outcomes through protracted unmet needs (as a result of absence) or entrenched youth justice engagement (resulting from absence-based breach and sentence escalation).

Chapter Eight: Distinguishing Absence Management in Services Designed For, or Accessed By Convicted Young People

Introduction

So far, these findings chapters have established absence-based breach as more complicated than initially described in youth justice policy guidance, with young people subject to a wide range of practice responses that attempt to take different needs into account, to varying degrees. Such findings broaden the contribution to knowledge of this thesis, encompassing both convicted young people's youth justice journey making, *and* its treatment. Findings on young people's complex needs and journey making constraints challenge prevailing, narrow notions of *absence as non-compliance* that were initially suggested through limited existing evidence (YJB 2010d). In particular, Chapter Six revealed how young peoples' capacities to adhere to requirements were impacted by other unmet needs that sit within the RFPP (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a). For example, educational exclusion, economic hardship and cultures of worklessness were all found to have an impact, with youth offending teams responding to any subsequent absence with varying levels of flexibility. Chapter seven provided an added layer of complexity to young people's youth justice access, as journey making was found to be fraught with difficulties as limited private car access meant a reliance on active and public transport modes. In particular, areas that were found to impede journey making and subsequent youth justice attendance included the distances travelled without a car, the ability to use concessionary schemes, and threats to young people's personal safety. Such factors again highlight the sheer complexity of convicted young people's youth justice journey making. At the same time, such findings challenge the appropriateness of an instance-based punishment system, and its capacity to resolve the longer term mobility problems that emerge from the difficult (and often ongoing) circumstances in some young people's lives.

Following on from these considerations of young people's complex needs and journey making constraints, this final findings chapter will now add a third layer of complexity to young people's youth justice journey making. In particular, a broad and fragmented local youth justice landscape will be considered as impacting journey making and the punitive treatment of absence-based breach. In particular, distinctions will be drawn between services that are specifically designed to respond to convicted young people, and those that are accessed as part of a mandatory order. Notable differences will be highlighted in relation to service responsiveness and malleability, with perceived levels of need and compliance found to have an impact. Such findings raise questions about the cohesiveness of an overarching youth justice administration within this broad, multi-agency context.

1. The importance of coherent multi-agency youth justice services

In agreement with existing policy documentation (HM Government 1998), this research found multi-agency working to be crucial for the delivery of a broad range of local youth justice services. The connections between different agencies were found to have their own benefits and drawbacks, with less obvious partnerships that sit outside of mandatory youth justice obligations found to be crucial for youth justice accessibility.

1.1.1. Rationale for multi-agency youth justice operations

This research found youth justice services to mirror legislation (HM Government 1998) with YOTs behaving in a highly porous way through service signposting, partnership working, and staff secondments. A key driver for YOT operations was to draw together the range of local services in order for young people to engage with their youth justice orders through: *'that single door'* (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6). In this research, young people and practitioners reported such a connection with a wide variety of local services. For example, those on less serious orders were found to be engaging with fewer services, meaning locations such as the Attendance Centre were not accessed. Young people on more serious community orders were found to be experiencing greater levels of personal adversity, so also had a greater need for a wider range of services such as those relating to health, education, housing and substance use. In this research, YOT Practitioners were described as being in the unique position of supporting young people's navigation of the system, following an identification of needs: *'The [YOT Practitioner's] role is really to identify those collection of needs and then to navigate that pathway with the young person to get their needs met'* (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6). The reconfiguration of youth justice services through the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (HM Government 1998) to incorporate a cohesive and tightly administered response to young people, was described as important in this context, in order to achieve service clarity and accessibility:

'I think the criticism in the white paper that gave rise to these youth offending teams was that children and their parents are expected to go to a number of different doors - in the jargon - and it should be a single door. And so we provide that single door and somebody who, to really ruin the metaphor, is able then to navigate that pathway with the young person to get their needs met. Having everybody in one building enables a certainty and clarity around focus, and enables clear information sharing' (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6)

This finding suggests that although one metaphorical door was described as important when accessing youth justice services, the proximity of different services was also important, reinforcing

the need for seconded staff. When asked which services were most important for young people to access, it was described how: *'they're all important because a young person can get breached for missing any of them - if they're part of their contract'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). This finding suggests absence-based breach is considered to be a key driver for youth justice attendance and engagement, heightening the importance of its consideration in this thesis.

1.1.2. Formal and informal ways that youth justice services connect

This research found informal, ad hoc connections to be important within youth justice services, with proximity impacting the capacity to be responsive, such as through informal appointment sharing which was designed to ease the pressure for young people when their lives were in crisis:

'All the social work teams work within this building, so it's like - in that respect - arguably a one stop kind of shop. So, so yeah, so many times I'll go downstairs, and if I'm working with a young person who's in care, you know I might walk downstairs and I might bump into him or her, and they're not here to see me, they're here to see the social worker and stuff like that. So that's quite accessible. In terms of when you're, when I'm working with a young person, if their life is in crisis, yeah, and in terms of engaging him or her on the, the court order, I'll share my appointments. So if I know that by seeing the social worker or any other professional, it would benefit that young person, I would say: 'right, if you see the social worker, or you see the connections officer, or you see the mental health worker, as far as I'm concerned that's an appointment with me, and it's one of your three'. So in that respect we can be, we can be quite flexible, and even if it's not directly on the court order, if their life is in crisis, and they need that intervention of support, that's what I'll do' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This finding highlights the importance of institutional geography (Manion and Flowerdew 1982), and how the geographical proximity of services can impact service flexibility and the mutual meeting of service objectives. As a result, such an operational approach can help achieve overarching youth justice objectives of service accessibility, engagement and order completion (YJB 2009, 2010d). This research also found the ways that different partner agencies communicate to be important for the promotion of a cohesive youth justice service, with consistent delivery achievable through: *'lots of good linking in'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). The need for young people to engage with a range of closely connected services echoed policy expectations within the RFPP (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a), with a holistic response to young people's problems expected:

'And I think, you know, in Mining Town from what I see from going to other authorities, were quite forward in the way we work multi-agency. 'It's not - CAMHS is not just a CAMHS issue. It's a multi-agency approach that can bring about the best outcomes for these children. And I think that's how we tend to work. So we do recognise if there's been some mental health issues, so we do it collectively, you know, and talk' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

This finding suggests multi-agency service delivery in this research was coupled with collective order responsibility, as young people's needs were responded to across a range of services. Such a finding underlines the importance of responsive and communicative connections between different youth justice services when delivering a cohesive local service. Importantly for this research, appointment locations were found to promote informal multi-agency communications, thus encouraging a more coherent youth justice approach. In particular, the scheduling of YOT appointments at school meant that more comprehensive welfare checks could take place:

'School - especially if education is part of their referral order contract. Because then we can be checking up on - its places where we can get more information as well, so it's almost like a dual reason for attending. So as you go in to meet them, a teacher usually comes and meets you and you get to say: 'How are they doing? Has there been any issues, anything we need to address in this particular session?' So then you tailor your work around, if there's been something there, or address that first so you are seen to - then the young person knows as well because it helps them see, well we've got a good relationship with the school, as a youth offending team. Even if it's not part of their contract as well, because we're trying to support, you know, positive roles, positive norms for them as well' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4).

Youth justice service fragments were also found to connect in more formal ways such as through scheduled meetings and panels:

'There's a lot of multi-agency meetings in Mining Town. There's the FIP meetings - Family Intervention Project. The FIP panel is made up of multi-agency people. There's the Families at Risk panel. That's MA coordinated - that's got a multi-agency approach [...] if I'm not mistaken, I'm sure that was one of the things that enabled Mining Town to get the funding for multi-systemic therapy. And I'm not sure if I overheard a few years ago, that one of the

reasons was the collective multi-agency working that was really effective in Mining Town'
(Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7)

This finding suggests multi-agency communications to be important for service delivery *and* access to resourcing which in turn, has the potential to impact service quality. When formal activities designed to support communication between different youth justice services were withdrawn, staff reflected on how this resulted in poorer local multi-agency communications and knowledge: *'They used to do regional ETE [education, training, employment] meetings for YOTs and they fell by the wayside a number of years ago. And it was really interesting to go and sit and listen'* (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7). Subsequently, the findings in this section underline the importance of formal and informal multi-agency communications between different youth justice services in order to deliver a cohesive response to young people's needs, with all appointments important not only because of the needs that they respond to, but also as a result of absence-based breach.

1.1.3. An accessible youth justice infrastructure through partner agencies

Youth justice legislation and policy guidance describes the need to connect with core partner agencies such as those in employment, education, health and social care, as well as any other partners deemed appropriate (HM Government 1998). Despite being absent in policy documentation, this research found the booking of community buildings through partner agencies to be crucial for the delivery of an accessible youth justice service: *'we make it easy for people to attend their appointments where we go and use the local centres [...] Sure Start Centres, community centres, and other meetings are close by to the young people's homes, so its walking distance - it's easy for them to get to really'* (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2). Consequently, in order to alleviate journey making pressures, meeting at alternative sites close to young people's homes was sometimes deemed more appropriate:

'We meet at the Children's Centres out in the community, because they let us have the rooms for nothing, so they're placed strategically so most young people can meet, and I will say: 'do you want me to come into town, if you want me to come to your house, or do you want to meet in the centre'. I don't really like going to the house because they're so easily distracted. They're just nipping off to their bedroom: 'I'm just here!' you know, there's too many things. A place where you've taken them in the car, if they're going to be hard work [...] you can pick them up and take them to a centre, and they can't really leave without you. So you've their undivided attention' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

Subsequently, community centres that already permeated locality settings were found to form a crucial part of youth justice organisational geographies, when attempting to optimise youth justice attendance. This highlights how multi-agency partnerships extended beyond those well identified in youth justice services, with strong communication channels facilitating flexible and reliable service delivery through a robust local youth justice infrastructure:

'It's quite easy. We're lucky in Mill Town, we're scattered with community centres, sure start centres, community centres [...] What we do is basically pick up the phone and ring the centre up and say: 'can we book a room for Wednesday for four o'clock?' and it's as straight forward as that really. Which is convenient, so were really lucky and it makes life really easy, because sometimes, years and years ago you could usually spend an hour trying to kind of arrange a facility to meet a young person. But now we've got good resources in the community - good centres. All we do is, like I say, make a phone call, book the room' (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2).

Subsequently, this research found important multi-agency partnerships to extend beyond the delivery of well defined youth justice services such as employment, education, health and social care. Strong communication channels, coupled with an existing network of buildings facilitated the flexible and accessible delivery of youth justice through an informal local youth justice infrastructure. Importantly for this thesis, questions can be raised about the lack of policy profile that this crucial accessibility function has, especially in the context of ongoing youth justice commitments to encourage order engagement and completion (YJB 2009, 2010d).

2. Services accessed by young people in connection with mandatory orders

The following section describes how the existing services - each with distinctive operational rules, management and procedures - have become drawn into mandatory youth justice orders. These services will be described as both helping and hindering youth justice delivery. For legal procedural appointments in particular, rigid times and places, coupled with an absence of journey support will be described as putting young people in highly risky positions. When meeting needs, routine and urgent appointments will become apparent as requiring different levels of resource intensity, with emergency housing requiring significant YOT support. This will raise questions about the lack of predictability associated with YOT resourcing allocation, and the need for an improved responsiveness within some partner agencies. In areas such as education and health, service

delivery will be described as moving between the parent institution and YOT depending on the intensity of young people's needs, raising implications about the incidental determination of institutional contexts.

2.1. The entrenched institutional geographies of legal procedural partner agencies

This research found that as part of young people's engagement with youth justice services, it was necessary to access institutions that operated services primarily for other groups. This meant that in the context of institutional geographies, young people were subject to a variety of rules, procedures, management approaches and ideologies that acknowledged their needs and circumstances to varying degrees (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). This research found that when convicted young people needed to engage with services that were not designed for them, access difficulties could arise from institutional rigidities, with YOT Practitioners describing a limitation in their capacity to influence young people's accessibility: *'court appointment - obviously that's fixed by the magistrates. Police - that's the same'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

In terms of appointment timings, legal procedural appointments were found to be rigid: *'from my point of view, court appointments are only on one day - morning or afternoon. That's about as flexible as that gets'* (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4). The extent to which YOT Practitioners were able to fulfil their advocacy role was described as sometimes constrained by the (in)capacity to renegotiate appointment times. In particular, this research found legal procedural appointments based in the legal sector - such as the police station - to be particularly rigid and unresponsive: *'if a young person's to attend the police station, it's when the police officer can see them. So, there's no negotiation on that [...] and obviously court appointments - that's non-negotiable'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). The geography of some youth justice services (Manion and Flowerdew 1982) where entrenched institutional practices were coupled with expectations of appointment compliance was also found to make appointment booking systems difficult to navigate:

'I just tried to change a bail appointment for a young person and it was obviously quite difficult. It depended on the man who was seeing them, on his shift, on the times - I couldn't just change it from one to four, because the young person was doing something else. So I suspect police appointments are quite inflexible' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

This research found the locational rigidity of legal procedural services as presenting difficulties for young people who were grounded in their immediate locality settings: *'Obviously court's always in the town centre, so for those that are out at [outlying former mining villages with high levels of deprivation] like I said, it's more difficult for them to get into town - in their perception of it'* (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9). The proximity of these appointments was found to exacerbate the effects of institutional inflexibility even further, with the need for additional support becoming crucial in order to avoid absence. In some cases, key services were found to be located outside of the local authority area, meaning that young people were less likely to independently navigate longer journeys:

'I helped a young person - I went with a young person as an appropriate adult for the [ID parade] service, which we don't have one in Mining Town, so we had to go to the one in [city 16 miles away...] there isn't the facilities in Mining Town to do that, so we had to go through to [city 16 miles away] to do that. And I think there's only a couple of places in [city 16 miles away], so that one's quite restrictive in that sense' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4).

Such findings cement a connection between institutional geographies (Manion and Flowerdew 1982) and journey making, as service locations and young people's circumstances (including location and distance) can together produce youth justice journeys of a particular nature and length. Mobility can also raise questions about the capacity for managerialist youth justice services to be consistently administered through local YOT hubs (Home Office 1997, Fergusson 2007), as significant journey expectations and circumstances were found to be coupled with a limited formal acknowledgement of non-RFPP based risks. Importantly for this research, unplanned, out of hours appointments with legal procedural services such as the police, were found to present particular problems, with institutional rigidities remaining unsupported by local YOTs, thus exacerbating young people's adverse transport situations: *'I'm under 18 and they [the police] let me out at one in the morning with just my t-shirt on! They took my jumper off me and the lot! It were freezing and all - I didn't stop running until I got home'* (Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13). This finding is especially concerning as it raises questions about the potential for personal safety risks to become heightened through young people's unplanned, mandatory engagement with rigid out of hours services. Such an outcome resonates with Cresswell's notions of motive force and the (re)production of social inequalities, based on the personal safety risks that were endured as a consequence of this mandatory institutional engagement (Cresswell 2010a). For rigid youth justice appointments, this research found transport and institutional proximity to present particular journey making problems:

'They've made their police headquarters on the outskirts of town - at least a good bus ride away. They come out without their trainers on, wearing little foam slippers, because they're keeping their shoes after. Unless you've a parent with a car who's going to come and pick you up, with a pair of shoes. I've had young people arrive in town with those fluffy foam slippers on and what looks like a pair of somebody's pyjama bottoms, because they've taken their clothes off them - so police appointments are obviously difficult' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

Concerningly, this finding illustrates how rigid institutional practices can result in young people undertaking journeys without shoes as a consequence of their youth justice engagement. It was in the context of young people's engagement with these rigid institutional geographies that discourses of appointment compliance and attendance were most comprehensively described, with consequences of non-engagement described: *'court appointments need to happen in court, so I think there may be [access] barriers there, but by and large the threat of prison tends to motivate quite dramatically, so that's not an issue'* (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6). This research also found young people's lack of active engagement with these appointments, resulting in an increased reliance on procedures designed to enforce compliance. In these partner agencies, establishing young people's involvement in illicit activities was a strong driver for institutional contact, meaning that there was a lack of dialogue in relation to appointment scheduling and rationale:

'Someone will accuse you, and take you into a questioning room, and say: 'tell us the truth' and then we'll go on from there. And then you start getting letters through the post to make your way to police station, court and other places [...] I got locked up all night me, for somebody else doing it' (Male 1 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2).

In the case of these highly rigid institutional structures, young people described their own compliance, and feelings of disengagement as a consequence of institutional rules and procedures: *'it does my head in. I feel like just walking out [of court] when somebody says you've done something and you ain't even done it [...] or somebody says you've done it when you weren't even there [...] or when you get locked up for somebody else'* (Male 1 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). Importantly, the emotional impact of such approaches was described as being difficult for some young people who were found to rely on coping strategies: *'I hate court - people get pissed up before they go into court [...] because they might be getting sent*

down [...] shouting and bawling' (Male 1 aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2). This finding highlights how court appearances can be particularly difficult for those on the brink of custody. As *institutional rigidity* was found to heighten convicted young people's emotional needs, the impact of institutional geography on convicted young people was found to be apparent (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). Subsequently, questions can be raised about the need to know more about the *contexts* of absence-based breach, and whether an instance based system can adequately resolve some of the causal factors (YJB 2009, 2010c, Sentencing Guidelines Council 2009), including the absences of young people without adequate transport who experience significant journey making barriers. Interestingly, despite the rigidities of legal procedural appointments, YOT Practitioners were able to liaise with these institutions to secure increased overall order flexibility in very specific circumstances:

'If they're complying with the order, and they're doing everything we've asked, and we've got something planned, even if it's a one off thing - you know like they can only go there from half past six until eight o'clock. They're doing well on their court order, you go to court and say: 'right well this is happening next week, our young person needs to go to this because that's part of the next stages of the rehabilitation programme', you know then we just make the application to the court, and we're usually successful' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

So despite having highly rigid institutional geographies, court appointments were also found to facilitate increased flexibility within mandatory orders. The findings in this section raise broader questions about whether access difficulties undermine mandatory commitments to support young people's attendance and order completion (YJB 2009, 2010d). In particular, rigidities in connection with appointment responsiveness, proximity, appointment booking, appointment waiting times, and timetabling flexibility were all found to be problematic for the delivery of a coherent youth justice service. This underlines how some partner agencies were found to be less amenable to the development of a young person centric institutional approach, undermining notions of 1998 as youth justice '*year zero*' (Jones 2001a: 15).

2.2. Routine and emergency needs as drivers for service access

The following section describes how needs-based services were found to be an important part of young people's youth justice orders in this research. Although some services made special provision for convicted young people by timetabling in weekly sessions, this was also found to result in a lack of service responsiveness, with procedures differing from responsive YOT settings (Manion

and Flowerdew 1982). When emergency needs arose, attendance was found to be facilitated through concentrated YOT support, with appointment constraints accommodated as young people's needs were prioritised. However, questions about the capacity for YOTs to support young people's journey needs, and equitably provide resourcing will be raised. The provision of a convicted young persons' healthcare clinic illustrates how routine, needs-based support was found to be accessed:

'There's a new building there, its [names street] and in terms of health appointments, we have a health clinic, yeah so the young people go over to [street where health centre is located] our health clinic is every Thursday. So Thursday like kind of early afternoon to five o'clockish or even half past five for those who can't get here for five, so they'd, I think they'd kind of then offer appointments for up to about half past five, quarter to six, so that's where the health clinic is' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

Although this finding suggests that partner agencies reserved particular practice times for convicted young people's needs, questions can also be raised about service responsiveness. In this research, youth justice partner agencies in the employment sector were found to be highly operationally rigid: *'I'd have to ring in and say: 'I've a young person who needs to come and see an advisor', so they'll give me an appointment'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). For young people in need of emergency housing appointments as a result of unanticipated homelessness, such rigidities also remained, with extensive appointment waiting times having a significant impact on YOT delivery: *'If I knew I were going to housing, I wouldn't book anything in [for the rest of the day]. But the thing is, sometimes on a Friday, it often happens on a Friday that a young person's made homeless. So they come here to the YOT and we have to take them through to either housing or social services and sit with them until they sort it out'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). The proximity of emergency housing provision was found to further exacerbate problems associated with YOT support and cohesive youth justice delivery, with extensive waiting periods taking place as young people were placed in unfamiliar areas:

'My last young person, he - they shipped him off to [city sixteen miles away] in a bed and breakfast, and he lost that placement so I went to [city sixteen miles away] to pick him up. But I had to sit in [city sixteen miles away] - ring [the emergency out of hours contact number] up to see if they could re-house him somewhere, and because a lot of our bed and breakfasts that our area uses are out in [city sixteen miles away or city ten miles away], I had to wait in that area until I got notification of where they'd found him a bed. So - it's a big barrier' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

This finding highlights how access to rigid needs-based services could involve the most significant levels of displacement, with prolonged waiting periods outside of the locality setting. Although seconded staff were informally described in this research as expensive, the impact of YOT staffing demands that arose from the inconsistent delivery and poor communication with youth justice partner agencies was also found to make significant resourcing demands. In particular, limited scope for negotiation within the education sector was described as exacerbating demands for YOT Practitioners' time and resourcing when accounting for young people as having recently made the transition to independent local travel (Cahill 2000). This is because significant YOT Practitioner flexibility was found to cushion the logistical difficulties that arose when engaging with some rigid youth justice partner agencies in the education sector, when frequent rescheduling took place:

'We have a nightmare with the PRUs where they're changing their timetables constantly. And sometimes they'll say: 'couldn't come to school because I'd got a YOT appointment'. And they use that quite frequently. So I make sure that all the case managers have an up to date timetable and all the YOT appointments are made around school [outside of school hours] - that's the priority. If the young person has to come in at four o'clock, they have to come in at four. But the education sessions in school [are a priority over] the YOT appointments. And the YOT workers fit round them' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

These findings suggest that even when young people's needs are high and considered to be an emergency, service access can be difficult, with YOT Practitioners found to facilitate access through crucial journey support.

2.3. Service delivery transfers between YOTs and external providers as needs change

This research found that for some services, delivery was transferred between external providers and youth offending teams as young people's needs intensified or became resolved. Lower level mental health issues were found to be supported within YOTs, with more intensive needs transferred to external CAMHS sites. In the education sector heightened educational exclusion was found to increase provision flexibility as young people moved from a rigid mainstream institutional setting to a partial timetable, delivered through local PRU. For those found to have the very highest educational needs, education staff based within YOTs were found to be able to deliver an

alternative curriculum. The following section will focus on the institutional delivery transitions that were found in connection with educational provision.

2.3.1. Non-YOT delivered education

Similar to legal procedural appointments, discourses of order compliance (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010) were found with mainstream educational engagement, highlighting the importance of differences in youth justice institutional geographies in connection with the meeting of order requirements (Manion and Flowerdew 1982). Existing mandatory requirements were found to strengthen the case for young people's compliance:

'If attendance and behaviour in school is an issue, we put it in a young person's contract. They've to maintain an acceptable level of attendance and behaviour while in education. So that could be at school. It could be at a resource centre, or wherever. Because it's a well known fact that young people not in education or employment are more at risk of offending' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4).

However, such an approach did not account for the potential journey making complexities that were found in this research, making education a key area where absence-based breach problems could arise. Despite some young people having institutional engagement problems with respect to mainstream educational settings, the RFPP-based assessment can result in a mandatory requirement to engage in education (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a) making absence-based breach an increased possibility for some convicted young people: *'I used to, you know when I were on tag, I used to have to go to school, but I used to [run away] from school. So that were a breach. Against this as well - my YOT order'* (Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2). This finding raises important questions about whether young people's educational needs or educational *institutional engagement* is prioritised within mandatory youth justice orders. Interestingly for this research, educational delivery through PRUs - the institutions that bridged mainstream and YOT-based education - were not without complications. This research found that the provision of alternative education through PRUs had recently been radically restructured, but that little consultation had taken place with young people. As a result, journey making expectations had become significantly heightened, with an increased potential for absence-based breach:

'What we had before is, we had a pupil referral unit in the town centre, where young people would come to. My professional opinion thinks that worked much better [...] the biggest barrier for us is having a client who has got to catch two buses and a two hour journey just

to get to school, to be put on a three hour timetable. And then a two hour journey home. It's one of our biggest barriers we've got about the units' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

An added complication for PRU-based delivery was that many young people were unable to attend their closest location as young people were found to be permanently excluded from these mainstream school-based sites. With the further complication of particular key stages being delivered in particular locations, access to mandatory educational requirements within PRU-based settings was found to be very complicated:

'We've been told that not every PRU is going to cover both key stages - you can have one PRU that's a key stage four and one that's a key stage three [...] we've got a young man who lives in [outlying village with high deprivation] that goes to a PRU seven mile away? Six mile away? Wanting to go to his local one when it opens in September in [outlying village with high deprivation], it's not going to be a key stage four PRU. So he doesn't meet the criteria to be able to go to his local PRU' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

This finding suggests that for young people with educational engagement problems, some mandatory areas of youth justice orders posed significant accessibility problems and had a heightened risk of absence-based breach.

2.3.2. YOT delivered education

Unlike the more rigid mainstream educational provision which was delivered through a network of static locations, alternative educational provision accessed through the YOT was found to be highly malleable, as one practitioner described: *'Well, to see me is flexible. And I can do that at the places we've got or I can do home visits or whatever we need to do. That's flexible'* (Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3). Such an approach meant that it was possible to maximise the opportunities to accredit young people's learning:

'We do a lot of education. We do ASDAN work, there's this summer arts college, which will be accredited. The ISS work, if we possibly can they get certificates in ASDAN for reparation. We try and get as many as we can, so were pretty flexible there - we do quite a lot there' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4).

Contrasting with mainstream education, this research found discourses of *engagement* rather than *compliance* in YOT delivered education, with seconded educational staff describing how: *'I'm the careers advisor, with the YOT, so I'm seconded full time from the careers service, so my role really with all the young people is to encourage them to attend education, training, or to enter employment'* (Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3). The use of language in this finding is important as it contrasts significantly with mainstream educational engagement, where discourses of compliance were more readily found, and institutional *attendance* was found to be emphasised over educational *needs*.

3. Youth justice services designed for convicted young people

The following section describes how services designed for convicted young people have the potential to be highly malleable and responsive, with youth justice accessibility found to be a priority shaping practice. However, such treatment was not found to be universal, with some services that were designed for convicted young people found to offer piecemeal support which could create confusion and heighten youth justice accessibility problems.

3.1. Convicted young person centric service provision

The following section describes the extent to which services designed for convicted young people could be moulded into a particular style of service delivery. In particular, the responsiveness of YOT operations to young people's journey making needs and engagement barriers were found, indicating the priority that local YOT operations give to young people's engagement and order completion, as per policy guidance (YJB 2009, 2010d). Importantly for this research, YOT-based appointments were found to prioritise young people's needs whether they sat within the RFPP or not (YJB 2005a, 2005b, 2006a), as young people's journey making pressures were alleviated by the convenient locating of appointments in consultation with the young people.

3.1.1. Young people determine YOT appointment locations

This research found that convicted young people were consulted about appointment locations and could influence decisions about convenient places to meet. This suggests how discretion can vary in different areas of youth justice absence management (for example, in contrast with static Youth Court appointments), and how practitioners can exercise considerable discretion over the locating of practice within the broader context of institutional geography and the constraints that this

presents (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982). High levels of flexibility and a focus on young people's needs were described as giving rise to discourses of YOT staff as: *'cup of tea and cuddle merchants'* (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6). However, youth justice appointments were found to be structured in a flexible and accessible way in order to meet mandatory order support requirements (YJB 2009, 2010d), while compensating for young people's limited mobility. Subsequently, appointment locations were found to be chosen according to: *'whichever's the easiest for them'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). Practitioners were found to support young people's engagement by engaging in consultations about where appointments should take place, thus achieving a convenient location of the young person's preference:

'I tend to ask the young people where they would prefer, because it's about building that relationship with them and understanding where they're going to feel most comfortable and be able to talk about what it is that they have. So if say the substance misuse, if their parents don't know and they don't want their parents to find out, then it wouldn't be suitable to do it at home. They'd want somewhere where they can be quiet and they can talk confidentially with you' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

This finding is important in establishing a connection between young people's needs (Grandi and Adler 2015), the selection of practice sites (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982) and the youth justice journeys that can subsequently become associated. In resolving the transport problem, this research found appointments to take many different forms and with different kinds of support: *'we make it as easy as possible for them to attend appointments, by offering, kind of, bus tokens or by seeing them in their kind of local area at local centres'* (YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2). Young people agreed that they were able to access and engage with their appointments in a place that they considered to be convenient, describing how: *'they come out to school, home visit or I've got to go out and see them'* (Young Male 2 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). When journey making problems were significant, it was even possible to remove the barrier completely as one young person described home appointments as highly accessible because: *'you don't need to walk - all you need to do is make sure that you're in'* (Young Male 1 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1). However, such an approach was described as not being without problems, with young people's expectations of appointment flexibility becoming apparent through poor timekeeping:

'Rightly or wrongly, if a young person knows were flexible, and [knows that] we'll alter [the appointment] as much as possible, if a young person missed a session they'd probably ring

up and say: 'oh I couldn't make it, can you rearrange it?' knowing us to be flexible. So it may be we're shooting ourselves in the foot by being really flexible!' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

These findings suggest how high levels of practitioner discretion in some areas of youth justice absence management can help prioritise order completion (YJB 2009, 2010d, Eadie and Canton 2002), meaning that convicted young people can exercise significant levels of autonomy when youth justice appointment locations are agreed. However, such discretion can be significantly constrained by institutional geographies and the operational constraints that limit flexibility with respect to appointment timings and locations (Manion and Flowerdew 1982).

3.1.2. Practitioners flexible to young people's varied appointment location needs

Irrespective of any difficulties, flexible appointments were found to be crucial for the meeting of mandatory youth justice obligations to promote engagement and order completion, with transport as an important pre-cursor to these obligations:

'So if I put together YOT appointments, anything to do with education, reparation, drugs, money advice and community panels - they're all delivered generally speaking by staff based here. And staff who are generally very comfortable with the idea of being that bridge between - resolving the problem of transport' (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6).

This flexibility was found to allow practitioners to decide on the delivery context of different YOT appointments, with particular locations favoured at different points in the order:

'I think it depends on what I'm planning to cover in each session. If it's usually like a welfare check, I like to do it at home because then you get to speak with parents of whoever it is that they're living with. You get to see what they're telling you when you come into the office is true. And just check up on things like curfews and things like that. So that can be quite flexible' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4).

Again, this finding cements the connection between young people's needs (Grandi and Adler 2015), decisions about the locating of practice sites (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982), and then the journeys that can be subsequently associated. In terms of appointment

location, transport was a key consideration for youth offending teams, with practice malleability expected to overcome transport problems in order to support young people's engagement and order completion: *'if there was a transport barrier to engagement I would expect the case manager to go and see the young person, not expect the young person to come and see the case manager'* (YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6). This finding reveals the dynamic that exists between journey making problems and YOT appointment locations when meeting mandatory obligations relating to appointment engagement and order completion (YJB 2009, 2010d). Consequently, some practitioners were found to be based in areas where deprivation and limited access to convenient transport was coupled with high journey distances and a propensity for young people and their families to remain grounded within their immediate localities:

'I'm based in Mining Town and my area is all this [indicates outlying villages with high levels of deprivation]. I always do home visits because I take that barrier completely out, because the number of times when we first started referral orders, that you know: 'I've missed the bus, it hasn't turned up' and, you know, so we agreed that wherever possible, I'd do home visits [...] I'm very flexible' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

This research has sometimes found staff resourcing to be a problem, with location flexibility only achievable in some cases: *'general YOT appointments, the ones that I come to particularly, are usually here'* (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9). This finding raises questions about the need to align young people's mobility needs with practitioner appointment resourcing in order to support overarching youth justice aims of young people's appointment engagement and order completion (YJB 2009, 2010d). Importantly, in terms of timekeeping, when young people experienced problems, YOT-delivered appointments were also able to respond:

'I very, very rarely, I can't ever recall saying: 'right you've failed your appointment'. I might have done to be honest, if it's someone who's really, really blatantly disregarding their court order. I'll say: 'no, you've come in here now, you know, you're twenty minutes late, half an hour late', you know. Some, sometimes I will have gone off to another appointment cos obviously you've got a stack of appointments sometimes. But if I've not, and I can see that young person, I'll see them. What's the point in me turning them away when they've made the effort to get here? So I just have to bend their ear a bit' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This finding resonates with other research on contemporary youth justice where an emphasis on order management is described (Bateman 2011). In this case a YOT Practitioner focus on order completion rather than punctuality can be suggested as supporting overarching youth justice aims (YJB 2009, 2010d).

3.2. Service accessibility as a key service objective

In terms of services that were specifically designed for convicted young people, this research found youth offending teams to take a highly integrated and responsive approach, significantly contributing to young people's engagement and order completion, as per policy guidance (YJB 2009, 2010d). So far, this chapter has revealed how multi-agency working is crucial for such policy priorities, with good quality communications described as important for the delivery of a cohesive youth justice service. However, significant institutional rigidities have also been described as problematic for access, especially when convicted young people need to engage with services that are *not* designed around their needs. The following section describes how an ethos of youth justice service accessibility was found to permeate local YOT administration, with some unexpected multi-agency connections strengthening the development of a robust and accessible youth justice infrastructure.

3.2.1. YOTs facilitating access and engagement with other services

In terms of financial support, this research found that young people's expressed needs could be met by the YOT, even in the context of scheduled non-YOT appointments:

'The police station is at [location] which is there [indicates on map] so again that's a way out - it's not massively way out of town but it is a bit of a distance [...] I can't recall any young person saying: 'well I've got my police, me, me bail appointment with police and I can't afford to go, can you help me out?' but we would do, you know, what we do do, and especially for young people anywhere really, but if they're struggling we've got bus tokens, so say: 'right, here's some bus tokens you know, make sure you don't spend it on anything else, but there's your bus tokens'' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This finding again cements a connection between young people's needs, institutional geography (particularly the malleability of practice locations) and youth justice journey making. In this research, the delivery of malleable YOT practice was found to be scheduled around other services. For example, the prioritisation of rigid education, training and employment activities meant that

both commitments were able to run alongside each other: *'Probably 75 per cent, 80 per cent of reparation is done at the weekend, because reparation can't intrude on education, training and employment. So we have to do reparation at the weekend'* (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5). To promote appointment attendance, YOT activities were found to be scheduled at the sites of these rigid activities at times that fitted in around young people's engagement, thus limiting journey making pressures:

'We've got a good working relationship with the teachers at the PRU, if they finish say at half past two on whatever day of the week I'll say: 'well they've finished their school, I want to encourage his or her attendance, can I come and see you at, you know, half past two or quarter to three to do appointments there' [...] I'll only do that when I know it's got a good chance of working cos what I don't want to do is criminalise a young person when there's been a catalogue of problems in terms of getting him to school' (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1).

This finding illustrates a focus on order completion in contemporary youth justice practice, contrasting with existing research where the punishment of young people's deviation from National Standards is described as emphasised (Hart 2010, Bateman 2011). This finding also suggests how YOT appointments were scheduled in order to encourage the normalisation of educational engagement. When young people's locations became relatively fixed (such as with custody), the need for multiple agency involvement remained. This research found YOT-based staff to liaise with, and even transport staff from other agencies, in order to promote service coherence:

We had a young lad in [a Young Offenders Institute] on remand. And [the Young Offenders Institute], they did an assessment on this lad. He's got a reading age of 12.6 - he's 14 - that's fantastic. Whereas his verbal and levels of reasoning and understanding were 6.2 - that's been overlooked. Yeah he can read, but his levels of understanding are not there. So one of the outcomes of the [looked after child] review, was for me to call an urgent annual review of the statement, which I have. And I've asked if they can get the Ed Psych to do an assessment on him - the Educational Psychologist. And she said: 'yes', she would put a referral in for him to be seen by an Ed Psych and I said: 'but if he gets a custodial - because this is what the young man's wanting and he's in breach again - would the Ed Psych go to see him in a secure estate', and I would broker that and I would take them, you know. I said: 'if he's not there [in the community] would they go to him', and she said: 'I can't see why not'. So fingers crossed, we're hoping we can have an assessment done on his needs -

and I think a lot of needs are overlooked. You know, a lot have got learning difficulties' (Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7).

The provision of lifts by YOT Practitioners was also found to support young people's engagement with other services: *'I like to go to this new thing on a Friday that's with the YOT, and me youth worker [YOT Practitioner] comes and picks me up in her car like, and takes me to town'* (Male aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1). Subsequently, in this research, malleable YOT practice was found to support access to rigid youth justice services, thus promoting overall attendance and order completion as per existing policy guidance (YJB 2009, 2010d).

3.3. Some reparative provision flexibility and journey support

This research found reparative services to be somewhat bespoke, with convicted young people's needs and circumstances somewhat taken into account. However, the following section describes the support and treatment of young people's reparative journey making as contrasting with that of youth offending teams, with some needs being met, but service access barriers and confusion also found to be problematic.

When locating reparation sessions, this research found a variety of choices meaning that young people's journey making needs could be accommodated: *'we don't ask the young people living in [outlying deprived villages] to travel all the way into town. We have limited numbers who do that. Although, if there was a particular problem with an individual we would let them join in with that group, or even offer one to one reparation'* (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3). This finding again cements the connection between young people's needs, the locating of practice and associated journey making requirements. However, the entrenchment of institutional ideologies (Manion and Flowerdew 1982, Pierson 2004) also meant that there was a propensity for community reparation to be locally based, meaning appointment locations were also ideologically driven: *'Reparation's generally a bit easier to get to. They tend to work quite hard at putting people in their local area. You know, to keep that connection with pay back into their own community, and that kind of thing'* (Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9). In this research, young people could find such arrangements stigmatising, resulting in a heightened journey making burden:

[Young people sometimes say] I'm not working in my own community!' - of course we have had one or two young people say: well I don't want to, you know, if anybody sees me'. So we'll invite them into Mining Town, but they've got to understand that they've got to travel.

And the point of them doing it in their community is on a Saturday morning or a Sunday, it's easily accessible for them' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

These findings suggest that when young people exercise their autonomy, the reparative journey making burden can increase. Young people's complex situations were found to present a difficult context for reparative activities, again heightening the risk of absence-based breach through increased journey expectations:

'We've got some entrenched young people in [high deprivation outlying village] who, in reality are better coming out of [high deprivation outlying village...] we tried to get him out of [high deprivation outlying village] because his ASBO conditions made it difficult for me to put him anywhere, working there, because he'd caused so much anti-social behaviour, that was difficult. So we got him his [free bus pass] to come into Mining Town. [...] he decided that he'd had enough and he didn't want to come. Then it became an issue to us and then it was passed to breach proceedings and then he were back in custody' (Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3).

These two findings suggest how entrenched, path dependent organisational structures (including practice locations and their governing rules) can impact young people's youth justice journey making burden (Pierson 2004). Despite the difficult contexts of young people's journey making that have been described in this research [see Chapter 7], discourses of responsabilisation were also found with community reparation. In particular, a lack of journey capability consideration was found during periods of limited public transport provision, such as on Sunday mornings. Furthermore, the non-YOT based reparative provider in Mining Town described a policy of *not* financing young people's journey making:

'We don't - on reparation we don't have a policy of, you know, paying their bus fares for them to come [...] the ethos that we take into consideration is that they've got to take on some responsibility for their order. They've got to get themselves to a designated place at a designated time and meet their supervisors before they go out on their reparation placements' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

In the context of reparative appointments, high levels of institutionally initiated journey fragmentation were found. Reparation accessibility was found to be distinctive in this research,

with young people undertaking independent travel to a pre-agreed location, where collective travel would then be undertaken to the main reparation site. The pre-agreed collection point was found to be well known to young people: *'the reparation man comes and picks up. Again, you've got [to the YOT Office] for that'* (YOT Practitioner, Mill Town interview 4). In Mill Town which was considered to be broadly accessible through active travelling modes such as walking, this was considered to heighten the accessibility of reparative activities, which could be taking place in a multitude of locations: *'Most of the time it's just coming into town, at Children's Services [adjoining building to the YOT], and then they drop you off where you need to go'* (Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town interview 7). Following a reparation session, partial journey support was found in Mining Town:

'I would say that at least fifty per cent of them will rely on public transport. Because we also have a system where we don't take them home either, but my supervisors are sort of - I would be happy for them to say drop off at the interchange after their session, so that we know that they're getting into the interchange safely. And then our role has finished for that weekend, or whatever' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

Interestingly, this finding suggest reparation as being the only youth justice service area where group lift provision was routinely provided, irrespective of young people's mobility needs. The provision of reparation lifts for the last part of young people's youth justice journeys was also unique in that journey making did not completely alleviate young people's journey making burden. Instead, this support was found to fragment young people's journeys, leading to heightened inter-journey friction, resonating with journey making inequalities and the (re)production of social inequalities (Cresswell 2010a). This research found practitioner timekeeping discretion and an inability to make lateness notifications as particularly problematic for reparation attendance. In particular, young people's inability to report lateness with partner agencies during out-of-hours appointments when the YOT office was closed, was found to have the potential to heighten absence problems:

'On a weekend it's a case of you're here or you're not basically. They can ring [the empty YOT Office...] but the young people haven't got supervisors' telephone numbers to ring and say 'I've missed my bus' and 'I'm stood at the bus stop waiting' you know - they can't do that' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

This finding is especially concerning as when describing the context of absence-based breach, lateness notification was described as mitigating formal proceedings [see Chapter 6, Section 2.2.1]. This means that for those reliant on less predictable journey making methods such as public

transport [see Chapter 7, Section 3.1.3], heightened attendance problems and consequences could transpire as a result of the structure of reparation accessibility, poor communications and fragmented journey making. Such a finding supports the notion of non-RFPP based risk factors (like transport) presenting a practice challenge and being prioritised. This research found lateness notification problems to be compounded by practitioner discretion, with mixed messages about timekeeping expectations becoming enacted. Again, partial journey support to appointments meant that late arrivals were unable to engage in the last part of a journey or locate the community reparation site, heightening the likelihood of absence-based breach:

'We give them leeway of - say the sessions starts at ten o'clock on a Saturday morning, my supervisors, if there's anybody missing, they will wait 'til roughly quarter past - between quarter past and half past ten [...] That goes on individual personalities. Some of my supervisors are ex-military, ex-police. If you're not there at that time, you know, we're going - we're going without you. And it's a missed appointment, you know, so... I'll tend to be a bit soft and I'll wait while twenty past, or I'll wait while twenty five past' (Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5).

Although the focus of this research is the varied delivery of different institutional fragments within the youth justice system, rather than YOT Practitioner decision making about how breach is enacted, this finding does support existing research on discretionary practice, suggesting that youth justice attendance management is by no means exempt, within the confines of different operational constraints or institutional geographies (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982, Pierson 2004). Previous findings in this thesis found the treatment of absence-based breach to vary between different agencies, this finding demonstrates varied treatment within just one sector, raising important questions about consistent timekeeping treatment, and how partial journey support and limited communication can present important attendance barriers.

Conclusion

This final findings chapter has described how convicted young people's social inequalities can be (re)produced by the fragmented and rigid youth justice institutional landscape. Such findings build on the previous two chapters where convicted young people's high levels of need and significant journey making barriers were described as impacting youth justice attendance capacities. In particular, this chapter has described high levels of variance in the delivery of youth justice services,

with appointment malleability and absence treatment varying in different areas. Despite the administration of the post-1998 youth justice system being described earlier in this thesis as responsive and individualised [see Chapter 3, Section 2.1], the institutional variance that was described in this chapter instead suggests how in some cases, youth justice services do not (and in some cases cannot) take convicted young people's circumstances into account. Consequently, the suitability of an instance-based attendance management system in terms of its capacity to adequately and cohesively deal with convicted young people's absence, can also be questioned. The next chapter in this thesis will bring the key findings together in order to draw out the main research themes and respond to the original aims, while also highlighting where a gap in knowledge has been addressed.

Chapter Nine: Convicted Young People's Youth Justice Mobilities and the (Re)production of Social Inequalities

Introduction

The following chapter will start by addressing the three main research questions [see Chapter 5, Section 1.1]. Then policy, theory and findings will be drawn together in order to establish a new *politics of youth justice mobility*. In particular, the newly developed *needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support* model will be described as bringing together a new set of factors, with YOT attendance management related to accessibility needs and constraints. The remainder of this chapter will then evaluate each of Cresswell's (2010a) six politics of mobility features in the context of this youth justice-based thesis, particularly drawing on journey making rationale and experience as important for the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities. Youth justice rhythms will then be described as having significant additional explanatory potential beyond the scope of this thesis, and two new areas of *family mobilities* and *mobilities communications* will be described as broadening Cresswell's framework and its explanatory potential further, within a context where young people are accessing mandatory essential local services.

1. Responding to the research questions

1.1.1. A politics of youth justice mobility?

The first main research question [see Chapter 5, Section 1.1] asked if there was any evidence of convicted young people's social inequalities being (re)produced through adverse youth justice journey making, thus suggesting a politics of youth justice mobility. This research found young people's social inequalities to be (re)produced through youth justice journey making, with limited mobile capabilities impacting the nature and success of journey completion. Cresswell's (2010a) six point politics of mobility framework addressed this question [see Chapter 4, Section 2.2], with the impact of young people's *circumstances* and *access to local mobility systems* examined through further two sub questions. In the context of this research, eight different areas of adversity were found to result in a heightened risk of absence, breach and sentence escalation. Young people's *circumstances* were found to connect with their *limited access* to mobility systems, as a lack of access to a convenient family car resulted in a reliance on either walking or bus travel.

Subsequently, youth justice access was found to be slow, expensive, indirect and risky. The fragmentation of journeys through the *need* to use multiple modes (such as walking and bus travel) meant that multiple, stagnant periods of inter-journey inactivity extended the duration and complexity of travel even further. A more extensive discussion on the establishment of a *politics of youth justice mobility* will follow later in this chapter [see Section 3 in this chapter].

1.1.2. Journey making as an unmet need and youth justice risk factor?

This research has cemented the connection between journey problems as a symptom of young people's broader needs, and youth justice journey support requirements as a product of both young people's needs and practice-based factors such as location flexibility. The second main research question [see Chapter 5, Section 1.1] asked whether young people's youth justice journey making could be described as an unmet need and youth justice risk factor. This research found that in the absence of any YOT accessibility support, this could be the case with inadequate skills or experience leading to a heightened risk of breach in some cases [for example, see Chapter 6, Section 2.1.1]. Further sub-questions then asked about the *recognition* of young people's journey needs, if practitioners accounted for young people's journey making difficulties when responding to absence, and whether resulting *flexibilities* could be found in the implementation of breach proceedings. This research found youth justice journey making needs to remain significant when young people travelled independently. However, such barriers were resolved when YOT Practitioners *recognised and responded* to journey difficulties through physical support (such as the provision of a lift), logistically (through appointment rescheduling) or through the provision of resourcing (such as bus fares). YOT Practitioners were also found to introduce added *flexibility* into youth justice attendance management, as young people's lateness notifications (such as through a phone call en route) meant that the consequences of unexpected factors (such as late bus services) could be mitigated through rescheduling.

Despite discretionary and ad hoc YOT practices supporting young people's journey making and attendance, rigid and punishment-based absence procedures were ultimately found to retain significant power. YOT Practitioners described their need to adhere to an escalating, instance-based breach system, where two warnings were followed by formal breach proceedings and a return to court or a compliance panel. So although a flexible and informal absence management approach was found to limit the use of formal proceedings, eventual use was required in the event of repeated absence. When ongoing absence couldn't be resolved, discourses of *serial non-compliance* were found to legitimise the use of rigid and formal procedures. Subsequently, YOT Practitioners were found to relate differently to the formal and informal ways of managing absence,

using their own *discretion* and *judgement* with informal accessibility support (to which there was no structured assessment), while also *adhering* to clearly defined, formal processes.

Subsequently, this research found young people's youth justice journey making to represent an unmet need, which was identified and responded to in some cases. Informal, ad hoc responses to journey making problems allowed this support to be shaped well around young people's needs, but a lack of broader accountability and structure raised additional constraints in the context of support provision. This meant that when YOT Practitioners used informal methods to limit the use of formal proceedings, the provision of journey support could be inequitable. For example, YOT Practitioners' own skills and resourcing became very important, despite not being formally accounted for when deciding on caseloads of young people. Furthermore, YOT Practitioners' own compliance with formal procedures meant that there were some inherent *inflexibilities* with respect to the treatment of young people's absence within youth justice, with limited circumstantial recognition in the formal system heightening the risk of sentence escalation and entrenched youth justice engagement.

1.1.3. Varied absence treatment through the fragmented youth justice landscape?

The third research question [see Chapter 5, Section 1.1] asked whether a fragmented local youth justice service landscape has the potential to exacerbate young people's journey pressures, thus amplifying the politics of youth justice mobility. In particular, the three sub questions asked whether service-based differences in young people's *journeys*, and the delivery of *absence treatment* and *breach proceeding* would have the potential to produce different pressures. Depending on the service that was being accessed, this research found young people's youth justice journey making to contain a variety of pressures within the three areas of journey making, absence treatment and breach proceedings. In terms of journeys, young people travelled a variety of distances to access different essential local services as part of their youth justice orders, meaning that different modes of transport became more or less suitable. The manoeuvrability of practice sites was also a key factor with respect to the distances that young people were expected to travel, in order to access appointments. This point is important because it means that young people's lack of transport choices presented a variable problem, depending on the service being accessed. For example, the need to undertake longer journeys beyond Mill Town (to the attendance centre), or Mining Town (to ID Parade technology and emergency housing) made it essential to use less localised transport infrastructures like the rail network. Contrastingly, services within the locality were almost entirely accessed by walking or the use of buses, depending on where young people lived and the resourcing that they had access to (both in skills and finance).

In this research, some services had high expectations with respect to *attendance compliance* but provided little in the way of accessibility support. For other services (such as reparation), partial accessibility support attempted to mitigate absence through the use of collection points and transportation to and from final destinations. Yet despite good intentions, such support was found to further fragment journeys, thus increasing the chance of missed connections and absenteeism. Interestingly, some services provided journey support *after* absence had taken place, with youth court absence resulting in contempt of court and convenient, compulsory door-to-door transport by police car. However, for some of these more rigid services, high consequences accompanied the provision of lifts. Subsequently, despite a wide number of institutional differences between services (such as with reparation and court appointments), an exacerbation of formal breach proceedings, and sentence escalation could be found. One main service area where support was well targeted (with the caveat of some resourcing constraints) was through YOT Practitioners, with young people's circumstances assessed, instead of institutional practices dictating the extent and nature of support. In these cases, breach thresholds were significantly raised as a responsive, needs-based approach was found to go one step further by promoting the development of journey making skills. Uniquely, the management of young people's orders by YOTs meant that accessibility support was provided for a variety of services, contrasting with non-YOT services where support was reserved for own appointments.

2. Establishing the main research themes

The main themes that have emerged from this research have been drawn together into a new *needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support* model [see Figure 9a]. In order for YOT Practitioners to assess and provide accessibility support that limits the (re)production of young people's social inequalities two main themes of accessibility need and accessibility support were found. In terms of need, young people's skills and institutional malleability were found to be important. With respect to support constraints, resourcing and policy detail were both found to have an impact.

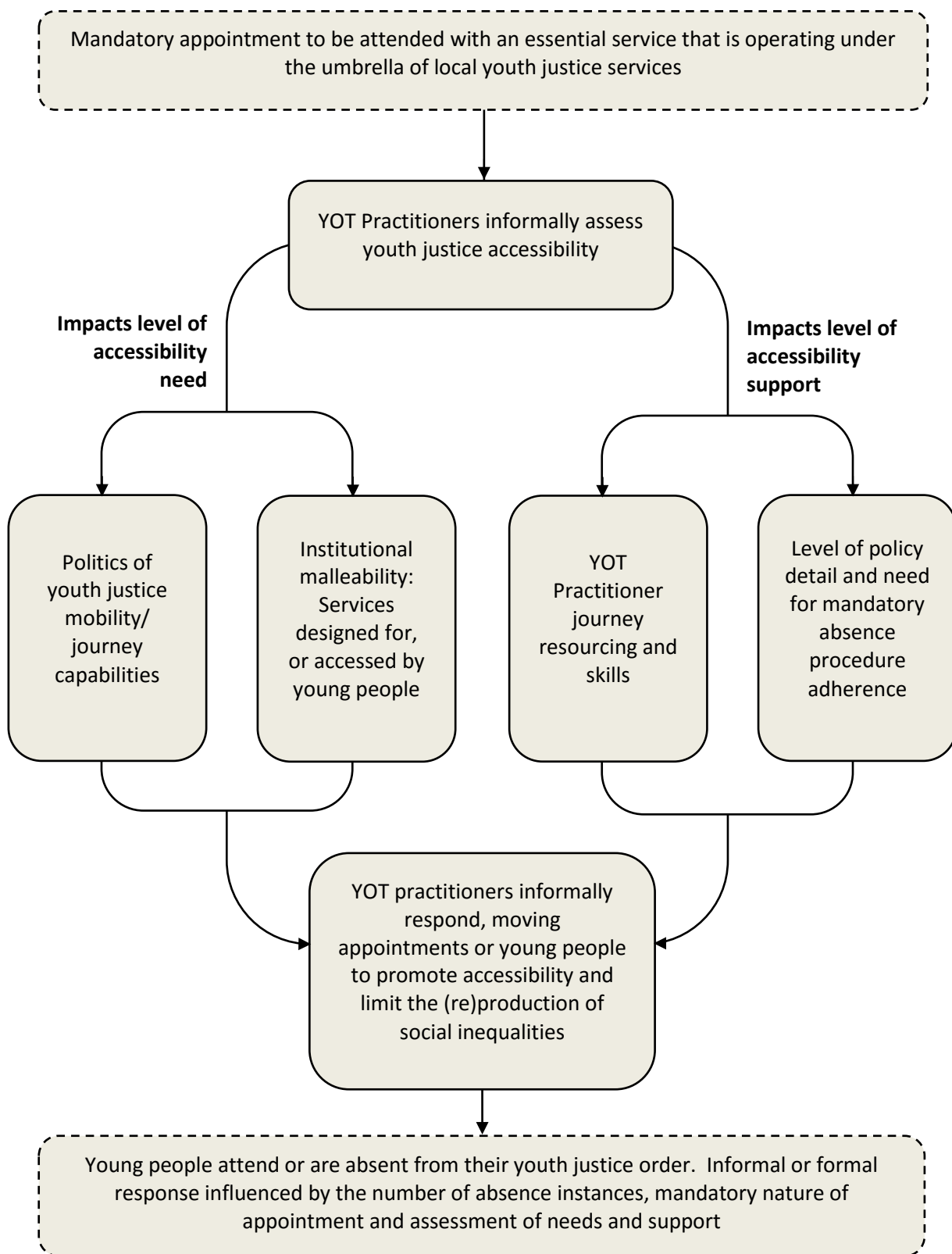


Figure 9a. Needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support

Although the following section considers each theme in turn, the interconnectedness of these areas is significant. For example, institutional rigidities can become more problematic for young people with higher support needs such as limited confidence or no family car. As institutions became difficult to access or when young people's needs were particularly high, YOT Practitioners were able to provide increased journey support in order to '*broker access*' (YJB 2010f: 11). Equally, when young people were found to have lower needs, or institutions were more flexible, YOT support was scaled down. The three themes will now be summarised in turn, in terms of the issues that they raise for absence-based breach.

2.1.1. Level of accessibility need

In the absence of YOT Practitioner support, this research found convicted young people's youth justice journey choices to be extremely limited. Negligible references were made to family members, with independent journey making on buses or by walking instead described. In such circumstances, the burden of payment was found to fall on the young people at point of access, making the journey problem theirs and not that of a supporting adult (unlike with family car travel). High perceived public transport costs did not translate into effective transport, with long, indirect, fragmented journeys containing personal risks. Importantly, in the context of these complications, some young people in this research lacked journey making confidence, with very limited journey making experiences making youth justice journeys difficult. Despite being absent from appointments, the young people in this research were found to understand their attendance obligations and within a youth justice journey making context, with a wide range of efforts made to overcome the difficulties that could impede access.

This research found large differences in the malleability of youth justice services, with such differences impacting the success with which young people attended and engaged. This was based not only on institutional malleability in terms of locations and practices, but also in an ideological context. Ongoing institutional success in supporting access was accompanied by a young person-centric ideology, with needs assessed and concerns understood. When access had limited success, discourses of *non-compliant* young people were sometimes found. In other cases, institutionally constrained attempts to meet needs could not be properly executed (such as in the highly fragmented educational sector) meaning that access barriers remained. Particular distinctions were found when institutions were designed for, or simply accessed by convicted young people, with malleability around young people's needs and constraints significantly greater with the former, and limited with the latter. This meant that YOT Practitioners became more successful in managing journey difficulties for their own appointments, and also when problems arose in the

accessing of non-YOT services. Contrastingly, appointments in education, health, employment, court and the police station were all described at some point in this research as having service expectations that started when young people arrived onsite, with journey responsibility remaining firmly with the young people.

2.1.2. Level of accessibility support

This area forms an important part of the new *accounting for needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support* model, and although evidence of constraints were found within these findings, further research in this area is recommended in order to develop understandings - something that is especially important in the current economic climate [see Chapter 10, Section 2.1.3]. Nonetheless, this thesis revealed a variety of constraints that were connected with the provision of youth justice accessibility support. In particular, when partner agencies had a strong external mandate and high levels of policy detail (such as with education, court and police services), YOT Practitioners were found to use more passive language, describing their own adherence and the need for young people to comply. YOT Practitioners did describe providing support for some of these appointments, but only at particular times of the day. Examples of when support was constrained included when journeys were made outside of core YOT hours, such as when young people were released from police custody during the night, or when early public transport access was required in order to undertake long journeys to access education. In these cases, young people described undertaking independent journey making in difficult circumstances.

Practitioner resourcing also emerged in this research as a constraint on the provision of accessibility support. For example, in Mining Town, one YOT Practitioner who was unable to drive described being based in the office, with young people on her caseload having to access appointments there. Conversely, another YOT Practitioner who could drive and had a car described having their practice based in the outlying former mining villages where deprivation and youth convictions were high. Although beyond the scope of this research, this point could be broadened out to consider the resourcing of different YOT Offices within a context of local transport infrastructures and YOT catchment sizes. Further research of this nature could be useful in furthering youth justice knowledge using a more fluid and dynamic approach.

2.1.3. YOT Practitioners move appointments or young people to informally manage access

The third main theme that emerged from this research depended on nature of the other two. With an overarching prioritisation of service access, the different types of support that YOT Practitioners provided was found to be based on young people's needs, the malleability of institutions and

resourcing constraints. When appointment *locations* could be moved, young people were met in a range of accessible sites including their homes, local community buildings or at other places with which they were already engaged (such as after lessons at school). When appointment *times* could be moved, young people were seen before or after existing rigid commitments, or to fit in with their own social rhythms - so often avoiding the early morning. When appointments couldn't be moved, YOT Practitioners described examples of how they would instead move young people. The nature of this movement depended on the extent of young people's needs and how they impacted journey making. For example, notions of *capability* were considered when deciding whether to provide financial support for transport fares, or accompany young people by providing a lift and even being present during the appointment. However, this research did find some resourcing limitations when YOT Practitioners were required to move, with local transport infrastructure access and the ability to drive having an impact on the provision of more intensive levels of support. Figure 9b provides two contrasting examples of convicted young people's mobility needs in the context of their youth justice appointments.

Figure 9b. Vignette to illustrate the differences in young people's youth justice mobile capabilities

Luke, aged 15 on a Referral Order in Mining Town

Luke has been engaging with his Referral Order in Mining Town for the last three months. He lives in an outlying former mining village and has no access to a family car because the adults in his household have very low incomes, as a result of the precarious, low paid employment that has been more readily available in recent years. Unfortunately Luke requires transport to access Mining Town YOT because the distance is too far to walk. At first, Luke was not confident travelling independently so his YOT Practitioner arranged home appointments and lifts. After a few weeks Luke was accompanied by his YOT Practitioner on the bus before then feeling comfortable travelling independently into town. However, the off-peak popularity of local buses with those of pensionable age means that sometimes they are too full to collect new passengers, limiting the reliability of this mode of transport. When travelling by bus, Luke has to venture through a neighbourhood where he is in conflict with other young people. This means that unavoidable personal safety threats sometimes arise on the bus or from the surrounding streets. In terms of appointment types, Luke encounters less problems accessing YOT appointments as late running buses are accounted for by appointment re-scheduling. Nonetheless, he has had an informal warning for missing the minibus that transports young people to reparation by five minutes, because his bus was late and practice arrangements did not allow contact to be made with reparation staff to advise of the unforeseen journey problem.

Tom, aged 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order in Mill Town

Tom has been on a youth rehabilitation order for the last two months in Mill Town. His family have a car, but this is rarely required because Tom lives within ten minutes walking distance of Mill Town YOT. There was a period at the start of Tom's order when he encountered problems from other young people whilst undertaking his youth justice journeys, so his mum gave him a lift for a few weeks and provided support in finding an alternative route away from the problems. Despite the greater contact intensity of Tom's appointments, he has so far managed to attend his appointments on time.

(Vignette based on the findings in this research)

3. Assessing a (re)production of social inequalities through youth justice mobilities

Earlier in this thesis, Cresswell's (2010a) six point *politics of mobility* framework was used to raise questions about youth justice journey making [see Chapter 4, Section 2.2]. This research will now address each point in turn, to assert the establishment of a new *politics of youth justice mobility*. In the context of this research, mobility problems arising in two further areas will result in the suggestion that a broader, eight point politics of youth justice mobility framework has explanatory potential.

3.1.1. Mandatory youth justice appointments and journey motive force

When attempting to understand youth justice journey making, *motive force* was found to be especially important (Cresswell 2010a). The compulsory nature of youth justice engagement meant that young people had *little choice* but to undertake journeys, apart from in some exceptional circumstances. Young people were aware of the need to make these compulsory journeys, and of the consequences that would ensue, should the journeys not be made. Subsequently a wide variety of decisive activities were made by young people in order to increase the chances of a timely appointment arrival. Some appointments in this research could be interpreted as being more compulsory than others, with varied levels of responsiveness to young people's unpredictable journey complications and their impact on service arrival times. In very particular circumstances the need for a youth justice journey was completely removed as a consultation about preferred appointment locations with young people could transform the home setting into a practice venue. However, this level of consultation was far from universal, as other services were fixed in time and space (such as mainstream education and the police station), and others were difficult to re-negotiate (such as housing and employment services).

Notions of Baumann's, highly mobile *tourist* and relatively static *vagabond* (1998 cited in Cresswell 2010a: 22), resonate with motive force in a youth justice context. Young people's mandatory appointments meant that they had little choice but to travel, unlike their unconvicted peers who would be likely to have greater choices about whether to move or stay still (in the absence of mandatory youth justice engagement requirements), while also potentially having increased family car access (based on lower levels of deprivation within the general population). Educational disengagement was found to be common within the cohort of young people in this research, and an unintended consequence of this institutional disengagement was a removal of the need for daily travel, the grounding of young people to their immediate localities and a lack of journey making experience. Interestingly, Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend's (2015) notions of job seeking

activation resonated with this thesis, as the provision of youth justice services was coupled with *compliance expectations*. Like jobseekers, the young people in this research were mentored on journey making skills development, suggesting the importance of journey making skills when accessing youth justice services and essential local services more broadly.

Interestingly, in Ludwig-Mayerhofer and Behrend's (2015) study, job suitability was found to be determined by a range of factors including journey distance, duration or time away from home. In this research, the local youth justice landscape also had a range of suitability criteria, often determined as a consequence of institutional norms and *not* young people's needs. This raises questions about the capacity for (and equitability of) an overarching youth justice administration, in terms of its ability to manage service delivery differences and limit punishments that arise as a consequence of these varied contexts. Although YOT Practitioners' informal accessibility support accounted for young people's circumstances (such as through the provision of lifts), *the carrot* was found to ultimately give way to *the stick*, with young people experiencing breach proceedings for their repeated absence. Ultimately, youth justice motive force was driven by the compulsory nature of youth justice attendance and the instance based punishments that arose from repeated absence. This means that in the context of *motive force*, a new politics of youth justice mobility can be suggested, with the (re)production of young people's social inequalities most clearly evident in this first of Cresswell's six framework features.

3.1.2. Adverse youth justice journey experiences

This research has established that young people have a variety of adverse youth justice journey making experiences that can jeopardise journey completion, while also being significantly grounded to their immediate neighbourhoods (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005). This means that adverse youth justice journey making experiences can contribute towards the (re)production of young people's inequalities, as breach and sentence escalation can result. Currently there are few broader understandings of the context and extent of absence-based breach. This research extends understandings by revealing the everyday embodied account of young people's mobile lives - or what Mills (2003) would describe as the hidden transcripts [see Chapter 4, Section 2.2.5] - and by focusing on a contextualisation of *circumstances* and *experiences*.

In this research an almost exclusive description of repeatedly absent young people as *prolific non-compliers* resonated with notions of how dominant policy discourses can inform treatment [see Chapter 3, Section 2.2.4]. Use of this term in the context of youth justice absence meant that in this research, other potential explanations remained excluded, such as *extensive, long term mobility problems that are beyond the capability of youth justice services to resolve*. In this

research, young people described their youth justice journey *experiences* as including personal safety risks, injury, intimidation and discomfort. This range of experiences has the potential to impede journey making, thus heightening the risk of absence, breach and the (re)production of social inequalities. Although not detailed in youth justice policy guidance, this research has described how responsive practitioners mitigate the impact of such problems through extensive accessibility support. Subsequently a redirection of the dominant absence discourse from *young people* to *service provision*, and from *non-compliance* to the *malleability of support systems* would be more practical and proportionate. Such reconceptualization is especially pertinent, considering the significant focus on order adherence and completion, and lowered punishment threshold in contemporary youth justice order management (Hart 2010, Bateman 2011, Grandi and Adler 2015). Such a move would recognise the variety of informal support which is already taking place, while also better reflecting international obligations to the welfare of those with non-adult status, such as through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (Unicef UK 2006) where non-adult incarceration is described as being an absolute last resort.

The accessibility support that YOT Practitioners provided in order to limit young people's adverse journey experiences, was found to blur the understandings of where young people's private lives ended and where practice began. For example, independent journey makers in this research started to engage with young justice services upon arrival at a practice site. Contrastingly, young people with more intensive needs engaged with a larger institution as the tentacles of practice extended beyond local YOT offices into locality settings, with young people accompanied and counselled while being collected and dispatched at particular appointments. This research found conventionally private locations to be transformed into youth justice settings in some circumstances, as the home became an appointment space. Such points particularly resonate with Moran's (2015) discussions about liminal (transformative) institutional spaces and prisoner transportation [see Chapter 4, Section 2.2.5]. Contrastingly with the adverse transportation experiences in Moran's custodial settings, young people and practitioners in this research reflected favourably on the experiences of a larger institution and the benefits that it provided. This was particularly found in connection with young people's service engagement and positive longer term outcomes - especially when compared with the problems that could be encountered when undertaking independent journey making. Subsequently, this research connects the (re)production of social inequalities with young people's adverse experiences while undertaking independent youth justice journey making.

3.1.3. Indirect and risky youth justice journey routes

This research found young people's journey routes to contribute towards the (re)production of their social inequalities in two main ways. Young people described personal safety risks as they were threatened and intimidated on their way to youth justice appointments, resonating with other research where tensions were described while navigating locality settings, beyond the neighbourhoods within which they were grounded (Kintrea et al 2008, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, Cahill 2000). Interestingly, existing research describes conflict with young people from different neighbourhoods commonly taking place during the evenings and weekends (Kintrea et al 2008, 2011). Yet for some of those engaging with compulsory youth justice appointments in this research, venturing beyond the neighbourhood became an enforced daily activity that was fraught with similar issues. A reliance on public transport for longer local journeys (in the absence of a family car), immediately took away the opportunity to change route and avoid contact with particular neighbourhoods, where ongoing conflict was taking place. This meant that young people had limited youth justice journey *route* manoeuvrability, with pre-determined public transport schedules providing limited opportunities for deviation.

Young people were found to use different strategies to cope with inter-journey conflict, and with walked journeys more route flexibility was reported. Young people sometimes decided not to modify their journeys but in other cases, personal safety risks were deemed significant enough to result in the decision to undertake longer journeys that avoided particular risky locations. However, personal safety threats were described as becoming heightened when young people responded verbally and physically, rather than modifying their journey routes. Subsequently, these findings resonate with Manderscheid et al's (2014) description of mobility routes as socially and historically situated.

In the context of route, a *tunnelling effect* was found (Graham and Marvin 2001) as deprived neighbourhoods were bypassed by public transport routes and other neighbourhoods enjoyed swifter passage into town. One example was described by a young person who was unable to access bus travel using an off-peak concessionary pass because an alternative, older persons' off peak scheme was very popular, making buses full prior to their arrival at the young person's collection point. In this case, the collective action of a politically engaged group of older people was found to have a detrimental impact on young people's youth justice journey routes. Another route constraint arose when young people were prohibited from entering particular places. This could be formally (through a court order) or informally (through a service operator ban) and could include journey making places and transport collection points. In particular, exclusion from a train station (where an offence had taken place) was found to result in the need for extensive walked

journeys. Furthermore, some diversions were also found with young people's walked journeys for similar reasons.

In the context of youth justice journeys, when YOT Practitioners intervened with bus fares or lifts, young people's routes *expanded* very quickly. Young people in this research found such support to be especially useful when they were residing in workless households and needed to undertake longer local journeys. The provision of lifts to appointments immediately provided young people with convenient and safe passage, while also providing the opportunity for YOT Practitioners to coach young people on their journey making skills and confidence, thus supporting the development of a broader journey making skill set. Responding to young people's lack of journey confidence and experience with intensive and then tapered support was found to build young people's skills for eventual independent travel. Subsequently, the (re)production of young people's social inequalities can be suggested, especially through the rigid and risky routes that were accessed when undertaking independent journeys.

3.1.4. Youth justice inter-journey friction

Young journey makers living in adverse circumstances have been described as relatively powerless when it comes to friction, with a limited *ability to choose* when to stop (or not), and where (Cresswell 2010a). Contemporary friction points within the journey have been described as transcending those that are more traditionally situated (such as international borders), with some groups increasingly experiencing enforced friction at a local level [see Chapter 4, Section 2.2.6]. Young people in this research experienced a lack of choice over their inter-journey friction, particularly when waiting for public transport. This resonates with the young people's experiences of economic deprivation in this research, as a dependence on unreliable public transport extended periods of youth justice inter-journey stillness. Such friction was also found when young people encountered rival groups en route, as delays and physical impediments could result. This meant that some YOT Practitioner attempts to help young people's journeys (through economic support) remained problematic, as a lack of route control could still give rise to friction, with physical responses and personal safety threats limiting the likelihood of punctual appointment arrival.

Notions of friction (and its contribution towards the incomplete status of journeys) build on discussions about the normalisation of incompleteness for those living in deprived neighbourhoods who can commonly experience precarious employment and education circumstances (MacDonald et al 2005). In this research, inter-journey friction was also found to be normalised, providing a reason for young people's limited identification of their own journey problems. Such a finding is also useful when considering effective communication with young people about how they perceive

their mobility problems (Hart 2010, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, MacDonald et al 2005, Drake et al 2014). Subsequently, the increased risk of journey fracturing that inter-journey friction could bring, has the potential to (re)produce social inequalities as detrimental outcomes could then follow, such as absence, breach and an entrenched engagement with youth justice services through order escalation.

3.1.5. Limitations on youth justice journey velocity

In this research, young people's limited youth justice journey *velocity* was found to support the (re)production of social inequalities, as a lack of access to faster journeys using a family car has previously been suggested as presenting a mobility disadvantage (Mayerhofer and Behrend 2015). This and the absence of YOT Practitioner support was found to result in *slow* youth justice journeys, with a reliance on public transport and active travelling modes. Such findings build on existing research which describes young people as making the transition to independent local navigation for the first time (Cahill 2000), with the potential for mobility difficulties, slow journeys and missed appointments to take place. That these transitions may be disjointed, resonates with existing discussions of the youth transitions as containing: '*unpredictability, backwards steps and false starts*' (MacDonald et al 2005: 874), with the path to successful independent journey making fraught with difficulties. The very slowest journeys were those walked in Mining Town where the catchment area was significant. In this research, young people's lack of access to faster mobility systems (such as the family car), was resolved in some cases through YOT Practitioner interventions, with ad hoc access secured through the provision of lifts. When YOT Practitioners provided financial support for public transport, young people's youth justice journey velocity increased, but it was when YOT Practitioners provided lifts that journeys had the greatest velocity, with appointment accompaniment further enhancing the level of support being provided.

Doughty and Murray (2014) suggest journey velocity to be economically connected, with more affluent groups travelling faster, while also having the choice to travel more slowly (such as for environmental reasons). Although not a focus of this research, high levels of journey making sustainability can be associated with convicted young people's youth justice journeys as environmentally friendly modes of travel were almost universally used (although young people were not found to choose these slower modes). A current lack of knowledge on the sustainability of youth justice services is beyond the scope of this thesis but can be suggested as a further area for research. Interestingly, young people in this research described securing car access in alternative ways such as through car theft and the hitching of lifts with risky adults. Both of these alternatives presented their own risks while heightening the connection between velocity and the (re)production of social inequalities. This research found social inequalities to be more likely to be

(re)produced by slower journeys, as lateness could result in breach proceedings. However, an increased velocity through YOT-provided informal accessibility support was found to limit the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities, thus heightening the importance of such support and its need for greater recognition within a youth justice context.

3.1.6. The further explanatory potential of youth justice journey rhythms

This research found evidence of youth justice journey *rhythms* impeding appointment attendance, thus contributing towards the (re)production of young people's social inequalities. Rhythm (or repeated movement and stillness in time and space) was found to be complicated in the context of youth justice appointments (Cresswell 2010as, Lefebvre 2004), as young people engaged with an array of services at different frequencies and durations, at various points in their orders. Furthermore, orders also varied in overall appointment regularity as sentence escalation and tapering scaled the volume of appointments up or down. This meant that some youth justice rhythms were predictable with repeated service access found, whereas others were problematic. This was especially found when appointments were ad-hoc, although in some respects, *all* youth justice rhythms can be suggested as inherently ad-hoc, based on the way that they interrupt young people's own rhythms with a new set of repeated mandatory requirements in time and space. The way that rhythms permeate *all* of youth justice practice makes research in this area worthy of further pursuit. This could expand on the more fluid understandings of youth justice that are contained in this thesis in order to help inform service engagement difficulties. Such an approach would encompass youth justice administration, its component institutions and the people (young people and practitioners) that inhabit them, transcending static notions of buildings, appointment times and fixed-term order requirements. As such, rhythmic analysis can be argued as in need of an elevated status when considering how social inequalities become (re)produced through youth justice journey making.

3.2. Additional considerations for the politics of mobility framework

The transposition of Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility framework in a youth justice journey making context has provided the potential to develop rigorous and multi-faceted understandings of accessibility, with these areas respectively contributing towards the (re)production of young people's social inequalities. When placing Cresswell's (2010a) framework in a youth justice mobilities context, two additional features become important to consider in terms of the (re)production of convicted young people's social inequalities. In recognition of young people's (sometimes) adult dependent status, the intergenerational transmission of family (im)mobilities

will now be discussed. Then mobilities communications will be described as having the potential to mitigate the effects of adverse mobile circumstances, again heightening their relevance in a youth justice context.

3.2.1. The intergenerational transmission of (im)mobilities

The first additional consideration for a politics of youth justice mobility is the impact of adult mobilities on young people's youth justice journeys. Such an idea builds on existing research where neighbourhood territoriality is associated with mobility limitations, and is also described as being intergenerationally transmitted (Kintrea et al 2008). Within a youth justice journey making context, the young people that were described as being the most difficult to support were those residing significant distances from youth justice services, in post-industrial villages where young people's educational engagement was limited, and neighbourhood deprivation particularly high. These factors were especially problematic for youth justice journey making because longer distances meant low cost active travel (walking) was less possible, with the need for transport heightened. Educational disengagement was problematic because institutional norms (such as journey making and punctuality in the morning) were not everyday experiences for young people. Importantly for this discussion, parental worklessness was found to result in a lack of parental journey making, meaning that young people were found to have little journey making confidence and experience. Extensive localised deprivation had resulted in the delivery of satellite essential local services within these post-industrial villages, but these crucial service access measures meant that localised journey making problems remained unresolved. In the context of youth services designed for convicted young people (YOT delivered and YOT seconded education provision in particular), staff were also positioned in these localities, as these neighbourhoods housed a high proportion of the local youth justice population, and service accessibility needs were perceived to be considerable.

What was apparent with these young people, was that their youth justice journey making problems connected with the longer term effects of social exclusion. In itself this makes the case for the RFPP to be reconsidered, as youth justice journey making is high impact, in terms of the consequences that are associated with its lack of success. In particular, parental (im)mobilities were found to have an impact on the accessibility of youth justice services for convicted young people who were residing in the same household. The most obvious way that this happened was through the lack of access to a family car, as a consequence of residing in a low income household. In this research, the transmission of this (im)mobility to young people resulted in young people's journeys becoming long, expensive, complicated and risky. Such journey making problems were found to be compounded by a parental reluctance to leave the villages - something that was described as culturally-based as a result of high levels of community self sufficiency during more prosperous

times (prior to the 1980s mining closures). Furthermore, parental literacy was also found to limit parental journey making skills and support in these villages, with surrogate YOT journey support provided for both young person and parent in the context of complex and unfamiliar journeys (for example, those that required bus timetable reading and comprehension). These findings illustrate how highly mobile adults in a professional YOT capacity were able to help overcome the mobility problems of young people and their parents. Subsequently, in a youth justice journey making context, adult mobilities can be described as a crucial part of the youth justice mobilities assemblage [see Chapter 4, Section 1.1.3] in terms of their subsequent shaping of young people's mobile capabilities.

3.2.2. Mobilities communications

A second additional consideration when examining the (re)production of social inequalities through youth justice journey making is mobilities communication. Within the new mobilities paradigm, a reconfigured understanding of society is achieved through a consideration of the fluidity of people, objects and communications (Urry 2007). In this research, young people's capacity to communicate their difficulties was described as having a particular impact on the severity of subsequent youth justice absence punishment. For appointments that were *designed for* convicted young people (such as those delivered through YOT teams) advance notice of lateness could exonerate formal procedures. For example, a telephone call from home if unwell, or en route in the event of traffic problems or a late bus, was described as likely to result in appointment rescheduling. Telephoning after a missed appointment was described as less preferable but better than no communication at all, with rescheduling again likely to follow. Unfortunately, for those on very low incomes for whom telephone ownership was prohibitively expensive, this meant that there were less opportunities to engage in unanticipated, short notice absence notifications. Although such problems were acknowledged, genuine, adverse outcomes were still described as more likely to result. This was because the added communication mobilities that can arise from telephone notifications became inaccessible.

Institutional structures were also found to have an impact on the effectiveness of mobilities communications. With services *accessed by*, rather than *designed for* convicted young people, inherent, entrenched inflexibilities resulted in mobilities communications being somewhat irrelevant. For example, contempt of court could follow an instance of youth court absence, and employment booking systems were so institutionally entrenched that appointments were described as being accessed when young people could be seen, or not at all. Such institutional ideologies contrast starkly with services *designed for* young people, with appointment times and places mutually agreed, and notified absence treated with rescheduling. Interestingly, in

exceptional cases, the need to communicate adverse mobilities became completely irrelevant. For example, when young people negotiated a home appointment or lift, YOT Practitioners would travel to young people, removing the need for a journey, any potential unforeseen adversity and any need to communicate its effects on appointment punctuality. Subsequently, in a youth justice journey making context, mobilities communications can be described as part of the mobilities assemblage [see Chapter 4, Section 1.1.3] and an additional way in which convicted young people's social inequalities have the potential to be (re)produced.

Conclusion

This chapter has contributed to knowledge by responding to the three main research questions and establishing that convicted young people's social inequalities can be (re)produced through their youth justice journey making. Journey making was argued as needing to be recognised as an unmet need for some young people, while also presenting an ongoing risk in terms of the entrenched youth justice engagement that could be triggered by problematic journeys and resulting absence. Varied treatment of absence in different parts of the youth justice system was also established, as journey distances and institutional ideologies impacted young people's capacity to arrive on time, and to still be seen, should this not happen. Arising from these research questions, the second part of this chapter proposed a new model through which *needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support* can be better understood. This model encompassed accessibility needs arising from young people's capabilities and institutional constraints, and the limitations on accessibility support through policy detail and resourcing. These areas were found to be highly interconnected with journeys, institutional structures, policy detail and resourcing all being considered when deciding whether to provide a bus fare, modify appointment times, or simply move appointments or young people. Importantly, YOT Practitioners' support intensity was found to grow with accessibility problems, and taper when these difficulties dissipated or were absent.

This chapter then assessed the value of Cresswell's (2010a) politics of mobility framework, when transposed into a youth justice context. The six main strands were all useful for developing more rigorous understandings of young people's youth justice journey making, although some were found to have more explanatory potential than others. *Motive force* was especially useful for understanding the impact of youth justice appointments as compulsory, and how journey making training can promote longer term positive outcomes for young people. A variety of adverse journey making *experiences* were better understood when the *hidden transcript* was revealed, thus challenging dominant policy discourses of non-compliance. The lack of directness within some youth justice journey *routes* revealed how when experiencing more complex life circumstances,

young people can have a lack of control over where they go. Although *friction* can be expected at the end of a journey, young people in this research experienced inter-journey friction, making journey durations longer, and with an increased possibility of missed connections - or broken systematic links and fractured assemblages (Urry 2007, Cresswell 2012). In terms of *velocity*, young people had little choice but to undertake slow youth justice journeys with a greater burden of payment and lower levels of family car ownership giving rise to more complicated, independent journey choices. Finally, youth justice rhythms were considered to be an area of significant further explanatory potential, with a longer term consideration of the repeated patterns of movement and stillness in time and space, having the potential to be interpreted in the context of youth justice services and their users (including young people, parents and practitioners). When transposing Cresswell's (2010a) framework into a youth justice setting, two additional areas became apparent as important. The intergenerational transmission of (im)mobility, and mobilities communications. Both of these areas were found to impact the detrimental effects of youth justice absence in different ways, and as such, were connected with the (re)production of young people's social inequalities as a consequence of youth justice journey making.

Importantly, this research found the origins of young people's mobility problems to be with long term deprivation. The tapering of YOT journey making support as young people were coached in journey making skills was described as an effective way for this problem to be addressed, and was found to have varying success. In the context of this research, such an acknowledgment is important as it raises questions about the justification for punitive responses to absence, and the obligation to provide ongoing support and skills development for young people in the longer term.

Chapter Ten: Towards a Comprehensive and Consistent Management of Youth Justice Accessibility

Introduction

Throughout this research, the *delivery* of youth justice orders has been asserted as important, with the need for further attention from policy makers when designing and targeting social policies through essential local services, and within youth justice orders. This research started out by declaring that the design and targeting of social policies *could become irrelevant* in the event of absence. This research has made it possible to further this assertion and argue that the dynamic between service delivery, attendance and journey making is fluid and subject to significant variance. Rigid and compulsory expectations to be in a particular place at a certain time attempt to shoehorn this fluid relationship into a rigid structure. This remains problematic particularly for young people as journey-based personal safety risks, service disengagement and ongoing unmet needs, or punitive punishments and entrenched justice agency engagement can result. This research has found that local essential service access needs to be flexible and responsive to local contexts and individual needs. That young people can attract a custodial sentence for the *wrong sort* of mobility elevates the importance of youth justice accessibility and convicted young people's mobilities to core priority status when designing and targeting policies.

This research started out with the aim of identifying some of the peculiarities in convicted young people's journey making, when accessing youth justice services. Whether youth justice agencies had an impact on this mobility was important to establish, and the potential for convicted young people's social inequalities to be (re)produced by youth justice journeys was a key concern. A mixed methods case study approach was used to address the aims of this research, with two locations selected based on the likelihood of transport problems and youth justice non-attendance being found.

This research has addressed a gap in knowledge by finding convicted young people's youth justice mobilities to be highly distinctive. Independent journey making can be fraught with a range of difficulties, and the compulsory nature of many youth justice appointments meant that obstacles needed to be overcome if harsh penalties were to be avoided, and needs met. Such incentives meant that young people could be placed at risk by their journeys, raising questions about the need for adequate, rigorous and equitable youth justice accessibility assessments. This research found the provision of journey making support to be flexible and comprehensive, meaning that there was a heightened chance of needs being met, and successful order engagement and completion taking

place - thus avoiding punitive consequences. However, the provision of accessibility support was constrained in some ways, leading to the suggestion that more attention needs to be given to its delivery, when designing and targeting social policy delivery in a youth justice context. This final chapter will now address how these issues translate into national policy, local youth justice systems, and frontline practice. In doing so, the case for knowledge contribution will again be made.

1. National policy recommendations

1.1.1. Consulting convicted young people about the policies that affect them

Convicted young people have a lack of strategic voice in the context of youth justice policy making, with particular respect to service accessibility. This research attests that it is highly feasible to consult convicted young people about their distinctive mobility experiences. Such a finding provides the possibility for heightened refinements in policy and practice, based on the inclusion of a broader set of views. In obtaining these views and experiences, methods mattered, with the inclusion of those less able or willing to engage with purely written or verbal research, through engaging visual methods. Currently there is a lack of strategic dialogue with young youth justice experts, despite current policy consultation guidelines describing the need to make reasonable efforts to engage in a meaningful dialogue with all connected groups (Cabinet Office 2013). In the context of policies that affect young people, some consultations have used age appropriate documentation (DfES 2006), but such approaches are not commonplace. For example, recent Government consultations on child poverty and youth justice were notable for their absence of age appropriate provision for young policy stakeholders (Brooks-Wilson 2014). Despite inclusivity requirements, neither review invited young respondents nor included child friendly documentation. Furthermore, jargonistic terms were not replaced by plain English, as per the Plain English Campaign's terminology guide (PEC 2009). Importantly, these consultations also relied on respondents being literate with computers and consultations as participation was dependent on being aware of the consultation and where to find it. These policy reviews on child poverty and youth justice are likely to impact many young people, but a narrow consultative approach means that younger voices are likely to remain excluded, thus limiting the scope and robustness of these reviews. Importantly, in a youth justice context, convicted young people's identification and communication of their disadvantages remains limited (Eadie and Canton 2002, Hart 2010, Atkinson and Kintrea 2004, Kintrea et al 2008, Drake et al 2014) heightening the importance of young person-appropriate research tools in order to support effective communication.

Although an abundance of research describes young people experiencing multiple and complex needs as *hard to reach*, this and previous research contests such a notion (Brooks-Wilson and Snell 2012). Any research group can have peculiarities in terms of the ways that they are approached, and the nature of any data that is produced. However, access difficulties should not be used as an opportunity not to consult. This thesis has demonstrated how inclusive research can be inexpensive, easy and quick to prepare [see Chapter 5, Section 2.2.2], while also resulting in a meaningful dialogue with young people considered to be *hard to reach*. Although this research found everyday consultations between young people and YOT Practitioners to be important in overcoming youth justice accessibility problems, these perspectives remained broadly disconnected from strategic policy-based discussions. When young people in this research were asked at the start of each interview whether they ever struggled to get anywhere [see Appendix 10] their responses were negative. However, subsequent discussions about youth justice accessibility using icons and maps revealed an abundance of views and experiences. This suggests the potential for inclusive communication tools to support rigorous reviews of policy and practice. Subsequently, it is recommended that policy design could be more robust if consultation guidelines were better realised, and broader policy-based discussions took place with a wider range of groups, using more diverse and accessible methods.

1.1.2. More statistical detail to understand the extent of the accessibility problem

In some locations, over 15 per cent of youth justice orders remain incomplete, and for some types of appointments, absence rates can be as high as 50 per cent [see Chapter 3, Section 2.2; Chapter 5, Figure 5b; Chapter 8 Section 3.3]. In this research, young people had negligible access to convenient car transport and a range of other problems that complicated their youth justice mobilities. At the moment we know little about the relationship between these two factors and their wider prevalence in youth justice. Until this research, understandings about the contexts of breach have been limited (Hart 2011). Annual youth justice statistics do not include informal instances of non-compliance, nor do they distinguish between serious and non-serious non-compliance (MoJ 2012a). Breach proceedings as a consequence of absence have been described in policy *and* this research as incremental, escalating from two informal warnings to formal breach proceedings - with some discretionary exceptions [see Chapter 3, Section 2.2.2; Chapter 6, Section 1.1.1]. This means that for each *non-serious* instance of non-compliance (including absence), there is the potential for more unrecorded instances of the same problem taking place. Furthermore, the youth justice absence problem is likely to be even greater than the instances of formal and informal warnings because of the wide range of informal activities that take place in order to mitigate formal proceedings [see Chapter 6, Section 2]. This point is very important because it suggests that the

system has structured in formal punishments for a population with ongoing mobility problems who are more likely to be exposed to journey making difficulties. Subsequently, by recording and publishing more detail on the context of breach in annual national statistics, the depth and breadth of the absence problems would be better understood, making it possible to be more decisive about the level of attention that journey problems require in policy and practice.

Some dichotomies (and their discourses) have been widely discussed and well accepted in youth justice such as the conflict that can be found between notions of welfare and justice (Fergusson 2007, McAlister and Carr 2014). In the context of youth justice accessibility and absence management, a further dichotomy has become apparent, with young people being considered incapable and in need of help, or non-compliant and in need of punishment. Particular practice circumstances (such as early in the life of an order) favoured notions of young people as in need of support. Contrastingly, in other practice circumstances (such as later in an order or after repeated absence) notions of wilful non-compliance justified punitive treatment. However, both of these findings can be undermined by the wide range of long term problems that underpinned impeded attendance in this research, including a lack of confidence, limited literacy, economic hardship, and a lack of regular and punctual journey making experiences through existing institutional engagement. Subsequently, this research recommends that more contextual information about absence is needed alongside increased statistical data, in order to understand the context and extent of convicted young people's youth justice accessibility problems.

1.1.3. Reconceptualising risk beyond the risk factor prevention paradigm

At the moment, notions of risk in youth justice remain relatively disconnected from the completion of orders. Yet this research revealed how accessibility problems can present different sorts of risks in terms of personal safety (during journeys), ongoing unmet needs (through service disengagement), and absence sanctions (with the potential for service entrenchment). Furthermore, this thesis has described how journey making represents a *need* and a *risk*, with ongoing unmet journey making needs increasing the risk of reconviction through absence-based breach [see Chapter 6, Section 1.1.3]. Such an outcome is likely to impede desistance as reconvictions and entrenched justice agency engagement are likely to have a detrimental impact on young people's longer term outcomes. Subsequently, youth justice journey making can be asserted as a need, risk and impediment to convicted young people's longer term outcomes - both within and beyond the context of youth justice delivery.

The management of absence-based breach in this research, raises further questions about the legitimacy of the RFPP, in terms its *comprehensiveness* when responding to young people and their

offending risks. Recently, an increasing range of voices have directed criticisms towards the RFPP paradigm as a main way of properly resolving young people's problems (Drake et al 2014, Goddard 2014, Haines and Case 2015). This thesis adds further weight to such arguments in three key ways. Firstly, young people's journey needs are gradually creeping into formal assessments of need and risk (YJB 2014a), but they still remain significantly understated. This means that youth justice policy makers are increasingly acknowledging factors beyond the RFPP as important when responding to young people, thus inadvertently contesting its robustness. Secondly, this thesis has demonstrated how despite sitting outside of the RFPP framework, journey making presents many of the same problems identified within the framework, such as service withdrawal or entrenchment. Finally, the interconnectedness of RFPP and non-RFPP factors has become apparent, as for example, limited literacy was revealed as impeding mobility. Subsequently, this research asserts young people's journey making as presenting a *need* and *risk* within a youth justice context, inadvertently adding weight to existing arguments that challenge the RFPP's robustness.

1.1.4. An age of *order* responsibility?

Responsibility and age are considered to be broadly important in youth justice, but this is usually in connection with the point at which young people can be held accountable for their illicit behaviours. This means that age is often considered in the context of service eligibility but not in terms of subsequent service engagement. In this research, YOT Practitioners described modifying the provision of accessibility support based on the age of the young person that they were supporting [see Chapter 6, Section 2.1.2]. Subsequently, this research suggests that age and responsibility should receive more attention in the context of youth justice order delivery. A broad range of cultural and legal factors can influence the age of criminal responsibility within a jurisdiction and in England and Wales, arguments are repeatedly put forward to increase the age from ten to 14, in line with other European countries (Goldson 2013b, Bateman 2012). In the context of this research, this means that young people in England and Wales are currently engaging with youth justice services from the age of ten, and entering into contracts where their deviation can be interpreted as non-compliance. In the most recent reporting year, the youth justice population contained 41,569 young people, with 22 per cent of the population being aged ten to 14 (YJB 2015). Although inherent connections between age and capacity have been challenged by recent notions of childhood as being socially constructed (James and Prout 1990), some journey making problems in this research have the potential to be exacerbated by age.

YOT Practitioners were found in this research to assess young people's journey making capabilities, so it is entirely possible that younger members of the population are informally receiving adequate accessibility support. Nonetheless, formal policy guidance still describes *all* convicted young people

as needing to comply with their orders [see Chapter 2, Section 1.1.1], meaning that questions about age still remain. In the context of this research, this raises important questions about the extent to which younger members of the youth justice population are actually able to take responsibility for their orders, especially when it could involve undertaking independent journeys that are unreliable, slow, risky, intimidating and expensive. Subsequently, in support of the existing call for an increase in the age of criminal responsibility, this research recommends that the age of order responsibility becomes important when administering youth justice orders, with formal distinctions made in relation to compliance expectations, responsibility and support.

1.1.5 Institutional geography as a discretionary constraint

In recent years, attempts to increase the consistency of youth justice order management have been made through the introduction and increasing adherence with the National Standards for Youth Justice Services (YJB 2009). Since the 1990s, young people's circumstances have been described as becoming less of a priority (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010, Eadie and Canton 2002) with the punitive treatment of order non-adherence becoming increasingly apparent as negligible levels of breach have given way to custodial outcomes for non-compliance, over time (Bateman 2011, Hart 2010).

This research on youth justice journey making and its treatment found YOT Practitioners to exercise discretion and adhere to National Standards. The focus of this research on different institutional fragments, their entrenched norms and the limitations of these norms on practice flexibility provided a broader context to the different areas of service where practitioner decision making took place (and could be flexible or constrained). For example, the YOT Practitioner in Mill Town who described seeing latecomers if still in the office, and the YOT Practitioner in Mining Town who visited young people in their locality settings demonstrated YOT operations as having high levels of malleability. Contrastingly, collective journey making to reparation sites meant that young people needed to have a relatively punctual arrival at the meeting place from where they collectively travelled. Equally, providers of needs-based services associated with education, employment, housing and also procedural areas such as police and the youth court were found to be relatively inflexible, with contact having to take place in designated locations at very specific times due to institutional peculiarities associated with areas such as timetabling, resourcing and equipment.

This research established that what distinguished the extent to which young people's unforeseen journey problems could be accommodated was not merely discretionary decision making, constrained by organisational rules (Eadie and Canton 2002), with entrenched institutional norms limiting the extent to which young people could be accommodated. Examples were apparent throughout this research that support this point, with police booking systems meaning that specific

police officers were needed to be on shift for appointment rescheduling, and that long and complicated journeys were needed to access mainstream educational sites with their abundance of static, timetabled educational resourcing.

This research recommends that institutional geographies are given a higher priority in the delivery of youth justice, as an abundance of broadly accepted institutional norms have a significant impact on the extent to which young people's service access problems can be accommodated. Undoubtedly, practitioner discretion is an important part of the decision making that takes place, when deciding what to do as a consequence of the ways that young people's circumstances interact with the institutions they have an obligation to engage with. As such, this research also recommends that further exploration of the decision making that takes place when managing non-adherence with youth justice orders is needed.

2. Recommendations for local youth justice systems

2.1.1. Consistent absence management across local youth justice services

Although overarching youth justice breach procedures attempt to standardise the treatment of young people's absence, widely varied attendance management practices within local partner agencies threaten the legitimacy of such an approach. In this research, consideration of institutional geographies revealed how absence and lateness were treated in different ways, when young people engaged with various services as part of their youth justice orders. Some services can allow appointment relocation in time and space, and understand lateness as a symptom of life complexity. Other services have rigid appointment times and high punctuality expectations. Such a difference in the management of youth justice absence raises important questions about the legitimacy of overarching mandatory absence management guidance and punitive consequences. For example, two young people with the same instances of absence could experience consequences of contrasting severity based on the types of appointments that they are engaging with. Further questions can also be asked about whether different attendance expectations create service delivery confusion, when appointment rescheduling is taking place in some services, while others readily use formal proceedings. Ultimately the formal overarching procedures that deal with non-serious non-compliance (including absence) mask the variety of practices that are employed by different sectors within the local management of a youth justice order, raising questions about equitable service access and absence treatment. This research suggests that an increased, formal recognition of the broad institutional geographies that operate within youth justice could support the equitable treatment of young people - especially in the context of their absence. More policy

detail in this area, could also help pinpoint where local services are more closely connected with the (re)production of young people's social inequalities, as a consequence of their institutionally focused (rather than young people focused) absence management policies. Such identification has the potential to provide an opportunity for service delivery nuancing, to support the more equitable treatment of young people and their attendance, when engaging with youth justice services.

2.1.2. Understanding how youth justice absence management and the education sector connect

Some connections between education and youth justice are well discussed, such as the associations between offending opportunities and educational exclusion, or the protective factors that can arise from academic engagement and achievement (YJB 2005b). In the context of this research the education sector compounded young people's accessibility and absence management problems, suggesting that education needs to be more broadly considered in a youth justice order delivery context.

In this research, when young people's offending behaviours were connected with their educational *disengagement*, educational *engagement* became a mandatory part of young people's youth justice orders. This meant that a mandatory requirement was placed on a problematic area of young people's lives. The education sector was found to have highly varied attendance and engagement expectations in this research, with rigid timetabling and high contact hours in mainstream education contrasting with flexible, partial timetabling and an alternative curriculum through youth offending teams. The educational infrastructure was also found to be important with some sites more easily accessible than others. This meant that convicted young people's educational absence risks were highly varied, with some young people facing an increased risk of absence-based breach as a consequence of the type of education provision they were engaging with.

In the education sector when conduct issues arise, young people can be reprimanded (DfE 2011a, 2011b) but for school absence, it is adult carers that are held responsible and potentially prosecuted (HM Government 1996). The direction of such absence sanctions towards adults recognises the dependency of young people on adults for their support when attending and engaging with institutions. The current persistent educational absence threshold is 15 per cent or 56 sessions in England, and absence rates during Autumn 2014 were at 6.4 per cent (DfE 2015). Yet educational disengagement in the context of youth justice was found to potentially result in compounded consequences, with adult carers subject to prosecution by the education sector, young people subject to breach proceedings in the youth justice sector, and young people's educational attainment also becoming detrimentally effected. When compared with the education sector, the youth justice population contains more entrenched and complex needs. Subsequently, this

research recommends a more urgent review of youth justice absence treatment in the context of different mandatory institutions that are accessed by young people, as the punitive treatment of those with more complex lives is broadly inconsistent, and in need of immediate attention.

2.1.3. Maintaining accessibility support in the context of economic austerity and increased diversion

This research found that convicted young people with higher levels of need sometimes required intensive accessibility support. Yet economic austerity and an increased use of diversion in youth justice, both have the potential to limit contact between young people and YOT Practitioners. As a consequence of economic austerity, domestic essential local services have been drastically reconstituted, with a £9 million reduction in YOT funding resulting in an imminent and widespread reconfiguration of youth justice services (YJB 2015b). Recent responses to low level crime and disorder have also prompted transformations, with informal resolutions enjoying elevated policy importance and becoming more locally determined (MoJ 2010, HM Government 2012, Kelly and Armitage 2014). For young people, informal settlements have the significant benefit of reduced stigmatisation, while also making breach an improbability. Yet the need to drastically reduce YOT funding suggests such a trend as being operationally essential (YJB 2015b). The outcomes of these changes are only just beginning to materialise, with celebratory views of the shrinking youth justice population needing to be treated with caution, until important questions about essential local service access can be addressed. This is because such developments threaten the youth justice commitment to broker access with a range of essential local services (YJB 2010f; Chapter 8, Section 3.2.1), meaning that signposting is replacing handholding in the context of service accessibility.

The new *needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support* model that has been developed in this research [see Chapter 9, Figure 9a] describes resourcing as one of two areas that can limit support. This means that scarce resourcing in the context of early youth justice interventions has the potential to limit accessibility support for those committing less serious offences. However, the withdrawal of a well-resourced adult who can evaluate young people's accessibility problems and provide a varied response in different institutional contexts remains important because needs and offending seriousness do not always correlate. The impact of economic austerity on local services is also more likely to add pressure to the ways in which local YOTs coordinate with local partner agencies (Yates 2012). As accessibility support is inherently resource intensive (such as with the provision of lifts), these widespread austerity measures have the potential to result in serious problems for young people. Subsequently, a reduction of support in this area is likely to be financially counterproductive in four particular ways. Firstly, as young people's multiple and complex needs are met through youth justice services, a consequence of

impeded service access could be higher levels of young people with unmet needs in the longer term. Secondly, as youth justice absence rates increase, formal proceedings and sentence escalation could become heightened. Thirdly, the longer term entrenched engagement with justice services that could result would be likely to promote longer term adverse outcomes. Finally, the youth justice population could become swollen through higher levels of non-compliance, meaning that initial cost savings associated with the withdrawal of journey support could become counter balanced by greater resourcing needs later in the system. Subsequently, recent changes in the delivery of youth justice raise clear concerns about how accessibility support is gradually becoming detached from young people's needs, with resourcing limitations increasingly dictating the nature and extent of support.

3. Frontline practice

3.1.1. A formal and inclusive consideration of youth justice accessibility

This research supported the provision of flexible accessibility support, in the context of the fluid and dynamic relationship between service delivery, attendance and journey making. A flexible approach to accessibility support is important in the context of different locations and young people, and a formal prompt to consider accessibility should be made. This is because in this research the equitable provision of support was not found due to local resourcing constraints. A formal prompt to properly review accessibility support could provide leverage for its use. This research recommends that any such review includes the voice of young people, and uses inclusive communications tools such as maps and icons. Journey making support is not explicitly detailed in current policy guidance, with YOT Practitioners' broad order completion commitments instead described (YJB 2009). This research has uncovered how an abundance of flexible, discretionary practices operate within this vague policy area, with a range of journey making support provided for young people in varied circumstances, when accessing different institutions.

Accessibility support connects with formal breach proceedings as it can be interpreted as an initial informal attempt to manage young people's attendance, and avoid detrimental outcomes. This means that a two tiered response to young people's youth justice absence management is currently in operation, with informal ad hoc support being followed by the use of formal procedures, should instances of absence continue to take place. Within the context of contemporary youth justice, concerns can be raised about this two tier system and its informal/formal, support/punishment dynamic, and how help is only optional whereas punishment is compulsory. The inclusion of two optional questions about service accessibility in the recent AssetPlus youth justice risk assessment

document represents an important step forward (YJB 2014a). However, such provision still falls short of being an inclusive and comprehensive accessibility assessment tool. The possibility that such risk assessments could be undertaken by less well trained volunteers as austerity really takes a hold, means that robust communication tools have a heightened importance. Subsequently, the findings in this thesis suggest that further research into the use of visual communication tools within a youth justice context could heighten the robustness of communications with young people, and should be investigated in further detail.

3.1.2. Accessibility and the assignment of caseloads

Important factors determine how convicted young people are connected with their caseworkers, such as qualifications and experience. This research suggests that it is also important to match young people's accessibility needs with YOT Practitioner resourcing. Such considerations also should be made in the context of the institutions that are being accessed within an order, although it is acknowledged that these factors can be somewhat dynamic with ongoing review also important. In this research, there was evidence of YOT Practitioner skills, resourcing and decision making being instrumental when assessing the extent to which young people's accessibility could be supported (Eadie and Canton 2002, Manion and Flowerdew 1982). YOT Practitioners with car access provided lifts to overcome complicated and long journeys that were considered to be beyond the capabilities of young people and their families, and young people were given cash incentives to attend appointments that were in excess of their travelling costs.

This research concurred with existing youth justice practice guidance which describes highly qualified staff with greater levels of experience as better equipped to manage young people on more serious orders or with extensive needs as part of their caseload (National Careers Service 2016). Although such factors should be prioritised when deciding on the YOT Practitioner that is best skilled or resourced to support a young person's passage through their youth justice order, the new *needs and constraints in the provision of youth justice accessibility support* model also asserts the importance of equitable access to youth justice journey support. When considering the context of absence and order breakdown, an obligation to consider youth justice accessibility while taking into account young people's needs and YOT Practitioners' skills and resourcing becomes important.

Final concluding comments

At the start of this research, a hint of a problem became apparent through many fragments of policy and research. Hints that the convicted young people might have problems accessing essential local

services (YJB 2005b, Church et al 2000). Indications that youth justice appointment attendance rates could be very low (for example, see IYO/CJI 2006). Suggestions that repeated absence could mean a return to court, and the possibility that repeated court appearances could mean custody (SGC 2009). Some very important questions then became apparent that it was hoped would prove unfounded, but that have driven this project to completion. Like an abundance of other research (Hart 2011, Willow 2015, Talbot 2010, Blades et al 2011, Beyond Youth Custody 2016) young people in this research were found to be living in very difficult circumstances. This thesis contributes to knowledge by describing how these difficulties also extend to convicted young people's mobilities, with adverse journey experiences, service withdrawal, and service entrenchment all becoming possible when attempting access and becoming absent.

This thesis has responded to a gap in knowledge about convicted young people's mobilities and their treatment within youth justice institutions. Mandatory journeys were complicated and difficult when undertaken independently, and when YOT Practitioners provided support, services could become highly accessible with problems avoided. In some cases, journey complications were exacerbated by complex institutional geographies, with a wide variety of physical and procedural features resulting in distinctive types of engagement. In some circumstances, absence *was* confirmed to be consequence of young people's journey problems, with young people entering custody as a consequence. Yet our commitments towards the welfare of those yet to reach adulthood remain in place, with fair, respectful proportionate treatment needed in order to support the completion of youth justice orders, with custody to be used as an absolute last resort (United Nations 1985, Thomas 2008, YJB 2010e: 13). Subsequently, this research found that in some cases, our commitments to young people are not being met. This is because custodial responses to absence for those experiencing mobility problems, does not represent proportionate treatment or the protection of welfare.

This research reconceptualised convicted young people's journey making as a service accessibility *need*. These complicated and risky journeys could also heighten the *risk* of absence and service disengagement, or entrenchment. This reconceptualisation of youth justice mobility as a *need* and a *risk* makes it possible to challenge the identification of needs in youth justice, and how poorly identified needs and risks that sit outside of the RFPP are responded to in a different, more punitive way than those that sit within. Such a research outcome heightens the need for broader and more fluid conceptualisations within youth justice, in order to refine policy design and service delivery.

This research makes a strong connection between adults and young people, and the extent to which our responsibilities are being realised. On all of our behalf, a group of adults have made the commitment that the welfare of those yet to reach adulthood will be protected, and custody used as an absolute last resort (DCSF 2008, United Nations 1985, YJB 2009). Without judgement this

research found that some adults inadvertently passed their mobility problems onto young people, and other highly mobile adults compensated for these immobilities. A broader set of adults delivering essential local services could limit or exacerbate things further. Some services are not designed for young people, but young people still need to access them. This can mean that institutional access barriers arise from the clumsy ways in which various operational rigidities collide with young people's circumstances. Some adults decide that when this happens, prison is the best solution. This thesis has revealed how we are punishing young people for something that they are dependent on us for help with. This means that yet again, we adults are falling short of our important collective obligations towards all of those who have not yet reached adulthood. This research asserts the need to acknowledge, nuance and protect the range of different ways that we meet our obligations to young people. What is imperative, is that a whole new set of unintended problems that are detrimental to young people's welfare do not arise as a consequence.

Appendix 1. Local contextual details for the ten highest breaching YOTs in 2009/10

Breach rank out of 140 English Youth Offending Teams	YOT	Region	Neighbourhoods of deprivation rank of local concentration (CLG 2011)	Neighbourhoods of deprivation rank of average score (CLG 2011)	^a Workless households in which children reside in 2010 thousands (%) (ONS 2011)	6) Percentage of population described as 'white British' (ONS 2001)	Proportion of population aged 10-17 years (ONS 2001)	Total population aged 10-17 years (ONS 2001)	^a Rural percentage (classification) (Defra 2009)	^a Urban percentage (excluding Large Market Town population) ² (Defra 2009)	^a Rural percentage (including Large Market Town population) ² (Defra 2009)	
131	Locations removed to protect anonymity	NW	7	4	32 (31.3)	74.46	10.75	42,225	0.02 (MU)	99.98	0.02	
132		NE	33	37	5 (16)	96.92	10.16	19,417	10.23 (MU)	89.77	10.23	
133		Y&H	52	83	5 (16.5)	96.04	10.78	16,482	52.38 (R50)	47.62	52.38	
134		Lon	140	137	4 (14.5)	75.92	9.07	13,360	0.26 (MU)	99.74	0.26	
135		NE	60	44	5 (17.2)	96.52	11.03	16,845	0.19 (MU)	99.81	0.19	
136		E	59	76	5 (15.4)	92.92	9.93	15,921	0 (LU)	100.00	0.00	
137		WM	28	42	13 (20.1)	78.32	10.94	32,914	0.75 (LU)	99.25	0.75	
138		NE	25	60	4 (20.9)	96.64	10.50	10,276	12.07 (OU)	87.93	12.07	
139		[Mill T]	NW	6	16	6 (19.7)	76.11	12.57	17,279	5.03 (OU)	94.97	5.03
140		[Mining T]	Y&H	46	40	9 (23)	98.12	10.45	22,789	20 (OU)	80	20

Appendix 2. Further youth justice context on the ten highest breaching YOTs in 2009/10

YOT office	Breach rate (2009/10)	Overall YOP size (2009/10)	Proportion of YOP with pre-court outcome (2009/10)	9) Proportion of YOP on tier 1 (2009/10)	10) Proportion of YOP on tier 2 (2009/10)	11) Proportion of YOP on tier 3 (2009/10)	CCI inspection Safeguarding (%)	CCI inspection risk of harm (%)	CCI inspection likelihood of reoffending (%)
131	11.92	1378	25.98	38.86	29.18	5.97	61	54	62
132	12.36	558	45.97	35.26	15.28	3.49	51	47	52
133	12.77	393	30.10	38.94	26.11	4.85	37	36	43
134	13.05	209	24.68	39.69	32.32	3.31	71	75	73
135	13.58	513	39.65	36.18	22.68	1.49	66	70	75
136	13.6	231	13.33	39.49	36.41	10.77	-	-	-
137	14.3	649	30.03	45.27	20.84	3.86	73	65	75
138	14.73	193	23.39	41.4	32.26	2.96	78	78	75
139	15.95	288	27.87	38.98	28.63	4.52	81	64	79
140	16.58	632	40.33	39.67	18.36	1.64	74	70	71

^a Boundaries are post 2009

¹ County council level YOT administration

² People living in the Large Market Towns are defined as Urban in the Rural Definition. For the purposes of classifying Local Authorities these towns are considered to be Rural

(MoJ 2012a, IYO/CJJI 2009, 2010)

Appendix 3. Informed Consent Form (Practitioner)

****One copy to be left with the practitioner, one to be kept by Sarah Brooks-Wilson****

I am a student from the University of York called Sarah. I am interested to learn about young people’s views and experiences of the places they go that are connected with the YOT – journeys and appointment locations. You are being given an information sheet that describes the entire project and this stage - if anything is unclear I am happy to explain things in more detail or in a different way. If there are questions about the project after the research has taken place please call or text the project contact number: ***** ** ***. If you would rather speak with my University supervisor, [supervisor details] Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD. Email: [name]@york.ac.uk

	If I am unhappy or need more information I know what to do
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Your involvement

Your involvement relates to providing a context for local practice. It is anticipated that young people’s perspectives will be sought after gaining a greater understanding of things locally by speaking with you. You are being asked to share your views about the times and places connected with YOT practice and young people’s engagement.

	I am willing to participate in an interview to discuss the journeys associated with YOT appointments and the spaces the appointments occupy
--	---

Separate from the YOT

This research is separate from the YOT meaning you do not have to do it. Please tick each box to show that you understand your rights as part of this research:

	I do not have to take part
	I do not have to speak or answer any questions
	I can leave the room or premises while we are doing the exercise
	Everything I have said will be destroyed and not used in the research if I leave part way through or change my mind later on
	Changing my mind will not impact my role in the YOT

Not identifying you to others

If you agree, the interview will be tape-recorded. Please tick the boxes below to show you understand what will happen to this information:

	Your name will never be put on any of the written documents
	Digital documents will be protected with a password so no one else can read them
	Only Sarah (researcher) will have access to the information
	Your words might be written in the report the way you have said them, but a false name will be used
	Anything that might be connected with you will be changed so nothing says who you are
	For three months after taking part, if you change your mind I will remove your comments – you can text, call or email me using the details at the top of the first page

Thank you for agreeing to take part. Please sign this form to show that you understand and agree.

Signed (practitioner):

Printed:

Date:

Appendix 4. Informed Consent Form (Young Person)

****One copy to be left with the person granting consent and the young person, one to be kept by Sarah Brooks-Wilson****

I am a student from the University of York called Sarah. I'm interested to know what you think about journeys and places connected to the YOT. You have been given a sheet that gives more details on all of the project and this stage. If you don't understand anything please ask – I am happy to explain. If there are questions about the project after the research has taken place please call or text the project contact number: ***** *** ***. If you would rather speak with my University supervisor, [supervisor details] Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD. Email: [name]@york.ac.uk

	If I am unhappy or need more information I know what to do
--	--

How

You can take part in two ways. A worker will always outside of the room but close by and available for you if needed. Please tick one of the boxes below to say which way you prefer:

	Say what I think with Sarah (interview)
	Say what I think with Sarah and some other young people (focus group)

Separate from the YOT

This research is separate from the YOT meaning you do not have to do it. Please tick each box to show that you understand your rights as part of this research:

	I do not have to take part
	I do not have to speak or answer any questions
	I can leave the room or premises while we are doing the exercise
	There will be no negative impact on my order with the YOT if I do any of the three things above
	Everything I have said will be destroyed and not used in the research if I leave part way through

I am interested in what you think about journeys and places, not why you are seeing the YOT.

Please tick the boxes below to show you understand this:

	I will not be asked about why I am seeing the YOT
	Discussions on sentences will only relate to YOT places and appointment times
	I will not be asked about breaking the law

Not identifying you to others

If you agree, the interview or focus group will be tape-recorded. Please tick the boxes below to show you understand what will happen to this information:

	Your name will never be put on any of the written documents
	Digital documents will be protected with a password so no one else can read them
	Only Sarah (researcher) will have access to the information
	Your words might be written in the report the way you have said them, but a false name will be used
	Anything that might be connected with you will be changed so nothing says who you are
	For three months after taking part, if you change your mind I will remove your comments – you can text, call or email me using the details at the top of the first page

Thank you for agreeing to take part. Please sign this form to show that you understand and agree.

Signed (young person):

Printed:

Date:

	Parent/carer: please tick the box to say if you are happy for the person you care for to take part in this research
--	---

Signed – (parent/carer):

Printed:

Date:

Appendix 5. Participant Information Sheet (Young People - Visual Methods Pilot)

The research project

I would like to look at how young people use public space, and if it affects getting to appointments, like those at the Youth Offending Team. Three questions this research aims to answer are:

- 1) How do young people get to places they need to go?
- 2) Are some journeys harder than others, making it harder to attend some appointments?
- 3) Is it better to use pictures to find this out, rather than just words or writing?

This stage of the research:

In a group discussion with other young people, I would like to show you two pictures each of different places like a school, or a youth club. I would like to ask which photos you like the best and why.

Later on, I will be asking other young people the three questions above. Speaking with you would help plans things so I can ask these young people in a way they might like, rather than just doing what I think is best.

About me

My name is Sarah Brooks-Wilson and I am a PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York. The telephone contact number for any queries associated with this project is: ***** ** **.

I have an enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check and a number of years experience working with children and young people as a Youth Worker, and as a volunteer and employee of York Youth Offending Team.

Appendix 6. Participant Information Sheet (Practitioners)

The research project

I would like to look at how young people use public space, and if it affects getting to appointments, like those at the Youth Offending Team. Three questions this research aims to answer are:

- 1) How do young people get to places they need to go?
- 2) Are some journeys harder than others, making it harder to attend some appointments?
- 3) Is it better to use pictures to find this out, rather than just words or writing?

This stage of the research:

Using an interview, I would like to ask:

- If some types of appointments and appointments at some locations are better attended than others.
- What factors are taken into account when places are chosen (e.g. reparation sites)

About me

My name is Sarah Brooks-Wilson and I am a PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York. The telephone contact number for any queries associated with this project is: ***** ** **.

I have an enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check and a number of years experience working with children and young people as a Youth Worker, and as a volunteer and employee of York Youth Offending Team.

Appendix 7. Participant Information Sheet (Young People)

The research project

I would like to look at how young people use public space, and if it affects getting to appointments, like those at the Youth Offending Team. Three questions this research aims to answer are:

- 1) How do young people get to places they need to go?
- 2) Are some journeys harder than others, making it harder to attend some appointments?
- 3) Is it better to use pictures to find this out, rather than just words or writing?

Aims associated with this stage of the research:

In a group with other young people, I would like to ask:

- Where you might be travelling from and to, before and after a YOT appointment (e.g. home or school)
- If there is anything difficult about these journeys
- What might help you take these journeys
- I would like to show you some pictures of things that are connected to journeys (e.g. car, bus, bike, money).
- I would like to ask if any of these things might help some journeys, and why

About me

My name is Sarah Brooks-Wilson and I am a PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York. The telephone contact number for any queries associated with this project is: ***** ** **.

I have an enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check and a number of years experience working with children and young people as a Youth Worker, and as a volunteer and employee of York Youth Offending Team.

Appendix 8. Participant Information Sheet (Young People - Image Construction)

The research project

I would like to look at how young people use public space, and if it affects getting to appointments, like those at the Youth Offending Team. Three questions this research aims to answer are:

- 1) How do young people get to places they need to go?
- 2) Are some journeys harder than others, making it harder to attend some appointments?
- 3) Is it better to use pictures to find this out, rather than just words or writing?

Aims associated with this stage of the research:

In a group with other young people and a youth worker, I would like to take photos of things that might make your journeys hard. Pictures can be used as a way of showing ideas to people.

About me

My name is Sarah Brooks-Wilson and I am a PhD student in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York. The telephone contact number for any queries associated with this project is: ***** ** **.

I have an enhanced Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check and a number of years experience working with children and young people as a Youth Worker, and as a volunteer and employee of York Youth Offending Team.

Appendix 9. Topic Guide (Practitioners)

Ethics; Thank you for participating; Discussion assumes no prior knowledge

Are there any other appointment types in addition to the cards?

Journeys

****Rank 1 – appointment locations fixed to flexible***
(differs for different orders?)*

-Who decides where these (cards) appointments are held?

-Are all appointments mandatory?

-Do multiple locations exist?

-What are the settings for these appointments? (i.e. city centre/localities)

****Rank 2 – appointment journeys easy or hard to get to***
(differs for different orders?)*

-Why easy? Why hard?

(e.g. money, adult accompanies, private transport mental well being, chaos, literacy, etc)

-Different journey barriers for practitioners and young people?

-Is there any hostility or conflict connected with these journeys (such as people or areas)

Policy/practice

****Rank 3 – appointment types features most/least on that order***
(differs for different orders?)*

-Which of these appointments are least/best attended? Why?

-What are the spaces like (for example, hostile, conflicting, welcoming, relaxing etc)

-Which activities are more challenging than others? (Staff/YP) Why?

-How can 'needs' be described?

-What is the difference in the terms 'compliance' and 'engagement' – which best describes young service users?

**** Rank 4 which appointments are most important?****

(differs for different orders?)

-Is attendance an issue for:

-Some groups of young people (i.e. age, background, estate/neighbourhood etc) Why?

-Some types of appointment? Why? (for example needs and non-needs based appointments)

-Why don't some young people engage with their order?

The local setting

-What is particular to [case study] that might offer distinctive issues for young people and their ability or willingness to engage with their order, and/or meet appointments?

Neighbourhood characteristics or change

The local economic change (mining?)

Social change

City centre characteristics or change

City centre: management of public space

Public transport: availability or affordability

Additional questions for particular Practitioners

Probation officer secondee and case manager for YRO and DTO

-Do people on the YRO/DTO have more restrictions on the way they use the spaces around them (neighbourhood/ city centre/ travel)

- Are journeys more complex?
- Can this impact attendance/engagement or do other factors contribute?
- What are the issues for young people when entering / leaving custody?
- Are there any distinctive issues connected with the way space is used (i.e. the need to adapt to custody spaces, and then non-custodial spaces on release)
- Does this have an impact on order completion?

Education Practitioner

- What sort of educational needs do young service users have?
- Are they the same, more or less for those who engage less well?
- How are they met?
- Does education have an impact on how an order is understood? (i.e. more time with the YOT)
- Does education have an impact on the requirements of an order being met?
- Does education make a difference to journey making? What else does?
- Does the educational setting make a difference?

Court Practitioner

- Do the nature of appointments differ for an offence and for breach?
- Do the young people treat these two appointment types differently?
- Does attendance differ for these two appointment types?
- What reasons are given for non-attendance for these two appointment types?
- What is the outcome of non-attendance for these two appointment types?
- Accompanied by a parent or carer to court – journeys/attendance higher?
- Parent always attends? What else would support journeys?
- Inflexible setting? (one location?) Does this have an impact?

Reparation Manager

- Reparation – individual or community primarily?
- What sort of organisations are involved?
- How do they become involved?
- How are reparation locations chosen?
- Which reparation appointments are the most important?
- Does attendance/engagement differ for different types of reparation?
- Where are the appointments located (proximity) city centre? Localities?
- What is the nature of the relationship with the local authority?

Case holder for YISP, Referral Order and Final Warning cases

- Does YP's attendance and engagement issues persist throughout their order, from the start or do things change?

YOT Manager

- How are relationships changing with other partners (private, public, volunteer etc)
- How reliant is the YOT on these organisations?
- Does parental involvement differ for orders that are not completed (i.e accompany on journeys)
- Do the same attendance/engagement issues persist throughout an order?
- Are early interventions effective?
- Why and how would a pre-court settlement be made?
- What is the difference in the terms 'compliance' and 'engagement'? Which best describes [case study] service users?

Appendix 10. Topic Guide (Young People)

Ethics; Thank you for participating;

Journey making warm up questions and research tool familiarisation

How do you normally travel?

Ever struggle to get anywhere?

Ever avoid anywhere?

What makes a journey easy?

What makes a journey hard?

What would help (shows visual cards)

YOT locations (shows visual cards and confirms understanding)

Which of these places are easy to get to?

Which are hard to get to?

What are the buildings like? Welcoming? Hostile?

What are the activities like that take place in these buildings? Easy? Hard?

Additional questions

Are you on an order that stops you going to some places at certain times? (i.e. curfew)

Is this easy? Hard?

Does this stop you getting anywhere you need to be?

Have you been in custody (interviewer would already know the answer as: 'yes')

What was it like to get to everywhere you needed to go inside? Was it far?

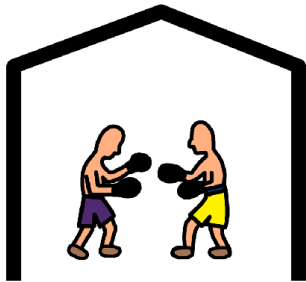
Did you get any journey support inside?

Could you not go? What were the consequences for not going?

What was it like getting about (making journeys) when you were released?

Appendix 11. Discussion Icons for Young People (YOT Functions)

Icons representing local youth justice service locations that young people might come into contact with as part of their orders:



Boxing club



The city



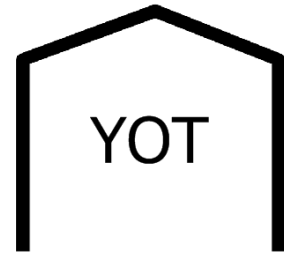
Youth Court



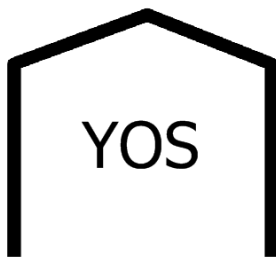
Custody



Health/medical support



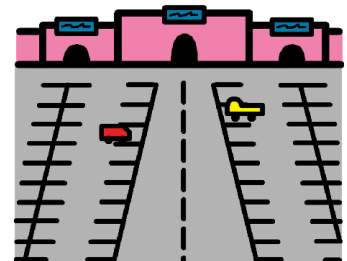
YOT Office



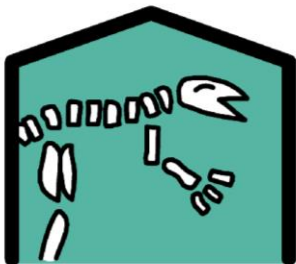
YOS Office



Library



Car park



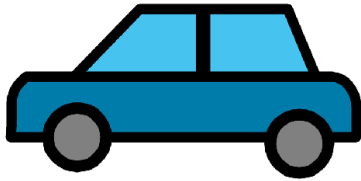
Museum



Home

Appendix 12. Discussion Icons for Practitioners and Young People (Journeys)

Icons representing different modes of transport that young people might use to make journeys to youth justice appointments, and some journey features.



Car



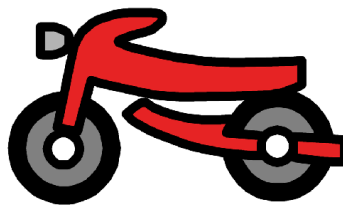
Bus



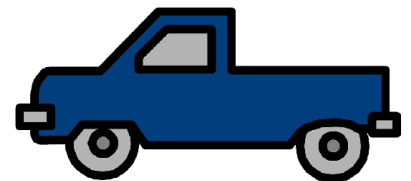
Train



Bicycle



Motorbike



Truck



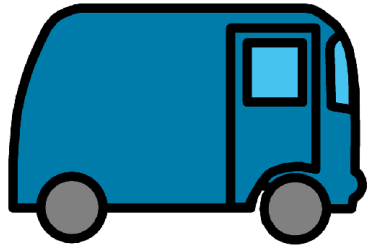
Train



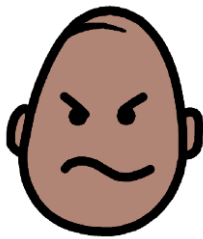
Walking



Police car



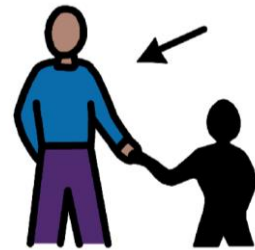
Secure Van



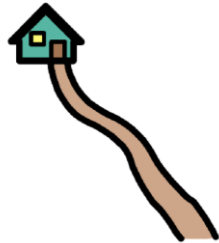
Angry



Money



Accompanied by an adult



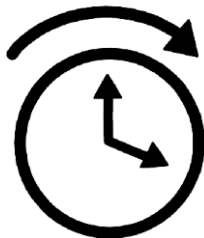
Far away



With friends



Scary



Time

Appendix 13. Research Interviews and Focus Groups

Location	Activity	Who with	Number	Age	Gender	Order	Site	Interview Label
Pilot YOT	Visual methods focus group	Young people	5		Male and female	n/a	Youth club	Young person [1-5], Visual Methods Pilot Focus Group
Pilot YOT	Pilot focus group	YOT Practitioners	15	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	YOT Practitioner Pilot
Pilot YOT	Pilot interview	YOT Manager	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	YOT Manager Pilot
Pilot YOT	Pilot interview	Young Inspectors coordinator	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	Youth club	n/a
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	16	Male	YRO	YOT office	Male age 16 on a Youth Rehabilitation Order, Mining Town Interview 1
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	16	Female		YOT office	Female aged 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Interview 2
Mining Town	Interview	Tier 1 practitioner	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 3
Mining Town	Interview	Tier 1 practitioner	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	Tier 1 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 4
Mining Town	Interview	Reparation Manager	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	Reparation Coordinator, Mining Town Interview 5
Mining Town	Interview	YOT Manager	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	YOT Manager, Mining Town Interview 6
Mining Town	Interview	Education Officer	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	Education Officer, Mining Town Interview 7
Mining Town	Interview	Tier 2 practitioner (DTO)	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	Tier 2 YOT Practitioner, Mining Town Interview 8
Mining Town	Interview	Court Officer	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT office	Court Officer, Mining Town Interview 9
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	17	Male	RO	YOT office	Male aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 10

Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	17	Female	RO	YOT office	Female aged 17 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 11
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	18	Male	DTO	YOT office	Male aged 18 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 12
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	17	Male	DTO	YOT Office	Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 13
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	17	Male	DTO	YOT office	Male aged 17 on a Detention and Training Order, Mining Town Interview 14
Mining Town	Focus group	Young people	2	12, 14	Male	ISS (DTO or YRO)	ISS youth club session	Male on a Referral Order, Mining Town Focus Group 1
Mining Town	Focus group	Young people	2	16	Male	ISS (DTO or YRO)	ISS youth club session	Male [1/2] age 16 on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mining Town Focus Group 2
Mining Town	Interview	Young person	1	15	Male	RO	YOT office	Male aged 15 on a Referral Order, Mining Town Interview 15
Mining Town	Mapping focus group	YOT Practitioners	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Mill Town	Interview	Practitioner	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT Office	YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 1
Mill Town	Interview	Manager	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT Office	YOT Manager, Mill Town Interview 2
Mill Town	Interview	Education Practitioner	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT Office	Education Officer, Mill Town Interview 3
Mill Town	Interview	Practitioner	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	YOT Spot	YOT Practitioner, Mill Town Interview 4
Mill Town	Focus group	Young people	2		Male	DTO	YOT Spot	Young Person [1-2] on Detention and Training Order, Mill Town Focus Group 1
Mill Town	Focus group	Young people	4		Three males, one female	ISS (DTO or YRO)	Attendance Centre	Young Person [1-4] on Intensive Supervision and Surveillance, Mill Town Focus Group 2

Mill Town	Focus group	Young people	2		Male		Attendance Centre	Young person [1-2] aged 16, Mill Town Focus Group 3
Mill Town	Interview	Young person	1		Male	DTO	Attendance Centre	Young Person on a Detention and Training Order, Mill Town Interview 5
Mill Town	Interview	Young person	1		Male	DTO	Attendance Centre	Young Person on a Detention and Training Order, Mill Town Interview 6
Mill Town	Interview	Young person	1		Male	RO	YOT Spot	Young Person on a Referral Order, Mill Town Interview 7

Appendix 14. Research Data Codes and Sub-codes

Code	Sub codes
Mandatory	n/a
Non-Mandatory	n/a
Internal structures	n/a
Appointment activities	n/a
Accessible	n/a
Rules/management/procedures	n/a
Helps journey making	n/a
Local environmental factors	n/a
Young people's confidence	n/a
YOT support other	n/a
Appointment time/space negotiated	n/a
Appointment time/space not negotiated	n/a
Transport used	Private; Public; Active; Other
Transport preferred	Private; Public; Active; Other
Transport conflict	Young people; Adults
Transport	Frequency/duration; Helps journey making; Modified journey; Multiple facets; Public space; Reliability; Risky; Time of day; Unfamiliar; Literacy; Concessions
Transport cost	Affordable; Unaffordable; General
Institution	Active; Passive; Aggressive
Informal support	Space; Time; Financial

Abbreviations

DTO	Detention and Training Order
ISS	Intensive Supervision and Surveillance
PRU	Pupil Referral Unit
RFPP	Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm
RO	Referral Order
YJB	Youth Justice Board
YOI	Young Offenders Institute
YOT	Youth Offending Team
YRO	Youth Rehabilitation Order

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