Lessons from the literature
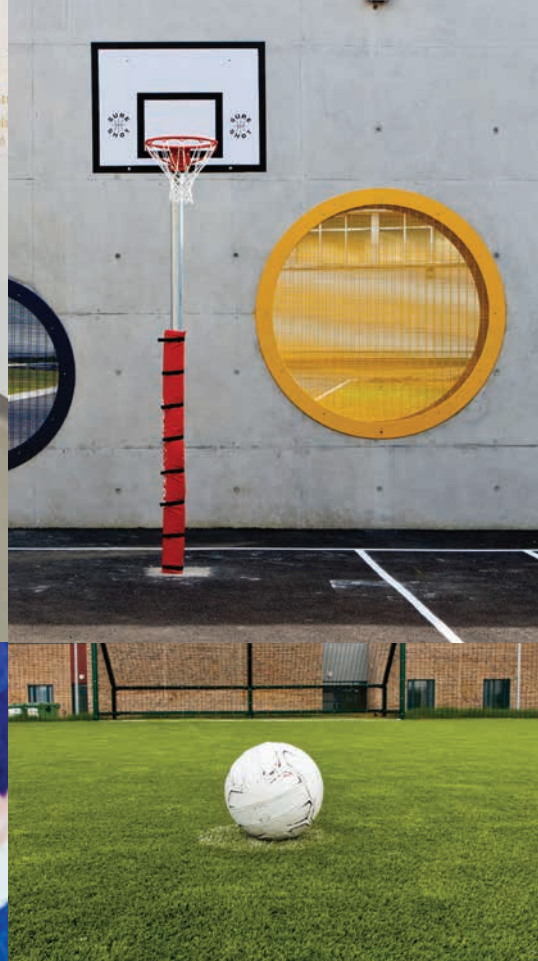
building relationships with detained young people to improve pro-social outcomes

OBERSTOWN
CHILDREN
DETENTION CAMPUS

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD

The Oberstown Children Detention Campus (Oberstown) is Ireland's national facility for the detention of children remanded or sentenced by the criminal courts. The facility, including new buildings, is located on a single site in Oberstown, Lusk, Co Dublin and, at the time of writing, has capacity to accommodate 54 young people under 18 years of age. The facility is funded by the Irish Youth Justice Service (IYJS), which is an office within the Department of Children and Youth Affairs (DCYA), and its principal objective, under the Children Acts 2001–t, is to provide care, education, training and other programmes, with a view to reintegrating young people into their communities and society after their release. In recent times, Oberstown has been engaged in an extensive process of change, which has included bringing together three facilities into a single campus model. In the context of the establishment of a new Board of Management and the completion of modern new facilities, the time is now right to take all necessary steps to establish Oberstown as a centre of excellence in the provision of care to detained children.

Young people detained in Oberstown have complex needs and often come from grave life circumstances. Whether detained on remand or serving a sentence, it is vital that children's individual needs are met in Oberstown and that while they are in detention every opportunity is taken to have a positive, lasting impact on their lives. In order to support an integrated, campus-wide approach to meeting their needs, Oberstown focuses on care, education, health and well-being, offending behaviour and preparation for returning to families and community, a model of care known locally as CEHOP. This approach was developed by Oberstown's stakeholders and partners in light of the legislation, regulations, standards and best practices associated with meeting young people's needs within the detention environment. The model also recognises that although detained children are at risk of poor life outcomes, detention presents a valuable opportunity, often at a critical point in their lives, to enable them to play a more constructive role in society.

Relationships are key to this model of care, and, in order to ensure that our model is evidence based and informed by all available research on good practice, the Centre for Effective Services (CES) was commissioned to support this work. The first phase of the process was the completion of this literature review, which sought to identify the lessons that could be learned from research into how a conceptual model of relationship building with detained young people could be developed. Although produced for Oberstown, this literature review and the lessons to be learned from it may have relevance for other detention or residential settings in which relationship building is the key to young people achieving pro-social outcomes. At Oberstown, the research has already begun to inform the next phase of our development, which will entail integrating the model into our work with young people. I look forward to further collaboration with the CES and with staff and management in Oberstown to seeing the outcomes of this process.

Professor Ursula Kilkelly
Chair, Oberstown Children Detention School, Board of Management

SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The Oberstown Children Detention Campus (Oberstown) in Ireland is a national facility providing a safe and secure environment to young people under the age of 18 who have been sentenced by the courts. In December 2014, the Centre for Effective Services (CES) was commissioned to help Oberstown improve relationship building between care staff and young people by learning from 'what works' in similar settings. The terms of reference involved a short review of the research literature with the aim, inter alia, of identifying lessons that could be expressed in the form of a conceptual model of relationship building.

This short review draws out key action-oriented messages for improving outcomes for young people in detention. The real challenge is not a lack of knowledge about what works, but rather translating this knowledge into practice. There is no suggestion in the literature that this is easy, or that making a positive difference is simply a matter of adopting or adapting best practices.

Any gains depend on a variety of interrelated external and internal factors, not least of which is the willingness of young people to engage positively with staff. It is necessary, therefore, to acknowledge the reality of the young person's developmental stage as the starting point for relationship building. This stage often includes factors such as the absence of maturity, resistance to change, and trauma history, either

as victims or offenders involved in violent/gang-related rituals. Acknowledgement of this starting point highlights the difficulty of the job for staff, and in turn the need for effective management, supervision of staff, peer support and appropriate learning and development opportunities.

The review suggests that successfully engaging detained young people through relationship building is about purposeful activity on three interconnected levels:

1. **Level 1** involves relatively informal, yet still constructive, face-to-face interactions between staff and young people, for example during mealtimes.

2. **Level 2** involves young people and staff participating together in specific and structured activities such as arts or sport. As well as equipping young people with specific knowledge and skills, Level 2 activities enhance opportunities for positive communication between staff and young people and among young people.

3. **Level 3** consists of participation in more specialised interventions, for example specific therapeutic approaches or evidence-based programmes

A number of relationship-building tools and techniques are identified with regard to these three levels, as well as the type of work that would be appropriate once relationships have been established (or as part of developing relationships further). In any situation, it is vital that staff model self-control, good communication skills, and effective learning behaviours, as any contact is a potential change point for young people. Crucially, the way in which young people are viewed is as important as the procedures, rules, regulations, and daily schedules that govern the behaviour of all staff and young people.

There is an art and a science to relationship building. The art involves commitment, enthusiasm, and perseverance in the face of difficulties, a willingness to be flexible and the capacity to come up with creative solutions. The science comes from attention to research and other forms of evidence gathering, including consultation and learning from practical experience. The key elements can be elaborated as follows (see Figure 1):

- Setting out a clear theory of change and being clear about intended outcomes
- Providing an enabling structure through routine actions, specific activities and specialised interventions
- Focusing on the core elements of relationship building
- Ensuring that the organisational environment reinforces the intended practices
- Enabling learning and development for young people and staff
- Capturing and measuring the desired change
- Learning through continuous improvement cycles, evaluation and review.

The research literature suggests that adherence to these key elements can result in measurable improvements in outcome areas that contribute to pro-social self-governance. These outcome areas include:

- Communication skills
- Confidence and agency
- Planning and problem-solving
- Relationships
- Creativity and imagination
- Self-control
- Health and well-being.

It is important to note, however, that such outcomes may not be sustained in the long term if care is fragmented or brief. What can be achieved is also significantly constrained by the fact that Oberstown has little if any control over what happens to and with young people prior to their arrival and after their departure. The focus of this review, therefore, is firmly on the potential for gain for young people during their stay at Oberstown.

The art and science of building relationships with detained young people

Set out a clear theory of change and be clear about intended outcomes

Provide an enabling structure through routine actions, specific activities and specialised interventions

Focus on the core elements of relationship building

Ensure that the organisational environment reinforces the intended practices

Enable learning and development for young people and staff

Capture and measure the desired change

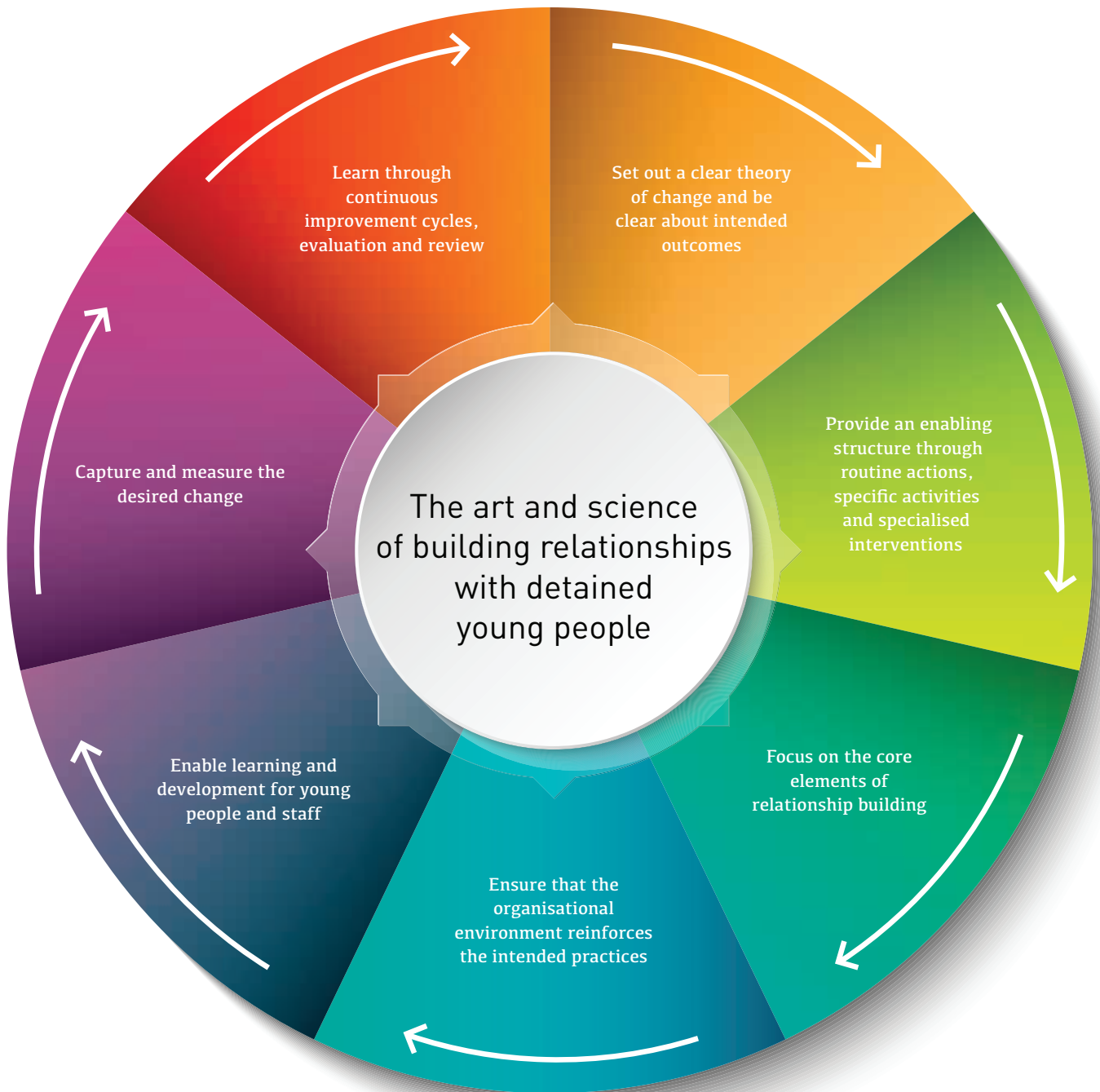Learn through continuous improvement cycles, evaluation and review

Fig 1. A conceptual model of relationship building with detained young people

LESSONS FROM THE LITERATURE

The following action oriented lessons from this literature review provide a useful guide to achieving pro-social outcomes with detained young people.

DEVELOPING PRO-SOCIAL SKILLS:
- Any process of development is shaped by the interactions between the individuals and their surroundings, so approaches that focus on building the skills that help young people to interact effectively with their social environment have the best chance of success.
- Personalised and targeted relationship building enables young people to make the most of activities that lead to the development of pro-social outcomes.
- A focus on relationship building needs to be integrated into all forms of support for young people.
- Creating pro-social bonds helps to deter crime by giving young people a stake in society, and thus a reason to work to control themselves.
- Meaningful dialogue between groups of young people and encouragement for them to reflect on and evaluate their own situations can transform what limits their potential.

PROVIDING A VARIETY OF ACTIVITIES:
- Good educational, skill-building and rehabilitative programmes, delivered by positive and proactive staff, are crucial factors in desistance from crime.
- High-quality interventions and those that embody restorative or therapeutic philosophies, such as Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), mentoring, counselling or skills training, are more effective than those based on strategies of control or coercion.
- Recreational and other structured activities are good for social and emotional development. For example, involvement in music making and sports can help young people to see themselves more positively, and develop an openness to and a belief in change.

BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STAFF AND YOUNG PEOPLE:
- Good quality relationships between staff and young people in effect establish a form of informal social control that can help to discourage criminal behaviour.
- Establishing and maintaining positive relationships between staff and young people is critical in improving young people's ability to manage their own behaviour.
- Young people feeling socially supported and having a sense of belonging positively impacts on the type of relationship that they can have with staff.
- Perceived support and belonging are driven less by the characteristics of the young people and more by the positivity of staff.
- Positive relationships have the power to help young people in detention to achieve beneficial outcomes, but these may not be sustained if care is fragmented and/or brief.

- Evidence shows that approaches that focus on building social and emotional capabilities can have greater long-term impact than those that focus on directly seeking to reduce the symptoms of poor outcomes for young people.
- Each point of contact offers potentially teachable moments, for example when staff model positive behaviours in talking and listening in their interactions with young people.
- For young people with a chaotic family history, the structure offered by positive relationships with staff can provide them with an opportunity to thrive.

TRANSFORMING THE ORGANISATIONAL CLIMATE:
- Outcomes for young people can be improved by transforming the institutional climate. If procedures are perceived as fair and just, for example, individuals are more likely to comply with the law/social norms.
- There is a need for a theory of change for young people involving start, establishment, maintenance, reinforcement, and development phases, with a focus on transitions between these phases.
- A Personal Development Plan for each young person can bring all of the elements of care together.
- Certain practices, programmes and interventions have been shown to make a positive difference, and these appear to be more effective when they are part of a coherent framework that is explicitly supported by the organisational environment.

ENSURING PROGRAMME QUALITY:
- Therapeutic models can reduce the incidence of aggression and/or need to use restraint by improving staff understanding of a young person's behaviour and, in turn, improving the relationships between both.
- The success of developmental work is commensurate with the amount of time devoted to it, and whether this time is used effectively.
- Self-evaluation illustrates a commitment to quality, to ensuring that the organisation is achieving the intended outcomes for the target group, and to improving practice.
- Effective learning requires active participation by young people. When young people are coerced, any programme or intervention can only achieve limited success.

PROVIDING STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORT:
- All those who interact with young people need to understand the importance of social and emotional development, and that supporting such development is a continuous and conscious activity.
- Systematic support for staff needs to be provided through supervision, mentoring, coaching and peer review processes.
- While staff development activities are important, they are optimal when part of an organisational commitment to continuous improvement.

INTRODUCTION
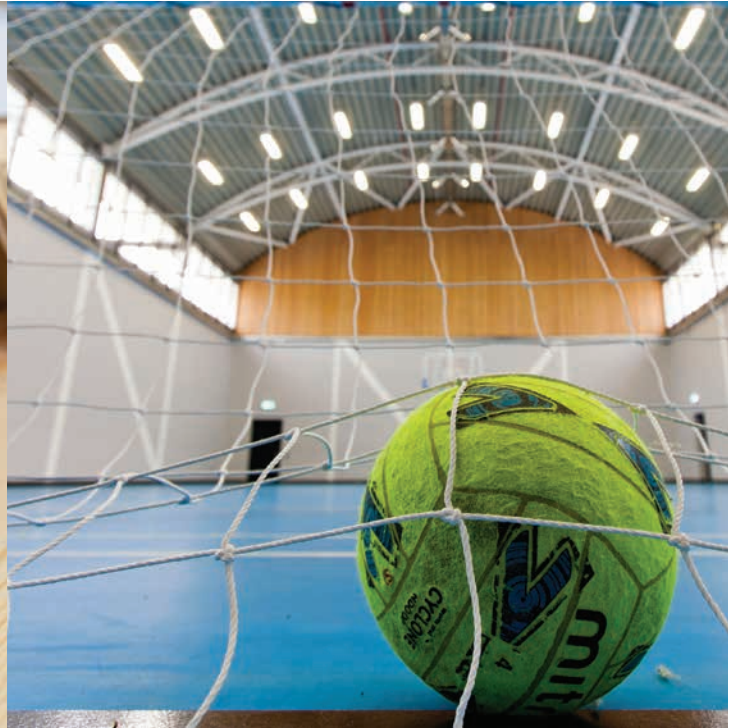
This literature review provides informed commentary on the link between certain types of outcomes and improved pro-social self-governance when a young person is subsequently released from detention. Its purpose is to assist the Oberstown Children Detention Campus (Oberstown) in Ireland, to improve routine relationship building between care staff and young people by learning from what works in similar settings. Routine means 'as usual', while also referring to the daily round of activities. Oberstown is a place of detention for boys and girls under 18 years of age who are sent there by order of the courts. Oberstown, which currently has the capacity to detain up to 54 young people, is funded by the Irish Youth Justice Service, which is an office within the Department of Children and Youth Affairs.

The Oberstown Campus is committed to a care model rather than a punitive model, as supported by the literature. Lipsey's (2009) meta-analysis of programmes aimed at reducing youth offending shows that those approaches focused on building social skills that would help young people interact effectively with their social environment were most successful. In contrast, punitive models are limited in not recognising the variety of issues that need to be addressed when attempting to reduce youth offending (Sullivan et al, 2012). Laub and Sampson (2003) looked at how desistance from crime occurs, i.e. why offenders stop committing crime, and highlighted the positive effect of external influences, including relationships with non-criminal peers and pro-social institutions such as the family unit or employment. They conclude that there is a need to teach young offenders how to form social bonds. This conclusion is supported by Sullivan et al (2012), who argue that if relationships are of good quality, the informal social control exercised on the young offender will discourage criminal behaviour.

Cauffman and Steinberg (2012) further suggest that teenagers commit crime partly because their decision-making ability is driven by the pressures of adolescence. Indeed, as individuals grow out of adolescence, they become more likely to resist peer pressure, become future oriented, and less impulsive and

attracted to immediate rewards. In short, young offenders have a tendency to desist from crime as they mature into responsible adults. However, external factors play an important part in how long it takes for this transition to take place, and whether or not young offenders will be strong 'desisters' or relapse into crime. Cauffman and Steinberg (2012) propose that the availability of good educational, skill-building and rehabilitative programmes, as well as the positive and proactive attitudes of staff and the behaviour of other offenders, are all factors that will determine successful desistance from crime and a healthy transition into adulthood.

It is important to sound a note of caution, however, about what can be learned from the literature. Gutman and Schoon's (2013) rapid review into how 'non-cognitive skills' can be defined and measured assessed the research evidence (involving experimental or quasi-experimental studies) that such skills have a causal impact on later outcomes and the role of select interventions in improving these skills in children and young people. Their conclusion was that there is limited evidence of a causal impact on long-term outcomes. Still less was known about how far it is possible to develop a young person's non-cognitive skills through intervention, and whether such changes lead to beneficial outcomes such as improved employment prospects.

Gutman and Schoon did find, however, that a large body of research has established a strong correlation between factors such as self-control and school engagement and academic outcomes, financial stability in adulthood, and reduced crime. They state that within school, effective teaching, the school environment, and social and emotional learning programmes can play an important role in developing key non-cognitive skills, whereas outside of school, programmes such as 'service learning' and outdoor challenge-type activities have low to medium effects on a variety of cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference stated that the review should relate as closely as possible to the Oberstown setting. Oberstown works with males and females under 18 years of age who are sent there by order of the courts. The focus was to be on what can be directly delivered within the campus, as opposed to making assumptions about external resources. In broad terms, the review was to indicate a way forward in terms of how the work with young people could become more outcomes focused. Two further aims were to assist management in thinking about external commissioning, and to involve management and staff in a process of critical enquiry with regard to the place and potential of relationship building.

The commission was premised on the following understandings:

- Much of the research regarding detention is about failure, with a focus on prevention and avoiding detention, when the fact is that some children are committed to detention.
- There is little relevant research with a focus on how to help detained young people to achieve pro-social outcomes.
- What research there is about young people in detention tends to be tentative and somewhat pessimistic about achieving positive outcomes.
- The evidence is mixed and sometimes conflicting (e.g. one piece of evidence recommends minimising the length of detention, while another asserts that detentions are not long enough), so Oberstown has to sift through this and make its own judgements.
- Building productive relationships between staff and young people in detention appears to be the foundation stone on which work towards pro-social outcomes can commence.
- Much of the research comes from the United States and the United Kingdom, both of which detain by and large far greater numbers of young people per capita than Ireland does. Therefore, those young people who do end up being detained in Ireland will probably be those with the most serious, complex and multifaceted problems.

Despite the generally pessimistic prognosis about working with detained young people, and the many challenges in this kind of work, Oberstown has a responsibility to provide the best possible standard of care. In a situation where there is a lack of conclusive or at least readily available evidence of strategies that are most likely to lead to pro-social outcomes, within its control and sphere of influence, Oberstown is committed to incorporating the most hopeful and the most potent policies and practices.

More specifically, the focus of this review was to be consistent with the notion of 'co-production'. This concept refers to staff and young people working together to improve attitudes, pro-social behaviour and, where possible, personal circumstances. While solutions to the challenges involved in co-production may be found in existing programmes, in essence the brief was to answer the following question:

What practices facilitate routine relationship building between care staff and young people, and what beneficial outcomes can be expected from these practices?

METHODOLOGY

The commissioners acknowledged that no single source in the literature would answer the review question. Instead, evidence needed to be derived from a range of empirical research in order to provide informed commentary on the effectiveness of various approaches. It was anticipated that likely sources would fall into the following categories (with an emphasis on the first of these):

a. Work with young people in detention centres
b. Similar work, for example in residential care settings
c. Specific practices that transfer across care and justice settings.

In line with the limited nature of the review (in focus, scope and time), inclusion criteria meant that sources had to be in the English language, and be recent, so as to capture the latest thinking (i.e. not earlier than 2000, although exceptions could be made for particular cases). Given the interest in usable findings to facilitate change, the review would concentrate on empirical research looking at effective practices leading to beneficial outcomes.

The terms of reference emphasised 'pro-social self-governance and behaviour for children and young people in detention centres/when leaving detention centres', 'co-production between care staff and children' and 'routine relationships between care staff and children'. A basic search using these terms was conducted through the EBSCO Discovery Service, which allows users to simultaneously search an array of databases, journals, books and magazines. After opinion pieces, i.e. those not based on empirical research, were excluded, just

over 60 potential sources were considered. Abstracts were read independently by three people, after which 42 sources were selected for their high degree of relevance to the Oberstown setting. These came from a number of countries, although the majority were from the United States followed by the United Kingdom. They included systematic (4) and meta-reviews (1), evaluations of multiple sites of practice (2), evaluations of single sites and practice/or specific programmes (3), longitudinal studies (2), quantitative studies (5), qualitative studies (6), quasi-experimental studies (1), literature reviews (4), government-instigated investigations and reports (1), accounts of practice in specific institutions (8), and reports about evidence-based programmes (5).

A template was developed for detailed analysis with the following headings: source, title, relevance, type of research, and key messages for face-to-face work, activities, or organisational culture and ethos. Completing this template provided the evidence base for the review. This base is supplemented in what follows by occasional reference to widely accepted theory, for example in relation to learning theory, where this reference helps to explain or support the reasons for proposed actions.

While this literature review for Oberstown focused on empirical research, the search process also revealed a range of useful websites and other repositories of highly relevant information. Links to these have been captured in Appendix 1 in the form of a route map to resources and materials.

THREE LEVELS OF ACTIVITY

LEVEL 1:
PURPOSEFUL INTERACTIONS

In their systematic review of correctional treatment programmes in Europe, Koehler et al (2013) found that the most commonly delivered type of intervention is cognitive-behavioural in nature. Only a small number of programmes adopt a deterrence or intensive supervision-based treatment approach. In the view of the authors, this finding represents a significant move towards best practice in European young offender treatment. They indicate that while correctional programming is a salient if at times underdeveloped feature of many juvenile justice systems throughout the EU, policy recommendations of the 'what works' literature have been assimilated to varying degrees across the continent. The implication is that more attention to what works is needed.

Lipsey's (2009) meta-analytic review, which largely focused on institutions in the United States, sought to uncover the primary factors that characterise effective interventions with juvenile offenders. The interventions included surveillance (e.g. intensive probation), deterrence (e.g. prison visitation), discipline (e.g. boot camps), restorative programmes (i.e. restitution or mediation), counselling (i.e. individual, family, group, and mentoring), and skills-building programmes (i.e. behavioural programmes, Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), social skills training, challenge programmes, academic training, or job-related interventions). When risk and other characteristics of the young people were controlled for, it did not seem to matter whether youth were under official supervision or not, had been diverted, were under probation supervision or were in a juvenile custodial facility. However, those interventions that were implemented with high quality and those that embodied restorative or therapeutic philosophies, such as CBT, mentoring, counselling or skills training, were more effective than those based on strategies of control or coercion (i.e. surveillance, deterrence and discipline).

Lipsey's findings are supported by Lampron and Gonsoulin (2013), who conclude that approaches involving incentives, positive reinforcement and the encouragement of strength-based attributes achieve success by allowing young people to learn the value and satisfaction of positive interactions and to develop greater self-control. In relation to developing self-control, Fullerton et al (2014), in their review of restraint practices in residential settings, find that establishing and maintaining positive relationships between staff and young people is critical in improving young people's ability to manage their own behaviour.

Positive relationships are described by Trotter as pro-social modelling. In his 2004 study of child protection workers in Australia, who often work with young offenders, he showed that young offenders scored better on a range of outcome measures if the child protection workers used pro-social

modelling and reinforcement and appropriate confrontation. Indeed, the clients and workers were almost twice as likely to be satisfied with the outcome, and the cases were likely to be closed earlier, regardless of risk levels. Trotter (2009) explains pro-social modelling as involving, for example, social workers keeping appointments and being punctual, respecting other people's feelings and being open about problems, expressing views about the negative effects of criminal behaviour and the value of positive social bonds, and, finally, being optimistic about the rewards of non-criminal behaviour.

Evans et al (2010) refer to three main youth-staff relationship types in their research into correctional settings in the United States. These are:

- A balanced relationship, where relationships with staff are characterised by high levels of satisfaction, coping and closeness
- A practical relationship, which is recognised by high levels of satisfaction and coping, but low levels of closeness
- An engaged relationship, where there are high levels of satisfaction, moderate levels of closeness and low levels of coping.

The authors report that young people feeling socially supported and having a sense of belonging can determine the type of relationship that they have with staff, with higher levels of these feelings being associated with the most positive relationship type (i.e. balanced). They argue that perceived support and belonging are driven less by the characteristics of the youth and more by the positivity of key staff and staff relationships. Prior to their research, it was thought that certain demographics and experiences would be associated with certain staff-youth relationship types, and that individualising interventions according to such characteristics would encourage more effective helping relationships. However, the research found that ethnicity was the only covariate to emerge as a predictor of relationship type, with non-white youth being more likely to belong to the balanced group.

Knight's (2014) research into 'Scratch', a basic skills project delivered to young offenders in the community in England, identifies how relationships with tutors were different from those with teachers at schools. The following response from one respondent is indicative: "They talk to you differently…they do care…look out for me…look out for new things for me to do. It is nice that all tutors remember my name, without even looking at a piece of paper" (2014: 60). The conclusion is that effective learning requires active participation by young people and that when young people are coerced, any programme or intervention can only achieve limited success.

The Mendota Juvenile Treatment Center (MJTC) for violent and emotionally disturbed youth in Wisconsin has been credited with achieving high levels of success. Ellison's (2013) account of the work at MJTC states that the high staff-to-inmate ratio allows for one-on-one and group therapy, two hours of daily supervised recreation for every inmate on reasonably good behaviour, and, most importantly, it means that staff have the time, energy and mandate to create personal bonds with the boys who reside there. MJTC has designed and implemented a range of successful, albeit costly, energy-intensive strategies, which are united by the goal of bringing the young inmates out of their reflexive anger and withdrawal through sturdy,

warm relationships with therapists and front-line staff. Ellison notes that examples show the power and ability of positive relationships within the detention centre to achieve beneficial outcomes, but that these may not be sustained in the long term if treatment is fragmented and/or brief.

This point about the need for coherent and sustained treatment is reinforced by Barnes et al (2012), who found that young people with experience of mentoring interventions exhibited improved attitudes and behaviours compared with other populations. According to the authors, programmes involving more frequent interactions, where relationships were sustained for a longer timeframe, and where mentors were sufficiently trained, realised the highest success rates for the mentees. Similarly, in reporting on Character Counts!, an evidence-based programme in the United States, Martinez (2008) affirms that providing one-on-one adult support for young detainees can also facilitate an increase in protective factors such as commitment to education, self-esteem, social competence, decision-making, and a greater knowledge of the harmful effects of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs. However, there is some qualitative evidence to show that mentoring might be more effective with younger offenders who are still in the cautioning stage than with persistent offenders.

Pemberton's (2009) UK review of the approach used at the Keppel Unit HMYOI Wetherby, West Yorkshire, England, explains how mentoring puts a particular structure on building positive relationships between staff and young people. In providing ongoing guidance, instruction and support, the mentor seeks to enhance the character and life skills of the mentee. This approach is said to provide a culture of enhanced and individualised support in which young people experience positive interactions with the residential support officers, who share mealtimes with them, act as mentors and take responsibility for their welfare. In Pemberton's view, local authorities must ensure that this support continues in the community. A quote from one young person in Pemberton's research illustrates the point: "I've done GCSEs, Duke of Edinburgh, offending behaviour courses, army cadets...but will I be able to do this when I get out?"

Developing positive relationships between staff and young people is important because this can prevent problems and disruptive situations from arising or escalating, while also optimising the possibilities for learning and social and emotional development through regular, routine interactions. This is vital in managing relationships, i.e. managing the emotions of others (Goleman, 1995). McNeil et al (2012: 4) emphasise the importance of such qualities:

> There is substantial and growing evidence that developing social and emotional capabilities supports the achievement of positive life outcomes, including educational attainment, employment and health. Capabilities such as resilience, communication, and negotiation are also increasingly cited as being the foundations of employability. Evidence shows that approaches that focus on building social and emotional capabilities...can have greater long-term impact than ones that focus on directly seeking to reduce the 'symptoms' of poor outcomes for young people.

CORE ELEMENTS IN RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

Given the potential benefits, it is necessary to identify the sorts of qualities in a relationship with staff that can enable young people to work successfully on the issues that are causing trouble. Some of the core elements involved are considered below.

The concept of co-production is premised on the idea that all outcomes are the de facto result of interactions between staff and young people. It is not a matter of things being done to or for young people, but of results being contingent on the extent of engagement by the young people themselves. More positively, the concept emphasises that learning is a socially constructive activity, which means that staff and young people need to work together better to support development.

Language is the main method by which information and learning is shared between individuals (Vygotsky, 1962). Cultivating the art of purposeful conversation is therefore central to successful outcomes for young people in detention. This means that the focus of staff-youth interaction should be on building and expanding the communication efforts and strengths of the young people. It is widely accepted that listening is a powerful therapeutic intervention that requires effort; listening is not a passive activity. As Rogers and Freiberg (1993) have shown, paying attention is a conscious, deliberate and continuous activity. By paying attention to young people it is possible, for instance, to find out about their interests, how they learn, and to become more aware of their personal characteristics. Evans et al (2010) note that if young people feel they belong, are cared for and are important, they will be better able to cope with the stress that comes with being in a detention centre.

Assessment is a crucial part of paying attention. In one sense, this refers to the kind of judgements that staff make when they are gauging, for example, how a young person is reacting and feeling in the moment. This is about reading a situation. More commonly, the term refers to more formal, explicit, transparent and structured processes that, for example, use standardised tests and measures. Being able to make informed and reliable assessments, either in the moment or as part of a formal procedure, should inform interventions, just as the results of interventions should feed back into the assessment processes. Effective assessment practices enable staff to understand the needs of young people and to monitor and capture their progress. As Lipsey et al (2010) note, the point is to ensure that the services provided are effective at improving outcomes for the young people served.

Non-formal learning can help to build social and emotional competence and enable young people to become aware of and transform habitual frames of reference. Non-formal learning comes about through dialogue rather than instruction. Non-formal learning is also highly influential, for example young people learn (positive and negative things) from peers, and develop through self-determined processes.

Learning can occur at any time, but at particular points there are teachable moments when, for a variety of reasons, a young person may be more open to learning than usual. In this regard, it is widely accepted that behaviour is learned through imitating others observed in the wider environment (see, for example, Bandura, 1992). Each point of contact offers potentially teachable moments when staff model positive behaviours in the way that they talk and listen to each other in their everyday interactions with the young people. The potential for the young people's peers to either undermine or reinforce development is also high.

Since Goleman's (1995) seminal work, emotional intelligence is now closely associated with the ability to manage feelings by knowing one's own emotions, as well as recognising and understanding other people's emotions. It is also widely accepted that social and emotional competence is the foundation for all learning. The fundamental role of motivation is one example of this.

Motivational Interviewing (MI) was originally developed as a way of helping substance abusers to change. The approach requires staff to behave in specific ways, all of which are amenable to training. These behaviours include (Miller and Rollnick, 1995):

- Seeking to understand the person's frame of reference through reflective listening
- Communicating acceptance and affirmation
- Eliciting and selecting the person's own self-motivational statements, expressions of problem recognition, concern, desire and intention to change, and ability to change
- Monitoring the person's readiness to change, and ensuring that resistance is not triggered
- Affirming the person's freedom of choice and self-direction.

This approach has particular application in cases where resistance to change is high. When staff express empathy, avoid arguing for change, and work on ambivalence to strengthen commitment, they help offenders to develop 'change statements'. McMurran (2009), in a systematic review of the research on MI, finds growing, if not definitive, evidence of its effectiveness as a stand-alone approach or as a prelude to more intensive interventions with offenders. The author cautions that while MI may have the power to move people along a continuum from externally controlled to self-determined behaviour, its effectiveness depends on practitioners clearly understanding what they are doing and how to do it. The author cautions that while training is crucial, it does not always lead to tangible changes in practitioners' behaviour.

LEVEL 2:
ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMMES

arts-related activities can improve self-esteem for adolescents during their stay in detention centres (Murphy et al, 2013). The arts afford a chance to learn new skills while keeping young people physically and mentally occupied in a constructive way. According to Ezell and Levy (2003), who evaluated A Changed World (ACW), an arts programme for detained young people, arts can also provide a means through which to communicate feelings and ideas, as well as opportunities to exercise decision-making and take ownership and responsibility.

ACW takes the form of short-term workshops in visual arts, creative writing, music, wood sculpture, graphic design, murals, poetry, photography, drama, cartoon art, collage, etc. In their evaluation, Ezell and Levy note that interaction between artists and young people is a very important component of the programme. Their evaluation shows that when young people forged deep connections with artists and with each other, concrete vocational skills were acquired, they had positive feelings of goal accomplishment, compliance with institutional rules was high, and behaviour was less disruptive. Long-term effects such as lower recidivism rates were also evident.

Other studies also point to positive outcomes from arts-based interventions. Daykin et al (2012) highlight in their systematic review of international research the benefits of participation in music-related activities such as performance, playing instruments, exploring lyrics and so on. These benefits were said to come in terms of improved confidence, self-esteem, self-concept, education and work performance, interpersonal relationships, social skills, health and mental well-being. The results of their review suggest that music making may be an important tool for the promotion of health and the prevention of offending in young people.

Genuine Voices (GV), a not-for-profit organisation teaching music to young offenders, introduced its music programme to young people who had been sentenced to a short-term secure treatment centre in Massachusetts in 2003. Its mission was to teach musical composition and computer-based sequencing to detainees as a way to assist in the development of their ability to make 'positive life decisions', and to develop communication skills by fostering awareness of language choices. According to Baker and Homan (2007), these kinds of creative programmes, particularly those offering popular music, can be powerful in the construction of a 'creative self' for participants that is distinct from their central 'role' as a 'juvenile offender'. GV ran piano, guitar, rap and sequencing lessons twice weekly for interested youth. The sessions were casual and relaxed, and stressed the importance of individual attention with each participant. Young people were also taught coping mechanisms and ways to deal more positively with social relationships.

ARTS-BASED ACTIVITIES

In addition to the benefits of detained young people being involved in formal education and continuing their schooling, it is widely acknowledged in the literature that complementary leisure and other structured activities are good for social and emotional development. Activities, which include arts (all forms), sports, adventure and hobbies, offer particular opportunities for interaction between staff and young people, and help to build positive relationships between them. The preliminary results from the evaluation of The Emanuel Project in the United States, for example, suggest that participation in

Various benefits were observed: several participants engaged in improving their organisational skills, whereas for others composing songs and/or playing instruments were critical to reinforcing self-esteem. There was observational and testimonial evidence that some participants became more reflective of their behaviour. As one participant said, "It kept me out of trouble, and got some of my anger out and other feelings." Baker and Homan note the value of young people being able to 'brandish' an end product (e.g. a CD) of their creative efforts, which cannot be underestimated in an environment where self-confidence and other achievements are low. The authors, however, also refer to issues such as limited time and access, for example to a music room outside designated programme sessions, which led to a lack of continuity, a lack of depth of skills learned and uneven outcomes. They also warn that more 'free-flowing' programmes that do not engage in lyrical censorship can incite continued expressions of racism, sexism, and the glorification of violence and criminality.

Levy's research (2012) in the United States offers a useful summary of the benefits of arts-based approaches. Meaningful dialogue between groups of young people and encouragement for them to reflect on and evaluate their own situations can transform what limits their potential. One young person is quoted as saying: "One thing I am learning here is I'm not alone, talking about my past rather than totally ignoring it has helped me to realize this." Verbalising their experiences and reframing them through pen and lens is said to allow for ownership of young people's lives by reclaiming painful experiences as stepping stones for development, and self-power as agents of change. According to Maruna and LeBel (2012), this kind of 'reframing' is critical if offenders are to desist from crime.

According to Levy, in order to 'hear' what young women are saying about their lives, researchers and practitioners must build frameworks and invest in approaches that go beyond 'essentialising' their identities and experiences. Levy concludes that arts-based activities are among the most important vehicles for enabling young women to discuss their situations and express their feelings because they inspire self-knowledge, which is empowering. This finding about empowerment is echoed in a statement included in Pemberton's (2009) research at the Keppel Unit in England in which one young person is reported as saying: "We can do drama, dance, art and music here. I didn't think people like me could do things like that, but it's helped me access feelings which were hard to express before."

Barrett and Baker (2012), in the context of a music programme in Australia, refer to the following learning and teaching strategies said to support the development of beneficial outcomes:

- Clear demonstration and modelling of desired outcome
- Clear and concise instructions
- Sufficient time to complete tasks
- Attention to individual learning needs
- Building of positive social relationships between student and teacher
- The provision of feedback and encouragement.

SPORTS-BASED AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

A small-scale, qualitative study of one sports-based intervention in a Young Offender Institution in the south of England (Parker et al, 2014), notes how the intervention helped participants to focus their thoughts and energies, broke the monotony of the regime and alleviated boredom, provided a sense of achievement, and promoted self-esteem, self-efficacy and confidence. Engagement in team sports was also said to have helped the young people to develop their social skills in terms of listening, collaborating and working together.

In the same vein, Søgaard et al (2016) propose that certain sports can help alter young men's cognitive imagining, from seeing themselves as structural victims to developing an openness to change and a belief in change. This was achieved in the New Start programme in Denmark through a 'comeback' narrative. In New Start, boxing was at the centre of the programme, and young male offenders were encouraged by staff to participate in training and boxing matches. Through this controlled outlet for anger, frustration and stereotypical masculinity, staff had a way of communicating to young men a more positive masculine behaviour. The programme managed to construct a desistance narrative that moved away from an adolescent 'gangster masculinity', which staff would value negatively, towards an adult 'reformed masculinity', associated positively with maturity and agency.

Muldoon et al (1996) report on participation in circus-based activities (Circus 1 to 3), which aimed to enhance the quality of life for boys resident in St Patrick's Training School in Belfast and to foster skills such as confidence, self-worth and motor skills. The boys' teamwork, communication, participation and attitude, as rated by the circus tutors, improved substantially during their involvement with the project. The boys felt their participation altered their self-perceptions as well as other people's perceptions of them. The boys also reported developing a sense of personal control, increased self-awareness and a sense of belonging.

Cisco's Kids is a professional pet-assisted therapy programme at the Youth Career Education Center of the Rhode Island Training School. Goals of the programme include helping the students improve their behaviour, social skills and self-esteem, and providing a stress-free environment where students are encouraged to act in a more pro-social manner. Cournoyer and Uttley's evaluation of the programme (2007) reveals that the majority of those completing at least one cycle of the programme showed positive improvements in their psycho-social functioning. The programme was also found to create a bridge between the students and social workers and helped to break down the social and emotional barriers that many of these students had built up over years.

LEVEL 3:
SPECIALISED INTERVENTIONS

THERAPEUTIC APPROACHES

In their rapid evidence review of managing aggression in childcare settings, Fullerton et al (2014) report that therapeutic models can reduce the incidence of aggression and/or need to use restraint by improving staff understanding of a young person's behaviour that, in turn, improves the relationships between both. Challenging behaviour and difficult situations in detention centres require an increase in positive behaviours from staff, as well as increased exposure to learning opportunities that are a good fit for the young person. Evidence-based programmes can be valuable in combating challenging behaviour. However, it is widely recognised that undertaking any type of developmental work is not easy in situations where safety and security is of paramount concern and cannot be compromised for any type of programme or intervention. How staff behave in such situations is crucial, as their behaviour can either reinforce or undermine all other positive efforts. At the same time, the success of developmental work is likely to be

commensurate with the amount of time available. Trauma Affect Regulation: Guide for Education and Therapy (TARGET) is a model that teaches a practical, seven-step sequence of skills for processing and managing trauma-related reactions to current stressful experiences. It also involves a creative arts activity. In this approach, the staff teach young people who behave problematically to better manage their emotions, thoughts and behaviour. Peer coaching is also an important component. The skills taught in TARGET are said to be equally useful for staff and enable them to serve as role models for detained youths. Young people and staff practise the terminology and skills in all daily activities in the detention centre in order to reinforce and generalise these skills to their entire daily lives. This means expanding the role of staff from custodial monitoring to guiding young people constructively towards responsible behaviour. All detention centre personnel (including those in food service, clerical, maintenance, education, etc.) receive introductory training and periodic refresher training. This enables them to integrate TARGET concepts and skills into the milieu.

Ford and Hawke (2012), in their research into TARGET, report that participation is associated with a reduction in disciplinary incidents and punitive sanctions. It is also associated with more pro-social behaviour and a safer environment for young people and staff. The authors quote one young person who spoke of how he needed the useful information provided in TARGET in order to inspire a sense of genuine hope: "Why didn't somebody tell me about this before? Everybody's been telling me how messed up I am or trying to fix, but no one ever showed me how my brain works! That's what I need to know." Importantly, they conclude that the provision of TARGET should not be limited to young people with severe traumatic stress histories or symptoms, because it may enhance self-regulation, behavioural self-control, and coping skills for stress reactivity for all detained juveniles.

In their research on the Restorative Healing Model (RHM) in use at the Woodbourne Center in Baltimore, Maryland, Park et al (2008) report that RHM integrates aggression replacement training, community restorative justice and trauma-focused care in order to enhance long-term outcomes for youth. Each of these components has been recognised as evidence-based or promising practices. The RHM approach is said to actively influence the daily activities in the various programme settings. Successful implementation of the programme is determined by the level of staff knowledge and skills, with all staff being trained in the theoretical basis for the model and in a basic understanding of trauma, which supports a trauma-sensitive and aware culture. Working collaboratively towards solutions is an important focus of the RHM, with young people and staff working together to learn lessons through discussions and role play.

EVIDENCE-BASED PROGRAMMES

Some commentators argue that for the well-being of young people in restrictive settings, and for the well-being of communities, it is essential to prioritise effective, evidence-based practices designed to reduce recidivism through positive, humane practices (Lampron and Gonsoulin, 2013). Evidence-based programmes are ways of formalising and increasing attention to approaches that work. These programmes often meet specific needs and require regular training and monitoring for fidelity. Below are some examples of recognised evidence-based programmes.

Character Counts! (CC!) has been successfully rolled out in detention centres in the United States. In focusing on six character traits (trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring and citizenship), this evidence-based programme is said to help young people develop an ethical framework based on what it means to be a responsible citizen. Not all young people will be receptive to the programme due to various psychological, behavioural and attitudinal issues (Martinez, 2008).

Positive Behaviour Interventions and Supports (PBIS) has been found to offer a solid yet flexible support structure under which the rules and interventions that best meet the varied needs of a range of settings can be integrated. It focuses on modifying behaviour through changes in environment and the manner in which adults interact with young people, as well as through teaching new skills (e.g. moral reasoning) and modelling the appropriate behaviour that young people can take with them when they leave (Lampron and Gonsoulin, 2013).

Adventure Based Counselling (ABC) is used to help young people confront and manage anti-social behaviours and adopt pro-social behaviours. Behaviour Management Through Adventure (BMTA) is a model that integrates ABC with a therapeutic behaviour management system that is restraint free. It is a participatory process in which the young people co-create the therapeutic community with four core elements (Walsh and Aubrey, 2007):

1. Adventure activities – often used to develop problem-solving abilities, problems are reframed into opportunities to develop character strengths such as emotional stability, decision-making, assertiveness and social competence. The focus is on abilities rather than inabilities.
2. Therapeutic Community – Project Adventure's Full Value Contract creates a safe environment and helps youth explore, understand and value healthy pro-social behaviours. Because it is created by clients, all community members (staff and clients) use and are responsible for the Contract.
3. Positive Group Process – BMTA staff model peer-to-peer counselling. It also involves a group management technique called Calling Group, in which everyone, including staff, comes together to discuss an issue.
4. Assessment – BMTA requires both young people and staff to share the responsibility of upholding safe and respectful behavioural norms throughout the programme.

Reasoning & Rehabilitation (R&R) is a cognitive-behavioural programme that aims to address cognitive deficits that are thought to play an important role in the onset and maintenance of criminal behaviour. Modules include interpersonal problem-solving, social skills, managing emotions, and critical reasoning. Techniques include games, direct training, skills modelling and facilitated discussions. The programme has been extensively run in institutions and communities, although an important caveat is that most evaluation studies have been with adult offenders. Reasoning and Reacting is a version of the programme for young people, which features shorter sessions, more active learning and increased use of games (Mitchell and Palmer, 2004).

It is important to stress that non-evidence-based programmes can be effective if they are used correctly and implemented well (Lipsey, 2009). Evidence-based programmes tend to be implemented in 'silos', disconnected from a continuum of effective services to meet the needs of young people, and while outcomes may improve for youth who experience these 'gold-standard programmes', their replication may be uneven and their reach may be limited (Lipsey et al, 2010). It can often be difficult to demonstrate that a programme alone is responsible, even one that is said to be 'evidence-based', for any changes in practice and behaviour, separate from other institutional features, such as the calibre of staff.

Notwithstanding the importance of the sorts of activities discussed in relation to the three levels of activity, it is equally important to appreciate that building relationships will vary according to the needs of the young person. This means that personalised and targeted relationship building is required to enable young people to fully participate in activities that can lead to the development of pro-social outcomes.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MILIEU

It is now widely accepted that any process of development is shaped by the interactions between the individual and their surroundings. Abrams et al (2005), however, refer to the juvenile justice system in the United States struggling to balance its orientation towards both correction and treatment. These have commonly been seen as essentially competing principles, i.e. the correctional approach as quasi-military in style, and the treatment approach focusing on behavioural/ psychological, CBT and specialised treatments. Knight (2014) is one of many to note tensions between delivering a meaningful service that signals and delivers caring practice (with pro-social modelling and motivational interviewing), while simultaneously controlling risky and criminal behaviour (with regulation, surveillance of punishment and risk management). Goldsmith (2001) also refers to the need to resolve the divisions between custody and treatment, and between authority and relationship, as in the author's view these divisions may have been more responsible than any other single factor for the continuing failure of residential treatment. Nevertheless, based on their research into the interplay between correctional and treatment approaches, Abrams et al (2005) argue that blending the two approaches can result in long-lasting behavioural changes.

The MJTC provides one example of how to overcome this divide. The basic approach, dubbed 'decompression', operates on the assumption that young criminals are not 'bad seeds', destined to be psychopaths from birth, but that they probably started life mentally ill in some way and have been 'compressed' into reactive defiance by years of harsh treatment (Ellison, 2013).

Case Study: The Mendota Juvenile Treatment Centre

The US Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA) lists the Mendota Juvenile Treatment Center (MJTC) in Wisconsin on its Internet registry of 'evidence-based' treatments. MJTC is a 29-bed unit that is home to some of the state's most violent and emotionally disturbed youth. It is unique in that it is run by psychiatrists, not wardens, and its continuing existence is assured by peer-reviewed research. MJTC has designed and implemented a range of strategies that aim to improve outcomes for the youth it treats through positive, caring relationships with therapists and front-line staff. MJTC's basic approach is dubbed 'decompression': it operates on the assumption that young criminals are not destined to be psychopaths and criminals from birth, but are people who probably started out life mentally ill in some way and have been 'compressed' into reactive defiance by years of harsh treatment. The daily operating system is termed the 'Today-Tomorrow Program' and is aimed at delivering short-term consequences for good or bad behaviour, somewhat resembling the 'reward charts' that are recommended for use by parents. Points are assigned at the end of each day by staff. Unlike many similar point/privilege programmes, this programme offers readily available and rapidly increasing incentives for compliance with unit conventions and positive participation in treatment (Caldwell et al, 2007). For serious rule violations such as threats or violence, the young people suffer tightened security and loss of privileges. For good behaviour, they are rewarded the next day with 30 minutes of video games in the evening or are permitted to keep a satellite radio in their cells. Colourful stickers are also put on the boys' charts to acknowledge their progress.

Lampron and Gonsoulin (2013) highlight the importance of a facility-wide framework that allows for behavioural interventions and treatment of mental and physical health, and/or substance needs. The framework enables young people and staff to use the majority of their time focusing on educational gains and developing skills that allow young people to succeed when they return to their homes, communities and schools. The authors note that young peoples' perceptions of safety within the facility are important because feelings of safety reduce antisocial activity and enhance system involvement.

In the same vein, the CC! Curriculum is said to be not just a programme, but the development of a culture that provides an ethical framework for detained young people to learn how to be successful and responsible citizens (Martinez, 2008). Others have also highlighted the importance of the overall regime within which staff and young people live and work together. As far back as 1983, Colynt set out the Ten Laws of Residential Treatment (cited in Goldsmith, 2001), which amount to a thoughtful take on Practice Wisdom. Law 1, for example, states that: Left to itself, a program tends to become punitive, while Law 7 advises: The vacuum created by the lack of cohesive formal unit program will be immediately filled by the residents' informal program, which will never resemble what the staff had in mind.

Clay et al's (2013) review of international approaches to education and interventions for young people in custody identifies differences between judicial systems, and in particular youth justice systems, around the world. Based on case studies, they put forward a number of key features of provision which are said to contribute to a successful approach within their own contexts. These include:

- Education being placed at the heart of an institution's focus
- Interventions being personalised and targeted
- Staff being given multidisciplinary training, often to graduate level, and custodial staff also being involved in the education of offenders
- Institutions being relatively small and split into units which are even smaller
- High ratios of staff to offenders
- Offenders being assigned mentors who work with them for up to 12 months after their release
- Activities within the community being a key aspect of provision
- Residential facilities being locally distributed, situated reasonably close to the homes of young offenders.

In their research into social support and sense of belonging in American juvenile correction centres, Evans et al (2010) reinforce the view that for young people with a chaotic family history, the 'structure' offered by positive relationships with staff often provides them with an opportunity to thrive.

Williams and Glisson (2014) illuminate what is involved in creating a supportive environment with their analysis of the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being (the second national longitudinal probability study of children in the United States) and with their review of a range of research studies. They state that outcomes for young people can be improved by transforming the cultures and climates of child welfare work environments. This is said to involve the relationships linking behavioural norms and expectations in the work environment (culture), the psychological impact of the work environment on caseworkers (climate) and positive youth outcomes. According to the authors, two strategic dimensions of organisational culture – proficiency and resistance – are significantly associated with three dimensions of organisational climate – engagement, functionality, and stress – and these climate dimensions relate significantly to agency variance in youth outcomes.

Put simply, positive environments produce positive behaviour (Evans et al, 2010).

In their work on criminal justice settings in the United Kingdom, Jackson et al (2010) shed further light on what is involved in a supportive environment. Their focus is on the central issue of legitimacy, which they see as the belief that authorities are entitled to make decisions and be deferred to in matters of criminal justice. In their view, legitimacy is linked to the fairness of the procedures through which authorities exercise their authority. The key point, according to the authors, is that if procedures are perceived as fair and just, individuals are more likely to comply with the law/social norms. In the context of Oberstown, procedural justice would mean consistent attention to voice, neutrality, treatment and trust, which would mean:

- Providing opportunities for young people to participate in decision-making processes in situations of everyday conflicts and disagreements (voice)
- Acting based on rules and applying those rules evenly across people and time (neutrality)
- Acknowledging people's rights and acting with courtesy (treatment)
- Giving people a chance to explain their concerns, showing that what people say is being considered, and explaining why and how decisions are made (trust).

In addition, the authors find that inmates also react to the degree to which authorities help them learn meaningful skills to enter the post-prison world with viable possibilities for a non-criminal life, and the extent to which the guards create a safe and less dangerous environment for them to live in.

THE ROLE OF MANAGEMENT

If all must act accordingly in any given institution, clearly management has overall responsibility for creating and maintaining a positive environment. In a paper on the interaction between management and treatment in correctional facilities in an American context, Goldsmith (2001) argues that management needs to strive for higher standards of employee involvement and focus on treatment as being the overall programme, not just a designated portion with specific staff responsibilities. In this case, the manager's role is to:

- Be a leader
- Delegate tasks and trust employees
- Have and encourage integrity and model appropriate behaviour
- Mentor employees and understand the work they do
- Manage by rules and norms, not personalities, while also respecting individuality and diverse perspectives
- Reward and encourage appropriate behaviour, coach, and reprimand and discipline in good faith.

Goldsmith proposes four principles of management in the correctional/treatment setting: give respect and get respect, employ and encourage open and honest communication, define roles and responsibilities clearly, and share project planning, processes and products.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

From the literature, it is clear that routine relationship building with young people is affected by and overlaps with all other areas of activity in detention centres. This means that a focus on relationship building should be integrated into all supports for young people. In general, there is a requirement for extensive buy-in from all staff to ensure that the approach is widely accepted and that responses are consistent (Lampron and Gonsoulin, 2013). For example, at MJTC in Wisconsin, the inmates are rigorously referred to as 'youth', and faith in the possibility of redemption is embedded in the language of the centre (Ellison, 2013). In particular, all those who interact with young people should understand the importance of social and emotional development and that working to achieve this is a continuous and conscious activity. While all MJTC staff need to model positive attributes and behaviours at all times, the skills of the core care staff in promoting social and emotional development are critical. Care staff need to:

- Understand developmental needs
- Understand and display emotional intelligence
- Be comfortable with being an authority figure while understanding and exercising their role as caring educators
- Display calm and confident behaviour when in conflict situations
- Be good learners, in order to successfully encourage this capacity in young people.

There are obvious implications for staff development, meaning that there needs to be a way of building skills and capacity through training, which can be of a general nature or focused on specific issues, e.g. dealing with aggression. Training needs to be supplemented with other methods, which could include formally and informally sharing experience, knowledge, resources and tools on a regular basis. Systematic support for staff needs to be provided through supervision, mentoring, coaching and peer review processes.

The point is that learning and development is crucially affected by the interplay between young detainees and their surroundings. Long-lasting behavioural changes are more likely to occur when:

- There is an attempt to blend correctional and treatment approaches
- The culture focuses on teaching young people how to be responsible and successful citizens
- Education in its broadest sense is emphasised
- Procedures are perceived as fair and just
- Management prioritises creating and maintaining a positive environment
- Relationship building is integral to all supports
- Staff buy into, and are supported and trained to deliver, the approach.

OUTCOMES LINKED TO PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

TYPES OF OUTCOMES

In their longitudinal study of a residential treatment facility for young people with histories of behavioural and emotional disturbances in the United States, Zimmerman et al (1999) report on a treatment regime that involves:

- Weekly individual and group therapy that is primarily cognitive-behavioural, with emphasis on social skills training, problem-solving, developing self-control and working towards positive personal goals
- Weekly music therapy
- Family therapy for those whose families are involved in their treatment
- A behaviour reinforcement system with rewards and privileges for positive behaviour and loss of privileges and time-outs for negative behaviour
- Twice-weekly group spiritual awareness activities, and
- An extensive recreation programme.

Their results show that levels of behavioural and emotional disturbance were lower at the treatment's conclusion than at its beginning, with clear evidence of improvement on measures of delinquency-related problems, youth self-report of behaviour problems, staff ratings of development-related behaviours, and therapist ratings of ability to engage in therapy and treatment progress. Although the young people were said to be most satisfied with individual therapy, the authors state that this does not necessarily mean that individual therapy is more effective than group therapy. Most gains occurred during the first six months of treatment, after which the gains were maintained but with little evidence of additional progress. The study suggests that residential treatment for adolescents similar to this sample could often be limited to approximately six months' duration without major sacrifice of treatment benefits.

In their systematic review of correctional treatment programmes in Europe, Koehler et al (2013) report that cognitive-behavioural and behavioural treatments (e.g. thinking skills programmes, social skills and problem-solving approaches) showed larger effects than other types of programmes. Non-behaviourally-oriented programmes (e.g. educational and vocational training, mentoring, restorative justice) revealed no significant positive effects. Deterrence- and supervision-based programmes (e.g. boot camps) resulted in slightly (although not significantly) increased recidivism. Programmes conducted in the community showed greater effects than programmes conducted in secure institutions, which, according to the authors, could be because they contain more opportunities for real-life application and transfer.

Amendola and Oliver (2010) conducted research into Aggression Replacement Training (ART), which is a three-part multi-modal approach to address problems in behaviour, emotions and thinking among challenging young people. In this approach, Skill Streaming targets behaviour, Anger Control Training focuses on emotion, and Moral Reasoning is a cognitive intervention. The authors argue that simplistic, narrow approaches will not treat the complex problems of young people. They state that for more than 20 years, ART has been shown through a variety of rigorous studies to be an effective intervention for incarcerated young people. It is said to enhance pro-social skill competency and overt pro-social behaviour, reduce rates of impulsiveness and decrease acting-out behaviours while enhancing levels of moral reasoning.

Cann et al (2003) compared the Enhanced Thinking Skills (ETS) programme, which was developed specifically for young offenders in prison in England and Wales, with Reasoning and Rehabilitation (R&R), which was developed in North America for high-risk offenders. The results showed no differences in one- and two-year reconviction rates between adult men and young offenders who started a prison-based cognitive skills programme and their matched comparisons. They concluded, however, that attending such a programme can have an impact on likelihood of reconviction, provided that offenders actually complete the programme, as the reconviction rate of dropouts alone was higher than that of their matched comparison groups.

Cann et al's work suggests that the motivation to change behaviour may be the key issue. ETS was shown to have an impact on reconviction whereas R&R did not. The authors reason that this may be because ETS was designed in England and Wales, and is a shorter programme, which may make it easier for offenders to maintain their motivation. They note that additional programme work with offenders may be needed to reduce reoffending in the longer term, for example through cognitive skills booster programmes for use in custody and in the community.

Ellison (2013) reports that the Mendota Center's CEO and psychologist colleagues 'swear by' the research of Bandura and Sherman, who have argued that pro-social bonds help to deter crime by giving people a stake in society, and thus a reason to work to control themselves. According to Lampron and Gonsoulin (2013), re-entry/transition planning and the provision of integrated supports and services aids successful outcomes for young people leaving restrictive settings. A fully functional Positive Behaviour Interventions and Supports (PBIS) framework operating in a receiving school that helps to connect work done in the secure setting to the community setting may be an invaluable support. This view is supported by Johnson et al (2013), who report that implementation of PBIS in a Texas secure male juvenile correction facility resulted in improved behaviour and school engagement (reductions in incidents, increases in average daily school attendance and in industry certificates earned).

Barrett and Baker (2012) report that the outcomes of a music programme in an Australian juvenile detention centre included the development of performance skills and musical knowledge; increased positive social behaviours, confidence, self-esteem, and persistence; development of communication skills; increased awareness regarding one's own potential; development of trust among residents; and more positive relationships between residents and staff.

THE WAY FORWARD

THE NEED FOR AN OUTCOMES FRAMEWORK

It is useful to have a high-level outcomes framework for young people, staff, and the institution. A comprehensive framework includes short- and medium-term outcomes, sometimes referred to as 'proximal outcomes', which involve knowledge, skills, behaviour, attitudes and personal circumstances. A Personal Development Plan for each young person can bring all of these elements together. Such a framework would also include longer-term or 'distal' outcomes, which are the result of changes in the short and medium term. These could, for example, include longer-term lifestyle changes in education, health or offending, as well as changes to policies or improvements in service delivery. As an example, McNeil et al (2012) set out a Framework of Outcomes for Young People that:

- Proposes seven interlinked clusters of social and emotional capabilities that are of value to all young people, supported by a strong evidence base demonstrating their link to outcomes such as educational attainment, employment and health
- Sets out a matrix of available tools to measure these capabilities, outlining which capabilities each tool covers and key criteria that might be considered in selecting an appropriate tool, such as cost or the number of users

- Outlines a step-by-step approach to measuring these capabilities in practice, which is illustrated in four case studies that exemplify how the Framework might be used by providers, commissioners and funders.

Over time, and if developed sufficiently, improvements in short-term 'proximal' outcomes can lead to longer-term 'distal' outcomes, such as reduced offending, lower levels of recidivism, better educational achievement and employment, better health and mental well-being and better quality of life. This line of thinking suggests the need for an overarching theory of change regarding relationship building in young people's detention centres (see Appendix 2). This could be usefully supplemented with a more specific theory of change for detained young people involving start, establishment, maintenance, reinforcement, and development phases, with a focus on transitions between these phases. The theory of change would spell out what it takes to transition through the phases, while also accounting for inevitable slippages and regression. In other words, young people who offend need to achieve crucial outcomes such as taking responsibility, repairing relationships developing respect for themselves and others, and creating new narratives of their future and a different sense of identity.

OUTCOME AREA	SOURCE
COMMUNICATION SKILLS Self-perception, communication, listening, collaboration, teamwork and interpersonal skills are essential in forming positive relationships.	Barnes et al (2012) Parker et al (2014) Muldoon et al (1996)
CONFIDENCE AND AGENCY Self-esteem, self-efficacy and positive self-image, confidence and agency enable young people to recognise that they can make a difference to their own lives and that effort has a purpose. There is evidence of a reciprocal link between positive outcomes and self-confidence.	Barnes et al (2012) Parker et al (2014)
PLANNING AND PROBLEM-SOLVING Planning, problem-solving, critical reasoning and decision-making support resilience in providing young people with 'positive protective armour' against negative outcomes associated with risky life events	Martinez (2008) Mitchel and Palmer (2004)
RELATIONSHIPS Greater trust among young people and between young people and staff enables participation in productive activities.	Barrett and Baker (2012)
CREATIVITY AND IMAGINATION Developing creative capacities can have a positive impact on both self-esteem and overall achievement, and is related to resilience and well-being. Developing performance skills and musical knowledge helps to develop persistence and improve knowledge of one's own potential.	Barrett and Baker (2012) Baker and Homan (2007)
SELF-CONTROL Improved self-discipline leads to a reduction in disciplinary incidents and in punitive sanctions, and contributes to a safer environment for young people and staff, reductions in impulsiveness, a decrease in acting-out behaviours, enhanced levels of moral reasoning, less disruptive behaviour, increased compliance with rules and a sense of belonging	Ford and Hawke (2012) Ezell and Levy (2003) Muldoon et al (1996) Zimmerman et al (1999) Amendola and Oliver (2010) Barnes et al (2012)
HEALTH AND WELL-BEING A greater knowledge of the harmful effects of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs contributes to better health and mental well-being.	Baker and Homan (2007) Martinez (2008) Daykin et al (2012)

THE NEED FOR EVALUATION

In achieving outcomes, two questions need to be addressed:

- How much progress has been made in implementing the new approach?
- What has been the change in outcomes for the young people, the staff, and the centre?

One way of addressing these questions is through self-evaluation, which occurs when an organisation uses its own staff, skills and resources instead of external evaluators. Self-evaluations can be less costly than commissioning an external consultant or agency, and benefit from in-depth knowledge of how the programme works and the needs of the service users. Self-evaluation:

- Allows organisations to set standards of success
- Enables organisations to generate their own evidence base
- Means that mistakes can be identified sooner, rather than later, and learned from
- Shows funders and stakeholders how effectively needs are being met and how efficiently resources are being used
- Facilitates conversations between the service providers and service users, which can lead to the identification of additional service user needs
- Builds staff research capacity, which can be empowering to the programme as a whole and contribute to both programme and staff professional development
- Keeps staff and stakeholders focused on the overall aim of the programme.

Self-evaluation illustrates a commitment to quality, to ensuring that the organisation is achieving the intended outcomes for the target group, and to improving practice. It is also a cost-effective way of reporting to funders and accounting for how resources are used and progress is being achieved. It can enable an organisation to reflect on achievements and inject learning into future plans.

Theories of change and logic models can be useful tools for guiding service and programme delivery. Without a clear theory of change, it will be difficult to conduct an effective evaluation. In cases where organisations have not articulated a theory of change, evaluators will often have to work with them to create one retrospectively.

CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT CYCLES

While staff development activities are important, they are optimal when part of a systemic commitment to continuous improvement. A common-sense and plain-language approach to assisting virtuous cycles of learning is Outcomes-Based Accountability™ (OBA) or Results-Based Accountability™ (RBA). Performance Accountability is achieved through asking three simple questions:

1. What did we do?
2. How well did we do it?
3. Is anyone better off?

In OBA, 'turning the curve' involves identifying outcomes and plotting graphically what would happen if no intervention is made. This provides a helpful baseline against which performance and accountability can be appraised. Both processes involve answering seven questions concerning performance and population accountability:

1. Who are our customers?
2. How can we measure if our customers are better off?
3. How can we measure if we are delivering services well?
4. How are we doing on the most important of these measures?
5. Who are the partners that have a role to play in doing better?
6. What works to do better, including low-cost and no-cost ideas?
7. What do we propose to do?

OBA challenges staff to focus on outcomes rather than outputs, and provides a framework for identifying outcomes, progress indicators, and how relevant partners can contribute to the realisation of these outcomes.

A commitment to continuous improvement involves:

• A systematic way of describing and documenting interventions which will involve monitoring and recording responses/changes
• Trying something out, paying attention to the impact and results, and modifying the practice in light of the results
• Making progressive improvements from many small steps as opposed to large-scale systematic interventions and evaluations.

INCORPORATING A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

It is important to keep in mind the need to first establish the relationship before more difficult things can be confronted, such as offending behaviour. It is necessary, therefore, to think about relationship building as a developmental process. This involves:

1. Staff appreciating the reality of the young person's developmental stage, then
2. Encouraging the willingness of the young person to engage, then
3. Through the techniques and tools of relationship building, trying to get to a point where the young person accepts the fairness of being required to work on behaviour and attitudinal issues, and finally
4. Getting the young person in a better position to tackle their return to the community.

ACKNOWLEDGING THE WIDER CONTEXT

While this review has concentrated on the relationships between young people and staff, it is important to pay attention during young people's detention to the equally important relationships among the young people themselves, between the young people and their peers in the community, between the young people and their families, and between the young people and the people and communities that they have harmed.

At the same time, as learning is likely to be lost if individualised support for young people is not continued in the community after their release (Pemberton, 2009), a post-release component of mentoring programmes – in which mentors can assist mentees in finding employment, education or training – can potentially be beneficial for sustaining continuity of support. This would suggest a need to train mentors in the young people's towns and communities (Dawes and Dawes, 2005).

Similarly, after release, arts-based programmes should also operate in the community beyond the confines of the detention centre as a means to provide young offenders with a degree of continuity after their release (Baker and Homan, 2007). Re-entry and transition planning, and the provision of integrated supports and services, can aid successful outcomes for young people leaving restrictive settings (Lampron and Gonsoulin, 2013).

CONCLUSION

While the research literature does not provide conclusive evidence of causality of soft skills development leading to long-term and sustained improvements in outcomes such as education, employment or reduced offending, there is some basis for the claim that development through routine relationship building can lead to such outcomes for young people. Certain practices, programmes and interventions have been shown to make a positive difference, and these appear to be more effective when they are part of a coherent framework that is explicitly supported by the organisational environment. Under the banner of 'routine relationship building', this short review of the literature has attempted to highlight the key elements that can usefully make up such a framework. The elements appear to involve:

- Setting out a clear theory of change and being clear about intended outcomes
- Providing an enabling structure through routine actions, specific activities and specialised interventions
- Focusing on the core elements of relationship building

- Ensuring that the organisational environment reinforces the intended practices
- Enabling learning and development for young people and staff
- Capturing and measuring the desired change
- Learning through continuous improvement cycles, evaluation and review.

Successfully implementing such a framework is an art and a science, requiring commitment as well as knowledge of the relevant research concerning what works. However, the greatest gains in terms of practices leading to better pro-social outcomes, are more likely to come by systematically testing intentions and results through continuous improvement processes.
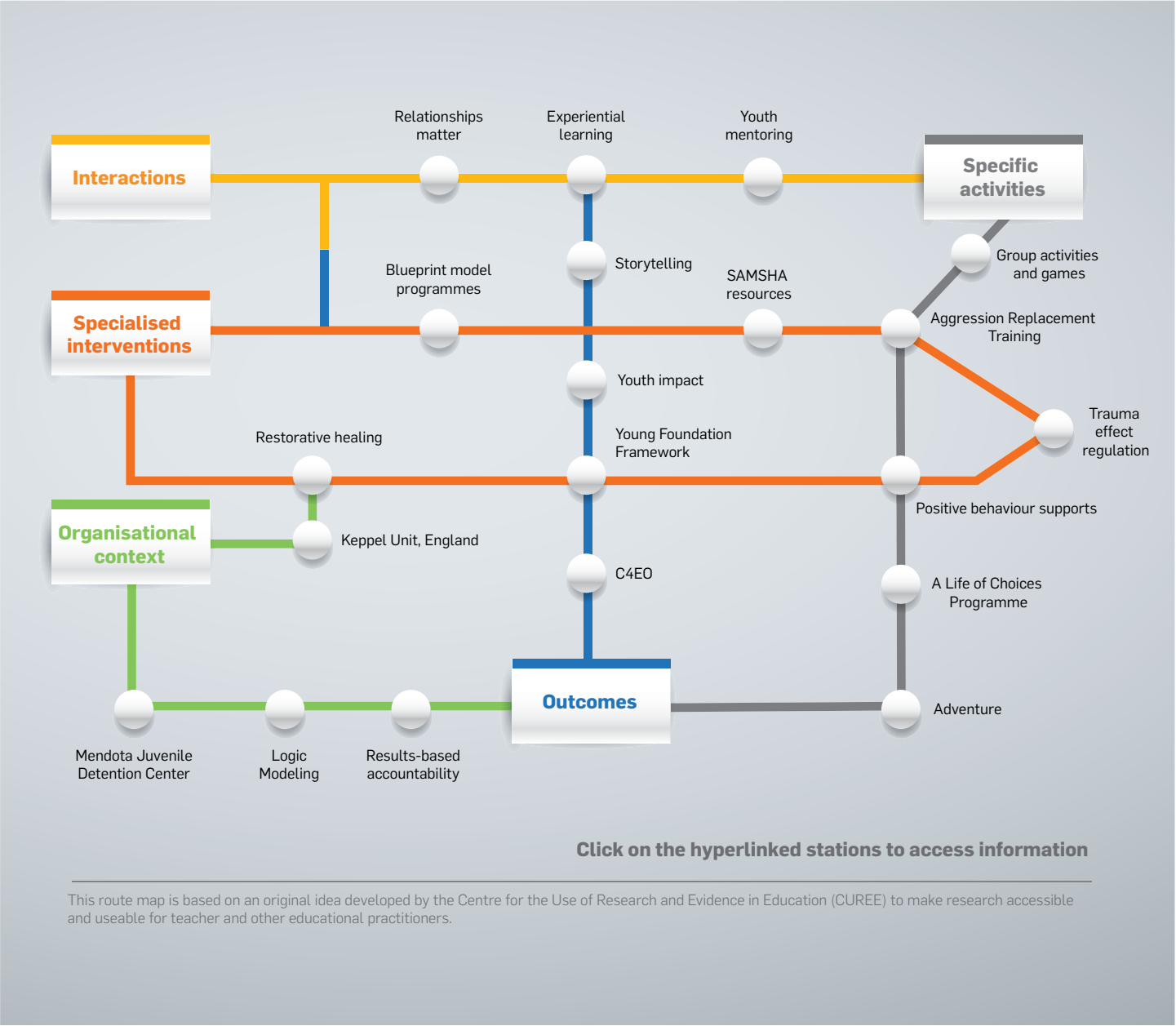
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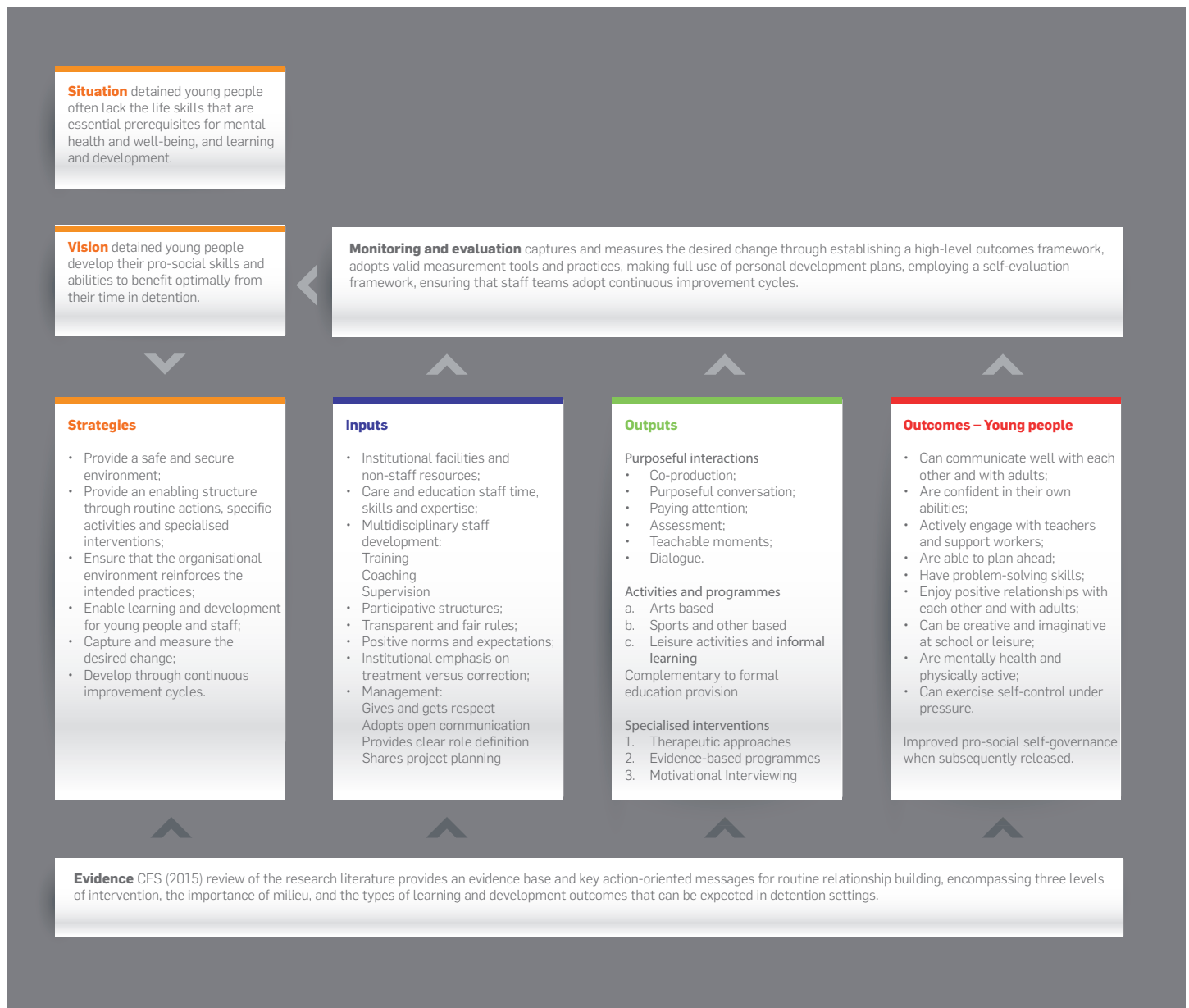
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ROUTE MAP TO RESOURCES AND MATERIALS

Click on the hyperlinked stations to access information

This route map is based on an original idea developed by the Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education (CUREE) to make research accessible and useable for teacher and other educational practitioners.

APPENDIX 2: THEORY OF CHANGE WITH REGARD TO RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

Situation detained young people often lack the life skills that are essential prerequisites for mental health and well-being, and learning and development.

Vision detained young people develop their pro-social skills and abilities to benefit optimally from their time in detention.

Monitoring and evaluation captures and measures the desired change through establishing a high-level outcomes framework, adopts valid measurement tools and practices, making full use of personal development plans, employing a self-evaluation framework, ensuring that staff teams adopt continuous improvement cycles.

Strategies

- Provide a safe and secure environment;
- Provide an enabling structure through routine actions, specific activities and specialised interventions;
- Ensure that the organisational environment reinforces the intended practices;
- Enable learning and development for young people and staff;
- Capture and measure the desired change;
- Develop through continuous improvement cycles.

Inputs

- Institutional facilities and non-staff resources;
- Care and education staff time, skills and expertise;
- Multidisciplinary staff development:
  Training
  Coaching
  Supervision
- Participative structures;
- Transparent and fair rules;
- Positive norms and expectations;
- Institutional emphasis on treatment versus correction;
- Management:
  Gives and gets respect
  Adopts open communication
  Provides clear role definition
  Shares project planning

Outputs

Purposeful interactions
- Co-production;
- Purposeful conversation;
- Paying attention;
- Assessment;
- Teachable moments;
- Dialogue.

Activities and programmes
a. Arts based
b. Sports and other based
c. Leisure activities and **informal learning**
Complementary to formal education provision

Specialised interventions
1. Therapeutic approaches
2. Evidence-based programmes
3. Motivational Interviewing

Outcomes – Young people

- Can communicate well with each other and with adults;
- Are confident in their own abilities;
- Actively engage with teachers and support workers;
- Are able to plan ahead;
- Have problem-solving skills;
- Enjoy positive relationships with each other and with adults;
- Can be creative and imaginative at school or leisure;
- Are mentally health and physically active;
- Can exercise self-control under pressure.

Improved pro-social self-governance when subsequently released.

Evidence CES (2015) review of the research literature provides an evidence base and key action-oriented messages for routine relationship building, encompassing three levels of intervention, the importance of milieu, and the types of learning and development outcomes that can be expected in detention settings.