Good Lives Model and Street Gang Membership: A Review and Application

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Highlights

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- Limited treatment available for preventing and reducing street gang membership
- GLM assists offenders in achieving a meaningful life in socially acceptable ways
- GLM accounts for both criminogenic needs and motivations for joining street gangs.
- GLM has potential as a rehabilitation framework for street gang members

Abstract

With attention rapidly growing on the Good Lives Model (GLM) as a rehabilitation framework for offending behaviour, this paper is the first to review the literature surrounding the GLM and examine its theoretical application to street gang membership and intervention during adolescence. Each of the general, etiological and treatment assumptions of the GLM are reviewed and discussed in relation to the street gang literature. Using a twin focus, the GLM aims to both reduce risk and promote achievement of overarching primary goods by improving internal (e.g., skills and values) and external capacities (e.g., opportunities, resources and support); enabling the development of a prosocial, fulfilling and meaningful life. Street gang members are notoriously difficult to engage in intervention, with slow levels of trust toward therapists. With the use of approach goals, rather than the typically-used avoidance goals, this enables street gang members to perceive themselves as individuals with the ability to change, and allows them to recognize a future life without offending is both possible and appealing. By wrapping the GLM framework around current evidence-based interventions (e.g., Functional Family Therapy), this can increase motivation to engage in treatment and, ultimately, reduce need to associate with the street gang.

Good Lives Model and Street Gang Membership: A Review and Application

The presence of street gangs in the United States has been recognized and researched for almost a century (Fraser, Ralphs, & Smithson, 2018). Just 20 years ago, the presence of street gangs outside of the US was adamantly denied (for a review of the Eurogang Paradox, see Klein, 2001). However, reports of street gangs have increased internationally, with documented cases in Asia, Europe, Africa and Australia (Chu et al., 2015; Fraser et al., 2018; van Gemert & Weerman, 2015). Street gangs most commonly occur amongst the adolescent population (Pyrooz, 2013), which is a distinct developmental stage characterized by risk-taking and emotionally reactive behaviors (Jaworska & MacQueen, 2015). For example, in 2013/14 there were approximately 46,000 young people in the UK who were either directly gang-involved or knew a street gang member (Children's Commissioner, 2017). This figure now stands at 27,000 young people who self-identify as a street gang member, 60,000 peripheral street-gang members and a further 313,000 young people who know a street gang member (Children's Commissioner, 2019a). Despite the high number of young people involved in street gangs, children's services and youth offending teams in the UK provide support to only 6,560 young people identified as associated with street gangs (Children's Commissioner, 2019b); showing a large disparity between the number of young people in need of street gang intervention and those receiving it. This disparity may be due to a focus on punitive strategies to the neglect of early intervention and rehabilitation programs (Wood, 2019).

Following the example of US policies, punitive strategies to prevent street gang membership have been implemented internationally (Fraser et al., 2018). Such strategies include the use of gang task forces, intelligence databases, and civil gang injunctions (prohibiting individual's from engaging in different behaviors or activities, such as being in certain areas; HM Government, 2016). Research has demonstrated success over a three-year

period in reducing re-offending rates of civil gang injunction recipients (Carr, Slothower, & Parkinson, 2017). However, researchers have also highlighted long-term damaging effects of receiving such an injunction (e.g., reduced prosocial networks, access to education and work opportunities; Swan & Bates, 2017). As such, skills and strengths-based interventions may result in more positive long-term outcomes for both the community and the street gang member than suppression programs (Esbensen, 2013; Howell, 2010). This is consistent with findings from the Early Intervention Foundation review (O'Connor & Waddell, 2015), suggesting skills-based approaches were most successful at preventing street gang involvement.

Recent progress has been made in developing programs successful at reducing street gang membership. For instance, the US-based Revised Gang Resistance Education And Training (G.R.E.A.T) program aims to assist 11-13 year-old pupils in building a variety of skills (e.g., problem-solving, anger management, communication, social skills) and creating achievable goals; enabling them to meet their needs without relying on a street gang (Esbensen, Osgood, Peterson, Taylor, & Carson, 2013). Using random assignment, pupils who completed the G.R.E.A.T program were 39% less likely to join a street gang than controls at one-year follow-up (Esbensen, Peterson, Taylor & Osgood, 2012), and 24% less likely at four-years follow-up (Esbensen et al., 2013). Similarly, randomized control trials assessing the newly adapted Functional Family Therapy for at-risk or gang-involved youths (FFT-G), also supports the use of a strengths-based approach: recidivism reduced in individuals at high risk of gang-involvement, compared to a Treatment-As-Usual (TAU) group (Gottfredson et al., 2018; Thornberry et al., 2018). However, no one treatment has, as yet, been identified as wholly successful in preventing and reducing gang involvement. Wood (2019) suggests this is because therapeutic obstacles remain that impact on intervention success. Specifically, street gangs provide members with more benefits (e.g., friendship,

sense of identity, protection, self-esteem; Alleyne & Wood, 2010) than the expected material proceeds of engaging in crime; meaning social and emotional connections formed between members and the street gang persist, remaining strong even post-exit (Pyrooz, Decker, & Webb, 2014) and as yet, no treatment program fully addresses these factors.

1. The Current Paper

One model of offender rehabilitation, called the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward & Brown, 2004), may provide a constructive framework for overcoming the perceived 'benefits' of belonging to a street gang. The GLM is a holistic and strengths-based model, which aims to address the criticisms of traditional risk-focused approaches (McMurran & Ward, 2004). Rather than simply removing 'risk' from an offender's life, the GLM aims to replace this with prosocial methods of achieving their needs, to ensure they have a fulfilling life (Ward, 2002). Although this model has been applied to numerous offending typologies (e.g., sexual offending, residential burglary and general and domestic violence; Langlands, Ward, & Gilchrist, 2009; Taylor, 2017; Whitehead, Ward, & Collie, 2007; Willis, Yates, Gannon, & Ward, 2013) and is used frequently to guide offender rehabilitation and intervention programs world-wide (e.g., Gannon, King, Miles, Lockerbie, & Willis, 2011; Harkins, Flak, Beech, & Woodhams, 2012), it has not yet been theoretically applied to street gang members.

As such, this paper aims to address the gap in the literature by exploring how, theoretically, the GLM might be useful in understanding and addressing street gang involvement. The GLM framework proposes three key assumptions for offender rehabilitation: (1) *general assumptions* surrounding rehabilitation practice; (2) *etiological assumptions* explaining the emergence and continued engagement in offending behavior, and; (3) *treatment implications* resulting from the general and etiological assumptions. Each of these assumptions will be reviewed and examined in relation to street gang members. In

addition, current empirical evidence for the GLM will be summarized. Literature regarding the needs of street gang members will be utilized throughout to demonstrate the applicability of the GLM. Overall, this paper suggests that the GLM could be a beneficial rehabilitation framework for street gang members: it is a strengths-based approach that enables members to achieve their goals without relying on the gang; it targets the various risks and criminogenic needs associated with membership, and; is easily adaptable and responsive to the needs of members.

Critically, in order to apply the GLM framework to street gang intervention, it is first necessary to define a street gang member. There is continuing controversy surrounding the definition of a street gang member that has been extensively reviewed and debated in a number of articles and is beyond the scope of this paper (see, for instance, Aldridge, Medina-Ariz, & Ralphs, 2012; Esbensen, Winfree, He, & Taylor, 2001; Melde, Esbensen, & Carson, 2016; Wegerhoff, Dixon, & Ward, 2019). Throughout this ongoing debate, it is necessary to remember that definitions enable the process of identification (Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Thus, when discussing interventions, first the client group must be *defined* in order to *identify* both those in need of assistance and the factors that need targeting in treatment. Therefore, when discussing street gang members in this article, the Eurogang definition is utilized (Weerman et al., 2009): a street gang member is part of a group that (1) includes more than three people, (2) lasts longer than three months, (3) is street-oriented (spends time outside of home, school or work, without parental supervision), (4) approves of illegal activities, and (5) engages in illegal activities together (Matsuda, Esbensen, & Carson, 2012).

2. Good Lives Model and Street Gang Membership

2.1. Emergence of the Good Lives Model: Beyond Risk Need Responsivity. Based on research from various disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, sociology and biology, Ward and colleagues devised the GLM as a general rehabilitation framework for

offending behavior (e.g., Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward, 2002; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Yates, Prescott, & Ward, 2010). According to the GLM, criminal behavior occurs when an individual is unable to achieve a meaningful and fulfilling life in prosocial ways, due to a lack of competencies (e.g., internal skills and/or external resources; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). The GLM utilizes a strengths-based approach, aiming to assist offenders in achieving a 'good life' (realizing their goals, desires and interests, in ways that are acceptable to wider society), by developing skills, capabilities and social support networks (Barnao & Ward, 2015; Ward & Fortune, 2013). Despite its youth, the GLM has become a favored and widely applied strengths-based framework for offender rehabilitation (Fortune, 2018), that has been successfully used in a variety of settings (including prison, community, and forensic mental health units; Barnao, Robertson, & Ward, 2010; Gannon et al., 2011). Furthermore, the GLM is a preferred framework for offender rehabilitation in one third of programs in the USA and half of programs in Canada (McGrath, Cumming, Burchard, Zeoli, & Ellerby, 2010).

The GLM was designed to complement and expand upon the Risk Need Responsivity (RNR; Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006) model, which is currently perceived as the "gold-standard" in offender rehabilitation (Fortune & Ward, 2014). To summarize, the core principles of RNR are: (1) *risk* (treatment intensity should directly relate to offenders' risk of recidivism); (2) *need* (treatment should target identified criminogenic needs, i.e., personal and interpersonal factors associated with offending behavior); (3) *responsivity* (treatment style should utilize cognitive social learning methods that are appropriate for each individual offender, taking into account their personal attributes and abilities); and (4) *professional discretion* (in exceptional circumstances, clinical judgement can be used to deviate from the previous principles; Bonta & Andrews, 2007).

Research examining gang membership and RNR is encouraging. Findings show that adult gang members' recidivism was reduced when they were exposed to treatment following the RNR principles (Di Placido, Simon, Witte, Gu, & Wong, 2006). Specifically gang members, compared to matched controls, were less likely to reoffend violently by 20% and non-violently by 11%. Although the RNR model is supported by a large evidence-base in the general offending literature (e.g., Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009), Di Placido et al.'s (2006) research is the only study to date assessing the effectiveness of RNR-consistent treatment with gang members. Yet, Di Placido et al. (2006) did not assess whether RNR-consistent treatment programs resulted in higher levels of gang disengagement and therefore it is not known if the treatment led to reduced gang involvement. Furthermore, a number of weaknesses with the RNR model have been noted, including a lack of focus on offenders' personal identity and agency, a de-motivating nature and little importance placed on non-criminogenic needs and therapeutic alliance (Case & Haines, 2015; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007); all of which are important factors that need to be accounted for in street gang intervention (Chu, Daffern, Thomas, & Ying Lim, 2011; Roman, Decker, & Pyrooz, 2017).

Critically, Porporino (2010) proposes that deficit-focused frameworks, such as RNR, have reached a *"glass-ceiling"* whereby refining treatment programs will not result in further reductions in recidivism. Specifically, Porporino (2010) suggests the RNR model fails to explain how and why offenders develop and maintain prosocial identities long-term, which is particularly relevant to treating gang members whose personal identities may be strongly linked to their gang. In short, the RNR approach may leave an offender with an unfulfilling life if only risk factors are removed. As Ward and Stewart (2003) observe, using the analogy of a pincushion, removing pins leaves holes if there is nothing to replace them. For street gang members, who may have few prosocial ties (Klein & Maxson, 2006) and who have

strong social and emotional ties to their gang and its membership (Wood, 2019), removal of risk factors (i.e., antisocial peers) without providing a fulfilling replacement is unlikely to lead to long-term gang-disengagement. As the GLM aims to utilize a strengths-based framework, whilst still incorporating the RNR principles (Ward, Yates, & Willis, 2012), it seems that it may be a more effective treatment for street gang members than RNR alone.

2.2. General Assumptions. Although the GLM has been primarily applied to individuals who have sexually offended, Purvis, Ward and Shaw (2013) claim it is actually a framework that conceptualizes healthy human functioning. Specifically, the GLM assumes that all humans are naturally predisposed to seek certain goals (termed *primary goods*), as they are fundamental for survival, establishing social networks and reproducing (Arnhart, 1998; Laws & Ward, 2011). Offending behavior occurs when individuals try to achieve primary goods using maladaptive methods (Ward & Stewart, 2003). As such, the GLM can be used to understand why *any* form of offending or antisocial behavior (including street gang involvement) is committed.

The goals, or primary goods, that all human beings (including street gang members) aim to achieve are prudential in nature, rather than inherently moral goods. They are conceptualized as experiences, states of mind and personal characteristics that contribute towards an individual's well-being, happiness and sense of fulfilment (Ward & Fortune, 2013; Ward & Syversen, 2009). Due to their intrinsically beneficial nature, primary goods are pursued for their own sake and, when fulfilled, will lead to a meaningful life for the individual (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Having reviewed the literature on human needs (e.g., Cummins, 1996; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Emmons, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000), Ward (2002) initially identified nine primary goods, which with empirical testing (Purvis, 2010) have been expanded to 11 primary goods (see table 1). The primary goods can be grouped into three overarching clusters: the body, the self, and the social life. Each primary good can also be

perceived as a cluster of smaller components (e.g., the primary good of relatedness includes love, sexual intimacy, friendship, emotional connection, loyalty; Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Table 1.

Eleven Primary Goods and Definitions (Yates et al., 2010)

	Primary Good	Definition
1	Life	Incorporates basic needs for survival, healthy living and physical functioning.
2	Knowledge	Aspiration to learn and understand about a topic of interest (including, but not exclusively, oneself, others' or the wider environment).
3	Excellence in Work	Pursuing personally meaningful work that increases knowledge and skill development (i.e., mastery experience).
4	Excellence in Play	Desire to pursue a leisure activity that gives a sense of achievement, enjoyment or skill development.
5	Excellence in Agency	Autonomy and independence to create own goals.
6	Community	A sense of belonging to a wider social group, who have shared interests and values.
7	Relatedness	Developing warm and affectionate connections with others (including intimate, romantic and family relationships and friendships).
8	Inner Peace	Feeling free of emotional distress, managing negative emotions effectively and feeling comfortable with oneself.
9	Pleasure	Feelings of happiness and content in one's current life.
10	Creativity	Using alternative, novel means to express oneself.
11	Spirituality	Having a sense of meaning and purpose in life.

To achieve the primary goods, individuals will use any means necessary and available to them (termed instrumental or *secondary* goods; Ward & Fortune, 2013). The secondary goods used can be prosocial or antisocial in nature and take the form of approach goals (corresponding to activities undertaken to achieve desired states/goals; Willis et al., 2013). For instance, the primary good of Community could be fulfilled in either a prosocial (i.e., positive youth group such as Scouts) or antisocial manner (i.e., street gang membership). For youth who perceive a lack of legitimate opportunity a street gang may be considered a good way to achieve what they desire (Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Choice-based theories of street gang membership (e.g., Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; Densley, 2018; O'Brien, Daffern, Chu, & Thomas, 2013) propose motivations for street gang involvement can be perceived as 'pushes' (i.e., social or economic factors, including unemployment and familial influence) and 'pulls' (i.e., internal factors to an individual, including identity development and status). This is consistent with the GLM, whereby the 'pushes' and 'pulls' relate to each of the primary goods, with street gang membership used as the means of achieving these. For examples of how motivations for street gang membership relate to each of the primary goods, see table 2.

Table 2.

Examples of how motivational factors for joining a street gang relate to primary goods.

Primary Good	Motivational Factors*
Life	Need for protection; income (i.e., pay rent, buy food); glamorization of street gang (i.e., masculinity/fitness); sense of identity; opportunity to gain personal status
Knowledge	Opportunity for criminal learning; develop understanding of street 'code' (including signs/symbols); associate with knowledgeable/experienced peers; ability to pass on personal knowledge to others
Excellence in Work	Source of 'employment'; expertise in meeting customer needs/demand; leadership; financial gain; achieve notoriety and status; establishing wider networks (e.g., via county lines activity)
Excellence in Play	Excitement; accessing parties/social events; impressing and accessing potential romantic/sexual partners; overcoming boredom; filling unsupervised time; engaging in group activities
Excellence in Agency	Freedom from authority figures and rules; making own decisions; being in control of personal goals; leadership; power over others; gaining and maintaining respect from others; feeling admired
Community	Feeling connected to/in control of own neighbourhood; providing protection for others/neighbourhood; gaining a reputation/status in the neighbourhood; achieving a personal/group sense of territory

Relatedness	Impressing opposite sex; camaraderie and cohesion with group; sense of companionship; maintaining connections with family/friends who are street gang members; giving and receiving support; developing close friendships; providing/gaining a sense of belonging; establishing a new 'family'
Inner Peace	Sense of safety; feeling able to express important emotions (i.e., anger, aggression); source of emotional/social support; increasing self-esteem; alleviating of fear; accessing drugs/alcohol (for emotional relief); overcoming sense of rejection from prosocial peer groups/schools (e.g., being bullied or excluded)
Pleasure	Accessing sexual relationships; making quick financial/material gains; socializing; accessing drugs/alcohol for pleasure; excitement; thrill-seeking; immediate gratification
Creativity	Making music/videos; expressing self through gang activity (e.g., graffiti/handshakes)
Spirituality	Establishing group goals; following group norms; having a common purpose; sense of purpose/meaning in life

Nb. Some motivational factors can relate to multiple primary goods.

*Sourced from: Densely (2015, 2018); Lachman, Roman, and Cahill (2013); Stodolska, Berdychevsky, and Shinew (2017)

When using antisocial or criminal secondary goods, the primary good is not secured fully as it is under continuous threat: instead the primary good can be seen as 'pseudo-secured' (Purvis, 2010). Such pseudo-securing can be seen with street gang members; membership can be an attempt to fulfil the primary good of Inner Peace (i.e., street gang provides members with protection, support and a sense of identity; Hogg, 2014; Wood & Alleyne, 2010). However, Inner Peace will only be fulfilled briefly, if ever, as street gang membership is known to increase rates of mental illness and violent victimization (Taylor, Freng, Esbensen, & Peterson, 2008; Watkins & Melde, 2016; Wood & Dennard, 2017). As such, it is unlikely that an individual whose primary goods are only pseudo-secured will have a truly meaningful and fulfilling life.

Although the GLM assumes humans aim to achieve all 11 primary goods to some extent, the level of importance assigned to each primary good varies dependent upon the values and interests of the individual and the opportunities they are exposed to (Ward, Vess, Collie, & Gannon, 2006). The weightings applied to each primary good can be seen as synonymous with personal identity (Ward, 2002), the inclusion of which is a unique component of the GLM framework and goes beyond RNR (Ward et al., 2011). A major assumption of the GLM is that constructing a more positive identity, in which offenders are assisted (i.e., by providing resources and developing skills) in securing primary goods through prosocial ways, will reduce reoffending (Ward & Maruna, 2007). This assumption is supported by research demonstrating that developing a prosocial and meaningful identity helps offenders desist (Maruna, 2001). In relation to street gang membership, research shows how an individual's personal identity adapts to resemble the groups social identity, with group norms (i.e. criminal activity) perceived as more important than their own needs (Goldman, Giles, & Hogg, 2014; Wood, 2014). Consistent with the GLM, a shift in focus

from an antisocial group identity to a prosocial personal identity is critical for disengagement from street gangs (Decker, Pyrooz, & Moule Jr., 2014).

Therefore, the final general assumption of the GLM is that a treatment plan (termed a *Good Lives Plan*) should be individualistic, accounting for the offender's personal strengths, primary good weightings and environment (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The Good Lives Plan should identify what is needed to help them achieve their primary goods in prosocial ways. The GLM provides a highly ethical approach to offender rehabilitation because it emphasizes the offender's agency, autonomy and dignity (Ward & Syversen, 2009). In particular, the GLM stresses that offenders are rational beings who should be given the opportunity to make decisions about matters of importance to themselves (i.e., their goals and methods of achievement). Consequently, this respectful approach is likely to resonate with street gang members who are renowned for the value that they attach to personal reputation and status (Alleyne & Wood, 2010). This is supported by findings that show how enhancing decision-making skills is as a key component of successful street gang intervention programs (Esbensen et al., 2011).

2.3. Etiological Assumptions. Etiological assumptions act as a guide for understanding the causes of offending behavior (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The GLM suggests offending is a product of obstacles that limit an individual's ability to achieve primary goods in prosocial ways (Ward & Stewart, 2003). This etiological assumption closely parallels Strain Theory (Agnew, 2001), that suggests street gangs form when youths feel disenfranchised from mainstream culture as they are unable to effectively achieve universal goals (Wood & Alleyne, 2010). The GLM builds on Strain Theory by identifying four obstacles evident in an individual's life plan that cause difficulty in obtaining primary goods (Ward & Fortune, 2013): inappropriate means, lack of scope, coherence and capacity.

The first (and most common) obstacle, *means,* is the use of inappropriate and/or harmful secondary goods. As discussed above, primary goods can be sought and achieved in a number of different ways. However, pseudo-securing of primary goods, through the use of inappropriate means, is unlikely to result in the primary good being fulfilled. As such, the individual is likely to feel frustrated at their inability to achieve the primary good, reducing their levels of happiness (Purvis, 2010). Street gang membership is one such example of an inappropriate means for fulfilling the primary goods. For example, street gang membership tends to be fluid, with members entering and leaving the street gang frequently (Weerman, Lovegrove, & Thornberry, 2015). As such, individual's using street gang membership as a means of securing the primary good of Relatedness will be left frustrated, as their ability to establish long term relationships with peers is limited.

Critically, the use of inappropriate and/or harmful secondary goods can have wide-ranging effects on the individual, victims and society. For instance, many street gang members engage in territorial behaviors, whereby they participate in place-based violence (i.e., conflicting with groups from adjacent areas; Pickering, Kintrea, & Bannister, 2012). Due to the strong sense of attachment street gang members often feel towards their area, territoriality can occur as an attempt to protect their community (Papachristos, Hureau, & Braga, 2013). However, the use of street gang membership as a means to achieve the primary good of Community, negatively impacts the mental health and future prospects of street gang members (for a discussion of long-term consequences of street gang involvement, see Gilman, Hill, & Hawkins, 2014). In addition, victims and witnesses of street gang violence can experience profound psychological issues and increased externalizing behaviors, including aggression and substance abuse (Kelly, 2010). Furthermore, individuals residing in the communities exposed to street gangs report experiencing a sense of fear, intimidation and lack of safety, despite this being the area that street gang members are attempting to protect

(Howell, 2007). As such, the use of inappropriate means to fulfil primary goods not only negatively impacts on the individual, but on wider society.

The second obstacle in the Good Lives plan is *coherence.* For a fulfilling and meaningful life, free of frustration and harm, primary goods must be ordered and coherently related to one another (Purvis, Ward, & Willis, 2011). Ward and Stewart (2003) suggest two types of coherence: horizontal and vertical. *Horizontal coherence* refers to the need for a mutually consistent, harmonious relationship between the primary goods. For instance, an individual may place equal importance on securing the primary goods of Community and Excellence in Agency. However, conflict between the goods arises when inappropriate means are used. Street gang membership may enable an individual to fulfil (or pseudo-secure) the primary good of Community, as their peers are likely to share similar values and interests (e.g., focus on status, monetary gain and respect). To gain approval, they comply with the group norms of antisocial and violent behavior. Fear of reprisal or rejection from their peer group ensures street gang members adhere to the group norms and prevents the creation and pursuit of personal goals, creating difficulty in achieving Excellence in Agency (Wood, 2014). As such, street gang members may fail to achieve a horizontally coherent Good Lives plan.

To achieve *vertical coherence,* each individual needs to rank their primary goods according to level of importance. Although all primary goods need to be achieved for a fulfilling life, the level of importance assigned to each varies dependent upon personal preferences, societal influences and cultural norms (Purvis et al., 2011). Behavior should be directed by the level of importance assigned to each primary good, with individuals striving to achieve the primary goods deemed most important to them. For example, a street gang member who weights the primary good of Excellence in Work over Pleasure will have a relatively unhappy and meaningless life if they fail to pursue their career in order to socialize

with the street gang. A lack of vertical coherence in a Good Lives plan can lead to a focus on immediate gratification, known to be associated with street gang membership (Wood & Alleyne, 2010), rather than long-term goals (Ward & Stewart, 2003).

The third flaw, *lack of scope,* occurs when an individual focuses on some primary goods to the detriment of others. Specifically, an individual is not concerned with the pursuit of some of the primary goods. As such, they experience disparity in their Good Lives plan, with some primary goods being underdeveloped (Chu, Ward, & Willis, 2014). For instance, street gang members may fulfil (or pseudo-secure) their primary good of Excellence in Work by being the most successful drug-dealer. However, in an attempt to achieve this primary good, they are likely to spend much time, both day and night, driving from place-to-place to deliver drugs to customers. This demonstrates a lack of scope, whereby the primary good of Life is neglected, as street gang members have poor sleep hygiene and either skip meals or rely on unhealthy takeaways.

In general, street gang membership is known to have long-term negative consequences for the physical (e.g., poor general health and increased vulnerability to sexually transmitted infections; Brooks, Lee, Stover, & Barkley, 2010; Gilman et al., 2014), psychological (e.g., increased rates of depression, anxiety, and suicidality; Wood, Kallis, & Coid, 2017) and social needs (e.g., difficulty in forming long-term romantic relationships; Dickson-Gomez, Quinn, Broaddus, & Pacella, 2017) of the individual. As difficulties in physical, psychological and/or social issues, can result from a neglect of one (or more) of the three clusters of primary goods (body, self, or social life), this suggests that the long-term difficulties faced by street gang members may be due to a lack of scope in their Good Lives plans (Ward, 2002).

Although disinterest may be the root cause of some issues in scope, the usual cause is problems with capacity (Purvis et al., 2011). *Capacity,* the final obstacle in the Good Lives

plan, can be divided into two forms: internal and external capacity. Internal capacity refers to the internal skills (cognitive, psychological and behavioral) of an individual that may affect achievement of primary goods. A number of internal capacity issues related to street gang membership have been identified that can make attainment of the primary goods challenging, including: low Trait Emotional Intelligence, empathy and Theory of Mind, and high mental illness, impulsivity, callous-unemotional traits and endorsement of moral disengagement strategies (e.g., Mallion & Wood, 2018; Osman & Wood, 2018). For instance, individuals with low empathy are less able to fulfil the primary good of Relatedness in a prosocial manner, increasing the risk of engaging with antisocial peer groups, such as street gangs (Wu & Pyrooz, 2015).

External capacity refers to the opportunities or conditions available to the individual that are necessary for achieving the primary goods. Similar to the concepts described in Strain Theory, inappropriate means can be selected when an individual has external obstacles that prevent pursuit of primary goods through prosocial means (McNeill, 2009). For instance, an individual who is trying to pursue the primary good of Excellence in Work, but comes from an area where job unemployment is high, may turn to illegitimate work (such as engaging in a street gang to deal drugs) in an attempt to secure the primary good. Alternatively, this can lead to issues in scope, whereby the individual simply neglects the primary good due to a lack of motivation to try and achieve it.

External capacity obstacles have been reviewed extensively in relation to street gang membership, with four key social risk factors identified: family, peers, education, and community (Alleyne & Wood, 2012). External capacity obstacles related to the family which increase risk of joining a street gang include a lack of parent-child attachment, poor parental discipline and supervision, familial violence, and family members in a gang (e.g., Gilman, Hill, & Hawkins, 2014; Kissner & Pyrooz, 2009). Furthermore, street gang membership is

associated with having antisocial peers, high embeddedness with peer group, experiencing peer pressure and bullying (e.g., Alleyne & Wood, 2012; Merrin, Hong, & Espelage, 2015; Perlus, Brooks-Russell, Wang, & Iannotti, 2014). The use of negative labels by teachers, poor academic attainment, absenteeism and feeling unsafe at school are amongst the external capacity obstacles related to education (e.g., Berg, Stewart, Schreck, & Simons, 2012; O'Brien et al., 2013). Regarding community-based external obstacles, social disorganisation, high crime rates and exposure to violence, poverty, presence of gangs and feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood increase an individual's risk of joining a street gang (e.g., Public Safety Canada, 2007; Swahn, Bossarte, West, & Topalli, 2010; Young & Gonzalez, 2013). Furthermore, experiencing racial discrimination in the community has been related to increased risk of joining gangs (Pyrooz, Fox, & Decker, 2010); explaining why individual's from minority ethnic groups are more likely to belong to a street gang (Farmer & Hairston Jr., 2013). Critically, this does not mean that all street gang members will have these external obstacles. Instead, street gang membership can be seen as a product of one *or more* of the four obstacles in the Good Lives plan.

Thornberry et al. (2003) suggests that individuals are more vulnerable to joining a street gang if they have multiple criminogenic needs (or dynamic risk factors). In the GLM these criminogenic needs are perceived as synonymous with internal and external capacity problems preventing prosocial achievement of primary goods (Purvis et al., 2011). As such, individuals with low skill levels who face multiple obstacles in the achievement of primary goods (i.e., lack of scope, coherence and prosocial means) are at increased risk of engaging in offending or antisocial behavior (Purvis et al., 2011). Specifically, offenders utilize antisocial behavior because they lack the skills or conditions necessary to achieve the primary goods through prosocial methods (Purvis et al., 2011). For instance, Ward and Maruna (2007) suggest the criminogenic need of having antisocial associates demonstrates the individual has

external (e.g., lack of exposure to prosocial peers) and internal obstacles (e.g., poor social skills, low self-esteem and confidence) preventing the achievement of primary goods through prosocial methods. Thus, by introducing positive internal and external conditions, criminogenic needs should reduce whilst also increasing ability to achieve primary goods.

In addition to the four obstacles in Good Lives plans, the GLM suggests two pathways for the onset of offending (Ward et al., 2007), which are represented in figure 1. The *direct* pathway suggests offending behavior is used as a deliberate means of securing primary goods. In interviews with convicted burglars, Taylor (2017) found the primary good of Pleasure was pursued through immediate financial gain; enabling the purchase of illegal substances, expensive clothing and other material objects, whilst being free from constraints of legitimate employment. Taylor's (2017) findings can also be applied to street gang members, with many individuals joining a street gang expecting to quickly secure financial and material gain (Levitt & Venkatesh, 2000). With a direct pathway, street gang membership is goal-driven (in the example above, the goal is to get money), however, the overarching primary good being sought (i.e., Pleasure) is implicit and remains unknown to the offender.

Comparatively, the *indirect* pathway suggests individuals do not intend to offend, instead they aim to fulfil their primary goods through prosocial means. Yet, in pursuit of primary goods, something goes wrong and a ripple effect occurs, increasing the likelihood of offending (Purvis et al., 2011). For instance, an individual aims to achieve the primary good of Relatedness through seeking a prosocial friendship group. However, the individual is rejected by peers and feels alienated and bullied. As a result, a rippling effect occurs, whereby the individual experiences poor emotional states (including fear for self, moral disengagement and anger rumination) and utilizes ineffective coping strategies (i.e., substance misuse, carrying of weapons, association with delinquent peers); all of which are

associated with increased risk of street gang involvement (Shelley & Peterson, 2018). Therefore, street gang membership can arise from both the direct and indirect pathways to offender. Individuals' whose behavior resulted from the indirect pathway have most difficulty in understanding what led to their offending, meaning they require more support throughout intervention (Gannon et al., 2011; Purvis, 2010).

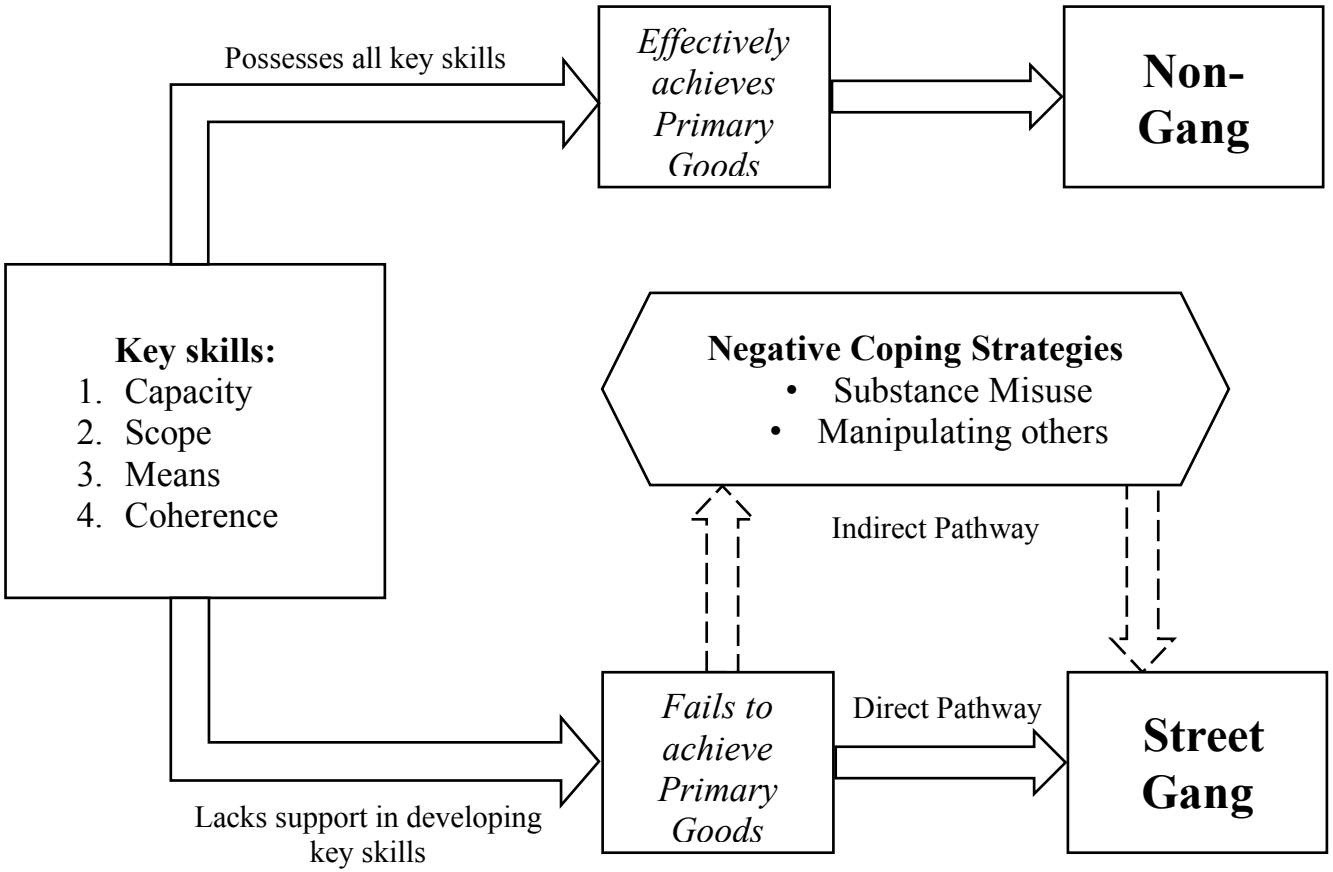

Figure 1. Figure showing the application of the GLM to Street Gang Membership for those at high risk of being in a street gang (based on Purvis et al., 2011).

2.4 Treatment Implications for Street Gang Members. As highlighted above, the GLM can provide a useful framework for deepening the understanding of the etiology of street gang membership. As a rehabilitation *framework*, the GLM comprises of ethical, theoretical (general and etiological) and treatment assumptions (Ward et al., 2011). GLM-consistent interventions should be constructed to adhere to these assumptions, with concrete evidence-based interventions (e.g., Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy, FFT-G, and Multisystemic Therapy) for street gang members added (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Reflecting the etiological assumptions of the GLM, the overarching aim of an intervention is to assist street gang members to achieve a meaningful and fulfilling life (effectively securing the primary goods) through prosocial and legal means. Although the GLM has not previously been applied to, or used with, street gang members, a growing body of research has suggested the GLM is applicable to young (e.g., Chu, Koh, Zeng, & Teoh, 2015; Fortune, 2018; Print, 2013; Van Damme, Hoeve, Vermeiren, Vanderplasschen, & Colins, 2016) and violent offenders (Whitehead et al., 2007), in addition to those experiencing mental illness (Barnao et al., 2010; Gannon et al., 2011). As street gang membership primarily occurs during adolescence (Pyrooz, 2013) and is associated with high-rates of violence (Wood & Alleyne, 2010) and mental illness (Beresford & Wood, 2016), this supports the use of a GLM-consistent intervention with street gang members.

According to the GLM, interventions should have a twin focus, placing equal weight on: (1) promoting prosocial achievement of primary goods, whilst (2) reducing risk (Ward & Gannon, 2006). As such, the key focus of any GLM-consistent intervention is to provide street gang members with the internal (i.e., skills and values) and external (i.e., resources, opportunities, support) conditions necessary to achieve primary goods through prosocial means. As outlined above, in the GLM, criminogenic needs are synonymous with internal and external obstacles blocking achievement of primary goods. Therefore, by establishing

these internal and external conditions, this should simultaneously lead to a reduction in the criminogenic needs of the individual; reducing their overall risk (Ward et al., 2007). As Ward et al. (2007) highlight, balancing promotion of goods and reduction of risk is necessary for a successful intervention.

In order to guide intervention, Ward and Maruna (2007) suggest that a Good Lives consistent case formulation and treatment plan should first be created for each individual; taking into account their goals (both current and future), values, identity and skills. According to the GLM, case formulation is an inferential process by the therapist, as clients are unlikely to be explicitly aware of the primary goods being sought through their offending behavior (Yates et al., 2010). In addition, by using a collaborative approach, the practitioner and client should formulate personally meaningful goals (short, medium and long term) and identify the individual's internal and external capacities that need targeting during interventions (Fortune, 2018). To aid in case formulation, semi-structured interviews have been developed (see Yates, Kingston, & Ward, 2009), whilst client observation is also encouraged (Yates et al., 2010). A case formulation follows six phases, which can be conducted simultaneously on a one-to-one basis: for an overview of each of the phases and how they can be applied to street gang members see table 3. This results in an individualistic and comprehensive Good Lives plan, which is then used to guide which interventions, skills programs and external resources are needed to reduce an individual's engagement with a street gang.

Table 3.

Six phases of GLM-consistent case formulation applied to street gang members (adapted from Fortune, 2018; Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Phase	Overview	Application to Street Gang Members
One	Identifying the factors that lead to an individual's engagement in offending/antisocial behaviour. This includes an examination of their criminogenic needs, level of risk and any obstacles/challenges in their lives.	Numerous risk factors for street gang involvement have been identified (O'Brien et al., 2013) across five domains: individual (e.g., offence-supportive attitudes, impulsivity), peer (e.g., association with delinquent peers, alienation from prosocial peers), family (e.g., poor parental supervision and family deviance), school (e.g., poor academic attainment, unsafe school environment), and community (e.g., poverty, availability of gangs). In the GLM it is important to identify such criminogenic needs as these show obstacles preventing prosocial achievement of primary goods.
Two	Exploring which primary goods an individual is trying to pursue (either directly or indirectly) through offending/antisocial behaviour. Establishing the individual's hierarchy of goods (i.e., most important goals in their life).	Both 'push' and 'pull' motivations for joining a street gang should be identified (Densley, 2018; Decker, Melde, & Pyrooz, 2012) and related to each of the primary goods. As Fortune (2018) suggests, this gives an insight into the function of offending behaviour; aiding in identifying alternative means of achieving the primary goods without needing to be involved in a street gang.

Three	Identifying practical identities of the individual, their personal strengths and skills (i.e., internal capacities) and the means available to the individual (i.e., external capacities).	Street gang involvement often occurs during adolescence, when young people are trying to form a personal identity distinct from their family (Goldman et al., 2014). Young people with a strong sense of personal identity engage in less delinquent behaviours and conform less to peer group norms (Dumas, Ellis, & Wolfe, 2012). Assisting street gang members to construct a positive, personal identity, distinct from the group (through provision of resources and skill development), can provide a 'frame of reference' from which they can evaluate their behaviour (Dumas et al., 2012), and begin the process of disengaging from the street gang (Decker et al., 2014).
Four	Identifying how the individual could achieve primary goods using prosocial secondary goods, whilst having a fulfilling and meaningful life.	Street gangs are often 'glamorised' (i.e., protection, reputation, quick financial/material gain), but when this does not come to fruition disillusionment occurs, and the process of gang-exit begins (Bubloz & Simi, 2014). Supporting street gang members to identify prosocial means of achieving their primary goods and any additional resources they need (e.g., skill development), can provide an alternative to street gang involvement.

Five	Assessing the contexts or environments that the individual will be exposed to throughout or following an intervention.	Through identifying the context and environment that a street gang member is exposed to, this will ensure that the Good Lives plan and individual goals set can be realistic and achievable regarding the opportunities and/or limitations they will be exposed to. The role of context and environment is of particular importance for street gang members who are highly territorial (Pickering et al., 2012) and often return, after an intervention, to their gang affected neighbourhood where it can be challenging to avoid antisocial peers (Ralphs, Medina, & Aldridge, 2009). As gang affected areas tend to be disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Dupéré, Lacourse, Willms, Vitaro, & Tremblay, 2007), assessing the context and available opportunities is critical in ensuring any goals created in intervention are achievable
Six	Developing a Good Lives Plan, encompassing the individual's practical identities, goals and values (i.e., primary goods), internal and external capacities, and secondary goods available to them. Implementation involves identifying practical and	By collaboratively devising a Good Lives Plan, both the practitioner and client can identify the goals and motivations (primary goods trying to be fulfilled) for their street gang involvement. This Good Lives Plan guides which interventions (e.g., Functional Family Therapy, Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), substance use groups), skills programs (e.g., work experience,

achievable steps, including (but not exclusively) resources and support needed to successfully fulfil the plan.	education), and/or external resources (e.g., access to youth groups) should be provided. As such, existing interventions that have had success at reducing street gang involvement (Di Placido et al., 2007; Esbensen et al., 2013; Thornberry et al., 2018) can be incorporated into a GLM-consistent program.

Existing interventions for street gang members, including CBT, FFT-G and MST, can be guided by a GLM framework. To date, preliminary research has demonstrated that CBT, FFT-G and MST can be effective at reducing street gang involvement (Gottfredson et al., 2018; O'Connor & Waddell, 2015). However, utilizing the GLM framework can add value to existing evidence-based interventions for street gang members by taking a holistic approach through incorporating the practical identities, goals, values and environments specified in their individualised Good Lives plan (Ward & Fortune, 2013). Rather than perceiving an intervention as the removal or management of a client's risks, the GLM suggests that it is an activity that enhances a client's skills (Ward & Maruna, 2007). As such, existing interventions (including CBT, FFT-G and MST) should be framed in a manner that promotes the well-being of the street gang member, through attainment of personally meaningful primary goods in prosocial ways. By integrating the positively framed and goal-focused GLM into existing interventions, this avoids placing blame on both the street gang member and their family for their past behavior (Fortune, 2018); increasing their engagement in interventions.

Fortune, Ward and Print (2014) suggest existing interventions can be guided by the GLM through the incorporation of approach goals. These enable offenders to perceive themselves as individuals with the ability to change, and allow them to recognize that a future life without offending is both possible and appealing. On the contrary, a focus on avoidance goals can leave offenders feeling lost, shamed and overwhelmed at the prospect of a future where they have to abstain from different situations or behaviors to prevent recidivism (e.g., leaving a gang and their friends). Focusing on avoidance goals is particularly problematic for young, poorly educated offenders from unstable environments (Porporino, 2010), which are all factors associated with street gang membership (Chu et al., 2015; Pyrooz, 2014). Critically, the GLM suggests that targeting approach goals will simultaneously, but

indirectly, address avoidance goals (Ward & Fortune, 2013). For instance, fulfilling the approach goal of forging prosocial, meaningful relationships would simultaneously mean that the avoidance goal of 'not being involved in a street gang' would be achieved, or at least achieved in part. As such, the use of approach goals via a GLM framework may be more appropriate for street gang members as it will help them to replace their street gang ties with more prosocial alternatives.

In addition, with the use of approach goals, therapists are encouraged to be empathic, praise and respect their clients, which reduces any covert or overt prejudice they may experience (Barnao, Ward, & Robertson, 2015). As such, GLM-consistent interventions support the development of a strong, trusting therapeutic alliance (Ward & Brown, 2004), which plays a significant role in predicting positive behavioral change (Ross, Polaschek, & Ward, 2008). This overcomes the challenge experienced in risk-based interventions, where street gang members, due to their low propensity to trust others, fail to develop a positive relationship with their therapist (Densley, Cai, & Hilal, 2014; Di Placido et al., 2007). Furthermore, street gang members are notorious for having poor motivation to engage in intervention programs, leading to high drop-out rates (Di Placido et al., 2007). However, as goals created in a Good Lives Plan are personally meaningful and intrinsically motivating, this increases engagement in intervention programs, particularly amongst young people most at risk of joining street gangs (Fortune, 2018). With the use of ongoing achievable milestones, this supports the motivation to maintain positive behavioral changes long-term (Fortune et al., 2014).

The GLM framework also has potential for the prevention of street gang involvement, with the early identification of obstacles that can affect an individual's pursuit of primary goods through prosocial means. This will require multidisciplinary input from various support systems (e.g., schools, family, social services, youth clubs and police) that are best

placed to identify a child or young person's internal and external obstacles. Prevention strategies to overcome internal obstacles could include interventions aimed at improving emotion- and cognition-based skills (e.g., trait emotional intelligence, empathy, moral disengagement interventions; Aly, Taylor, & Karnovsky, 2014; Nelis, Quoidbach, Mikolajczak, & Hansenne, 2009) and rapid treatment for mental health issues (Osman & Wood, 2018). These could be implemented as universal classroom-based interventions or targeted interventions for those at most risk of street gang involvement (see Asmussen, Waddell, Molloy, & Chowdry, 2017, for an example of social and emotional learning interventions implemented in schools).

To prevent street gang membership, external obstacles across the four social domains discussed earlier (family, peers, education and community) also need targeting. Again this will necessitate a multidisciplinary approach, with social systems requiring change. Regarding the family, early intervention strategies should be implemented that improve parent-child attachment, reduce parent-child conflict and familial violence (Asmussen, Feinstein, Martin, & Chowdry, 2016). Social skills training in schools can reduce rejection from peers, bullying and experience of peer pressure, which are known risk factors for street gang membership (Farmer & Hairston Jr., 2013). Furthermore, by increasing perception of safety within schools, this can reduce need to join street gangs for protection. This can be addressed through a number of means (see Irwin-Rogers, 2016, for a full review), including building positive staff-pupil relationships, staff training on street gang membership and early identification of risk factors, and conflict mediation for pupils. Similarly, community-level prevention strategies include ensuring young people feel safe in their community, provision of opportunities within the community (e.g., youth groups, employment), fostering positive relationships with the police and reducing poverty (Howell, 2010).

According to the GLM, the use of encouraging and positively-framed language is essential in prevention strategies (Ward & Maruna, 2007). This includes focusing on the individual's strengths and skills, rather than their risks. As street gang membership is more likely among individuals who have experienced negative labelling by teachers, or racial discrimination in the community (Pyrooz et al., 2010), encouraging the use of positive language across all support systems (family, peers, education and community) could reduce street gang involvement. Critically, this highlights the need to reduce racial discrimination and prejudicial attitudes in society, particularly amongst those best placed to identify and intervene with those at risk of joining street gangs (e.g., teachers and police; Amnesty International, 2018). Positive-focused language could also foster constructive relationships between police, teachers and those at risk of joining street gangs; improving feelings of safety at school and within the community.

3. Empirical Evidence for the GLM

The GLM is a young and developing rehabilitation framework, meaning empirical evidence is limited (Netto, Carter, & Bonell, 2014). However, since its design the GLM has rapidly grown in popularity (McGrath et al., 2010), and empirical support is beginning to emerge, albeit primarily focused on treatment for individuals who have sexually offended and pre-post treatment change (e.g., Lindsay, Ward, Morgan, & Wilson, 2007; Gannon et al., 2011). The first evaluation in the field (Simons, McCullar, & Tyler, 2006) compared a GLM-consistent prison-based treatment program for offenders who have sexually offended to Relapse Prevention (RP), finding those who received a GLM-consistent intervention had lower drop-out rates, were rated by therapists as more engaged in treatment and showed greater improvement in coping and problem solving skills post-treatment. There were no differences in social skills or victim empathy between groups. When considering the application of the GLM to street gang members, a particularly important finding from Simons

et al.'s (2006) study was the increased likelihood of having a prosocial support network post-treatment for those who received GLM-consistent interventions than the RP group.

A more recent evaluation found clients on probation who underwent a GLM-consistent intervention for sexual offending had the same rates of attrition as those in a RP group (Harkins et al., 2012), although this may be because treatment was required, with negative consequences for dropping-out. Furthermore, no difference was found between groups in treatment change, according to pre- and post-treatment measures (including pro-offending attitudes, socio-affective functioning and relapse skills). Although both clients and facilitators reported the GLM-consistent group was more future-focused and positively constructed, some facilitators highlighted the balance was skewed in favor of promoting goods to the neglect of reducing risk. However, this has been modified in further groups, with the balancing of promoting achievement of primary goods and risk-management improved (Harkins et al., 2012).

Similar to Harkins et al. (2012), Barnett, Manderville-Norden, and Rakestrow (2014) compared a GLM-consistent community-based intervention to RP for individuals who have sexually offended towards children, finding attrition rates were similar across groups. Although, Barnett et al. (2014) found completers of the GLM-consistent group improved post-treatment on measures of attitudes supportive of child abuse than those in the RP group. Furthermore the GLM-consistent group were more likely to sustain functional scores on measures of personal distress, pro-offending attitudes and socio-affective functioning, although it must be noted that the GLM-consistent group were less dysfunctional at pre-test that the RP group. Overall, a greater proportion of completers of the GLM-consistent group achieved a 'treated profile', whereby their post-treatment scores were indistinguishable from non-offenders scores. As, such GLM-consistent treatment supports the sustaining of functional scores on behavioral measures, more so than standard, risk-focused RP programs

(Netto et al., 2014). As effective RP interventions strongly adhere to the RNR model (Looman & Abracen, 2013), this supports this use of GLM-consistent interventions, rather than RNR only, with street gang members.

Furthermore, in a case-study, Whitehead et al. (2007) utilized a GLM-consistent intervention with a high-risk violent offender convicted of sexual offences, with a history of street gang membership. Although the client received two intensive risk-oriented interventions during two periods of imprisonment, the client continued to recidivate. Yet following the GLM-consistent intervention, the client reduced association with his antisocial peer group, engaged in education, pursued new leisure activities and maintained a committed relationship. A six-year follow-up showed the client had not committed any further offences (Willis & Ward, 2013); demonstrating the GLM-consistent intervention was more successful for this client than risk-based interventions. Despite empirical research being limited, particularly in comparison to the large evidence-base surrounding RNR, these studies do provide tentative support for the use of the GLM with street gang members.

4. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that the GLM can be theoretically applied to street gang members, with the current street gang literature (e.g., 'pushes' and 'pulls') relating well to both the general and etiological assumptions. Using the GLM, street gang members are trying to secure the same primary goods as non-offenders, however, due to obstacles in their life plan they seek to fulfil these (directly or indirectly) through street gang involvement. The GLM is the first rehabilitation framework theoretically applied to street gang membership that takes into account motivations for joining street gangs (i.e., attempt to fulfil primary goods), in addition to their criminogenic needs (i.e., four obstacles in achieving primary goods).

As O'Brien et al. (2013) suggest, helping street gang members achieve a fulfilling and meaningful life through prosocial means should improve their life satisfaction and positive goal-seeking behaviour, ultimately reducing the need to engage with antisocial peers. As a rehabilitation framework, the GLM can wrap-around evidence-based interventions for street gang members (e.g., FFT-G and CBT). The GLM emphasises that interventions should focus on improving internal (e.g., skills and values) and external capacities (e.g., opportunities, resources and support), using approach-goals. Thus, the GLM should not *replace* existing interventions, but should be used to guide them; ensuring attention is given to balancing goal-promotion and reducing street gang involvement (Van Damme, Fortune, Vandevelde, & Vanderplasschen, 2017).

Overall, theoretically the GLM can be applied both etiologically and practically to street gang members, and could be a useful framework to guide current street gang interventions. Further research is needed to empirically test the assumptions of the GLM with street gang members. In addition, research should be conducted to establish the long-term benefits of using the GLM as a rehabilitation framework, above and beyond current risk-based practices with street gang members. As Ward and Maruna (2007) suggest targeting risk factors alone will only lead to a less harmful life, not necessarily a happier and more fulfilling one. Street gang members are most often young and vulnerable individuals (Beresford & Wood, 2016), who should be given the opportunity to have a less harmful life, that is also meaningful and fulfilling to the individual.

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